

HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1526-1947

BA [History]

Third Year

Paper III



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.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1526-1947

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| Unit IV- Emerging Contours <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Renaissance I-Ram Mohan Roy and Brahma Samaj.b. 1857: Causes, Nature and Significance.c. Renaissance II-Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Dayanand Saraswati.d. Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement. | Unit 4: Emerging Contours (Pages 125-161) |
| Unit V- India National Movement <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Emergence of Nationalism.b. Predecessors of the Congress and Formation of the Congress.c. Early Nationalists: Programmes and Policies and Extremists.d. Mass Movements: Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, Quit India and India's Independence. | Unit 5: India National Movement (Pages 163-218) |

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INTRODUCTION

Babur (AD1526–30), who founded the Mughal Empire in India, was the descendant of Timur as well as Ghenghiz Khan. Ousted by his cousins, he came to India and defeated Ibrahim Lodi, the last Lodi Sultan, in AD1526 at the First Battle of Panipat. There was a short break (AD1540–1555) in Mughal rule when Babur's son Humayun was dethroned from Delhi by an Afghan ruler, Sher Shah. Babur's grandson, Akbar, consolidated political power and extended his empire over virtually the whole of North India and parts of the south. Akbar was followed by three illustrious Mughal emperors, namely Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

In western India, Shivaji succeeded in forging the Marathas into an efficient military machine and instilled in them a sense of national identity. They adopted guerrilla tactics to beat the Mughals and engaged them in many conquests that eventually drained their economic resources.

The period between 1707 and 1947 is extremely crucial in the history of India. The advent of the Europeans for the purpose of trading later led to the invasion of the British in India who ruled over India for a long time. During the reign of the British, 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 in India. The World War I and World War II played an important role in arousing the spirit of nationalism among people. 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 from 1526-1947*, comprises five units. The book is written strictly in SIM (Self Instructional Material) format for Distance Learning. Each unit starts with an Introduction and Unit Objectives. Then, the detailed content is presented, along with figures and tables, in an understandable and organized manner. Each unit has Check Your Progress questions at regular intervals to test the readers' understanding of the topics covered. A Summary along with a list of Key Terms and a set of Questions and Exercises is provided at the end of each unit for effective recapitulation. Each unit also has a list of books for Further Reading.

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UNIT 1 MUGHAL INDIA

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Till the early 16th century, India had been without a major empire for almost a thousand years. Since the Gupta Dynasty, an all-India empire had not prevailed. In AD 1526, Babur, a descendant of Timur, from Central Asia, swept across the Khyber Pass and established the Mughal Empire, which lasted for over 200 years. The Mughal Dynasty had taken hold of most of the Indian subcontinent by AD 1600. It went into a slow decline after AD 1707 and finally came to an end following defeat in the Rebellion of 1857.

The Mughal period marked a vast social change in the subcontinent, as the Hindu majority was ruled over by the Mughal emperors. Some emperors showed religious tolerance, others liberally patronized Hindu culture, while some others destroyed the historical temples and imposed taxes on the non-Muslims. During the decline of the Mughal Empire—which at its peak occupied an area slightly larger than the ancient Mauryan Empire—several smaller empires rose to fill the power vacuum, and subsequently contributed to the decline of the empire.

The Mughal Dynasty was the last great empire of Indian history. Such was their greatness that the word ‘Mogul’ in English (derived from Mughal) refers to a powerful person. The Mughals were a remarkable dynasty, and at the height of their powers gave the world a set of capable rulers. It was also during their reign that some of the finest monuments of India were built, most notably, the Taj Mahal.

In this unit, you will be learning about the Mughal Dynasty, including sources of Mughal Indian history; the establishment of the Mughal Empire; and factors that prompted their first great emperor, Babur, to invade India. You will also learn about Babur’s personality, the two battles—Panipat and Khanwah—that defined his reign, and his brilliance as a builder, among other topics. This unit will also discuss about Sher Shah

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Suri, who was an Afghan ruler who succeeded in establishing a powerful empire in India simply by his own exertions, merit and the power of sword. This unit takes you further down the lanes of Mughal history, where you will learn about one of the greatest emperors of India, Humayun's son, Akbar. This unit will also discuss about Jahangir's son, Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was a capable and skilled ruler. He contributed extensively towards fortifying and enlarging the Mughal Empire.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Identify the various sources of understanding the history of the Mughals
- Describe the political scenario in India on the eve of Babur's invasion
- Analyse the early career and personality of Babur
- Describe the administrative setup introduced by Sher Shah Suri
- Analyse the features of the religious policy adopted by Akbar
- Explain the features of Din-i-Ilahi
- Elaborate on the achievements of Shah Jahan in the field of art and architecture

1.2 BABUR: FOUNDATION

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, a descendent of the famous invader Timur Lane. His mother Qutulug Nigar Khanam belonged to the family of Genghis Khan, the great Mongol invader. When Babur was born in AD 1483, his father was the ruler of a small principality of Farghana in Turkistan. In AD 1494, Babur inherited the petty Kingdom of Fargana from his father. He was then only eleven years and four months old. At such a tender age, he had to shoulder the responsibility of ruling the state. As the famous historian Dr Ishwari Prasad points out, at a very young age, Babur was surrounded by enemies from all sides. His near relatives and Uzbek chief Shahbani Khan wanted to snatch away the principality of Farghana. Oblivious of the Uzbek danger, the Timurid princes were busy fighting with each another. Babur, too, made a bid to conquer Samarkand from his uncle. He won the city twice, but on both the occasions, lost it in no time. The second time, the Uzbek Chief Shaibani Khan Shaibani defeated Babur and conquered Samarkand. Soon, he overran the rest of the Timurid kingdoms in the area. Babur wrote in his autobiography, *Tuzuk-i-baburi*, 'I had lost Samarkand for recovering Fargana but now I feel that I have lost even the first one without having possessed the second.' Having lost both Farghana and Samarkand, Babur was forced to move towards Kabul, which he conquered in AD 1504. For the next fourteen years, Babur kept biding his time to capture back his homeland (Farghana and Samarkand) from the Uzbeks. When he was completely unsuccessful against the Uzbeks, he diverted his attention from the West (Central Asia) to the East (India).

Political Scenario on the Eve of Babur's Invasion

The first half of the 15th century witnessed political instability with the disintegration of the Tughlaq Dynasty. Both the Saiyyad (1414–1451) and the Lodi (1451–1526) rulers failed to cope with 'the disruptive forces'. The nobles resented and rebelled at the earliest opportunity. The political chaos in the north-west provinces of the country had

weakened the centre. Let us examine what was happening in the other parts of India during that time.

In Central India, there were three kingdoms: Gujarat, Malwa and Mewar. The power of Sultan Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa was, however, on the decline. Gujarat was ruled by Muzaffar Shah II, while Mewar under the leadership of Sisodia ruler Rana Sanga was the most powerful kingdom. The rulers of Malwa were under constant pressure from the Lodis, Mewar and Gujarat. This was because, it was not only the most fertile region and an important source for elephant supply, but it also provided an important trade route to Gujarat sea ports. Hence, it was an important region for the Lodis. Besides, for both Gujarat and Mewar, it could serve as a buffer against the Lodis. The Sultan of Malwa was an incompetent ruler, and his prime minister, Medini Rai, could hardly hold the kingdom intact for long in the wake of internal disputes.

Finally, Rana Sanga succeeded in extending his influence over Malwa and Gujarat. By the end of the 15th century, Rana Sanga's sway over Rajputana became almost complete with the occupation of Ranthambhor and Chanderi. Further south, there were the powerful Vijayanagar and Bahmani kingdoms.

In the east, Nusrat Shah ruled Bengal. Towards the end of Ibrahim Lodi's reign, Afghan chieftains Nasir Khan Lohani and Ma'ruf Farmuli succeeded in carving out a separate kingdom of Jaunpur under Sultan Muhammad Shah. Besides these major powers, there were numerous Afghan chieftaincies around Agra—the most powerful ones being those of Hasan Khan in Mewar, Nizam Khan in Bayana, Muhammad Zaitun in Dholpur, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani in Gwalior, Husain Khan Lohani in Rapri, Qutub Khan in Etawa, Alam Khan in Kalpi, and Qasim Sambhali in Sambhal, among others. While analysing the political setup on the eve of Babur's invasion, it is generally said that there was a confederacy of Rajput principalities which was ready to seize control of Hindustan. It is held that had Babur not intervened, the Rajputs led by their illustrious leader Rana Sanga would have captured power in northern India. It is argued that the political division of the regional states was religious in nature and that the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sanga fueled by religious zeal wanted to establish a Hindu empire. This assumption is based on the famous passage in *Baburnama* where Babur says that Hindustan was governed by 'five Musalman rulers': the Lodis (at the centre), Gujarat, Malwa, Bahmani, and Bengal, and two 'pagans' (Rana Sanga of Mewar and Vijaynagar). Besides, the *fathnama* (prayer for victory) issued after the battle of Khanwa suggests that the Rajput confederacy under Rana was inspired by religious zeal and organized with the intention to overthrow the 'Islamic power'.

However, such observations have been questioned by historians. Babur has nowhere suggested that these powers were antagonistic on religious grounds. Instead, Babur himself admits that many Rais and Ranas were obedient to Islam. Moreover, if one looks at the composition of the confederacy, there were many Muslim chieftains like Hasan Khan Mewati and Mahumud Khan Lodi, who sided with Rana Sanga against Babur. Though the power of Rana was unquestionable, Babur was in reality more worried about the Afghan menace.

Political conditions on the basis of historical sources

On the basis of *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* and other historical sources, the political conditions of India on the eve of Babur's invasion can be summarized as follows:

- There were innumerable small and independent kingdoms which often fought with each other.

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- There was no powerful central authority to unite all the small states against a foreign invasion. In the words of Dr Ishwari Prasad, 'In the beginning of the 16th century, India was a confederacy of small independent states which could easily fall prey to any strong and determined invader.'
- Babur writes in his memoirs that when he invaded India there were seven important states—five Muslims and two Hindus. Besides these states mentioned by Babur, there were several other states which were also playing a considerable role in the politics of India. In northern India, the main states were Delhi, Punjab, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Mewar, Malwa, Orissa, Sindh, Kashmir and Khandesh.
- The political conditions of southern India were also deteriorating. The Bahmani kingdom had broken up into five small principalities. These were Bijapur, Golkunda, Beedar, Barar and Ahmednagar. Although all these states were ruled by the Shia rulers, still they used to fight against each other. The southern Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar was under Krishnadev Rai. Even though he was very powerful, Krishnadev Rai did not have good relations with the Bahamani kingdom and was only interested in the politics of the Deccan.
- The people of India lacked the feeling of modern nationalism. They were more loyal to their local rulers than the symbolic central power of Delhi. In order to form an idea of the political condition of northern India on the eve of Babur's invasion, a brief survey of these states would be very helpful.

Table 1.1 A Brief Survey of Indian States on the Eve of Babar's Invasion

| State | Political Condition |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Delhi | In northern India, the small remnant of the Delhi Sultanate was ruled by an incapable ruler Ibrahim Lodi against whom rebellions were a frequent occurrence. |
| Bengal | During the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, Bengal became an independent kingdom. Nusrat Shah ruled over the territory during the invasion of Babur, and extended the borders of the kingdom up to Hajipur and Mongher and annexed Tirhut. |
| Punjab | Daulat Khan Lodi had revolted against the authority of Ibrahim Lodi and had become an independent ruler of Punjab. He joined hands with Alam Khan, an uncle of Ibrahim, and invited Babur to invade India. Besides that, the rulers of Sind and Multan were also hostile to the Sultan of Delhi. |
| The Eastern Districts | The eastern districts about Oudh, Jaunpur and Bihar rose in arms and chose Darya Khan Lohani as their chief. |
| Jaunpur | It was absolutely independent of the central control. |
| Bihar | It was an open rebellion. |
| Gujarat | The kingdom of Gujarat was ruled by the Muslim Sultans independent of Delhi. |
| Malwa | The ruler of Malwa was Mahmud II of the Khilji dynasty. The ruler of Chanderi, Medini Rai wanted to establish his control over Malwa with the help of Rana Sanga of Mewar. Malwa was beset with internal quarrels and rebellions. |
| Mewar | Mewar was the most powerful Rajput Kingdom under the able and wise leadership of Rana Sanga who had united all the Rajputs under a single flag in a federation. |
| Khandesh | Khandesh, once the province of the Delhi Kingdom had become independent at the close of the 14th century. On the eve of Babur's invasion, Miran Mohammad was the ruler. |

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|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Vijayanagar | Vijayanagar was founded in AD 1336 by Harishar and his brother Bukka. Krishna Dev was a very powerful ruler of this dynasty. The rulers of Vijayanagar were in constant war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bahmani. |
| Bahmani State | It was founded in AD 1347 by Hassan, an Afghan noble. It produced a number of warriors and ambitious kings. Unfortunately, it was always on warring terms with its neighbour, Vijayanagar. Afterwards, this state was split up into five small states—Barar, Ahmednagar, Badar, Bijapur and Golkunda. |

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Thus, it is clear from Table 1.1 that both north India and south India were divided into small principalities that were under the rule of various Hindu and Muslim kings. Under these circumstances, it was not a difficult task for Babur, or for that matter any competent invader, to conquer India.

Advent of Mughals into India

The Mughals called themselves so after their Mongol ancestry. Unlike the Delhi Sultanate, which was ruled by many dynasties, the Mughal period witnessed the rule by a single dynasty for nearly two-and-a-half centuries. Sher Shah Suri's rule was the only interruption. The Mughals established an empire which roughly coincides with the present Indian territory.

The Mughal period is also described as Early Modern period. This is because the era witnessed major changes in trade, agriculture and technology. For instance, with the creation of more sea routes and expansion in trade, currency came to be used increasingly. These changes were supported by a stable and centralized empire.

Political conditions

The political conditions in the north-west of the country around this time made Babur's conquest easier. Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi and Punjab, was trying to establish a large empire which alarmed the Afghan chiefs. The rulers of Bihar and Punjab had revolted against him. The Rajput rulers were also plotting against him. Daulat Khan, the governor of Punjab, along with an uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, invited Babur to attack this region.

Factors that Prompted Babur to Conquer India

The various factor that prompted Babur to conquer India are discussed as follows:

1. Babur's ambition

Like other contemporary rulers, Babur was very ambitious. He stated 'I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan. But I had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it. Hindered as I was sometimes by the apprehensions of my Beks, sometimes by the disagreement between my brothers and myself.' He was involved incessantly in the struggle for the conquest of Samarkand (which Babur loved dearly). When he was finally unsuccessful there, he tried to fulfil his ambition by conquering India.

2. Miserable political conditions of India

The political situation in north-west India was suitable for Babur's entry into India. Sikandar Lodi had died in AD 1517, and Ibrahim Lodi had succeeded him. His efforts to create a large centralized empire had alarmed the Afghan chiefs as well as the Rajputs.

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Amongst the most powerful of the Afghan chiefs was Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Punjab, who was almost an independent ruler. Daulat Khan attempted to conciliate Ibrahim Lodi by sending his son to his court in order to pay homage. At the same time, he was trying to capture neighbouring states. He wanted to strengthen his position by annexing the frontier tracts of Bihar etc., which Babur had captured in AD 1518–1519, but all hopes of Daulat Khan Lodi were shattered. Babur put a demand through his ambassador that Daulat Khan Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi surrender all those places to Babur which were at one time under the Turks. Daulat Khan Lodi very cleverly influenced Babur's ambassador to stay at Lahore, thus preventing him from meeting Ibrahim Lodi. When Babur returned from Bhira, Daulat Khan Lodi took away Bhira from Babur's representative. The following year, Babur again attacked Bhira and captured it along with Sialkot. This victory opened a gateway of India for Babur. One thing was made clear by these preliminary invasions of Babur—India lacked the feeling of political unity. Babur knew that India was divided into several petty principalities and that the rulers of these states could never unite together. Babur also knew that they often fought amongst themselves. Thus, he considered this anarchical situation as the appropriate opportunity to invade India.

3. Immense richness of India and legal right to occupy some area

Like countless earlier invaders from Central Asia, Babur was drawn to India by the lure of its fabulous wealth. India was famous as the land of gold and riches. Babur's ancestor Timur had not only carried away a vast treasure and many skilful artisans who helped him to consolidate his Asian empire and beautify his capital, but had also annexed some areas in the Punjab. These areas remained in the possession of Timur's successors for many years. When Babur conquered Kabul, he felt that he had a legitimate right to these areas. Moreover, India was very near to Kabul where Babur was ruling.

4. Meagre income from Kabul

Another reason for Babur's invasion of India was the meagre income of Kabul. The historian Abul Fazal remarks, 'He (Babur) ruled over Badakhshan, Kandhar and Kabul which did not yield sufficient income for the requirement of the army, in fact, in some of the border territories the expense on controlling the armies and administration was greater than the income.' Thus, the meagre income of Kabul also prompted Babur to invade India. Babur knew very well that after capturing the fertile province of Punjab, he would have no financial problems and he could strengthen his position very easily.

5. Fear of the Uzbeks

Babur was apprehensive of an Uzbek attack on Kabul and considered India to be a good place of refuge, and a suitable base for operations against the Uzbeks.

6. Invitations extended by Daulat Khan Lodi, Alam Khan and Rana Sanga

Some the historians hold the opinion that Babur had been invited to attack the Delhi Sultanate by Daulat Khan Lodi and Rana Sanga. According to them, in AD 1524, Babur had received an embassy from Daulat Khan Lodi, led by his son Dilawar Khan. They invited Babur to invade India and suggested that he should displace Ibrahim Lodi since he was a tyrant and enjoyed no support from his courtiers and nobles. According to some historians, it was probable that a messenger from Rana Sangram Singh (the ruler of Mewar and popularly known as Rana Sanga) arrived at the same time, inviting Babur

to invade India. These embassies convinced Babur that the time was ripe for his conquest of the whole of the Punjab, if not of India itself.

In brief, we can say that many factors inspired Babur to invade India. His ambitions, immense wealth of India, weak political conditions and some invitations extended by the enemies of Ibrahim Lodi, were some of the factors.

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1.2.1 Early Career and Personality of Babur

Babur, who laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India in AD 1526, belonged to the family of Chaghatai Turks. Born on 14 February 1483, his great grandfather was Timur who was widely regarded as the most powerful king of Central Asia. Babur's successful invasion of India in AD 1526 saw the end of the Lodi Dynasty and the beginning of a new power—the Mughal Dynasty. The history of India since the Battle of Panipat till AD 1857 is interspersed with conflicts and rivalries between Mughal rulers and the Rajput princes. The Hindu Rajputs, who had enjoyed dominance in Rajputana (present-day Gujarat, Rajasthan and parts of Haryana), were displaced from power following the invasion of the Mughals.

Babur led two important and decisive battles—the Battle of Panipat and the Battle of Khanwah—that speak volumes about his personality. At the First Battle of Panipat in AD 1526, Babur, with only 12,000 soldiers with him, subdued Ibrahim Lodi's much larger force. The very next year, Babur displaced the Rajputs from power who had enjoyed the stronghold of Rajputana for a long time. Similar to the First Battle of Panipat, Babur with a much smaller army conquered the enemy by applying novel ways of warfare.

These great victories achieved over the main powers of northern India were the base for Babur's kingdom, from which he could consolidate his rule in northern India. Unlike his predecessor, Timur, Babur did not return to Kabul after plundering and looting the wealth of India. Instead, Babur decided to stay back and strengthen his hold over the wealthy cities. The Battle of Ghaghara was the last battle of Babur in India. By then, he had succeeded in establishing the Mughal Empire in India and there was no one to challenge his power in northern India.

Babur's character has been praised by all historians—both modern and contemporary. He was a man of many virtues and excellences. He was kind, generous, courageous, and a cultured man. He was a good judge of human nature and circumstances. He was fond of music and gardening and constructed many buildings in India. Babur was a Sunni Muslim and had faith in God. He was a scholarly king. Babur did not get time to receive proper education as he engaged himself in fighting, from as early as the age of eleven. Yet, the knowledge he acquired and the command he had over Turkish language has assigned him a place in the world of scholars. He possessed good knowledge of Arabic and Persian while he was also a scholar of Turkish. Babur was a gifted poet and his prose memoir—the *Baburnamah*—is much acclaimed.

Babur was a determined soldier and an experienced general. After becoming a successful commander, he never lost courage or determination to rise. He learnt from his defeats. He learned *tulghuma* warfare from the Uzbeks, *ambuscade* from the Mongols and the Afghans, use of fire-arm and artillery from the Persians, and the effective use of mobile cavalry from the Turks. Besides, he made a clever synthesis of all these tactics of warfare. That made him a successful commander and, therefore, he won every battle in India. Also, Babur could inspire his followers, and get their loyalty and command obedience from them. He never feared fighting against larger armies than that he commanded.

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1.2.2 The First Battle of Panipat

In November, AD 1525, Babur attacked India with 12,000 soldiers. When he reached Peshawar, he got the news that Dhaulat Khan Lodi had changed sides. He had collected a huge army and ousted the Amirs of Babur from Sialkot and reached up to Lahore. At Babur's approach, however, the army of Dhaulat Khan melted away. Dhaulat Khan laid down his arms and was pardoned. Thus, within three weeks of crossing the Indus, Babur became the ruler of Punjab. On 20 April, 1526, Babur reached the famous historical field of Panipat along with his army to conquer India. Ibrahim Lodi met Babur at Panipat with a force estimated to comprise 100,000 men and 10,000 elephants. Some historians are of the view that since the Indian armies generally contained large hordes of servants, the fighting men on Ibrahim Lodi's side must have been far less than this figure. Babur had crossed the Indus with a force of 12,000, but he had the support of a large number of Hindustani nobles and soldiers who joined him in the Punjab. Even then Babur's army was numerically inferior. On the morning of 21 April 1526, they fought a pitched battle. Babur, with the tactical use of tulgama warfare, encircled Ibrahim Lodi's army, and his artillery rained a hail of fire and shots on it. The Lodi army was completely overwhelmed. Babur himself wrote, 'By the grace and mercy of Almighty (God), the mighty army of Delhi was laid in the dust in the course of half a day.'

Impact of the First Battle of Panipat

- **End of the rule of Lodi Dynasty:** The Battle of Panipat is regarded as one of the decisive battles in Indian history. It broke the back of Lodi power, and brought under Babur's control the entire area up to Delhi and Agra. As Babur's predecessor Timur had brought to an end the rule of the Tughlaqs, similarly Babur's success led to the end of the Lodi rule.
- **Foundation of the Mughal Empire:** Babur's victory at Panipat led to the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. Soon after the victory, Babur occupied Delhi and Agra, seated himself on the throne of the Lodis and laid the foundation of the Mughal rule in India. Of course, the empire founded by Babur was soon lost by his son, Humayun and it was Akbar who actually recreated the Mughal Empire. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the actual foundation of the empire was laid with the victory in the Battle of Panipat. This empire continued for more than two centuries.
- **End of Babur's bad days:** The treasures that were stored up by Ibrahim Lodi in Agra relieved Babur from his financial difficulties. The rich territory up to Jaunpur also lay open to Babur. Rush Brooke Williams writes, 'After being successful in this battle, the bad days of Babur came to an end. Now, he need not bother about his personal safety or his throne.'
- **Re-established the prestige of Crown:** After the Battle of Panipat, Babur laid the foundation of a new dynasty and called himself the monarch. Unlike the Sultans of the Delhi Sultanate period, he never called himself the deputy of the Caliph, but referred to himself as the Emperor. Thus, he revived the sovereignty of the monarch as it used to be in ancient times in India and thus established the prestige of the Crown.
- **Use of artillery in India:** The Battle of Panipat led to the initiation of artillery in India. Until now, Indians were not familiar with gunpowder. For the first time, it was used in a battle on the Indian plains, and paved the way for its use in many other battles.

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- **Birth of new struggles:** However, Babur had to wage three more hard-fought battles, one against Rana Sanga of Mewar, another against Medini Rao at Chanderi, and the third against the eastern Afghans, before he could consolidate his hold on this area (Delhi, Agra, etc.). Viewed from his angle, the Battle of Panipat was not as decisive in the political field as has been made out. According to R.B. Williams, 'The victory at Panipat was excellent, which was actually a part of the beginning.' Renowned historian Dr Satish Chandra, says about the battle, 'Its real importance lies in the fact that it opened a new face in the struggle for domination in north India.'
- **Tulugama became popular in India:** One of the important causes of Babur's victory in the First Battle of Panipat was the adoption of a scientific war strategy called tulugama (an Ottoman or Rumi device). Gradually, Indian rulers also adopted this very system, which involved the policy of keeping a reserve army. Indian rulers were greatly impressed by the swiftness and immovability of horses and gradually elephants were replaced by horses in battles.
- **A shift in the political interest:** After the Battle of Panipat, the centre of Babur's political activities and ambitions was shifted from Kabul and Central Asia to Agra and India. No doubt the difficulties of Babur after his victory at Panipat were manifold. Many of his Begs (chieftains) were not prepared for a long campaign in India. With the onset of the hot weather, their misgivings had increased. They were far away from their homes in a strange and hostile land. Babur writes in his memoirs that the people of India displayed remarkable hostility by abandoning their villages at the approach of the Mughal armies. Obviously, the memories of Timur's sacking and plundering of the towns and villages were still fresh in their minds. Babur knew that the resources in India alone would enable him to build a strong empire and satisfy his Begs. He, thus, took a firm stand, proclaiming his intention to stay on in India, and granting leave to a number of his Begs, who wanted to go back to Kabul. This immediately cleared the air. However, this also invited the hostility of Rana Sanga who began his preparations for a showdown with Babur.

Causes of Failure of Ibrahim Lodi

Babur was victorious at the Battle of Panipat because of a number of factors. However, not all can be attributed to his generalship and personality, which he doubtless had in plenty. There were other factors too, the inefficiency of Ibrahim Lodi being one. Let us look at all the factors in detail.

- **Scientific combination of cavalry and artillery:** First, the victory of Babur was due to the scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The effective use of mobile cavalry and the skill with which Ustad Ali and Mustafa, two great Turkish gunners, fought in the field of Panipat were also important factors which contributed towards Babur's victory. Rush Brooke Williams writes, 'If it could be possible to emphasize any one of the factors as being the most important cause of his (Babur's) victory, one would surely have to assign the first place to his artillery.'
- **Disunity:** The Indian rulers did not visualize any eventuality beyond the borders of their kingdoms and could not stand united to face a threat on India from the outside. Babur defeated them one by one and captured their kingdoms.
- **Babur's personality:** One of the biggest causes of Babur's victory was his impressive personality. He did not lose heart even in the most critical times. He was a born general and was fully acquainted with all the tactics of war.

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- **Ill-treatment of Ibrahim Lodi towards his Amirs:** Sultan Ibrahim's treatment towards his Amirs was most discourteous and insulting. The proud Afghan nobles, who used to share the carpet with Ibrahim's father and grandfather, had land taken away from them, and in the King's Durbar had to stand in a humble posture with their arms folded to their chests. He also denied them kingship. Hence, the Amirs went against him.
- **Disciplined army:** Babur's army was more disciplined than the Indian army. His soldiers knew how to stand in the battle array and when to charge. On the other hand, the Indian soldiers moved more or less like a crowd and a little charge from the enemy side was enough to cause confusion among them. Their vast numbers were more a source of weakness than a source of strength. They were ill organized, badly trained and undisciplined.
- **Inefficiency of Ibrahim as a general:** Fortunately for Babur, the rival he had to contend with was an inefficient military general who lacked the qualities of a leader. Neither could he properly organize his forces nor could he plan the battle well. Babur himself remarks that, 'Ibrahim was an inexperienced, young man, careless in his movements who marched without order, halted or retired without plan and engaged in the battle without foresight.' It was not difficult for a brilliant general like Babur to defeat such an inefficient rival.
- **Use of elephants by the Lodis:** Ibrahim Lodi made big use of elephants in his army. As compared to this, the horses of the Mughal cavalry were very swift. Very often, elephants wounded in battle trampled their own army people.
- **Babur's formations or tulugama:** Babur took strategic positions as soon as he reached Panipat. He strengthened his position by resting one wing of his army in the city of Panipat which had a large number of horses, and protected the others by means of a ditch filled with branches of trees. On the front, he lashed together a large number of carts to act as a defending wall. Between those two carts, breastworks were erected on which soldiers could rest their guns and firearms. Historians praise Babur for adopting a unique formation which was both offensive as well as defensive. In brief, we can say that one of the causes of Babur's victory at Panipat was the tulugama strategy of war.

1.2.3 Battle of Khanwah

The Battle of Khanwah was fought between Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar (popularly known as Rana Sanga) and the founder of Mughal dynasty, Babur, in AD 1527 at Khanwah, about forty kilometers away from Agra.

Causes for the battle of Khanwah

- **Ambitions of Rana Sanga:** Rana Sanga was an ambitious ruler. He had been fighting with Ibrahim Lodi for dominating eastern Rajasthan and Malwa. After defeating Mahmood Khilji of Malwa, the influence of Rana had gradually extended up to Piliya Khar, a small river in the neighbourhood of Agra. The establishment of an empire in the Indo-Gangetic Valley by Babur was a threat to Rana Sanga. Sanga set preparations to take out Babur at any rate and to confine him to the Punjab.
- **Rana being accused of treachery by Babur:** Babur accused Rana Sanga of breach of agreement. He said that Sanga had invited him to India and had promised to join him against Ibrahim Lodi, but made no move while he (Babur) conquered

Delhi and Agra. The exact terms and conditions of the agreement between Babur and Rana Sanga are vague, but it is certain that after the First Battle of Panipat, Babur had captured only Delhi and Agra. He had not become the emperor of India. He was also brave and ambitious like Rana Sanga. It was not possible for him to become the emperor of India without breaking the power of the Rajputs.

- **Charges of Rana Sanga against Babur:** Rana Sanga, on the other hand, had claim on Kalpi, Dhaulpur and Agra and he blamed Babur for not fulfilling his promise. Sanga probably hoped that like Timur, Babur would withdraw after ransacking Delhi and weakening the Lodis. Babur's decision to stay on in India completely changed the situation. This made a war between Babur and Rana Sanga inevitable.
- **Incitement of Rana Sanga by the Afghans:** Many Afghans including Mahmud Lodi, a younger brother of Ibrahim Lodi, rallied to Rana Sanga in the hope of regaining the throne of Delhi in case Sanga won. Hassan Khan Mewati, the ruler of Mewar, also joined hands with Sanga.

Events

The armies of Babur and Sanga met at Khanwah on 10 March 1527. Babur arranged his army almost in the same fashion as he had done in Panipat. This time again, he had to face an army which was huge in size compared to his army. According to Lanepoole, 'Whatever the exact number might have been, a more gallant army could not be brought into the field.' A bloody war followed which lasted for about twelve hours. R. P. Tripathi writes, 'The ruthless slaughter, closed the bloody episode.' Sanga's forces were hemmed in and were defeated. Rana Sanga escaped and wanted to renew the conflict with Babur; but he was later poisoned by his own nobles who considered such a course dangerous and suicidal.

Consequences

- The Battle of Khanwah was more decisive than that of the First Battle of Panipat. After this battle, Babur definitely became the ruler of India. It secured his position in the Delhi – Agra region. Babur strengthened his position further by conquering a chain of forts in Gwalior, and Dholpur in the east of Agra. He also annexed large parts of Alwar from Hasan Khan Mewati. He then led a campaign against Medina Rai of Chanderi in Malwa. Chanderi was captured after the Rajput defenders had died fighting to the last man and their women performed *Jauhar*. In brief, we can say that the Battle of Khanwah consolidated the foundation of the Mughal Empire by bringing the Rajput power to an end. The centre of activity of Babur had shifted from Kabul to Hindustan and, thus, the work of defeating the rest of the unimportant local chiefs and the Afghans became easier.
- With Sanga's death, the dream of a united Rajasthan extending up to Agra received a serious setback. The strength of the Rajputs was broken and the kingdoms of Hindustan passed from the hands of Rajputs to the Mughals. The foundation of the Mughal Empire in India was laid.

Causes of the Defeat of Rajputs or the Victory of Babur

- **Treachery of Siladi of Rasin:** Siladi of Rasin was the Rajput ally of Rana Sanga and he had promised to fight for the common Rajput cause. In the thick of battle, he deserted Rana Sanga and went over to Babur for the latter is said to have

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influenced him. This treacherous behaviour on the part of Siladi of Raisin broke the heart of the Rajputs and adversely affected their lot in the battle.

- **Use of cannons by Babur:** Babur used cannons in the Battle of Khanwah. On the other hand, Rajputs were unaware of this device. Horses of the Rajputs could not face the cannons and so the army of Rana Sanga was shattered.
- **Babur as a commander:** Babur was a very capable commander. His techniques of warfare brought him success once more. In the face of stringent contingencies, he exhibited patience and courage which made him the outstanding leader of his time. He promised after this victory he would allow leave to everyone who wanted to go home.
- **Declaration of the holy war (Jihad):** Babur had declared a holy war against Rana and reminded his men that he was fighting for the glorification of his religion. The response was instantaneous and enthusiastic. Everyone swore by the Holy Quran that they would fight to the end and stand by Babur. The spirit of his troops was thus energetic going into battle.
- **Disunity of Rajputs:** The Rajputs were not united. There were great dissensions between them, and due to the victory of Babur in this battle, whatever unity was left in them also ended.
- **Role of Ustad Ali:** Ustad Ali, the captain of Babur's artillery also shares the credit of this victory. His use of cannon balls threw the Rajputs into confusion.
- **Responsibility of Rana Sanga:** Some historians are of the opinion that though Rana was a brave soldier, he was not a statesman of high order. According to Dr Sharma, 'In his relation with Babur, he showed vacillation and a want of decisions and firmness. He failed to proceed and capture Agra, which he ought to have done immediately after Babur had moved south of the Punjab to fight against Ibrahim Lodi. Had he done so, he would not only have acquired the immense treasures and resources that lay stored in the town, but also the support of the entire race of the Indian Afghans. Moreover, luck did not favour Rana Sanga. He was wounded during the course of the battle and failed to provide leadership to his soldiers at a critical moment. It also demoralized his soldiers. However, these can be counted only as the subsidiary causes of the defeat of the Rajputs.'
- **Disciplined army:** Babur's army was small, disciplined and experienced; but the Rajput army was a large crowd of indisciplined and inexperienced mercenaries.

1.2.4 Achievements of Babur from AD 1526–1530

The great grandson of Timur and Genghis Khan, Babur was the first Mughal emperor in India. He confronted and defeated Lodi in AD 1526 at the First Battle of Panipat, and so came to establish the Mughal Empire in India. Babur ruled until AD 1530, and was succeeded by his son Humayun. During Babur's reign, northern India became united under one rule and had very prosperous cultural and political years.

Babur was not only a brilliant general, but also had qualities of a great leader. Like his contemporaries of the Renaissance period in Europe, Babur too had varied interests. He was well-read and could write in Turkish as well as in Persian. He wrote the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*. It provides information on his character, achievements and life during those times. He loved nature, laid down a number of gardens in Kabul and India, and planted fruit trees. He also loved music and enjoyed polo.



Fig. 1.1 The Extent of Babur's Empire

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The memoirs of Babur trace his rise to power starting from his accession to the throne of his father. The description of Babur is clear, impressive and quite close to the truth. Babur wrote his autobiography titled *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* (titled *Baburnama* in Persian) in his mother tongue, Turkish. The autobiography is the best source of information on his life, even though there is hardly any information about the periods between AD 1508–1519, AD 1520–1525 and AD 1529–1530.

A fairly good idea about his knowledge, his virtues and vices, his pleasures and sufferings, political circumstances which he faced, the climate, flora and fauna of the countries which he visited, his tastes and desires and the description of those people with whom he came in contact during his rule can be obtained from his writings. Besides, the description of Babur's friends and foes, his emotional reaction to individuals and circumstances, natural beauty of mountains, rivers, forests and towers are very much absorbing which credits his biography as a beautiful piece of literature. Babur gave a description of India as well in his biography. He wrote about the climate, the people, and their economic and social conditions and about the kings and political events in India. About India, he wrote that Hindustan was a country of few charms, where people have no good looks or manners. Describing the political condition of India, he wrote that the capital of India is Delhi and also described something about the kingdoms of Malwa, Gujarat, Bahmani kingdom, Mewar and Vijayanagara.

The description of Hindustan by Babur is neither complete nor entirely correct. He made no mention of the states of Orissa, Khandesh, Sindh and Kashmir in his memoirs. Besides, as he got very little time to assess the Indian conditions and remained busy mostly in conducting wars, his description cannot be regarded accurate as well. If Babur would have got more time and would have got the opportunity to come in contact with the cultured people of India, he probably would have revised his opinion about the Indian people. Also, Babur viewed the Indian people from the eyes of a conqueror. If he had remained alive for a few years more, his opinion would have been certainly different.

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The achievements of Babur can be summarized as follows:

- Babur fought and defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the First Battle of Panipat in AD 1526. The outcome of the battle saw the establishment of the Mughal Empire in India and the end of the Delhi Sultanate.
- In AD 1527, Babur defeated the combined forces of the Rajputana under the command of Rana Sanga of Mewar and Mahmud Lodi in the Battle of Khanwah. The result of the battle saw the end of the dominance of the Rajput kingdoms, including Marwar, Gwalior, Ajmeer, and Ambar.
- In AD 1529, Babur engaged the Afghans who were powerful in eastern India, Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and Orissa, in the Battle of Ghagra. These forces led by Mahmud Lodi were defeated and scattered.
- Thus, after these initial conquests in India, Babur's territory extended from Kabul in the west to Gogra in the east, from the Himalayas in the north to Gwalior in the south.
- Being a patron of arts Babur welcomed many artists to his court from across the world. He was well-versed in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and also penned his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, in Turkish.
- Babur ruled over his empire only for a short duration of four years, a good part of which was spent in widening his empire. Hence, he was unable to bring about any transformation in administrative, judicial and financial fields.

1.3 EARLY CAREER AND CONQUESTS OF SHER SHAH SURI

Sher Shah Suri is one of those great men in history who achieved greatness from a very ordinary position. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sur dynasty. He was born in AD 1472. He was one of the eight sons of Mian Hassan Khan Sur, an employee of the governor of Punjab, Jamal Khan. In the reign of Sikandar Lodi, Jamal Khan was appointed the governor of Jaunpur. Hassan and his son Farid accompanied their master. Jamal Khan gave the *Jagirs* of Khawaspur, Sahasram and Tanda to Hassan. Farid's childhood was spent in Sahasram. Later, he came over to Jaunpur being fed up with the misbehaviour of his stepmother and his father. He was twenty-two years old at that time. He impressed Jamal Khan with his scholarly nature and ability, and Jamal Khan pressurized Hassan to appoint Farid as the manager of the *Jagirs* of Sahasram and Khawaspur.

Farid earned enough administrative experience by managing these *Jagirs*. But, soon he had to leave the place because of the machinations of his stepbrother and one powerful Afghan chief, Muhammad Khan who wanted that the *Jagirs* should be divided between the two. Farid, then, entered into the military service of the Governor of South Bihar—Bahar Khan Lohani. It is said that one day he slew a tiger with the help of a sword and impressed by his bravery, Bahar Khan gave him the title of Sher Khan and from then onwards, Farid became famous as Sher Khan. It is said that he entered Babur's service in AD 1527. The historians hold that his motive in entering this service was to acquire knowledge of the system of Mughal warfare and its effects. Babur became suspicious of his activities and asked his prime minister to keep a strict watch on Sher Khan and described him as a very clever person. Sher Khan is said to have quietly

Check Your Progress

1. What are the factors that prompted Babur to conquer India?
2. What was the impact of the First Battle of Panipat?

slipped away from there and again entered the services of Bahar Khan Lohani. He was appointed the tutor and guardian of Jalal Khan, the minor son of the ruler.

After sometime, Bahar Khan Lohani died and his widow appointed Sher Khan as the regent of minor prince. In fact, Sher Khan became the de facto ruler of Bihar. He invited the younger brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi, Mahmud Lodhi and made a plan of a military campaign against Babur. However, Babur defeated him in the battle of Ghagra (AD 1529). Sher Khan and Jalal Khan surrendered before the Mughals and got back their Jagirs on the condition of paying an annual tribute to Babur. Gradually, Sher Khan began to add to the number of his supporters. Meanwhile the ruler of Chunar, Taj Khan died in AD 1530. Sher Khan married his widow Lad Malika. This brought him the fort of Chunar and enormous wealth along with it.

Sher Shah was a daring soldier, a successful conqueror and an able administrator. He was a lover of knowledge, patron of scholars and a very good ruler. He was the forerunner of Akbar in many fields, though he was not equal to Akbar in greatness. The famous historian Dr Qanungo is right when he says, 'It is doubtful whether he would have done such deeds as Akbar if he had lived for fifty years more because Sher Shah had the drawbacks from which Aurangzeb suffered.'

Sher Shah's Struggle against Mughals on the Fort of Chunar

In AD 1531, when Humayun encircled the fort of Chunar then Sher Khan pretended defeat at the hands of Humayun. In the mean time, he strengthened his army.

The sole matter of Bihar (AD 1534)

The Lohani chiefs of Bihar became jealous of Sher Khan at his increasing power. They won over Jalal Khan to their side and also entered into an alliance with Mahmud of Bengal. They made a treaty with Mahmud Shah of Bengal in AD 1533, who himself was eager to check the rise of Sher Khan because it adversely affected his own prestige and power. However, Sher Khan defeated the combined armies of the Sultan of Bengal and the Lohanis at Surajgarh in eastern Bihar on the bank of the river Kieul. Mahmud Shah fled to Bengal and with him fled Jalal Khan and his associates. Thus, the whole of Bihar came under Sher Khan and he became the sole master. The victory of Surajgarh was an important event in Sher Shah's life. Taking advantage of the absence of Humayun in Agra, (February 1535–February 1537) Sher Khan had further strengthened his position. The Afghans from far and near had congregated under him. Although, he still talked of loyalty towards the Mughals, he had made a clever plan to drive the Mughals out of India. He had a close contact with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Bahadur Shah had helped him with men and money as well. Having acquired these sources he assembled a capable and vast army so that fighting could be indulged in against the Mughals at the opportune time.

Invasion of Bengal

Encouraged by his victory at Surajgarh, Sher Khan launched an attack against Mahmud Shah of Bengal in AD 1535. Mahmud Shah saved his life by giving a vast sum of money to Sher Khan but after few years Sher Khan again besieged Gaud, the capital of Bengal in AD 1537 and by conquering it forced Mahmud Shah to seek refuge with Humayun. When Humayun started from Agra for the support of Mahmud Shah, Sher Khan's son Jalal Khan kept him engaged for about six months at the fort of Chunar on his way to Bengal and during this period, Sher Khan came back to Bihar after amassing enough

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wealth from Bengal. Humayun's brother Hindal declared himself as the emperor at Agra and another brother Kamran came to Delhi from Lahore as the head of 1000 soldiers. When Humayun received this news he started towards Agra from Gaur.

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Battle of Chausa

Facing many difficulties, Humayun was somehow advancing towards Agra when Sher Khan suddenly attacked him at Chausa in AD 1539. About 8000 Mughal soldiers were killed in this battle. Sher Khan's spirits were raised high as a result of this victory. He assumed the title of *Sher Shah Sultan-i-Adil*. Now Sher Khan had become the undisputed master of Bihar and Bengal.

Battle of Kanauj or Bilram (AD 1540)

The following year, Humayun made an effort to regain his fortune, but despite his best efforts he could not secure the cooperation of his brother. On 17 May 1540, Mughals and Afghans again confronted each other near Kanauj. Humayun's army was defeated badly. Humayun managed to escape somehow. By this conquest, Sher Shah became the master of Delhi, Agra, Sambhal, Gwalior, etc. This ended the Mughal dynasty for the time being, and for the next fifteen years, power passed onto the hands of the Surs.

