



**M.A. HISTORY – I YEAR**  
**DKH14 : CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FREEDOM**  
**STRUGGLE IN INDIA 1773 – 1947**  
**SYLLABUS**

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## **UNIT – I : EAST INDIA COMPANY**

*East India Company - Dual System in Bengal - Regulating Act 1773 - Pitt's India Act 1784 - Charter Acts of 1793, 1813, 1833 and 1853 - Causes and Effects of the Mutiny of 1857 on the Development of the Constitution - India under the Crown - Indian Councils Acts of 1861, 1892 - Minto - Morley Reforms 1909 - Central and Provincial Governments according to the Act of 1919.*

### **EAST INDIA COMPANY**

Portugal was the first European nation to knock at the trade door of India. Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese sailor, reached Calicut on 17 May 1498. With the sympathetic support of the Zamorin, the Portuguese established their first factory in 1500 at Calicut, their early capital in India. The Portuguese lost their settlements one after another and left only with Goa, Daman and Deu.

#### **The English**

The first 'London Company' was founded on 31 December 1600 by the 'merchant adventures' by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) to trade into the East Indies. The English came to India to obtain trade privileges, not to conquer. Captain William Hawkins, sent by king James I to the Mughal emperor Jahangir, resided at his Court at Agra during 1609-11, and obtained certain rights for trade. The first English factory was founded in 1613 at Surat. Sir Thomas Roe, courtier and diplomat, known for his patience, perseverance and worldly wisdom, resided the Mughal Court from 1616 to 1618 and secured valuable facilities for English trade. The Firman (imperial order), said to be issued by Farruk Siyer in 1717, conferred on the Company the right to participate in internal trade without paying duties. The Firman is described to be the Magna Carta of the English Company.

#### **Robert Clive**

The success of Robert Clive in the battle of Plassey immortalized his name and he was appointed the Governor of Bengal in 1757. He remained on this post for three years i.e. from 1757 to 1760. After that Vansittart was made the Governor of Bengal. During his five years tenure confusion and disorder prevailed. So the Directors of the company once again appointed Clive Governor of Bengal. During his second Governorship Clive introduced Dual system in Bengal.

#### **Dual System in Bengal (1765-1772)**

During his second governorship in Bengal from 1765-67 Clive set up a system of Government in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which is popularly known as the dual or Double



system of Governments. This system of Government was brought to an end by Warren Hastings in 1772.

Under this system, the Government was divided into two parts According to this division the actual work of civil, criminal and police a administration was carried on by the Nawab of Bengal, who received 53 lakhs of rupees a year from the Company for the purpose, while the, real and ultimate authority rested with the Company. The Company not only directed the Nawab in his work of administration, but also maintained a large army for the defence of the said provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Not only this, but the authority of the Company became still more supreme when it received the Diwani i.e., (t-e right to collect and administer the revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and Orifia in 1765, from Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor, in return for the payment of a tribute of 26 Lakhs of rupees a year, “Thus, such a system of Government where there existed two authorities for a lay observer, one foreign and the other native; one real and the other nominal; one dominant and the other passive; one supreme and the other shadow is the celebrated Double Government of Clive”.

Thus, according to the above two measures Lord Clive set up Double or Dual Government in Bengal, by virtue, of which the Company got the real control of the provinces of Bengal, both civil and military, while he left the actual work of administration in the hands of the native of the native agency, le. the Nawab of Bengal. The Nawab and his native servants continued to conduct the affairs of the Government of province of Bengal as before. The old system of the administration of justice and Government was also retained quite intact, The native Amils, Faujdars, Kanungos and Patwaris were allowed to work as before. In short, it was this Double or Dual system of Government which delegated authority to one body, i.e., the Company and responsibility to quite another i.e the Nawab of Bengal.

The Dual System in Bengal worked from 1765 to 1772 when it was discontinued by warren Hastings. There were many defects in this system. 1) This system soon led to the complete break-down of administration in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. 2) None among the servants of the company and the Nawab knew about their rights and duties. 3) The plight of the people become very miserable. 4) Instead of collecting the revenue, the company sole “Revenue Agencies to the big Zamindars who suppressed the cultivators suffered a lot.

1777 A.D . This system of Dual government introduced by Give in 1765 continued to work through adversely, under the next two Governors of Bengal but because of its above mentioned defects it was abolished by warren Hastings in 1772.



1. Describe features of the Double Government.
2. What were the merits and demerits of the double Government of Clive?



## **The Regulating Act 1773**

### **Regulating Act, 1773**

The territorial acquisitions of the East India Company produced a startling effect in England. The public in General clamoured for a n immediate Parliamentary intervention. Two parliamentary Committees were appointed to enquire into the affairs of Fast India Company.

- a) The servants of the Company were concentrating on their private trade. The trade of the Company was being neglected.
- b) The Company has almost forgotten about trade and was progressively thinking in terms of conquering more and more land. This needed large armies. Hence more expenditure.
- c) This greed for land very often brought the Company in armed conflict with native powers. This meant a heavy loss to the Company.

### **Change in the texture of the Company**

The employees of the Company were given low salaries but they were allowed to carry on private trade. The result was that the employees concentrated on their private trade and become rich. The Company's trade started dwindling.

### **Pitiable condition of the People**

The guiding principle for the employees of the Company was to make money. The effect of this anarchical tendency was that people of India were the entire sufferers. The famine of 1770 further aggravated the situation and the people started groaning aloud.

### **Defective Dual Government in Bengal**

During the famine of 1770 grains were hoarded by the Company's employees and they exploited the situation to the fullest extent and sold them at staggering prices. Obviously the servants of the Company became rich as they wanted but the people were completely broken. Then Clive's experiment of Dual Government in Bengal brought havoc.

## **PROVISIONS OF THE REGULATING ACT**

### **Provisions for India**

- (i) The Governor of Bengal was made the Governor-General. The entire civil and military administration of Bengal was given to the Governor-General. Provision was made for an executive council of four members to assist and help the Governor-General.

The Act mentioned the names of the First Governor-General and the members of his Executive Council. It said Warren Hastings would be the First Governor-General of Bengal.



The four executive councilors mentioned in the Act were Philip Francis, Clavering, Monson and Barwell.

- (ii) Their term of office was five years but they could be removed from office earlier by the British Monarch, if the Court of Directors recommended such an action.
- (iii) The Governor-General could not take a decision on any matter independently. He had to act on the advice of the Councillors. Decisions were taken in the Council by majority vote. In case of a tie the Governor-General was given a casting vote. But he could not over-rule his Council.
- (iv) The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were made subordinate to Bengal. The Governors-in-Council of Bombay and Madras had to follow the instructions of the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governor-General could direct control and superintend the two Presidencies. These Presidencies could neither declare war nor conclude peace with any power without the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council.
- (v) The employees of the Company were forbidden to accept any bribes or gifts from any body. If it was a serious matter they could be sent back of England, as a matter of punishment.
- (vi) The Governor-General-in-Council could made rules and regulations and issue ordinances for the good government of the Company's territories. These rules, regulations and advice were to be registered with the Supreme Court of India, which was created by the Act. Without registration these rules and regulations had no effect or meaning.

### **Supreme Court**

- i) A Supreme Court was established by the Regulating Act, The Supreme Court was given jurisdiction over all the British subjects living in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Supreme Court was empowered to try ecclesiastical, admiralty, civil and criminal cases. The case were decided on the basis of judgement of the Jury. The Supreme Court had original as well as appellate jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court was to be a Court of Record. Any contempt or disrespect shown to its orders would be a punishable offence.

- ii) The Governor-General, the members of the Executive Council, the Judges, Collectors, Inspectors, their agents or servants all were forbidden to carry on private trade of any



description. No gifts would be accepted by these officers from the Indian Princes or people.

### **Provisions for Home Authorities**

Before the passage of the Regulating Act the Directors of the Company were elected for a short term of one year. Directors of the Company were elected by the Court of Proprietors. This system was extremely defective. The Directors were busy throughout their term of one year either obliging their supporters of the previous election or preparing others for the coming election. The Regulating Act did a good job by making the Court of Directors a permanent body.

The Act required the Governor-General of Bengal and the Governors of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madars to pay due obedience to the orders of the Directors in London.

It was the first measure by which a European government assumed the responsibility for governing territories acquired by it outside Europe and inhabited by civilized people.

The Act also attempted to eradicate corruption and bribery by making several provisions. One among them was the establishment of the Supreme Court. This Court could punish offenders. Acceptance of gifts and presents etc was forbidden.

### **Demerits or Defects of the Act**

The Regulating Act was full of grave defects.

- (i) The jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court were not properly defined. The results were very ugly. One often witnessed dirty conflicts of jurisdiction between the Supreme Court and other Courts of Calcutta.
- (ii) The Regulating Act did not specify the jurisdiction and power of the Governor-General-in-Council or the Judges of the Supreme Court.
- (iii) The relations between the Supreme Court and other courts of the Company were not specified.
- (iv) The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were subordinated to Bengal and the Governor-General-in-Council was given power to superintend and control the management and government of the two Presidencies.



## **Defects of Act**

### **1. No Veto power to the Governor-General**

The act granted no veto power to the Governor-General. He was to act according to the advice of the majority in the council. Since he could not veto the decision of his councilors, he was thus powerless before his colleagues. We know that till up to 1776 Warren Hastings was invariably out-voted and over-ruled by the majority of the Councillors who were against him. Consequently, Warren Hastings had a difficult time when he came face to face with his councilors.

### **2. Appointment of hostile Councillors**

Another flaw associated with the above defect was that three of the Councillors, Francis, Monson and Clavering named by the Parliament were entirely unfit for the job. Such a batch of Councillors still weakened the position of the Governor-General who was already suffering from constitutional impotency.

### **3. Provisions of Supreme Court Obscure and defective**

In the second place, the provisions relating to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court were "Obscure and defective". They said nothing about the jurisdiction of the Court, the law it had to administer and its relation to the Governor - General - in-Council. The fundamental questions lacked clarity and precision. For instance, the Act did not clearly say as to who were to be the British subject within the meaning of the Charter of the Supreme court.

### **4. The Sphere of law that the Court was to administer was equally undefined**

The court did not know whether it was to administer native law or English law. Even the Chief justice was baffled by this anomaly. Similarly, relations between the court and the Council were not clearly defined. It was not clear how far the Supreme Court could question the legality of the orders issued by the Governor-General-in-Council.

### **5. No Supreme legislative authority**

The act provided no supreme legislative authority nearer than England to mediate in the dispute of these two bodies and to mark the proper sphere of the Executive and Judicial Departments. The vagueness of the clauses was further increased owing to the fact that the regulations of Bengal made by the Council were subject to the court.

### **6) Inadequate Control of Governor-General over the presidencies**

In the third place, the inadequate control of the Governor-General over the presidencies was a glaring defect of the Act. The authority of the Governor-General in Council over the Presidencies was not fully effective due to the exceptions in the Act. The



Presidencies acted at their own discretion on the plea of emergency and thus started wars and made alliances without reference to the Governor-General in Council as was done by the Bombay Government and Madras Council in the case of Marathas and Haider Ali, respectively.

### **7. The Parliamentary Control over the Company was also insufficient**

The Act no doubt provided that copies of all civil and military despatches received by the Directors from Governor-in-Council in India were to be forwarded within a fortnight to certain members of the English Ministry, but it set up no effective machinery to study and scrutinize those reports. Thus the Parliamentary control over the Company was ineffective.

1. Critically examine the provisions of the Regulation Act of 1773
2. Discuss the provisions of the Regulating Act of 1773.

### **Pitt's India Act, 1784**

In 1784, Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister of England, soon after the assumption of his office introduced a bill for the better control of the Indian administration by England. The Bill was passed and came to be known as the Pitt's India Act.

#### **Causes**

There were many causes responsible for the passage of this Act. 1) In the Regulating Act of 1773 there were many glaring defects which were necessary to be reformed by the British Parliament if the administration of the company was to run on some sound footing in India. 2) In 1783, the different American colonies became quite independent of the British control and naturally the English were worried that such an example will be followed by India. So it was thought proper to exercise more control over the affairs of the East India Company in India.

#### **Main provisions**

The political and commercial activities of the company were now separated. The commercial functions were allowed to be performed by the Board of Directors, but for the supervision, direction and control of the Indian Government a Board of Control was set up in England. Bombay and Madras were now definitely subordinated to the Governor General and his Council. The Act provided for the establishment of a special Court for the better trial of the Company's officials in England for offences committed by them in India.



Warren Hastings fought many undesired wars, so in order to prevent the succeeding Governor-General from copying the examples of Warren Hastings the Act laid down that hence forth the Governor-General should take the permission of the Board of Control before making peace or declaring any war. Thus the Pitt's India Act laid emphasis on the policy of non intervention.

### **Importance**

Pitt's India Act is quite an important legislation because by it the real power in India passed from the Directors to the British Parliament. The Board of Directors now remained as a mere shadow of its former existence. In actual practice the Board of Control, appointed by the British Parliament came to supersede both the court of proprietors and the Board of Directors. It could inspect the files of the Company and issue instructions accordingly which the Directors of the Company had to carry out. Moreover, the Pitt's India Act proved quite permanent and subjected with little material changes till 1858. In that year some changes were no doubt made as a result of the great Rising of 1857 but still its fundamental principles remained almost the same.

1. What were the stages through which the Pitt's India Act made its ultimate appearance?

### **Charter Act of 1793**

The English East India Company was given a new charter in 1793. Act of 1793 is a very long one. It repeated many old laws and consolidated existing one. However, it did not make any alternations.

#### **Provisions of the Charter Act of 1793**

1. The Governor – General and the Governors were given the power of over-ride their councils. The power had been given specially to Corn Wallis in 1786.
2. The control of Governor-General over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay was insisted. It was laid down that when the Governor-General went to a presidency he superseded the Governor.
3. Governor General was given the power to appoint vice-president of his executive council from the members of the council. The vice-president was to act in place of Governor General when the latter was absent from Bengal.



4. The Commander-in-Chief was not to be a member of the council of the Governor-General unless he was specially appointed to be a member by the court of Directors.
5. The admiralty jurisdiction of Calcutta Supreme Court was extended to the high seas.
6. It was provided that the payment of the members and the staff of the Board of Control should be made out of the Indian revenues. This system continued upto 1919.
7. It was provided that the two junior members of the Board of control need not be privy councilors.
8. The character of the company was renewed for 20 years 3000 tons

### **Charter Act of 1813**

Since this Act was operative for twenty years i.e., up to 1993. The British Parliament passed the Character Act 1813 which was an improvement upon the previous charter Act of 1793. The main provisions of the Character Act of 1893 were as follows.

