

# Unit- 1

## A) POLITY

### Unit Structure:

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### 1.0 OBJECTIVES:

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After the completion of this unit the students will be able to

1. Perceive the historical background of India in 18 th century.
2. Understand the achievements of successors of Aurangzeb.
3. Know the invasion of Nadir Shah on India.
4. Understand the invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali on India.

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### 1.1 INTRODUCTION:

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India in the 18th century had to endure one of the most chaotic periods in its entire history. The eighteenth-century political formations in India were very dramatic and the country was changing at a very rapid pace. During the first half of the 18th century, the Mughal Empire was shrinking due to the emergence of independent kingdoms. In the second half of the 18th century, the British had started creating a strong presence in eastern India.

The Mughal Empire, which had dominated the Indian subcontinent for two centuries, began to decline with internal and external pressures. Following the decline of the empire, numerous local powers strived for independence, and foreign powers began to invade the area, further deteriorating the situation of India and promoting additional disorder.

The European powers which had struggled to have a foot-hold in India succeeded in their aims by the beginning of the 18th century and if political conditions in India had not changed after death of Aurangzeb in 1707, they in all probability would have remained as trading Companies. But the political conditions in India began to change rapidly and by the middle of the 18th century grand opportunity was provided for the English merchants; with great astuteness saw their advantage and laid the foundation for their political power in India.

The monolithic structure of the Mughal empire began to disintegrate after 1707 because the successors of Aurangzeb were incapable of ruling. So, the end of the Mughal empire seemed inevitable, and as there was no other power capable of stepping in to hold the Indian empire together. After the disintegration of the Mughal empire a political vacuum was created, the possibility of filling which existed in the presence, at the time of two groups, one of which consisted of Indian States, while the other was made up of the European powers in India.

Among the Indian States there was no unity. In the other group only England and France were the powers to reckon with. These two were always rivals, now with the opportunity of gaining political suzerainty over India contended for power and the victory fell to England. In the course of the struggle for supremacy and afterwards, the Indian States hitherto independent and autonomous came to be conquered by the English one after another, until as can be seen in the following account, the English became the political successors to the Mughal Empire.

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## **1.2 DECLINE AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE:**

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The Mughal Empire which had earned the admiration of contemporaries for its extensive territories, military might and cultural accomplishments disintegrated after the death of Aurangzeb. Within a short span of about 50 years, nine Mughal Emperors occupied the throne in quick succession and were not able to provide any effective government. Taking advantage of their weakness, many adventurers carved out independent principalities of their own and freed themselves from the central control.

Aurangzeb had created more problems during his reign than he was able to solve. It is true that some of them he inherited, but many of them were his creation. Those together shook the Mughal Empire to its very foundation. No wonder, the political and financial horizon at the time

of his death betokened the dark prospects of decline, decay and dissolution. The glory of the Mughal Empire was becoming past history and its tragic end was in the offing.

At the time of the death of Aurangzeb on 20 February 1707, the Mughal Empire consisted of 21 Subahs (provinces): one in Afghanistan, 14 in North India and 6 in the Deccan. It embraced in the North Kashmir and all Afghanistan from the Hindukush southwards to a line 36 miles North of Ghazni, on the West coast stretched in theory to the Northern frontier of Goa and inland to Belgaum and the Tungabhadra river. No Emperor of India since the death of Asoka had ruled over such extensive territories.

At the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the Mughal Empire "was in a state of hopeless decay; administration, culture, economic life, military strength and social organization all seemed to be hastening to utter ruin and dissolution".

**Check your progress:**

1. Trace the historical background of India in 18 th century.

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### **1.3 SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZEB:**

For better understanding of the decline of Mughal Empire, the subsequent chapters (kept under the following headings) describe feeble Mughal Emperors, their weaknesses, and faulty activities:

#### **1.3.1 Bahadur Shah I (1707-12)**

On Aurangzeb's death, his three sons fought among themselves for the throne. The 65-year old Bahadur Shah emerged victorious. He was learned, dignified, and deserving. He adopted a more tolerant attitude towards the Hindu chiefs and rajas. There was no destruction of temples in Bahadur Shah's reign. In the beginning, he made an attempt to gain greater control over the regional states through the conciliation; however, dissensions developed among the regional kingdoms (including Rajput, Marathas, etc.); resultantly, they fought among themselves as well as against Mughal Emperor.