Sher Shah's Conquests after Becoming the Emperor

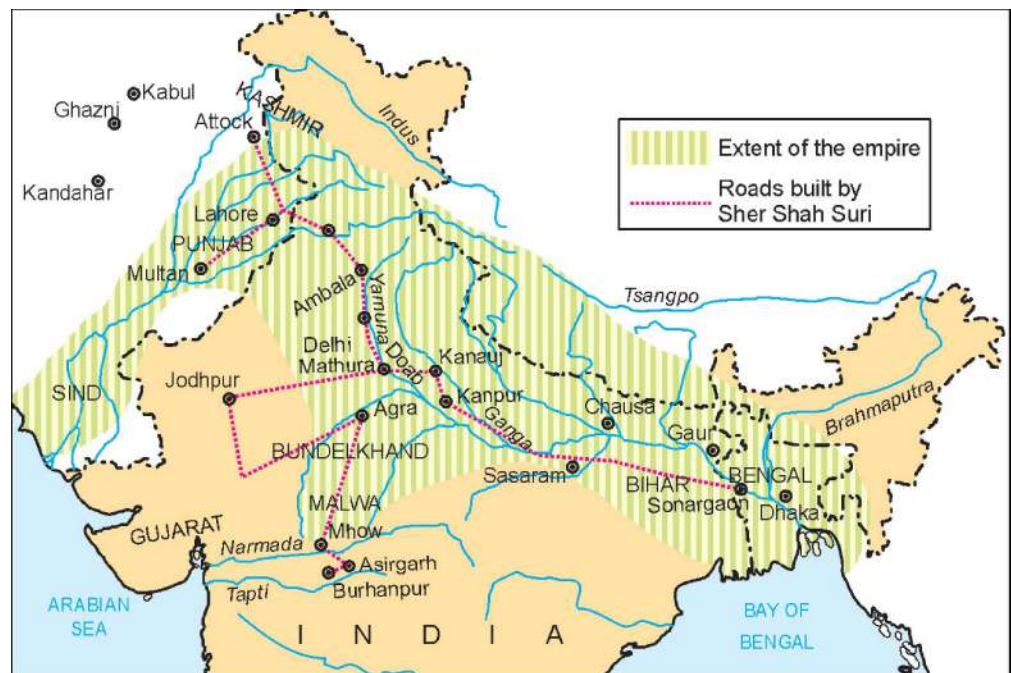


Fig. 1.2 Extent of Sher Shah's Empire and the Roads he Built

Conquests of Punjab (AD 1540–1542)

Immediately after his accession on the throne at Delhi, Sher Shah snatched Punjab from Humayun's brother, Kamran. Alongside, he also suppressed the turbulent Khokhars of the northern region of the rivers Indus and Jhelum. About sixteen kilometers north of the river Jhelum, he constructed the fort of Rohtasgarh at the cost of about ` 8 crore for the security of the north-western Frontier of India.

Conquest of Malwa (AD 1542)

The ruler of Malwa was known as Mallu Khan 'Qadirshah'. At the time of war with Humayun, he had not helped Sher Shah. As a result, Sher Shah attacked Malwa. Qadirshah did not fight but ran away to Gujarat instead. Sher Shah made Malwa an integral part of his empire. When Qadirshah asked his pardon, Sher Shah excused him, treated him kindly and appointed him the governor of Lakhnauti.

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Conquest of Raisin

Raisin was a Rajput principality in Central India ruled by the Rajput ruler Puranmal Chauhan. He had occupied Chanderi from the Mughal Chiefs. When Sher Shah came to know of it he attacked Raisin. According to Dr Quanungo, 'The motive behind the attack over Raisin was political not religious; Sher Shah wanted to make the Rajput principality of Raisin an integral part of the Delhi empire.' The fort of Raisin was besieged. After a prolonged siege negotiations for peace started. Puranmal was prepared to surrender on the condition that no harm would come on the members of his family and his associates. Sher Shah promised to see to their security and Puranmal surrendered. But, Puranmal and his followers were attacked without any prior information. One of his daughters and three of his nephews were caught alive and the others were murdered. In the words of Dr Ishwari Prasad, 'Sher Shah behaved with very inhuman cruelty towards his enemy who had reposed trust in him at the time of his bad condition.'

Conquest of Multan and Sindh

Sher Shah's general, at the behest of Sher Shah attacked Multan and Sindh in AD 1543. Both of these provinces were conquered and annexed to the empire of Sher Shah.

Conquest of Marwar (AD 1543–1545)

In AD 1543, Sher Shah attacked Maldev of Marwar. In AD 1544, the Rajputs and the Afghan armies fought each other at Semal, between Ajmer and Jodhpur. Sher Shah advanced very carefully in Rajasthan. He did not think it wise to indulge in a straight fight against Maldev and resorted to diplomacy. He caused some such letters to be dropped near Maldev which led Maldev to suspect that some of his chiefs had deserted him. Maldev was deeply grieved and decided to retreat. But his army launched a more fierce attack against Sher Shah's army. They fought very bravely, but ultimately Sher Shah was victorious. The battle was so fierce and the victory so difficult that Sher Shah proclaimed that he had almost lost the empire of India for a handful of grains. In AD 1544, Sher Shah brought Marwar under his occupation but soon after his death, Maldev reoccupied the lost regions in July 1555.

Conquest of Chittor and Ajmer

The ruler of Mewar, Rana Udaisingh was a minor at the time of Sher Shah. When the Rajputs came to know of Sher Shah's invasion they thought it better to accept his sovereignty rather than fight with him. Now the whole of Rajasthan except Jaisalmer was under Sher Shah. But Sher Shah left the Rajput kingdom with the Rajput chiefs themselves. After establishing his control over some important forts (Ajmer, Jodhpur, Abu and Chittor) he posted the Afghan army in large numbers there. Side by side he kept a strict control over the routes of communications.

Conquest of Kalinjar and the Death of Sher Shah

After these conquests, Sher Shah planned an invasion of Kalinjar because its ruler Kirat Singh had given shelter to the ruler of Riva, Virbhan against the wishes of the Afghan ruler and then had refused to return him to the Afghans against Sher Shah's wishes. Because of all these causes, Sher Shah besieged the fort in AD 1544. But he could not achieve much success. On 22 May 1545, Sher Shah launched a fierce attack. Sher Shah was inspecting the arsenal when he was grievously injured by a bomb blast. He ordered to continue the invasion and by evening the fort was under his control, but Sher Shah was not fated to enjoy this conquest as he died of the injuries on the same day.

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Character, Personality and Achievements of Sher Shah

As a man

Sher Shah Suri was farsighted, a lover of knowledge, dutiful, disciplined, industrious and a progressive thinker. He had a great love for his mother, as compared to his father because he disliked the partial behaviour of his father towards his step-mother. He was well educated. Along with studying Arabic and Persian language, he was also fond of studying history and literature. He had a great love for architecture. He had a feeling of love for the peasants, poor and destitute. He was busy for as many as sixteen hours every day in the state business. Though he became the emperor at the ripe old age of sixty-eight, his enthusiasm, ambitions and hard work did not cease. He used to say that great men should always remain active. Abbas *Sherwani* and Rizqualla Mushtaki both have written that he used to get up in the very early hours of morning and was busy throughout the day with the work of the state.

As a commander, soldier and conqueror

Sher Shah was an able commander, a great soldier and conqueror. He is said to have lived like a common soldier in the battlefield. He was an experienced soldier. He had boundless bravery and patience. He attacked a weak army like a tiger; but faced with a powerful enemy he achieved victory through deceitful tactics of a fox. He was a great conqueror who annexed Bihar, Bengal, Punjab, Malwa, Gujarat, Rajputana, Sind and so on. His empire was very vast. The frontiers of his empire extended from Punjab to Malwa and from Bengal to Sind.

As a ruler and administrator

- *Founder of Law and Order:* Sher Shah had many achievements as an administrator. He re-established law and order throughout his empire. He dealt very strictly with those *Zamindars*, thieves and dacoits who broke the social order or denied paying the land revenue. As an administrator, Sher Shah Suri had a great impact on his *Zamindars*, officials and chiefs. Abbas *Sherwani* writes, 'The *Zamindars* were so frightened of him that nobody liked to raise the boundary of revolt against him nor any of them dared to harass the travellers passing through his territory.' Though he did not bring about any change in the administrative units of the Sultanate period, he made such changes that nobody could be autocratic and harass the people. He was a first ruler of later Medieval India who thought it his duty to give a life of peace and comfort to his subjects, forgetting the difference between the Hindus and Muslims. He established democratic autocracy. In his central administration, he did not make any one minister more important than the

others and thus minimized the possibilities of mutual jealousy and plotting against the emperor. He organized his empire at the level of provinces, *sarkars*, *paraganas* and villages. He issued certain instructions for provincial rulers so that they did not minimize the importance of central administration. He divided very big provinces into smaller units and appointed separate officials there. He did not make the administration of all the provinces uniform because he thought that the administration of every province should be according to its special local needs. He appointed two separate officials of equal level in the provinces, *sarkars* and *paraganas*, so that one was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the other for the financial resources. He left the work of local defense and peace to the local officials and thus not only lessened the work of central administration but tried to involve a greater number of people in the administration. He gave an evidence of his administrative ability by delegating the responsibility of arresting thieves, dacoits and murderers to the village headmen and government officials. During his time, the arrangements of the life and property of the subject was more satisfactory than ever before.

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- *Able land administrator:* He gave special attention to land revenue system, army and judicial system. He fixed the land revenue on the basis of proper measurement of land, its productivity, actual produce and local prices, and prepared detailed lists of the amount of the revenue to be paid. He gave an option to the cultivators to pay the revenue in cash or in kind. He started the practice of *Kabuliat* and *Patta* and gave priority to the *Rayatwari* system as compared to the *Zamindari* and *Jagirdari* practices prevalent at that time.
- *A great army administrator and organizer:* As a ruler, he devoted attention to the army administration and organization. He created a vast standing and efficient army, brought an end to the system of supplying a fixed number of soldiers to the centre by tribal leaders and began direct recruitment of soldiers. He started the practices of '*Huliya*' and '*Dag*'. He constructed cantonments among various parts of the empire, and placed a strong contingent army in each of these cantonments. His army consisted of 15000 infantry, 25000 cavalry armed with bows and arrows, 5000 elephants, and an arsenal.
- *A just ruler:* Sher Shah Suri loved justice. He paid special attention towards the judicial system. He used to say that 'dispensing justice was the highest religious duty which should be discharged equally by Kafirs and Muslim Kings'. Sher Shah gave justice to everyone. He had assumed the title of *Sultan-i-Adil* or a just ruler. Sher Shah Suri had established law courts at various places which were called *Dar-ul-Adalat*. He never pardoned any criminal whether he was a big chief, his own caste person or a near relative. For the establishment of law and order, *Qazis* were appointed at various places but like earlier time village level *Panchayats* and *Zamindars* also heard civil and criminal cases. In his time, criminal law was very strict and educative for others. He was very successful as a just ruler and appreciating his judicial system Nizamuddin has written that so much was the fear of Sher Shah and his justice that in his time even dacoits and thieves guarded the properties of the travellers.
- *Supporter of a tolerant religious policy:* In spite of being a strict Sunni Muslim, Sher Shah was not a fanatic. Though he did not end *Jaziya*, he gave high offices to the Hindus in large numbers. He considered religion to be a personal affair and never let politics and religion to get mixed up. Dr. Qanungo writes, 'Sher Shah's

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attitude towards the Hindus was not one of the hateful tolerance but that of respect.' He was the first Muslim emperor having a national outlook that established a secular state and looked to the welfare of all his subjects in an impartial manner. In his time religious tolerance like that of Akbar could not be established. Dr. Qanungo writes correctly that during Sher Shah's time, he had to struggle against religious and political orthodoxy as also against well-established traditions of communal Sultanate of the last 300 years. Therefore, he did not have the congenial atmosphere which was inherited by his successors.

- *Public welfare activities:* As a ruler, Sher Shah performed many acts of welfare for his subjects. He kept grain stores reserved for helping the people at the time of famines, and established charitable state 'langer' for feeding the persons destitute. He planted many trees to provide shade along roads, as well as constructed roads and schools. He issued pure and high quality coins and standard weights and measures. He adopted a liberal attitude. At the time of fixing land revenues he ordered military officials that they should not harm the standing crops while travelling. He opened government hospitals. Police and postal arrangements were made for the convenience of the public.

Cultural achievements (as patron of knowledge and art)

Sher Shah had many achievements in the cultural field, because he was a great patron of knowledge, literature and art. He made good arrangements for the education of his subjects. Financial grants were given to many Hindu schools. For his Muslim subjects he opened many *Makhtabs* of Arabic and Persian and also established *Madrassas* for higher education. To encourage the pursuit of knowledge, he made arrangements for scholarships and arranged for the maintenance of the poor students by the state. Sher Shah showed interest in the field of architecture as well. He constructed many mosques, forts, *sarais*, etc. Some scholars hold the opinion that he constructed the Purana Qila desecrating the Dinapanah city of Humayun. In it he constructed the Qila-i-Kuhana mosque which is counted amongst his famous buildings in north India. Persian influence is discernible in the small minarets around the entrance gate and its artisanship. The other parts of the building are constructed on an Indian pattern. The mosque in Bihar constructed in the midst of a lake in Sahasram is a clear example of the Indo-Muslim architecture so far as its grandeur, beauty and proportionate structure are concerned. The outer structure is of Muslim style but the inside of the structure is decorated by the *Toranas* and pillars of the Hindu style. Its dome, shining in blue sky, appears beautiful. There is a stunning harmony of blue, red and yellow colours. In every corner there is the pillared pavilion on the top of the second storey. The construction of a lotus on the top has added to its decoration. Sher Shah constructed a new city on the banks of river Jamuna as well. Sher Shah patronized the scholars as well. Some of the best works of Hindu literature like *Padmawat* of Malik Muhammad Jayasi were written during his time. Sher Shah was not a religious fanatic. His social and economic policies are evidence of this fact. In brief, Sher Shah Suri was the first great national ruler of medieval times. After him, his dynasty did not last even for ten years, but his sword and diplomacy had founded such an empire that its policies (especially currency system, land revenue system, judicial and military departments) continued for a very long time, extended and progressed. The masters of the empire changed (first the Mughals and then the British) but the institutions of Sher Shah continued. Erskine says rightly, 'No Government, not even the British, had showed that much of wisdom as was evidenced by this Afghan.'

1.3.1 Sher Shah Suri: Administration

Though Sher Shah was given only a small period of five years to rule, but within this short span of time he brought such important changes in the administrative system that he is considered as one of the best administrators. In fact, he managed his administration keeping before him a model ideal. Without any religious discrimination he gave an opportunity to all his subjects to lead a comfortable life. According to him, the major aim of the state was public welfare. He tried to make the frontiers of the country so strong and powerful that Humayun or any other power should not be able to bring about any instability in the country. He brought about many reforms and gave safety to the people against anti-social elements.

Accepting his administrative efficiency, English historian Keive wrote that none of the rulers, not even the English Government evinced so much wisdom as this Pathan Chief. The main features of his administrative system can be studied under the following heads:

Central administration

Though Sher Shah tried to follow the Afghan tradition for running the Central administration, yet he tried to bring the office of the Sultan nearer to the Turkish ideal rather than the Afghan. To some extent, he continued the central administration present from the time of the Delhi Sultanate and established a despotic rule similar to that of Balban or Allauddin, but not before getting it endorsed by a committee of the Afghan chiefs. Thus, his despotism had a democratic base.

Probably, looking at the outer structure of his administration, Dr Qanungo remarked that Sher Shah Suri did not establish any new administrative system, but gave a new shape to the existing institutions. All the power of the state was centred in his hands. He was the highest official in the fields of administration, army, judiciary and law. There were four main ministers in his Central Government, viz., *Diwan-i-Wizarat* (Kept control over the income and expenditure of the state), *Diwan-i-Ariz* (looked after military responsibilities), *Diwan-i-Rasalat* (looked after foreign affairs), and *Diwan-i-Qaza* (head of judicial department). Sher Shah himself was so hard working and able that besides deterring the general policy of all the departments, he also supervised over their everyday activities. During his reign he did not let any person or *Amir* emerge as an important figure. This might have been due to the fact that because of the importance given to any one individual, other *Amirs* would grow jealous of him and their dissatisfaction would lead them to organize revolts etc. against the ruler. Removing corruption, he offered a clean administration to the people.

Provincial administration

The outline of the provincial administration under Sher Shah is somewhat dim. According to Dr Qanungo, 'There were no provinces during Sher Shah's time and the empire was divided in Sarkars.' As against this, Dr P. Saran holds that there were twelve provinces in Sher Shah's empire each ruled by the military governor. According to some historians, provinces did exist before Akbar's time, but their shape and administrative system was not uniform. Even during Sher Shah's time there were many provinces or *Subas* which were called *Iqtas*. Modern historians hold that during Sher Shah's time there was a definite provincial organization. According to them, Sher Shah brought about two new experiments in the provincial administration, but they were not so successful as to be

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implemented in other provinces. His first experiment was in Bengal in AD 1541. When Khizr Khan after becoming its governor started behaving like a Sultan, Sher Shah got him imprisoned and after subdividing Bengal into many parts, appointed separate officials for each. An official was appointed so as to maintain peace and order in the province. Because they were appointed by the centre and their sphere of work was different, the possibility of any revolt was minimized.

Probably this system was implemented in Malwa, Punjab, Rajputana, etc. His other experiment was the appointment of deputy governors. He appointed two sub-deputy governors under Haibat Khan of Punjab. During his time, this scheme was probably implemented in Multan, Baluchistan, Sirhind, etc. During his time, the provincial governor was probably called *Hakim* or *Faujdar* or *Amin*. However, their rights were not the same. The governor of Punjab, Haibat Khan was probably the most powerful. He had 30,000 soldiers under him, whereas less powerful governors had just about 5000 soldiers under them. Sher Shah kept a strict control over the provincial governors and from time to time supervised their military and administrative activities.

Administration of a *Sirkar*

Sher Shah Suri organized the local administration at the district, *paragana* and village level. The highest unit of the local administration was the district or the *sirkar*. According to Dr Ishwari Prasad, 'Sher Shah had sub-divided his empire into forty-seven parts, each comprising of many *paraganas*. This part or unit was called a *sirkar*.' Each *sirkar* had two major officials – *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* or Chief Shiqdar and *Munsif-i-Monsifan* or Chief *Munsif*, responsible respectively for the maintenance of peace and order in the *sirkar* and supervising the officials of the *paraganas* and dispensing mobile justice. Sher Shah brought about some important changes in the administration of the *sirkar*. First, he established a satisfactory judicial system. Second, he ordered the officials to always look for the convenience of the people. Third, he made the Chief Shikdar and the Chief *Munsif* respectively the highest, but separate officials in the fields of army and finance. This minimized the possibility of revolt. Fourth, he kept with himself the right of appointing and dismissing the officials of the *sirkar* which strengthened the control of the centre over these units.

Administration of *Paragana*

Each *sirkar* or district was subdivided into many *paraganas*. Here, Shiqdar and *Munsif* were responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and the collection of revenues respectively. Besides these, there was one treasurer and two *Karkuns* or *Munsims*—one to keep the land records in Hindi and the other in Persian. The treasurer or *Fotdar* kept the cash of the *paragana*. The *Munsif* was responsible for the collection of the revenue of the whole *paragana* and also its land measurement.

Village administration

The smallest unit of the empire was the village. In every village there was a *Mukhiya* or *Muqaddam*. The chief of village collected the revenue from the farmers and sent it to the treasurer of the *paragana*. *Muqadam* was responsible for maintaining peace and order in the village along with collecting the revenue. He arranged for night watchmen. If a theft was committed in his area, he had either to catch hold of the thief or suffer the punishment himself. According to the contemporary historian Abbas, 'Because of this arrangements, the events of theft or *dacoity* in the empire were totally nullified and

even if an old women travelled from one end of the empire to the other tossing gold, nobody dared to interfere with her.’

During Sher Shah’s time, priority was given to the maintenance of peace and order throughout the empire. He dealt very strictly with thieves, dacoits and with those landlords who refused either to pay the revenue or refuse to obey the government’s instructions.

Revenue administration

During Sher Shah’s time, there were seven main sources of state income—land revenue, *kham*s, custom, *Jaziya*, *nazrana*, royal currency and sales tax. In his time, one-third of the produce was taken as the land revenue. The peasants paid in cash or in kind though the state preferred the cash payment. He effected many reforms in the sphere of land revenue administration. He evolved a system of land revenue rates called *Rai*, wherein there were separate rates of land revenue, different parts of the empire for different kind of produce. For the payment in cash, a list was prepared according to the prices, prevalent in the area. Besides the land revenue administration, he also imposed duties on the import and export of raw materials and finished products. A ruler like Sher Shah also did not abolish a tax like *Jazia*. This tax was levied on the non-Muslims and was an important source of governmental income. *Nazrana* or gifts were obtained almost from all tributary rulers, *Zamindars*, government officials, etc. Royal mint was also a good source of the royal income. Salt tax also yielded considerable income to the state. Sometimes, unclaimed property was also an important source of income for the government.

Land revenue administration

Sher Shah paid great attention towards land revenue system and land administration. Sher Shah was well acquainted with every level of land revenue system having managed for many years the *Jagir* of Sahasram of his father Hassan and then having worked as a guardian of Jalal Khan, the ruler of Bihar. After becoming the emperor, he set the whole land revenue system right with the help of a few able administrators. A glance at the different aspects of his administration shows clearly that he managed the land revenue system with greatest ability and interest. Praising his land revenue administration Dr Ishwari Prasad writes, ‘He tried to fix the land revenue in accordance with the income of the people.’

Military system

Sher Shah kept a strong army for defense of his vast empire. He knew very well the importance of the local army. According to the contemporary writer Abbas Sherwani, ‘There were about 150000 infantry, 25000 cavalry, 5000 elephants and artillery in his army.’ Sher Shah put an end to the practice of supplying a fixed number of soldiers to the state by the chieftains and started direct recruitment of the soldiers and fixed their pay according to their ability. The salary was paid in cash. Promotion was given to soldiers and officials on the basis of their ability and working capacity. The descriptive role of each soldier was recorded. His horse was also branded, so that it could not be replaced by a horse of inferior quality. Probably, these practices were adopted by Sher Shah following the example of Allauddin Khilji, who had first adopted these practices as part of his military reforms. He constructed many cantonments in different parts of his empire and kept a strong army contingent in each of them. In addition to a big artillery, Sher

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Shah made arrangements for supplying good quality guns to his soldiers. He maintained a strict discipline in his army. He constructed a new fort near Peshawar.

Judicial system

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Sher Shah laid great emphasis on the dispensation of justice. He used to say, 'Doing justice is the greatest religious work which should be adopted alike by the state of *Kafirs* or *Momins*.' He never pardoned any criminal whether he was his near relative, big chief or any powerful person. He established law courts in the whole of his empire. At the centre the Emperor himself was the highest judge and next to him was the *Qazi-ul-Qazt*, who was the highest official of the judicial department. Besides big cities, provinces and their capitals *Qazis* dispensed justice. In the village, the work of the dispensation of justice was undertaken by the *Muqaddam* or *Mukhiya*. The civil cases were heard by the *Munsif*, *Amirs* and *Munsifi-Munsifan* (Amin and Chief Aman). In fact, during Sher Shah's time, not many changes were effected in the judicial system, but he inspired all the officials to dispense justice impartially and fearlessly and did so himself as well.

Police arrangements

Sher Shah Suri made separate police arrangements. Before him, this function was also discharged by the army. Because of the police arrangements, it became easier to trace the criminals. In the *sarkars* the Chief *Shiqdar*, in the *paragana* the *Shiqdar* and in the villages *Muqaddams* used to perform police duties and hand over the criminals to the law courts. Abbas Sherwani wrote, 'During the time of Sher Shah, travellers were free from the botheration of keeping a check over their belongings. Even in the desert region they had no fear. They could camp freely in a locality or in the deserted regions. They could leave their belongings in the open place also. Cattle could be left to graze freely and the owners slept carefree as if they were in their home.'

Espionage system

Sher Shah had spread a net of trusted and expert spies who kept on giving him information about the activities of the whole empire. Therefore, nobody dared to revolt against the emperor or shirk his duty. The daily report of the prices of commodities in the market used to reach the emperor. Messengers and spies were appointed in all the major cities and they had the orders to send any urgent message to the emperor at once.

Currency

Sher Shah brought about many reforms in the currency system and got pure gold, silver and copper coins minted in the place of debased and mixed metal coins. His silver rupee was so authentic that even after centuries it continued to be used as a standard currency. Historian V.A. Smith wrote correctly, 'This rupee was the basis of the British currency system.' On the coins, the name of the emperor was inscribed in Devnagari as well as Persian scripts. The coins of Sher Shah were pure, beautiful and standard. He also issued small copper coins so that people may not have any difficulty in everyday transactions.

Public welfare activities of Sher Shah

For the benefit of the peasants, Sher Shah Suri carried on many land reforms such as getting the land measured and fixing of the prices, keeping in view the cultivate of land, its productivity, the crops grown and the local prices prevalent. The cultivators were

given the option of paying the revenue in cash or in kind. He encouraged the *Ryotwari* system in place of the *Zamindari* system. For the benefit of trading community, he affected currency reforms. He showed special interest in the construction of roads, *sarais*, public kitchens, etc. He issued standard weights and ordered the officials to behave courteously with the traders. He is said to have constructed about 1700 *sarais* some of which still exist. Apart from constructing good roads for the travellers, he also planted many shade trees on both sides of the roads. He gave patronage to the artists and litterateurs. For the welfare of the poorest of the capital, he made arrangements for charitable *langar*. It is said that about 500 *Tolas* of gold was spent everyday on this *langar*.

In essence, Sher Shah was the first great and able ruler of the later Medieval India. V. A. Smith has justly written, 'If Sher Shah remained alive for some more time and if his successors had been as able as he was, the Mughals might not have reappeared on the stage of India.'

1.4 AKBAR

On 19 February 1556, Akbar was declared the Emperor at Kalanaur when he had just turned thirteen. At that time, he was virtually a ruler without a kingdom. Vincent Smith wrote aptly that before Akbar could claim to be an emperor in reality rather than just in name, he had to prove himself more capable than his other rivals for the throne, and at least had to recapture the lost kingdom of his father.

Initial difficulties

At the time of his accession, Akbar was confronted with the following difficulties:

- **A small kingdom:** In fact, Akbar was in possession of only a small part of the Punjab. Though in theory Kabul, Kandhar and Badakshan were also the parts of the Mughal Empire, he had no hope of any help from there because Kabul was under his stepbrother, Mirza Hakim. He immediately declared himself independent. The Governor was in Bairam Khan's *jagir*, but was in danger of the Iranian invasion. The Governor of Badakshan, Mirza Suleman had become independent and he wanted to establish his control over Akbar as well as the ruler of Kabul, Mirza Hakim.
- **Akbar a minor:** Akbar was very young and he had to follow the instructions and work under the guidance of Bairam Khan till he attained maturity.
- **Sikandar Suri:** Though the ruler of Punjab had been defeated, his power had not as yet been crushed completely and he could become a danger for Akbar at any time. Adil Shah was in control of the region from Bihar to Chunar and his able minister Hemu was making preparations for war against the Mughals.
- **Ibrahim Suri:** Ibrahim Suri was occupying the Doab and Sambhal and he considered himself to be a claimant for the throne of Delhi.
- **Other Afghan chiefs:** Malwa, Gujarat, etc., were still in the hands of Afghan chiefs. They could at any time become a problem for Akbar.
- **Rajputs:** The Rajput chiefs of Marwar, Mewar, Jaisalmer, Ranthambhore, and Ajmer were continuously organizing their strength.

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Check Your Progress

3. When was Sher Shah Suri born?
4. What was the major aim of the state, according to Sher Shah Suri?

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- **Abdul Muwali:** The famous Mughal Amir, Abdul Muwali had revolted and he did not attend the coronation ceremony of Akbar. Though Bairam Khan had captured and imprisoned him in the fort of Lahore, he posed a threat for the Mughals at any time.
- **Tardi Beg:** He tried to fix the land revenue in accordance with Tardi Beg, the governor of Delhi who had also turned a rebel and Hemu, the minister of Adil.
- **The kingdoms of Kashmir, Sind, Multan and Himalayan region:** All these kingdoms were independent and Akbar planned to bring them under the Mughal Empire.
- **Bad financial condition:** The Mughal treasury was empty. A terrible famine was raging in Delhi and Agra. To arrange financial resources was a problem confronting Akbar. In the Deccan there were, besides the Vijayanagar Empire, five Shia states viz., Khandesh, Bidar, Berar, Ahmednagar and Golkunda. The country could be united politically only after bringing them under the Mughal fold.
- **Anarchy and confusion:** Everywhere in the country there was indiscipline, disorder and anarchy. One of the problems before Akbar was to end them and give to the people a capable administration, peace and order.

Solving the Problems

Akbar gradually overcame all these difficulties in this conquest, where on the one hand, he was aided by his own good fortune and on the other hand, credit should go to the loyalty and ability of Bairam Khan. He called a conference of the Mughals in Sirhind and gave a death punishment to the governor of Delhi, Tardi Beg who had not been able to defend Delhi against Hemu. Bairam Khan defeated Hemu in the Second Battle of Panipat and seated Akbar on the throne. But, four years of power turned Bairam Khan into a vain person. In AD 1560, Akbar very deftly defeated him after he indulged in rebellion, but pardoned him keeping in view his past services. At a place called Patan, Bairam Khan was murdered by some rebel Afghans. Because of the treacherous activities of Akbar's foster mother and Adham Khan, Akbar was forced to give death punishment to Adham Khan in AD 1561 and his mother Maham Anga died of the shock and grief. In AD 1565, the rebellious Uzbek chiefs Sardar Khan, Abdulla Khan and Zaman Khan were also punished. In fact, Zaman Khan died fighting and his brother Bahadur was accorded death punishment. Abdulla Khan died (after some time, Akbar got all the supporters of his step brother, Hakim Mirza of Kabul, murdered and forced him to flee from Kabul). With the help of Bairam Khan, Akbar conquered (besides Agra and Delhi), the regions of Jaunpur, Ranthambhore and Malwa. After the acceptance of the sovereignty of the Mughals by Bihari Mal, the ruler of Ajmer and marrying his daughter, Akbar extended the sphere of his power till Ajmer. After that, he had to wage wars against Garkatanga (Gondwana), Gujarat, Bengal, Chittor, Kalinjar, etc. After Bengal, Kabul and Kandhar were brought under occupation. Khandesh accepted his suzerainty. After a prolonged struggle, Ahmednagar was conquered in AD 1600 and after the revolt of the new governor of Khandesh, Miran Bahadur Shah of Asirgarh was conquered militarily on 6 January, 1601. Briefly then, it can be said that Akbar had to struggle to overcome the various problems which confronted him.

The Second Battle of Panipat

The Second Battle of Panipat was a battle between Hemu and Akbar in which Akbar won to re-establish the Mughal Empire. The Second Battle of Panipat occurred in

November 1556. Emperor Akbar, who was crowned in the same year after his father's death defeated Muhammad Adil Shah Suri of Pashtun Suri Dynasty and his Prime Minister Hemu (Hemchandra). This defeat of Adil Shah and Hemu initiated Akbar's reign.

Humayun, the second Mughal Emperor died suddenly on 24 January 1556, as he slipped from the steps of his library. That time his son Akbar was only thirteen years old. Akbar was busy in a campaign in Punjab with the Chief Minister Bairam Khan at the time of his father's death. That time Mughal reign was confined to Kabul, Kandahar and parts of Punjab and Delhi. Akbar was enthroned as the emperor on 14 February 1556 in a garden at Kalanaur in Punjab. Hemu or Hemchandra was the military chief of Afghan Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. Adil Shah was the ruler of Chunar and was seeking an opportunity to expel the Mughals from India. They got the advantage of Humayun's death. Hemu occupied Agra and Delhi without much difficulty in October and became the ruler under the title 'Raja Vikramaditya'. It was a short-lived victory for Adil Shah and Hemu.

Bairam Khan, the Chief Minister and the guardian of Akbar proceeded towards Delhi with a large army. On 5 November, both the armies met at Panipat. Hemu had a large army including 1500 war elephants. He got the initial success, but unfortunately a stray arrow struck his eye and he became unconscious. His troops thought that they have lost their leader and panic spread among them and they retreated. The Mughals won the battle. Shah Quli Khan captured the Hawai elephant of Hemu and presented it directly to Akbar. Hemu was brought in unconscious condition to Akbar and Bairam Khan. Akbar then severed the head of unconscious Hemu and took his cavalry sword.

Some historians claim that Akbar did not kill Hemu by himself; he just touched his head with his sword and his followers killed Hemu. Hemu's cut off head was sent to Kabul to the ladies of Humayun's harem in order to celebrate the victory. Hemu's torso was sent to Delhi for a display on a gibbet. Iskandar Khan from Akbar's side chased Hemu's army and captured as many as 1500 elephants and a large portion of the army. Hemu's wife escaped from Delhi with the treasure she could have with her. Pir Mohammad Khan chased her caravan with troops, but his effort was not successful. The Second Battle of Panipat changed the course of Indian history as it initiated the re-establishment of Mughal Dynasty in India.

Character and Personality of Akbar

Akbar was the greatest among the Mughal emperors who ascended the throne at a very early age, after the death of his father Humayun. During his reign, the Mughal Empire was at its peak. Akbar, who took charge of an empire that was besieged with many problems, both internal as well as external at a young age, made the Mughal Empire not only the strongest state in India, but also one of the best administered state of his times. He also implemented innovative policies which proved liberal, farsighted and successful which added a new chapter in Indian medieval history and established the Mughal Empire firmly in India. Therefore, he has been justly described as 'the Great' among the Mughal emperors of India.

1.4.1 Mansabdari System

The *Mansabdari* system during the Mughal administration is discussed under the following heads.

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Akbar and the *Mansabdari* System

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Akbar could not have been able to expand his empire and maintain his hold over it without a strong army. For this purpose, it was necessary for him to organize the nobility as well as his army. To realize both these objectives, Akbar organized his army on the basis of the *Mansabdari* system in place of the *Jagirdari* system. He saw that the *Jagirdars* did not keep the horses or the horsemen or the soldiers in the required number and the prescribed breed of horses.

On the contrary, they spent the government money on their own pleasure making. *Mansab* is a Persian word. It means an office or a status or an *Ohada*. The person whom the Emperor gave a *mansab* was known as the *Mansabdar*. Akbar gave some *mansab* or the *ohada* (status) to each of his military and civil official. The lowest rank was ten, and the highest was 5000 for the nobles; towards the end of the reign, it was raised to 7000.

According to Badayuni, we can say that towards the end of his reign, Akbar increased the highest rank to 12,000. Princes of the blood received higher *mansab*. During the period of Akbar, Raja Man Singh, Mirza Aziz Koka and one or two other top ranking officials were promoted to the rank of 7000. Thereafter, the *mansab* of 8000 and above were meant for the royal family.

Meaning of *Zat* and *Sawar*

The ranks of *Mansabdars* were divided into two groups – *Zat* and *Sawar*. The word *Zat* means personal. It fixed the personal status of a person, and also the salary due to him. The *Sawar* rank indicated the number of cavalrymen (*sawars*) a person was required to maintain.

Regarding the actual horsemen maintained by the *Mansabdar*, there was no definite view. This matter had been further complicated by the *Zat* and *Sawar* distinction introduced by Akbar in AD 1603-1604 on which the historians hold divergent views. According to Blachmann, *Zat* indicated the number of troops which a *Mansabdar* was expected to maintain, while the *Sawar* meant the actual number of horsemen that he maintained. On the other hand, Irvin holds that the *Zat* indicated the actual number of a cavalry, while the *Sawar* was an honour, and represented like the *Zat*, the actual number indicated by it. This view does not hold much water. Dr R.P. Tripathi holds still another view. He says that *Sawar* was simply an additional honour and it entitled the *Mansabdars* to some extra allowance. For the *Sawar* rank, he was not required to maintain any additional troops at all. C.S.K. Rao says that the *Zat* rank indicated infantry while *Sawar* indicated cavalry to be maintained by the *Mansabdar*. However, Abdul Aziz says that it is impossible that the Mughals could have such a large number of infantry. He is of the opinion that *zat* rank imposed an obligation to maintain a fixed number of elephants, horses, beasts of burden and carts but no horse men of cavalry, whereas *Sawar* represented the actual number of cavalry under a *mansabdar*. Both Abdul Aziz and Prof. S.R. Sharma hold that the *sawar* distinction determined whether a particular *Mansabdar* of the *Zat* rank belonged to the first or the second or the third class in that particular *mansab*.

A person who was required to maintain as many *sawars* as his *zat* rank was placed in the first category of that rank; if he maintained half or more, then in the second category, and if he maintained less than half, then in the third category. Thus, a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ for every *sawar* was added to the *zat* salary. No one could have a higher quota of

sawars than his *zat* rank. Although modifications were made from time to time, this remained the basic structure as long as the Empire was held together.

Main Characteristics of the *Mansabdari* System

The following are main characteristics of *Mansabdari* System:

Mansab was granted to the military as well as the civil officials

Mansab was granted not only to the military officials, but also to all Mughal officers in the revenue and judicial services. Even the scholars of the court were the holders of *mansab*. It is, therefore, that Irvin says, *mansabdari* meant nothing 'beyond the fact that the holder of *mansab* was the employee of the state'. R.P. Khosla in a way reiterates the same when he remarks, 'In the Mughal state the army, the peerage and the civil administration were all rolled into one'.

Categories or grades of *Mansabdars*

In AD 1573-1574, the *mansabdars* were classified into thirty-three grades ranking from commanders of ten to those of 12,000. Those who held command of ten to 400 were called *mansabdars*. Higher up, those who held the command of 500–2500 were styled as *amirs*, while the holders of 3000 and upward were known as *Amir-i-Azam* or *Umra*. The highest graded commanders from 8000–12,000 were reserved for the princes of the royal blood. A common official could not hold a *mansab* beyond 7000.

Appointment of the *Mansabdars*

The emperor used to appoint the *mansabdars* personally and they could retain the *mansab* so long as he desired.

Pay and allowances of the *Mansabdars*

The *mansabdars* during the Mughal period were very highly paid. They were generally given salary in cash. Sometimes, the revenue of a particular *jagir* was assigned to them as salary.

They had to manage their own horsemen and the expenditures of horses from their own salary. They were necessary for the transport of the army. Prof. Satish Chandra says regarding the pay of the Mughal *mansabdars*, 'The Mughal *Mansabdars* were paid very handsomely; in fact, their salaries were probably the highest in the world, at that time'. A *mansabdar* of 5000 got from ` 28,000 – ` 30,000, out of which he would spend ` 16,000 to maintain the soldiers and the other obligations. A *mansabdar* of 1000 got nearly ` 8000 of which ` 3000 were spent to meet his obligations. Moreover, there was no income tax in those days. The purchasing power of the rupee in those days has been calculated to be sixty times of what it was in 1966. Even though the nobles had to spend roughly half of their personal salary in the keep up of the animals for transport and in the administration of their *jagirs*, they could lead lives of ostentation and luxury.

Duty of the *mansabdars*

Mansabdars could be sent to the battlefield on military campaigns as the military commanders or under some commander, who himself was a *mansabdar*. They could be called upon to quell a revolt, conquer new area or perform non-military and administrative duties. Sometimes, they were allowed to recruit their own troops and to purchase their equipment.

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Restrictions on *mansabdars*

Great care was taken to ensure that the *sawars* recruited by the *mansabdars* were experienced and well mounted. Akbar started the practice of keeping a record of the description (*huliya*) of each horseman under a *mansabdar* and of branding their horses (*dag*) to prevent the *mansabdars* from going as they pleased. Each horse bore two marks—the government mark on the right thigh and the *mansabdar*'s mark on the left thigh. Every *mansabdar* had to bring his contingent for a periodic inspection before persons appointed by the emperor for the purpose. The horses were carefully inspected and only good quality horses of Arabic and Iraqi breeds were employed. For every ten cavalymen, the *mansabdar* had to maintain twenty horses. This was so because the horses had to be rested while on march, and replacements were necessarily in the times of war.

Pure and mixed troops of *mansabdars*

Generally, a provision was made that the contingents of the nobles should be mixed ones, and drawn from all the groups—Mughal, Pathan, Hindustani, Muslims, Rajputs, etc. Thus, Akbar tried to weaken the forces of tribalism and parochialism. The Mughal and Rajput nobles were allowed to have contingents exclusively of the Mughals or the Rajputs, but in course of time, mixed contingents became the general rule.

Recruitment, promotion and dismissal

During the Mughal period, the recruitment, promotions and dismissals of *mansabdars* were in the hands of the emperor. A person desirous of joining the Mughal service may contact the emperor through a *mansabdar* or through *mir bakshi* to the emperor. It was up to the mood and satisfaction of the emperor to accept the recommendation of *mir bakshi* to assign a *mansab* to the concerned person. If he was granted a *mansab*, his whole record, known as '*hakikat*' was prepared. Promotions of the *mansabdars* were also in the hands of the emperor and were made generally on such occasions as (i) before and after an expedition, (ii) at the time of vacancy and (iii) on some auspicious occasions or festivals. A *mansabdar* could be dismissed at any time by the emperor if the latter felt that the former was disloyal or dishonest to him or had lost his utility for the empire.

***Mansabdari* System during the Reign of Akbar's Successors**

- (i) **Difference in the highest *mansab*:** In Akbar's time, the smallest *mansab* was of ten *sawars* and the highest of 10,000 even though, initially, *mansabs* higher than 5000 were given only to princes. Later on, Akbar increased the *mansab* of the princes to 12,000. He gave a *mansab* of 7000 only to three of his very famous *amirs*, namely Mirza Shah Rukh, Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh. After Akbar's death, for ordinary *mansabdars*, the highest *mansab* remained that of 7000, but *mansab* of the princes was raised to 40,000 during Jahangir's time and 60,000 during Shah Jahan's time. Shah Jahan gave to his father-in-law a *mansab* of 9000 and Jahangir gave to Asaf Khan a *mansab* of 9000.
- (ii) **Rise of a new class of *sawars*:** The end of Jahangir's reign saw the rise of a new class of *sawars*. It was known as *do aspa sih aspa*, i.e., two-three horses. The *mansabdars* were to maintain additional horsemen and draw special allowance.

- (iii) **Reduction in the number of soldiers:** Shah Jahan reduced the number of soldiers kept by the *mansabdars* to one-third the original number. According to some historians, sometimes this number was even reduced to one-fourth or one-fifth of the original number. In other words, during the reign of Shah Jahan, a *mansabdar* of 6000 kept only 2000 soldiers. If any *mansabdar* was given the additional rank of *do aspa sih aspa*, he could keep 2000 soldiers.
- (iv) **Difference in the categories of *Mansabdars*:** Adul Fazal in his book *Akbarnamah* had mentioned thirty-three categories of *mansabdars* during the period of Akbar. During the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, this was reduced to eleven, and during Aurangzeb's time, their number was reduced to three.
- (vi) **Relaxation in rules:** After the death of Akbar, the Mughal Emperors started relaxing the rules of muster and descriptive roles, and also became less watchful on their activities, which resulted in degeneration and an inefficiently in administration.

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Merits of the *Mansabdari* System

- **End of the main defects of the *Jagirdari* system:** The *mansabdari* system brought to an end many of the defects of the *Jagirdari* system. The *mansabdars* had to come to the emperor every month for their pay. The emperor could maintain direct contact with the *mansabdars* every month.
- **Increased military efficiency:** The *mansabdari* system was an improvement over the military establishment of the medieval period. It was a sort of a compromise between the tribal chieftainship and the feudal system of giving troops. It combined the advantages of both the systems. Moreover, it was designed to tap every source of fighting strength in the country. Various units were particularly suited to certain special kinds of military duties. For example, certain Rajput *mansabdars* were diplomatically used against certain Rajput chiefs with whom they were at feud.
- **No more loss to royal treasury:** Under the *jagirdari* system, the *jagirdars* were assigned *jagirs* that covered huge areas of land, which resulted in a great loss to the royal treasury. In the *mansabdari* system, all the land became the state land. All the *mansabdars* were paid in cash on a fixed salary basis. This prevented extra revenues from going to the *jagirdars*, and the state treasury, thus, was enriched.
- **End of corruption:** According to some historians, the *mansabdari* system raised the moral standard of the military officials because after the death of a *mansabdar*, all his property used to be confiscated, and therefore, they did not indulge in dishonesty or show greed for hoarding more and more money.
- **Merit as the basis of selection:** All the ranks in this system were given keeping in view the ability of the officers. Moreover, incompetent officers were promptly removed from their positions. The son of a *mansabdar* did not inherit the *mansab* after the death of his father. With the appointment of efficient and able officials on different posts, all parts of the administrative machinery functioned smoothly.
- **Caste feeling and discrimination weakened:** People from different castes and religions formed the military group of *mansabdars*. This helped to weaken the feeling of caste and discrimination between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Thus, this system helped to create an atmosphere of emotional integration in the country.