1. In its essential provisions, the powers of the Board of Control to superintend, control and direct the affairs of India were clearly defined and greatly enlarged.
2. The Company's powers of patronage were reduced.
3. The Court of Directors was to make appointment to the offices of Governor-General, Commander-in-chief, Governor, ect. Subject to the approval of the kind of England and their orders to this affect had to be counter signed by the Board of Control.
4. No Changes were made in the Company's constitution and the grant of its territorial acquisition in India with the attended revenues was extended for another twenty years.
5. The British Crown's sovereignty over the Company's territorial acquisitions was explicitly proclaimed.
6. The most important provision was concerned with the trade. The Company's tea trade with China was reserved for it, but trade monopoly with India was completely abolished and the private merchants of England were permitted to develop free trading contacts with India.
7. The British merchants and missioneries were given fully liberty to settle in India after securing licences for the purpose from the Directors of the Company.
8. The company was required to appoint one Bishop at Calcutta with three Archdeacons to work under him.

### **Significance of the Character Act of 1813**

- a. The clearly proclaimed the Sovereignty of the Crown over the Company's territories in India. The Powers of the Board of Control being considerably enlarged.



- b. The abolition of the Company's trade monopoly was not less significance. British private merchants were allowed to go settle in India and thus to introduce a severe competition in trade which was, prior to this entirely in the Company's hands.
- c) The Christian Missionaries of England were allowed to come freely and settle in this country. This had wholesome effect, in a sense that a large number of missionary schools and colleges were opened for the education of the Indians.
- d. The Provisions for setting apart one lakh of rupees for the development of education in India was a welcome development. It laid the foundation of the English system of education in India which threw open progressive English literature on liberty and equality for the Indian mind to inculcate.

### **Circumstance leading to the Charter Act of 1833**

- a) The Act of 1813 renewed the Charter of the East India Company for another twenty years. This period expired in 1833 and now the Charter had to be extended. Between 1813 and 1833, there had been a great change. The great Industrial revolution had taken place and it swept the medieval industrial system. The classes of labourers and capitalists emerged. The cheap products of the new machines and their export to foreign lands enable the people to travel widely and broaden their outlook. Money flowed in, prosperity grew, thus giving birth to a new spirit of independence. Workers claimed better working conditions, capitalists tried to suppress them, a new class of intelligentsia developed to help the class of workers. New literature came into being and the cry from liberty and equality choosed from every direction. The Tory party had been defeated in the House of Commons in 1830 and King William IV had to accept Grey, the Whigh leader, as this new Prime Minister, Macaulay became the secretary of the Board of Control and James Mill influence the public opinion inside and outside the British parliament.
- b) The triumph of the whigs in Parliament opened the way for triumph of the liberal principles. It was really the triumph of the rights of man. The parliamentary Reform Act was passed in 1832 which regenerated the spirit of liberalism in its four-fold strength. The dignity of man was recognized and the principle of *laissez faire* came to the fore.
- c) In short, the old spirit of conservatism and exploitation had weakened and a new spirit of liberalism grew and a compromise between these two was struck. It was in these circumstances that the demand for the renewal of the Charter came before the British



Parliament. There were some who attacked bitterly the way the destiny of millions of Indians people was being controlled by a jointstock company.

### **Provisions of the Charter Act of 1833**

1. Commercial functions of the Company were taken away and the Company henceforth, was to remain in India only as a political functionary.
2. President of the Board of Control now became the Minister for India affairs.
3. Patronage of the Directors of the Company was restricted.
4. The licensing system was abolished and now any English man could go and settle in India. He could acquire property and carry on trade in India.
5. The Provisions regarding the central government were however, most important .

For the first time, the Governor-General of Bengal became the Governor-General of India. The powers and prerogatives of the Governor-General were now tremendously increased.

6. The charter Act added a new member to the Executive council of the Governor-General known as the law member. His work was purely legislative. He attended the meetings of the Executive Council of the Governor- General by special invitation. He was not given any vote.
7. The number of members of the council of Governors of Bombay and Madras was reduced to two.

### **The provision of the Charter Act of 1853**

The British Parliament appointed two committees in 1852 to enquire into the matter and on the basic of their reports, the Charter Act of 1853 was shaped.

1. The Act provided that the salaries of the members of the Board of control, Secretary and the other officers would be fixed by her Majesty's Government but would be charged on Indian revenues.
2. The Company was granted to hold the revenue and the territories of India in trust for Her Majesty, her heirs and successors not for 20 years this time but until the parliament would other wise provide.
3. The number of Court of Directors was reduced from 24 to 18 and 6 of these were to be nominated by the Crown.
4. The Court of Directors were dispossessed of their power of patronage.
5. The service were thrown open to competition in which no discrimination of religion, caste or creed was to be made.



6. In India this Charter Act carried the separation of the legislative from the executive functions a step further.
  7. The law member was made a full member of the Governor-General's executive council. He was to assist the Governor-General in the enactment of legislation.
  8. The Governor-General's consent was necessary for all legislative proposals.
  9. The Chief justice of the Supreme court of Calcutta was to be an exofficio member of this council.
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1. Describe the main provisions of the charter Act of 1793.
  2. Write the significance to the charter Act of 1813.
  3. Discuss the main provisions of the charter Act of 1833.
  4. What were the main provisions of 1853?

## **THE MUTINY OF 1857**

### **Dalhousie's Responsibility**

Though the Rebellion of 1857 broke out during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Canning (1856-1862) his predecessor Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) was held responsible for the tragedy. This was because of his ruthless policy of Annexation and Doctrine of Lapse. They created a lot of discontent among the victims of his policy. The annexation of Jhansi made Lakshmi Bai bitterly opposed to the British. Similarly, Dalhousie's annexations of Oudh created disaffection in the State. Thus, Dalhousie's annexations and abolition of pensions and titles had adversely affected a number of vested interests.

### **Treatment of Bahadur Shah II**

Bahadur Shah II (1837-1857) succeeded his father Akbar II as Mughal Emperor. Though a titular monarch Bahadur Shah was respected by the people who were loyal to him. As he was old, Dalhousie nominated Faquir-ud-Din as the successor of the Mughal Emperor with various restrictions. The English treated Bahadur Shah with scant respect. Bahadur Shah was waiting for an early opportunity to wreak vengeance on the English.

### **Centenary of the Battle of Plassey (1757-1857)**

Intense dissatisfaction among the people induced them to free themselves from the English rule. The people in the North were displeased the way to which the Mughal Emperor was treated. They were unhappy about the ruthless policy of the Government and overbearing attitude of the Europeans towards them.



## **Economic Causes**

### **Unemployment**

The ruination of indigenous industries resulted in large scale unemployment in the country. The annexation of states deprived Indians of high administrative posts. As the claims of the native aristocracy were severely scrutinized at the time of settlement many were rendered landless.

### **Land Revenue Settlement**

The intention of introducing the Permanent Land Revenue Settlement was not only to eliminate middlemen but also to ensure the greatest happiness of the greatest number. If faithfully implemented, it would have enriched the country side. But in course of time the Permanent Settlement came to be made on a temporary basis. And the assessment was atrocious.

### **Unbearable Tax Burden**

The country was made to bear the burden of the British war and administration. The general taxation was increasing by leaps and bounds.

## **Social Causes**

### **Social Segregation**

Indians were socially segregated. They were regarded as an inferior people. The Britishers looked down upon Indians socially. The British disrespected the native in public places. Indian women were dishonoured. Even an order of removal of caste marks provoked mutiny by the sepoys.

### **Social Legislation**

The social legislation introduced by the British deeply disturbed the orthodox people. When the practice of Sati was prohibited in 1829 many doubted the intention of the government. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act, 1850, which empowered the outcaste to share ancestral property, was considered as a blow to Hindu Law. It caused consternation among the Hindus. It was feared that the law would encourage apostasy. The Widow Remarriage Act, 1856 caused great alarm among the old fashioned folk.

### **Westernization of Society**

The rapid introduction of Western education was viewed with disfavor by the suspicion ridden population. The new education system was interpreted as yet another instance of British antagonism towards indigenous education.



## **Religious Causes**

### **Role of the Missionaries**

The conversion of Indians to Christianity appeared to be the ultimate aim of the British in India. The Charter Act of 1813 granted unrestricted entry to the Christian Missionaries. The missionaries spread their activities to the nook and corner of the country. Often the meetings of the missionaries were held at district headquarters under the patronage of the collectors. The hospital regulations also caused concern in the minds of Indians.

### **Discontentment among Sepoys**

There was lot of discontentment among the sepoy. They were dissatisfied with their low pay, poor prospects of promotion and unenviable service conditions. They were ill-treated by the British officers. In 1856, the General Service Enlistment Act decreed that all future recruits in the Bengal army would be deputed anywhere and would not be entitled for pension if they were found unfit for service in a foreign country. The high caste sepoy opposed crossing seas.

### **Proximate Cause**

#### **Greased Cartridges**

The introduction of the new Enfield Rifles served as the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Rebellion. In 1857, a rumour spread rapidly in the Bengal army that the cartridges were greased by the fat of the cow and of the pig. The fat mix outraged the religious sentiments of Hindus and Muslims because the cow is sacred to the former and the pig would cause pollution to the latter. As the top of the cartridge of the Enfield Rifle was to be removed by the mouth before loading it in the rifle both Hindu and Muslim sepoy were offended and were ready to revolt.

### **Results of the Rebellion**

The Rebellion of 1857 is a significant landmark in the history of the freedom struggle in India. Though failed, the Rebellion was responsible for the following results:

1. The East India Company was liquidated. The company was replaced by the Crown. India became a colony of the British Empire. The Court of Directors was replaced by the Indian Council headed by the Secretary of State. The designation of the Governor General in India was changed as the Viceroy of India.
2. The Queen's Proclamation of 1<sup>st</sup> November 1858 rightly reversed the policy of subordinate isolation based on Annexation and Lapse and inaugurated the era of



subordinate union. The Indian rulers were rest assured of their rights of adoption and succession.

3. The control of the Secretary of State for India over the Viceroy was greater than the control of the Board of Control over the Governor General prior to 1858.
4. Radical changes were made in the army. The King's Forces and the Company's Forces were amalgamated.
5. Freedom of religion was promised and equal treatment of Indians was assured. No distinction would be made on grounds of race, religion, sex or creed.
6. Indian Judiciary was reformed. Sadr Courts and Crown's Supreme Courts were merged into High Courts. High Courts were established in Presidency Head Quarters.
7. Since the Muslims had played a predominant role in the Rebellion, the British treated them harshly and discriminately. As a result, the Muslim culture and progress suffered a sharp set back.
8. After the Rebellion, a new state in Britain's colonial policy in India began. It was marked by further economic exploitation of India. India was treated as a satellite of Britain.
9. The British realized the vulnerability and impermanence of the colonial rule in India.
10. The English lost their enthusiasm for socio-religious reforms and gave up their zeal for Victorian liberalism and utilitarianism.
11. Though defeated, the Hindus and Muslims were waiting on their wings to turn against their British masters.

1. Describe the causes for the outbreak of 1857 Revolt.
2. Narrate the results of 1857 Revolt.

### **The Indian Council Act of 1861**

- a) The Act introduced certain changes in the Viceroys's Executive Council. According to the Charter Act of 1853, a legal Member had been added to the Viceory's Executive Council.
- b) The Act empowered the Secretary to State to appoint the Commander in Chief as an extraordinary member of the Council.



- c) One of the five members of the Council was to be a Military Member who would be a distinguished soldier. The other two were to be civil servants. The fourth was to be financial expert, while the fifth was to be legal member.
- d) The power of the Governor-General were increased and he was now authorized the act alone in all matters except that of making laws.
- e) The most important matters were placed before the Governor-General and if any different of opinion appeared, those were considered by the whole council.

### **Legislative Provisions**

- a) The Executive Council of the Governor-General was to be strengthened by the addition of not less than 6 and not more than 12 members nominated by the Governor-General for the purpose of legislation.
- b) The function of this Council was strictly limited to legislation and the Act expressly forbade the transaction of any other business.
- c) No law could be enacted which infringed the authority of Home government or violated the provisions of certain Acts made by the British Parliament.
- d) The Governor-General was vested authority to veto any law passed by the Council.
- e) In case of emergency the Governor-General was empowered to issue ordinances which were as valid as the laws.
- f) The assent of the Governor-General was made necessary to every Act passed by the Council.

### **Indian councils act of 1892**

The Circumstances which necessitated the passage of the Council's Act of 1892 deserve special attention.

The Councils Act 1861 has established Legislative Councils but these Councils failed to satisfy the Indian aspirations. The power of the existing legislative councils were so limited that their laws represented nothing better than government orders. The new universities played their role and brought the Indians closer to the Western liberal through; while the repressive governmental policy played its part and tried to repress this surging spirit, thereby energizing it yet more Lord Lyttom's regime brought things to a breaking point, but he could not suppress the longing for the freedom of thought.

The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 as a result of the efforts of A.O. Hume, grew very popular, In its very first session of 1885, its passed a resolution called for the expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council by addition to it of elected members.



### **The Provisions of the Indian Councils Act of Central Legislative**

- a) With regard to the Supreme or Central Legislative Council, the Act provided that the number of the additional members would be raised to minimum of 10 and a maximum of 16. Subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for India.
  - b) The functions of the Council were enlarged. It was now permitted to discuss the budget under certain restrictions.
  - c) The members could ask questions to the government on matters of public interest.
  - d) In Provincial Councils also, the number of additional members was enlarged. In the Legislative Councils of Bombay and Madras.
1. Describe the provisions of the Indian Council Act of 1861.
  2. Write the main features of the Indian council Act of 1892.

### **MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS 1909**

While the Extremists were facing ruthless repression the Moderates were rewarded with constitutional reforms. On the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. The Madras Congress Convention adopted a resolution commending the reforms. The Congress conveyed to Lord Morley, and Lord Minto, the Viceroy, its most sincere thanks for their reform proposals. These reform proposals were embodied in the Indian Council's Act of 1909, better known as the Morley-Minto Reforms.

#### **The Reforms**

1. The Act enlarged the membership of the Central Legislature as well as the Provincial Legislature Councils.
2. The membership of the Governors' Executive Councils of Bengal, Madras and Bombay was also raised.
3. The Government was empowered to constitute Councils for the Lieutenant-Governors as well.
4. The functions of the Central and State Legislatures were also substantially increased.
5. Separate constituencies were to be created for the Muslims and a fixed number seats were reserved for them in the Councils as well as in public services.

In effect, the Morley-Minto Reforms were commendable compromise between bureaucracy and democracy.



### **Defects**

1. The Reforms suffered from many defects. The Act failed to establish parliamentary government in India. The franchise was neither uniform nor broad-based.
2. It failed “to check the propaganda for self-government”. The greatest defect of the Act was the introduction of the separate communal electorates for the Muslims.
3. The communal seeds sown by the Reforms germinated in course of time and ultimately led to the creation of Pakistan as a separate state.