Bahadur Shah assembled armies against the Rajputs but at the same time followed a policy of conciliation. The result was that Jay Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their former ranks. Bahadur Shah might have taken action against the Rajputs but the situation in the Punjab precipitated his departure. In his Rajput policy, Bahadur Shah was firm in

suppressing the insurgents but he was not against a compromise with them.

Bahadur Shah had tried to conciliate the rebellious Sikhs by making peace with Guru Gobind Singh and giving him a high mansab (rank). But after the death of the Guru, the Sikhs once again raised the banner of revolt in Punjab under the leadership of Banda Bahadur. The Emperor decided to take strong measures and himself led a campaign against the rebels, soon controlled practically the entire territory between the Sutlej and the Yamuna, and reached the close neighborhood of Delhi. Bahadur Shah conciliated Chatarsal (the Bundela chief, who remained a loyal feudatory) and the Jat chief Churaman, who joined him in the campaign against Banda Bahadur.

As regards the Deccan policy of Bahadur Shah, it appears that he was not able to formulate a clear-cut and decisive policy. After the death of Kam Baksh, Zulfiqar Khan was appointed the Viceroy of the Deccan. He favoured conciliation with the Marathas, but the Vazir Munim Khan made a different approach. Bahadur Shah released Sahu, son of Sambhaji and grandson of Shivaji. That was done on the suggestion of Zulfiqar Khan. Sahu was given his former Mansab but the Emperor was reluctant to recognise his claims to Chauth and Sardeshmukhi on the six Subahs of the Deccan. This did not work and the Marathas restarted their plundering raids. They ravaged even the Jagir's of Zulfiqar Khan. His representative secretly concluded a pact with Sahu by which his claims were conceded but that was not confirmed by the Emperor. The result was that the Deccan remained a scene of confusion and lawlessness.

Bahadur Shah died on 27 February 1712 and with him disappeared even the last semblance of the glory and greatness of the Mughals. He held the reins of administration in his hand. His word was final in the state. He rose high above party factions and court intrigues. Unlike his successors, he cannot be said to have played the role of a mere puppet. In spite of hard efforts of Bahadur Shah, there was further deterioration in the field of administration in Bahadur Shah's reign. The position of state finances worsened as a result of his reckless grants and promotions. During Bahadur Shah's reign, the remnants of the Royal treasure, amounting to some total 13 crores of rupees in 1707, were exhausted. Bahadur Shah was examining towards a solution of the problems besetting the Empire. He might have revived the Imperial fortunes, but unfortunately, his death in 1712 plunged the Empire once again into civil war.

### **1.3.2 Jahandar Shah (1712-13)**

The death of Bahadur Shah was followed by a civil war among his four sons, Jahandar Shah, Azim-ush-Shan, Jahan Shah and Rafi-ush-Shan. Jahandar Shah was about 52 years of age at the time of his accession to the throne. He celebrated his success by making new appointments and distributing largesse's to his supporters. Zulfiqar Khan became the Wazir

Minister. The friends of Zulfiqar Khan were introduced into other high offices.

Jahandar Shah indulged in acts which for their impropriety, indecency and even cruelty, were unprecedented and helped considerably to bring down the prestige of royalty. The Emperor set the evil example of a licentious and effeminate court life and vitiated the morals of the ruling class. His influence made the recovery of the old imperial glory impossible. He was reduced to a puppet. All authority was wielded by the Wazir, Zulfiqar Khan and the ministers who passed on their duties to their deputies.

The Emperor' was not alone in introducing chaos and disaffection. Zulfiqar Khan followed suit and left most of his official work to a favourite, Subhag Chand, who by his overbearingness offended all and sundry. A feud developed between Zulfiqar Khan and Khan Jahan Kokaltash, the foster-brother of Jahandar Shah, who exploited the affection of the Emperor for him to supplant the former in the minister ship. All this was happening at the capital, aggravating the weakness of the central authority.