Demerits of *Mansabdari* System

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- (i) Very expensive system: The fat salaries paid to the *mansabdars* made the whole army system of the Mughals very expensive, and later on, in Aurangzeb's time, this proved to be one of the factors which brought the downfall of the Mughal Empire.
- (ii) Within a *mansabdar's* division, there was no classification of the troops into regiments. All the troops were immediately under him and every soldier had personal relations with him. Nor was the numerical strength of each army regulated or fixed in a *mansabdar's* contingent.
- (iii) Each system was a great defect of the whole system. Hawkins, Bernier and Peter Mondy have referred to this in their accounts. Whenever a particular *mansabdar* died, his property was confiscated by the state. This made the nobles and the *mansabdars* lead a luxurious life, for they thought and very rightly too, that their savings could not be inherited by their children. Therefore, they spent whatever they possessed. This led to many corrupt practices in their private life. This generation of the nobility later on proved to be a potent cause of the downfall of the Mughal Empire.
- (iv) Corruption in some form or the other was unavoidable in a system which left the duties of the recruitment and the administration of the army to the *mansabdars*, i.e., the commanding officers themselves.
- (v) Moral degradation – Dishonest officials and dishonest *mansabdars* used to tally together, and during inspection, used to borrow horses from the other *mansabdars* and used to maintain their full quota only on paper.
- (vi) The *mansabdars* drew the money from the king and paid the troops their salaries with the result that the troops were more loyal to the *mansabdars* than to the king.

1.4.2 Din-i-Ilahi

Contacts with the leaders of various religions, reading of their learned works, meeting with the Sufi saints and yogis gradually convinced Akbar that while there were differences of sect and creed, all religions had a number of good points which were obscured in the heat of controversy. He felt that if the good points of various religions were emphasized, an atmosphere of harmony and amenity would prevail which would be for the good of country.

Further, he felt that behind all the multiplicity of names and forms, there was but one God. As Badauni observed, as a result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty,

‘There grew gradually as the outline of stone, the conviction in his heart that there were some sensible men in all religions. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion.’ Hence, he brought a solution of the problem, i.e., of having a religion that has the excellent points of the existing creeds and the defects of none. So, he consulted the foremost leaders of the various religious communities and unfolded to them his scheme of having a religion which should

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be the combination of the merits of all the faiths and the defects of none. He said, 'We ought, therefore to bring them all into one but in such fashion that there should be both one, and all, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people and security to the empire.' So, having put together the general principles of all religions, he established a synthesis of various creeds and called them *Din-i-Ilahi*.

Main Principles of *Din-i-Ilahi*

Mohsin Fani, the author of *Debistani-i-Mazahib*, described some of the leading principles of *Din-i-Ilahi*:

- (i) Liberality and beneficence
- (ii) Abstinence from the worldly desires
- (iii) Forgiveness to the evil doer
- (iv) Soft voice, gentle words, pleasure speeches for everybody
- (v) Good treatment to all those who come in contact
- (vi) Dedication of the soul in the love of God

The whole philosophy of Akbar was 'the pure weapon (shastra) and the pure sight never err.' He found that the narrow minded religiously zealous was a menace to the society. Accordingly, he made an attempt to bring about a synthesis of all the important religions and styled it *Din-i-Ilahi* or *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* (Divine Monotheism). It was a socio-religious order—a brotherhood designed to cement diverse communities in the land. The followers of this religion believed in the following principles:

- (i) God is one and Akbar is his Caliph or representative. In this way its basis was the Unity of God, the cornerstone of Islam.
- (ii) The followers of this religion used to greet each other by one saying 'Alla-ho-Akbar' and the other replaying 'Jall-a-Jolalohu' when they met.
- (iii) As far as possible, the followers of his religion abstained from meat eating.
- (iv) The followers used to worship Sun God and considered the fire sacred.
- (v) The followers of this religion were opposed to child marriage and marriage of old women.
- (vi) The neophyte in the religion used to bow before the Emperor on Sunday and the Emperor used to instruct him and the neophyte used to repeat the instruction again and again.
- (vii) Every member used to host a party on his birthday and used to give charity.
- (viii) Apart from their own instructions the followers were not to honour any other ritual, place of worship or sacred book.
- (ix) Every follower vowed to keep his character high and do good to others.
- (x) The followers of this religion used to respect all religions equally.

Propagation of *Din-i-Ilahi*

Although there were a number of adherents of the so-called Divine Faith, it did not live for long after Akbar. Blochman has collected from Abul Fazlal and Badayuni the names of eighteen prominent members, Raja Birbal being the only Hindu in the list. The herd of

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the unnamed and the unrecorded followers probably never numbered. In order to complete the subject, it may be noted that in September, 1595, Sadr Jahan, the Mufti of the empire, with his two sons, took the Shasi joined the Faith, and was rewarded with a command of 1,000.' At the same time sundry other persons conformed and received commands' ranging from 100 - 500. Father Pinheiro, writing from Lahore on 3 September, AD 1595, mentions that in that city the royal sect had many adherents, but all for the sake of the money paid to them. No later contemporary account of the *Din-i-Ilahi* has been found.

Din-i-Ilahi perished with Akbar's death though Jahangir continued to make disciples after Akbar's fashion. Both Smith and Woolsey Haig have condemned Akbar for promulgating what they have termed a religion of his own. The Divine Faith' says Dr Smith, was a monument of Akbar's folly and not of his wisdom. Elsewhere, he calls it 'a silly invention'.

Following Badayuni, a bigoted and over-strict Muslim, with whom the omission of a single ceremony of Islam amounted to apostasy, and adopting the same line of argument as he, they have inevitably come to the same conclusion. As a profound student of India, as well as Islamic history, Akbar made a direct appeal to the innermost sentiments of his subjects by giving his Sangha a religious character. Neither the aim of the order nor the object of its author can be duly appreciated unless it is regarded as an instrument with which the master-mind endeavored to consolidate the Mughal Empire by eradicating from the minds of the ruled their sense of subordination to the Muslim rulers. The chief motive underlying the promulgation of the Divine Faith was the unification of India. Lanepool justly observes, 'But broad minded sympathy which inspired such a vision of catholicity left a lasting impression upon a land of warring, creeds and tribes and for a brief while created a nation where before there had been only factions.

According to a renowned historian S.M. Zaffar, 'The Divine Faith had far-reaching consequences. It completely changed the character of the Muslim rule in India. The Mughal Emperor was no longer regarded as a foreigner, trampling upon the lives and liberties of the sons of the soil and depriving them of their birth-rights. The members of the different Faith had bound themselves by an oath to stand by the emperor in weal and wore to sacrifice the religion, honour, wealth, life, liberty and all for him'. Prof. R.S. Sharma also supports the same view. According to him, Akbar's aim in propagating this Doctrine was political not religious but Dr Satish Chandra does not accept the view, he gives certain logic. First, the number of people embracing this religion was very small and even amongst them many were Akbar's personal friends. Second, when Akbar propagated this religion (AD 1582) then he had already consolidated his empire. In our view, Akbar was a true national leader. He started *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* only with the purpose to bring about harmony and peace amongst the various sects. He was the most liberal exponent of the principles of universal toleration. To his open mind there was truth in all faiths, so he did not permit anybody to be persecuted on the score of his religion. *Solh-i-Kull* (peace with all) was the principle he acted upon. The Hindus, the Christians, the Jains, and the followers of other religions enjoyed full liberty, both of conscience and public worship. Even when he promulgated the new religion of *Din-i-Ilahi* he never sought converts either by force or coercion. By starting *Din-i-Ilahi*, he promoted the feeling of cultural unity and humanism to an extent.

Check Your Progress

5. When did the Second Battle of Panipat occur?
6. List some of the merits of *Mansabdari* system.
7. What are the main principles of *Din-i-Ilahi*?

1.5 EARLY CAREER AND ACCESSION OF SHAH JAHAN

Shah Jahan ruled the Mughal Empire from AD 1628–1658. The son of Emperor Jahangir and his Rajput Queen, popularly called Jodhabai, Shah Jahan was born on 5 January 1592. Subsequent to the death of his father, he proclaimed himself the Emperor of the Mughal Dynasty. He extended the political supremacy which was established in India by Akbar. The kingdom enjoyed peace and opulence during his reign. His reign was said to be the golden age of Mughal Empire in India.

Reign of Shah Jahan

The reign of Shah Jahan was marked as the golden age of the Mughal dynasty. Shah Jahan was well educated and cultured, and was known to have provided protection to scholars. Persian and Sanskrit literature flourished during his reign. He also patronized fine arts, appreciated music, painting and structural design. He had several wives; nonetheless, he was devoted to them. He constructed the Taj Mahal to commemorate his love for Mumtaz Mahal. He loved his children and gave them all necessary training and comforts. He was a hard fighter and an accomplished commander. He participated in all important campaigns not only during his life time, but also had led most of the conquests for his father Jahangir. Soon after he occupied the throne, he started his military campaigns and busied himself with extending the boundaries of the Mughal Empire. During his reign, Ahmednagar was completely annexed to the Mughal dominion, and Bijapur and Golconda were enforced to accept the suzerainty of the royal leader. He even attempted to conquer Central Asia and recover Kandahar.

Shah Jahan was a just sovereign and solemnly desired the welfare of his subjects. Trade, industry and agriculture flourished and the state as well as the subjects enjoyed prosperity during the entire period of his reign. He worked hard and personally supervised the administration of the Empire. He brought about enhancement in the *mansabdari* system. He helped his subjects generously in times of famines and natural calamities. With regard to religious affairs, he was unquestionably orthodox when compared with Jahangir and Akbar; yet he did not get in the way of the daily life of the Hindus and the Christians. He participated in fairs and festivals of the Hindus and he continued the practices of *Jharokha Darshan* and *Tula Dan* as before. He continued the policy of his father and grandfather towards the Rajputs and commanded their respect and loyalty. Trade activities flourished between Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and Ahmedabad during the reign of Shah Jahan as a result of improved network of roads and waterways.

The greatest achievement of this great good judge of art was the architectural structures and gravestones erected by him during his life time. A major revolution that occurred during his period was the replacement of red sandstone with the more expensive marble as the construction material as seen in the *Diwan-i-am* (hall of public audience) or the black marble exhibition area of the Shalimar Gardens in Srinagar. The Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the tomb of Jahangir in Lahore unquestionably deserves mention here. The most famous of all his works is the legendary Taj Mahal at Agra built as a tomb for his wife, Empress Mumtaz Mahal.

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Achievements of Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan pursued the same guiding principles of his ancestors Akbar and Jahangir regarding the extension of the Empire's boundaries towards south India. Moreover, the fact that the states of south India sheltered the rebels in opposition to the Mughals did not sit well with Shah Jahan and hence, he desired to get the better of these states. In AD 1633 Ahmednagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire. The ruling family of Golconda was *Shia* and its rule had refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughals. Shah Jahan desired to conquer Golconda. He was able to manage this when Abdullah Qutub Shah ascended the throne, and he agreed to the terms and conditions of the Mughal Emperor. In AD 1636, Shah Jahan attacked Daulatabad. Bijapur was weak at that time due to rebellious attempts of its nobles. Consequently, Muhammad Adil Shah voluntarily agreed for peace and an agreement was signed between the two parties. The Deccan guiding principle of the Mughals proved fairly triumphant for the duration of the period of influence of Shah Jahan. Since the annexation of Ahmednagar, both Bijapur and Golconda also accepted the suzerainty of the royal leader. The rulers of these kingdoms were obligatory to pay the annual acknowledgment from time to time and parts of their territories for the Mughals to establish their forts and watch stations. Some other minor invasions also occurred during Shah Jahan's rule. These conquests include the following:

- The Bhils of Malwa and Gonda
- Raja Pratap of Palam
- The Raja of Little Tibet

Raja Pratap of Palam and the Raja of Little Tibet were pardoned after they accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals. Moreover, Assam was forced to establish trade relations with the Mughal kingdom after constant fighting for over a decade spanning from AD 1628 – 1639.

War of Succession

Chaos and bloodshed related to wars of succession for the throne had become the order of Mughal Era. All the four sons of Shah Jahan – Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad, started fighting among themselves during the last years of Shah Jahan's rule. Shah Jahan personally chose Dara as the would-be-heir. But the Muslim nobles disliked the popular Dara for his liberal mindset. Ultimately, Aurangzeb cleansed all obstructions through coercion and bloodshed. He imprisoned Shah Jahan, and murdered Murad and Dara, while the helpless Shah Shuja ran away from India. Shah Jahan died on 22 January 1666, in Agra.

1.5.1 Shah Jahan: Art and Architecture

Shah Jahan was one of the greatest builders of the Mughal Empire. During his time, the arts of the jewellery and the painting were blended into one. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwan-i-aam and Diwan-i-khas in the Red Fort of Delhi (Figure 1.3), the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the Taj Mahal in Agra. It is pointed out that the palace of Delhi is the most magnificent in the East. The Diwan-i-khas is more highly ornamented than any other building of Shah Jahan.

The mosques built by Shah Jahan are of two kinds. The beauty of the Moti Masjid lies in its simplicity. The perfection of proportions and harmony of constructive designs make it one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere.



Fig. 1.3 Red Fort, New Delhi

The Jama Masjid in Delhi (Figure 1.4) is vast in size and more impressive than Moti Masjid. The interior of the Jama Masjid at Delhi is simple.



Fig. 1.4 Jama Masjid, New Delhi

Percey Brown opined, 'Augustus boast that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble, its counterpart in the building productions of Shah Jahan who found the Mughal cities of sandstone and left them of marble'.

In the fort of Agra and Lahore and at other places, Shah Jahan demolished many of the sandstone structures of his predecessors and in their places constructed marble palaces. During his time, the building art acquired a new sensibility. Instead of the rectangular character of the previous period, there arose the curved line and flowing rhythm of the style of Shah Jahan. Most of the ornamentation was however of a much more subtle nature, colour and ornamentation being introduced. However, perhaps the most striking innovation was the change in the shape of the arch. At Agra and Lahore, the palaces within the forts were largely reconstructed and all the cities of Mughals display examples of Shah Jahan's fondness for buildings.

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The greatest monument of Shah Jahan's era the Taj Mahal (Figure 1.5). It is the symbol of love and is considered as an architectural wonder in the world. It is the most graceful and impressive of the structures of the world.

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Fig. 1.5 Taj Mahal, Agra

The Taj Mahal was built by Shah Jahan in the memory of his beloved queen Arjumand Bano (Mumtaz Mahal) who died in 1630. Prominent artisans were invited from various countries to help in designing and constructing the Taj. To begin with, a model of the Taj was prepared in wood and this was followed by the artisans. Finally, the Taj Mahal was constructed at Agra under the guidance of Ustad Isa and he was paid a salary of 1000 per month. It took twenty-two years to complete the construction of the Taj. It was estimated to have cost about three crores.

According to Percy Brown, 'It may be noted that while the structural portions seem to have been principally in the hands of Mohammedans, the decoration was mainly the work of Hindu craftsman, the difficult task of preparing the pietra dura, especially entrusted to a group of the latter (Hindu craftsman) from Kanauj'. At some other place, he says, 'The main dome by its shape is plainly of Timurid extraction, its remote ancestor being the dome of the rock at Jerusalem; on the other hand, the copulas with their wide caves are of indigenous origin being derived from the overlapping rings of masonry, which formed the vaulted ceiling of the Hindu temple'.

However, scholars describe the Taj as the finest monument of conjugal love and fidelity in the world. It is flawless in design and execution and it is a dream in the marble.

Later Mughal rulers and Mughal architecture

After the death of Shah Jahan, Mughal architecture began to decline. Aurangzeb was not interested in architecture. He built a small mosque in the fort of Delhi for his own use. He has also built a mosque at Banaras on the ruins of the famous Kashi Vishwanath temple in 1660. The Badshahi Mosque was built at Lahore in 1674, which is the largest Mosque in the Indian subcontinent. However, it is a poor imitation of the Jama Masjid at Delhi.

Aurangzeb also destroyed several Hindu temples like the Keshava Rai temple, built by Raja Bir Singh in Mathura, the Kashi Vishwanath temple constructed by Raja

Man Singh in Banaras, besides several others in Kuch Bihar, Udaipur, Jodhpur and other places in Rajasthan.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Mughal architecture completely deteriorated. The buildings that were constructed in the eighteenth century during the time of later Mughals demonstrate the bankruptcy of taste and poverty of design, finishing and decoration.

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1.6 SUMMARY

- Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, a descendent of the famous invader Timur Lane. His mother Qutulug Nigar Khanam belonged to the family of Genghis Khan, the great Mongol invader.
- When Babur was born in AD 1483, his father was the ruler of a small principality of Farghana in Turkistan. In AD 1494 Babur inherited the petty Kingdom of Fargana from his father.
- The first half of the 15th century witnessed political instability with the disintegration of the Tughlaq Dynasty. Both the Saiyyad (1414–1451) and the Lodi (1451–1526) rulers failed to cope with ‘the disruptive forces’.
- The Mughals called themselves so after their Mongol ancestry. Unlike the Delhi Sultanate, which was ruled by many dynasties, the Mughal period witnessed the rule by a single dynasty for nearly two- and- a -half centuries.
- Babur’s character has been praised by all historians—both modern and contemporary. He was numberless man of many virtues and excellences.
- The great grandson on Timur and Genghis Khan, Babur was the first Mughal emperor in India. He confronted and defeated Lodi in AD 1526 at the First Battle of Panipat, and so came to establish the Mughal Empire in India.
- Sher Shah Suri is one of those great men in history who achieved greatness from a very ordinary position. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sur dynasty. He was born in ad 1472.
- He was one of the eight sons of Mian Hassan Khan Sur, an employee of the governor of Punjab, Jamal Khan.
- During Sher Shah’s time there were seven main sources of state income—land revenue, *khams*, custom, *Jaziya*, *nazrana*, royal currency and sales tax.
- On 19 February 1556, Akbar was declared the Emperor at Kalanaur when he had just turned thirteen.
- The Second Battle of Panipat was a battle between Hemu and Akbar in which Akbar won to re-establish the Mughal Empire.
- The *mansabdars* during Mughal period were very highly paid. They were generally given salary in cash. Sometimes, the revenue of a particular *jagir* was assigned to them as salary.
- *Din-i-Ilahi* perished with Akbar’s death though Jahangir continued to make disciples after Akbar’s fashion.
- Shah Jahan ruled the Mughal Empire from AD 1628–1658. The son of the royal leader Jahangir and his Rajput Queen, popularly called Jodhabai, Shah Jahan was born on 5 January 1592.

Check Your Progress

8. When was Shah Jahan born?
9. List some important buildings of Shah Jahan.

- Shah Jahan was one of the greatest builders of the Mughal Empire.
- The greatest monument of Shah Jahan's era the Taj Mahal. It is the symbol of love and is considered as an architectural wonder in the world.

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1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Tughluqid style:** It is the first Indian Islamic architecture to have integrated indigenous design components (pillars, beams and brackets) and local techniques (air cooling systems using water) with recognizably Islamic design elements (arches, vaults and domes).
- **Akbarnamah:** It is the Persian term for 'History of Akbar', is a book written by Abul Fazl Allami that traces the life and times of the earliest Mughal emperors in India.
- **Delhi Sultanate:** A term used to cover five Islamic kingdoms or sultanates of Turkic origin in medieval India, which ruled Delhi between AD 1206 and AD 1526.
- **Langar:** This term is used for common kitchen/canteen where food is served to all the visitors (without distinction of background) for free.
- **Makhtab:** It is an Arabic word meaning elementary schools. Though it was primarily used for teaching children in reading, writing, etc.
- **Mansabdar:** It is the generic term for the military-type grading of all imperial officials of the Mughal Empire. The mansabdars governed the empire and commanded its armies in the emperor's name. The term is derived from *mansab*, meaning 'rank'.

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The various factors that prompted Babur to conquer India are as follows:
 - Miserable political conditions of India
 - Immense richness of India and legal right to occupy some area
 - Meagre income from Kabul
 - Fear of Uzbeks
2. The following was the impact of the First Battle of Panipat:
 - End of the rule of Lodi dynasty
 - Foundation of the Mughal empire
 - Use of artillery in India
 - Tulugama became popular in India
3. Sher Shah Suri was born in AD 1472.
4. According to Sher Shah Suri, the major aim of the state was public welfare.
5. The Second Battle of Panipat occurred in November 1556.
6. Some of the merits of *Mansabdari* system are as follows:
 - End of the main defects of the Jagirdari system
 - Increased military efficiency

- No more loss to royal treasury
 - End of corruption
7. The main principles of *Din-i-Ilahi* are as follows:
- (i) Liberality and beneficence
 - (ii) Abstinence from the worldly desires
 - (iii) Forgiveness to the evil doer
 - (iv) Soft voice, gentle words, pleasure speeches for everybody
 - (v) Good treatment to all those who come in contact
 - (vi) Dedication of the soul in the love of God
8. Shah Jahan was born on 5 January 1592.
9. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwan-i-aam and Diwan-i-khas in the Red Fort of Delhi, the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the Taj Mahal in Agra.

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1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the establishment of the Mughal Empire in India.
2. Trace the advent of Mughals and the establishment of the Mughal Dynasty in India.
3. Give an account of Sher Shah's conquests after becoming the emperor.
4. Analyse the features of the religious policy adopted by Akbar.
5. Why is the reign of Shah Jahan often referred to as the 'golden age' of the Mughal Empire?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the political scenario in India on the eve of Babur's invasion.
2. Analyse the various factors that prompted Babur to conquer India.
3. Describe the early career and conquests of Sher Shah Suri.
4. Highlight the features of *Din-i-Ilahi*.
5. List the various achievements of Shah Jahan.

1.10 FURTHER READING

- Habib, Irfan 1982. *Atlas of the Mughal Empire*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nizami, K.A. 1966. *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*. New Delhi: Kitab Mahal.
- Smith, V.A. 1917. *Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542–1605*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

UNIT 2 CRISIS OF MUGHAL EMPIRE

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Emergence of Aurangzeb
 - 2.2.1 Aurangzeb: Administration
 - 2.2.2 Policies of Aurangzeb
 - 2.2.3 Achievements of Aurangzeb
- 2.3 Marathas
 - 2.3.1 Administration of Shivaji
 - 2.3.2 Coronation and Death of Shivaji
 - 2.3.3 Successors of Shivaji: Mughal-Maratha Relations and Rule of Peshwas
- 2.4 Rise of Regional Polities: Bengal, Awadh and Mysore
 - 2.4.1 Bengal
 - 2.4.2 Awadh
 - 2.4.3 Mysore
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Key Terms
- 2.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.8 Questions and Exercises
- 2.9 Further Reading

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the war of succession amongst Shah Jahan's sons Aurangzeb occupied Agra and put Shah Jahan in prison. Aurangzeb put to death not only Dara and his other brothers, but also all other rivals. Shah Jahan died a broken man in AD1666 and was buried beside his wife. In this unit, you will learn about the life and times of Aurangzeb, who according to historians heralded the era of downfall of the Mughals. The unit also discusses the various policies adopted by Aurangzeb and analyses the reasons for the numerous rebellions during his life time.

The death of Aurangzeb was soon followed by the succession war among the Mughal princes. The Mughal Empire which gave Indian history an era of splendid accomplishments disintegrated with the irreparable mistakes of emperors like Aurangzeb.

At the time of the Mughal Empire, 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; Marathas were also among them. They lived in the Deccan, in the region of present Maharashtra and north Karnataka. Shivaji and Peshwa Baji Rao were the prominent Maratha rulers and they challenged the supremacy of the Mughal Empire. However, the Third Battle of Panipat shattered the dream of the Marathas to establish their supremacy on the whole of India and gave the opportunity to the East India Company to establish its rule in India. In this unit, you will also study about the historical background of the Marathas and the causes and consequences of the Third Battle of Panipat.

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 Bengal,

Awadh, and Mysore came to the fore. This unit will also outline the rise of regional polities in Bengal, Awadh and Mysore.

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2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Describe the war of succession after Shah Jahan
- Discuss the early career and accession of Aurangzeb
- Explain the religious policy of Aurangzeb
- Discuss the early career and conquests of Shivaji
- Analyse Mughal-Maratha relations
- Analyse the Peshwas and expansion of Maratha power
- Explain how the British annexed Awadh
- Outline the rise of Tipu Sultan and the interpret the Anglo-Mysore wars

2.2 EMERGENCE OF AURANGZEB

The war of succession after Shah Jahan was a fierce battle waged by the sons of the royal leader—Shah Shuja, Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb and Murad—in order to seize the Mughal throne. Emperor Shah Jahan fell critically ill in November 1657. When he recovered from his illness and because of the embarrassment caused by his illness (dysentery and strangury), he commanded the fortress doors to be closed to everybody, except his elder son Dara Shikoh and daughter Jahanara. Moreover, he asked his faithful Rajputs, Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Ram Singh, to set a guard in his fort. This resulted in the rumours among the local population that the Emperor had passed away.

The news reached Shah Shuja. He instantaneously gathered a force of 40,000 cavalry and an authoritative infantry and marched towards Delhi with the intention of seizing the throne. Contrary to the prevalent rumours, Shah Jahan recovered completely from his ailments, even though Aurangzeb later confined him to a cell till his death in the Agra fort. At Dara's commencement, Shah Jahan sent a letter to his son telling him of his recovery. But Shuja's advisers told him that this might be a ruse and urged him to proceed with his revolt. In retaliation, the Emperor sent Suleman Shikoh with a strong force to oppose him. Despite the fact that he was very courageous and intellectual, he lacked the field know-how and was consequently backed by Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur and Daler Khan the Pathan. They laid an ambush for Shah Shuja and the prince walked into it. His force was in flight and he just about managed to break away from, abandoning his combat elephants, artillery and men.

Aurangzeb was in the Deccan when he heard of the rumours of the death of his father. Being a thorough diplomat, he started plotting the actions and being an experienced strategist, he bided his time. Murad Bakhsh's initial reaction, on the other hand, was to congregate a small armed force and rush to his father's side. He suspected someone had tried to poison him. Aurangzeb realized that whatever course events took, he would become involved in the conflict, so he took procedures to ensure an impermanent peace in his province. He struck conformity with Shivaji Bhonsle to ensure he would remain neutral and not rampage the prefecture in his absence. In return, the Maratha rebel

demanded a share of the revenue of the Deccan, and it is said he had the pact decorated on a golden-haired tablet. The Emperor, frightened by the news that his third son was also getting ready to attack the capital, returned to Agra, and Dara Shikoh wrote a threatening letter to Aurangzeb warning him against committing treason.

Aurangzeb's next move was to win Murad's confidence. He wrote to him suggesting an association. He averred that he had decided to maintain the claim of his youngest brother to the throne for the reason that of his zeal for the Holy Quran, and that he had long since relinquished the desire for power and had made a serious vow to spend his last part of his days in Mecca. On a more matter-of-fact level, he also sent Murad a war chest to help invest in his troops, which would seem to make believe that he was full-heartedly encouraging Murad to join the fray. Murad, little knowing the true intentions of Aurangzeb, even thanked his brother and congratulated him for his 'prudence' in supporting him and the zeal he had shown in this regard. He promised to take care of his family, as it was his significant privilege, and approved that his other brothers would obliterate the religious conviction if they gained power. Aurangzeb overwhelmed the naive Murad with obsequiousness to the point of bewitching him. Following this, Murad, intoxicated by these compliments, completely trusted his elder brother.

The Imperial family by then was once and for all split apart. This internal conflict also put other branches of the family in grievous dilemmas. Leaving Moazzam Shah in Aurangabad, Aurangzeb left his capital on 5 February AD 1658, reaching Burhanpur thirteen days later. On 20 March, he incarcerated his father-in-law, who had tried to oppose him. By 3 April, he crossed the river Narmada with his troops. Murad Bakhsh had left Gujarat with 70,000 cavalry, and the two joined up on the banks of Lake Ujjain. They halted at Dharmatpur. On 20 April, they encountered and overpowered Jaswant Singh's Rajput strength. Then the two armies had to cross the deep and turbulent Chambal River. They found a ford at a place called Kanira, but Siphur Shikoh (Dara's son) ambushed them while they were crossing and they lost 5,000 men by drowning and to the young prince's guns. Finally, on 29 May 1658, at Sambugarh, eight miles east of Agra, the two armies met Dara Shikoh who had been raising his army since 11 May. He had been able to gather a force of 30,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry and musketeers, and 200 European artillery men. Transportation and supplies were carried by elephants and 500 camels. The army was a combination of butchers, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths—in short, inexperienced men and many of the nobles had deserted because they were disappointed by Dara. However, he was better aided by his allies and generals. Khalilullah Khan commanded 30,000 Mughals; Ram Singh Rathore had 15,000 Rajputs, and Rustam Khan, 15,000 cavalry. They camped on the banks of the Yamuna River, between Agra and the joint armies of his two brothers.

Aurangzeb, accompanied by his son Mohammad Sultan, had fewer troops, 30,000, but they were more experienced. His collaborator Bahadur Khan commanded 15,000 cavalry, and Najabat Khan led 15,000 archers and musketeers. Murad Khan, supported him with Rajputs, 50,000 armed cavalry, and artillery. He had taken along his youngest son, who was still just a child

Dara made the mistake of letting the two armies settle down for the reason that his astrologers had advised against attacking after dusk. At sunrise, Aurangzeb's officers Asalat Khan, Safshi Khan, and Sheikh Mir got underway the attack. Their troops surrounded Dara's, who stood their ground. The Rajputs entered the fray courageously. They rushed into battle and were mown down by Aurangzeb's artillery. Ram Singh lay dead on the battlefield. Dara's archers responded by beginning a rain of arrows. On the

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other side, Khalilullah, a friend of Dara advised him to dismount from his elephant, as he presented himself as a clean target for stray arrows. But when the nobles and soldiers saw Dara dismounting, they thought he was abandoning the battle and were stricken with panic and started to abandon their posts. Dara's decision to come down from his howdah was a disaster. Dara and Siphur Shikoh managed to escape.

Aurangzeb sent 4,000 Afghan cavalymen after them, but they were able to reach Delhi. Shah Jahan had advised his son to flee Agra and go to Delhi, which was easier to defend. Helped by Jahanara, he provided his son with a war treasury, and then Dara fled and became a fugitive. Still united, Aurangzeb and Murad marched towards Agra and halted near Mathura, fifty miles from Agra, where they camped in the green *Bagh-i-Dara*, in a hunting pavilion. Here, they were visited by Jahanara who had brought a message from the Emperor which chastized them for their attempt to seize the throne while their father was alive. She commanded them to give away their struggle for power and submit themselves to his wishes. This drew an indignant reply from Aurangzeb, who pointed out how Dara had always worked to alienate them from Shah Jahan and accused him of having violated the *Shariah*. He recalled that his father had occupied the throne for thirty-two years, peacefully and munificently, but he was now seventy years old and his faculties no longer functioned appropriately. As he was not able to perform his duties of supervision and administration satisfactorily for the sake of his subjects, it was now incumbent on the two brothers to substitute him. A very disillusioned Jahanara returned instantaneously to her father and reported that the princes demanded his renunciation of the throne.

Aurangzeb then began his negotiations. He first sent his eunuch Fahim to negotiate with his father, but these talks failed, so he sent his son, hoping he would be able to convince him. Meanwhile, according to the chronicler Ishwardas Nagar, Aurangzeb had one cannon placed on Jahanara's mosque and another on Dara Shikoh's residence on the banks of the Yamuna River. After three days and three nights, Aurangzeb shattered the fort's artillery. Seeing his defences shattered, Shah Jahan commanded the Tartar, Uzbek, and Afghan guards as well as the Turkish and Abyssinian slaves to protect him, about 15,000 troops in total. He then tried, unsuccessfully, to draw Aurangzeb to cross the threshold of the fort so that he could have him assassinated by his guards.

Mir Jumla's sons, Shaista Khan and Amin Khan, welcomed the prince as he advanced to a position near the Taj Mahal, opposite the fort of Agra, which Shah Jahan had left to his commanding officer, Itibar Khan, to defend. Aurangzeb then sent a messenger to the master of the weaponry, ordering him to surrender. Earlier, the commander had consulted the prince's horoscope, which showed that he was going to be victorious. So in order to save his honour, he fired some empty shots from his cannon and put up no resistance when Aurangzeb's men entered the fort. Mohammad Sultan entered the fort with some cavalry, closed the arsenals and magazines, imprisoned the servants, and put people he could rely on in their place. All the noblemen submitted to the two princes, and Shah Jahan's rule was over.

After the victory in Sambugarh, the two brothers went to Mathura, to the *Bagh-i-Dara*, where Murad tended to the appalling arrow wounds on his face, and at the same time as he was consequently laid up, Aurangzeb dealt with matters arising from their accomplishment. Aurangzeb invited his brother to dinner which he accepted even despite the fact that his eunuch and other officers expressed their suspicions about this hospitality. When Murad arrived, his brother treated him with eagerness and grace. He invited Murad to spend the night at his place where he was later overpowered by the

Prince's men in his sleepy and intoxicated condition and bound him with golden chains. He was first imprisoned in Salimgarh, which was guarded by four thousand soldiers, and later transferred to Gwalior on 25 June. Shah Shuja was defeated by Aurangzeb's forces at Khwaja on 9 January 1659; after that he without explanation disappeared. After a long chase, on 9 June 1659 Dara and his son Siphur were captured and Dara was beheaded and killed. The victorious Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 23 May 1658. On 8 June, Shah Jahan, Jahanara, and some other members of the royal family were made virtual prisoners in the palace at Agra.

2.2.1 Aurangzeb: Administration

Aurangzeb was the son of Shah Jahan and he ascended the throne as the sixth Mughal Emperor in AD1658. Even though he was an extremely able administrator, it was his religious intolerance and fanaticism which created unrest among his subjects and led to the gradual undoing of the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb was the third son of Shah Jahan and among the last great Mughal Emperors to rule over India. He was born in AD 1618 at Dohad near Ujjain.

Aurangzeb was a hardworking and thorough man who had proved himself as an able administrator in the years that he spent in the Deccan as well as other regions of the Empire. He learnt all the tactics of diplomacy due to his expertise as a skilled soldier and general. All this came handy when he waged the war of succession with his father and his brothers. The end of the conflict was marked by Aurangzeb succeeding his father to the throne. On taking authority as the supreme ruler of the mighty dynasty, he assumed the title of Alamgir (conqueror of the world), followed by Badshah (Emperor) and then Ghazi (Holy Warrior) to propound the essence of the roles he would play. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Dynasty was at its pinnacle with more regions of India becoming part of the Empire. From the time he was young, Aurangzeb had occupied various important positions during his father's reign. Thus, when he usurped the power of his father and ascended the throne, he had the rich experience as the governor of Gujarat, Multan and Sind to aid him in his day-to-day affairs. Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Muslim and followed the principles of Islam. He led a disciplined life and abstained from drinking alcohol. He led a very simple life and spent little on his attire and food.

Administration of Aurangzeb

Having succeeded Shah Jahan to the throne, Aurangzeb had the dominion over the largest area under him as a Mughal Emperor, compared to both his predecessors and successors. He proved himself as a capable ruler and ruled with an iron fist and keen intellect. His empire extended from Ghazni in the west to Bengal in the east and from Kashmir in the north to the Deccan in the south. In fact, one of the reasons cited by prominent historians for the downfall of the Empire was the over-extended empire that Aurangzeb ruled. Since his youth, Aurangzeb, being a staunch Sunni Muslim, was deeply devoted to Islam. Soon after occupying the throne, he felt the need to rule the country as much as was possible along Islamic injunctions. Aurangzeb felt that he had become superior not only to administer the empire in a better way, but also to protect and strengthen Islam, particularly its Sunni faith.

Aurangzeb believed that all Mughal rulers who ruled prior to him committed one blunder—they did not try to establish the supremacy of Islam in India. He therefore tried to reverse this trend during his reign because he believed that it was the foremost duty of a Muslim king. This duty of Aurangzeb limited his vision, narrowed his concept of kingship

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and made him intolerant towards the majority of his subjects. As the first step towards establishing the Muslim supremacy in his empire, he introduced various policies, most of which were a simple reverse of the policies that were introduced by his forefathers. Thus, his administration saw the birth of a new class of people whose responsibility was to cleanse the society of various non-Islamic practices such as gambling, alcohol consumption and prostitution. Besides banning the cultivation and production of narcotic substances, he did away with many of the taxes which found no mention in the Islamic law. Besides all this, he also banned *Sati*, a Hindu practice which was common in his time. Most of these steps when implemented found favour among his people. But with the passing of time, and in his attempt to realize his bigger objective of fulfilling his religious vows, he adopted more puritanistic ways. Some of these factors that made him unpopular among his subjects included banning music at the court which led to a number of state musicians losing their jobs, festivities on the Emperor's birthday and giving of gifts to the emperor.

His religious intolerance was reflected in a number of ways. He stopped celebrating the Hindu festivals like Holi and Diwali at the court. He also framed certain laws to be observed by the Muslims as their religious duty. That is why even liberal *Shias* and *Sufis* were punished during the reign of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb became quite intolerant towards the Hindus and ordered the provincial governors to demolish the schools and temples of the Hindus. In April AD1679, *Jaziyawas* imposed on the Hindus. Pilgrimage tax on the Hindus was also revived and while the Muslim traders remained free from tax, their Hindu counterparts were asked to pay one part of the value of their commodities as tax.

While he went about with the demolition of schools and temples of Hindus, much resource were spent from the treasury for the construction of many masjids and the upkeep of the existing mosques and other Mughal buildings. Some popular and exquisite buildings that were erected during his time include the Moti Masjid in the Red Fort, which is a jewel in white marble, and the magnificent Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, with its imposing domes towering over the red sandstone walls.

Military Campaigns of Aurangzeb

As a statesman his achievements have been quite immense. For one, the strong kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda were captured in less than a year. It is a tribute to Aurangzeb's control over the affairs of the Empire that no major upheaval occurred in the north during his prolonged absence in the Deccan, but there are clear indications of many minor disturbances and a general slackening of administration.

Revolts during the Reign of Aurangzeb

The first organized revolt of the Hindus against the policy of religious persecution of Aurangzeb was that of the Jats. The Jats under their leader Gokul revolted against his tyranny in AD1669. To make matters worse Aurangzeb ordered to raze down the temple of Keshav Rai in AD 1670. With this incident, the Hindus rose up against him in the Battle of Tilpat, but however, they were defeated and the surviving Jat leaders were put to severe ordeal. The Jats who remained undaunted and determined, accumulated their forces under the leadership of Raja Ram and staged yet another revolt against the Moghul Emperor in AD 1686. Even though the outcome of the revolt was not a success for both the parties, the Jats continued their fight against the Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb. Finally, after his death, the Jats succeeded in founding their own independent kingdom and Bharatpur was made its capital.

Besides the Hindus, the Sikhs also had fallen out of the favour of the Emperor, who persecuted them also along with their Hindu brothers. The revolt of the Satnamis was also an important occurrence during the reign of Aurangzeb. They fought bravely but were ultimately defeated by the forces of Aurangzeb. The Sikhs under the leadership of Guru Gobind Singh revolted against Aurangzeb. Though they did not succeed much against the mighty power of the Emperor, but it made the Sikhs a powerful fighting community in Punjab because of which they played an important part in the future politics of Punjab. The Rajputs, who were in the good books of all the Mughal Emperors from Akbar, became an eyesore to Aurangzeb. Doubting the loyalty of the Rajputs, Aurangzeb began a series of conflicts with them and wished to end their independent status by annexing their states to the Empire.

Combat with the Marathas

Aurangzeb's aggressive Deccan Strategy turned to be a big blunder. His resolution was to subjugate the Shia states of Bijapur and Golconda. The people of Bijapur gave the Mughals a tough situation with the support of the Marathas and the Sultan of Golconda. The rise of Shivaji disrupted the dreams of Aurangzeb. The Mughal Governor, Shaista Khan could do no harm to the Marathas. But, the Mughals under Jai Singh, devastated Shivaji. However, in AD1665, Shivaji was forced to sign a peace treaty. All his lifetime, he thwarted Mughal programmes of quashing Maratha influence. He died in AD1680, asking his son Shambhuji to continue the war. Shambhuji gave shelter to Aurangzeb's rebellious son, Prince Akbar. This act bothered Aurangzeb who came down to the Deccan in AD 1682, to deal with the situation. After repeated efforts, on 22 September, AD 1682 he confiscated the land of the Bijapuris. Golconda too was besieged in AD1687. But the Marathas ignited a national resistance against the Mughals by AD 1691. Their resurgence continued beyond AD1700.

Aurangzeb was a well-read man and had command over Persian, Turkish and Hindi. He even wrote beautiful Persian poems. A selection of his letters ('Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri') is a testimony of simple and elegant prose composed by the Emperor. He understood music well, but he gave up this amusement in accordance with Islamic injunctions. However, his religious fanaticism did not allow the arts to flourish in his courts, as he disbanded the musicians, abolished the office of the poet-laureate, discontinued the work of the court chronicler, and offered little encouragement to painters. In the cultural field, the chief contribution of Aurangzeb was the spread of Islamic learning and general diffusion of education.

The Islamic academic curriculum, known as *Dars-i-Nizamiya*, began during his reign.

Aurangzeb resided in the Deccan till the last days of his life. Gradually with time, he could witness the errors he had committed in administration. His long-term warfare had turned the royal treasury bankrupt. He wrote to his son Azam, while brooding over his shortcomings. He died in AD1707. When he died, Aurangzeb left an empire faced with a number of menacing problems. The failure of his son's successors led to the collapse of the Empire in the mid-18th century.

2.2.2 Policies of Aurangzeb

In this section, you will learn about religious, Deccan and Rajput policies of Aurangzeb.

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Religious Policy of Aurangzeb

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Akbar had consolidated the Mughal Empire by his policy of religious tolerance. Jahangir had also followed the same religious policy. Though Shah Jahan was not liberal like his two predecessors, still he kept politics away from religion. But Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Muslim and a fanatic. He wanted to win the sympathy of the fanatic Sunni Muslims by means of his fanatic religious policy. Therefore, to convert Hindustan from *Dar-ul-Harb* to *Dar-ul-Islam* he adopted two types of measures – the first, which were in accordance with the Islam and the second, those which were against the non-Muslims and non-Sunnis.

Measures of Aurangzeb in accordance with Islam

First of all he brought to an end the musical gatherings, dances, painting, poetry reading, etc. Though, in spite of his restrictions on music, it continued among the ladies of the Harem and in the household of the chiefs. It is important that it was during his time that the most number of books were written in Persian on music. He ended the *Jharokha Darshan* describing it an individual worship, which was against Islam. He also ended the practice of *Tuladan* (Weighing of the Emperor with coins) thinking that it was a Hindu custom and a sort of superstition. Moreover, weighing the Emperor in gold caused a significant economic loss to the treasury. He also placed restrictions on the astrology and making of '*panchang*'. But he was not very much successful in this effort, because many members of the royal household and many chiefs continued to act against this order.

He also closed the brothels and gambling dens because Islam did not permit them. This act was morally and socially right. He decorated the royal court in an ordinary manner and the clerks were given mud-inkpots instead of silver ones. He gave up wearing silken clothes and in the *Diwan-i-Aam* golden railing was replaced by that of Lapiz Lazuli, which was inlaid with gold. These measures of Aurangzeb were commendable from an economic point of view. To decrease the state expenditure, he closed the government department responsible for recording history. He ended the inscribing of 'Kalma' on the coins so that it does not get dirty in exchange or it does not get trampled underfoot. He placed restrictions on *Nauroz* because it was a festival of the Parsis and it had the support of the Shias of Iran. He appointed *Muhatasibs* in all the provinces, whose main job was to see whether people lived according to the Shariat or not. They had also to check the people from indulging in liquor in the public places. The Emperor had issued clear instruction these that officials were not to interfere in the personal life of the people but to fully aid the government in raising the moral standards of the people. This encouraged the trading profession among the Muslims and Aurangzeb made it tax-free but when Muslim traders started indulging in dishonesty and started carrying the goods of the Hindu traders as their own, then this tax was reimposed on them. But still they had to pay only half the tax as compared to the Hindu traders. We can call it a discriminatory decision which proved to be dangerous for the Empire and he had to revise this decision very soon because of the opposition of the chiefs and the lack of able Muslims for the post. He also issued instructions to put an end to the practice of *Sati*. In fact, Aurangzeb took a commendable step in stopping this inhuman practice.

In view of the above-mentioned activities and measures of Aurangzeb, we cannot call him fanatic because these measures were inspired by different motives. Many of these measures were undertaken by Aurangzeb to fulfil his political and economic motives. Aurangzeb knew that in the Mughal Court there were a large number of members who

were influenced deeply by Islam. Yadunath Sarkar has pointed out towards the fact that Aurangzeb wanted to present himself as a strict Sunni and thus wanted to diminish the marks of his cruel treatment towards Shah Jahan. But whatever may have been his motives, it would have to be conceded that many of his measures were not in accordance with the liberal religious policy started by Akbar.