### **Failure of Reform**

The Morley-Minto Reforms failed to fulfil the aspiration of Indians. Even the Moderates were disillusioned. The Congress was up against the grant of special communal representation to the Muslims.

1. What were the salient features to Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909?

### **MONTFORD REFORMS 1919**

Indians were deeply disappointed at the treatment given to them disregarding their war time services. It was at that time E.S. Montague, Secretary of State for India, made an historic declaration on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1917. The Montford Scheme was published on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1918. The Government of India Act was enacted on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1919 on the basis of the Montford Scheme.

### **Main Provisions**

The Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford or Montford Reforms. The Montford formulae enunciated the following policy initiatives:

- 1) There should be, to the extent possible, complete popular control in local bodies, independent of outside control;
- 2) The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament;
- 3) Early steps towards the realization of responsible government should be taken in the provinces. This will involve the largest measure of independence-legislative, administrative, and financial powers of the Government of India. This clear-cut division of Central subjects and state subjects was intended to ensure state autonomy to a limited extent;
- and 4) The control of British Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial governments were to be relaxed. In effect, the Act introduced Dyarchy in Governor’s Provinces.



## **DYARCHY**

### **Provincial Dyarchy**

The most significant of the provisions of the Act of 1919 were those which related to the Provincial Administration. The Act marked the beginning of responsible government, by introducing, what is called, Dyarchy in the Provincial sphere. The word Dyarchy simply means double government or rule by two authorities. Governmental powers were divided into Central and Provincial Lists. The Provincial List was further divided into the 'Reserved' and the 'Transferred' Subjects.

### **Reserved Subjects**

These subjects were kept under the control of the Governor. The Reserved Subjects include Police; Administration of Justice; Land Revenue; Irrigation and Canals; Famine Relief; Control of Newspapers, press and books; Borrowing; Forests; Prisons and Reformatories; Settlement of labour disputes etc., These were called 'Nation building' departments.

### **Transferred Subjects**

Transferred Subjects were those which required more local knowledge and experience. The Transferred Subjects included Education; Public Works; Agriculture and Fisheries; Local Self-Government; Excise; Public Health; Sanitation and Medical Administration; and the Development of Industries and Industrial Research.

### **Provincial Executive**

Provincial Executive consisted of the Governor and his councilors. The members of the Executive Council were appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Governor. As they were the ex-officio members, the Councilors were not removable by the Legislature. The Governor was given extensive powers to discharge his duties. The Governor-in-Council administered the Reserved Subjects.

### **Governor and His Ministers**

Governor and His Ministers administered the Transferred Subjects. The Ministers were selected by the Governor to hold office during his pleasure. They were selected from among the non-official members of the Legislature. The maximum number of Ministers to be appointed by the Governor was not uniform between the Provinces.

### **Provincial Legislature**

Provincial Legislature was unicameral. Known as the Legislative Council, it was entrusted with increased functions and powers. Its size was expanded though its total



membership varied from Province to Province. Of its total strength at least 70% were to be elected; not more than 20% were to be the nominated officials; and the remaining were to be nominated non-officials. Direct election was introduced to elect the members to the Legislative Council.

### **Working of Dyarchy**

Dyarchy was introduced on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1921 in eight Governor's Provinces, viz., Madras, Bengal, Bombay, U.P., the Punjab, Bihar, C.P., and Assam. Subsequently, it was extended to Burma and N.W.F.P. The system of Dyarchy worked in the Provinces from 1920 to 1937. Elections to the first Council were held in 1920-21. As part of the Non-Co-operation Movement, the Congress boycotted the elections. However, the Liberals co-operated with the Government and entered the Legislative Council as well as the Governor's Executive Council. The 'Pro-Changers' or the Swarajists made an astonishing success in the election of 1923. They entered the Councils with a view to wreck the constitution from within. The 'Walk-in' and 'Walk-out' strategy of the Swarajists harped on the goal of 'no Dyarchy but Swaraj' as against the Imperialist principle of 'no anarchy but autocracy'. Inside the Council the Swarajists criticized the Ministers and their so called 'Transferred Subjects'.

### **Pros and Cons**

#### **Achievements**

The Dyarchy system of Provincial Government had the following achievements to its credit.

1. By participating in the process of administration the Indian legislators were well acquainted with the art and craft of Parliamentary Practice.
2. Dyarchy served as a training ground to Indian politicians. They had the first hand training in passing laws.
3. Dyarchy served as a bridge between autocracy and responsible government. It speeded up the process of Provincial Autonomy.
4. The Swarajists exposed the antinational policies of the Government without fear or favour. They also expounded the national cause of the Congress.
5. For the first time the British bureaucracy were obliged to work under the Ministers in the Transferred Departments.

#### **Failures**

1. The very principle of administrative dichotomy was defective, unnatural and unscientific.



2. The Governor was the pivot on which the system of Dyarchy revolved. Being the King-pin of the new set-up the Minister had to depend on his tender mercies. In practice, the Ministers were reduced to an unenviable position of advisors to the Governor.
  3. The Ministers were expected to serve two masters, viz., the Legislative Council and the Governor. The Ministers found it impossible to ride on two horses at the same time.
  4. The permanent civil servants remained powerful.
  5. The Swarajists were determined not to work but to wreck Dyarchy. It exposed the hollowness of the Reforms.
- 
1. Describe the main provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919.
  2. Narrate the working of Dyarchy in Provinces.
  3. Explain the Pros and Cons of Dyarchy.



## **UNIT – II : SIMON COMMISSION**

*Simon Commission's Report - Round Table conference and India's Reactions - Central Government According to 1935 - Provincial Governments according to the Act of 1935 - Provincial Autonomy - Constitutional Deadlock and August offer from Cripp's Mission to Mountbatten Plan - Indian Independence Act 1947 - Making of the Constitution of India - India's National Constitution - Union Executive - State Executive - Union Parliament - State Legislative - Union and States - Judiciary - Amendments of the Constitution - Development of Public Services - Local Government.*

### **SIMON COMMISSION**

The British reaction to the national demand was the announcement of the appointment of the Simon Commission.

#### **Compelling Circumstances**

There were certain compelling circumstances for the hasty announcement of the Royal Commission, better known as the Simon Commission.

#### **Constitution of the Commission**

The Royal Commission was constituted under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon, a member of the British Liberal Party. It comprised of, besides the Chairman, seven members. All of them were Englishmen. The Commission was granted wide powers. It was expected to inquire into the working of the Constitution of 1919. In short, the Simon Commission was constituted to investigate the working of Diarchy and to suggest further constitutional measures.

#### **Indian Reaction**

The exclusion of Indians from the Commission evoked condemnation. The Congress reaction to the Simon Commission was known at its annual session at Madras in December 1927. Dr. Ansari, the President of the session, said that "no self-respecting Indian can ever admit the claim of Great Britain to be sole judge to measure the time of India's political advance". The Madras Congress passed the memorable resolution to boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form.

#### **Boycott of the Commission**

When the Simon Commission landed in Bombay on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1928, it was greeted with black flags and showered with the slogans 'Simon Go Back'. An All-India hartal was observed. The boycott of the Commission reached a climax at Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai, who headed a vast gathering of demonstrators, was assaulted by an English officer, Saunders. This



“unprovoked and deliberate” attack hastened his death on 17<sup>th</sup> November 1928 at the age of 64. The brutal assault of Lion of the Punjab added fuel to fire of the boycott.

### **Report of the Commission**

The Simon Commission published its report in May 1930 in two volumes.

1. Dyarchy should be replaced by Provincial Autonomy. The Ministers were to be given maximum freedom to run the administration.
  2. The Central Government should be reconstituted on federal principle, embracing not only British India but the Princely States as well.
  3. Provincial Legislatures should be enlarged, abolishing the official block and giving the Muslims special and adequate representation.
  4. The Governor-General and the Governors were to be armed with “full and ample powers to ensure a thoroughly efficient administrative system and to safeguard the interests of the minorities”.
  5. The High Courts were to be under the administrative control of the Government of India.
  6. The provision of appointing a Statutory Commission to review the constitutional progress every ten years should be dropped and the new Constitution should be made flexible enough to admit changes wherever necessary.
- 
1. Why was Simon Commission boycotted?
  2. Narrate the Report of the Simon Commission.

### **ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES**

The Simon Commission report was published on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1930. But the recommendations were great disappointments. The British government invited the Indians to discuss with the report and the future government at London. Thus was born the First Round Table conference. All the important Congress leaders were in jail on account of the Civil Disobedience movement, when the invitation was made. The congress refused to join the conference.

89 delegates attended the conference. Out of 57 were from British India, 16 from princely states and the rest from the British political parties. It was presided over by Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald. The representatives from India represented Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Harijans, Landlords, and Workers.



The Congress was the majority party in the British India. The British government realized that any compromise without the participation of the congress was unworkable. So the Congress leaders and workers were released unconditionally. Gandhi was invited for a negotiation and on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1931 and Gandhi Irwin Pact was signed. According to that pact the government promised to give up cases against the civil disobedience agitators. It promised to restore the confiscated properties. Gandhi promised to suspend the Civil Disobedience movement and to participate in the Second Round Table conference.

Meanwhile the Labour government collapsed and the Conservatives came to power. They were deadly against granting any political freedom to India. Gandhi was the sole representative of the Congress with chappals, Khadder and loin cloth. He attracted a big crowd. His speech clearly exposed that Congress was the only national party and all other parties were based on communal feelings. He rightly demanded complete independence. The British government offered a partly responsible government at the centre. The other point for disagreement was the communal problem. Gandhi returned to India empty-handed and much disappointment. The Conference closed on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1931.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1932 the Congress Working Committee restarted the civil disobedience movement. Gandhiji communicated his decision to the then viceroy Lord Willingon. He was Conservative and repressive. The next day he issued four ordinances and assumed very wide powers to deal with the agitation. Gandhi and Sardar Patel were arrested. Police arrested any person on suspicion. Congress was declared illegal Properties of the congressmen were confiscated. More than 1,20,000 persons were arrested. On certain occasion, the movement became violent. The movement was also varying. On wise considerations Gandhiji withdrew the movement completely on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1934. Jawaharlal Nehru, Bose and B.G. Patel, however did not approve the arbitrary decision of Gandhi.

### **The Third Round Table Conference**

In 1932 the Third Round Table conference was convened. The congress did not participate in it as they involved in the Civil Disobedience movement. The conference discussed the reports of subcommittees formed during the Second Round Table Conference. They discussed the terms of joining the All India Federation and the distribution of residuary powers.

In March 1933, the British government published a White Paper. It indicated the lines on which the new Act of 1935 was to be made. This paper was prepared on the basis of the discussions and decisions taken during the Third Round Table Conference.



## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935

The Government of India Act of 1935 was the crowning climax of a prolonged process of constitution making that had commenced in 1927 with the appointment of the Simon Commission.

### **Main Provisions**

The following were the main provisions of the Act of 1935: 1) The Act provided for an All-India Federation. It was to comprise of the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States; 2) The Act introduced Dyarchy at the Centre abolishing Provincial Dyarchy; 3) The Federal Legislature was to consist of two Houses-Council of States and Federal Assembly; 4) Provision was made for a Federal Court to interpret the controversial clauses of the Act and to settle disputes arising among the constituent units and between a unit and the Federal Government; 5) The Governmental subjects were divided into 3 lists, viz, the Federal List consisting of subjects of All-India importance; the Provincial List containing subjects pertaining to provincial interests, and the Concurrent List with subjects requiring uniformity of treatment; 6) Provision was made for electoral safeguards and reservations for the minorities.

### **Working of Provincial Autonomy**

The Government of India Act was introduced and passed in the British Parliament. In 1935, it received its royal assent in August 1935. Its electoral provisions were introduced in July 3, 1936 and the general election was conducted in the winter of 1936 and 1937, and it was enforced in August 15, 1947. As a consequence, of the general election, the Congress ministry came to power in Madras, C.P, U.P., Bihar, Orissa, N.W.F.P and Assam. The league formed ministries in Sind and Bengal. In Bombay and Punjab congress coalition ministries were formed. Before the congress ministries assumed power, they insisted on clear assurance of non-interference of the Governors. They did a lot in the next two years. The gap between congress and the Muslim League widened. The Muslims propagated very badly of the congress ministeries. In 1939, the second World War broke out. The Government of India declared war on behalf of the British Government against the axis powers. The Viceroy acted without the prior consultation with the congress ministers. Later the Congress ministries once again came to power soon after the end of the Second World War. Thus the provincial autonomy was in function upto 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947.



### **Defects of the Act as 1935**

1. The Federation according to the Act of 1935 was ill conceived and illogical.
  2. There were elaborate safeguards for the powers of Governor-General and the Governors. On the protect of special responsibilities like depending the rights of the minorities, they arrested the growth of nationalism.
  3. It introduced diarchy in the centre, where as it abolished the same constitutional set up in the province.
  4. It established constitutional dependency on the British parliament for the amendment of the Act.
  5. It elaborately extended the communal electorates.
  6. It refused to grant the right of self-determination.
- 
1. Explain the main provisions of the government of India Act of 1935.
  2. Point out the defects in the government of India Act of 1935.

### **AUGUST OFFER, 1940**

#### **Need for India's Support**

The war situation grew grave during the middle of 1940. The British forces suffered a serious setback at Dunkrik. Great Britain was in dire need of India's real support.

#### **Important Announcement**

On 8<sup>th</sup> August 1940, on the eve of the 'Battle of Britain', Lord Linlithgow made an important announcement, which came to be known as the 'August Offer'. The salient features of the offer were

1. The obvious objective of the British government was to grant Dominion Status to India.
2. Indians should be allowed to frame a new constitution for themselves.
3. Immediately after the war the Government would set up a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to device the framework of the new constitution.
4. The new constitutional scheme would be built within the British Common wealth of Nations.
5. Full weight would be given to the views of Minorities in any revision of the exiting constitution.



6. The Viceroy's Executive Council would be expanded with the inclusion of the representatives of political parties.

### **CRIPP'S MISSION TO MOUNTBATTEN PLAN**

The August Offer failed to satisfy the aspiration of the Indians. The Congress authorized Gandhi to launch a mass civil disobedience movement again. Gandhi selected Vinoba Bhave to launch individual satyagraha. Meanwhile the second world war situation deteriorated. England wanted to adopt a soft attitude towards India.

The British Government sent Sir. Stafford Cripps to negotiate with Indian political parties and secure their co-operation in the prosecution of the war. Stafford Cripps arrived Delhi on March 22, 1942. The leaders of different political parties met him and discussions went on for twenty days. Finally Cripps gave a set of proposals.

Gandhi thought that if a movement was launched the British would come to terms. "Gandhi wanted that the proposed movement would also be on the basis of non-violence. He had discussed the matter with Congress leaders and they were ready to accept his new movement. The Congress working committee passed a resolution on 14<sup>th</sup> July 1942. On 8<sup>th</sup> August the AICC passed its resolution on 'Quit India'. The resolution asked the British to hand over power and Quit India.