Zulfiqar Khan was overtaken with senile decay. By delegating all his authority to Subhag Chand, he lost all the influence he had built up. He was bitterly hated like his master. With such persons at the helm of affairs, the fate of the Empire can better be imagining than described.

When such was the state of affairs at the capital, Farrukh-siyar, the second son of Azim-ush-Shan, took advantage of it. He won over the support of Sayyid Hussain Ali, the Governor of Patna and Sayyid Abdullah, the Governor of Allahabad. He advanced with a large following to contest the throne with his uncle. He overcame the opposition of his cousin Azizud-din who blocked his way at Khajuha, near Agra, he confronted Jahandar Shah. Jahandar Shah deserted the army and fled from the battlefield in the company of Lai Kanwar to Delhi in a bullock cart. Zulfiqar Khan was already making fast for the capital.

Jahandar Shah took protection with Asad Khan, the Wakil-i-Mutlaq, who betrayed him to his enemies. For such an act of treachery, Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan, had to pay dearly. Asad Khan suffered disgrace and Zulfiqar Khan was put to death. Jahandar Shah was also put to death on 11 February 1713.

### **1.3.3 Farrukh-siyar (1713-19)**

At the time of his accession to the throne, Farrukh-siyar was a young man of 30. When Farrukh-siyar ascended the throne, he appointed Sayyid Abdullah as Prime Minister with the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk. He appointed Husain Ali as Mir Bakshi with the title of Amir-ul-Umara.

One of the greatest achievements of Farrukh-siyar was the defeat of the Sikhs under Banda Bahadur. He appointed Abdul Samad as the Governor of Lahore in 1714 with specific instructions to crush the Sikhs. In the meanwhile, dissensions occurred in the ranks of the Sikhs with the result that a large number of Sikh soldiers withdrew their support from Banda Bahadur. The Mughal Governor took full advantage of the new development and compelled Banda Bahadur to evacuate Lohgarh and retreat Gurdaspur. Even there he was not allowed to live in peace. The place was stormed and Banda was forced to surrender in December 1715. Along-with his 740 followers, he was taken prisoner and brought to Delhi where he was brutally put to death.

Farrukh-siyar participated in three plots against the Sayyid Brothers. When Husain Ali was deputed to lead the imperial forces to quell the insurrection in Rajputana, secret letters were written to Ajit Singh Rathor, the rebel Raja of Jodhpur, promising him rich reward if he did away with Husain Ali. However, the plot failed. Ajit Singh submitted and passed on the letters of Farrukh-siyar to Husain Ali.

Another plot was hatched. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of the Deccan, was recalled and the province was put under the charge of Husain Ali. When Husain Ali was on the way to the South, Daud Khan, Deputy Governor of the Deccan was secretly instigated to obstruct him. However, Daud Khan was defeated and killed and the plot failed.

An attempt was made on the life of Saiyad Abdullah Khan under the very nose of the Emperor. At the Nauroz ceremonies, the Wazir Abdullah Khan was to be surrounded and assassinated or imprisoned. However, the plot miscarried. Abdullah Khan came to know of the trap and overawed Farrukh-siyar by a large massing of the troop in advance.

The relations between the Emperor and the Sayyid Brothers were very much strained. There was an improvement for some time when Mir Jumla, the favourite of the Emperor, was sent away to Patna and Husain Ali left for the Deccan as the Subedar of the six Subahs of the Deccan. However, the fire of misunderstanding was fanned to full fury again when Mir Jumla came back join Patna and Nizam-ul- Mulk from the Deccan and Inayatullah Kashmiri was appointed Diwan-i-Khalsa, much against the wishes of Sayyid Abdullah Khan. He then sent express messages to his brother Husain Ali in the Deccan asking him to return to Delhi as quickly as possible.