Anti-Hindu steps and activities

Now, we will turn our attention towards the measures which Aurangzeb took against non-Muslims and for which he is described by many historians as intolerant and fanatic. It is said that he destroyed many Hindu temples, did not give permission for repairing the old temples and placed restrictions on the building of new temples. Some modern historians defend Aurangzeb against the charge of fanaticism and hold that the *Firman* issued by Aurangzeb to the Brahmins of Banaras and Brindabana clearly show that he neither desecrated the old temples nor prohibited the repair of old temples. But even these historians agree that he did not give permission for the construction of new temples. According to them, Aurangzeb caused old temples to be destroyed to give warning and punishment to the elements which were against him. He considered the religious places of the Hindus to be a centre for propaganda against him. In fact, Aurangzeb did not issue any specific instructions for destructing the temples; temples were destructed only in times of war. Some of the temples that were destroyed during his time were the temples in Thatta, Multan and Banaras in AD 1669 and in Udaipur and Jodhpur in AD 1679-1680. Though we have very few instances of Aurangzeb giving grant to the Hindu temples, but often, he adopted a hostile attitude towards temple building.

Jaziya

In AD 1679, Aurangzeb revived *Jaziya*, the trade tax imposed on the Hindus. According to contemporary historians, he imposed it to oppress the Hindus. Some modern historians are of the opinion that Aurangzeb imposed this tax after considering its pros and cons. He spent much time in taking this decision—in fact, he introduced this tax only in his twenty-second year of rule under pressure from staunch Muslim chiefs. Italian traveller Manuchi wrote that ‘Aurangzeb wanted to improve his economic condition by means of the imposition of *jaziya*’. In fact, Manuchi’s view does not appear to be correct. Some scholars hold that he imposed this tax to attract the Hindus towards Islam. But like that of Manuchi, even this view does not appear to have been effective because the economic burden of this tax was very light. Moreover, it was not imposed on children, women and handicapped and even on the poor and the government servants. The truth is that Aurangzeb imposed *jaziya* due to both – political as well as principle reasons. According to Satish Chandra, ‘Its real motive was to organize the Muslims against the Marathas and the Rajputs, who were bent upon to start a war.’ The money collected by *jaziya* was given to *Ulemas*, as most of them were unemployed. But whatever might have been the reason for the imposition of *Jaizya*, it proved to be more harmful than beneficial. This tax was responsible for spreading discontent among a majority of Hindus because they considered it a discriminatory practice by the government, against themselves. Besides, the Hindus who came to pay the tax had to suffer humiliations at the hands of the *Ulemas*.

Removing the Hindus from the government posts

Another charge levelled at Aurangzeb was that he removed the Hindus from government posts. But recent research proves that this charge was false because during the later

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part of Aurangzeb's reign the number of the Hindus who were at government posts was more than in the time of Shah Jahan. It is said that whereas the Hindus enjoyed 25 per cent of posts under Shah Jahan, the number had increased to 33 per cent by the time of Aurangzeb.

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Restriction on the festivals of the Hindus

Some scholars hold that Aurangzeb imposed a restriction on the celebration of the Hindu festivals like Holi, Diwali, and Dussehra in the cities. This charge appears to be true to a certain extent, but it will have to be conceded that Aurangzeb could not enforce this restriction on all the cities and towns of the Empire, and it was restricted to the areas in the neighbourhood of the royal palace.

Anti-Shia measures

Aurangzeb not only adopted anti-Hindu religious policy, but also an anti-Shia policy as well. In this context, two charges are levied on Aurangzeb that are worth mentioning. He removed the Shias from the government posts and annexed two Shia states of the Deccan—Bijapur and Golkunda to the Mughal Empire. But recent studies disprove both the charges. The historians who refuse the charges hold that many important Shia officials like Zulfikar Khan, Asad Khan and Mir Jumla enjoyed special favours from Aurangzeb. He followed only the traditional expansionist policy against Bijapur and Golkunda. He wanted their annexation to the Mughal Empire so that they are prevented from giving support to the rise of the Maratha power in the Deccan.

Consequences of the Religious Policy of Aurangzeb

Some scholars hold that Aurangzeb tried to bring about a transformation in the nature of state through his religious policy, but could not do so because he knew that in India the majority was Hindus and they were loyal to their religion. Though, Aurangzeb did emphasize Islam for his political motives, as he himself was a staunch Muslim. He wanted to enforce Shariat but his main aim was the extension and consolidation of his empire. Historians are of the opinion that the religious policy of Aurangzeb neither aided in the extension nor in the consolidation of the empire because it led to many revolts against him. Besides, most of the revolts against him such as that of the Jats, Sikhs, and Marathas occurred due to his religious fanaticism. Some scholars hold that the fanatic policy of Aurangzeb accelerated the process of decline and disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Because of this policy, very often, he had to adopt contradictory steps which ultimately proved injurious to the Empire.

Rajput Policy of Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb adopted many policies for Rajputs that were contradictory to those policies adopted by his ancestors—Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Rajput policies were stern and he attempted to destroy the power of the Rajputs and annex their kingdoms. Aurangzeb reversed the policy which was enunciated by Akbar and pursued by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Rajputs were the greatest obstacle in his pursuance of his policy against the Hindus. Aurangzeb, therefore, attempted to destroy the power of the Rajputs and annex their kingdoms. There were three important Rajput rulers at that time, viz. Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar, Rana Raj Singh of Mewar and Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur. All the three were at peace with the Mughals when Aurangzeb ascended the throne. But, Aurangzeb never kept faith in the loyalty of these Rajput rulers.

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Aurangzeb deputed Raja Jai Singh in the Deccan where, ultimately he died in AD1666. Raja Jaswant Singh was deputed to defend the north-western frontier of the Empire. Two of his sons died fighting against the Afghan rebels and he himself died in Afghanistan in AD 1678. Aurangzeb was waiting for this opportunity. At that time, there was no successor to the throne of Marwar. He occupied Marwar immediately and, with a view to disgrace the ruling family, sold the throne of Jaswant Singh for rupees thirty-six lakhs. It seemed that the existence of Marwar was lost for ever. But, Marwar was saved. While returning from Afghanistan, the two wives of Rana Jaswant Singh gave birth to two sons at Lahore. One of them died but the other named Ajit Singh remained alive. Durga Das, the commander-in-chief of the Rathors came to Delhi with the prince and requested Aurangzeb to hand over Marwar to Maharaja Ajit Singh. Aurangzeb did not agree. Ajit Singh was declared the ruler of Marwar and the war of independence of Marwar commenced from that time.

Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, who realized that it was in the interest of Mewar to fight against the Mughals, gave support to Marwar. In AD1681, Akbar, the son of Aurangzeb revolted against his father with the support of the Rajputs. The revolt of Akbar failed and he fled to Maharashtra under the protection of Durga Das. Aurangzeb offered peace to Mewar and it was accepted. The Rathors of Marwar, however, continued their fight against the Mughals. Pursuing his son Akbar, Aurangzeb left for Deccan and could never return from there. Marwar fought against the Mughals till the death of the Emperor in 1707.

Thus, Aurangzeb failed to subdue either Mewar or Marwar. The only result of his policy against these states was that he lost the support of the Rajputs. The Rajputs, who were one of the best supporters of the Mughal Empire since the reign of Akbar, revolted against Aurangzeb. Their services could no more be utilized in strengthening the Mughal Empire. On the contrary, it added to the troubles of the Empire. It encouraged other revolts also. Thus, the Rajput policy of Aurangzeb was a failure that contributed to the failure of Aurangzeb and resulted in the weakening of the Mughal Empire.

The consequences of Aurangzeb's Rajput Policy can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The majority of Rajputs turned hostile towards the Mughals.
- (ii) Aurangzeb had to face many difficulties in his Deccan campaigns and even after a struggle of twenty-seven years he could not succeed in his campaign.
- (iii) Disorder spread in many parts of the empire; for example, in Malwa and Gujarat.
- (iv) For about thirty years the Mughal Empire had to suffer untold loss of mass and money.
- (v) In the absence of Aurangzeb, Mughal armies were defeated by Durga Das at many points which dealt a blow to the prestige of the Empire.
- (vi) The pace of disintegration and decline of the Mughal Empire was accelerated because of the fact that the Rajputs, instead of contributing to the security of the Mughal Empire had really created many problems for it.

Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb had political as well as religious purpose. The extension of the Empire was also one of the purposes of adopting this policy. Aurangzeb believed that the complete destruction of the states of Bijapur and Golconda was a prior necessity for the destruction of the power of the Marathas in the Deccan. Besides this political

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motive, he desired to annex these states because their rulers were Shias. Therefore, Aurangzeb was not satisfied simply by acceptance of his suzerainty by them, but he desired to annex them to the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb remained busy in the north for the first twenty-five years of his rule. Therefore, the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the Deccan was left to his different nobles. Bijapur had failed to fulfil the terms of the treaty of AD1657. Therefore, Raja Jai Singh was deputed to attack it in 1665-66. But, Jai Singh failed to get the submission of Bijapur. The situation, however, changed when Adil Shah II died in AD1672 and was succeeded by his four-year son, Sikandar Adil Shah. The Sultan being minor failed to keep his nobles under control. The nobles were divided into two groups, viz. the foreigners and the Indian Muslims. Both these groups tried to capture the power of the throne which resulted in maladministration of the state. The Mughals took advantage of it and attacked Bijapur in AD1676, but with no results. The Mughals failed to get any success in the coming years till Aurangzeb himself reached the Deccan.

Aurangzeb deputed his son, Azam against Bijapur. Azam besieged the fort and Aurangzeb also reached there in person in July 1686. The fort surrendered in September, 1686. Sikandar Adil Shah was granted a pension and Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Golconda was ruled by Abul Hasan Qutub Shah at that time. Aurangzeb deputed Prince Shah Alam to attack Golconda. Abul Hasan left Hyderabad and sought shelter in the fort of Golconda. He pleaded for a treaty with the prince, which he agreed. But Aurangzeb was not prepared for any treaty. He besieged the Golconda Fort in 1687 and captured it. Sultan Abul Hasan was imprisoned in the fort of Daulatabad and was given a pension for his life. Golconda was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

The conquests of Bijapur and Golconda were not the end of the conquests of the Deccan by Aurangzeb. The newly-risen power of the Marathas under Shivaji was yet a powerful challenge to him. Shivaji had established an independent kingdom in Maharashtra. In order to conquer it, Shivaji had to fight both against Bijapur and the Mughals. Shivaji first came into conflict with the Mughals in 1656. But Aurangzeb forced him to agree to peace in AD1657. When Aurangzeb became the emperor, he deputed Sayista Khan to suppress Shivaji. But Sayista Khan failed. Shivaji succeeded in making a surprise night-attack on him when he was resting at Pune and he fled away. Aurangzeb recalled him and deputed Raja Jai Singh to attack Shivaji. Jai Singh forced Shivaji to sign the Treaty of Purandar by which he surrendered three-fourths of his territory and forts. Shivaji visited Agra in AD1666 where he was virtually imprisoned. However, he managed to escape from Agra. He started fighting against the Mughals in AD1670. In AD1674, he held his coronation and made Raigarh his capital. Shivaji died in AD1680. But prior to his death he had succeeded in establishing quite an extensive kingdom in the south. He was succeeded by his son, Shambhuji. Prince Akbar, son of Aurangzeb sought shelter with him. But Shambhuji was an incapable ruler. Aurangzeb reached the Deccan in AD1682 and succeeded in capturing Shambhuji in AD1689. Shambhuji was killed and the whole of Maharashtra was occupied by Aurangzeb. This completed the conquest of the south by Aurangzeb. But, his success remained short-lived. The Marathas rose as one force against the Mughals to liberate their motherland. The Maratha War of Independence was first led by Raja Ram and then by his widow, Tara Bai. This war continued till the death of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb failed in subduing the Marathas and died in the Deccan fully realizing his failure against the Marathas. Thus, the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb, ultimately failed.

Even though the Deccan policy of the Mughals had reached the perfection of its success during the rule of Aurangzeb, it was only a temporary success. Aurangzeb

failed to consolidate his success. The Marathas rose against him and brought about the collapse of his Deccan policy. The failure of the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb also contributed to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

2.2.3 Achievements of Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb had made some remarkable achievements, both before and during his reign. His constant aim during the entire duration of his reign was to expand the boundaries of the Mughal Empire. One of his greatest achievements was the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda, which were Maratha strongholds, to the Mughal Empire.

Since the beginning of his reign right up till his death, he was engaged in almost constant warfare in order to try and increase the boundary of the Mughal Empire. He had managed to build up a huge army and started a programme of military expansion along all the boundaries of his empire. In keeping with this policy of expansion, he pushed northwest into Punjab and what is now Afghanistan and in the south towards Bijapur and Golconda.

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Fig. 2.1 Extent of Mughal Empire during Aurangzeb's Reign

Conquests of Aurangzeb in the East

The earliest conquests of Aurangzeb were in the eastern parts of the Empire. During the time when Aurangzeb was still fighting with his brothers, the Ghinud rulers of Cooch Behar and Assam had taken advantage of the troubled conditions and invaded certain imperial dominions. In AD 1660, on Aurangzeb's orders, Mir Jumla marched to Dhaka

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and occupied Cooch Behar within a few weeks. They then left for Assam and on 17 March 1662 the Ahom Kingdom was annexed and the Raja was forced to sign a humiliating treaty. The Mughals got an immense tribute and also conquered some forts and towns near the frontier of Bengal. Another major addition to the kingdom that came during this time was the Chittagong, which was a stronghold of the Arakan pirates who had made the entire area unsafe.

Chittagong was later renamed as Islamabad and proved to be a valuable addition to the kingdom.

The conquest of the region known as East Pakistan too was an achievement particularly of Aurangzeb's reign. The area that lies east of the Brahmaputra River had remained isolated from the rest of the subcontinent for a long time mainly due to its geographical situation, climate, terrain, and the ethnic origin of the population. The isolation of this region was broken during the reign of Aurangzeb and it became a part of the Mughal Empire.

Conquests of Aurangzeb in the Northwest

As soon as the eastern region was dealt with, trouble started in the north-west frontier regions of the empire. Bhaku, a Yusufzai leader, rebelled in AD 1667. Aurangzeb succeeded in suppressing this rebellion for some time. Later in AD 1672, trouble broke out again when large numbers of people from different tribes formed groups and revolted against the authorities. Though the governor of Kabul tried to take on the rebels he was defeated and Aurangzeb himself intervened in the situation. He directed the operations in the troubled area for a year and finally with the use of force and diplomacy was able to restore peace in the area. Despite all this trouble, Aurangzeb's reign saw a transformation of the Mughal–Afghan relations and order was established along the frontier regions.

Aurangzeb and the Sikhs

Aurangzeb faced a number of problems from the Sikhs. In fact, it was this community which ultimately played a pivotal role in weakening the Empire. Aurangzeb dealt with them in a harsh and ruthless manner. Initially, the relationship between the Sikhs and the Mughals had been quite friendly. When the religion of Sikhism had been established by Guru Nanak, it was seen as part of a general religious movement to bring Hinduism and Islam closer together. In fact, Emperor Akbar had also visited the third Sikh Guru and had gifted him the land on which the Golden Temple now stands. However, gradually conflicts started between the Sikhs and the Mughal authorities. Troubles started cropping up during Jahangir's reign following which the Sikhs started organizing armies which had only Sikh cadres. The ninth Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur, became extremely authoritative and even started gathering tributes from the local population. He was defeated by the Mughal forces and taken to Delhi where he was put to death by Aurangzeb. The Hindu Rajas of the Punjab Hills were suffering due to the increased military strength of the Sikhs and at last they approached Aurangzeb for help. Aurangzeb sent forces to assist them and defeated the Guru in his stronghold at Anandpur.

Aurangzeb and the Marathas

Aurangzeb faced the biggest trouble from the Marathas and there ensued a long and bitter struggle between the Mughals and the Marathas. The Marathas were helped greatly in their uprising by the fact that in the Deccan, the Muslim conquest was not as extensive as in the north. Most of the high offices in the administrative set-up of the

region were occupied by the Hindus. Since Maratha statesmen and warriors controlled various departments of the Muslim states of Ahmednagar, Golconda and Bijapur, the conflicts of the Mughals with these states provided them with an opportunity to advance their sectional interests. Shivaji was among the most successful of the Maratha leaders who revolted against the Mughals. During the entire period of his reign, Aurangzeb sent out many Mughal generals to usurp the power of Shivaji. All his generals—Shayista Khan, Dilir Khan and Mirza Raja Jai Singh as well as his own son, Prince Muazzam failed in their attempts to overpower Shivaji. In the numerous conflicts that occurred between the two forces, Shivaji emerged successful to the indignation of Aurangzeb. Later, the atrocities unleashed against Muslims of Burhanpur by Shivaji's son Shambhuji was the last straw of patience for Aurangzeb, who then took things into his own hands. In the third week of March, AD 1682, he reached Aurangabad in his attempt to conquer the Deccan, and the last twenty-five years of his life were spent in that part of the subcontinent. Bijapur and Golconda which often gave shelter to the Maratha raiders were finally annexed in AD 1686 and AD 1687, respectively and Shambhuji was captured and executed in AD 1689. Even though the Mughals had many successes to their credit, they were all temporary. Following the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas became a major factor in the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Thus, the achievements of Aurangzeb have been quite a few and rather remarkable. His constant policy of expansion, even though it cost him many lives and an enormous amount of money from the treasury, led to a widening of the boundaries of the Mughal Empire and the quelling of long-drawn out issues of contention.

Revolt of Jats during Aurangzeb

Revolts of the Jats during the reign of Aurangzeb took place under the leadership of Gokul in AD 1669. The Jats organized the first revolt of the Hindus against Aurangzeb in AD 1669. The local Muslim officer at Mathura, Abdul Nabi destroyed the temples of the Hindus and disrespected their women. In the year AD 1661, Abdul Nabi destroyed a Hindu temple and raised a mosque on its ruins. The Jats under their leader Gokul revolted against the oppression in AD 1669, killed Abdul Nabi and looted the *Tehsil* of Sadabai. In AD 1670, the temple of Keshav Rai was destroyed on the orders of Aurangzeb. It further inflamed the Hindus and Gokul could collect 20,000 followers and he defeated a few small Muslim forces which were sent against him. He was, however, defeated and killed at the Battle of Tilpat. The Jats were punished severely. But, the Jats remained undaunted. In AD 1686, they again raised the standard of revolt under their leader Raja Ram who gave serious trouble to the Mughals for many years, defeated a few Mughal officers and attacked even Agra. Raja Ram was, however, defeated and killed in AD 1688. Following the death of Raja Ram, Churaman, his nephew led the Jats. This revolt of the Jats continued till the death of Aurangzeb and, ultimately, the Jats succeeded in establishing their independent kingdom with its capital at Bharatpur.

2.3 MARATHAS

At the beginning of the 17th century, most parts of Maharashtra were under the possession of 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

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Check Your Progress

1. When was Aurangzeb born?
2. List the measures of Aurangzeb in accordance with Islam.

16th and 17th 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*.

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The Bhonsle family of Pune 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 Jijabai. He sought his fortune under the Sultan of Bijapur and had his *jagir* at Pune.

Shivaji was the son of Shahji Bhonsle. Shivaji was born in AD 1630 as the second son of Shahji and Jijabai. The early life of Shivaji was led in great simplicity and austerity, influenced by his mother's beliefs. Dadaji Kondadev was entrusted with the responsibility of being a guardian to Shivaji. He showed rather early signs of rebellion in opposition to the Muslim rule as he was highly resentful of the inequality that existed between the Mughal rulers and the Hindu subjects.

The early life of Shivaji was conditioned to a great extent by his mother, Jijabai. When he was fourteen years old, his father entrusted the administration of the Pune *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 Pune–Rajgarh, Kondana and Torana in the years, AD 1645–1647. Shivaji began his real career of conquest in AD 1656, when he conquered Javli from the Maratha chief, Chandra Rao More. The Mughal invasion of Bijapur in AD 1657 saved Shivaji from Bijapuri reprisal. In AD 1659, Bijapur, free from the Mughal menace, sent in the army against Shivaji under Afzal Khan, whom he murdered treacherously. In AD 1660, the combined Mughal–Bijapuri campaign started against Shivaji. In AD 1663, Shivaji made a surprise night attack on Pune, wounded Shaista Khan (maternal uncle of Aurangzeb) and killed one of his sons. In AD 1665, the 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 AD 1666, proved to be the turning point of the Mughal relations with the Marathas.

The Treaty of Purandhar was signed in AD 1665, according to which Shivaji agreed to help the Mughals against Bijapur. Shivaji ceded twenty-three forts to the Mughals and agreed to visit the royal court of Aurangzeb. Shivaji reached Agra in AD 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, AD 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 AD 1674. Politically speaking, two factors contributed to the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji. These were as follows:

- (i) The comparatively advantageous position of the Marathas under the Deccan Sultanates

- (ii) The threat to Bijapur and Golkonda from the annexationist policy of the Mughal Empire

The poets and writers of Maharashtra played a significant role in provoking and sustaining the national spirit of the Marathas. Among the poets, 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, the Mughals' control over the Deccan had weakened. Also, 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.

Shivaji's Relation with Aurangzeb

Shivaji's relations with the Mughals may be discussed under the following heads:

1. Struggle against Shaista Khan

The Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb became very much worried upon seeing the growing Maratha power in the Deccan. He ordered his maternal uncle Shaista Khan (who was a newly appointed Mughal Subedar of Deccan) to invade Shivaji's territory and the Sultan of Bijapur was asked to cooperate with him. It is said that in accordance with the instructions of Aurangzeb, the Sultan of Bijapur at first sent his General Siddi Jauhar who besieged Shivaji in Panhala, but Shivaji managed to escape from there and the fort of Panhala was occupied by the Bijapur army.

After this, the ruler of Bijapur thought that he could use the Marathas as a shield in the struggle between the Mughals and Bijapur and he showed no interest in taking further any action against Shivaji. It is said that he entered into a secret understanding with Shivaji. On the other hand, the Mughal governor of the Deccan, Shaista Khan occupied Pune in AD 1600 and made it his headquarter. Shivaji was on the lookout for a suitable attack. His headquartered at Poona disguised as a marriage procession. Shivaji's army managed to kill one of Shaista Khan's sons and one of his generals and Shaista Khan himself were wounded badly. Aurangzeb was so annoyed that he transferred Shaista Khan from the Deccan to the Bengal and did not even see Shaista Khan at the time of proceeding of the transfer as was the usual custom.

2. Plunder of Surat

The success in Poona against Shaista Khan greatly increased the morale of Shivaji and the Maratha army. Immediately, he resorted to one more attack and launched a terrible attack on the Mughal port of Surat. From 16 – 20 January, 1664 he plundered the rich city to his heart's content. Shivaji got enormous wealth from this first plunder of Surat City.

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3. The campaigns of Muazzam and Jai Singh against Shivaji and the Treaty of Purandar

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The earlier-mentioned activities of Shivaji made the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb very worried. He sent a vast army against Shivaji under the leadership of his principal advisor. Jai Singh of Amer and his own son, Prince Muazzam Rai, Jai Singh was given all the necessary military and administrative rights so that he did not have to depend upon the Mughal Governor of Deccan. He was also ordered to keep in direct contact with the Emperor himself. Jai Singh was an able and brave general and a far-sighted politician. He did not commit a mistake like his predecessors in assessing the military strength of Shivaji. He tried first to win over all the opponents of Marathas to his side and also manage to win over the Sultan of Bijapur to his side. Then, with full military preparations attacked the main centre of Shivaji, viz. the fort of Purandar. Shivaji's treasury was there and he lived there, with his family. He besieged the fort of Purandar and appointed an army to plunder and terrorize the Maratha regions. Not seeing any help coming from anywhere, Shivaji thought it necessary to start negotiations for peace because in the fort of Purandar, families of the *amirs* also lived and Shivaji considered it his duty to protect their lives and honour. Shivaji met Jai Singh and settled the peace terms. This treaty is famous in history as the Treaty of Purandar (June 1665). The terms of this treaty were as follows:

- (i) Shivaji had to surrender to the Mughals twenty-three of his thirty-five forts yielding an annual land revenue of 4 lakh Huns. Shivaji was left with just twelve forts of one lakh Huns of the annual land revenue.
- (ii) Shivaji promised to remain loyal to the Mughal Emperor.
- (iii) Shivaji's hold over the Konkan region yielding 4 lakh Huns annually was allowed to remain as before.
- (iv) Besides some regions in Balaghat yielding 5 lakh Huns annually which Shivaji had yet to conquer from Bijapur were allowed by Mughals to remain with him. In return, Shivaji had give to the Mughal 40 lakh Huns in installments.
- (v) Shivaji was granted the permission not to go personally to the Mughal court but his son Sambhaji was granted a *mansab* of 5000.
- (vi) Shivaji promised to help the Mughals against Bijapur.

As far as a critical assessment of the treaty of Purandar is concerned, it would have to be conceded that the treaty represented a great political and diplomatic success of Jai Singh against Shivaji. Within a short period of three months Jai Singh forced a rapidly rising Maratha leader and the rising power of Marathas, to accept Mughal sovereignty. With great cleverness he sowed the seeds of a conflict between Bijapur and Shivaji. But the success of the treaty's settlement depended on the extent to which the Mughals helped Shivaji to conquer the regions of Bijapur to enable him to pay the instalment of the war indemnity. This plan could not come through. Aurangzeb was yet not assured about Shivaji and viewed suspiciously any prospect of a combined attack by the Mughal and Shivaji on Bijapur. Jai Singh wanted to take Shivaji to Agra so that he could enter into a permanent with him. According to Jai Singh for the conquest to Deccan, friendship with Shivaji was essential for the Mughals. Shivaji was suspicious of Aurangzeb and he did not agree to go to Agra till Jai Singh assured him completely by putting the responsibility of his protection on his son Ram Singh. Probably, Shivaji also wanted to go to the north to view the situation there and prepared a group of his supporters in the Mughal court. He also expected that by negotiating with Aurangzeb he would get Mughal

help to conquer Janzira island and thus safeguard his western-frontier. Jai Singh started on his first campaign against Bijapur in alliance with the Marathas. But it was not successful. Shivaji was given the task of conquering the fort of Panhala but even he did not succeed. Seeing his plans failing like this, Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to come to Agra and meet the emperor and Shivaji reached Agra in AD 1666.

4. Shivaji in Mughal court and his successful escape from prison

Shivaji came to the Mughal Court on 12 May, AD 1666 along with his son Sambhaji and 350 soldiers. Aurangzeb made him stand among 'Panch Hazaris' and did not even talk to him. Shivaji was very annoyed. Aurangzeb made him and his son prisoners, but after some time both effected their escape from the prison through a clever device and in the guise of Sadhus reached Raigarh on 22 September, AD 1666. Aurangzeb held his own carelessness responsible for this successful escape of Shivaji. After reaching the Deccan, Shivaji was quiet for about two years. Actually, Aurangzeb did not give much importance to the friendship with Shivaji because for him Shivaji was no more than a petty *Zamindar*. But subsequent events showed that this disregard of Shivaji and the Maratha power by Aurangzeb proved very dangerous for the Mughals.

5. Second plunder of Surat, conquest of other Mughal territories

Shivaji started his second campaign against the Mughals in AD 1666–1670. Though he had started his campaign against Bijapur a short while before but he did not gain anything from Bijapur side so he started his campaign against the Mughals again. He reconquered gradually all the twenty-three forts he had surrendered to the Mughals by the treaty of Purnadar. Shivaji plundered Surat the second time on 6 October, AD 1670. In a plunder of three days he got about 66 lakh rupees. According to J.N. Sarkar, 'This plunder of Surat affected trade quiet adversely and the merchants of Surat stopped getting goods from the internal parts of the country.' After this Shivaji attacked Barar, Badlana and Khandesh and conquered the forts of Salher and Muler. So much was the terror of Marathas in the Deccan and they even exacted *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from Mughal regions there. *Chauth* was one-fourth of the revenue of a province effected as tribute by Marathas as a tax of their protection against the Mughals and *sardeshmukhi* was an additional surcharge of one-tenth of the land revenue. In return, the Marathas protected these regions from the external attacks. Mughals were fighting the Afghans in the North-West at this time, therefore, they could not pay much attention towards Shivaji. Shivaji renewed his struggle against Bijapur also. Through bribery he occupied Panhala, and Satara and also attacked the region of Canara.

2.3.1 Administration of Shivaji

Shivaji is famous in Indian history not only as a brave and daring person, a successful general and the founder of an empire, but also as a great administrator and a ruler who had the well wishes of his subjects at heart. He laid the foundation of a strong administrative system. To some extent his administration was based on those of the Deccan administration system, but it had some original features of its own. A study of the various levels of his administration and the administration of its various departments can be made under the following heads.

Central Administration

1. **The King:** Shivaji was a despotic and an autocratic ruler who enjoyed all sovereignty. All the powers of the state were vested in him. He was the supreme

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judge, administrative head, law giver and the General. In spite of being autocratic, he never used his power for meeting his selfish ends. He used to run his administration with the help of a council of ministers called the *Ashtapradhan*. It consisted of eight ministers who were responsible to Shivaji. Their continuation in office depended upon the wishes of Shivaji.

2. **Ashtapradhan:** To help Shivaji with the work of administration, there was a Council of eight ministers called the *Ashtapradhan*. The ministers were as follows:
 - (a) *Peshwa or Mukhya pradhan:* The Prime Minister was known as the Peshwa or Mukhya pradhan. His main task was to look after the efficiency of administration. For the fulfilment of this duty he kept a control over all officials of the government. He acted on behalf of the king in his absence. In all governmental documents there was his stamp and signatures below those of the Chhatrapati. He had to follow the instructions of the Chhatrapati.
 - (b) *Sare-Naubat or Senapati:* He was responsible for the organization and supervision of the army, he used to command the army in the battlefield. He used to give an accurate account of the booty to the Chhatrapati. It was he who informed the Chhatrapati about the requests and requirements of the soldiers. His main duties were recruitment of soldiers, organization of army and maintenance of discipline.
 - (c) *Amatya or Finance Minister:* He was in charge of the income and expenditure of the state. He was not only the finance minister, but also had to perform active military service at the time of war. He had to acknowledge the orders of the 'Chhatrapati' in all the acts performed by him.
 - (d) *Sumant or Foreign Minister:* He used to perform all the functions connected with the foreign affairs. He used to look after the foreign ambassadors and deputies and acquired a knowledge about the political activities of the other states through the spies. The king took his advice at the time of entering into peace treaties with the enemy rulers.
 - (e) *Sachiv or Shurunvish:* He was a sort of superintendent in the central ministry. His main duties were the arrangement for the official posts and to set the language and style of royal letters right.
 - (f) *Wakianavis or Mantri:* He kept an account of the daily activities of the king and the important events at the court. He also prepared a list of the people desirous of visiting the king and kept a strict watch over the food, etc. prepared for the king.
 - (g) *Panditrao or Danadhyaksha:* Panditrao or Danadhyaksha was in charge of religious activities. His main function was the hospitality of the Brahmins on behalf of the king, to give them donation and prizes and to fix dates for religious activities, to arrange for the punishments for anti-religious or other perverse activities, to make the regulations for religious ceremonies, etc. and to give his decisions on the religious questions. It was his responsibility to reform the conduct of the people.
 - (h) *Nyayadhisha:* He was the highest official of judicial department. He heard both the civil and the criminal cases. He also decided about the land-right and chefship, etc. It was also his duty to implement the decisions of the Gram Panchayat. He also interpreted the law. Out of the above mentioned eight ministers, everybody had to perform military service at the time of necessity except Panditrao and Nyayadhisha. With the exception of Senapati

and Wakianavis, very often all the members of the Ashtapradhan were Brahmans. No office was hereditary. On all official documents, firmans and peace documents, on the top there were the signatures of the king, then the Peshwa and at the bottom were those of Amatya, Wakianavis, Sachiv and Sumant.

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Provincial and Local Administration

Shivaji had divided his whole empire into four provinces:

1. **Northern provinces:** This part included Balaghat, Kori region, Southern Surat, Northern Konkan, Northern Bombay and Poona. It was under Peshwa Maro Trimbak Pingle.
2. **Southern provinces:** This part included Southern Bombay, Southern Konkan, Coastal regions, Samantvari regions, etc. This province was under Annaji Pant.
3. **South eastern province:** This province included the regions of Satara, Koljpur, Belgaon and Dharwad and Kopal. Its Sar-Karkun was Dattaju Trimbak.
4. **Four southern provinces:** These included districts from Kopal to Vellure like Zinzi, Velari, Chennai, Chittore and Arcot. This province was under the military officials.

These provinces were known as *Swarajya*. Every provincial ruler respected the wish of the king. Like at the centre, there was a committee of eight ministers in every province.

In order to maintain central hold over the Sar-i-Karkun or the Prantpati and the provincial ministers, Shivaji did not make their offices hereditary and to some extent kept central hold on their appointments under the Prantpati or the Sar-i-Karkun and the Subedars. Perhaps, Karkun was responsible for the maintenance of the empire and Subedars was in charge of the land yielding about ` 1 Lakh annual revenue. According to one estimate, Shivaji got the income of ` 3.5 crores annually barring the income from the *chauth*. On the basis of this account, it can be maintained that there were about 350 subedars in his empire. The office of Subedar was generally given to the Brahmans. In the local administration of Shivaji, forts played an important part. The responsibility for the defense of the neighbouring area of the fort was of the Havaladar. He made arrangements for all administration of the fort. Shivaji's empire included about 240 forts. Thus, he had appointed about 240 Havaladars. The post of the Havaladar was generally given to a Maratha. He managed the entire administration of the fort. In every fort, besides the havaladar, there were two other officials of equal rank – first *Sar-i-Naubat* (who was generally a Maratha), who led and supervised the army stationed in the fort and the other equal ranking officer was *Sabnis*. He was generally a Brahmin. The financial arrangements of the fort and the neighbouring area, the correspondence and the management of the official stores were his responsibilities. *Karakhanis* (who were generally Kayasthaa) helped him. Shivaji paid all his provincial or local officials either in cash or ordered their salaries to be given out of the revenues of a particular area.

Military Administration/Army Organization

The organization and discipline of Shivaji's army was worth emulating. He paid cash salaries to his soldiers. He adopted the practice of branding the horses and writing the descriptive rolls of the soldiers. Soldiers of his army did not carry their wives with them. Shivaji ordered his soldiers to carry a minimum burden or luggage so that the mobility of

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the army should be efficiently maintained. His army had the four branches of cavalry, infantry, artillery and navy.

Cavalry consisted of two parts. The horsemen who were provided horses and weapons on behalf of the state were called the *Bargirs* and the horsemen who arranged for their own horses and weapons were called *Siledars*. All cavalry was under *Sar-i-Naubat*. Infantrymen were good archers. Shivaji recruited the Mawalis in big numbers in his army. His army had 700 Pathan soldiers as well. Shivaji's artillery consisted of only the mortar guns. It was managed by the Portuguese. Shivaji got gunpowder, etc. from the French of Bombay. The main purpose behind organizing the navy was to arrest the plunder of the Abyssinians.

The army remained in the cantonment only for the period of four months of rainy season. During the remaining eight months, it went out either to conquer fresh territory or to collect supplies from the enemy-land. Every article of every soldier was accounted before he left the cantonment and when he returned to it, so that no soldier will possibly hide his booty. Shivaji formed elaborate rules and regulations to maintain discipline in the army and all of them were rigorously enforced. Consequently, he succeeded in organizing a well-disciplined, strong and highly mobile army for the period of his own life-time. The forts and their security occupied an important place in the army organization of Shivaji. Shivaji had as many as 250 forts which were important for him both for purposes of defence and offence. Consequently, he took all necessary measures for the security of his forts. There were three important officers, viz., a *havaladar*, a *sabnis* and a *sar-i-naubat* in every fort. All the three were jointly responsible for the safety of their fort. The *sar-i-naubat* and the *havaladar* were Marathas at the same time as the *sabnis* was a Brahmana by caste. There was a mother officer called *kharkhana-navis* who was responsible for the maintenance of all sorts of supplies in the fort. He also kept an account of every income and expenditure incurred in the fort. The *havaladar* had to look after the working of his subordinates, the right to dismiss them, to receive and dispatch letters, to close the gates of the fort in the evening, to open the gates in the morning and to check the measures taken for the security of the fort. Shivaji maintained a navy as well. Once he conquered the Konkan coast, it became necessary for him to safeguard his coastal territory from the invasion of the Sidis of Janjira. Shivaji had four hundred ships of different types in his navy. The navy was divided into two parts and each part was commanded by *daria nayak* and *mai nayak* respectively. The navy of Shivaji fought against the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English at several occasions.

Land Revenue Administration

Shivaji organized his land revenue administration most probably after the pattern of that of Malik Amber, the minister of Ahmednagar. Four main sources of revenue in his kingdom were the land revenue, custom, *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. He brought the *jagir* system under control to some extent to make his land revenue system effective and successful. In AD 1679, Annaji Datta made a revenue survey of the cultivable land and fixed the land revenue according to the productivity of the soil. Initially, he fixed it 30 per cent of the produce but later on it was increased to 40 per cent. To protect the peasants, Shivaji exempted the revenue demands at the time of natural calamities and gave them Takavi loans to purchase seeds, etc. Takavi loans were taken back in easy instalments. According to some historians, Shivaji completely ended the Zamindari or Deshmukhi system but it does not appear to be correct from our point of view because he gave salary to many officials in the form of *jagir* though they were kept under control. During his time there was strict supervision over the officials who acquired a

hereditary right over land. Shivaji did not permit them to keep soldiers or build forts in their *jagirs* and took from every *jagir* a fixed amount as the State's share. Besides revenue, a fixed percentage of the custom duty was charged on the import and export of the goods of businessmen. Shivaji augmented his income by exacting revenue from the neighbouring regions of the Mughals. This was one-fourth of the revenue imposed on the land and was called the *chauth*. Probably, it was a sort of military tax. It was levied on those regions where Marathas promised not to have any military raid. A similar type of tax was *sardeshmukhi* which was one-tenth of the state income. It was levied on those Maratha Deshmukhs who acknowledged Shivaji as their Sardeshmukh. By levying this tax, Shivaji proved that he was very farsighted and the builder of a strong empire. By means of the *sardeshmukhi* tax he achieved success in bringing the various Maratha Chiefs under one sovereign power and established the Maratha empire. Recent research has proved that the financial system of Shivaji was beneficial to the people.

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Judicial System

Shivaji did not establish organized courts like the modern courts nor did he establish any Law Code. His judicial administration was based on the traditional ways only. At the centre, the eight ministers of the *Ashtapradhan*, viz. *Nyayadhish* decided both the civil and the criminal cases according to the Hindu Scriptures only. In the provinces same function was performed by the provincial judges only. In the villages judicial work was performed by the Panchayats. Justice was impartial and the penal code was strict.

In brief, Shivaji was an able administrator and he laid the foundations of a powerful empire. Undoubtedly his kingdom was a regional kingdom but it was based on popular will. Shivaji adopted a secular policy in his empire. In the words of Dr Ishwari Prasad, he organized an administrative system which in many respects was better than even that of the Mughals.

2.3.2 Coronation and Death of Shivaji

Although Shivaji was able to conquer land and gather enough power, he was not considered a ruler or a superior. This led Shivaji to organize a formal coronation.

Coronation of Shivaji

Shivaji had conquered a large tract of land. He also started behaving like an independent ruler. Yet, the Sultan of Bijapur considered him no more than a rebel Jagirdar. The Mughal Emperor considered him as just a petty *Zamindar*. Many Maratha families looked upon him only as a *Nayab Amir* or *Zamindar* whose ancestors were just ordinary peasants. To prove his superiority among other Maratha families also Shivaji thought it advantageous to get his coronation done in a formal manner. On 15 June, AD 1674, Shivaji held his coronation with great pomp and show. On the auspicious occasion, Pandit Gang Bhatt who presided over the function proclaimed Shivaji to be a high ranking *Kshatriya*. To improve his social standing, Shivaji entered into matrimonial relations with traditional Maratha families like Mohite and Shirke. The coronation greatly enhanced Shivaji's political position. Now he could enter into the independent treaty relationship with the Sultans of the Deccan or the Mughal Emperor unlike previously when he was treated like a powerful dacoit or a rebel *Jagirdar*.

Conquests after Coronation and Death of Shivaji

In AD 1675, Shivaji again started encounters with the Mughals and acquired a lot of booty by defeating the Mughal commander Bahadur Khan. In AD 1676, he took an

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important step. With the help of the two brothers Madanna and Akhanna in Hyderabad he decided to attack Bijapuri Karnataka. Seeing the growing power and influence of Shivaji, Abul Hassan Qutubshah of Golkunda accorded a grand welcome to Shivaji in his capital and a peace treaty was signed between the two. Abul Hassan Qutubshah promised to pay Shivaji one lakh Huns annually and permitted him to reside at his court. Shivaji took upon himself the responsibility of defending Golkunda from the foreign invasions. Shivaji and the Golkunda ruler also decided to divide among themselves the wealth of Karnataka and its conquered areas. Abu Hassan Qutubshah gave to Shivaji his artillery and adequate money for the military expenditure. This treaty proved to be very advantageous for Shivaji. He seized Vellore and Zinji from the Bijapuri commanders and got enough money from the region of Karnataka. When Shivaji returned after the conquest, the ruler of Golkunda asked for his share. But Shivaji gave him neither territory nor money. This made Abul Hassan Qutubshah angry and he entered into an agreement with Bijapur to lessen Shivaji's power, but at that very time Mughal army under Diler Khan attacked Bijapur and the ruler of Bijapur instead of fighting against Shivaji requested his help against the Mughals. Shivaji rendered him help immediately. Shivaji made Bijapur agree to many favourable terms in favour of Velari. It is said that Adil Shah not only gave him the areas of Kopal and Belldibut, but also abandoned his claim over Tanjore and the Gagir of Shahaji Bhonsle. Shivaji also established his hold over many areas of his stepbrother Ekoji. Karnataka expedition was the last of Shivaji's important campaigns.

After establishing administrative arrangements in Karnataka, Shivaji came back to Maharashtra. In AD 1678, he and his stepbrother Ekoji entered into an agreement with each other and Shivaji returned him all his areas which he had conquered. But that very year his eldest son Sambhaji started behaving like an independent young man and he first went over to the Mughals and later to Bijapur. Though he came back to Shivaji after remaining rebellious for about a year, yet Shivaji was very unhappy with his conduct and behaviour.

With this very worry and after an illness of just twelve days he died on 12 April AD 1680, at the age of fifty-three.

Shivaji had begun his life as a manager of his father's *jagir* at Pune and succeeded in establishing an independent kingdom due to his military ability and qualities of character.

Maharashtra, Konkan and a large part of Karnataka were included in his empire. His kingdom had about 240 forts. He laid the foundation of a strong administrative system in his kingdom. He proved himself to be an able military commander and a capable politician. He kept check over the power of the Deshmukhs and laid the foundation of a powerful empire which lasted for a long time, even after his death.

2.3.3 Successors of Shivaji: Mughal-Maratha Relations and Rule of Peshwas

Shivaji had two wives. Following his death in AD1680, their sons got into a fight over the throne of the newly created Maratha kingdom. Let us read about this in more detail.

Successors of Shivaji and Mughal-Maratha Relations

1. Shambhaji (AD1680–1689)

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 20 July 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 AD 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 AD 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 AD 1707, he was aware that his efforts to crush the Marathas had failed.

2. Rajaram (AD 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 AD 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 AD 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 *amansab*, he virtually remained a prisoner in the hands of the Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb (AD 1707). Thus, at the close of AD 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 throne in dispute. It 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 made such arrangements for

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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.

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Sahu's release from Mughal captivity and the rise of the Peshwas

Nearly three months after Aurangzeb's death, Sambhaji's son Sahu (born 18 May 1682) who had been in Mughal captivity since 3 November 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 AD1714.

Balaji Viswanath (AD1713–1720) — Rise of Peshwas

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 AD1708. He became *Peshwa* in AD 1713 and made the post the most important and powerful as well as hereditary. He played a crucial role 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 (AD1719) by which the Mughal Emperor (Farukhsiyar) 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 Saiyyid 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 was 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 (AD 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 Poona

After defeating and expelling the Siddhis of Janjira from the mainland (AD1722), he conquered Bassein and Salsette from the Portuguese (AD1733). 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 (AD1737). He led innumerable successful expeditions into north India to weaken the Mughal Empire and to make the Marathas the supreme power in India. He said 'Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree and the branches will fall of themselves.'

Balaji Baji Rao (AD 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 (AD1752) 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 AD 1743 he undertook the second expedition to the north to help Ali Vardi Khan (in Bengal) whose territories had been ravaged Raghujji 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

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for the expenses of his expedition. By this arrangement the Peshwa freed Ali Vardi Khan's territories from the ravages of Raghuji's troops. During the first half of his Peshwaship he established Maratha supremacy in Karnataka and sent expeditions to Rajputana.

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Shahu 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 (AD1751–1761), 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 fulfilment 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 AD1753, 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 AD1754.

There was never 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 pay '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 Safdarjung, from provincial governorship (AD1757). 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 AD1758, 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 river 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 the Punjab after leaving the province in 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 crossed the river 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 (AD1760)

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 Sikandarabad. Thereafter, the Maratha army in Hindustan ceased to exist.