### **C.R. Formula 1944**

C.Rajagopalachari, one of the veteran leaders of the Congress, formulated a scheme in March 1944 in order to resolve the political deadlock between the Congress and the Muslim League. Gandhi was shown this formula on the basis of which Gandhi started correspondence with Jinnah. In September 1944, Gandhi met Jinnah and discussed C.R. formula with him. But Jinnah rejected the formula.

### **Wavell Plan**

In October 1945, Lord Wavell, viceroy on India visited England for urgent consultations on the Indian Problems. The War situation also compelled the British to find a political solution to Indian Problems. Wavell returned to India. A statement was issued simultaneously in London by Mr. A. A. Mary, the Secretary of State for India, and by Wavell in India. This statement was called as Wavell Plan.

### **Simla Conference**

Soon after the announcement of the Wavell Plan, the Congress Leaders were released from jails. A conference was convened at Simla. The Congress and the Muslim League



discussed the Wavell plan. Jinnah wanted that the Muslim league should have the sole right to nominate all Muslims in the Viceroy's Executive council, congress did not recognize the sole right of such nomination by a communal organization. So the conference ended in a fiasco and the Wavell plan came to a naught.

### **CABINET MISSION PLAN**

Lord Atlee, the labour Prime Minister of Britain decided to transfer power of Indian within a stipulated period. On the 14<sup>th</sup> February 1946, a proposal to send a cabinet mission to India was announced. Lord Atlee deputed three members of his cabinet-Lord Pettick Lawrence, Sir, Stafford Cripps and Mr.A.V. Alexander to find out a solution for the Indian Problems. The Muslim League rejected the cabinet mission plan.

### **Interim Government**

As the Muslim league rejected the cabinet mission plan Lord Wavell, the Viceroy invited Jawaharlal Nehru to form an interim government on 12<sup>th</sup> August 1946. The interim government with 14 member cabinet was formed on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1946.

### **Direct Action by Muslim League**

The Muslim league strongly opposed to the proposal of the cabinet Mission and the subsequent formation of the Interim Government. The league announcement its intention to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan. On 16<sup>th</sup> August 1946, the Direct Action Day Started in Calcutta.

### **Mountbattern plan**

Lord Mountbatern succeeded Lord Wavell. He clearly understood the political situation in India. He persuaded the congressmen to accept the partition of the country. Nehru accepted the idea. Even Gandhi had to accept the solution. The All India congress committee met on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1947 and accepted the partition of the country. Lord Mountbattern laid the foundation of the birth of India and Pakistan in his Mountbatern plan.

### **CONSTITUTION OF INDIA**

The constituent Assembly under the presidentship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad framed the India Constitution after a good deal of labour extending over to about three years and enacted it on 26<sup>th</sup> November 1949. The New Constitution was however, adopted on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950, When India was declared as a Sovereign Democratic Republic with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as her first President.

The India Constitution is a written one and is available in book form. The three organs of the Government i.e., Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, Citizenship, Fundamental rights,



Directive Principles of the state Policy. It consists of 395 Articles, 9 Schedules and several amendments.

The Indian constitution is partly rigid and partly flexible. The procedure laid about for the amendment of the Indian Constitution is neither as easy as in England.

Although the Indian Constitution is federal in structure, it has made the central Government so powerful that it has been pointed out that it has become almost unitary in essence.

The Indian Constitution has established a parliamentary form of Government, both at the centre and the states. Through the President is the head of the executive, the real powers are vested with the cabinet which is responsible to the Lok Sabha.

The Constitution of India has declared India to be a secular state where all the citizens enjoy equal rights irrespective of their caste, colour, creed, religion or sex. Anybody in India can practice any religion.

The Constitution of India has laid down several directive principles of state policy with the main aim of guiding the Government to strive more and more for the welfare of the people. It should provide adequate means of livelihood to all its citizens; encourage equitable distribution of wealth and prevent concentration of wealth in few hands.

The Indian Constitution has guaranteed several fundamental rights to all its citizens. Among these rights the most important are those of Equality, liberty, Freedom of Religion cultural and Educational Right, Right to property, right against Exploitation and right to constitutional remedies. These rights are inviolable and are binding both on the legislature and the Executive.

The Indian Constitution has established the Supreme Court as the guardian of the citizen rights. It can declare as null and void any law passed by the legislature or the executive if it violates any of the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens by the constitution.

### **UNION EXECUTIVE**

The Indian constitution provides for a parliamentary system of government. It needs a nominal chief executive. The office of the Indian President serves that purpose like the office of the Queen in England.

Article 58 prescribes some qualifications to contest in the election to the office of the President of India. He should be a citizen of India. He should have completed at least thirty five years of age. He should be qualified to be elected to the House of the People. He should



not hold any office of profit under the Union or State Government. He should not be a member of any of the Houses of the Parliament or any State Legislature. If a person holding such office is elected to the office of the President his membership in the Parliament or the State Legislature will automatically lapse on the date on which he enters the office of the President. He should not hold any office of profit anywhere. The President is elected for a period of five years.

The President may resign his office before the completion of his term of office. His letter of resignation is to be sent to the Vice-President of India. When the office of the President becomes vacant either due to resignation or death or due to impeachment, the Vice-President becomes the Acting President until a new President is elected.

The Indian President is the Head of the State. He is the first citizen of the country. In all important national and international ceremonies and functions, he represents India. He resides in the official residence called the Rashtrapathi Bhavan free of rent.

The President enjoys many legislative powers. He convenes the Parliament, prorogues it and could also dissolve the Lower House of the Parliament. He delivers the Opening Speech in the joint session of both the Houses. He appoints twelve members of the Rajya Sabha and two Anglo-Indian representatives to the Lok Sabha. In case of a legislative dead lock he convenes a joint session of the Parliament. All the bills passed by the Parliament could become laws only with his assent.

The President enjoys vast powers of appointments. He appoints the Prime Minister and other Ministers in the Council of Ministers. The Governors, the Lieutenant Governors and the Chief Commissioners are also appointed by him. They are all responsible to him. He appoints the Election Commissioners and other high officials of the Election Commission. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India, Attorney General of India, the Registrar General of India, the Chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission are also appointed by him. He administers the Union Territories. He is the supreme commander of the armed forces of India. He appoints the high officers of the armed forces. He declares war and peace. All executive actions of the Union are done in his name.

The Indian constitution makes provision for declaration of Emergency. Article 356 enables the President to dismiss an elected Government of any state.

1. Describe the powers and functions of the president.
2. Wrote down the qualification of the president?



## **The Parliament**

The Council of States is the Upper House of the Indian Parliament. It is also known as the Rajya Sabha. The constitution has fixed the maximum number of members of this House as 250. There are twelve nominated members in this House and others are indirectly elected by the members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States and the Union Territories.

The constitution prescribes the qualifications of the members of this House. To contest to this House, one should be a citizen of India. He must be of 30 years of age. His name should be found in the voter list of the State or Union Territory from where he wants to contest. He should not be a member of the Lok Sabha or any of the State Legislatures. However, the election of a person from any State has become possible at present. He should not hold any office of profit under the Union or State Government. He should not be a convicted criminal or a declared bankrupt. He should be of sound mind.

The House of the People is the Lower House of the Indian Parliament. It is also known as the Lok Sabha. It is a popular house directly elected by the people. It plays an important role in legislating laws on the subjects in the Union list. The 31<sup>st</sup> constitutional amendment raised the number of members from 525 to 545.

The contest in the elections to Lok Sabha a candidate should be a citizens of India. He should have attained 25 years of age. He should be a registered voter.

## **STATE EXECUTIVE**

The President appoints the State Governors. Normally, a person who does not belong to the particular State is appointed to this post. The President may consult the Chief Minister of the concerned State on the appointment of the Governor of that State. A Governor should be a citizen of India and he should be of thirty five years of age.

A Governor may also be transferred from one State to the other. The seventh amendment of the constitution enables the President to appoint a person as the Governor for two or more States. If the office of the Governor of a State becomes vacant due to resignation or dismissal or death, the Chief Justice of the High Court of the State becomes the Acting Governor until the President appoints a new Governor. As the nominal Chief Executive of the State, the Governor enjoys some privileges.



## **State Legislative**

The all ministers are members of the Legislature. The Chief Minister acts as the leader of the House. The ministers are responsible to the Assembly. They attend its meetings and answer the questions asked by the members. They may be removed from offices by a no-confidence motion passed in it. The legislature has power over the purse. The budget is to be passed by it. Through the majority support, the Council of Ministers may control the legislature.

The Legislative Council may consist of members not more than one-third of the total number of members of the Legislative Assembly and not less than forty. The term of office of each member of the Legislative Council is six years. But one-third of the members retire every two years and the House is permanent. This House could not be dissolved. The Legislative Council enjoys fewer powers.

## **The High Court**

Each state has a High Court. There may be a single court for more than one State. Every High Court has Chief Justice and other judges as decided by the President. The President may also appoint additional judges. In appointing additional judges. In appointing the judges of the High Courts, the President may consult the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice of the High Court, and the Governor of the State concerned. The constitution prescribes some qualifications for a judge of a High Court. He must be a citizen of India. He should have held judicial office in the territory of India for atleast for ten years. The age of retirement of a judge of a High Courts is sixty-two years. A judge of a High Court may be removed from his office by the same procedure followed to remove a judge of the Supreme Court.

## **The Supreme Court**

The judiciary is an important branch of the Government. It helps in the smooth operation of the constitution. It interprets the constitution and protects the interests of the people. The Supreme Court of India is the highest Court in the Indian Judiciary.

The Parliament has the right to decide over the number of judges to be in the Supreme Court. At present there are twenty six judges including the Chief Justice. The Chief Justice and other judge of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President. The judges of the high courts are also appointed by him.



Experience as a judge of one or more High Courts for a period of five years or experience as an advocate of a High Court for ten years or to be a distinguished jurist in the opinion of the President.

A judge of the Supreme Court continues in service until he attains the age of sixty five. He may resign his post by writing so to the President. A judge may be removed from his post for misbehavior and other charges by a resolution moved in the Houses of Parliament.

1. Write the composition of The High Court.
2. How the Supreme Court Judges are appointed?



## AMENDMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Article 368 of the Indian Constitution prescribes the procedure for the amendment of the constitution. An amendment of Indian Constitution may be initiated only by the introduction of a Bill for the purpose in either House of Parliament. The Bill should be passed in each House by a majority of not less than two thirds of the members of that house, it shall be presented to the President for his assent. If the President gives his assent the constitution shall stand amended.

1. The first amendment Act of 1951 has permitted reasonable restriction to be imposed by law on the exercise of the right of freedom of speech and expression by citizens in the interest of friendly relations with foreign states or public order.
2. The Fourth amendment Act of 1955 provides that when the State compulsorily takes over private property for a public purpose, the scale of compensation prescribed by the concerned legislature could not be questioned by any court of law.
3. The Seventh Amendment Act of 1956 provided for the reorganization of the Indian Union into 14 states and 6 union territories.
4. In 1959, the 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment was made which provided for the reservation of seats for scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
5. In 1971, the 24<sup>th</sup> Amendment was made which affirms the parliament's power to amend any part of the constitution including the Fundamental rights.

### **Public Services prior to Charter Act of 1813**

When the British company assumed territorial power corruption was rampant in the administration. It corrupt servants amassed huge wealth by accepting bribes and presents. The Regulating Act of 1773 prohibited the acceptance of bribes by the servants of the British East India Company. Lord Cornwallis reserved all the high posts for Englishmen where as the subordinate jobs were assigned to the Indians. In 1806, the Directors of British company established training college at Hailey bury for the training of Civil servants of the company. Later on open competition was adopted and the Indians were also entitled to compete.

The Charter Act of 1813 laid down that no person was to be appointed as a public servant in India unless he had completed four terms in training college at Haileybury in England.

Queen Victoria tried to remove misunderstanding among Indians and provide for the redress of their grievances. In 1860 the Secretary of State for India appointed a committee



which recommended that simultaneous examination for recruitment in Indian Public Services should be conducted both in England and India.

A Royal Commission under Mr. Lee was appointed in 1923 to report on the working of Public Services. The Commission recommended measures for 50 percent Indianisation of public services. The Secretary of State for India should be empowered to recruit the necessary personnel for Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Forest Service etc.

The Act of 1935 was a landmark in the history of the development of Public services in India. The Act imposed as special responsibility on the Governor General and the Governors of the Provinces to safeguard the legitimate interests of the public servants.

Local bodies are the bedrock of democracy. They look after the local needs of the people. During the Hindu period, they played very significant role. The local people solved their problems themselves through these local bodies. Mauryan and chola emperors of ancient time constituted self governing municipal institutions to provide all entities for the local people. The Village panchayat system was a regular feature of ancient and medieval India.

When the British East India company established their trading centres and built forts at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, they felt the pressing need of introducing a system of administration to look after the sanitation and street lighting in those places.

#### 1. Describe the growth of local self-government in India



### **UNIT – III : REBELLION AGAINST COMPANY RULE IN SOUTH INDIA**

*Rebellion against Company Rule in South India - The Vellore Mutiny - Revolt of 1857 - Act of 1858 - Queen's Proclamation 1858 - Social and Religious Reform Movements in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century - Birth of the Indian National Congress - Extremist movements of the Congress 1885 - Partition of Bengal 1905 - Movements Abroad for India's Freedom - Rise and Growth of Muslim Communalism in India - Home Rule Movement - Lucknow Pact - First World War - Dyarchy in the Provinces - Congress Reaction - Rowllat Act - Amristar Tragedy - Khilafat Agitation.*

#### **REBELLION AGAINST COMPANY RULE IN SOUTH INDIA**

In the later half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the English emerged as the most dominant political power in Tamilnadu. In 1792 the British East India Company made a treaty with the Nawab of Arcot and acquired the right to collect taxes from the Poligars.

During the Nayak rule a number of military outposts called Palaiyams were established. The-rulers of these palaiyams were called as poligars. Panchalamkurichi was one of such palaiyams. Kattabomman became the poligar of Panchalamkurichi was one of such palaiyam. Kattabomman became the poligar of panchalamkurichi in 1790.

The British company appointed its collectors for the collection of taxes from the Paliyagars. Many paliyagars became alarmed and submitted themselves to the Collectors, But Kattabomman did not pay the tribute or kisti and it fell in arrears.

By September 1798, Colin Jackson the then collector of Ramnad wrote a letter to him asking him to meet and pay the arrears in full. But kattabomman disobeyed. Jackson sent an army against him, but the Madras council asked Jackson to summon Kattabomman to Ms office at Ramnad. Kattabomman decided to meet the collector to pay the arrears. Umaithurai, his brother also went along with him.

Finally Kattabomman met the collector at Ramnad. Jackson tried to arrest Kattabomman. But he escaped with his brother Umaithurai.