To provide against all eventualities, Husain Ali opened negotiations with Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath who demanded the recognition of Sahu's succession to Shivaji's kingdom, the right of levying Chauth and Sardeshmukhi on the six provinces of the Deccan, confirmation of recent Maratha conquests in Berar, Gondwana, Karnatak and the return of Sahu's mother and his family to the Deccan. In lieu of those concessions, the Peshwa promised to pay a tribute or Peshkush for

Sardeshmukhi, to preserve and guard peace in the Deccan and in return for Chauth place 15,000 Maratha horsemen at the disposal of Husain Ali. As terms were advantageous to both the parties, the bargain was struck. When those were placed before the Emperor, he rejected them.

When Husain Ali reached Delhi in 1719, he resolved to end the sorry state of affairs. In his army were 11,000 Maratha troops led by Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, Senapati Khande Rao Dabhade, Santaji Bhonsle and others. The city was thrown into a state of alarm and so was the Emperor.

He made desperate efforts to undo the mischief by placating the Sayyid Brothers, but they were impervious to tears and threats alike. The Emperor was completely isolated. Even his father-in-law, Ajit Singh, deserted him. The fort and palace in Delhi were cleared of the partisans of the Emperor who had taken refuge in women's compartments. He was overpowered, dragged out, blinded and confined in a "bare, dark unfurnished hole". He was subjected to all sorts of tortures by his jailors. Bitter and over-salted dishes were served to him. Even slow poisoning was attempted for some time. However, he survived. At last, executioners were sent and they strangled him to death on 28 April 1719. This was the first instance of a Mughal sovereign losing his life at the hands of a noble and the Sayyid Brothers had to pay for their crime with their blood.

It is worthy of notice that during the reign of Farrukh-siyar, the Mughal Empire drifted towards dissolution. There was disorder everywhere. Chiefs, landholders and leaders of tribal bands began to defy the authority of the Government.

#### **1.3.4 Muhammad Shah (1719-48)**

After the death of Rafi-ud-Daulah, Muhammad Shah was put on the throne by the Sayyid Brothers. He was the fourth son of Emperor Bahadur Shah I. It is said of him that never before a more care-free sovereign had sat on the throne of Delhi. He was a young boy of 17 who had passed most of his time within the four walls of the palace, in the society of eunuchs and ladies of the harem. Though fairly intelligent, he never attempted to make use of his wits. He was of a generous disposition.

Muhammad Shah took no interest in the affairs of the Government. He spent his time in frivolous pursuits surrounded by favourites. He left everything to his Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan, son of Mir Muhammad Amin Khan. Unfortunately, the Wazir was also an indolent, procrastinating and pleasure-loving person.

Delhi was left without a Government. The provincial governments got no help from the Centre in the hour of their need. When Nadir Shah threatened Afghanistan and the Mughal Governor of Kabul asked for help, nobody cared for his request. The leading nobles were jealous of the power of the Wazir and intrigued against the Mughal Empire with its



enemies. They shirked all military tasks involving any risk. None of them was willing to face the Marathas.

They invented excuses when they were asked to proceed against the Raja of Jodhpur. The results were disastrous. The Mughal Empire began to disintegrate. Many provinces virtually became independent. Murshid Quli Khan in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Saadat Khan in Avadh paid only nominal allegiance to the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. The Nizam set up an independent dynasty of his own in the Deccan. In the Doab the Rohillas set up autonomous chieftainships. The Marathas occupied Gujarat, Malwa and a part of Bundelkhand. The Governors of Kabul and Lahore were left to their own resources.

For full one year after his accession. Muhammad Shah remained a virtual prisoner in the hands of the Sayyid Brothers. Even after the disappearance of the Sayyid Brothers, Muhammad Shah fell into the clutches of Rahmat-un-Nisa Koki Jiu, eunuch Hafiz Khid-matgar Khan, Shah Abdul Ghaffar and Turrabaz Raushan-ud-Daulah Zafar Khan Panipati. In 1739, they were supplanted by Khan Dauran Samsamud-Daulah and his brother Muzaffar Khan. After their death in 1739, they were succeeded by Amir Khan, Muhammad Ishaq, Asad Yar and Safdarjang.