When the news of these disasters reached the Peshwa at Pune, 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 (14 January 14 1761) resulted in the death of Viswas Rao (son of Nana Saheb).

Madhav Rao (AD 1761–1772), Narayana Rao (AD1772–1773), Sawai Madhav Rao (AD 1773–1795), and Baji Rao II (AD 1795–1818) succeeded him thereafter.

2.4 RISE OF REGIONAL POLITIES: BENGAL, AWADH AND MYSORE

In this section, we will learn about the rise of regional polities in Bengal, Awadh and Mysore.

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Check Your Progress

3. What were the two factors that contributed to the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji?
4. What were the main duties of the *Sare-Naubat* or *Senapati*?
5. List the four main sources of revenue under the administration of Shivaji.

2.4.1 Bengal

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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 lead to 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, having 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 vying against each other. Without seeking Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah's consent, the English began to build fortifications in Calcutta. They even chose to disregard the Nawab's order to curtail augmentation of their military resources and abuse the use of *dastaks* granted to them by the *farman* of 1717. Also, Company servants began misusing the concessions granted by the *farman* of 1717 by extending the privileges over their private trade too. Causing further economic loss to Bengal, the officials began to profit by selling off the *dastaks* 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, the son of Raja Rajballava.

2.4.2 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 Faizabad) was more clearly identifiable than before. Asaf-ud-Daula's succession to the throne in 1775 went without a hitch notwithstanding the 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 favourite 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 smoothed 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

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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.

2.4.3 Mysore

Mysore, which lies between the two Ghats—the eastern and western—were ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty. However, between 1731 and 1734 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.

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.

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.

Tipu Sultan (1782–1799)

The eldest son of Hyder Ali, Tipu ascended the throne on his father's death in 1782, following the Second Mysore War. 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.

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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 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.

First Anglo-Mysore War (1767–1769)

To oust Haider Ali, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas joined hands with the English. This led to the First Anglo-Mysore War (1767–1769). 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 Tirupattur 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.

Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780–1784)

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 (1780–1784). 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.

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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.'

However, 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 Tinnevely 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'.

Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790–1792)

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).

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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 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.

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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).

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.

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 the Woodeyar dynasty on the throne.

Check Your Progress

6. When did Lord Wellesley come to India?
7. How did Dalhousie annex Awadh?
8. What are the factors that led to the first Anglo-Mysore war in 1767?
9. Who all signed the Treaty of Mardas?
10. When did Haider Ali die?
11. Who succeeded Tipu after his death?

2.5 SUMMARY

- The war of succession after Shah Jahan was a fierce battle waged by the sons of the royal leader—Shah Shuja, Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb and Murad—in order to seize the Mughal throne.
- Aurangzeb was the son of Shah Jahan and he ascended the throne as the sixth Mughal Emperor in AD 1658.
- Aurangzeb believed that all Mughal rulers who ruled prior to him committed one blunder—they did not try to establish the supremacy of Islam in India.
- His religious intolerance was reflected in a number of ways. He stopped celebrating the Hindu festivals like Holi and Diwali at the court.
- The first organized revolt of the Hindus against the policy of religious persecution of Aurangzeb was that of the Jats. The Jats under their leader Gokul revolted against his tyranny in AD 1669.
- Aurangzeb not only adopted anti-Hindu religious policy, but also an anti-Shia policy as well.
- The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb had political as well as religious purpose. The extension of the Empire was also one of the purposes of adopting this policy.
- Aurangzeb believed that the complete destruction of the states of Bijapur and Golconda was a prior necessity for the destruction of the power of the Marathas in the Deccan.
- At the beginning of the 17th century, most parts of Maharashtra were under the possession of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Adil Shah of Bijapur. They took the help of local Marathi speaking people to run their administration.
- Shivaji was the son of Shahji Bhonsle. Shivaji was born in AD 1630 as the second son of Shahji and Jijabai. The early life of Shivaji was led in great simplicity and austerity, influenced by his mother's beliefs.
- Shivaji is famous in Indian history not only as a brave and daring person, a successful general and the founder of an empire, but also as a great administrator and a ruler who had the well wishes of his subjects at heart.
- In AD 1675, Shivaji again started encounters with the Mughals and acquired a lot of booty by defeating the Mughal commander Bahadur Khan.
- As Bengal, in the 18th century, was the most prosperous province, the English East India Company considered it economically and politically extremely lucrative.
- 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 the English started in 1764 with the Battle of Buxar.
- Mysore, which lies between the two Ghats—the eastern and western—were ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty.
- 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.

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- The eldest son of Hyder Ali, Tipu ascended the throne on his father's death in 1782, following the Second Mysore War. 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.
- 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.

2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Shias:** Shia Islam is the second largest denomination of Islam, after Sunni Islam. The followers of Shia Islam are called Shi'ites or Shias. The term 'Shia' refers to 'followers of Ali', 'faction of Ali', or 'party of Ali'.
- **Sunni Muslims:** People of the tradition of Muhammad and the community. Sunni Islam is sometimes referred to as the orthodox version of the religion.
- **Peshwas:** The Peshwas were the Brahmin prime ministers to the Marathas who began commanding Maratha armies and later became the de facto rulers of the Maratha Empire.
- **Nyayadhisha:** He was the highest official of judicial department in the Maratha Empire. He heard both the civil and the criminal cases.
- **Chauth:** A tax or tribute imposed from early 18th century by the Maratha Empire.

2.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Aurangzeb was born in AD 1618 at Dohad near Ujjain.
2. The measures of Aurangzeb in accordance with Islam were as follows:
 - (i) Anti-Hindu steps and activities
 - (ii) Jaziya
 - (iii) Removing the Hindus from the government posts
 - (iv) Restriction on the festivals of the Hindus
 - (v) Anti-Shia measures
3. The two factors that contributed to the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji were as follows:
 - (i) The comparatively advantageous position of the Marathas under the Deccan Sultanates
 - (ii) The threat to Bijapur and Golkonda from the annexationist policy of the Mughal Empire
4. The main duties of the *Sare-Naubat* or *Senapati* were recruitment of soldiers, organization of army and maintenance of discipline.
5. The four main sources of revenue under the administration of Shivaji were the land revenue, custom, *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*.
6. Lord Wellesley came to India in 1798.
7. 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.

8. 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.
9. 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.
10. Haider Ali died on 7 December 1782 at Narasingarayanpet near Chittoor.
11. After Tipu Sultan’s death on 4 May 1799, Lord Wellesley imposed the subsidiary alliance and placed Krishnaraja, a descendant of the Woodeyar dynasty on the throne of Mysore.

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2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the outcome of the Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb?
2. Summarize the various achievements of Aurangzeb.
3. Write about the nature and consequences of various conquests of Aurangzeb with the Marathas.
4. Highlight the important features of Shivaji’s administration.
5. Analyse the military organization adopted by Shivaji.
6. Trace the events that led to the coronation and later the death of Shivaji.
7. Why was Asaf-ud-Daula’s succession a turning point in the history of Awadh?
8. Name the various treaties signed between the Maratha chiefs and the Company.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the War of Succession after Shah Jahan.
2. Discuss the early career and accession of Aurangzeb.
3. Explain the religious policy of Aurangzeb, with special reference to the revolt by the Jats.
4. Describe the early career and conquests of Shivaji. Add a note on Shivaji’s relations with Aurangzeb.
5. Discuss the events that led to the Third Battle of Panipat. What were the consequences of the battle?
6. Discuss the annexation of Awadh.
7. What led to the second Anglo-Mysore war? What were its consequences?
8. What were the causes of Tipu Sultan’s failure in the late 18th century? Discuss in detail.

2.9 FURTHER READING

NOTES

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UNIT 3 STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY: EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIAL RULE

*Struggle for Supremacy:
Expansion and
Consolidation of
Colonial Rule*

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Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Anglo-French Rivalry
- 3.3 Advent of British Rule in India
 - 3.3.1 Dual Government
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- 3.4 Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley and Dalhousie
 - 3.4.1 Warren Hastings
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- 3.5 Resistance to British Rule: Maharashtra, Punjab, Sindh and Mysore
 - 3.5.1 Maharashtra
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3.0 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.

As you learnt, 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. The 18th century was marked by the emergence of regional polities, the so-called successor states like Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad, although they were politically and financially independent from Mughal state, but always used the Mughal symbols and titles for legitimacy and political stability. It is generally viewed that the 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 advent of British rule in India, as well as resistance to it.

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3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss various aspects of the Anglo-French rivalry
- Critically analyse the Battle of Plassey
- Describe the system of dual government
- Examine the events that led to the Battle of Buxar
- Identify the key aspects of administration under Warren Hastings
- Explain the system of judicial administration under General Charles Cornwallis
- Describe Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse
- Discuss the struggle of Maharashtra, Punjab, Sindh and Mysore against the British rule

3.2 ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY

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

The English

The Company named 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East Indies' was granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth. 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 Jahangir. He showed him the letter which he brought from James I, King of England.

In this letter, James I had requested Jahangir to allow the English merchant to establish trade in the country. The merchants of Portugal and Surat strongly opposed the establishment of the English merchant in India. Thus, Jahangir had to decline the request of James I.

In 1609, Jahangir 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 who was the successor of Shaista Khan issued a *farmaan* in the 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 the year 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 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 his own coins.

The French vs The English

In 1749, the French company seemed to 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 company.
- 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, the English East India Company and French East India Company fought with each other in India. These wars are known as the Carnatic wars. They

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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.

The First Carnatic War (1746–1748)

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The First Carnatic War was directly linked to the events in Europe. The English and French were fighting on the issue of Austria's succession (1740–48). Once the war broke in March 1740, the two companies in India started preparing for it. Dupleix, the French Governor-General in India since 1742, was the first to realize the necessity of obtaining political influence and territorial control. But he had to face many difficulties. The French East India Company was the Government's company which was in trouble. Although the trade of the company had increased in recent past, its expenditure was more than its income. Naturally, it fell into heavy indebtedness. If this was not enough, the rivalry between two senior leaders-Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, worsened the situation for French. La Bourdonnais arrived near Pondicherry in July 1746 with 10 vessels, 406 canons, 2,350 white soldiers and 700 black soldiers. He wanted to act with complete independence, while Governor-General Dupleix considered himself superior.

On September 21, 1746 the French troops, led by La Bourbononais, captured Madras, an important English trading centre since mid-17th century. Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Carnatic, sent a large Indian army to drive the French out of Madras. He was 'guided' by the English. In the Battle of St. Thonie (November 4, 1746) situated on the bank of Adyar river, Mahfuz Khan, son of Anwaruddin, was defeated by French captain Paradis. He had less than a thousand soldiers and had to fight 10,000 men. But the disciplined and organized army of the French, led by capable officers, won the battle.

The English on the other hand besieged Pondicherry from 6th September to 15th October 1748. But Dupleix made a strong defense and forced the English to retreat. This triumph of Dupleix made him a known and popular figure in the Indian courts. The war came to an end by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), under which Madras was given back to the English. The French got Quebec (Canada) in exchange of Madras. The English promised not to attack Pondicherry.

The first Carnatic war taught the lesson to the French that a small army of Europeans, aided by Indian troops and trained after the European fashion could easily defeat much larger Indian armies.

To secure political advantages, Dupleix started interfering in the internal matters of Hyderabad and Carnatic. Chin Qilich Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of independent Hyderabad kingdom, died in 1748. Dupleix supported Muzaffar Jang, the grandson of Nizam instead of Nasir Jung, the son. The Nawab of Carnatic, Anwaruddin also died in 1749. Dupleix supported Chanda Sahib to the throne of the Carnatic as against Mohammad Ali, the illegitimate son of late Nawab. The English had no other option except to support Nasir Jung for Hyderabad and Mohammad Ali for Carnatic. Thus the war of succession in these two kingdoms led to second Anglo-French War (1749–1754).

The Second Carnatic War (1749–1754)

The war started at the time when the English and French had peace in Europe. This proved that the two were fighting in India for commercial supremacy and not merely because of their traditional rivalry.

On 3 August, 1749, French soldiers with sepoy (from 'Sipahi' of Persian) attacked Arcot in Ambur, the capital of Carnatic. Anwaruddin was killed and his elder son, Mahfuz Khan was captured but his younger son Mohammad Ali Khan Wallajah fled. He took

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shelter at Trichinopoly, proclaimed himself the Nawab of Arcot and received support from the English. Chanda Sahib and the French officer, Jacques Law seized Trichinopoly. At this critical juncture, a young English officer, Robert Clive seized Arcot, the capital of Chanda Sahib on September 11, 1751 with only 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoys. The purpose was to free Trichinopoly from Chanda Sahib's seize. The plan worked and 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 50 days. Chanda Sahib had to withdraw; later the English defeated him and his Indian allies at several places; he surrendered and was finally executed, 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 'farmaan' 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. The Second Carnatic War had ended with English acquiring dominance in Carnatic and French, a place in the Court of Nizam.

The Third Carnatic War (1758–63)

The Third Carnatic War (1758–63) began with the Seven Years' War (1756–63) of Europe. This war was no longer confined to Carnatic. Robert Clive, the English governor of Fort St. David and Lieutenant Colonel seized Chandan Nagar, the French settlement in Bengal in 1757. He was also responsible for the victory against Siraj-ud-daula, the Nawab of Bengal, in the Battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757). Thus, financially, English East India Company was more secured.

However, the most decisive battles of the war were fought in the Carnatic. The French appointed Count de Lally as the new governor of Pondichery. He besieged Fort St. David and captured on 2 June, 1758; also captured Nagur and entered Tanjore. He then attacked Madras where he called Bussy to assist him. This was a blunder because Hyderabad was well under French control. Bussy himself was reluctant to come. The British forced Salabat Jung to cede 80 miles long and 20 miles wide territory to them. After their victory over Plassey, the English troops led by Col. Forde, captured Northern Sarkar (December 1758) and Masulipattinam (April 1759). But the most decisive battle was fought at Wandiwash (January 22, 1760) where Lally was defeated by English troops, led by Eyer Coote. Lally retreated to Pondicherry, which was besieged by the English and Lally was forced to surrender in 1761.

The Seven Years' War ended in 1763 and a treaty was signed at Paris (February 10, 1763). Among other things, it was decided that Pondicherry would go to France along with five trading ports and various factories but merely as a trading centre without any fortification and armies.

Lally, was accused of treason and executed when he returned to France. He was made a scapegoat. It is wrong to blame only Lally for French failure. Though, some of his moves like calling Bussy from Hyderabad (1758)-were blunders but the real reason for French failure lies in the structure of its company and the policies and attitude of the French Government.

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The French East India Company was a state undertaking company whose directors were appointed by the crown. The lethargy and bureaucratic control of this company could be compared to the bureaucratic control of many public sector companies of post Independent India. The English East India Company, on the other hand, was a private undertaking based on free enterprise and individual initiative. It earned profits from the Asian trade and did not depend on the state.

The French could never focus towards India as their priority remained Europe whereas England gave their full attention to the oceans and distant lands, especially India. The French failed to understand the complex political situation of India unlike the British. The French also failed to compete with the English in naval supremacy.

Thus, the third Carnatic war ended the French challenge in India and paved the way for the establishment of the British Empire in India.

Causes for the success of the British against the French

1. The English company was a private enterprise-this created a sense of self-confidence among the people, the French Company was state-owned.
2. Superior geographical position of England in Europe. France had to pay more attention to its border while at war as compared to relative secure position of England.
3. The English navy was superior to the French navy. It helped to cut off the link between the French possessions in India and France.
4. French government never took interest in Indian affairs.
5. The English held three important places i.e. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras whereas the French had only Pondicherry.
6. The French subordinated their commercial interest to territorial ambition, which made the French Company short of funds.

Check Your Progress

1. Name the first French company to establish trading relations with India.
2. Which state became the Dutch capital in India in 1674?
3. Why did Jahangir decline the request of James I to let Captain William Hawkins establish trade in India?
4. In 1691, Ibrahim Khan, who was the successor of Shaista Khan, issued a *farmaan* in favour of the English. What was this *farmaan* all about?

3.3 ADVENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

In 1717, the Mughal emperor issued a *farmaan* 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 *farmaan* 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 *farmaan* 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

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East India Company took the opportunity to win factions in their favour and work against the Nawab, and thereby lead to 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, having 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 vying against each other. Without seeking Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah's consent, the English began to build fortifications in Calcutta. They even chose to disregard the Nawab's order to curtail augmentation of their military resources and abuse the use of *dastaks* granted to them by the *farmaan* of 1717. Also, Company servants began misusing the concessions granted by the *farmaan* of 1717 by extending the privileges over their private trade too. Causing further economic loss to Bengal, the officials began to profit by selling off the *dastaks* 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.

The 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 no match to their troops. Most Englishmen escaped to Fulda, only 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 Fulda and not annihilate them entirely from Fulda. Again, after capturing Calcutta, he did not attempt to consolidate his position and ensure its defense from any counter attack. Such errors are seldom 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 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.

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 army 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.

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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. As demands for more presents and bribes from the Company's servants increased, the coffers of Mir Jafar soon became barren. 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.

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 *darbar*, 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 overlooks 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 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.

3.3.1 Dual Government

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. Hence, 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 levels: 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 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* and *nizamat* rights in lieu of ` 26 lakh as annual pension and ` 53 lakh, respectively. However, the Company had received the *diwani* rights from the Mughal emperor and the *nizamat* powers from the 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. Though the Company kept all administrative matters under his 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 10 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 exercising 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, instead increased it by 10 per cent for the following year.

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 and as it lost its cultivators and artisans.

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 Company rule, the most prosperous

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and industrially developed province soon became steeped in abject poverty and suffering that became augmented in the wake of famines and epidemics. Gaining control over Bengal, the English had become successful in founding a colonial empire and fulfill its imperial designs.

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3.3.2 Battle of Buxar

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 emptied the Nawab's treasures completely, they thought Mir Jafar to be incapable of yielding any further benefits. 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 *dastaks* 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, 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 lakhs from the Company and ` 53 lakhs from the Nawab of Bengal. 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.

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. To understand the motive behind such a decision, it may be reasoned out that this system of administration reflected the Company's inexperience in matters related to administration, as the Company was essentially a trading body.

Since 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.

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 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 lakhs.

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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 having established their position in Bengal, Buxar laid out the path for British supremacy over north India.

Treaty of Allahabad

In May 1765, Clive was entrusted 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

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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.

The Puppet Nawabs of Bengal

Post-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 suffering from 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 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. 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.

The pension amount was further reduced to ` 10 lakh when Najm-ud-Daulah was succeeded by his minor brother Mubarak-ud-Daulah. That the powers of the nawabs had been completely curbed is evident from the following comment made by a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1775 regarding the status of the nawab and calling him as 'a phantom, a man of straw'.

Check Your Progress

5. What was the outcome of the dual government?
6. Identify the warring sides in the Battle of Buxar.
7. Outline the political implications of the Battle of Buxar.
8. What were the consequences of the Battle of Buxar?

3.4 HASTINGS, CORNWALLIS, WELLESLEY AND DALHOUSIE

Let us now study the efforts taken by the following British Governor Generals of India.

3.4.1 Warren Hastings

Working as an administrative clerk in the East India Company, Warren Hastings reached Calcutta in 1750. He gradually climbed up the ladder and was appointed as the President of Kasimbazar, by Governor of Bengal in 1772. Later, he became Governor General of Bengal in 1774 under the Regulating Act.

Administrative reforms

Warren Hastings embarked upon the task of initiating the following administrative measures:

- **Setting up a Board of Revenue at Calcutta:** Replacing the *diwans*, a Board of Revenue was created at Calcutta. It was entrusted with the task of overseeing the collection of land revenue.
- **Appointment of English collectors:** Revenue was to be collected by English collectors directly chosen by him.
- **Transfer of treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta:** Bengal became the administrative capital when the coffer was shifted to Calcutta.
- **Reorganization of the Nawab's affairs:** Munni Begum, the widow of Mir Jaffer was given the responsibility to supervise household affairs and become the regent to the minor Nawab.
- **Stoppage of tribute to Shah Alam:** Hastings discontinued the payment of pension to Shah Alam II.
- **Reduction of pension of the Nawab of Bengal:** The pension to the Nawab of Bengal was decreased to ` 16 lakh.

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Judicial reforms

The judicial reforms, initiated by Hastings include:

- Clipping judicial powers of zamindars
- Setting up civil and criminal courts in every district
- Creating the Sadar Diwani Adalat
- Writing out judicial proceedings
- Selecting the Indian judges in criminal courts
- Changes initiated in existing rules and laws wherever deemed necessary
- Meting out justice to Muslims as per the Quran, and insisting on following the *shastras* to settle matters related to marriage, succession and religion

Financial reforms

To improve the financial status of the Company, at a time when the treasury was almost bare and the Company was compelled to take loans, Hastings introduced the following measures:

- In lieu of a payment of ` 30 lakhs, the districts of Kara and Allahabad were sold to Shuja-ud-Daulah–Nawab of Awadh.
- The annual tribute to the Nawab of Bengal was reduced to ` 16 lakhs from ` 32 lakhs.
- To enhance the financial position of the Company, he wanted to develop trade relations with Bhutan and Tibet where he sent a mission.
- When Shah Alam sought Maratha protection, he stopped the payment of the annual pension of ` 25 lakh payable to him.

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- In lieu of the district of Benaras and a sum of ₹ 40 lakh, he agreed to assist Shuja-ud-Daulah.
- To reduce expenditure the amount of money given as pension to Company servants were reduced.
- Currency was regularized.
- Unyielding offices were closed to minimize expenditure.

Revenue reforms

The following revenue reforms were proposed by Hastings:

- British land revenue collectors were directly chosen by him to collect land revenue and execute the reforms.
- The Board of Revenue at Calcutta was appointed to supervise land revenue administration.
- The Quinquennial land revenue system was initiated.
- To help the members of the Revenue Board, local officers called *Rai Rayan*, were appointed.
- The Quinquennial system was replaced by the one-year settlement which was decided in favour of the highest bidder.
- Understanding the sufferings of the people, other taxes were removed, but land revenue was collected at a set rate.

Commercial reforms

Hastings introduced the following commercial reforms:

- **Decreasing customs duties:** Apart from salt, betel nut and tobacco, duties on all goods were decreased by 2.5 per cent. Both locals and Europeans had to pay customs duties.
- **Removing numerous customs posts:** As trade got affected owing to a large number of customs posts, only five customs posts were retained, namely, Calcutta, Hughli, Murshidabad, Patna and Dhaka.

Abolition of the *dastak* system

With the removal of *dastaks*, the Company servants had no option but to pay duties for their personal goods, which reduced corruption and augmented the Company's revenues.

Sending commercial mission to other countries: To improve trade, commercial missions were dispatched to countries like Bhutan, Tibet and Egypt.

Social reforms

To encourage Islamic studies, he founded the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781, which was the first educational institution founded by the British Government. Thereafter, the Sanskrit College was established at Benaras by Jonathan Duncan in 1792. Under Hastings' patronage William Wilkins had translated the *Gita* and Nathaniel Halhed had compiled a digest of Hindu laws.

Consequences of these Reforms

Though he succeeded in improving the governing machinery, he did not receive adequate government support. Also, he had to entertain the whims and fancies of his seniors who

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wanted to fill up the posts by their favoured candidates and not by those chosen on the basis of their merit. Struggling against all odds, he managed to provide his successor, Lord Cornwallis, with a strong administrative structure. Hence, it may well be said that if Lord Clive had established the territorial foundation of the British Empire in Bengal, Hastings had given the British administrative structure a solid foundation.

Impeachment

In protest against the Pitts India Bill, Warren Hastings resigned from office in 1785. Accused of the Rohilla War, Nand Kumar's murder, the case of Chet Singh and for having accepted bribes, he was impeached for seven years from 1788 to 1795. By the time he was acquitted (23 April 1795), he had no money left and had become a pauper.

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. 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 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.

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 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, the 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.

Important Features of the Act

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Important features of this Act include:

- 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 license 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 were had to follow the decisions taken by the Governor General and Council of Bengal.

The Defects of the Regulating Act

The defects of the Regulating Act of 1773 have been outlined below:

- The Governor General did not have any veto power. Hastings often had to struggle with his councillors who could easily impose 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 which plagued the home government internally.

Relations with Gurkhas

The Gurkhas wanted to expand their territory. Thus, they annexed approximately two hundred villages from Darjeeling to Seinle, and Gorakhpur as well. Lord Minto sent

them an ultimatum of protest but they ignored it. They invaded two districts named Sheroraj and Butwal. Hastings again sent a message to the Gurkhas to leave these districts, but they did not pay heed to his message. Thus, Hastings declared war on Nepal.

For the preparation of the war, Hastings borrowed one crore rupees from the Nawab of Awadh. He decided to send four armies in the war against Nepal. The Gurkhas defeated three of these armies, however, they were defeated by the fourth. Then, Hastings forced the Gurkhas to sign the Treaty of Sanguali in the year 1816.

The Treaty of Sugauli (1816)

As per this treaty, the Nepalese had to surrender districts of Garhwal and Kumaon to the Company. These districts were situated on the west coast of the River Kali. A British resident was appointed at Kathmandu. However, the English agreed that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of the country. Also, Nepal lost the right to employ Americans or Europeans in its country without seeking permission from the English. Some of the features of this treaty were as follows:

- The treaty benefitted the English in many ways, for instance, the Nepalese supported the English in the ‘mutiny’ of 1857.
- The East India Company started employing Gorkha soldiers in the English army.
- The territory under the British increased.
- The treaty ensured perpetual peace and friendship between the Company and Nepal.

Relations with Sikhs

Anglo-Sikh relations can best be described as strained not just during the time of Warren Hastings, but even before and after. Moreover, the history of the Anglo-Sikh relations also reflects the changing face of the East India Company from a mere commercial enterprise into a political power. The consolidation of Bengal and Oudh under the Company was crucial in establishing the British as a formidable power gradually setting up base in the Indian subcontinent. By August 1765, through the grant of the *diwani* rights to the Company, Shah Alam concluded the transfer of power to the British, thereby making them the supreme ruling authority over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. During 1765—1767, the numerous invasions of India by Ahmad Shah Durrani was observed by Robert Clive (the victor of Plassey and Governor of Bengal), with curious anticipation.

Warren Hastings, became the Governor General in 1773. He was concerned about the increasing power and influence of the Sikhs. He made great efforts to know more about them. Examples of this can be seen in the different publications and travelogues that were submitted to the Company on the Sikhs. Louis Henri Polier, a Swiss engineer in the Company’s military service submitted a detailed account of the Sikhs in the year 1776. Even though never published, this paper was quoted by George Forster, a civil servant of the Company who at the behest of Warren Hastings, journeyed through the regions of Punjab, Kashmir and Afghanistan disguised as a Turkish traveller and wrote *A Journey from Bengal to England*.

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

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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 Yusuf 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.

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.

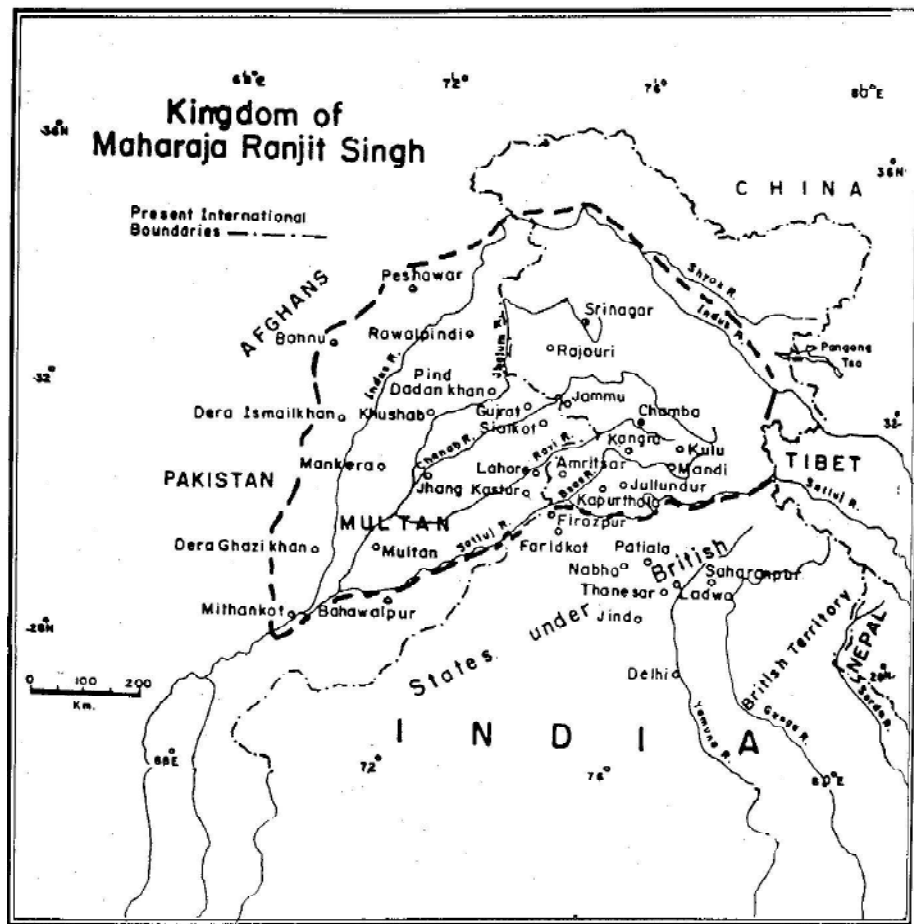


Fig. 3.1 Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

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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 3.1 shows a map displaying the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846)

The First Anglo-Sikh War was fought at Mudki on 18 December 1845 in which 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. Under these circumstances, 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 9 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.

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.

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.

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Relations with Rajputs

The establishment of British influence over Rajput states and some minor states in Central India was presided over by Lord Warren Hastings. Due to a large number of internal and external factors, the Rajputs became prey to external aggression at hands of the Pindaris, Pathans and Marathas. The rulers of Rajasthan had lost their former glory because of petty skirmishes within their territories as well as pseudo norms of heroism and chivalry. These factors combined with other serious administrative lapses led to anarchy, plunder and economic ruin. Bankrupt and vulnerable, the Rajputs were ready to acknowledge British supremacy.

In consolidating the Mughal Empire in India, the Rajputs had played a significant role. The English realized the strategic advantage of forming an alliance with the Rajput states would give them the boost they needed to establish control over central India. Moreover this (the alliance with the Rajputs) was something that the Marathas had failed to achieve in their expansionist strategies.

Thus, with the sanction of the home authorities he opened negotiations with the following Rajput States, which, one by one, entered into treaties of defensive alliance, perpetual friendship, protection and subordinate cooperation with the Company: the State of Kotah, then under the able guidance of Zalim Singh, on 26 December, 1817; Udaipur on 16 January, 1818, Bundi on 10 February, 1818; Kishangarh, near Ajmer, and Bikaner, in March, 1818; Jaipur on 2 April, 1818; the three kingdoms of Pratapgarh, Banswara and Dungarpur, branches of the Udaipur house and situated on the border of Gujarat, on 5 October, 5 December, and 11 December, 1818, respectively; Jaisalmer on 12 December, 1818 and Sirohi in 1823.

In other words, the Rajput states, who as per Hastings' account, proved to be an asset to the Company, subordinated their independence to British supremacy and secured their protection. It is difficult to agree with Prinsep that the 'good government and tranquillity' of Rajputana were 'the exclusive aims' of the Company in interfering in its affairs. In fact, the guiding considerations of Lord Hastings in his relations with the Rajput States were political expediency and convenience and strategic advantages.

Relations with Pindaris

Pindaris were a group of plunderers. The Pindaris included fugitives from justice, disbanded soldiers and idle people. They came to be known to people during wars between the Marathas and the Mughals.

Causes of the Pindari war

Lord Hastings was angry at the plunders of Pindaris in the dominions of Nizam, Northern Circars and the Gangetic valley. Thus, he took permission from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to exterminate them. After getting permission from the Directors he waged a war against the Pindaris.

Events of the war

To begin his preparations for the War, he tried to understand several powers which were active in India. After this, he made a military plan to surround the Pindaris. This campaign by Hastings came to be known as the Pindari War or the Third Anglo-Maratha War.

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He made a plan to attack the Pindaris from the west from Gujarat, from the east and North from Bengal and from the south from the Deccan. Thus, he wanted to surround the Pindaris from all sides. He created a strong and big army of 1,20,000 men and 300 artillery pieces to kill Pindaris. The Pindaris made three groups and their leaders named Chitu Pindari, Karim Khan Pindari and Wasil Muhammad Pindari led these groups in the war.

When Karim Khan Pindari came to know that the British are going to attack the Pindaries, he tried to persuade other Pindari leaders to make a plan for defence. However, the Pindari leaders did not agree to him. Karim Khan and Wasil Muhammad went to Gwalior for the war and Chitu Pindari united with the forces of Holkar. After some time, all Pindari parties went back to south as they had a base in south. Towards the end of December, Jaswant Rao Bhau invited Karim Khan Pindari, thus, he went to north and Chitu Pindari went to the area near Jawar. After making a number of failed attempts to reach an agreement with the British, almost all the Pindari leaders gradually surrendered in February, 1819.

The English made arrangements at Gorakhpur for the settlement of Pindari leaders and their families. They gave them pensions and lands.

3.4.2 Cornwallis

Charles Cornwallis was sent to India by the Court of Directors in the year 1786. He was entrusted the responsibility of executing the policy of peace given in Pitt's India Act and to restructure the administrative system in India. Some of his major responsibilities were as follows:

- To find out a solution for land revenue problem.
- To set up a judiciary which is honest as well as efficient.
- To restructure the commercial division of the East India Company.

In order to restructure the administrative system, Cornwallis used the basic structure of administration designed by Warren Hastings and made some modifications in it. The structure designed by Cornwallis remained in force till 1858.

Reforms in Judicial Administration, Public Revenue and Other Services

Cornwallis became Governor General of Bengal and he introduced a number of reforms, which are as follows:

- **Reforms in the judicial system:** Cornwallis believed that District Collector should have more authority than they already had. The Court of Directors had also instructed the same. Thus, in 1787, Collectors were appointed judges of *Diwani Adalats* and were given charge of districts. The District Collectors were given powers of Magistrates so that they could judge criminal cases. However, some limitations were imposed on them in trying these cases.

Some more changes were made in the administrative structure from 1790 to 1792. *Foujdari Adalats* were abolished and four circuit courts were established in their place. Out of these four circuit courts, three were for Bengal and one was for Bihar. The European servants were given the authority to preside over these courts. These European servants took help from Muftis and Qazis while trying the cases. These courts went to districts two times in a year and tried cases.

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The *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* at Murshidabad was also abolished. A Mohammedan judge used to preside over this court. In place of this court, another court was established in Calcutta. These courts consisted of the Governor General and members of the Supreme Council. The Chief *Qazis* and two Muftis assisted them.

Thus, the new judicial system had petty courts, districts courts, four provincial courts and *Sadr Diwani Adalat*. *Daroga* courts and district courts, four circuit courts and *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* were established for trying criminal cases.

- **Cornwallis code:** In 1793, Cornwallis made a code of regulations for guiding those servants of the East India Company who were working in the judicial department. Cornwallis took Sir George Barlow's help for preparing this code. The commercial and administrative services were demarcated clearly in this code. Before the preparation of this code, Cornwallis realized that the Board of Revenue was not able to settle a large number of cases. In order to solve this matter, *mal adalats* were formed in every district. Collectors were made the heads of these courts and they were given revenue powers as well. The administrative structure was in existence even before Cornwallis but he was the one who made the system harmonious and cohesive.

Cornwallis introduced a system in which people could lodge a complaint against collectors and servants for not fulfilling their duties. The government could also be sued in the court. He abolished inhuman punishments such as capital punishment and mutilation of limbs. The European people living in the districts had to follow the new judicial system.

- **Reforms in Public Services:** The servants of East India Company wanted to earn a lot of money. Since, the salaries of these servants were low, they accepted bribe from people in order to earn more money. They also confiscated the lands of zamindars in an unjust manner. In order to solve these problems, Cornwallis raised their salaries and terminated some of the servants. After this, he hired employees for the Company solely on the basis of their merits. He did not allow any of the employees to carry out trade in their private capacity.

He did not trust Indians and behaved with them in a scornful manner. Thus, his behaviour towards Indians was criticized. He did not recruit Indian on high posts and gave such posts to Europeans. He divided districts into small units and took away police powers from the zamindars. A superintendent and representative of the company, who resided in those districts, were given the charge of these units.

- **Reforms in the Commercial Department of the Company:** When the Board of Trade was established, it were asked to obtain goods from Indian and European contractors. These contractors supplied goods of inferior quality at a very high price. The Board instead of checking these practices, took bribe through them. Due to these corrupted practices of the commercial department, Cornwallis took action against the Board of Trade. He reduced the number of Board members from eleven to five. The method of obtaining goods was also changed and the Board was instructed to obtain goods from commercial agents and residents. This way, he brought reforms in the commercial department.
- **Reforms in the Collection of Revenue and Permanent Settlement:** It is really important to find a suitable method for revenue collection in order to improve the condition of farmers. The methods used by Robert Clive and Warren Hastings worsened the situation of farmers. Thus, in 1786, the Court of Directors

recommended that Cornwallis should make ten years settlement with zamindars which can later be made permanent. Cornwallis with the help of John Shore tried to find a suitable method for revenue collection. To solve this problem, they had a discussion on the following three questions:

1. Should the settlement be made with zamindars or tillers?
2. How much share should the state get in the produce of land?
3. Should the settlement be permanent or for a fixed term?

On the first question, John Shore believed that settlement should be made with zamindars as they own the lands. Cornwallis was an English landlord, thus, he agreed with John Shore. Moreover, the Court of Directors also supported Cornwallis.

On the second question, Shore believed that the state's share should be decided on the basis of the actual collection of the year 1790–1791. Cornwallis was also of the same opinion.

However, their opinions differed on the third question. Shore believed that settlement should be made for ten years, but Cornwallis wanted permanent settlement of revenue. Finally, in the year 1790, he declared settlement to be for ten years but in 1793, the settlement was made permanent. Therefore, permanent settlement was made in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Benaras and Northern part of Tamil Nadu.

Permanent Settlement

Some of the important features of Permanent Settlement were as follows:

- The settlement was made with zamindars as they were recognized as owners of land as long as they pay revenue.
- Zamindars were asked to pay land revenue to the government. The amount of land revenue was made fixed and they were promised that it would not be increased. In case zamindars failed to pay revenue, the government had the authority to sell their land through public auction. They were required to pay 89 per cent of the collected rent to the state and could keep the rest with themselves.
- Zamindars were allowed to sell or mortgage their land. They were also allowed to give their land to someone else if they wanted to.
- It was expected that zamindars would make efforts to improve the conditions of the farmers or tillers who were working on their land.
- The Government promised them that it would not interfere in its matters till the time they pay their revenue in time.

Merits of Permanent Settlement

Some of the merits of permanent settlement are as follows:

- Under Permanent Settlement, zamindars had to pay fixed amount as land revenue. In cases when zamindars were not able to pay their land revenue, the government used to sell their lands to recover their land revenue. Thus, the British government was sure of its income.
- The fixed income in the form of fixed land revenue gave economic stability to the British government. This made the province of Bengal prosperous.
- Permanent Settlement saved the British government from the expenditure which it had to incur in order to extract land revenue from zamindars. Earlier the British government spent a lot of money in order to assess land on a regular basis.

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- This settlement encouraged zamindars to improve the agricultural land to earn more money. Earlier the zamindars did not make efforts to improve their land as the British government used to take away most of their profit in the name of land revenue.
- This settlement made zamindars wealthy and they could invest money in trade, commerce and industry. It helped the provinces to prosper at a fast pace.
- The settlement made zamindars loyal to the British so much so that they supported the British even during the rebels in India.
- Though the government could not increase the amount of land revenue yet it could extract more money from the zamindars in the form of taxes.

Demerits of Permanent Settlement

Some of the demerits of permanent settlement were as follows:

- Since the zamindars did not take part in the cultivation of land, they moved to cities to spend a luxurious life. Before moving to cities, they appointed some middlemen to take care of their land. These middlemen exploited the farmers and tillers and made their lives miserable.
- The system of the Permanent Settlement ignored the interests of peasants, farmers and tillers. They were left on the misery of zamindars who oppressed them for earning more.
- In the long run, the Permanent Settlement proved disadvantageous to the government as they could not increase the amount of land revenue when the prices of the crops increased.

3.4.3 Wellesley

Though the Subsidiary Alliance System was formed in the second half of the 18th century, yet the credit of this policy goes to Lord Wellesley as it developed from 1798 to 1805 when Lord Wellesley was the Governor General of India.

The system of Subsidiary Alliance was introduced by Dupleix, the French Governor by giving his army to Indian rulers on rent. The same policy was adopted by many Governor Generals of the East India Company such as Robert Clive. In 1765, the English signed a treaty with Awadh at Allahabad. As per this treaty, the English promised that their troops would protect Awadh and the Nawab would bear the expenses of the troops. They also appointed an English resident in the court of the Nawab and was asked to bear his expenses as well.

In 1787, when Lord Cornwallis was the Governor General, the Nawab of Carnatic promised that he would not take help from any foreign power without obtaining permission from the Company. Similarly, in 1798, the Nawab of Awadh promised Sir John Shore that no European would be employed in Awadh.

In this way, the Subsidiary alliance system was in existence even before the Governor Generalship of Lord Wellesley. However, the system developed fully when he added some elements in this system. Indian states were asked to yield some of the territories to the Company if they wanted to sign this treaty. This way, the company succeeded in expanding its empire in India. Let us study the development stages of the policy of Subsidiary Alliance:

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Stage 1: The Company offered its army on rent to Indian states. These states were asked to pay cash in return. In 1768, Hyderabad signed this pact.

Stage 2: The Company offered that it would keep its army 'near the boundaries of Indian states' in order to 'protect' the states. In lieu of this service, the state was asked to pay an annual fee. In 1784, Sindhia accepted this offer.

Stage 3: The Company offered that it would keep its army 'inside the boundaries of Indian States' to 'protect' the state. The states were asked to pay annual fee in return. In 1798, Hyderabad agreed to sign treaty with the company.

Stage 4: The Company offered to keep its army inside the boundaries of the Indian states to protect the state. In lieu of this 'service', the company asked the states to give some part of their territory. In 1800, Hyderabad signed this treaty and in 1801, Oudh also signed the treaty with the Company.

Features of the Subsidiary Alliance

Some features of the Subsidiary Alliance were as follows:

- The Company promised to protect the states from outside attack.
- The rulers had to bear the expenses of the British force which was employed for the protection of the state.
- The rulers could not employ any foreigner in their states without the permission of the Company. They could not build diplomatic ties with other States.
- The rulers had to bear the expenses of the British resident which was appointed in their court.
- The Company followed the policy of non-interference as far as the internal matters of the states were concerned.

Advantages of the Subsidiary Alliance to the Company

The Subsidiary Alliance benefited the Company in the following ways:

- The Subsidiary Alliance proved advantageous for the Company in many ways.
- With the help of this system, the Company maintained a large army at the expense of the Nawabs. They could use this army in annexing other territories or protect their own empire.
- As per the treaty, the Nawabs were not allowed to employ any foreigner in their states without their permission. This reduced the threat which the Company had from Europeans and the French.
- Since the states were not allowed to build ties with other states, the Company felt secured in India as Indian states could not stand united to rebel against the Company.
- The treaty made Nawabs puppets in the hands of the Company as they had to seek permission from the Company on a number of issues.
- In lieu of the 'services', the Company asked for fertile lands of the territories of Nawabs so that they could earn more money with the help of these lands. This way, Nawabs lost a lot of money of the States and this made the states poor.

3.4.4 Lord Dalhousie: Doctrine of Lapse

The youngest Governor General of British India was Lord Dalhousie. His methods of annexing Indian States were as follows:

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(a) Annexations by conquest

- 1. Punjab:** The Sikhs were defeated by the British in the First Sikh War but had not made Punjab part of the Empire. Even after the defeat the Sikhs were strong and powerful. They were keen on taking revenge. Lord Dalhousie was part of the second war. After the war, Punjab became part of British Empire. Maharaja Dalip Singh sent to England on a pension. Under Sir John Lawrence as Chief Commissioner of the province, Sikhs became loyal to the British. After this, he made the settlement of the province.
- 2. Sikkim:** When the King of Sikkim arrested two British officers, Dalhousie attacked Sikkim and made it a part of the Empire.
- 3. Lower Burma.** After the defeat of Burma after the Burmese War in 1824, trade relations were established with Burma and it also became part of the Empire.

(b) Doctrine of Lapse

The rulers of Indian princely states had the right to adopt a child and make that child the successor. The British government agreed to this and made this right official by declaring, 'Every ruler, under Hindu laws, is free to nominate his successor, real or adopted son. The Company's government is bound to accept this right'. In 1831, the Company declared, 'The Government may accept or reject, according to the situation, the application of Indian rulers to nominate his adopted son as his heir.'