Marudhu Pandya of Sivaganga formed an alliance with neighbouring states to crush the power of British in Tamil country. Kattabomman wanted to join hands with Marudhy Pandya. But the collector Lushington prevented Kattabomman from meeting Marudhu Pandya. But they met and planned to attack the British.

The Poligars of Nagaland, Mannarkottai, Sennalkudi jointed in hands with Kattabomman. The British commander major Banerman marched towards Panchalamkurichi and attacked the fort. The forces of Kattabomman was defeated and he escaped from the battle field. Umaithurai took asylum at Sivaganga.



Vijayaragunatha Tondaiman, the Raja of Pudukkottail sent his troops to capture Kattabomman. Kattabomman was captured and handed over to the British. On 17<sup>th</sup> October 1799 Kattabomman was hanged to death at Kayathar.

In Sivaganga the Marudhu Pandya rose against the British. It was a continuation of the conflict of the British with the Palayams. After the hanging of Kattabomman his brother Umaithurai and others escaped and took asylum in Sivaganga Marudhu Pandya gave protection to them. The merchants of Sivagango also did not like the interference of the British company in their internal affairs. These two causes aroused the company to wage war against Sivaganga. Marudhu Pandya was popularly called as Chinna Marudhu and his elder brother was called Periya Marudhu.

Agnew, the commander of the company's forces issued a proclamation against Marudhu pandya's domination.

Marudhu Pandya issued a proclamation asking the natives to raise, against the British. This was the first call to the Indians to invite against the British. A copy of the proclamation was pasted on the walls of the large open gate way of the Nawab's Palace in the fort of Tiruchy and another copy was kept on the wall of the great Vaishnava temple of Srirangam. Marudhu Pandya invited all the caste and religious people to join in the rebellion against the British.

The English attacked the rebels in Tanjavur and Tiruchy areas. The combined forces of Agnew and Innes attacked the rebels. The rebels were defeated at Kalayarkoil, Umaithurai was captured along with 800 rebels. Dindigul, Ramnad and Madurai come under the control of the British. Marudhu Pandya hid himself in the Singampaneri forest. But Tondaiman captured Marudhu Pandya, Sevathambi and Muthukaruppan were hanged to death on 24<sup>th</sup> October 1801.

1. Narrate the achievements of Kattabomman.
2. Explain the role of Marudhu Pandya.

## **VELLORE REBELLION, 1806**

### **Outburst at Vellore**

Five years after the collapse of the South Indian Rebellion, Vellore became the centre of yet another outburst against the British rule. Vellore was the centre of 'deep and dark



intrigues'. Futtah Hyder, the eldest son of Tipu Sultan, incarcerated in the Vellore Fort, was waiting on his wings of foment a rebellion against the British.

### **Overthrow of British Rule**

The apparent object of the Vellore Rebellion was the overthrow of the British authority. When the South Indian Rebellion was suppressed. The Tamil sepoys at the Company's service at Vellore raised their banner of revolt against the British authority.

### **Restoration of Mysore Monarchy**

After the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan his sons and relatives were brought to Vellore and incarcerated in the Fort. Futtah Hyder, the eldest son of Tipu, continued his secret moves to incite a rebellion with the intention of restoring monarchy in his home state.

### **Re-establishment of Nizam Rule**

The Nizam of Hyderabad was smarting at the loss of his independence and was anxious to restore his status quo ante. The Nizam was waiting for an opportunity to restore and reestablish his independence once again at Hyderabad.

### **Racial Prejudice**

The military discipline, weapons, methods and practices were all new to them. They found themselves as square pegs in round holes. Their dissatisfaction with the foreign rule and their desire to drive them from their country were intensified when they were treated as inferior soldiers.

### **Military Regulations**

According to the new requirements the sepoys were asked to wear shakos, a new form of headgear resembling a European hat. Ear rings and caste marks were prohibited. Every sepoy, Hindu or Muslim, was ordered "...not to mark his face to denote his caste, or wear ear-rings, when dressed in uniform; and it is further directed that at the parades and upon all duties, every soldier of the battalion shall be clean-shaved on the chin". As the head wears were designed by Adjutant General Agnew they were called Agnew's Turbans. Besides shaving their heads clean the sepoys were expected to keep their moustache trimmed.

1. What were the causes for the outbreak of Vellore Mutiny?

### **The Act of 1858**

The Government of India Act of 1858 was very significant in respect of the change of power. Lord Palmerstone, the new Prime Minister was very much particular in Indian



administration and Ministerial responsibility to parliament to public opinion and to the Crown. He introduced a bill which effected the transfer of government of Indian to the Crown.

### **Main provision of the Act of 1858**

India henceforth was to be governed by the crown in the name of Her Majesty. It changed the designed of Governor General to 'the viceroy of India' who acted a representative of the Crown.

The Crown was empowered to appoint the viceroy of India and the governors of the presidencies.

Till now the Board of Control and Court of Directors enjoyed all right over the revenues of India, hereafter the Act provided powers to the Secretary of State the control over revenue.

The Secretary of State was to be a member of British cabinet and he was to be responsible to British Parliament.

### **The Proclamation of Queen Victoria**

On November 1, 1858 the new government was proclaimed by Canning at Allahabad as the first viceroy and Governor General for the Crown.

1. It declared that they resolved to take upon themselves, the territories hitherto administered by the Honourable East India Company.
2. It assured the princes to respect like treaties and engagement they made with the company.
3. It upheld that so far as the Indians were concerned what ever may be their race of creed would be impartially admitted to the service based on their qualification ability and integrity.
4. It announced the programme of unconditioned pardon amnesty.

1. Write the main provisions of the Act of 1858.
2. Write the significance of Queen's proclamation.

## **SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS**

The teachings of various religious leaders and social reformers provided the intellectual, spiritual and emotional foundations of Indian nationalism during this period. All of them disapproved of caste system, child marriage, infanticide, social discrimination,



seclusion of widows, sati etc and demanded radical reforms to eradicate social evils. This is Reformism.

### **Brahmo Samaj**

Born in a well-to-do orthodox Brahmin family, Rammohan Roy (1779-1883) emerged as the earliest spokesman of the Indian intellectual movement. He was one of the marvelous makers of Modern India. he was the father of the socio-religious reform movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He was a magnificent champion of personal freedom and national emancipation. Rammohan Roy was indeed the first to deliver the message of political freedom to India. The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Raja Rammohan Roy on 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1828 and was formally inaugurated on 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 1830. It was also known as the Brahma Sabha or the One God Society.

### **Prarthana Samaj**

The Prarthana Samaj came into being through the inspiration of the Brahmo Samaj. The missionary tour of Keshab Chandra Sen (1864) provided necessary impetus for the founding of the Sabha at Bombay on 31<sup>st</sup> March 1867. Atmaram Panduranga was its first President. The second visit of Sen to Bombay in 1868 helped to strengthen the Sabha. Mahadev Govind Ranade and Ramakrishna Gpal Bhandarkar soon joined the Prarthana Sabha and gave it a definite form and character. The Sabha adopted 'Satyamevar Jayate' (Truth alone Triumphs) as its motto.

### **Arya Samaj**

Born in an orthodox Gujarati Brahmin family, known in early life as Mula Sandara, Swami Dayananda Saraswathi (1824-1883) was a Vedic Scholar, a dialectician, religious revivalist and a social reformer. He was a widely travelled seeker of knowledge and wisdom. He was unaffected by Western thought or culture. 'Go Back to Vedas' was his slogan. He was a reformer in social matters. The Arya Samaj was first founded at Bombay in 1875.

### **Theosophical Society**

#### **Founders**

The Theosophical Society was originally founded in 1875 in New York by Madame H.P. Blavatsky, a Russian and Colonel H.S. Olcott, an American to promote psychic phenomena and spiritualism. They came to India in 1879. With the help of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, they transferred the Head Quarters of the Theosophical Society to Adayar, Madras (1882).



## **Anni Besant**

Mrs. Annie Besant, an Irish Lady, came to India in 1893. She joined the Theosophical Society and infused new vigour and life into it and worked for four decades till her death at Adyar in 1933. She wore Hindu dress, adopted the Hindu way of life and worked tirelessly for the upliftment of the Indian people. She was known for her highly trained intellectual powers and extraordinary gift of eloquence. She translated the Bhagavad Gita in English. She became a pillar of Hindu Revivalism.

1. Write a short note on Bramo Samaj.
2. Write a short note on Prarthana Samaj.
3. What do you know about Anni Besant?

## **INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

The Birth of the Indian National Congress was an epoch making event. The impact of Western culture and civilization, the Indian socio-spiritual renaissance, the development of the press and the growth of native literature, the injurious influence of the centralized bureaucracy, the exploitative nature of the British imperialism and the resultant discontent of the instructed public were responsible for the growth of Indian nationalism.

The Indian National Union, renamed at the suggestion of Dadabhai Naoroji as the Indian National Congress, was inaugurated at the Hall of Gokuladas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay on 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1885. Womesh Chandra Banerjee, a leading barrier of Calcutta was unanimously elected the first President of the Congress. Allen Octavian Hume, a retired civil servant, was elected General Secretary of the Congress.

### **Objectives**

1. promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst Congress workers;
2. consolidation of the national sentiments;
3. keeping authoritative record of the nature of Indian views on important matters; and
4. determining the methods by which the objects were to be promoted.

### **Demands**

The demands of the first Congress assumed the form of resolutions suggesting reforms and remedial measures. The Congress demanded 1) enquiry into the working of the Indian administration by a Royal Commission; 2) the abolition of the Indian Council of the



Secretary of State for India; 3) the expansion and reform of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils established under the Indian Councils Act of 1861.

1. Describe the origin and growth of Indian National Congress.

## **EXTREMIST MOVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS**

A Group of Congress people did not believe in the methods of praying. They believed in fighting against the British and bloodshed but they gave up the programme of praying. They also wanted to boycott foreign goods. The important among them were BalaGangadara Tilak, Pipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajput Rai and V.O. Chidambaram Pillai. It was during the period of extremism in between 1906 and 1919 the extremist leaders of the Congress were expelled due to the majority of the Moderates in the Congress.

### **The Council Act of 1892**

The council Act of 1892 was granted to satisfy the demands of the Congress but it was a mere eyewash. The Imperial Legislative members were granted right to ask question but the question need not be accepted. There was no elected majority in the Imperial Legislative council.

### **Aparthied**

Aparthied was followed in South Africa. The native Africans were not granted equality. They were not even granted political equality. The Indians who settled in South Africa were also not property treated. Under the leadership of Gandhi there was an opposition to the British rule. It inspired the feelings of the Indians.

### **Famine**

Famine broke-out towards the closing years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the government did not take effective measures to put down-the famine. Tilak also started the celebration of Ganapath and Shivaji festivals. These measures instilled the spirit of nationalism among the people Maharashtra.

Lord Curzon was the Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. He was an imperialist. He believed that the Indians were not suitable for high posting and self government. This was done through the Calcutta Amendment Act. It introduced much control over the University functions. Thus his measures created the apartheid against the British rule.

- i) Swadeshi
- ii) National education



iii) Boycott of foreign goods

These were the three principles advocated by Bala Gangadara Tilak. He declared “Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it”.

### **PARTITION OF BENGAL, 1905**

Bengal presidency consisting of Bengal proper, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur was indeed unwieldy. Boundary adjustments of Bengal had been a subject of discussion for about four decades prior to the arrival of Lord Curzon in India as its Viceroy (1899-1905). Scared by the growing Bengal nationalism Curzon decided to divide Bengal and destroy the fountainhead of freedom struggle. He, therefore, announced the partition scheme in December 1905. At one stroke Curzon wanted to reduce the administrative area and drive a wedge between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal.

Though administrative convenience was given as a cause for the partition of Bengal by the British, the real motives behind it were many. They are,

1. Bengal served as an important centre for the freedom struggle in India.
2. Most of the nationalists had chosen Calcutta as their headquarters to formulate programmes of action against the British.
3. The British thought that by weakening Bengal by partition, the national movement would be crushed.
4. If Partition was effected the Bengali speaking Hindus would become minority in East Bengal and the Muslims would become minority in West Bengal.
5. By making both Hindus and Muslims as minority communities the domination of Bengal people would be diminished.

#### **Reasons for Agitation**

The partition of Bengal led to widespread agitation not only in Bengal but also in other parts of India. The people rose in revolt because of the following reasons.

1. The Bengali speaking people thought that the partition of Bengal was made on political grounds.
2. The partition would weaken the national movement in India.
3. It was to create a rift between Hindus and Muslims.
4. The British Government openly and deliberately began to favour the Muslims.
5. Lord Curzon openly stated that the creation of Mohammedan province in East Bengal would lead to the ascendancy of Muslims and Islam.



6. A large proportion of Government posts was given to the Muslims much to the discontent of the Hindus.

### **Agitation against partition of Bengal**

The British Government published its official scheme for the partition of Bengal on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1905. There was violent agitation against it. A national mourning for 12 months was advocated. Seditious leaflets were printed and circulated among the people. When the agitation was at its height, Lord Curzon resigned as Viceroy on account of his differences with the British Government. However, the necessary legislation to give effect to the partition was rushed through the Legislative Council in September 1905 in order to make sure that the partition became a settled fact before he left India.

The British began to suppress the anti-partition agitation with the heavy hand. Brutal repression tool; its heaviest toll in East Bengal. The extremists called upon the people to offer sacrifices at the altar of the motherland. In 1907 Lala Lajpat Rai was deported from Punjab. In 1905 Tilak was arrested and sentenced to six years imprisonment. Thus there was a lot of discontentment and bitterness in the country after the partition of Bengal.

### **Cancellation of Partition of Bengal**

Lord Minton was succeeded by Lord Hardinge and he and Margins of Crew who was then Secretary of State for India decided to take steps to pacify Indian resentment over the partition of Bengal. At the Delhi Darbar held in 1911 the King and Queen and the secretary of State for India were present. The occasion was taken advantage of to announce the cancellation of the partition of Bengal.

### **Indian Freedom struggle abroad**

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Extremists, the Revolutionaries, and the Terrorists carried on their struggle against the British Government abroad. They were interested in establishing contacts with foreign countries to espouse the cause of Indian struggle for freedom and to seek their support for that noble cause.

### **England: Society of Indian Home Rule**

The first centre of Indian émigrés was established in London in 1905. Shamji Krishna Varma, who was implicated with the murder of W.C. Rand, the Plague Commissioner of Poona, managed to escape to London and there he founded the Society of Indian Home Rule.



### **France: The Paris Group**

The most outstanding personalities who migrated to Paris were S. Krishna Varma, S.R. Rama, V. Chattopadhyaya, Madam R. Gama, Har Dayal and V.V.S. Iyer. They formed what was known as the Paris Group. They established contacts with French sociologists. They came into contact with revolutionaries from other European countries.