Muhammad Shah spent most of his time in watching animal fights. On account of his indifference towards public affairs and addiction to wine and women, he was called Muhammad Shah "Rangila."

The reign of Muhammad Shah can be divided into two periods, the dividing point being the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. The main interest in the political sphere centres round the steady expansion of Maratha power and influence and its pressure on Mughal territory. They dread the network of their activity from Gujarat to Bengal and from the Narmada to the Jamuna, and even upto the river Ravi in the Punjab. Their leader was Peshwa Baji Rao I. It was under him that the Marathas cut across the limits of the Deccan and carried their arms right to the very heart of the Mughal Empire.

### **1.3.5 Nadir Shah's Invasion of India (1739)**

One of the most important events of the reign of Muhammad Shah was the invasion of India by Nadir Shah in 1739. Nadir Shah had become the ruler of Iran in 1736. Nadir Shah used Qandhar as a vital base for his Indian expedition. He arrived at Ghazni from where he marched to Kabul which he occupied after a brief resistance. He professed his friendly intentions towards the Mughal Emperor saying that his sole object was to punish the rebel Afghans and he had no territorial designs. He sent an envoy to Delhi but he was killed at Jalalabad. Nadir Shah ruthlessly avenged the murder and sacked the town of Jalalabad.



Nadir Shah was attracted to India by the fabulous wealth for which it was always famous. The visible weakness of the Mughal Empire made such spoliation possible. Nadir Shah marched on to Delhi and the Emperor Muhammad Shah was taken as prisoner. A terrible massacre of the citizens of the imperial capital was ordered by Nadir Shah as a reprisal against the killing of some of his soldiers. The greedy invader Nadir Shah took possession of the royal treasury and other royal property, levied tribute on the leading nobles, and plundered Delhi.

Unfortunately, rumours were spread in the city that Nadir Shah had met with untimely death or had been seized or imprisoned by the orders of the Emperor. Nobody cared to verify the truth. Mobs collected at various places and attacked the Persian troops and about 3000 of them were killed. At first, Nadir Shah refused to believe the reports of the disturbance but when he rode through the streets in Chandni Chowk, a bullet missed him but killed one of his officers. Red with anger, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi. The Persian soldiers forced their way into shops, and houses killing the occupants and looting everything.

Nadir Shah demanded the hand of a Mughal princess for his son Nasrullah and a great grand-daughter of Aurangzeb was married to him. To celebrate the occasion, Nadir Shah ordered illumination, display of fire-works and other entertainments. All this was done when the people of Delhi were in a state of mourning. The Peacock throne of Shah Jahan was seized by Nadir Shah. Likewise, elephants, horses and precious stuffs were seized.

Nadir Shah left Delhi after a stay of 57 days. Before his departure, he put the crown on the head of Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor who offered to Nadir Shah the provinces of the Mughal Empire West of the river Indus from Kashmir to Sind and in addition the Subah of Thatta and the forts subordinate to it. The view of Sir Wolseley Haig is that the departure of Nadir Shah left the Mughal Emperor and his courtiers stupefied with the blow which had fallen on them. For two months, nothing was done or proposed in regard to the state of affairs in the Empire. However, even this blow did not change the attitude of the Mughal Emperor and his courtiers. On account of his continued war against the Marathas, the Mughal Emperor admitted his inability to meet the demands of Nadir Shah. As regards the effect of Nadir Shah's invasion of India, it was in the nature of a holocaust. There was wholesale destruction, plunder and rapine. It gave a severe blow to the Mughal Empire. It proved to be the harbinger of future invasions of India by Ahmad Shah Abdali.

The French, the English and the Dutch trading Companies were also frightened. Peshwa Baji Rao was so alarmed that he asked Chimaji Appa to give up his campaign against the Portuguese. He made peace with his enemy in Central India. Raja Jay Singh of Amber sent his family to Udaipur. By the invasion of Nadir Shah, the glamour and wealth of India

which had dazzled even the foreigners, was gone. Nizam-ul-Mulk was called away to the Deccan to meet the Maratha pressure on his possessions. Saadat Khan was dead. Qamar-ud-din Khan, on account of his indolence and licentiousness, was like a broken reed. The young-men who stepped into the political void were a band of self-seekers who were unfit to discharge their responsibilities in the prevailing atmosphere of strife and struggle.