The policy of the British administration was not clear. At times it rejected such an application at times it accepted. There was no real logic given behind such decisions. For example, it permitted Baijaba, the widow of Daulat Rao Sindhia, to nominate Jankoji, her adopted son, as the successor king in 1827. However, the Company rejected the claim of Ram Chandra Rao's adopted son at Jhansi in 1835.

Lord Dalhousie made three distinct categories for Indian States:

1. British Charter created states: If there was no biological heir then the British Empire would annex the state.
2. Subordinate States: Permission of the East India Company was needed to validate the heir in case of adoption.
3. Independent States: These had the freedom to appoint any heir as they chose.

The first policy was called the Doctrine of Lapse. Satara was the first State to which this policy was applied in 1848. Appa Sahib, the king of this state, did not have any child and before his death he had adopted a son. Other states to which this policy was applied were Jaipur, Sambhalpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur.

The queen of Jhansi, Rani Laxmi Bai stood up for her right and fought the British. But when her struggle was not successful she rebelled against the Empire in the revolt of 1857.

Dalhousie also annexed the state of Karoli and did not accept the adopted son as heir. But this decision was overruled by the court. The rules of annexure between the second and third category were not clear. Even though many of the states so annexed were under the control of the Mughals, they had no power to decide the legality of the heir, as the East India Company by then had become very powerful. And on the pretext of some excuse or the other, the states were annexed.

This arbitrary rule of annexure became one of the reasons for the Revolt of 1857 and all united to stand up against the British. Lord Canning another Governor General, later legalized adoption.

Reforms

Lord Dalhousie also brought about many reforms, such as follows:

- (a) **Social Reforms:** He enacted the Widow Remarriage Act. And also amended the conversion laws of Hindus which made it possible for Hindus who converted into other religion to inherit. Even though this could have led to opposition from orthodox Hindus, it was a bold step on his part.
- (b) **Administrative and Military Reforms:** He revamped the working of the administration and made different departments for different jobs and got rid of old systems. He appointed a separate Lieutenant Governor for Bengal. A separate District Magistrate was appointed for each district and given greater powers. He introduced Non Regulation System in newly conquered territories. In newly annexed states of Punjab and Pegu in Burma he made many new administrative changes which were appreciated widely. By appointing a Chief Commissioner with civil and military powers the efficiency of the Government improved. This system was introduced in Punjab, Central Provinces, Oudh and Burma. The Commissioner reported directly to the Governor General and Simla became the summer capital of India.

The policies helped expand the British Empire. This enabled to take strategic steps regarding deploying of troops. Thus the headquarters of the Bengal Artillery were shifted from Calcutta to Meerut. Simla became the permanent headquarters of the army.

- (c) **Commercial Reforms:** Lord Dalhousie advocated a free trade policy which immensely benefitted the British.
- (d) **Establishment of Public Works Department:** The public works department that he set up made roads, bridges and canals. The Grand Trunk Road and a road from Dhaka to Arakan made it possible for army movement from Bengal to Burma. He modernized the postal and telegraph system in India. He was the one who introduced a uniform postage stamp for all in India. Through irrigation canals and steamer services on major water ways like Hooghly, Indus and Irravaddy also improved and so did other means of communication.
- (e) **Educational Reforms:** Many reforms were also made in the field of education, one of them being the introduction of the Indian Civil Services Examination. In 1853 Sir Charles Wood sent out a policy document on education. This was known as the Woods Dispatch.
 - Regional language was to be taught in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools
 - Universities were set up in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras
 - Colleges offering degrees were affiliated to the Universities
 - Education was made secular in nature
 - Each province set up an education department
 - Teacher's Training Institutions were to be set up
 - Privatization of education was encouraged and Government aid was given
 - A Director General of Education was recommended for the whole of India

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(f) **Post, Railways, and Telegraph:** A lot of attention was paid to this area as the defense and law and order of the country depended on this. Through this he encouraged British enterprises to invest in India. Lord Dalhousie also promised all facilities to these companies. The railways changed the face of the country and brought people from all corners and regions together.

3.5 RESISTANCE TO BRITISH RULE: MAHARASHTRA, PUNJAB, SINDH AND MYSORE

The advent of British Rule was opposed by the rulers of the following states:

3.5.1 Maharashtra

The tale of the struggle of Marathas under the British rule will be described in the following sections.

Maratha Confederacy

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 the 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 Raghujji Bhonsle

Peshwa's seat was at Poone 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 the Peshwa very weak. He was now dependent on Phadnis 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. However, 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 *Sardeslunukhi* from various parts of

Check Your Progress

9. What was the consequence of abolishing the *dastak* system?
10. Mention any one social reform that was implemented under Hastings.
11. What were the charges levelled against Warren Hastings that resulted in his impeachment?
12. What was the Cornwallis code?

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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 Maratha confederacy, consisting of very important Maratha jagirdars. Some of them were as follows:

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

The 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 Phadnis, accepted the minor Madhav Rao Narayan as Peshwa and rejected Raghunath Rao, who in search of a friend concluded a treaty with the English at Surat on March 7, 1775. This treaty led to the first war among 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 Raghunath Rao
- Defeat of British by the Marathas at Talegoan (1776)
- March of the 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 Salbai (1782) by which the status quo was maintained, and gave the British twenty years of peace with the Marathas.
- It also enabled the British to exert pressure on Mysore with the help of the Marathas in recovering their territories from Haider Ali.

Treaty of Surat: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Surat were as follows:

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

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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 Poone who concluded the Treaty of Purandhar on March 1, 1776.

Treaty of Purandhar: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Purandhar were as follows:

- The English and the Marathas would maintain peace.
- The English East India Company would retain Salsette.
- Raghunath Rao would go to Gujarat, and Poone would give him ` 2,500 per month as pension.

This time, the treaty was not acceptable to the Bombay Government, and Poone 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 Poone Darbar. 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 Bombay Government 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 Poone Durbar.

Treaty of Wadgaon: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Purandhar 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 Poone (April, 1781). Another British army led by Captain Popham came from Calcutta and won Gwalior (August 3, 1780), Scindia was also defeated at Sipri (February 16, 1781) and agreed to work as a mediator between the English and the Poone Darbar resulting into the Treaty of Salbai (May 17, 1782).

Treaty of Salbai: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Salbai were as follows:

- The British would support Raghunath Rao, but he would get pension from Poone, the headquarters of Peshwa.
- Salsette and Elephanta were given to the English.
- Scindia got the land to the west of Yamuna.
- 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.

The Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1806)

The internal conflict of the 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 Poone. Holkar installed Vinayak Rao as Peshwa at Poone. Baji Rao came to Bassein and signed a treaty with the English on December 31, 1802. The Company, which was always in search of such situation, made Peshwa virtually a puppet.

Treaty of Bassein: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Bassein were as follows:

- The English would help Peshwa with 600 troops and artillery.
- Peshwa agreed to cede, to the Company, territories yielding an income of 26 lakhs rupees. Territories included Gujarat, South of Tapti, territories between Tapti and Narbada and some territories near Tungabhadra.
- Peshwa promised that he would not keep any European in his army other than the English.
- 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 Poone on May 13, 1803 and captured it. However, 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, 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 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 December 17, 1803, Bhonsle at Dergaon, and on December 30, 1803, Scindia at Surajarjan Gaon signed the 'Peace Treaty'. 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

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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 Rajpurgat. 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.

Treaties signed by the Maratha chiefs and the Company

- **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
- **Treaty of Purandhar (1776):** Signed by Madhav Rao II; the Company got a huge war indemnity and retained Salsette
- **Treaty of Salbai (1782):** Signed by Mahadji Scindia, whereby the British influence in Indian politics and mutual conflicts increased amongst the Marathas
- **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
- **Treaty of Deogaon (1803):** By Bhonsle, assured British supremacy over the Maratha kingdom
- **Treaty of Surji-Arjangaon (1803):** By Daulat Rao Scindia; assured the British supremacy over the Maratha kingdom

The 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 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.

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

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Smith besieged Poone and forced the Peshwa to sign the Poone 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. Peshwa agreed to keep English troops at Poone 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 Mandisor (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 was annexed including Pune. 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

Thus, after this war the Maratha chiefs too existed at the mercy of the British.

3.5.2 Punjab

Ranjit Singh was the king of Punjab during the 18th century. 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 Yusuf Ali was recalled.

The second contact was made in 1805, when the Maratha chief Holkar entered Punjab for 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

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helping Holkar. As a result, Ranjit Singh refused to help Holkar against the British. General Lake and Maharaja Ranjit Singh concluded an agreement in January, 1806.

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 cis-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 undisciplined 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.

The First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846)

The First Anglo-Sikh War was fought at Mudki on December 18, 1845. 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 January 21, 1846. However, 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 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 16th December, 1846. This treaty is known as the 'Second Treaty of Lahore' or the 'Treaty of Bhairawal'.

The 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 13th November. On 22 November, the rebels were defeated in a battle at Ramnagar. Another indecisive action was fought at Sadullapur on 3rd December.

The 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 routed, surrendered themselves at Rawalpindi, and thus, the game came to an end.

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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.

3.5.3 Sindh

During the Governor-Generalship of Bentinck, Sindh was divided into small states. These states were ruled by Amirs. The reason behind the division of Sindh was that Amirs were suspicious of Maharaja Ranjit Singh due to his growing powers. Bentinck, in order to take advantage of their suspicion, sent Colonel Pottenger for convincing the Amirs of Sindh to sign a commercial treaty with them.

When Amirs did not agree with his proposal, Pottenger forced them to sign the treaty in 1832. As a result of this treaty, the English could trade in Sindh. However, the Amirs did not allow the English merchants to live in Sindh on permanent basis.

After this treaty, Bentinck made efforts to establish friendly relations with Ranjit Singh. In spite of the fact that the English did not like Ranjit Singh's power yet Bentinck wanted to establish friendship with him so that he could take his help in case of Rajputs' invasion in the British frontier. For this purpose, he sent Robert Burnes to Lahore.

Though, Robert Burnes was successful in establishing friendship with Ranjit Singh yet Bentinck wanted to meet Ranjit Singh personally. He went to meet Ranjit Singh in 1831 and assured him that the English are also interested in Sindh as he is.

Mysore

You already learnt about the situation in the Mysore Kingdom in the 18th century. After the Fourth Mysore War, the British took control of the kingdom and became the paramount power in India.

3.6 SUMMARY

- Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India.
- Louis XIV, the then king of France, granted authority for this company in 1664.
- The Company named 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East Indies' was granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth.
- 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.
- The First Carnatic War was directly linked to the events in Europe. The English and French were fighting on the issue of Austria's succession (1740–48).
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.

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- 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 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.
- Working as an administrative clerk in the East India Company, Warren Hastings reached Calcutta in 1750. He gradually climbed up the ladder and was appointed as the the President of Kasimbazar, by Governor of Bengal in 1772.
- Charles Cornwallis was sent to India by the Court of Directors in the year 1786. He was entrusted the responsibility of executing the policy of peace given in Pitt's India Act and to restructure the administrative system in India.
- The youngest Governor General of British India was Lord Dalhousie.
- The word 'Confederacy' is derived from Anglo-French word '*Confederate cie*', which means a league or union, whether of states or the individuals.
- As a result of the Third Anglo-Maratha War, the Peshwa was dethroned and all his territories were annexed by the British.

3.7 KEY TERMS

- **Farmaan:** *Farman* was a royal order bearing the seal of the emperor during the Mughal period of Indian history.
- **Nawab:** Nawab is an honorific title ratified and bestowed by the reigning Mughal emperor to semi-autonomous Muslim rulers of princely states in South Asia.
- **Subedar:** *Subedar* is a historical rank in the Nepal Army, Indian Army and Pakistan Army, ranking below British commissioned officers and above non-commissioned officers.
- **Dual government:** The dual government of Bengal was a double system of administration, which was introduced by Robert Clive. The British East India Company obtained the actual power; whereas the responsibility and charge of administration was entrusted to the Nawab of Bengal.

3.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India.
2. In 1674, Pondicherry became the Dutch capital.
3. Jahangir declined the request of James I to let Captain William Hawkins establish trade in India because the merchants of Portugal and Surat strongly opposed the establishment of the English merchant in India.
4. In 1691, Ibrahim Khan, who was the successor of Shaista Khan, issued a *farmaan* in the 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.

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5. The outcome of the Dual government was that it had badly affected the administration. There was hardly any discipline and order and commerce suffered heavy losses.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. The consequences of the Battle of Buxar are as follows:
 - English supremacy was accepted by Shah Alam.
 - Militarily Buxar was very significant for the English.
9. The consequence of abolishing the *dastak* system was that Company servants had no option, but to pay duties for their personal goods, which reduced corruption and augmented the Company's revenues.
10. Warren Hastings, to encourage Islamic studies, founded the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781 which was the first educational institution founded by the British government.
11. Warren Hastings was impeached for seven years from 1788–1795 on the charges of having accepted bribes, the Rohilla war, Nand Kumar's murder as well as the case of Chet Singh.
12. The Cornwallis Code was created in 1793 for the purpose of guiding those servants of the East India Company who were working in the judicial department.
13. The word 'Confederacy' is derived from Anglo-French word '*Confederate cie*', which means a league or union, whether of states or the individuals.
14. The areas of Northern and Southern India that came under control of the Marathas, during the leadership of Baji Rao I were as follows:
 - Gwalior under Ramoji Scindia
 - Baroda under Damaji Gaekwad
 - Indore under Malhar Rao Holkar
 - Nagpur under Raghujji Bhonsle
15. Ranjit Singh agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809.

3.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Which was the first French company that succeeded in establishing permanent trade relations in India?
2. When did the Third Carnatic War begin?
3. What were the reasons that encouraged the British to come to India?
4. What were the features of the Dual government?

5. What were the causes that led to the Battle of Buxar?
6. What were the political repercussions of the Battle of Buxar?
7. What was the premise of the judicial reforms implemented by Warren Hastings?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. How did the French established factories in India?
2. Give a detailed account of the British-French rivalry.
3. Give a detailed explanation of the Battle of Buxar, its political implications and consequences.
4. Describe the Battle of Plassey and its consequences.
5. Comment on the term: 'puppet nawabs' of Bengal with reference to the Treaty of Allahabad.
6. Highlight the importance of the Cornwallis Code with reference to reforms that were implemented in the judicial system.
7. Discuss the terms and conditions of the Doctrine of Lapse implemented by Lord Dalhousie.

3.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 EMERGING CONTOURS

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Renaissance-I: Raja Ram Mohan Roy
 - 4.2.1 Brahma Samaj
- 4.3 Revolt of 1857: Causes, Nature and Significance
- 4.4 Renaissance II: Ramakrishna and Vivekananda
 - 4.4.1 Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati
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- 4.10 Further Reading

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

The 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. Ram Mohan Roy had founded the Brahma 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 Brahma 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 Ram Mohan 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.

The unit will also discuss the Revolt of 1857, its causes as well as its impact.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy including his early life and social, political and religious career
 - Identify the issues that led to the Revolt of 1857
 - Recognize Vivekananda as a philosopher of modern India
 - Assess the founding principles of the Ramakrishna Mission
 - Summarize the theories of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
 - Discuss the Aligarh Reform Movement
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4.2 RENAISSANCE-I: RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

Roy was born in Radhanagore, Bengal, into the Rarhi Brahmin caste. His family background displayed religious diversity; his father Ramkanto Roy was a Vaishnavite, while his mother Tarinidevi was from a Shaivite family. This was unusual for Vaishnavites did not commonly marry Shaivites at that time. Thus, one parent wanted him to be a scholar, a *sastrin*, while the other wanted him to have a career dedicated to the *laukik*, which was secular public administration.

Political and Religious Career of Roy

Ram Mohan Roy's impact on modern Indian history concerned a revival of the ethics and principles of the Vedanta school of philosophy as found in the Upanishads. He preached about the unity of God, made early translations of Vedic scriptures into English, co-founded the Calcutta Unitarian Society, founded the Brahmo Samaj, and campaigned against *sati*. He sought to integrate Western culture with features of his own country's traditions. He established schools to modernize a system of education in India.

During these overlapping periods, Ram Mohan Roy acted as a political agitator and agent, whilst being employed by the East India Company and simultaneously pursuing his vocation as a *Pandit*.

In 1792, the British Baptist shoemaker William Carey published his missionary tract 'An Enquiry of the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of Heathens'. In the following year, William Carey landed in India to settle. His objective was to translate, publish and distribute the Bible in Indian languages and propagate Christianity to the Indian peoples. He realized the mobile (i.e., service classes) Brahmins and *Pandits* were most able to help him in this endeavour, and he began gathering them. He learned the Buddhist and Jain religious works as a means to improve his argument in the promotion of Christianity in the cultural context. In 1795, Carey made contact with a Sanskrit scholar, the tantric Hariharananda Vidyavagish, who later introduced him to Ram Mohan Roy as Roy wished to learn English.

Between 1796 and 1797 the trio of Carey, Vidyavagish and Roy fabricated a spurious religious work known as the *Maha Nirvana Tantra* (or *Book of the Great Liberation*) and attempted to portray it as an ancient religious text on The One True God, which was actually the Holy Spirit of Christianity masquerading as Brahma. The document's judicial sections were used in the law courts of the English Settlement in Bengal as Hindu Law for adjudicating upon property disputes of the *zamindari*. However,

British magistrates and collectors began to suspect it as a forgery; its usage, as well as the reliance on *pandits* as sources of Hindu Law, was quickly deprecated. Vidyavagish had a brief falling out with Carey and separated from the group, but maintained ties to Ram Mohan Roy. The *Maha Nirvana Tantra*'s significance for Brahmoism lay in the wealth that Rammohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore accumulated by its judicial use, and not due to any religious wisdom within.

From 1803 till 1815, Ram Mohan served the East India Company's 'Writing Service', commencing as private clerk or '*munshi*' to Thomas Woodforde, Registrar of the Appellate Court at Murshidabad. Woodforde's distant nephew, also a Magistrate, later made a living off the spurious *Maha Nirvana Tantra* under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon. In 1815, Raja Ram Mohan Roy formed *Atmiya Sabha* and spent many years at Rangpur and elsewhere with Digby, where he renewed his contacts with Hariharananda. William Carey had, by this time, settled at Serampore and the trio renewed their association with one another. William Carey was also aligned with the English Company, then headquartered at Fort William, and his religious and political ambitions were increasingly intertwined.

The East India Company was taking money from India at a rate of three million pounds a year in 1838. Ram Mohan Roy estimated how much money was being driven out of India and where it was headed towards. He predicted that around half of the total revenue collected in India was sent out to England, leaving India to fill taxes with the remaining money.

At the turn of the 19th century, the Muslims, although considerably decreased after the battles of Plassey and Buxar, still posed a political threat to the Company. Ram Mohan was now chosen by Carey to be the agitator amongst them.

Under Carey's secret tutelage in the next two decades, Ram Mohan launched his attack against the bastions of Hinduism of Bengal, namely his own Kulin Brahmin priestly clan (then in control of the many temples of Bengal) and their priestly excesses. The social and theological issues Carey chose for Ram Mohan were calculated to weaken the hold of the dominant Kulin class. He focussed especially on their younger disinherited sons forced into service who constituted the mobile gentry or '*bhadralok*' of Bengal, from the Mughal *zamindari* system and wanted to align them to their new overlords of the Company. The Kulin excesses targeted included child marriage and dowry. In fact, Carey tried to convert Roy to Christianity and appointed a religious priest to try to convert Roy, although the priest later accepted Hinduism.

Socio-Religious Reforms by Raja Ram Mohan Roy

In 1830, Ram Mohan Roy travelled to the United Kingdom from the Khejuri Port, which was then the sea port of Bengal and is currently in East Midnapore, West Bengal. At the time, Roy was an ambassador of the Mughal emperor Akbar II, who conferred on him the title of Raja to convince the British government to provide for the welfare of India and to ensure that the Lord Bentick's regulation banning the practice of *sati* was not overturned. Roy also visited France.

Roy demanded property inheritance rights for women and, in 1828, Roy set up the Brahmo Sabha, which was a movement by reformist Bengalis formed to fight against social evils.

Roy's political background influenced his social and religious reforms of Hinduism. He wrote: 'The present system of Hindoos is not well calculated to promote their political

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interests.... It is necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort.’

Ram Mohan Roy’s experience working with the British government taught him that Hindu traditions were often not respected or thought as credible by Western standards; this affected his religious reforms. He wanted to legitimize Hindu traditions to his European acquaintances by proving that ‘superstitious practices which deform the Hindoo religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates. The ‘superstitious practices’ Ram Mohan Roy objected against included *sati*, caste rigidity, polygamy and child marriage. These practices were often the reasons British officials claimed moral superiority over the Indian nation. Ram Mohan Roy’s ideas of religion sought to create a fair and just society by implementing humanitarian practices similar to Christian ideals and thus legitimize Hinduism in the modern world.

Roy died at Stapleton, which was then a village to the northeast of Bristol on 27 September 1833.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy: The Educationist

Roy believed education to be imperative for social reform. In 1817, in collaboration with David Hare, he set up the Hindu College at Calcutta. In 1822, Roy founded the Anglo-Hindu school, followed four years later by the Vedanta College, where he insisted that his teachings of monotheistic doctrines be incorporated with ‘modern, western curriculum’; Vedanta College offered courses as a synthesis of Western and Indian learning. In 1830, he helped Alexander Duff in establishing the General Assembly’s institution, by providing him the venue vacated by Brahma Sabha and getting the first batch of students. Roy supported the induction of western learning into Indian education. He advocated the study of English, science, western medicine and technology. He spent his own money on a college to promote these studies.

Roy published magazines in English, Hindi, Persian, and Bengali. He published the *Brahmonical Magazine* in English in 1821. One notable magazine of his was the *Sambad Kaumudi*, published in 1821. In 1822, Ram Mohan published *Mirat-ul-Akbar* in the Persian language.

The *Brahmonical Magazine* ceased to exist after the publication of few issues. But *Sambad Kaumudi*, a news weekly, covered topics such as freedom of press, induction of Indians into high ranks of service and separation of the executive and judiciary. *Sambad Kaumudi* became bi-weekly in January 1830 and continued for thirty-three years.

He published the newspaper to register his protest against the introduction of Press Ordinance of 1823. The ordinance stated that a license from the Governor General in council would be mandatory to publish any newspaper. When the English Company censored the press, Ram Mohan composed two memorials against this in 1829 and 1830 respectively.

Tomb of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

The tomb was built by Dwarkanath Tagore in 1843, ten years after Ram Mohan Roy’s death in Bristol on 27 Sep 1833. The tomb is located in the Arnos Vale Cemetery on the outskirts of Bristol. In 1845, Dwarkanath Tagore arranged for Ram Mohan’s remains to be removed and returned to India through Roy’s nephew, who had accompanied Dwarkanath to Britain for this purpose. Ram Mohan’s relics were cremated by his family near Kolkata on February 28, 1846.

In September 2006, representatives from the Indian High Commission came to Bristol to mark the anniversary of Ram Mohan Roy's death. During the ceremony Hindu, Muslim and Sikh women sang prayers of thanks in Sanskrit.

Following this visit, the Mayor of Kolkata, Bikash Ranjan Bhattacharya, who was amongst the representatives from the Indian High Commission, decided to raise funds to restore the tomb.

In June 2007, businessman Aditya Poddar donated £50,000 towards the restoration of Ram Mohan's memorial after being approached by the Mayor of Kolkata for funding.

Legacy of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Ram Mohan Roy was a major shaper of modern India. Consciously influenced by Christianity and by the social agenda of many missionaries, he was convinced that India's culture and religious tradition was rational and of profound spiritual value. Nehru describes Roy as a 'new type' of thinker 'combining in himself the old learning and the new.' 'Deeply versed,' wrote Nehru, 'in Indian thought and philosophy, a scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, he was a product of the mixed Hindu-Muslim culture' of that part of India. Nehru cites Oxford's second Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Sir Monier Williams, on Roy as the world's first scholar of the science of Comparative Religion. While he remained rooted in Hinduism, Roy admired much of what he saw in Islam, Christianity and in the other religions which he studied, and believed that the same fundamental truths were the basis of all these religions. He held that the first principle of all religions is the 'Absolute Originator.' Against the criticism that it contained very little lasting worth, he set out to retrieve from India's heritage what could withstand the scrutiny of a rational mind. He went further than others in what he was prepared to abandon, which for him included the Vedas. For other reformers, such as Dayananda Saraswati, the Vedas contained all religious truth as well as ancient scientific knowledge, and were not to be thrown away. The organization he founded, the Brahma Samaj, was a pioneer of social reform, an important promoter of education and of India's autonomy and eventual independence. Its basic ideals, including gender-equality and its rejection of class-based privilege, have become part of the social framework of Indian society, at least in theory.

The marriage of girls five or six years old, burning the wife with her dead husband whether she is willing or not, meaningless observance of festivals and worshipping for show, the worship of several gods and ranking gods as high and low, these were the practices that Ram Mohan was sick of. He had a high regard for Hinduism, but he felt that the Hindus had yet to understand their religion correctly. Ram Mohan felt that there should be equality between men and women and that people should give up superstitious beliefs. Many of Ram Mohan's friends accepted his line of thinking. An association of such close friends was formed. It was called '*Atmiya Sabha*' (The Society of Friends). Religious discussions took place there. The members had to give up idol-worship. They had to spread the Society's views on religion among the people. Many scholars opposed Ram Mohan. Ram Mohan wrote articles in reply to these objections. The people read them and understood what was said in the sacred books.

Personalities and Events Closely Associated with Raja Ram Mohan Roy

The following people were closely related with Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

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Dwarkanath Tagore (1794–1846)**NOTES**

Dwarkanath Tagore was one of the first Indian industrialists and entrepreneurs. He was the founder of the Jorasanko branch of the Tagore family, and is notable for making substantial contributions to the Bengal Renaissance.

Dwarkanath Tagore was the second son of Rammoni Thakur (employed in the Calcutta Police) and his wife Menaka.

His early education and upbringing was within the family house (Thakur Bari), but at age ten in 1804 he was admitted to Sherbourne's school on the Chitpur Road and become one of Mr Sherbourne's favourite pupils.

On 12 December 1807, Ramlochan died leaving all his property to Dwarkanath who was then a minor. Dwarkanath left school in 1810 at the age of sixteen and apprenticed himself under a renowned barrister at Calcutta (now Kolkata), Robert Cutlar Fergusson and shuttled between Calcutta and his estates at Behrampore and Cuttack.

On 7 February 1811 Dwarkanath was married to Digambaridevi (then nine years' old). Dwarkanath's family fortune took a decided turn for the better once she entered his house, also bearing him one daughter and five sons before her death in January 1839.

'As a *zamindar* Dwarkanath was mercilessly efficient and businesslike, but not generous'. Dwarkanath looked upon his investment in land as investment in any other business or enterprise and claimed what he deemed a fair return. In later years Dwarkanath would appoint European managers for his estates at Sahajadpur and Behrampore. He knew that the *ryots* were more amenable to the disciplinary control of British managers than their Bengali counterparts. In time Dwarkanath would convert his estates to integrated commercial-industrial complexes with indigo, silk and sugar factories. In the cut-throat world of *zamindari* politics Dwarkanath took no nonsense and gave no quarter to either Europeans or natives. His knowledge of the tenancy laws stood him in good stead. Unlike his good friend Ram Mohan Roy who pleaded for the rights of the poor *ryots*, Dwarkanath's sympathies were more one sided and tilted towards his own class.

Tagore was a western-educated Bengali brahmin and an acknowledged civic leader of Kolkata who played a pioneering role in setting up a string of commercial ventures—banking, insurance and shipping companies—in partnership with British traders. In 1828, he became the first Indian bank director. In 1829, he founded Union Bank in Calcutta. He helped found the first Anglo-Indian Managing Agency (industrial organizations that ran jute mills, coal mines, tea plantations, etc.) Carr, Tagore and Company. Even earlier, Rustomjee Cowasjee, a Parsi in Calcutta, had formed an inter-racial firm but in the early nineteenth century, Parsis were classified as a Near Eastern community as opposed to South Asian. Tagore's company managed huge *zamindari* estates spread across today's West Bengal and Orissa states in India, and in Bangladesh, besides holding large stakes in new enterprises that were tapping the rich coal seams of Bengal, running tug services between Calcutta and the mouth of the river Hooghly and transporting Chinese tea crop to the plains of Upper Assam. This company was one of the Indian private companies engaged in the opium trade with China. Opium was produced in India and was sold in China. Tagore founded the first Indian coal mine in Runigunj. Very large schooners were engaged in shipments. This made Dwarkanath extremely rich.

A restless soul, with a firm conviction that his racial identity was not a barrier between him and other Britons as long as he remained loyal to the British Sovereign,

Tagore was well-received by Queen Victoria and many other British and European notables during his two trips to the West in the 1840s; he died in London after a brief illness. Historiographers have often been flummoxed by his inability, despite a great desire, to be honoured by the Queen with a baronetcy (his grandson, Rabindranath, received the honour but returned it following British atrocities at the Jallianwala Bagh in the Punjab, 1919).

It is widely held in Bengal that he did go entirely bankrupt by the end of his life and left only a small fraction of his earlier stature and wealth to his descendants.

Some scholars have been puzzled by the paucity of documents concerning Dwarkanath in the Tagore family collections spread over many generations. There are scanty references to him in the records of Debendranath Tagore, his eldest son who founded the Brahmo religion. There is absolutely no mention of Dwarkanath (except in a personal letter) in the monumental body of writings by his grandson Rabindranath. The established academic view is that Dwarkanath's concept of equating the colonizer with the colonized was found galling by his countrymen in the context of the nationalist awakening in Bengal and India, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first Indian entrepreneur who thought globally thus remains an oddity in the country's socio-cultural history.

Dwarkanath Tagore died 'at the peak of his fortune' on the evening of Saturday 1 August 1846 at the St. George's Hotel in London.

In 1822, Dwarkanath, while carrying on his private ventures, carried out additional services for the British East India Company as *Shestidar* to Trevor Plowden Collector for the twenty four *Parganas*. Although the pay was meagre at under ` 500 per year, the prestige and avenues for additional income was considerable and gave Dwarkanath an intimate insight into the functioning of the government. However, by June 1834 he had had enough of government service and resigned to launch his spectacular career as a full time entrepreneur.

Dwarkanath Tagore was of the firm conviction that at those times 'the happiness of India is best secured by her connection with England'. Dwarkanath was no doubt a loyalist, and a sincere one at that, but he was by no means a flatterer. Servility was as far from his character as was lack of generosity from his nature. He was also firm in defending the interest and sentiments of his people against European prejudices. With this in view he established an Association for Landholders (later known as the Landholder's Society) on 21 March 1838. The association was overtly a self-serving political association, founded on a large and liberal basis, to admit landholders of all descriptions, Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Christian. It was the first political association in India to air the grievances of the people or a section of them that were outspoken in a fair and unbiased manner. From this grew the British India Association, the precursor to the Indian National Congress.

William Adam (1796–1881)

William Adam, born in Dunfermline, Fife, Scotland, began his ministry as a Baptist missionary in India. His labours in India made him into a linguist, a biblical scholar, and a Unitarian. Thereafter for years, Adam tried to elicit support for his work as a Unitarian missionary, first in India and later in the United States and Canada. His career illustrates the meagre support for and the difficulties of Unitarian missionary endeavours of the nineteenth century.

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As a young man, Adam was deeply influenced by the famous Scottish churchman Thomas Chalmers. Chalmers interested Adam in India and got him to join the Baptist Missionary Society. The Society sent him for his education to the Baptist College in Bristol and to the University of Glasgow. Adam set out in September, 1817, for William Carey's Baptist mission station in Serampore, India, north of Calcutta. He reached his destination in six months, in March, 1818.

After mastering the classical Sanskrit and Bengali languages, Adam joined a group of men who were revising the Bengali translation of the New Testament. The group included Ram Mohan Roy. Roy convinced Adam that the meaning of the Greek preposition *dia* required that Jn 1:3, a verse of the prologue to John's Gospel, be translated as the Bengali equivalent of the English words, 'All things were made through the Word. . .' not 'by the Word'. Translators of New Testament Greek in later generations would come to agree, but in 1821 the view of nature of Christ, supported by this translation and espoused by Adam and Ram Mohan, was rejected by orthodox Christians as the Arian heresy (named for the fourth century CE dissident, Arius). For this reason colleagues nicknamed him 'the second fallen Adam'.

Adam soon resigned his position as a Baptist missionary and, along with Ram Mohan and a few other Indian and European friends, formed the Calcutta Unitarian Society. Adam sent ardent appeals to British and American Unitarians for financial support. Support was both slow in coming and quite inadequate when it came. Nevertheless, the Calcutta Unitarian Society remained fitfully active and viable for seven years. However in 1828, its Hindu supporters finally chose to create a new Unitarian form of Hinduism, Brahma Samaj, leaving behind Unitarian Christianity.

Adam was the first international Unitarian of modern times. His convert's enthusiasm was much damped by the lukewarm response of both British and American Unitarians to his requests for their support of his work as a Unitarian missionary in India. Ultimately, he was disappointed in the Unitarian movement as a whole

At the time Adam regretted that Ram Mohan Roy and his Hindu friends chose a Unitarian Hindu faith in preference to Unitarian Christianity. Yet without Adam's dedicated initiative and drive, the reformed Unitarian Hindu movement, the Brahma Samaj, might never have come into being. The distinguished leaders of the Brahma Samaj nurtured and propagated what became, in effect, a 'school of thought', which flowered into the famous Bengal Renaissance, a great burst of modern, yet distinctively Indian political theory, idealism and poetry. The Brahma Samaj, first established in part by an ill-supported and mostly forgotten Unitarian missionary, immensely influenced the intellectual and political culture of all India.

Sambad Kaumudi

Sambad Kaumudi was a Bengali weekly newspaper published from Kolkata in the first half of the 19th century by Ram Mohan Roy. It was a noted pro-Reformist publication that actively campaigned for the abolition of *sati*.

In the prospectus for the *Sambad Kaumudi*, published in English and Bengali in November 1821, Ram Mohan appealed to his countrymen to lend him 'the support and patronage of all who feel themselves interested in the moral and intellectual improvement of our countrymen'. In the same prospectus, he further stated that religious, moral and political matters, domestic occurrence, foreign as well as local intelligence including original communications on various hitherto unpublished interesting local topics, etc. would be published in the *Sambad Kaumudi* every Tuesday.

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Although Ram Mohan Roy was the owner, *Sambad Kaumudi* was actually published in the name of Bhabani Charan Bandhopadhyay. The latter soon found Ram Mohan's ideas too radical and parted company to start a rival newspaper called *Samachar Chandrika*, which became the mouthpiece for orthodox Hinduism. According to a different source, *Kaumudi* was started by Tarachand Dutta and Bhabani Charan Bandhopadhyay. The first issue of *Sambad Kaumudi* appeared on 4 December, 1821. It contained an 'Appeal to the Bengali Public' in which it proclaimed that the primary object of its publication was to promote the 'public good'. On 20 December, 1821, the *Calcutta Journal* brought out an editorial, commenting on the publication of this 'new Bengali newspaper edited by a learned Hindoo'. It also reproduced the prospectus and the 'Appeal to the Bengali Public'. In the appeal, Ram Mohan Roy said:

'It is our intention hereafter to give further currency to the Articles inserted in this paper, by translating the most interesting parts in the different languages of the East, particularly Persian and Hindoostanee; but all this will entail considerable expense, the accomplishment of it will, of course, depend upon the encouragement which we may be able to obtain. The foregoing being an outline of what we are desirous of performing, our countrymen will readily conclude that although the paper in question be conducted by us, and may consequently be considered our property, yet virtually it is the 'paper of the public' since in it they can at all times have inserted, anything that tends to the public good ...'

Though Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay was nominally in charge of this weekly till the publication of its thirteenth issue, Ram Mohan was its promoter, and for all practical purposes, also its editor. After Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay, Harihar Dutta was the editor for some time, followed by Gobinda Chandra Kongar. Due to lack of sufficient patronage *Kaumudi* had to stop publication in October 1822. In April 1823 a license was granted under the new Press Regulation to Gobinda Chandra Kongar to publish and Ananda Gopal Mukherji to edit the newspaper.

Sambad Kaumudi regularly ran editorials against *sati*, denouncing it as barbaric and un-Hindu. It was the main vehicle of Ram Mohan Roy's campaign against *sati*. The editorial in the *Calcutta Journal* on 14 February 1823 observed, 'The paper which was considered so fraught with danger and likely to explode over all India like a spark thrown into a barrel of gunpowder, has long since fallen to the ground for want of support; chiefly we understand because it offended the native community by opposing some of three customs, and particularly the burning of Hindoo widows, etc.' Governor-General Bentinck, largely (though not exclusively) instigated by Ram Mohan Roy, responded to the growing public outcry by outlawing *sati* in 1829.

The government viewed the newspaper with an eye of suspicion. The officials believed that the newspaper was inspired by the *Calcutta Journal* and patronized by its owner James Silk Buckingham. The Asiatic Journal, the unofficial organ of the East India Company published from London took Buckingham to task for encouraging and patronizing an Indian newspaper like the *Sambad Kaumudi* which, it thought, could serve no other purpose than to promote Indian disaffection against British rule.

The press in India as perceived today had its origin in Bengal in the late 18th century as a vehicle for promoting missions – James Augustus Hicky's *Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser* set out on a mission to expose the corrupt practices of the British officers of the East India company for which he faced punishment and died a pauper. The Christian missionaries of Serampore set up a printing press and started three publications for the propagation of Christianity. Raja Ram Mohan Roy brought out

Mirat-ul-Akhbar and later *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* which dealt with social and administrative evils and critically examined British policies both in India and in Ireland. He emphasized social reforms within the country especially the abolition of *sati*.

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4.2.1 Brahma Samaj

The Brahma Samaj is the societal component of the Brahma religion which is mainly practiced today as the Adi Dharm, after its eclipse in Bengal, consequent to the exit of the Tattwabodini Sabha from its ranks in 1859. It was one of the most influential religious movements responsible for the making of modern India. It was conceived at Kolkata in 1830 by Dwarkanath Tagore and Ram Mohan Roy as a reformation of the prevailing Brahminism of the time (specifically Kulin practices) and began the Bengal Renaissance in the 19th century, pioneering all religious, social and educational advancement of the Hindu community. From the Brahma Samaj springs Brahmoism, the most recent of India's faiths recognized by law as a distinct religion in Bangladesh, reflecting its non-syncretic 'foundation of Ram Mohun Roy's reformed spiritual Hinduism (contained in the 1830 Banian deed) and inclusion of root Hebraic – Islamic creed and practice.' After the publication of Hemendranath Tagore's *Brahmo Anusthan* (code of practice) in 1860 which formally divorced Brahmoism from Hinduism, the first Brahma Samaj was founded in 1861 at Lahore by Pandit Nobin Chandra Roy.

Doctrine of the Brahma Samaj

The following doctrines, as noted in the renaissance of Hinduism, are common to all varieties and offshoots of the Brahma Samaj:

- Brahma Samajists have no faith in any scripture as an authority.
- Brahma Samajists have no faith in *Avatars*.
- Brahma Samajists denounce polytheism and idol-worship.
- Brahma Samajists are against caste restrictions.
- Brahma Samajists make faith in the doctrines of *karma* and rebirth optional.

Principles of Brahma Samaj

The following principles are accepted by the vast majority of Brahmos today:

- **On God:** There is always Infinite Singularity – immanent and transcendent Singular Author and Preserver of Existence. He who is manifest everywhere and in everything, in fire and in water, in the smallest plant to the mightiest oak.
- **On Being:** Being is created from Singularity. Being is renewed to Singularity. Being exists to be one (again) with Loving Singularity.
- **On Intelligent Existence:** Righteous actions alone rule Existence against Chaos. Knowledge of pure conscience (light within) is the One (Supreme) ruler of Existence with no symbol or intermediary.
- **On Love:** Respect all creations and beings but never venerate (worship) them for only Singularity can be adored.

Divisions of the Brahma Samaj

After the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, serious differences regarding creed, rituals and the attitude of the Brahmos to the social problems of the day, had arisen between

Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen (who joined the Samaj in 1857). Tagore and Sen possessed radically different temperaments. As a result, in 1866, the Brahmo Samaj soon split up into two groups—the old conservatives rallying round Debendranath and the young reformists led by the Keshub Chandra. The two rival bodies—the **Adi Brahmo Samaj** (led by Debendranath) and the **Brahmo Samaj of India** (inspired and led by Keshub Chandra)—came into existence. The Brahmo Samaj of India started to carry out its spiritual and social reforms and achieved remarkable success within a short span of time. The Samaj now adopted a much more radical and comprehensive scheme of social reform. It placed much greater stress on female emancipation, female education and a total abolition all caste distinctions. Its two important achievements were the formation of the Indian Reform Association in 1870 and the enactment of the Indian Marriage Act of 1872. The latter authenticated inter-caste marriages. The blend of *bhakti* (intense devotional fervour) and Brahmoism rendered it more soothing, emotional and attractive to the common people.

Despite the vibrant progress of the Brahmo movement under Keshub, the Samaj underwent a second schism on May, 1878 when a group of Keshub Chandra Sen's followers deserted him to establish the **Sadharan Brahmo Samaj**. The founders of this new outfit demanded the introduction of a democratic constitution in the church, which was not conceded by Keshub Chandra and his followers. The two other factors responsible for division in the ranks of the Brahmo Samaj of India were Keshub's doctrine of *adesha* (Divine Command) and the marriage of Keshub's daughter with the prince of Cooch Bihar allegedly in violation of the provision of the Indian Marriage Act of 1872. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, led by the veteran Derozian Shib Chandra Dev, consisted of some of the most talented youth of the time, such as Sivnath Shastri, Ananda Mohan Bose and Dwarkanath Ganguli. They were all great supporters of democracy and promptly framed a full-fledged democratic constitution based on universal adult franchise, for their new organization. A number of them took active part in the activities of the Indian League (1878), the Indian Association (1878) and the nascent Indian National Congress.

4.3 REVOLT OF 1857: CAUSES, NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE

In 1857, the British completed hundred years of stay in India since the Battle 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 craftsmen and artisans were robbed of their livelihoods. And now the colonial powers had all control over trade, commerce, and industries. This was leading 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'.

Causes of the Revolt of 1857

The following are the causes of the Revolt of 1857.

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Check Your Progress

1. When was *Atmiya Sabha* formed and by whom?
2. Who founded the Brahmo Samaj?

NOTES**1. Political Causes**

One of the main causes of the Revolt was the Doctrine of Lapse. The arbitrary ways in which adopted sons were not allowed to succeed led to much resentment. The states which were affected were Satara (1848), Jaitpur, Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udepur (1852) Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854). The annexation that caused the most controversy was that of Awadh in 1856. Even though the Nawab of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah was loyal to the British he was accused of mis-governance. The company's soldiers were now upset as they were loyal to the Nawab and the annexation of Awadh meant that the soldiers and their relatives would have to pay higher taxes. A new land revenue act was introduced and this meant higher taxes for the landowners. The Zamindars also were against their lands being confiscated. The company also stopped the annual pension of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of last Peshwa Baji Rao II. He proved to be a deadly enemy of the British.

There was unemployment also because the people who did not know English lost their jobs since now Persian and Urdu were no longer acceptable in government jobs. These people were called Ashrafs and held posts in the judicial and revenue department and they joined the revolt as they wanted to get back their jobs and prestige.

2. Military Causes

The soldiers or sepoy of the British Army revolted mainly because the cartridges used in the guns were coated with grease made from cow and pig fat. Soldiers who belonged to the upper caste among Hindus protested for the cow fat and the Muslims for the pig fat. Earlier also many sepoy had shown resentment over having to cross the sea to go to Burma as that was considered against some Hindu ritual. They were also unhappy with the pay structure as some high ranking Hindu soldier would get less than a low ranking English soldier. There were bleak chances of getting promoted also. Many spend all their service life in the same post. Then there were rumours of sepoy being forcibly converted to Christianity.

3. Religious Causes

The large number of conversion being made by Christian missionaries were also cause of concern for the majority of Hindus and Muslims. There were news of humiliation by British on Hinduism and Islam. The efforts of some reformists were also seen as conspiracy against Hindu religion and interference in the internal matters of Hindus. Then a law was enacted in 1850, which also enabled those who converted into Christianity to inherit ancestral property. This was really opposed by the majority.

4. Administrative and Economic Causes

The complete monopoly of the British on trade and commerce of the country also led to a lot of resentment. The native trade, handicraft, and other livelihoods were being destroyed by the monopoly of the British traders. The revenue system was also breaking the backbone of the local economy. With the annexation of Indian states consumers for local Indian goods and industry was not patronized and British goods were promoted and this led to large scale unemployment. And all these people also joined the revolt.