### **Germany: International Socialist Congress**

Indian revolutionaries were active in Germany. They worked in close collaboration with German sociologists. An International Socialist Congress was organized by them in 1907. Madam Gama and Sardar Singh Rana attended the Conference. It was at this Conference Madam Gama unfurled the National Flag of India.

### **The United States: The Ghadar Party**

Tarakanth Das who came from Canada to the United States in 1906 started a journal Free Hindustan (1908) which became very popular among the Indian emigres. His propaganda work prepared the ground for a bigger organization for Indian revolutionaries in exile. Har Dayal, who arrived in San Francisco in 1911, was the main source of inspiration to them. His newspaper Ghadar (uprising) was started in memory of the Great Revolt of 1857. Har Dayal formed the Ghadar Party at San Francisco in November 1913. Yugantar Ashram was its head-quarters. The Ghadar party decided to wage a war against the British in India.

### **Rise of Muslim Separatism**

The Muslims were the former rulers of India. They ruled the country for more than six centuries. The mighty Mughal Empire, however, collapsed after Aurangazib. When the British established their sway over India the Muslims offered resistance to the British Imperialism.

### **Stimulated minority**

The Muslim stagnation did not last long. Certain factors and forces brought about change in the position of the Muslims. For instance, Sir William Hunter's book 'Indian Musalmans' (1871) highlighted the pitiable lot of the Muslims and pleaded for their rehabilitations. It had a salutary effect on the British attitude towards the Muslim community.

### **Seed of Separatism**

Inspired by Syed Ahmed the Muslims established a separate organization called Muslim Educational College, later known as the Muslim Educational Conference. He founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association in 1893. Thus, the seed of Muslim separatism was sown deep even before the foundation of the Muslim League in 1906.



## **Muslim response to Bengal Partition**

When the Partition Plan of Bengal was published in 1904 the Bengal Muslims were not attracted by it. Prominent Muslims even joined hands with Bengal Hindu leaders in opposing Partition of Bengal. But the initial Hindu Muslim collaboration proved to be short lived. It crumbled because of the machinations of Lord Curzon, the architect of the partition of Bengal. On 1<sup>st</sup> October 1906, a deputation of influential Muslims from all over the country led by his Holiness Aga Khan to the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla.

## **Formation of Muslim League**

Greatly enthused and encouraged by Lord Minto's response, Nawab Salimullah, one of the members of the Simla Delegation, issued a circular on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1906. It was attended by Muslim leaders and representatives from all over India. On 30<sup>th</sup> December 1906, the All-India Muslim League was formed.

## **Nationalist Muslims**

The Muslim League, however, singularly failed to enlist the support of the entire Muslim community to its endeavour. For instance, Jinnah, an ardent Muslim nationalist, moved a resolution in the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1910, condemning the system of communal representation. Jinnah and other nationalist Muslims were for mutual understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims. They decried the demand for separate electorates and made fervent appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity.

1. What was the purpose behind the Partition of Bengal.
2. Trace the growth of Muslim Communalism.
3. Describe the circumstances leading to the partition of Bengal.
4. Why did Lord Curzon divided Bengal in 1905. Point out the agitation following partition of Bengal.

## **HOME RULE MOVEMENT**

Annie Besant, the Irish theosophist, commenced her political carrier in England as a proponent of Free Thought, Radicalism, Fabianism and Theosophy. In England, she tried to form an Indian party in the Parliament without success. However, her persistent propaganda in favour of granting self-government to India resulted in the formation of a Home Rule League in London. On her return to India in 1914, Annie Besant purchased the paper of Madras Standard, renamed it New India and through it ventilated her views on Home Rule.



Her long association with the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Madras, enabled her to make it head quarters for her political activities in India. She held talks with Gokhale and Tilak with a view to bring about reconciliation and rapprochement between the Moderates and Extremists. Besant floated the idea of a Home Rule League in 1915.

Tilak, therefore, started his Indian Home Rule League at the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Belgaum on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1916, with head quarters at Poona. 'Securing Swaraj for India' was the objective of Tilak's League.

### **Home rule movement in Poona 1916**

After his release from Jail, Tilak's political goal was 'Home Rule'. It was an impact of Mrs. Annie Beasant. He proceeded to form the Home Rule League. In December 1915, he conferred with his fellow nationalists. As a result of their deliberations the India Home Rule League was set up on 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1916. Its headquarters was Poona.

### **Home Rule Movement in Madras 1916**

A similar organization was set up by Annie Beasant. She was a lover of India and Indian freedom. After her return from Ireland in 1913, she regarded herself as the Indian To, torn (propaganda). She wanted to awaken India. Home Rule was her political goal. She expressed her ideas and ideas through Commonweal (weekly) and New India (Daily). To realize her political goal she joined the Congress in 1914. She urged the Congress to consider the formation of Home Rule League in 1915. But it was rejected. She, however, herself founded the Home Rule League on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1916. Its headquarters was Madras. Her Home Rule League got momentum.

### **Aims objects and methods of the Home Rule Movement**

The Home Rule League were founded for the following aims and objectives

1. British rule in India was insufficient.
2. Home Rule within the British empire should be attained.
3. Indians must be educated and organized to attain the same.
4. Home Rule was India's right and she must have it.

### **LUCKNOW PACT 1916**

The Congress session which met at Lucknow in December 1916 was yet another important milestone in the history of the Indian freedom struggle. It was presided over by Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar. The Lucknow Congress was unique in three respects, viz., 1) the reunion of the two wings of the Congress, 2) the formation of the scheme of self-government; and 3) the fraternization of the Hindus and Muslims.



The main features of the Congress-League Scheme were as follows:

1. India should be raised to the status of a self-governing state of the Empire.
2. the minorities should be given adequate separate representation in the elected bodies.
3. no bill was to be introduced by a non-official member if it affected the interests of any other community.
4. the provinces should be given large measure of autonomy in their own sphere.
5. one third of the elected elements was to be from Muslim Community, elected by Muslim electorate.
6. Indians should be declared eligible for all the military and naval services.

### **First World War**

The First World War broke out in August-September 1914. Indian supported the British Government in the hour of trial. The War generated enormous enthusiasm in the country. The recruiting campaign and the war propaganda instilled in the people of India a sense of adventure. The war created a feeling of self-confidence and self-respect among them. It sharpened the political consciousness of the Indian leaders. It sharpened the political consciousness of the Indian leaders.

The Dyarchy in the provinces introduced by the Act of 1919 was a failure. It did not function properly because of the following reasons. Sir Malcolm Hailey says, “Government of India became responsive if not responsible to popular viewpoint”.

Firstly there was no co-operation in the executive body. The Executive Councilors and the responsible ministers had to fight with each other. For finance, the ministers of the Transferred subjects had to depend upon the Government. The projects were planned but they were not executed owing to shortage of allotted funds.

Secondly, the election was limited and the political party did not play an important role. The Congress stood away from it due to Non-Co-Operation movement. Sometimes, the ministers belonged to different parties. They lacked team-spirit and cohesion.

Thirdly, the executive councilors who had the Reserved Subject dominated the provincial administration. The ministers were unable to do independently.

Finally, the elected ministers served two masters. They were answerable to the Governor of the province and the provincial legislative assembly.

1. Write a note on Lucknow pact.
2. Why was Dyarchy in the province met with failure?



## **ROWLATT SATYAGRAHA, 1919**

Gandhi emerged as the national leader as a result of the Rowlatt Satyagraha. He resorted to an all-India agitation in order to oppose the Rowlatt Bills. The Bills were drawn up on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. The Government of India found it necessary to replace the Defence of India Act. A Committee headed by Sydney Rowlatt, an English judge was, therefore, appointed to study the problem of subversive activities and submit its report. The Committee studied the problem and submitted its report on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1918. On the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee two bills, known as the Rowlatt Bills, were drawn up. The bills empowered the Government 1) to carry out preventive arrests without warrant; 2) to detain 'dangerous persons' indefinitely without holding a trial; 3) to confine individuals suspected of subversive activities. The 'Black Bills' provoked universal condemnation in India.

## **INERNMENT OF DR. KITCHLEW AND DR. SATYAPAL, 1919**

The suspension of the Rowlatt Satyagraha by Gnadhi did not stop Government repression. At Amritsar Dr. Saifudin Kitchlew, a Cambridge educated Muslim lawyer and Dr. Satyapal, middle class Hindu medical doctor, were arrested inside the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow. There was hartal at Amristar on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1919. A procession was organized.

## **Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919**

Sunday, 13<sup>th</sup> April 1919, was Baisaki Day, sacred to the Sikhs. Pilgrims thronged Amritsar to take sacred bath in the 'pool of immortality' and to worship in the Golden Temple. Added to this was the announcement of a public meeting at Jallianwala Bagh on the same day at 4-30 pm to condole the bereaved families and to denounce the police atrocities. About 20,000 had assembled at the rectangular, high walled enclosure in the Jallianwalah Bagh in defiance of Dyer's proclamation. Dyer led his column to the Bagh. Two armed cars remained in the street outside as the entrance was too narrow. Dyer ordered his soldiers to open fire on the startled crowd. For ten minutes the shower of bullets continued. The slaughter at Jallianwalla Bagh left 337 men, 41 boys and a seven weeks old baby dead and 1,500 wounded according to official sources.

1. Write a note on Rowlatt Act?
2. Write a note on Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.



## **KHILAFAT AGITATION**

The Indian Muslims regarded the violation of the promise made by the British Prime Minister Lloyd George on 5 January 1918 as a great betrayal of faith on the part of Great Britain. They, therefore, started the Khilafat agitation. The objective of the agitation was to pressurize the British Government: 1) to protect the boundary of the Turkish Empire as it had been in 1914; and 2) to preserve the spiritual and temporal authority of the Turkish Sultan as the Caliph of Islam.

### **Organization**

Two new bodies, viz., All India Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-al-ulama-e-Hind, were founded in 1919 to organize the Khilafat agitation. The Committee was formed in Bombay on 20 March 1919. Muhammad Chottani, a wealthy local merchant, was its President.

### **Khilafat Conference**

The first All-India Khilafat Conference was held in Lucknow on 21 September 1919. It was attended by about 400 delegates from all over India. the Ali Brothers Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were the leaders of the agitation. Gandhi wholeheartedly supported the Khilafat movement because he saw in it a Godsent opportunity to promote the Hindu-Muslim unity.

They passed the following resolution:

1. The Turkey Sultan was accepted as the Spiritual Leader of the Muslims.
2. The Khilafat decisions must be accepted by the Muslims.
3. The Turkey Sultan must be granted sovereignty. All restrictions must be removed.
4. The holy land must be handed over to the Muslims.
5. The Muslims should not served in the British army.
6. The Congress programme of Non-cooperation should be supported by the Muslims.

After the conference at Karachi there was a strong opposition for grants from the Government for the Aligarh Muslim University. Many student discontinued from the Aligarh University. A new national college was founded at Delhi. It was called Jamia-Millah Islamiah. Later it became a University. Many Volunteers of the Khilafat Movement were arrested and put behind the bars. Black flags were shown to the princes of Wales. The Khilafat Volunteers accepted the leadership of Gandhi the Khilafat Movement went side by side with non-Cooperation.



### **The Moplah Rebellion**

The Khilafat Movement in some strange events led to violent methods. One such event was the Moplah Rebellion. A section of Muslims in Kerala were known as Moplahs. They were inspired by the religious sentiments and rose in arms. The British officials were killed and the Hindu landlords were attacked. Many innocent Hindus were killed and many forced to convert to Islam. As the Moplahs were successful, they founded Khilafat governments and ruled independently. The British took stern measure by sending the Gulkh and Burma regiments and the Moplah Rebellion was suppressed.

### **End of the Khilafat Movement**

The Chauri Chaura incident took place in 1922. It was a violent incident in the Non-cooperation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. Thereupon, Gandhi suspended the Non-co-operation Movement. The Khilafat Movement was hit hard. The Non-co-operationists stopped their support to the Khilafat Movement. Hence Gandhi was criticized.

Meanwhile, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the Ataturk captured power in Turkey. He founded a civil government in Turkey. The Khilafa of Caliph was deposed from power. The Khilafa lost both his religious and political powers. Thus the Khilafat Movement had a natural death.



## UNIT – IV : NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

*Non Cooperation Movement - Swaraj Party - Simon Commission - Boycott of the Commission - Recommendations of the Commission - The Nehru Report - Jinnah's Fourteen Points - Lord Irwin's Proclamation - Civil Disobedient Movement - Repression by Government - Round Table Conferences - Resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement - Communal Award - Poona Pact - White Paper Reforms 1933 - Elections in 1937.*

### NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

By conspiracy of circumstances Gandhi the cooperator with the British had become a non-cooperator. There were several reasons for this swing in his stand.

1. The British Government, instead of rewarding Indians with political concessions for their help to it during the First World War, punished them with the Rowlatt Act.
2. The Jallian Wala Bagh massacre and the Martial Law measures caused deep distrust and disillusionment in the mind of Gandhi.
3. The Report of the Hunter Committee which enquired into the Amritsar Carnage added fuel to fire.

#### **Non-Cooperation Resolution, Sep 1920**

The Scheme of Non-Cooperation was formally inaugurated on 1 August 1920. Since the issue was big enough a special Congress session was held on the 4-9 September in Calcutta. Lala Lajpat Rai presided over the session. It was attended by a large number of Muslim delegates.

#### **Non-Cooperation Movement**

The Congress resolution on Non-Cooperation, passed by the Calcutta Special Congress and ratified at the Nagpur Congress session, was the virtual endorsement of Gandhi's Manifesto of 10 March 1920. It consisted of two parts, one negative and the other positive. The negative part comprised of boycott of councils, courts, colleges, police and armed forces and no-tax campaign. The positive part consisted of the adoption of Swadeshi, encouragement of hand spinning and weaving, removal of untouchability and the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

#### **Boycott of Councils**

According to Gandhi, Legislative Councils as existed in India were impure and unclean and the very touch of them was pollution. Hence the Non-Co-operators were asked to Boycott the polluted councils. The boycott of the Councils by Congress legislators was complete.



### **Boycott of Courts**

At Madras, lawyers gave up practice and dedicated themselves to the cause of the country's freedom. Distinguished lawyers like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Lajpat Raj, C. Rajagopalachari and T. Prakasam gave up their lucrative legal practice.

### **Boycott of Schools and Colleges**

In response to Gandhi's call a conference of students of the MAO College of Aligarh decided to join the Non-Cooperation Movement and they left their institution as a body. Many Government schools were completely deserted. The Benaras Hindu University experienced a strike of serious nature. National Educational institutions were established in a number of places. A large number of national schools of all grades were started in all parts of the country.

### **Boycott of Foreign Cloth**

A call was given and a date was set for the boycott and burning of foreign cloth. Gandhi himself participated in one such bonfire held in Bombay in July 1921.