Nature of the Revolt

The real nature and cause of the revolt is debatable. Each historian has his own interpretation. The most well known and acceptable one being the story of Mangal

Pandey, a sepoy of 34th native infantry of Bengal Army. When he fired at a Sergeant Major at Barrackpore on March 29, 1857 (Bengal), he did not realize that he was creating history. He was later executed but this led to wide spread revolts in Meerut where soldiers killed English officers and started marching towards Delhi.

Many historians like Ear Stanley, T.R Homes. Forest, Innes and Sir John Lawrence stated the greased cartridges as the cause of the mutiny and called it a barbaric act. Some like Sir James Outram and W. Taylor described it as a conspiracy by Hindus and Muslims. Some called it a national revolt.'

Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, described it as a resentment for not having political organization in his book *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (causes of the revolt of India). V.D. Savarkar in his book *War of Indian Independence* called it the first war of independence. Even though the revolt began in the army it soon spread to other areas as well. Some historians were of the view that this sowed the seeds of the cry for independence. Yet, there are the following contrarian views:

Events of the Revolt

From Meerut the Sepoys marched to Delhi and declared Bahadur Shah Zafar as the Emperor of India. Then they attacked Daryaganj near Chandni Chowk area. Here large number of English lived. Soon Delhi was a battle ground. In Delhi the leaders failed to lead well and soon the battle in Delhi was losing ground. Figure 4.1 depicts the centres of the revolt of 1857.

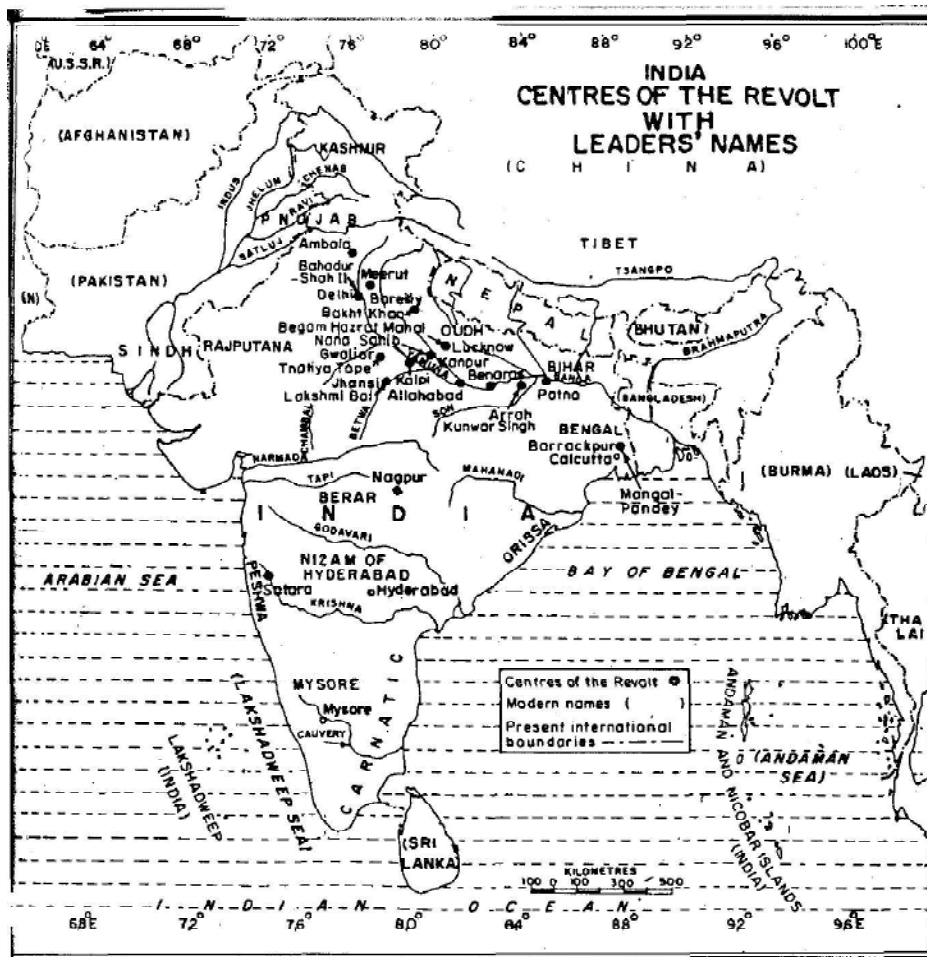


Fig. 4.1 Centres of the Revolt of 1857

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The revolt spread to different parts of the country after the outbreak in Delhi. Kanpur, Bareilly, Lucknow, Allahabad, Banaras, Faizabad, Jhansi, Jagdishpur (Arrah), Danapur and Patna were raging. In Lucknow, the revolt was led by Begum Hazrat Mahal who declared Birjis Qadar, her son, as the Nawab of Awadh. The British Resident Henry Lawrence was killed. Sir Colin Campbell tried to save the Europeans with the help of the Gorkha regiment.

From Kanpur, Nana Saheb with the support of Tatya Tope led the movement. Sir Hugh Wheeler, the commander of garrison surrendered on June 27, 1857. When Sir Campbell captured Kanpur, Tantia Tope escaped and joined Rani Laxmibai.

Rani Laxmibai, the ruler of Jhansi was a victim of the Doctrine of Lapse and revolted since her adopted son was not allowed to ascend to the throne and her state was being annexed by the British. She was declared ruler of Jhansi by the soldiers. Tatya Tope and Rani Jhansi together attacked Gwalior.

The Indian soldiers were with them but the ruler of Gwalior, Scindia, was loyal to the British. He escaped to Agra. Gwalior fell in June 1858. Rani died fighting on June 17, 1858. Tope was arrested and executed. At Jagdishpur (Bihar) Kunwar Singh led the revolt and defeated the British forces near Arrah.

At Bareilly, Khan Bahadur Khan led the revolt and in Faizabad, it was led by Maulvi Ahmadullah and in Patna by Maulvi Pir Ali. They were also part of the Wahabi movement and were against British so they joined the revolt.

Suppression of the Revolt

1. Delhi

It was recaptured by General John Nicholson in September, 1857. However, he later died of his wounds. Lt. Hodson killed the Mughal Emperor's sons and a grandson. Bahadurshah was later sent to Burma on exile.

2. Kanpur

Sir Hugh Wheeler fought against Nana's forces. Many Englishmen, women and children were killed. Major General Havelock on 17th July defeated Nana and recaptured Kanpur after a tough battle. Many Indian were killed by Brigadier General Neill. After this Sir Colin Campbell he became the new commander in chief of the Indian Army in August 1857.

3. Lucknow

Death of Sir Henry Lawrence on 2nd July 1857; arrival of Havelock, Outram and Neill with reinforcements (25th September) and death of Neill; relief of the besieged British by Sir Colin Campbell on 17th November, death of Havelock in December 1857, and its occupation by Tope; its final reoccupation by Campbell on 21st March, 1858.

4. Jhansi and Gwalior

Jhansi's recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose on 4th April, 1858 and the escape of Rani Laxmibai; capture of Gwalior (whose soldiers revolted and drove out their ruler, Scindia) by Rani, death of Rani on 17th June, 1858 and recapture of Gwalior by Rose on 20th June.

5. Bareilly

Recaptured by Campbell on 5th May 1858.

6. 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 9th May).

7. Banaras and Allahabad

Recaptured by Neill in June 1857.

8. 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 Tope, after losing Gwalior, escaped to Central India and carried on guerrilla war for 10 months. Finally, he was betrayed by Man Singh (a feudatory of Scindia) and was executed by the British on 18th April 1859. Nana Saheb, Begum of Awadh and Khan Bahadur 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 13th May, 1859. Maulavi Ahmadullah was treacherously murdered by Raja of Puwain in June 1858.

Causes of the Failure of the Revolt

The main reasons why the revolt failed were as follows:

1. The revolt was not a national event and hence failed to leave an impact. The revolt had no affect on the southern states of India. The sepoys of Madras were loyal to the British. Sepoys of Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and east Bengal did not join the mutiny and the Gorkhas were loyal allies of the British.
2. The British had very talented officers to lead the counter attack, some of them being Nicholson, Outram, Edwards etc.
3. Only the rulers who had lost their throne and state joined the revolt. Many remained loyal. Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Salar Jung of Nizam did not support the rebellion in fact they suppressed it. The British remained grateful to the Nizams for a long time for this.
4. The battle was lopsided towards the British as they had more resources.
5. Lack of leadership and proper strategies led to the failure of the revolt. There was no proper coordination. Bahadur Shah Zafar was a coward and was concerned about his own safety. He proved to be the weakest link. There was no faith in him.
6. There was no larger vision or goal for the revolt. It was led by feudal lords who did not have any game plan but to secure their own selfish interests. They hardly had anything new to challenge the mighty British rule.
7. Since the survival of the Zamindars and moneylenders depended on the British economy, they did not support the revolt.

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8. The educated middle class was not part of the revolt. The number of such people was small and they had not much say. And many of them were for British rule as they saw it as a means for the country's modernization.

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Impact of the Revolt

The base of the company's hold on India was shaken by the Revolt of 1857. Thereafter a stronger mechanism and administrative policy was placed in order to strengthen the British rule in India. The reactionary and vested interests were well protected and encouraged and became pillars of British rule in India. Since then the British adopted the divide and rule policy to weaken the back bone of India. Key positions in civil and military administration were now in the control of the British.

The various effects of the Revolt of 1857 may be summarized as follows:

- The revolt of 1857 marked the end of British imperialism. A new policy was passed by the Queen of England which announced that the Indian States would no longer be annexed. The Nizam, Rajput, Maratha and Sikh Chiefs were applauded for their loyalty and rewarded by certificates and *Sanad*.
- The number of Europeans in the Army was increased from 40,000 to 65,000 and that of Indian soldiers was reduced to 1.4 lakhs from 2.38 lakhs. The ratio of Indian to English soldiers in the Bengal army was made 1:2 and in Madras to 1:3.
- After the Revolt of 1857, the British pursued the policy of divide and rule.
- The Doctrine of Lapse was withdrawn.
- In August 1858, the British Parliament passed an Act, which put an end to the rule of the Company. The control of the British government in India was transferred to the British Crown. A 15-member council of India headed by Secretary of State for India was formed. The Secretary of State was made responsible for the Government of India.
- The British Governor-General of India was now also given the title of Viceroy, who was also the representative of the Monarch.
- Total expense of the suppression of the Revolt was borne by Indians.
- The Revolt of 1857 led to the rapid growth of nationalism among the literate Indians. The formation of various political associations, such as the 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 the Indian National Congress (1885) was the result of growing national consciousness.
- The Revolt of 1857 saw for the first time unity among Hindus and Muslims. So in that sense it was a historic movement.

Government of India Act, 1858

The presence of the British in India can be divided into two phases. One phase was between 1772 and 1858, during which the East India Company traded with help from British army and the second phase was from 1858 to 1947, when the British Crown ruled.

Till the revolt 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 part of the British crown. The East India Company was held responsible for the revolt. Even though the company tried to show how it had been of great service to the Empire, the Empire did not pay heed.

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. In an addressing to the House of Commons, he said, ‘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 function 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’.

After pointing out the drawbacks of the company and showing how this was leading to more confusion convinced the crown of its defects and the Parliament passed the Bill for a Better Government of India on August 1858.

Provisions

1. The rule of the East India Company was stopped by the Government of India Act of 1858 and the British parliament became responsible for all matters regarding India. A Viceroy was appointed as the representative of British Empire in India. Army and land erstwhile held by the company became part of the British Crown.
2. A council of 15 members was formed and the powers of the Court Director and the Board of Control were handed over to the Secretary of State for India. The task of administration and control was invested in the Secretary of State. He was also allowed to sit in the parliament.

Out of the 15 members of the council the British crown appointed 8 and the Court Directors appointed 7. It was mandatory that at least 9 members of the council must have served in India for not less than three years and they must not have been away from India for more than ten years at the time of their appointment. The members got £1200 per annum from India’s exchequer.

3. The secretary of the state had powers to take decisions in the following areas and also the following duties like:
 - (i) He had the power of veto against the decision of council.
 - (ii) He had also the power of casting vote.
 - (iii) 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.
 - (iv) He was permitted to write secretly to the Viceroy without informing the council.
 - (v) He had the power to make new rules for Indian Civil Services in which now Indians were allowed.
4. The British Crown had the power to appoint the Viceroy and Governor-General and governors of Bombay and Madras Presidencies. And the Viceroy had the power to appoint the Lieutenant Governor with the permission of the British Government.
5. It was the task of the secretary of state to make reports on Revenue, Law, Railways and Construction before the House of Commons, the lower house of British Parliament. The permission of the Parliament was needed to use the

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revenue for military expeditions outside India. The secretary of state was answerable to the British Parliament and the parliament had the right to remove him.

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Lord Canning announced Queen Victoria's proclamation on 1st November 1858, at Allahabad. This proclamation used the term Viceroy for the first time. The proclamation also assured that no more annexation would be done of states, no one would be converted to Christianity and proper qualifications were laid out for employment to the government jobs. It was assured that laws enacted would take into account Indian traditions and culture. The ownership of properties and succession would be protected. The peasants were also promised rights on proper payment of taxes.

4.4 RENAISSANCE II: RAMAKRISHNA AND VIVEKANANDA

Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) on 12 January 1863, in a traditional Kayastha family, and was given the name Narendranath Dutta. Since his childhood, Narendranath had varied interests and a wide range of scholarship in philosophy, religion, history, the social sciences, arts, literature, and other subjects. He evinced much interest in the Hindu scriptures like the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita, the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata and the Puranas. Even when young, he questioned the validity of superstitious customs and discrimination based on caste and refused to accept anything without rational proof and pragmatic test.

Narendranath's family moved to Raipur in 1877 for two years. Since there were no good schools there, Narendranath spent time with his father discussing spiritual matters. For the first time the question of existence of god came to his mind. The family returned to Calcutta in 1879, but it is believed that these two years were the turning point in his life.

Joining the Brahma Samaj

Narendranath started his education at home. He later joined the Metropolitan Institution of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in 1871 and subsequently the General Assembly's Institution. During these years, he studied the history of European nations as well as Western logic and philosophy, including the writings of David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Darwin. Narendra was fascinated with the evolutionism of Herbert Spencer and even translated Spencer's book on education into Bengali. Alongside his study of Western philosophers, Narendra was thoroughly acquainted with Sanskrit scriptures and many Bengali works.

Narendranath's initial beliefs were shaped by Brahma concepts, which include belief in a formless god and deprecation of idol. Not satisfied with his knowledge of philosophy, he wondered if god and religion could be made a part of one's growing experiences and internalized. Narendra went about asking prominent residents of contemporary Calcutta whether they had come 'face to face with god' but could not get satisfactory answers.

His first introduction to Ramakrishna occurred in a literature class in General Assembly's Institution, when Principal Reverend W. Hastie told his students that if they wanted to know the real meaning of trance, they should go to Ramakrishna. This prompted Narendranath to visit Ramakrishna.

Check Your Progress

3. Which was the main political cause of the Revolt of 1857?
4. Why did the soldiers or sepoys of the British Army revolt?

Ramakrishna's Influence on Vivekananda

Vivekananda writes on his first interaction with Ramakrishna thus,

'The magic touch of the Master that day immediately brought a wonderful change over my mind. I was astounded to find that really there was nothing in the universe but God! ... Everything I saw appeared to be Brahman. ... I realized that I must have had a glimpse of the *Advaita* state. Then it struck me that the words of the scriptures were not false. Thenceforth I could not deny the conclusions of the *Advaita* philosophy.'

Narendranath's meeting with Ramakrishna in November 1881 proved to be a turning point in his life. About this meeting, Narendranath said:

[Ramakrishna] looked just like an ordinary man, with nothing remarkable about him. He used the most simple language and I thought "Can this man be a great teacher?". I crept near to him and asked him the question which I had been asking others all my life: "Do you believe in God, Sir?" "Yes", he replied. "Can you prove it, Sir?" "Yes". "How?" "Because I see Him just as I see you here, only in a much intense sense." That impressed me at once. [...] I began to go to that man, day after day, and I actually saw that religion could be given. One touch, one glance, can change a whole life."

Even though Narendra did not accept Ramakrishna as his guru initially and revolted against his ideas, he was attracted by his personality and visited him frequently. As a member of the Brahmo Samaj, he revolted against idol worship and polytheism, and Ramakrishna's worship of Kali. He even rejected the *Advaitist Vedantism* of identity with absolute as blasphemy and madness.

Though at first Narendra could not accept Ramakrishna and his visions, he could not ignore him either. It had always been in Narendra's nature to test something thoroughly before accept it. He tested Ramakrishna, who never asked Narendra to abandon reason, and faced all of Narendra's arguments and examinations with patience. Five years under Ramakrishna transformed Narendra from a restless, puzzled, impatient youth to a mature man who was ready to renounce everything for the sake of god-realization. In time, Narendra accepted Ramakrishna as guru, completely surrendering himself as a disciple.

During the last days of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and some of the other disciples received the ochre monastic robes from Ramakrishna, which formed the first monastic order of Ramakrishna. Vivekananda was taught that service to men was the most effective worship of God. Ramakrishna asked Vivekananda to take care of other monastic disciples and in turn asked them to look upon Vivekananda as their leader.

Foundation of the Ramakrishna Math

After the death of their master, the monastic disciples led by Vivekananda formed a fellowship at a half-ruined house at Baranagar near the river Ganges. This became the first building of the Ramakrishna Math, or the monastery of the disciples who constituted the first monastic order of Sri Ramakrishna.

Narendra and other members of the Math often spent their time in meditation, discussing about different philosophies and teachings of spiritual teachers including Ramakrishna, Adi Shankara, Ramanuja, and Jesus Christ. In the early part of 1887, Narendra and eight other disciples took formal monastic vows. Narendra took the name of Swami Bibidishananda. Later he was coronated with the name *Vivekananda* by Ajit Singh, the Maharaja of Khetri.

In January 1899, the Math was shifted to Belur, its current home.

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A Wandering Preacher

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In 1888, Vivekananda left the monastery as a *Parivrājaka*—the Hindu religious life of a wandering monk. His sole possessions were a *kamandalu* (water pot), staff, and his two favourite books—*Bhagavad Gita* and *The Imitation of Christ*. Narendranath travelled the length and breadth of India for five years, visiting important centres of learning, acquainting himself with the diverse religious traditions and different patterns of social life. Moved by the suffering and poverty of the masses, he resolved to uplift the nation. Living mainly on *bhiksha* or alms, Narendranath travelled mostly on foot and railway tickets bought by his admirers whom he met during the travels.

During his travel in the Himalayas, he reportedly had a vision of the macrocosm and microcosm, which seems to reflect in the *Jnana Yoga* lectures he gave later in the West. At the end of January 1891, the Swami journeyed to Jaipur, where he studied Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* with a Sanskrit scholar.

Continuing his travels, he visited Ahmedabad and Porbander, where he stayed for almost nine months, in spite of his vow as a wandering monk, to perfect his philosophical and Sanskrit studies with learned *pandits*; he worked with a court *pandit* who translated the *Vedas*.

In 1892, Vivekananda travelled to southern India and reached Kanyakumari on the Christmas Eve of 1892. At Kanyakumari, the Swami reportedly meditated on the 'last bit of Indian rock', famously known later as the Vivekananda Rock Memorial, for three days. Here he had the 'Vision of one India', also commonly called the 'Kanyakumari resolve of 1892'. He wrote:

At Cape Camorin sitting in Mother Kumari's temple, sitting on the last bit of Indian rock—I hit upon a plan: We are so many sanyasis wandering about, and teaching the people metaphysics—it is all madness. Did not our *Gurudeva* use to say, 'An empty stomach is no good for religion?' We as a nation have lost our individuality and that is the cause of all mischief in India. We have to raise the masses.

Parliament of World's Religions

It was in early 1892 that Vivekananda heard of the Parliament of the World's Religions and was urged by his followers to attend it. His disciples collected funds for the voyage to America and Vivekananda left for Chicago on 31 May 1893.

On arriving, the Swami learnt that no one without credentials from a *bona fide* organization would be accepted as a delegate. When Professor John Henry Wright of Harvard University learnt that he did not have the credentials to speak at the Parliament, Wright is quoted as having said, 'To ask for your credentials is like asking the sun to state its right to shine in the heavens.' Wright addressed a letter to the chairman in charge of delegates writing, 'Here is a man who is more learned than all of our learned professors put together.'

Representing India and Hinduism, Vivekananda began his speech with, 'Sisters and brothers of America!'. To these words he got a standing ovation from a crowd of seven thousand. He greeted the youngest of the nations in the name of 'the most ancient order of monks in the world, the Vedic order of *sannyasins*, a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance.' And he quoted two passages in this relation, from the *Bhagavad Gita*— 'As the different streams having their sources in different places all mingle their water in the sea, so, O Lord, the different paths which

men take, through different tendencies, various though they appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee!’ and ‘Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths that in the end lead to Me.’ Despite being a short speech, it voiced the spirit of the Parliament and its sense of universality.

Vivekananda attracted widespread attention in the press. The American newspapers reported him as ‘the greatest figure in the parliament of religions’ and ‘the most popular and influential man in the parliament’. All his speeches at the Parliament had one common theme—Universality—and stressed on religious tolerance.

After the Parliament of Religions, Vivekananda spent nearly two whole years lecturing in various parts of the United States. ‘I do not come’, said Swamiji, ‘to convert you to a new belief. I want you to keep your own belief; I want to make the Methodist a better Methodist; the Presbyterian a better Presbyterian. . . . I want to teach you to live the truth, to reveal the light within your own soul.’ He later founded the Vedanta Society of New York.

He travelled to England twice where he met Miss Margaret Noble, an Irish lady who later became Sister Nivedita. He also interacted with Max Müller, a renowned Indologist at Oxford University who wrote Ramakrishna’s first biography in the West.

From the West, he also set his Indian work in motion. He advised his followers and brother monks to launch a campaign of social service. ‘Go from door to door amongst the poor and lower classes. . . and teach them religion. Also, let them have oral lessons on geography and such other subjects. No good will come of sitting idle and. . . saying ‘Ramakrishna, O Lord!’—unless you can do some good to the poor.’

In 1895, the periodical called *Brahmavadin* was started in Madras, with the money supplied by Vivekananda, for the purpose of teaching the Vedanta.

Founding of Ramakrishna Mission

On 1 May 1897, Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission—the organ for social service. The ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission are based on *Karma Yoga*. This was the beginning of an organized social and religious movement to help the masses through educational, cultural, medical and relief work.

Two other monasteries were founded by Vivekananda—one at Mayavati on the Himalayas, near Almora called the *Advaita Ashrama* and another at Madras. Two journals were also started, *Prabuddha Bharata* in English and *Udbhodan* in Bengali.

Vivekananda’s Teachings and Principles

Swami Vivekananda believed that the essence of Hinduism was best expressed in the Vedanta philosophy, based on the interpretation of Adi Shankara. He summarized the principles of Vedanta as follows:

- Each soul is potentially divine.
- The goal is to manifest this divinity within by controlling nature, external and internal.
- Do this either by work, or worship, or mental discipline, or philosophy—by one, or more, or all of these—and be free.
- This is the whole of religion. Doctrines, or dogmas, or rituals, or books, or temples, or forms, are but secondary details.

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- He maintained, 'So long as even a single dog in my country is without food my whole religion is to feed it and serve it, anything excluding that is nonreligious.'

According to Vivekananda, an important teaching he received from Ramakrishna was that 'Jiva is Shiva (each individual is Divinity itself).' This became his mantra, and he coined the concept of *daridra narayana seva*, or the service of god in and through (poor) human beings. He concluded that the distinctions between men fade into nothingness in the light of the oneness that the devotee experiences in Moksha. What arises then is compassion for those who remain unaware of this oneness and a determination to help them.

Swami Vivekananda belonged to the branch of Vedanta that held that no one can be truly free until all of us are. Even the desire for personal salvation has to be given up, and only tireless work for the salvation of others is the true mark of the enlightened person. He founded the Ramakrishna Math and Mission on the principle of 'Atmano Mokshartham Jagat-hitaya cha' (for one's own salvation and for the welfare of the World).

Vivekananda advised his followers to be holy, unselfish and to have faith (*shraddha*). He encouraged the practice of *Brahmacharya* (celibacy) and attributed his physical and mental strengths and eloquence to this.

Vivekananda and Science

In his book *Raja Yoga*, Vivekananda explores traditional views on the supernatural and the belief that the practice of Raja Yoga can confer psychic powers such as reading another's thoughts, controlling the forces of nature, live without breathing, and levitation. Vivekananda advocated testing an idea thoroughly before making your decision of accepting or denying it:

It is not the sign of a candid and scientific mind to throw overboard anything without proper investigation. Surface scientists, unable to explain various extraordinary mental phenomena, strive to ignore their very existence.

He further says in the introduction of the book that one should take up the practice and verify these things for oneself, and that there should not be blind belief. In his paper read at the World Parliament of Religions, Chicago (1893), Vivekananda also hinted about the final goal of physics:

Science is nothing but the finding of unity. As soon as science would reach perfect unity, it would stop from further progress, because it would reach the goal...Physics would stop when it would be able to fulfill its services in discovering one energy of which all others are but manifestations.

All science is bound to come to this conclusion in the long run. Manifestation, and not creation, is the word of science today, and the Hindu is only glad that what he has been cherishing in his bosom for ages is going to be taught in more forcible language, and with further light from the latest conclusions of science.

The great electrical engineer Nikola Tesla, after listening to Vivekananda's speech on Sankhyaphilosophy, was much interested in its cosmogony and its rational theories of the *Kalpas* (cycles), *Prana* and *Akasha*. His notion based on the Vedanta led him to think that matter is a manifestation of energy.

Last Years of his Life

Vivekananda again left for the West in June 1899, and founded the Vedanta societies at San Francisco and New York. He also founded *Shanti Ashrama* (peace retreat) at

California. Later, he attended the Congress of Religions, in Paris in 1900. The Paris addresses are memorable for the scholarly penetration evinced by Vivekananda related to worship of *Linga* and authenticity of the *Gita*. However, tours, hectic lecturing engagements, private discussions and correspondence had taken their toll on Vivekananda's health. He passed away on 4 July 1902.

Vivekananda: A Source of Inspiration

Several leaders of 20th-century India and philosophers have acknowledged Vivekananda's influence. He is widely considered to have inspired India's freedom struggle movement. His writings inspired a whole generation of freedom fighters including Subhash Chandra Bose, Aurobindo Ghose and Bagha Jatin.

At the Belur Math, Mahatma Gandhi was heard to say that his whole life was an effort to bring into actions the ideas of Vivekananda. Many years after Vivekananda's death, Rabindranath Tagore, a Nobel Poet Laureate told Romain Rolland, 'If you want to know India, study Vivekananda. In him everything is positive and nothing negative.'

Vivekananda left a vast body of philosophical works. He observed that the billions of people on the earth could be classified into four basic types—those who were in constant activity (the *worker*); those who were driven by their inner urge to achieve something in life (the *lover*); those who tended to analyse the working of their minds (the *mystic*); and those who weighed everything with reason (the *philosopher*). His books (compiled from lectures given around the world) on the four Yogas (Karma Yoga for the worker, Bhakti Yoga for the lover, Raja Yoga for the mystic, and Jnana Yoga for the philosopher) are very influential and are still seen as fundamental texts for anyone interested in the Hindu practice of Yoga.

4.4.1 Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati

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. Since he was born under *Mul Nakshatra*, he was named 'Mulshankar', and led a comfortable early life, studying Sanskrit, the Vedas and other religious texts to prepare himself for a future as a Hindu priest. A number of incidents in his early childhood resulted in Dayanand's questioning the traditional beliefs of Hinduism and inquiring about god. While still a young child, his family went to a temple for overnight prayers on the night of *Maha Shivratri*. He stayed up the entire night while his family slept, waiting for Lord Shiva to appear to accept the offerings made to his idol. Instead, Dayanand saw a mouse eating the offerings. He was utterly surprised and wondered how a god who cannot protect his own offerings would protect humanity. He argued with his father that they should not be worshipping such a helpless god.

The deaths of his younger sister and his uncle from cholera caused Dayanand to ponder the meaning of life and death and he started asking questions which worried his parents. He was to be married in his early teens, as was common in the 19th century India, but he decided marriage was not for him and in 1846 left home. Dayananda was disillusioned with classical Hinduism and became a wandering mendicant. He learned Panini's grammar to read Sanskrit texts, and understood from them that God can be found. After wandering in search of God for over two decades, he found Swami Virajananda near Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, who became his guru. Swami Virajananda

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told him to throw away all his books, as he wished Dayananda to start from a clean slate and learn directly from the Vedas, the oldest and most foundational scriptures of Hinduism. Dayananda stayed under Swami Virjananda's tutelage for two and a half years. After finishing his education, Virjananda asked him to spread the knowledge of the Vedas in society as his *gurudakshina*, or fees for the knowledge he had acquired from his teacher.



Fig. 4.2 Dayanand Saraswati

Mission of Saraswati's Life

Dayananda'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. He travelled the country challenging religious scholars and priests to discussions and won repeatedly on the strength of his arguments based on his knowledge of Sanskrit and Vedas. He believed that Hinduism had been corrupted by its divergence from the founding principles of the Vedas and that Hindus had been misled by the priests making rituals and prayers more elaborate and exaggerated. Hindu priests discouraged the common man from reading Vedic scriptures and encouraged rituals, such as bathing in the Ganges River and feeding of priests on anniversaries, which Dayananda pronounced as superstitions or self-serving practices. By encouraging the nation to reject such superstitious notions, his aim was to educate the nation to 'Go back to the Vedas'. While he 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. Through his teachings, preachings, sermons and writings, he inspired the nation to aspire to *Swarajya* (self governance), nationalism, and spiritualism. He advocated for equal rights and respect for women and for the complete education of a girl child.

Swami Dayananda critically, logically and scientifically analysed all faiths, i.e., Islam and Christianity as well as other Indian faiths like Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism. In addition, he denounced idolatry in Hinduism, as can be seen in his book *Satyartha Prakash*. He was against what he considered to be the corruption of the pure faith in his own country. Unlike many other reform movements within Hinduism, the Arya Samaj's appeal was addressed not only to the educated few in India, but to the world as a whole as evidenced in the sixth principle of the Arya Samaj. In fact, his teachings professed universalism for all living beings and not for any particular sect, faith, community or nation.

Arya Samaj allows and encourages conversion to Hinduism. Dayananda's concept of dharma is stated in the 'Beliefs and Disbeliefs' section of *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

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.

Dayananda's Vedic message was to emphasize respect and reverence for other human beings, supported by the Vedic notion of the divine nature of the individual – divine because the body was the temple where the human essence (soul or 'atma') had the possibility to interface with the creator (*Paramatma*). In the ten principles of the Arya Samaj, he enshrined the idea that 'All actions should be performed with the prime objective of benefiting mankind', as opposed to following dogmatic rituals or revering idols and symbols. In his own life, he interpreted *moksha* to be a lower calling (due to its benefit to one individual) than the calling to emancipate others.

Dayananda's 'back to the Vedas' message influenced many thinkers and philosophers the world over. Taking the cue from him, Sri Aurobindo decided to look for hidden psychological meanings in the Vedas.

Dayananda Saraswati wrote more than sixty works in all, including a fourteen volume explanation of the six Vedangas, an incomplete commentary on the *Ashtadhyayi* (Panini's grammar), several small tracts on ethics and morality, Vedic rituals and sacraments and on criticism of rival doctrines (such as Advaita Vedanta, Islam and Christianity). Some of his major works are *Satyarth Prakash*, *Sanskarvidhi*, *RigvedadiBhashyaBhumika*, *Rigved Bhashyam* (upto 7/61/2) and *Yajurved Bhashyam*. The Paropakarini Sabha located in the Indian city of Ajmer was founded by the Swami himself to publish and preach his works and Vedic texts.

In 1883, Dayananda was invited by the Maharaja of Jodhpur to stay at his palace. The Maharaja was eager to become his disciple and learn his teachings. One day Dayananda went to the Maharaja's rest room and saw him with a dance girl named Nanhi Jan. Dayananda boldly asked the Maharaja to forsake the girl and all unethical acts and follow dharma like a true Aryan. Dayananda's suggestion offended the dance girl and she decided to take revenge. She bribed Dayananda's cook to poison him. At bedtime, the cook brought him a glass of milk containing poison and powdered glass. Dayananda drank the milk and went to sleep only to wake up later with a burning sensation. He immediately realized that he had been poisoned and attempted to purge his digestive system of the poisonous substance, but it was too late. The poison had already entered his bloodstream. Dayananda was bedridden and suffered excruciating pain. Many doctors came to treat him but all was in vain. His entire body was covered with large bleeding sores. On seeing Dayananda's suffering, the cook was overcome with unbearable guilt and remorse. He confessed his crime to Dayananda. On his deathbed, Dayananda forgave him and gave him a bag of money and told him to flee the kingdom lest he be found out and executed by the Maharaja's men.

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A man of spirit has passed away from India. 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

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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

Vedic Schools

Between 1869 and 1873, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, a native of Gujarat, made his first attempt at reform in his native India. This attempt took the form of the establishment of 'Vedic Schools' which put an emphasis on Vedic values, culture and religion to its students. The first was established at Farrukhabad in 1869, with fifty students. This initial success led to the founding of four additional schools in rapid succession at Mirzapur (1870), Kasganj (1870), Chhalesar (1870) and Varanasi (1873).

The Vedic Schools represented the first practical application of Swami Dayanand's vision of religious and social reform. They enjoyed a mixed reception. On the one hand, students were not allowed to perform traditional idol worship (*murtipuja* in Hindi) at the school, and were instead expected to perform *sandhya* (a form of meditative prayer using mantras from the Vedas) and participate in *agnihotra* twice daily. Disciplinary action was swift and not infrequently severe. On the other hand, all meals, lodging, clothing and books were given to the students free of charge, and the study of Sanskrit was opened to non-Brahmins. The most noteworthy feature of the schools was that only those texts which accepted the authority of the Vedas were to be taught. This was critical for the spiritual and social regeneration of Vedic culture in India.

The Vedic Schools soon ran into difficulties. Swami Dayanand had trouble finding qualified teachers who agreed with his views on religious reform, and there existed a paucity of textbooks which he considered suitable for instruction in Vedic culture. Funding was sporadic, attendance fluctuated considerably, and tangible results in the way of noteworthy student achievement were not forthcoming.

Consequentially, some of the schools were forced to close shortly after opening. As early as 1874, it had become clear to Swami Dayanand that, without a wide and solid base of support among the public, setting up schools with the goal of imparting a Vedic education would prove to be an impossible task. He, therefore, decided to invest the greater part of his resources in the formulation and propagation of his ideology of reform. Deprived of the full attention of Swami Dayanand, the Vedic School system collapsed and the last of the schools (Farrukhabad) was closed down in 1876 due to Muslim takeover.

Setting up of the Arya Samaj

While travelling (1872–73), Swami Dayanand came to know of several of the pro-Western Indian intellectuals of the age, including Nobin Chandra Roy, Rajnarayan Basu, Debendra Nath Tagore and Hemendranath Tagore, all of whom were actively involved in the Brahmo Samaj. This reform organization, founded in 1828, held many views similar to those of Swami Dayanand in matters both religious (e.g., a belief in monotheism and the eternality of the soul) and society (e.g., the need to abolish the hereditary caste or

varna system and uplift the masses through education). Debendranath Tagore had written a book entitled *Brahmo Dharma*, which serves as a manual of religion and ethics to the members of that society, and Swami Dayanand had read it while in Calcutta.

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. The resulting manuscript was published under the title *Satyarth Prakash* or *The Light of Meaning of Truth* in 1875 at Varanasi. This voluminous work would prove to play a central role in the establishment and later growth of the organization which would come to be known as the Arya Samaj.

On an invitation from Hargovind Das Dvarkadas, the secretary of the local Prarthana Samaj, Swami Dayanand travelled to Rajkot, Gujarat, arriving on 31 December 1874. Instead of delivering his standard programme of lectures, he allowed members of the audience to choose the topics they would like to have him discourse upon. A total of eight topics were chosen, and Swami Dayanand delivered impromptu lectures on all of them to the satisfaction of all present. Gifts were bestowed upon the Swami as tokens of gratitude for his masterly orations, and it was announced that the Rajkot Prarthana Samaj was henceforth dissolved and was ready to be reorganized as a new Samaj under the auspices of Swami Dayanand. The Swami, after much deliberation, chose the name 'Arya Samaj' or 'Society of Nobles'. 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. A membership drive was initiated which would circumvent the need for discussions. Within a short time, a hundred individuals enrolled themselves as prospective members. While the membership drive was underway, Swami Dayanand held a now famous discourse with the congregation at Mumbai. Someone in the audience asked the Swami, 'Should we set up a new Samaj?' Dayanand responded:

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*.

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On 10 April, 1875, the Bombay Arya Samaj was officially established. The membership amounted to a hundred persons, including Swami Dayanand. The members appealed to the Swami that he should serve as either the President or the Guru of the Samaj, but he gracefully declined, and instead requested that he be listed as a regular member.

Principles of Arya Samaj

Aum was considered by the Arya Samaj to be the highest and most proper name of God. On 24 June 1877, the second major Arya Samaj was established at Lahore. However, the original list of twenty-eight rules and regulations drafted by Dayanand for the Rajkot Arya Samaj and used for the Bombay Arya Samaj were deemed to be too unwieldy. Therefore, it was proposed that the principles should be reduced and simplified, while the bylaws should be removed to a separate document. Everyone present, including Swami Dayanand, agreed, and the Ten Principles of the Arya Samaj, as they are known around the world today, came into existence.

These principles are as follows:

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 Samajists 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.

All subsequently established branches of the Arya Samaj have been founded upon the ten principles. However, each new branch of the Samaj has a degree of freedom in determining the exact by-laws under which it shall operate. Everyone who wishes to become a member of the Society must agree to uphold these principles in their entirety. However, nothing beyond these ten principles has any binding force on any member of the Arya Samaj. For this reason, the early Samaj proved to be attractive to individuals belonging to various religious communities, and enjoyed a notable degree of converts from segments of the Hindu, Sikh, Christian and Muslim populations of Indian society.

The Arya Samaj performed simple weddings of girls from poor backgrounds. It also propagated inter-caste marriages to put an end to casteism.

Drawing what are seen to be the logical conclusions from these principles, the Arya Samaj also unequivocally condemns practices such as polytheism, idolatry, animal sacrifice, ancestor worship, pilgrimage, priest craft, the belief in Avatars or incarnations of God, the hereditary caste system, untouchability and child marriage on the grounds that all these lack Vedic sanction.

4.5 SYED AHMED KHAN

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, commonly known as Sir Syed, was born on 17 of October 1817. He was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century. Born into the Muslim nobility, Sir Syed was bestowed with the title of Javad-ud- Daulah by Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II in 1842.

During the Indian Revolution of 1857, he was accused of being loyal to the British. Subsequent to the Indian rebellion, he wrote *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*, a daring critique of the policies of British, which he blamed was the reasons for the rebellion. He was a strong believer that the future of Muslims was at risk because of their conventional mind-set. As a result of this, he started encouraging the western style of scientific education by launching modern schools and journals, e.g., the establishment of the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College (Aligarh Muslim University) in 1875. This university was established on the sole objective of advancing social and economic development of Indian Muslims.

Early Life and Works

He was born in Delhi, which was then the capital of the Mughal Empire and became an educator, politician, an Islamic reformer and modernist. He and his family had migrated first to Iran from Saudi Arabia and then to Afghanistan, at the time of Akbar.

His elder brother initiated the city's first printing press in the Urdu language, along with a journal called the *Sayyad-ul-Akbar*. He pursued with his studies of medicine for many years but could not complete them because of financial constraints that occurred after his father's death. He rejected employment in the Mughal court and accepted the editorship of his brother's journal.

Career

Social reforms within the Muslim society was started by Abdul Latif, who started the Mohammedan Literary Society in Bengal. Sir Syed founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. He fought against ignorance, superstitions and evil customs prevailed in Muslim society and believed that they would not progress unless they acquired western education and science. Realizing the political decline of the Mughals, he got enrolled into the British East India Company's civil services where he was appointed as *Serestadar* in the court of law at Agra. He was promoted as a Munshi in 1840 and in 1858, was appointed to a high-ranking position in the courts of Muradabad.

Causes of the Indian Revolt

While working in the courts of the East India Company, Sir Syed obtained some close information pertaining to colonial politics which he accumulated and shared as the root

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Check Your Progress

5. When was Swami Vivekananda born?
6. When did Vivekananda found the Ramakrishna Mission?
7. When was Dayanand Saraswati born?

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cause of Indian revolution in his renowned booklet, *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*, in 1859. He rejected the contribution of Muslim elites in the conspiracy, who feared the diminishing influence of the Muslims. On the contrary, he suggested the British Government to appoint Muslims in the administration to assist the government.

Scholarly works

Sir Syed's career as an author began at the age of 23, while he was working as a jurist. He wrote around 6000 pages in Urdu. His contribution came out in a series of publication in Urdu on religious subjects. In 1842, his work brought him the recognition of a great scholar on religious and cultural subjects. His writings helped in creating cordial relations between the British and the Muslim community.

Syed Ahmad throughout his life, spared time for literary and scholarly pursuits, which had wide range and scope that included—history, politics, archaeology, journalism, literature, religion and science. Some of his works are as follows:

Legal Works

1. Act No. 10 (Stamp Act) 1862
2. Act No. 14 (Limitation) 1859-1864
3. Act No. 16 (Regarding registration documents) – Allyson, 1864
4. Act No. 18 (Worked for Women Rights) Act 1866

Religious Works

1. *Ahkam Tu'am Ahl-Kitab, Kanpur* – 1868
2. *Al-Du'a Wa'l Istajaba, Agra* – 1892
3. *Al-Nazar Fi Ba'z Masa'il Imam Al-Ghazzali, Agra*
4. *Izalat ul-chain as Zi'al Qarnain, Agra* – 1889
5. *Zila al-Qulub ba Zikr al-Mahbub Delhi*, 1843
6. *Khulq al-Insan ala ma fi al-Quran, Agra*, 1892
7. *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat, 2 fasl*, 1883
8. *Mazumm ba nisbat tanazzul ulum-i-diniya wa Arabiya wa falsafa-i-Yunaniya, Agra*, 1857
9. *Namiqa fi Bayan Mas'ala Tasawwur al-Shaikh*, Aligarh, 1883
10. *Rah-i-Sunnat dar rad-i-bid'at*, Aligarh, 1883
11. *Risala Ibtal-i-Ghulami*, Agra, 1893
12. *Fisala ho wal Mojud*, 1880
13. *Risala Tahqiq Lafzi-i-Nassara*, 1860
14. *Tabyin-ul-Kalam fi Tafsir-al-turat-wa'l Injil ala Mullat-al-Islam* (The Mohomedan Commentary on the holy Bible)
15. *Tafsir-ul-Qura'n*
Vol. I Aligarh, 1880
Vol. II Aligarh, 1882, Agra – 1903
Vol. III Aligarh, 1885

Vol. IV Aligarh, 1888

Vol. V Aligarh, 1892

Vol. VI Aligarh, 1895

Vol. VII Aligarh, 1904

16. *Tafsir al-Jinn Wa'l Jan ala ma fi al-Qur'an*, Rahmani Press, Lahore, 1893, Agra, 1891
17. *Tafsir-a-Samawat*, Agra
18. *Tahir fi Usul al-Tafsir*, Agra, 1892
19. *Tarjama Fawa'id al-afkar fi amal al-farjar*, Delhi 1846
20. *Tarqim fi qisa ashab al-kahf wal-Raqim*, Agra, 1889
21. *Tasfiyad al'Aquid* (being the correspondent between Syed Ahmed Khan and Maulana Muhammad Qasim of Deoband)
22. *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind* (Reasons for the Indian Revolt of 1857) 1875

Historical Works

1. *A'in-e-Akbari* (Edition with Illustration), Delhi
2. *Asar-us-Sanadid* (i) Syed-ul-Akhbar, 1847, (II) Mata-i-Sultani, 1852
3. *Description des monument de Delhi in 1852*, D'a Pre Le Texte Hindostani De Saiyid Ahmad Khan (tr. By Garcin De Rassy), Paris, 1861
4. *Jam-i-jum*, Akbarabad, 1940
5. *Silsilat-ul-Muluk*, Ashraf ul Mataba', Delhi, 1852
6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Edition), Asiatic society, Calcutta, 1862
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (edition Aligarh, 1864)

Biographical Works

1. *Al-Khutbat al-Ahmadiya fi'l Arab wa'I Sirat al-Muhammadiya*: Aligarh, 1900, English translation, London – 1869-70
2. *Sirat-i-Faridiya*, Agra, 1896
3. *Tuhfa-i-Hasan*, Aligarh, 1883

Political Works

1. *Asbab-i-Bhagwat-i-Hind*, Urdu 1858 and English edition, Banaras
2. *Lecture Indian National Congress Madras Par*, Kanpur, 1887
3. *Lectures on the Act XVI of 1864*, delivered on the 4th Dec, 1864 for the Scientific Society, Aligarh, 1864
4. *Musalmanon ki qismat ka faisla* (taqarir-e-Syed Ahmad Khan wa Syed Mehdi Ali Khan etc.) Agra, 1894
5. *On Hunter's: Our Indian Mussulmans'* London 1872
6. *Present State of Indian Politics* (Consisting of lectures and Speeches) Allahabad, 1888
7. *Sarkashi Zilla Binjor*, Agra 1858

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NOTES**Lectures**

1. Itimias be khidmat Sakinan-i-Hindustan dar bad tarraqi ta'Im ahl-i-Hind, Ghazipore, 1863
2. Lecture dar bab targhib wa tahrir talim itfal-i-Musalmanan, in 1895, Agra 1896
3. Lecture Madrasaat ul-Ulum Aligarh Key Tarikhi halat aur jaded Waqi'at Par, Agra, 1889
4. Lecture Ijlas Dahum Muhammadan Educational conference, Agra, 1896
5. Lecture Muta'liq Ijlas Yazdahum Muhammadan Educational Conference, Agra, 1896
6. Majmu'a Resolution Hayd Dah sala (Resolution passed by the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational conference from 1886 to 1895) ed. By Sir Syed Ahmad, Agra 1896
7. Report Salana (Annual Report of the Boarding House of Madrasat-ul-Ulum 1879-1880)

Political Career

In 1878, Sir Syed was nominated for the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and in the same year, he laid the foundation of the Muhammadan Association to promote political cooperation within Muslims across the country. Later, in the year 1883, he instituted the Muhammadan Civil Service Fund Association to promote and facilitate the entrance of Muslim graduates in the Indian Civil Services.