### **Suspension of the Movement**

#### **Chauri-Chaura Violence**

The Chauri-Chaura incident came in the wake of number of acts of violence all over the country. There was in 1921 as many as sixty violent outbursts in different parts of India. On 5<sup>th</sup> February 1922 an angry mob attacked the police station at Chauri-Chaura in Gorakpur district in the United Provinces and set it on fire. The immediate provocation for this act of violence was the wanton abuse of the peaceful demonstrations by the police. In retaliation the infuriated mob pushed 21 constables and one Sub Inspector into a police station and set it ablaze. All the twenty two policemen perished in the flames.

### **Suspension**

Gandhi was deeply disturbed at the turn of violent events.

### **Collapse**

Gandhi suspended the movement on the ground that it was degenerating into mob rule.

1. Describe the course of Non-Cooperation Movements.
2. Why was Non Co-operation Movement suspended by Gandhiji?



## **THE SWARAJ PARTY - 1923-27**

The non-cooperation was a good political programme, but it failed. The failure of the non-cooperation scheme left behind a bitter taste in every mouth. Secondly, the imprisonment of Gandhi left a gap in the leadership of the Indian National Congress. There was no prominent and unanimous leader to lead the Congress. Thirdly the nation was in need of concrete programme and political guidance. Finally, there was split in Congress. The two groups were the no-chargers and pro-charges. The no-chargers wanted to follow strictly the guidelines of Gandhi. On the otherhand, the pro-charges highlighted the council-entry programme. Thus was born the Swaraj Party.

C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru were the chief architects of this party. Their aim was to fight within the council. But they failed in their attempt to introduce and get approved their programme in the Gaya Congress Session of 1922. Thereupon, C.R. Das resigned from Congress and founded the Swaraj party in 1923 at Allahabad. The Congress refused to accept his resignation and tried to bring him back. It also accepted the council entry programme in 1923. Gandhiji recognized the Swaraj in 1924 when he was released from jail on account of his bad health.

General elections were held in 1923. The Swarajist party contested the election. The results proved very encouraging and favourable for the Swarajist candidates. They were returned in large numbers. They secured clear majority in Central Assembly and the Legislative Councils of Bengal and Central Province. In several other provinces, they formed strong opposition party.

### **Decline of the Swaraj Party**

The Swaraj party, declined after 1927. It was due to a number of reasons.

1. C.R. Das passed away in 1925. He was a pillar of strength to the party. His death was a dead blow to the Swarajists.
  2. The Swarajists party's non-cooperation in the councils and obstructionist tactics ended in fiasco.
  3. In course of time the Swarajists began to advocate responsible cooperation.
  4. Finally, the unfavourable results of the elections held in 1926 gave another blow to the Swarajists. Since then the Party's attitude changed from one of consistent obstruction to that of responsible cooperation.
1. Why was the Swaraj Party founded?
  2. Describe the causes for the decline of Swaraj Party.



## NEHRU REPORT

The Nehru Report was the response to the challenge thrown by Lord Birkenhead to Indian leadership. The All-Parties Conference which met at Bombay on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1928 constituted a sub-committee, under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru, to draft constitution. Motilal Nehru prepared the Report almost single handed. The scheme was popularly known as Nehru Report after Motilal Nehru. The Nehru Committee presented its Report on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1928.

### Salient Features of Nehru Report

The following were the salient features of the Nehru Report.

1. Dominion Status was accepted as the immediate goal and Purna Swaraj as the ultimate aim;
2. A federal set up of Government was envisaged.
3. The idea of separate communal electorate was rejected and instead the system of joint electorate with reservation of seats was favoured.
4. A separate province of Sind was to be created and North West Frontier Province was to be treated equally with other provinces.
5. Nineteen Fundamental Rights were to be included in the Constitution.
6. The Central Legislature was to be bicameral.
7. The Supreme Court of India would be the final arbiter of justice and that no appeal should be preferred to the Privy Council.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a prominent member of the Muslim League did not agree with Nehru Report. His main aim was to safeguard the Muslim electorates. So he put forward his Fourteen Points. It was minimum programme of the Muslims for any settlement. The Fourteen Points of Jinnah was accepted in the Muslim League. It was and follows.

### Jinnah's 14 Points, 1928

1. Free India should have a Federal Constitution.
2. Provincial Autonomy should be uniform to all Provinces.
3. One third of the total seats in the Central Legislative Assembly.
4. Separate electorate should be the basis for representation.
5. Territorial redistribution should be done.
6. Full liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.
7. Any Bill or resolution should be adopted.



8. Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency.
9. Adequate share for Muslims should be provided in the constitution.
10. Adequate safeguards and state help should be given.
11. Atleast one third of total number of Ministers.
12. Constitutional change should be made.

### **Lord Irwin's Proclamation, 1929**

The boycott of the Simon Commission, the Nehru Report, Jinnah's 14 points and Calcutta Congress ultimatum helped to maintain the tempo of Indian freedom struggle. It was at that stage the Conservative Government was replaced by the Labour Government in England (May 1929).

Ramsay Macdonald, the new Labour Prime Minister, hinted at the creation of another Dominion, obviously referring to India. Wedgewood Ben, the new Secretary of State for India, called Lord Irwin, the Indian Viceroy, to discuss Indian affairs. On his return to India Lord Irwin issued a proclamation on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1929 stating clearly that the goal of British policy was to provide for progressive realization of Responsible Government in India and that the national issue of India's constitutional progress was the attainment of Dominion status. The issue was implied in the Declaration of 1917. It also proposed to hold a Round Table Conference in London to discuss India's constitutional problem.

1. Write a short note on Nehru Report?
2. Why did Jinnah announce his 14 points?
3. Write a short note on Lord Irwin's Proclamation.

## **CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT**

### **Salt Satyagraha**

The Congress Working Committee that met at Sabarmati from 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> February 1930 vested Gandhi with full powers to start the Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhi found that the time was ripe and the iron was hot. He announced his decision to open his campaign by opposing the Salt Act. Gandhi decided to disobey the Salt Act.

### **Dandi March**

But Gandhi stuck to his gun. As already announced, on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1930 Gandhi and his 78 chosen disciples commenced their historic Dandi March, with a solemn vow to break the Salt Law. Dandi was 385 K.M. away from Sabarmati. Gandhi walked from village to village.



All along the route he was greeted and garlanded. While he was walking from place to place he was giving his message and explaining his mission. Dandi March lasted for 24 days. Gandhi reached Dandi on the morning of 5 April 1930. Soon after prayers Gandhi and Satyagrahis broke the Salt law by picking up salt lying on the sea-shore.

In Tamilnadu, C. Rajagopalachary and hundred volunteers staged their famous march from Trichinopoly to Vedaraniyam on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1930. The march began to the accompaniment of hymns and the blessings of the priest. The marchers reached Vedaraniyam on 28<sup>th</sup> April and a camp was established there. Two days later C. Rajagopalachari was arrested for violating the salt laws. As the salt satyagrahis were moving towards Vedaraniyam, T. Prakasam and K. Nageswara Rao broke the salt laws at Madras by making salt at the Marina Beach. They were fined and their cars were impounded in lieu of a fine.

### **COMMUNAL AWARD, 1932**

As the Civil Disobedience Movement was in progress the British Prime Minister Ramsay Mac Donald announced his Communal Award on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1932. 1) The Muslims Europeans and Sikhs would have separate communal electorates; 2) all qualified voters who were not voters in the reserved constituencies were entitled to vote in a general constituency; 3) Seven seats were to be reserved for the Marathas in certain plural member constituencies in Bombay; 4) separate electorates were to be given to the Depressed Classes; 5) the Anglo-Indians were to be elected on communal lines; and 6) special seats allotted to Commerce and Industry.

### **POONA PACT, 1932**

The announcement of the Communal Award caused consternation throughout the country. Gandhi declared from the Yervada jail that he would resist the Award with his life. On 18<sup>th</sup> August 1932, Gandhi wrote to Ramsay Mac Donald about his decision to fast unto death. Gandhi commenced his fast on 20<sup>th</sup> September. His fast had a telling effect on the country. On the initiative of Malavia a conference of the Hindu leaders was convened in Poona. After prolonged parleys between Malavia, Sapru, Rajendra Prasad, Amritlal Thakkar, C. Rajagopalachari, Birla, Sardar Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Hridayanath Kunzru, Ambedkar, M.C. Raja and others an agreement known as the Poona Pact was arrived at. The Pact approved by Gandhi. According to the Poona Pact 1) there were to be no separate electorates for the Depressed Classes; 2) They were to contest in the general electorates along with other



Hindus; 3) They were to have a specific number of reserved seats in the general electorate; 4) they were to elect by themselves four candidates.

### **THE WHITE PAPER**

The deliberations of the Third Round Table Conference centered round the Reports of various sub-committees appointed during the previous Round Table Conference. These Reports dealt with safe-guards, the terms under which the Indian States were to join the Federation and the distribution of residuary powers. On the basis of this, the British Government published in March 1933 a White Paper indicating the lines on which the new Act of 1935 was to be enacted. Then the Government submitted the proposals.



## **UNIT - V : INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA, 1940-1941**

*World War II and Constitutional Deadlock - Offer of the 8<sup>th</sup> August 1940 - Individual Satyagraha - Subash Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army - Proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps - The Great Upheaval of August 1942 - C.R. Formula - Wavell Plan - Simla Conference - Declaration of Attlee and Wavell - Cabinet Mission Plan - Direct Action by the Muslim League - Establishment of Interim Government - Partition of India - Mountbatten Plan of 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1947 - Princely States and their Role in the Freedom Struggle - Factors Responsible for the Independence of India - Some Leaders of the Freedom Struggle.*

### **INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA, 1940-1941**

The August Offer failed to fulfill the expectations of the people. Even leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Rajagopalachari who were for extending conditional cooperation to the British war effort turned against them. Gandhi was invited by the Congress to lead the movement against the British Government. In view of the critical war situation Gandhi adopted Individual Satyagraha. This was Gandhi's 'direct action' plan to resist the British war efforts. He was arrested on 21<sup>st</sup> October and sentenced to three months imprisonment. Individual Satyagraha was carried on to the close of 1941.

### **SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY**

Bose started his career as an ICS officers with a brilliant record in 1920 but left the Government service to join the Non-Cooperation Movement next year. At the age of 24 Bose joined the freedom struggle under the leadership of C.R. Das. 1921 he organized demonstrations in Calcutta to protest against the visit of the Prince of Wales. He was arrested. After release Bose engaged himself in flood relief work in North Bengal. He edited Forward the daily of the Swarajist Party. 1924 Bose was again arrested and deported to Mandalay jail in Burma. In May 1939 Bose founded the Forward Bloc. During his stay in Germany, Bose visited Italy in June 1942 to meet Benito Mussolini.

Bose organized Azad Hind Fauz or the Indian Legion in Germany. It was a national army to fight the war for India's freedom. Germans welcomed his effort as a far-sighted policy. The Legion was to be created from amongst the Indian prisoners of war in Germany. Started with a group of twelve prisoners of war the India Legion reached the strength of four battalions by December 1942. On 28<sup>th</sup> January 1943 the first official manoeuvre was held with three battalions in honour of Bose.

### **Indian National Army (INA)**

The fall of Singapore to Japan in 1942 provided an opportunity for Bose to turn his attention to South East Asia. At the beginning of the war, the Japanese evinced interest in the

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cause of Indian independence. In 1941, Japan sent Major Fuziwara to South East Asia to contact expatriate Indians who were organizing Indian Independence Leagues. On 1 September the first division of the Indian National Army was formed. Bose reached Tokyo on 13 January 1943. The Japanese Government was supporting Bose. In fact, Japan's Prime Minister General Toyo declared that his country had no territorial ambitions on India. The formation of the Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauj was formally announced on 5 July. The Army was formed out of the Indian prisoners of war. Bose took charge of the command of the Indian National Army. Bose's Indian National Army, estimated between 20,000 and 50,000 was inspired by his clarion call 'Dilli Chalo'. On the fall of Singapore, many Indian officers and thousands of soldiers, who had sworn allegiance to the British King Emperor, had switched sides to join the Japanese. They were all inspired by Bose's daring leadership.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1943, the Provincial Government headed by Bose decided to declare war on Britain. He transferred his Head Quarters to Rangoon. Bose began his historic march from Rangoon to invade India on 4<sup>th</sup> February 1944. The Indian National Army broke British defence on the Indo-Burmese border. A flag was hoisted. Azad Hind Fauz National Anthem was sung. On 7<sup>th</sup> May 1944 the Indian National Army crossed the Indo-Burma border in India from the South. The hopes and expectations of Bose were frustrated when Japan surrendered on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1945. But his ill-fated plane crashed in Taipei on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1945 resulting in his premature death.

## **QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT, 1942**

The Cripps 'Offer of Dominion States of India after the war came too late to conciliate Indians. It was rejected by almost all parties. The Congress under the leadership of Gandhi launched the last great mass movement, known as the Quit India Movement.

### **Failure of the Cripps Mission**

The Quit India Movement was born out of the deep frustration caused by the failure of the Cripps Mission. Churchill was interested more in satisfying America than in solving Indian Problem.

### **Threat of Japanese Invasion**

The ports of Calcutta, Madras and Vishakhapatnam became the target of Japanese bombing. Panic prevailed among the people and authorities of Madras. Britain appeared to be incapable of defending India. The Indian leaders lost hope in the credibility of the British Government. They were forced to frantically search a way out of the impending disaster.

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### **Pro-Japanese Sentiment**

Netaji Subash Chandra Bose was in Berlin when the Japanese were knocking at the doors of India. He had been closely watching the march of events in India. Through his inflammatory speeches from Berlin he was inciting the Indian public against Britain.

### **Quit India Resolution**

On 14<sup>th</sup> July 1942 the Congress Working Committee met at Wardha to consider the new strategy of Gandhi. The AICC at its meeting in Bombay on 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> August 1942 approved the CWC resolution with some modifications. The resolution called for “the immediate ending of British rule in India. Addressing the audience at the end of the session Gandhi gave the clarion call to the nation: “Here is a mantra, a short one that I give you.. The mantra is ‘Do or Die’.

### **Mass Struggle**

Following the arrest of the national leaders, there were meetings, processions and demonstrations throughout the country. In the coastal areas salt laws were violated by manufacture of salt. In most areas liquor shops were picketed. Courts were boycotted. Students in large numbers participated in the movement. Schools, Colleges and Universities were closed. The involvement of women in the movement was conspicuous.

### **Mass Violence**

1. Throughout India at several places communication system was disrupted.
2. Railway lines were uprooted.
3. Post and telegraph connections were cut off.
4. Police stations were attacked. In certain areas parallel governments were formed.
5. Railway stations were burnt.
6. Trains were derailed.

### **Leaderless**

There was no leader even to launch the movement, Gandhi was arrested. Leaderless people made many mistakes. The movement turned violent and failed.

### **No plan or Programme**

The leaders singularly failed to give the people a well-conceived plan.

## **C.R. FORMULA**

C.R. was toying with the idea of finding out a basis and some common ground from an agreement between the Congress and the League. He discussed the idea with Gandhi when he met him in the Aga Khan’s Palace daily for four days from the 17<sup>th</sup> May, day of Gandhi fast,



and got his approval. This was the “basis for terms of settlement between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League” better known as the C.R. Formula.

The terms of the prophetic formula were:

1. the Muslim League should endorse the Indian demand for independence.
2. it will cooperate with the Congress in the formation of a Provision of Government while the war lasts;
3. at the end of the war a commission will demarcate contiguous Muslim majority districts in the North-West and East of India.
4. in the demarcated area a plebiscite of all the inhabitants shall decide the issue of separation from Hindustan.
5. If the majority decided in favour of forming a separate sovereign state such decision shall be honoured; and
6. In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered.

C.R. called on Jinnah in Delhi and told him that Gandhi was willing to ask the Congress to accept Pakistan if the League and Congress fight together for a national government. He then divulged his formula to Jinnah. Jinnah curtly rejected it. He was, however, happy that Gandhi had accepted the principle of Pakistan.

### **WAVELL PLAN, 1945**

After the breakdown of the Desai-Liaquat talks, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, went to England to discuss the future of India with the British Cabinet. On his return to India Wavell made a broadcast on the political proposals on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1945. The Wavell plan proposed:

1. to invite Indian leaders to meet the Viceroy with a view to form a new Executive Council more representative of organized political opinion;
2. the proposal Council would represent the main communities;
3. it would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims;
4. it would work under the existing constitution;
5. it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member;
6. the portion of External Affairs would be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council; and
7. a British High Commissioner would be appointed in India.



### **SIMLA CONFERENCE, 25 JUNE 1945**

Lord Wavell convened a conference of representative political leaders at Simla on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1945. In all 21 leading men of public importance including Gandhi were invited. The objective of the meet was to discuss the Wavell Plan. He also pointed out that parity between the Congress and the League could never be equated with parity between Hindus and Muslims. Jinnah, on his part, made the following demands;

1. that the Congress could nominate only Hindu members;
2. that all the Muslim members must be the nominees of the Muslim League; and
3. a prior assurance that all the five Muslims to be nominated by the League will be accepted en bloc should be given.

The Simla Conference failed to produce results. The British Government lost its initiative.

1. Examine the main points of C.R. Formula.

### **THE CABINET MISSION, 1946**

On 15 March 1946, Prime Minister Attlee made the most momentous announcement that a Cabinet Delegation would be sent to India. The Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrance, the Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, now the President of the Board of Trade and A.V. Alexander. Its object was to speed up the transfer of responsibility to Indian hands to govern themselves.

The Cabinet Mission Plan offered the following proposals:

1. There should be a Union of India comprising both British India and the Princely States. It would deal with the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications;
2. The Union should have an Executive and Legislature. They would be constituted from the representatives of British India and Princely States;
3. Major communal issue must be decided by the representatives of the two major communities present and voting as well as majority of all the members presenting and voting;
4. All subjects other than the Union Subjects and residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.
5. The Princely States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union;



6. Provinces would be free to form Groups with Executives and Legislatures.
7. Until the new constitution was framed, the administration should be run by an Interim Government; and
8. A treaty had to be negotiated between the Constituent Assembly and Great Britain to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power.

### **The Plan**

To put it briefly, the ‘three wise men’ –Lord Pethick-Lawrance, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander drew up a plan for 1) British withdrawal from India; 2) formation of an Interim Government; 3) elections for a Constituent Assembly to draw up the constitution of the country; 4) an all-India Union Government and a Legislature to deal only with foreign affairs, defence and communications; 5) autonomous provinces with all residual powers; and 6) the legislators of the proposed Constituent Assembly representing one of the 3 following groups.

### **DIRECT ACTION DAY, 1946**

The Muslim League gave a call to the Muslims to observe 16<sup>th</sup> August 1946 as Direct Action Day. Jinnah called it ‘a most historic decision’ and said good-bye to constitutional methods. 16<sup>th</sup> August 1946 witnessed unprecedented riots, murder and mayhem. A mammoth march was organized by the League in Calcutta. Jihad was declared. No direct action was taken against the British Government. On the contrary the Muslim wrath was directed against the Hindus. The hapless and helpless Hindu men, women and children were killed, their properties looted and their houses burnt. There was murder, loot, arson and rape. There was indiscriminate retaliation. The Calcutta carnage claimed 10,000 lives, 15,000 were injured and 1,00,000 rendered homeless. Thousands of refugee Hindus sought shelter in Bihar, a predominantly Hindu Province. Soon Bihar was in flames. The Hindus wrought vengeance on the Muslim of Bihar. Trouble spread to Western U.P. There was violent rioting in Meerut city. Rumbblings of riot, arson and violence were heard in Bombay and Ahmedabad also. Thus, the observance of the Direct Action Day was marked by mass violence and communal carnage. 16<sup>th</sup> August 1946 was the black day in the history of Indian’s freedom struggle. Jinnah exploited the Bihar disturbances to further his idea of the partition of India.



## **FORMATION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT, 1946**

The Cabinet Mission left for England on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1946. The Congress agreed to participate in the Constituent Assembly. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly held in July the Congress secured a landslide victory. It captured 199 out of 210 general seats. When the Congress declined to join the Interim Coalition Government, Jinnah tried hard to form the Government but failed. On 12<sup>th</sup> August 1946, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, invited Nehru to form the Interim Government. Nehru favourably responded to the Viceroy's invitation. The Muslim League refused to join the Coalition Government.

### **ATLEE'S ANNOUNCEMENT**

Attlee made a momentous statement in the House of Commons on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1947. Attlee announced that,

1. the British Government would transfer power to India by the date not later than June 1948;
2. the British Government should decide to whom the powers of the Central Government in India were to be handed over on the due date;
3. it should be considered whether power should be transferred to some form of Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in some other reasonable way in the best interests of the Indian people; and
4. Lord Mountbatten was to succeed Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India. He was entrusted with the responsibility of transferring power into the hands of the Indians.

Attlee's announcement was widely welcomed in India.

### **MOUNTBATTEN PLAN**

On the basis of his assessment of the views of various parties and leaders and in view of the deteriorating law and order situation in the country. For him "Pakistan was inevitable". He, therefore, formulated a plan on the basis of Attlee's announcement of 20 February 1947. His plan included;

1. The responsibility for partition if found necessary was to rest upon Indians themselves;
2. The provinces shall have the right to determine their own future;
3. Bengal and the Punjab were to be rationally partitioned for voting purposes;
4. The predominantly Muslim Sylhet District in Assam was to be given the option of joining the Muslim province created by a partitioned Bengal;



5. General elections were to be held in the North West Frontier Province. This draft plan is known as the Dickie Bird Plan.

The Dickie Bird Plan was nothing but an adaptation of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

### **PARTITION OF INDIA**

Gandhi was persuaded by Mountbatten to accept the vivisection of India as fait accompli. On 9 June 1947 Muslim League announced its acceptance. the Congress Working Committee met on 12 June and accepted the proposals embodied in the 3 June Plan. The All-India Congress Committee met in Delhi on 14-15 June and endorsed the decision of the Congress Working Committee. The Sikhs expressed their satisfaction about the Partition Plan. The Depressed Classes League also fell in line. The Hindu Mahasabha condemned the partition proposals and pleaded for United India. Since the major parties had agreed to abide by Mountbatten Plan, Partition of India became an accomplished fact.

#### **Freedom at Midnight**

Having secured the green signal from the major parties in India the authorities in London proceeded post-haste with the partition plan. The Indian Independence Bill was passed on 18 July 1947. The Act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of two Dominions of India and Pakistan from 15 August 1947. At midnight on 14-15<sup>th</sup> August, the British rule in India came to an end.

### **Princely States and their role in the Freedom Struggle**

By the time the British East India company gained ascendancy in India there were a number of independent native states scattered throughout India. By dint of superior military powers, the company ultimately annexed the whole country by 1865, though some native rulers were still allowed to exist. Sir. William Warner, in his celebrated book entitled “The Native States of India” has thrown ample light on the following three periods of British policy towards Indian States.

The period of the Ring Fence Policy (1757-1813)

The period of the policy of Subordinate Isolation (1813-1858)

The period of the policy of Subordinate Union (1858-1919)

#### **The Chamber of Princes 1921**

‘The National Movement was growing from strength to strength in British India. Therefore Lord Curzon, Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge followed a conciliatory policy



towards the native states. The establishment of the chamber of Princes in 1921 was a landmark in the history of the relationship between the native states and the crown. It indicates the co-operation between the two.

In 1927 a Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Sir. Harcourt Butler to enquire into the relationship between the native states and the British power. The Committee assured the native rulers that the British authority over the states would not be transferred to a responsible government in British India without their consent. A special committee would be appointed to consider disputes between the government of India and the Indian states.

### **Factors Responsible for Independence of India**

There were many factors which forced the British Government to grant independence to India. Usually a country gets freedom not by begging but by force. Freedom is never got on a silver platter, it is wrested from the unwilling hands. It is really a unique event in the history of the world that an imperialist country like England agreed to surrender power without much bloodshed. India got her freedom through non-violent methods. The following were the potent factors which compelled the British Government to withdraw from the Indian soil.

1. The strength of the national movements led by Gandhi.
2. The spirit of nationalism shown by Indian people.
3. The extremist and revolutionary movements against the British domination.
4. Weakening of England at the end of Second World War.
5. The growing consciousness in the whole of Asia that the people to the East were being exploited by the colonial nations of the West.
6. The British Government lost faith in the loyalty of the armed forces in India, Because political consciousness was visible in the armed forces which were ready to join with the nationalists.
7. The Indian National Army officers who were tried and sentenced by the British Government toured all over the country and spread anti-British feelings.
8. The coming of Labour Party to power which had always been inclined to give freedom to India.
9. Growing realization in England that holding India in subjection was not at all profitable for War-torn England.



10. The acceptance of Jinnah's demand of Pakistan by the congress. Had the Congress not accepted the League and British Government might have postponed the issue of over freedom for an indefinite period.
11. The pressure of world opinion. England feared that she may not be able to save her force if she liquidated the German and Japanese possession and not her own.
12. The pressure of the Government of U.S.A. the U.S.S.R and China who championed the cause of India.

From the foregoing account it is clear that the Congress non-violent movements was alone not responsible for the withdrawal of the British from India but there were many other factors which compelled British to grant freedom.

### **GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE (1866-1915)**

Gopal Krishana Gokhale, was born at Kolhapur in 1866 he was a leader of the Moderate. He shared his ideas with Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. He joined the Deccan Educational Society and latter became the Principal of the Ferguson College.

In 1905 Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society. Gokhale occupied a unique place in the history of national struggle. Gokhale had no belief in revolutionary methods. Gokhale was sympathetic with the claims of the Muslims, which he considered as just "real and genuine".

Tilk was born in a Brahmin family in Maharashtra, the land of Sivaji he obtained his Law degree in 1879. He was a born journalist. He founded and owned a Marathi paper "The Kesari". The two were used as powerful weapons against the British Rule. He was associated with the establishment of the Deccan Educational Society. He organized the system of the Ganapati Festival in order to infuse among the youngmen a religious and patriotic fervor. Tilak's life was a unique example of suffering and sacrifice in the cause of the motherland. He was already revered by the people as the 'Lokamanya'

### **LALA LAJPAT RAI (1865-1928)**

Lala Lajpat Rai was born in 1865 in Jagraon in the district of Ludhiana (The Punjab). His father Radha Kishan was a teacher.

Lala Lajpat Rai was a promising youngman from the very beginning. He qualified himself for the bar and set up his practice at Hissar and later at Lahore. IN 1907 he took a leading part in the agitation against the increase in water-rates by the Punjab Government. He was therefore, deported to Mandalay. 1920 Lajpat Rai was elected as the President of the

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Special Session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta. In the session he had opposed Mahatma Gandhi's programme of non-cooperation. He did not give his hearty support to the non-cooperation movement.

He believed in the Hindu-Muslim unity but not at the cost of the Hindu interest. In 1928 while leading a protest procession against the Simon Commission he was severely wounded by a lathi-charge on October 20, and he died of it on November 17, 1928. He was nicknamed the Lion of the Punjab.

### **MRS. ANNIE BESANT (1847-1933)**

Miss Wood has born in 1847 and on her marriage with a Clergyman in 1867 her name become Mrs. Annie Besant. She led a life of tribulations. In 1893, as a member of the Theosophical Society, Mrs. Besant came to India but she confined herself to religious, social and educational activities for the first 20 years. She took a leading part in fostering Hindu Revivalism. She translated Bhagavat Gita in English. She advocated equality for women in India. She started the Central Hindu High School and College at Banaras which later grew into the Banaras Hindu University under M.M. Malaviya.

She was greatly impressed by the Home Rule Movement of Ireland. In 1915 when she entered Indian politics her mind was made up. She started a weekly "The Commonweal", and brought a daily renamed the "New India". She immediately stated a propaganda and the plan had the object of reconciling the extremists and the Moderates within the Congress. She was successful in 1916.

### **Mahatma Gandhi**

Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, was born on October 2, 18 (9 at Porbandar in Kathiawar in a Vaish family. His father was a Dewan at Porbandar and Rajkot. At 12 he married Kasturba. At 19 he left for England to qualify for the Bar. In 1893 Gandhiji went to South Africa to conduct some case, but he stayed on there to organize a regular protest against the racial discrimination of the South African Government. Gandhiji returned to India in 1915.

Mahatma Gandhi showed a way by his method of non-violent, non-cooperation and civil disobedience. The national movement became really a mass-movement. He believed in the Hindu-Muslim amity. He combined Khailafat with non-cooperation movement. Gandhiji was a living example of all that is good. Truth was his weapon, humanity his field of action, the poor and needy the objects of his service and fearlessness was the characteristic of his work. For him all religions were on an equal footing truth and non-violence were the pivots.



When Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic in 1948, the world went on a mourning and as Jawaharlal Nehru said, “The light has gone”.

#### **SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (1897-1845)**

Born at Cuttack (Orissa) in 1897, Subha Chandra Bose, the son of Jankinath Bose was destined to be a brave son of India. He qualified in the I.C.S examination with a brilliant record but left the service in 1921 to join the Non-cooperation Movement. He became the Principal of the National College established by C.R Das whom he was a trusted lieutenant. Subhas Chandra was the President of the Congress for two consecutive years 1938 and 1939, he organized the Forward Bloc on his own Principales. While in detention in his own house during the Second World War he escaped the Government guards and through Afganistan, Italy and Germany he managed to reach Japan. Subhas died of an air crash in 1945.

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