All India Muslim League (AIML)

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan supported the organization of All India Muslim League and his educational propositions and political activism motivated elite Muslims to help AIML. The foundation of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference was originally laid in 1886 to promote western education, science and literature, in particular amongst Muslims in India.

Legacy

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the most powerful Muslim politician in India and was a renowned mentor of 19th and 20th century entrepreneurs and politicians of the Muslim community. He spent the last 20 years of his life in Aligarh. He was also nominated for the membership of the Civil Service Commission in 1887, by Lord Dufferin and awarded with LL.D Honoris Causa from Edinburgh University.

The Aligarh Muslim University was one amongst the most recognized universities. Pakistan also honoured him by establishing Sir Syed University of Engineering and Technology in Karachi, a leading technical institute in the country. Sir Syed Government Girls College in Karachi was also named in his honour. Sir Syed died on 27th March 1898, and was buried besides Sir Syed Masjid, inside the campus of the University.

4.5.1 The Aligarh Movement

The Aligarh Movement was a prominent Muslim socio-religious movement in India and was led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Sir Syed 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 any religious education, he demonstrated a personality more akin to a courtier or government official than to an Ulama. He believed that the future of Islam rested with the fortunes of Muslims, particularly those residing in northern India. He started to attract others with his writings and soon founded a variety of public forums for spreading his ideas. He soon emerged as a prominent leader of the Muslim community.

The Aligarh Movement was actually an educational movement with a view to purify Islam and it marked a sharp break with previous attempts to purify Islam and return it to its past glory. The vision of the movement was to create an administrative elite class that would govern in cooperation with the British, rather than focus its attention on the Ulama. Through the 1850s, Syed Ahmed Khan began developing a strong passion for education. While pursuing studies of different subjects including European jurisprudence, Sir Syed began to realize the advantages of Western-style education, which was offered at newly established colleges across India.

Despite being a devout Muslim, Sir Syed criticized the influence of traditional dogma and religious orthodoxy, which had made most Indian Muslims suspicious of British influences. He became increasingly concerned for the future of Muslim communities. A scion of Mughal nobility, Sir Syed had been reared in the finest traditions of Muslim elite culture and was aware of the steady decline of Muslim political power across India. 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. He intensified his work to promote cooperation with British authorities, promoting loyalty to the empire amongst Indian Muslims. Committed to working for the upliftment of Muslims, Sir Syed founded a modern *madrassa* in Muradabad in 1859; this was one of the first religious schools to impart scientific education.

The Aligarh Movement was successful in spreading western education among Muslims without weakening their commitment to Islam. The second task it undertook was to introduce social reforms in the Muslim society. The Aligarh Movement strived to evolve the Muslim community as a distinct social and cultural community, on the lines of modernism. The Aligarh Movement was based on the interpretation of the *Quran*. It tried to blend Islam and the modern liberal culture. Inspired by the Aligarh Movement, several progressive movements came up in Bombay, Punjab, Hyderabad and other places.

Aligarh Reform Movement—Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

One of the prominent socio-religious movements within Islam in India has been the Aligarh movement, led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Sir Syed 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. He 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, he 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

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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 Syed Ahmad Khan 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 Syed Ahmad Khan 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, he 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 Syed Ahmad Khan 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 madrasa in Muradabad in 1859 which became one of the first religious schools to impart scientific education.

4.6 SUMMARY

- Roy was born in Radhanagore, Bengal, into the Rarhi Brahmin caste. His family background displayed religious diversity; his father Ramkanto Roy was a Vaishnavite, while his mother Tarinidevi was from a Shaivite family.
- Ram Mohan Roy's impact on modern Indian history concerned a revival of the ethics and principles of the Vedanta school of philosophy as found in the Upanishads.
- Ram Mohan Roy's experience working with the British government taught him that Hindu traditions were often not respected or thought as credible by Western standards; this affected his religious reforms.
- Ram Mohan Roy was a major shaper of modern India. Consciously influenced by Christianity and by the social agenda of many missionaries, he was convinced that India's culture and religious tradition was rational and of profound spiritual value.
- The Brahmo Samaj is the societal component of the Brahmo religion which is mainly practiced today as the Adi Dharm, after its eclipse in Bengal, consequent to the exit of the Tattwabodini Sabha from its ranks in 1859.
- 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 revolt of 1857 marked the end of British imperialism. A new policy was passed by the Queen of England which announced that the Indian States would no longer be annexed.

Check Your Progress

8. Who was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan?
9. What was the vision of the Aligarh Movement?

- Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) on 12 January 1863, in a traditional Kayastha family, and was given the name Narendranath Dutta.
- During the last days of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and some of the other disciples received the ochre monastic robes from Ramakrishna, which formed the first monastic order of Ramakrishna.
- In 1888, Vivekananda left the monastery as a *Parivrâjaka*—the Hindu religious life of a wandering monk. His sole possessions were a *kamandalu* (water pot), staff, and his two favourite books—*Bhagavad Gita* and *The Imitation of Christ*.
- On 1 May 1897 Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission—the organ for social service. The ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission are based on *Karma Yoga*.
- 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.
- Dayananda's mission was to teach humankind about universal brotherhood through nobility as spelt out in the Vedas.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, commonly known as Sir Syed, was born on 17 of October 1817. He was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century.
- The Aligarh Movement was a prominent Muslim socio-religious movement in India and was led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

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4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Sati:** *Sati* is the practice among some Hindu communities by which a recently widowed woman either voluntarily or by use of force or coercion commits suicide as a result of her husband's death. The best known form of sati is when a woman burns to death on her husband's funeral pyre.
- **Polytheism:** Polytheism is the worship of or belief in multiple deities, which are usually assembled into a pantheon of gods and goddesses, along with their own religions and rituals.
- **Macrocosm:** Macrocosm refers to the whole of a complex structure, especially the world or the universe, contrasted with a small or representative part of it.
- **Microcosm:** Microcosm is a community, place, or situation regarded as encapsulating in miniature the characteristics of something much larger.
- **Vedanta:** Vedanta is a Hindu philosophy based on the doctrine of the Upanishads, especially in its monistic form.
- **Brahmo Samaj:** Brahmo Samaj is a Hindu reform movement. It is the societal component of Brahmoism, a monotheistic reformist movement of the Hindu religion that appeared during the Bengal Renaissance.
- **Vedas:** The Vedas are a large body of knowledge texts originating in the ancient Indian subcontinent. Composed in Vedic Sanskrit, the texts constitute the oldest layer of Sanskrit literature and the oldest scriptures of Hinduism.

4.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

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1. In 1815, Raja Ram Mohan Roy formed the *Atmiya Sabha*.
2. The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Dwarkanath Tagore and Ram Mohan Roy.
3. One of the main causes of the Revolt was the Doctrine of Lapse.
4. The soldiers or sepoy of the British Army revolted mainly because the cartridges used in the guns were coated with grease made from cow and pig fat. Soldiers who belonged to the upper caste among Hindus protested for the cow fat and the Muslims for the pig fat.
5. Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) on 12 January 1863, in a traditional Kayastha family, and was given the name Narendranath Dutta.
6. On 1 May 1897, Vivekananda founded Ramakrishna Mission—the organ for social service.
7. Dayanand Saraswati was born on 12 February in 1824.
8. Syed Ahmed Khan was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century.
9. The vision of the Aligarh Movement was to create an administrative elite class that would govern in cooperation with the British, rather than focus its attention on the Ulama.

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the aims and objectives of the Brahmo Samaj.
2. List a few socio-religious reforms propagated by Ram Mohan Roy.
3. What was Ram Mohan Roy’s influence on Indian society?
4. How did Vivekananda present Hinduism to the Western world?
5. What are the contributions of Swami Dayanand Saraswati as a social reformer?
6. List the legal literary works of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.
7. What was Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s contribution in the Aligarh Reform Movement?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss Raja Ram Mohan Roy’s political and religious career.
2. Describe the causes and significance of Revolt of 1857.
3. Explain the nature of the Revolt of 1857.
4. Discuss Dayanand Saraswati’s early life.
5. Discuss the role played by Sir Syed in the education of the Muslim community in India.

4.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 INDIA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Emergence of Nationalism
- 5.3 Predecessors of the Congress and Formation of the Congress
 - 5.3.1 Early Nationalists: Programmes and Policies
 - 5.3.2 Extremists
- 5.4 Mass Movements: Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, Quit India and India's Independence
 - 5.4.1 Non-Cooperation
 - 5.4.2 Civil Disobedience
 - 5.4.3 Quit India
 - 5.4.4 India's Independence
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 Key Terms
- 5.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.8 Questions and Exercises
- 5.9 Further Reading

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5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will learn about the emergence of nationalism in India, as well as the Indian Freedom Movement. 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 focuses on the predecessors of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of the Indian National Congress and the programmes and policies of early nationalists. It then discusses the Indian Freedom Movement under the leadership of Gandhi, all the way to Indian Independence.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the emergence of nationalism
- Describe the foundation of Indian National Congress
- Explain the programmes and policies of the early nationalists

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- Describe the Non-Cooperative Movement
- Identify the importance of the Quit India Movement
- Explain the emergence of communal politics in India
- Assess the role of Indian National Army in India's freedom struggle
- Discuss the events that led to India's partition into two nations

5.2 EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM

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 Indian 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 within 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 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

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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.

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 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.

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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 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.

Role of Literature and Press

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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.

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 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 Chakrabaty 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.

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 by-product 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 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 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 that 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

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as a means of economic 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, however, 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 18th century, the British 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.

Influence of Marx

In the 1940s and 1950s, economists had lost interest in studying Indian economic history, and the focus had shifted to political history. However, 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 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. Historians 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 19th 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,

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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 as '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 18th 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 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 20th 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.

Indian Economy in the Mid-18th 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 their 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.

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

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breakdown of the economy, it was more to do with the inherent inability of the local rulers to maintain prosperity.

Rural and Urban Economy—The Transition

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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.

5.3 PREDECESSORS OF THE CONGRESS AND FORMATION OF THE CONGRESS

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 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 19th century. The French Revolution of 1789 ingrained the idea of nationalism and nation state. Since the 19th 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-19th 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

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?
3. In the Indian context, what do you understand by the term 'middle class'?
4. Name two daily newspapers that helped in promoting nationalism in India.

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.

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 Ram Mohan 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

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like the Brahma 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 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 destroyed 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 Ilbert 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:
- 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.
 - 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.'
 - Indians criticized Lytton a lot for the money he spent on the second Afghan War. This money was taken from the Indian treasury.
 - 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.
 - 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.
 - In order to help the British manufacturers, Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufactures.

Formation of Political Associations (up to 1885)

The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged 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 Ram Mohan 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

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movements all over the world. In 1821, when constitutional government was established in Spain, Ram Mohan 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.

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- (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) **Zamindari 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 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 association 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 Zamindari 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.

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Political associations in Bombay

- (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

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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 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.

Formation of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people. The 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.

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(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
- Increase 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

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- 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
- 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.

5.3.1 Early Nationalists: Programmes and Policies

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 the 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.

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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

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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 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 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

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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.

- 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. However, 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 community. 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.

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.

5.3.2 Extremists

The closing decade of the 19th century and early years of the 20th 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.

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

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- 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

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 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.

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5.4 MASS MOVEMENTS: NON-COOPERATION, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, QUIT INDIA AND INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

Let us study the mass movements which led to the independence of India from the British Rule.

5.4.1 Non-Cooperation

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 Jallianwala Bagh massacre, which increased the bitter resentment people had towards the British rule, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montagu 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

Check Your Progress

5. When and where was the Indian National Congress founded?
6. Who was the first president of the Indian National Congress?
7. What does 'Swaraj' mean?

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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
- (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 of independence. Their sacrifice proved inspirational for people. Khadi was given 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.

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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, such as follows:

- 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 labourers 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.

5.4.2 Civil Disobedience

Soon after he was given the responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin seeking the abolishment of the 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

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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.

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 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.

5.4.3 Quit India

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.

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- 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 on 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.' 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.

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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.

Opposition to Quit India

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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.

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.

5.4.4 India's Independence

The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in the country before the British. However, the projection of the Congress as a representative body of the Hindus by leaders like Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, Ameer Ali and others, thwarted the first genuine attempt in the country for Hindu-Muslim unity. The poor participation of Muslims in the Congress proves this. 'Of the seventy-two delegates attending the first session of the Congress only two were Muslims'. Muslim leaders opposed the Congress tooth and nail on the plea that Muslims' participation in it would create an unfavourable reaction among the rulers against their community.

Gradually, Muslim orthodoxy came to the forefront and their religious identity became more important than anything else. Slogans such as 'Islam is in danger' continuously challenged the political awakening in Indian society which in turn affected their status. They started viewing the Congress as a challenge to their supremacy. In 1900, when Lieutenant Governor A. MacDonnell adopted Hindi, written in Devanagari script, as the official language of the United Province, the Muslims opposed it. No such aggressive resistance was made when the British replaced Persian with English in late thirties of the nineteenth century. Sir Sayed Ahmed died in 1898, but his followers in defence of Urdu language launched agitation against the decision of the representative of British power in the United Province.

Formation of All India Muslim League

On 1st 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. Though the Simla Deputation did not yield positive results, it worked as a catalyst for the formation of the All-India Muslim League.

Under the strong leadership of the Aligharians, the movement for a separate Muslim organization created a political awakening among the Muslims. The ideology of

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exclusivism sowed the seeds of communalism, which gradually led to the formation of the All India Muslim League (AIML). AIML, was established in 1906 in Dhaka under the leadership of Nawab Sallimullah. 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, Viqar-ul-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 electing the Viceroy's Legislative Council. However, within Congress itself, he tried to bargain for one-third reservation for his community. The formation of AIML 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.

Hindu Mahasabha

Founded in 1915 by Madan Mohan Malviya, the Hindu Mahasabha's sole motive was to bring together local Hindu movements rooted in north Indian public life. It was partly modelled on the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha emphasized on social and religious network among Hindus, untouchables and the spread of Hindi. The organization was instrumental in protecting Hindu interests. However, due to differences of opinions, in 1925, a group under the leadership of K Hedgewar broke away from the Hindu Mahasabha and established the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS). The RSS adopted a more militant stand.

The organization was actively involved in Bengal. It sought to remove untouchability and the purification of 'polluted' people with the help of the Congress. The involvement of the organization in these matters gained prominence in the 1930s, the aftermath of Macdonald's Communal Award.

During the late 1930s, the Hindu Mahasabha supported other Hindu organizations to organize campaigns in favour of a Hindu society. However, the initiation of bringing lower castes into the mainstream Hindu society resulted in communal clashes, which took the form of communal riots. Instances of riots were reported from locations like Dhaka, Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali (now in Bangladesh) and Burdwan.

Interestingly, the 1940s also witnessed a political discord between the Congress and the Mahasabha. The Bengal Congress selected major Hindu candidates and won over the Sabha with a majority. The Congress leaders tried to prove that they represented Hindu interests better than anyone else. The great Calcutta riots, followed by the Muslim League's Direct Action Day helped in reviving the hopes of the Mahasabha.

Shyamaprasad Mukherjee went on to become the Sabha's spokesperson. Under his influence, Bengali Hindus started considering the idea of creating a new Hindu state of West Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha, became more interested in setting up Hindu volunteer corps in order to safeguard Hindu interests. They also supported the idea of supplying ammunitions to Hindu militant organizations. The Sabha was successful in mobilizing some Bengali Hindus in supporting Hindu nationalism. Scholars like Raj Sekhar Basu believe that the Hindu Mahasabha was responsible for the partition of Bengal in 1947.

Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was the founder of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army). The aim of this army was to end the British rule in India.

He was born on 23 January 1897 in Cuttack, Orissa. His father was a lawyer and his mother was a religious woman. He was patriotic right from his childhood. When he was in the Presidency College, Calcutta, Professor Oaten made some anti-India comments. This angered Bose and he assaulted his Professor. He was expelled from the College for this act.

He was a brilliant student in school as well as college. In 1911, he topped the matriculation examination of Calcutta province. He completed his graduation in Philosophy with a first class. In 1919, he was sent to England by his father to appear in the Indian Civil Services Examination. He stood fourth in the examination. After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, he left his Civil Services apprenticeship and came back to India in 1921.

On returning to India, he joined the Indian National Congress. Mahatma Gandhi instructed him to work under Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Later, Das became his 'political guru'. In 1928, Mahatma Gandhi proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to grant dominion status to India within two years. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British failed to fulfil this demand within two years, the Congress would call upon all Indians to fight for Purna Swaraj. The time period given by Gandhi to the British was opposed by Bose and Nehru. Later, he reduced the time period to one year. Nehru voted for the new resolution, but Bose refused to vote for this resolution.

Bose was arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930. After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, he was released from jail. He opposed the Pact and the withdrawal of the Movement. He was again arrested under the infamous Bengal Regulation. Due to an illness, he was released from jail after a year. He was expelled from India and was sent to Europe. He made efforts to open some centres in Europe to promote political-cultural contacts between the two countries. After some time, he entered India and was again arrested for a year for defying the ban. In 1937, when the Congress came to power in seven states, he was released from jail.

In 1938, he became president of the Haripura Congress Session. In the same year, he established a planning committee. After the end of his term, he became president of the Tripuri Congress session. During the Second World War, he proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to end their rule in India within six months. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British failed to do so, there would be a revolt in the

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country. This resolution was opposed by a number of members of the Congress. After this, he resigned from the post of President and formed the Forward Bloc.

After this, he started a mass movement in India. He was put under house arrest in Calcutta for the same. In 1941, he escaped from India and reached Germany via Afghanistan. He took help from Germany and Japan to fight against the British. He used the medium of Radio Berlin and his broadcasts aroused enthusiasm among Indians.

In 1943, he went to Singapore and formed the Azad Hind Fauj. Most of the soldiers of this army were prisoners of war from the British Indian Army. This army went to India with an aim to fight the British. On its way to India, it liberated Andaman and Nicobar Islands. On 1944, the headquarters of this army was shifted to Rangoon. On 18 March 1944, the army crossed Burma border and reached India. However, Japan and Germany were defeated in the Second World War and thus the army could not fulfil its objective.

According to some sources, Bose died during an air crash over Taipei, Taiwan (Formosa) on August 18, 1945. However, there was no evidence to prove this claim. Thus, his death still remains a mystery for some.

Indian National Army

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 Fauj’.

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.

The 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 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 traveling 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 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. On August 25, Bose took the leadership of the INA. On 21 October 1943, Bose declared the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and on the 23rd declared war on Britain and America.

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With the INA headquarters now shifted to Rangoon, Bose and his brigade arrived in Rangoon in 1944. In the meantime, it was decided that the Indian detachment would not be smaller than a battalion, its commander would be an Indian, the war would continue under the Joint plan of Action and Indians would fight as a separate unit on selected spots. It was also decided that battles would occur at the Kaladan valley of Arakan and Kalam and Haka centre of Chin hills to the east of Lusai hills.

The Subhash Brigade was divided into three battalions. The first contingent advanced across both the banks of Kaladan and captured Paletoa and Doletmai. The battalion captured Maudak, a British border out-post at a distance of 64 kilometres from Doletmai a few days after. The supply of arms and ammunition fell short. Many soldiers left and only a few were left under the command of Surajmal.

In the meantime, the other two battalions took the responsibility of Haka-Kalan borderline. At the fall of Imphal at Manipur, it was decided that INA would take position at Kohima, Nagaland so that it could enter Bengal after crossing Brahmaputra. Gandhi and Azad Brigades also advanced towards Imphal. On the 21 March, the Japanese Prime Minister (PM) announced that the Indian territories freed from the British would be brought under the administration of a provisional independent government formed under Netaji. In spite of various hazards and shortage of food and ammunitions, the INA advanced up to 241 kilometres inside India.

A few days after the declaration of the Japanese PM, the Americans and the British joined and took steps to invade Japan. So, Japan had to withdraw its support from India. Consequently, the INA also had to retreat and was forced to surrender when the allied powers recaptured Burma.

A number of INA officers were captured and severely punished by the British officials, including Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. Rashid and others. However, the British were forced to set them free when the general Indian public were outraged by the treatment meted out to them. The cause of India's independence was much advanced by the INA.

Significance of the Indian National Army

The INA and its impact on India's freedom struggle has been a subject of great discussion and analysis for historians. Though in terms of military strength, the INA has been considered insignificant. This may be due to the following reasons:

- (i) Small numerical strength
- (ii) Lack of heavy weapons
- (iii) Dependence on Japanese logistics and planning
- (iv) Lack of independent planning

Though the INA had several disadvantages, Shah Nawaz, in his personal memoirs, refers to the INA as a very potent and motivated force. The historian Peter Ward Fay, on the other hand, argues that the INA was less influential in terms of its military capability, but its special services group did play a significant role in halting the British First Arakan Offensive in Burma. This was during the INA leader Mohan Singh's command.

The propaganda threat of the INA along with the paucity of concrete intelligence on the unit during the British surrender of Singapore made it a potential threat to the war plans of the Allied Powers in Southeast Asia. This also threatened to wipe out loyalty of Indian troops in the British Indian Army. This fact was not only significant, but was successful as is evident from the failure of Britain's First Arakan Offensive, as well as

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the campaign of the British intelligence to label INA soldiers as JIFFS (derived from Japanese-Indian Fifth Column) as well as the attempt to boost morale and preserve the loyalty of Indian soldiers in the British Army in order to defend Manipur. This also included the news ban on Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA, which was not lifted until four days after the fall of Rangoon two years later.

In 1944, at the time of the Japanese U-GO offensive on Manipur, the INA played not only a crucial but successful role in diversifying their attacks in Arakan as well as in the Manipur basin during their conflict with Mutaguchi's 15th Army. The INA had enough military calibre, which was evident in the battles of Arakan, Manipur, Imphal, and also during the withdrawal through Manipur and Burma. Their efforts during the Burma Campaign are notable, especially during the Battle of Irrawaddy and Meiktilla. In Meiktilla, they wholeheartedly supported the Japanese by tying down the British troops.

On the other hand, Fay also refers to several published accounts of war veterans which mention the INA and its role. One such published account is that of William Slim who deems the INA troops to be incapable and untrustworthy. Fay further goes on to describe the inconsistencies and conflicts amongst the different accounts which show that British intelligence propaganda and institutional bias may have played a significant role in the opinions of war veterans. It is also imperative to point out at this time that the INA suffered desertion on numerous occasions. Though there were many incidents of desertion during substantial battles such as Manipur or the subsequent retreat through Burma, however, these incidents of desertion were minimal and quite small in number. According to Fay, significant desertions occurred during the Battle at Irrawaddy and later on at Popa. It was noticed that during the fall of Rangoon, approximately six thousand troops manned the city to maintain order until the allied troops entered the city. Nevertheless, the INA was not considered strong enough to beat the British Indian Army militarily. Moreover, the INA was aware of this weakness and formulated a new strategy in order to avoid set-piece battles, garnering local and popular support with the Indians in the British Indian Army. There are also some references that the INA tried to instigate a revolt within the British Indian Army to overthrow the British Raj. The Forward Bloc during this time went underground in India and is said to have been crushed even before the offensives opened in the Burma-Manipur region, as a result depriving the army of any organized internal support.

The role of the INA is more evident during the times of the INA trials, as it attracted more attention than instead of their role as an army. The decision to hold public trials alone became a rallying point for the Independence Movement in 1945. The fervour attached to the INA trials was so immense that the efforts to release INA prisoners and suspend the trials become more important than India's freedom struggle. Reports in newspapers which spoke of executions of INA troops added fuel to the already volatile situation. During this time, the opposition to the trials of INA troops for treason became a major public and political campaign and the first trial itself witnessed violence and riots on such a large scale that some historians describe it to be sensational. This period also saw a campaign that defied communal barriers. This period is marked by violent confrontations which broke out between the masses and the police. Many rallies took place all over India in support of the INA. Not only did the public support the INA, the soldiers of the British Indian Army also supported the INA. The spread of pro-INA emotions made the British Government very uneasy who observed with increasing disquiet the spread of pro-INA sympathies in India. Simultaneously, the general strike ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) deteriorated into a mutiny, incorporating ships and shore

establishments of RIN throughout India. In February 1946, it was noticed that this phenomena of the RIN spread from Karachi to Bombay and from Vizag to Calcutta. To show their support, many soldiers began to ignore orders from British superiors. Massive support was also seen at Madras and Pune, where the British garrisons faced revolts among the ranks of the British Indian Army. This was followed by similar revolts at Jabalpur and Bombay. The British made numerous efforts to suppress these revolts, even making use of bayonets. This went on for two weeks after which a large number of people were arrested and tried in courts. Many soldiers were dismissed and some were even subjected to court martial. Fay also refers to Auchinleck's letter to senior British officers in which he explained the repercussions of the INA trials. He went on to say that '...practically all are sure that any attempt to enforce the sentence would have led to chaos in the country at large, and probably to mutiny and dissension in the Army, culminating in its dissolution.'

Many historians have observed that the consequences of the INA trials brought a decisive shift in the British policy towards India. Many describe the INA trials as 'the edge of a volcano' and the period being marked with 'patriotic fury,' which was beyond any communal barriers. The major concern for the British was the immense public support for the INA by the soldiers of the British Indian Army. Not only the support of Indian soldiers but the restoration of Dutch and French rule in Vietnam and Indonesia also added fuel to the growing resentment amongst the forces. The situation had become so volatile that the British feared another Quit India movement, especially given the Congress rhetoric preceding the elections. The British also realized that the soldiers of the British Indian Army could not be used to suppress the revolt as it had during 1942. The British saw the growth of political and nationalistic consciousness among Indians which resulted from the INA. Many historians refer to Auchinleck's assessment of the situation to suggest that all this shortened the British tenure by a good 15-20 years. The political influence and effect of the INA trials was huge and spread all over India during 1948, much to the chagrin of the British government. The then prime minister of Britain, Clement Attlee reflecting on the factors that guided the British decision to relinquish the British Raj in India is said to have mentioned the INA and its effects on the British Indian Army. He also mentioned Subhash Chandra Bose and his activities to be a major cause in the growing nationalistic attitude amongst Indians. The INA had a far-reaching effect on the Indians who came under a fresh wave of revolutionary upsurge on hearing stories of their remarkable courage and sacrifices. The INA episode was a lesson to the British Government who finally realized that they no longer enjoyed the loyalty of the Indian army as patriotism towards their country was far greater than service of a foreign power.

Interim Government and Constituent Assembly

After the end of the Second World War, and the large scale protest that followed the INA trials, it became clear to the British that it was not possible for them to hold on to India. Thus, the interim government of India was formed on 2nd September 1946 from the newly elected constituent assembly of India that had the task of assisting the transition of India and Pakistan from British rule to independence.

After the Second World War ended, all the prisoners who participated in Quit India Movement were released. A Cabinet Mission in 1946 formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India. The elections related to constituent assembly were not directly done, instead members were elected from each provincial assemblies. The Indian National Congress won some 69 per cent seats

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where majority elected were Hindus. Muslims retained those seats which were allocated to them.

Viceroy's executive council

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The Viceroy's executive council became the executive branch of the interim government. With the powers of prime minister bestowed on the vice-president of the council, it was transformed. It was a position headed by the Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru. The senior Congress leader Vallabhbhai Patel held the second most powerful position in the council, heading the department of home affairs, information and broadcasting. Asaf Ali, a Muslim leader of the Congress, was the head for the department of railways and transport. Jagjivan Ram, a scheduled caste leader, headed the department of Labour and Rajendra Prasad headed Food and Agriculture. Liaquat Ali Khan, member of the League, headed the department of Finance.

Nature of the assembly

The constituent assembly consisting of indirectly elected representatives was set up for drafting a constitution for India. The constituent assembly took three years to draft the constitution and acted as the first parliament of India. The members of the assembly were not elected on the basis of adult franchise and Muslim and Sikhs were given special representation as 'minorities'. The assembly met for the first time in New Delhi on 9th December 1946 and the last session of assembly was held on 26 November 1947. The total number of sittings of the constituent assembly was 166.

Background and election

The constituent assembly was held when India was under British Rule and negotiations were made between the leaders and members in the cabinet mission of 1946. The constituent assembly consisted of 217 representatives, inclusive of 15 women.

In June 1947, when the Partition of India seemed inevitable, delegations from the various provinces of Sindh, East Bengal, Baluchistan, west Punjab withdrew in order to form the constituent assembly of Pakistan for which the meeting was held in Karachi.

Constitution and elections

The assembly began its first session with 207 members attending on 9th December 1946. The assembly approved the draft constitution on 26th November 1949. On 26th January 1950, the constitution took effect in India and India was proclaimed as a Republic. The constituent assembly became the provisional parliament of India which continued till the first elections took place in 1952.

Organization

On 9 December, 1946 Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha was made the pro-term chairman of the constituent assembly. After that Dr. Rajendra Prasad became the president of constituent assembly. Sir Benegal Narasingh Rau was the one to prepare the original draft of the constitution. B.R. Ambedkar later became the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution.

The Assembly's work was organized into five stages, such as follows:

- A report was asked to be presented by the committee on basic issues

- B.N. Rau, prepared an initial draft, on the basis of these committees as well as the research made by him into the constitutions of other countries
- B.R. Ambedkar presented a detailed draft of the constitution that was published for public discussion and comments and later became the chairman of the drafting committee
- The constitution that was drafted was then discussed and amendments were made as per requirement before enactment
- Lastly, the constitution was adopted. A committee called the Congress assembly party played a critical role in its adoption

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Mountbatten Plan

Louis Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy of India in February 1947 and immediately announced that the British would leave India no later than 1948. By that time, Britain had already given in to the League demand and decided on partitioning India. Mountbatten then 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 Jawaharlal Nehru’s objection by an appeal to his democratic instinct. No community, Mountbatten argued, 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. The British Prime Minister Attlee announced the plan in the British House of Commons on 3 June 1947.

The government’s plan, also known as the Mountbatten Plan or the June 3rd Plan, dealt with the method by which power would 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 India, but their Hindu-majority areas would remain part of India. 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 under Sir Cyril Radcliffe.

Not only land, but the financial and material assets of India also needed to be divided. Each of the new nations had to have its own civil services and armed forces.

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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 Mountbatten 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 assent of the British monarch. India had won her freedom but the price had been its partition.

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 of independent India and he in turn swore in Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of a free India. The dawn of 15 August 1947 revealed the dual reality of independence and partition. Millions 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 Gandhi—the man who had given the message of non-violence, truth, love and courage to the Indian people. In the midst of national rejoicing, he was touring the violence torn land of Bengal, trying to bring comfort to people who were even then paying the price of freedom through senseless communal slaughter. You will learn more about the events leading to the partition of India in the subsequent section.

Partition of India and Indian Independence Act

With the commencement of Second World War, many changes were taking place in the colonies of the imperialist powers. The unique feature during this time was decolonization and India was the prime example of the same. Decolonization can be defined as a political process sometimes involving violence, in the form of revolution or a war of independence, leading to freedom from colonial rule. Although in India, the process of decolonization was mostly based on non-violence, which was preached by the unanimously chosen leader of the nationalist movement, Mahatma Gandhi. Despite numerous efforts by the British government, they slowly lost control of India. Owing to the post-war chaos, many European colonies, including India, took advantage to assert their freedom. Similarly, in India, Gandhi started a peaceful resistance against the British government to get freedom for India, which was successful. This mission was not accomplished overnight and there were major developments during this time which eventually led to the Independence of India on 15 August 1947.

Impact of the Second World War on India

As stated earlier, 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 called for the Viceroy to consult the Executive Committee prior to any decision-making, related to defence or external affairs. This was not done. The move of the Viceroy caused a deterioration in the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League.

The League and the War

The war on Germany had complete support from the Muslim League. 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 his speech. At the time of the war, the power of the League increased with its number of members crossing 2 million.

Congress and the War

Gandhi exerted pressure on the British government to negotiate 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 the 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, led by the Congress, known as the Quit India movement. 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.

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Second World War—Impact on British policy in India

More than 30,000 British soldiers were sent to India, for restoring law and order after the Quit India movement began. 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. Among them, Gandhi was also 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.

Indian opposition to British rule during the War

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 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.

Political effects of the Second World War in India

The existence of the Congress almost ended at the time of the war because it rejected British proposals in the form of the Cripps' mission. On the other hand, the number of members of the Muslim League increased and reached the 2 million mark. This was due

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to Jinnah's cynical policy of supporting the British government during the war. The League's 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 classes and the army declined to support the British.

Factors Leading to Independence and Partition of India

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.

August Offer, 1940

During the Second World War, 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. From the British point of view, Jinnah was the sole spokesman for India's Muslims, despite the fact that the Congress contained many prominent Muslim leaders.

Meanwhile, the British government stated that it would welcome the efforts of representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement. They hoped 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 satyagraha. 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.

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. The American President 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 immediate dominion status and expansion of the Viceroy's Executive into a national government.

In February, the Chinese leader 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 the British Labour party members of the War Cabinet like Cripps and Attlee. These groups persuaded 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.

The 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 Congress Working Committee to reject the post-dated 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.

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Cripps' Mission and the Quit India Movement

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The 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 as states 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.

The following were the reasons for the start of the Quit India 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, with almost a 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also a 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 marketers 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.

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 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:

- To the students: Be ready for sacrifice and be confident and 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 government servants: Do not resign but oppose the government from within
- To 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

The government took no time in taking a decision and arrested most of the Congress leaders on 9 August 1942, including Gandhi. The sudden crackdown of the British gave rise to spontaneous reaction among the people.

The arrest of Gandhi and Congress leaders further angered the people who intensified their protest by attacking symbols of British administration. In absence of any leadership, the protests turned violent. There was widespread destruction of government properties and agitators took to looting. The government retaliated mercilessly and hundreds of people were killed in police firing. The protest was finally suppressed through mass arrest and killings. According to official figures, the number of people arrested by the end of 1943 was well over 91,000. Despite the success in suppressing the movement, the British government became aware they could not hold on to their colonial possession for long. So far, they could sustain because of the support system they had built in the 19th century. The national movement had eroded this support base, which came from the peasants, workers, middle class, the rich, the police and the army among others.

With the realization of their defeat, the British gradually began to withdraw. From 1945 onwards, the Congress leaders were released one by one. The government also initiated a process of peaceful negotiation and transfer of power to the Indians. India achieved freedom on 15 August 1947 followed by a bitter partition. The partition was accompanied by large scale communal violence.

Demand for Pakistan

Communal politics took a new turn in India in the late 1930s, which was marked by the 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-nation theory' had no basis in Indian history. After the arrival of Islam in India in around 1000 AD, Hindus and Muslims lived together largely in harmony. This is evident from the huge popularity of Muslim Sufi saints in medieval India, whose shrines are visited even to this day by Hindus and Muslims alike. During medieval times, a common culture was shared by both Hindus and Muslims. This Hindu-Muslim syncretic culture (known as the ganga-jamuni tehzeeb) had resulted in a new flowering of art, architecture, music, and so on, in Indian society. Both Hindus and Muslims had also fought jointly against the British during the Revolt of 1857. Hindus and Muslims together were equally repressed by the British

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during the national struggle for independence. However, the British colonialists had sowed the seed of communal discord in the early 1900s in an effort to defang Indian nationalism. The designs of the British began to have grave consequences for the Indian people by the 1940s.

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In 1940, Pakistan was demanded as an independent state at the Lahore session of the Muslim League. The basis of this demand was the two-nation theory. Many Muslims in India did not support this demand at that time.

The League was supported by the British government to demand an independent state for Muslims. The withdrawal of the Congress from provincial governments as a result of the Quit India movement was termed by the Muslim League as 'Deliverance Day'. The Congress had withdrawn to protest against the British reaction to the demand for independence. The Muslim League celebrated the 'Deliverance Day'. Due to the vacuum created by the arrest of all Congress leaders by the British, the League was able to take advantage and disseminate their ideas unchallenged. The League, supported by the British, began to aggressively propagate the idea of Pakistan among the Muslim masses, a demand that slowly started gaining popularity.

Gandhi-Jinnah talks

After the Congress leaders were released in 1944, Gandhi decided to start talks with Jinnah to reach some sort of resolution between the Congress and the League. The Gandhi-Jinnah talks were very important with regard to the political issues of India and the Pakistan Movement. The talks between the two leaders started in response to the appeal of the general public for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences. The talks began on 9 September 1944 in Bombay, and continued up to 27 September 1944 when Jinnah announced their termination and their failure to reach an agreement.

C.R. Formula (1944)

C. Rajagopalachari realized the necessity of a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League for the attainment of independence. In 1944, he came up with a formula, called the C. R. Formula. Its main contents were as follows:

- After the war, a commission shall be appointed to demarcate the boundaries of Muslim-dominated districts in the north-west and east of India.
- The people of these districts shall decide, by plebiscite, the issue of separation from India.
- The Muslim League should agree to the provisional interim government, formed by the Congress for the transitional period.
- In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into by the two governments for combined defence, commerce, communication and other essential sectors.

Desai-Liaqat Pact (1945)

Talks between Bhulabhai Desai and Liaqat Ali Khan, leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively, were meant to find a way out of the 1942–45 political impasses. After Desai's declaration at Peshawar on 22 April 1945, Liaqat Ali published the gist of the agreement. According to the agreement, the Congress and the League would form the interim government at the Centre on the following lines:

- Nomination of equal number of persons by both in the central executive

- Representation of the minorities, in particular of the scheduled castes and the Sikh

The pact was never formally endorsed either by the Congress or by the League.

Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)

After the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Wavell, who succeeded Lord Linlithgow as the Viceroy of India, was convinced that the initiative should come from the government. On 14 June 1945, new proposals were announced to introduce further constitutional changes in India 'within the framework of the 1935 Government of India Act'. A conference was to be held at Simla starting on 25 June 1945, wherein representatives of both the political parties would participate. The proposals were conciliatory to some extent, but unsatisfactory and provocative in one respect. The Viceroy's executive council was to be wholly Indian, except for the Viceroy himself and the British Commander-in-Chief.

The Viceroy's special powers would not officially lapse, but an assurance was available that they would not be used 'unreasonably'. The divisive characteristics were also discussed at the conference. It was proposed that there would be equal proportions of both the communities—Hindus and Muslims—in the Council. This meant that the Muslim League's demand for parity on a communal basis had been endorsed for the first time in an official declaration of British policy. A concrete outcome to the Wavell Plan was the summoning of the Simla Conference. The Simla Conference began on a note of optimism. Gandhi felt that Wavell's plan was sincere and would lead to independence. Jinnah, however, 'flatly refused to cooperate', as Wavell later reported. The Muslim League leader was determined to undermine the conference unless it agreed to his terms.

These included the demand that Muslims not belonging to the League could not be appointed to the executive council. Congress President Abul Kalam Azad was firmly opposed to any such arrangement. He thought that the Congress would be betraying its Muslim members if it accepted Jinnah's demand. Wavell would not proceed without obtaining Jinnah's cooperation. When it was withheld, the Viceroy announced the failure of the conference.

Jinnah had, in effect, been given the power to veto over all negotiations, and he would use or threaten to use this weapon again and again in the months to come. From this point onward, the communal question dominated the struggle for freedom. Indeed, the attainment of freedom was already certain; the conflict now was between those who struggled to achieve a united and secular Indian state, and those whose rigid sectarianism stood in the way of this accomplishment.

The League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country for the purpose of winning a 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.

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Attlee's announcement**NOTES**

It was obvious that something drastic had to be done to break the deadlock. The initiative was taken by British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, who on 20 February 1947, announced in the British 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 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 the 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.

Indian Independence Act

This 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.

Independence and partition

The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between the British, the Congress and Muslim League politicians. 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 Royal Indian Navy (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

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 victory of the Labour Party in the elections in Britain further quickened the process somewhat.

Partition

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 North-West Frontier Province (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 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.

5.5 SUMMARY

- In India, during the 18th century, there were clashes, crises, calamities and problems between various groups of people.
- 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.
- 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 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.
- M. G. Ranade is considered the pioneer of Indian nationalist economics. A teacher of economics, Ranade wrote mostly on poverty.

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Check Your Progress

8. When was the interim government of India formed?
9. Which body formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India?
10. How many representatives did the constituent assembly consist of?
11. Who was the home minister at the time of the Mountbatten Plan?
12. When was the Mountbatten Plan announced in the British Parliament?

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- 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.
- 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.
- 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 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.
- The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation—India.
- The militant form of nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Dayananda Saraswati.
- 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.
- 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.
- For the cause of immediate independence, the Quit India Movement was launched by Gandhi. It was another form of the civil disobedience movement.
- The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in the country before the British.
- The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between the British, the Congress and Muslim League politicians.

5.6 KEY TERMS

- **Resolution:** It refers to a formal expression of opinion or intention agreed on by a legislative body, committee, or other formal meeting, typically after taking a vote.
- **Fascism:** It is a political ideology characterised by an authoritarian and nationalistic right-wing system of government and social organization.
- **Two-nation theory:** It is the ideology that the primary identity of Muslims on the Indian subcontinent is their religion, rather than their language or ethnicity, and therefore Indian Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nationalities, regardless of ethnic or other commonalities.

- **Indian National Army:** The Indian National Army was an armed force formed by Indian nationalists in 1942 in South-East Asia during Second World. Its aim was to secure Indian independence from British rule, for which it allied with—and was supported by—Imperial Japan in the latter’s campaign in South-East Asia.

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5.7 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. *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and *Samachar Darpan*.
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. Swaraj means self-government.
8. The interim government of India was formed on 2nd September 1946.
9. The Cabinet Mission 1946 formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India.
10. The constituent assembly consisted of 217 representatives, inclusive of 15 women.
11. The home minister at the time of the Mountbatten Plan was Sardar Patel.
12. The British PM Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June 1947.

5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What triggered the intellectual movement in India?
2. List the main constituents of the middle class in 19th century India.
3. Who were the eminent personalities linked to the nationalist movement through their writings?
4. What was Bipan Chandra’s view on economic nationalism?
5. List the political demands of the Congress in its early years.
6. What were the economic demands of the Congress?
7. What were the programmes and policies of the early nationalists?
8. What were the two roots from which extremism stemmed?
9. Write a short note on the objectives of extremists.

10. What was the central idea of the Non-Cooperation Movement?
11. What were the reasons for the outbreak of the Quit India Movement?

Long-Answer Questions

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1. Describe the intellectual movement in India in the 19th century.
2. Discuss 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.
5. Discuss the foundation of Indian National Congress.
6. Identify the significance of the Indian National Army, especially the role it played in India's freedom movement.
7. Examine the events that led to India's partition into India and Pakistan in 1947.
8. Analyse the importance of the Quit India Movement. Why was it suppressed?

5.9 FURTHER READING

- Byres, T.J., Harbhans Mukhia. 1985. *Feudalism and Non-European Societies*. New Delhi: Routledge Publishers.
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