Nadir Shah's invasion gave a severe blow to the already tottering Mughal Empire and expedited the process of disintegration. The quick victory of Nadir Shah demonstrated the hollowness of the authority of the Mughal Emperor and encouraged the Governors of the provinces to assert their independence. The Mughal Emperor surrendered to Nadir Shah the territories lying to the West of the river Indus and that was a permanent loss to the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Emperor lost not only the provinces of Western Punjab and Sind but also lost permanently Kabul which was annexed to Afghanistan.

### **1.3.6 Invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1748-1767)**

Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani was an important general of Nadir Shah. After the murder of Nadir Shah on 9 June 1747 by some of his nobles, all the Afghans proceeded towards Qandhar and chose Ahmad Shah Abdali as their leader. On reaching Qandhar, they had to fight against the local garrison which was captured.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was declared Emperor and coins were struck in his name. After Qandhar, he occupied Ghazni, Kabul and Peshawar. All that added to his personal glory and the morale of his troops. When Nadir Shah had attacked India in 1739, Ahmad Shah Abdali was with him.

Ahmad Shah Abdali led as many as seven expeditions against India between 1748 and 1767. The weak and precarious condition of the Mughal Empire encouraged him in his designs. Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the Indus and the Jhelum and invaded the Punjab in 1748. Lahore and Sirhind were occupied but he was defeated by the Mughal army near Sirhind and was forced to withdraw.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was not prepared to put up with the insult and he led another attack on India in 1749. Muin Khan, Governor of the Punjab, resisted the advance of Abdali and asked for reinforcements. As he did not get any help, he agreed to pay Rs. 14,000 as annual tribute to Abdali.

Ahmad Shah Abdali led the third invasion of India towards the close of 1751 as the promised tribute was not paid to him. After defeating the Governor of the Punjab, Abdali advanced towards Delhi. The Mughal Emperor offered to transfer Multan and Punjab to Abdali. The view of some scholars is that Ahmad Shah Abdali also conquered Kashmir during his third invasion and appointed his own Governor.

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the fourth time to punish Imad-ul-Mulk who had appointed his own man as the Governor of the Punjab. In 1753, after the death of Mir Mannu, his infant son, under the Regency of his mother Mughlani Begum, succeeded him. Mughlani Begum invited Imad-ul-Mulk, the Wazir of Delhi and he appointed Mir Munim as the Governor of the Punjab after imprisoning Mughlani Begum. When Ahmad Shah Abdali came to know of these developments, he decided to attack India. He came to India in November 1756. As soon as he reached Lahore, Mir Munim ran away to Delhi. After capturing the Punjab, Ahmad Shah Abdali marched towards Delhi. He reached Delhi on 23 January 1757 and captured the city.

After pillaging Delhi, the Afghan army marched out leaving a trail of burning villages, rotting corpses and desolation. Crushing the Jats on the way, they proceeded to Mathura, Brindaban and Gokul. The cry of anguish which arose from Delhi, Mathura, Agra and a thousand towns and villages in Northern India remained unheard. However, the outbreak of cholera halted the Afghan army. The soldiers glamourised for returning home. Abdali was forced to retire but not before he had collected a booty estimated at 3 to 12 crores of rupees and inflicted unspeakable indignities upon the Mughal Emperor.

Before his departure from Delhi, Abdali compelled the Mughal Emperor to cede to him Kashmir, Lahore, Sirhind and Multan. He appointed his son Timur Shah to look after the government of those regions. Mughlani Begum was not given Kashmir or Jullunder Doab which had been promised to her. She was imprisoned, caned and disgraced. Abdali appointed Najib Khan Rohilla as Mir Bakshi and he remained in Delhi as the agent of Ahmad Shah.

After the departure of Abdali, the situation in India became critical. Abdali sent Jahan Khan on the Punjab but he was defeated. When that happened, Abdali himself attacked India. The Marathas could not stand against him and were forced to withdraw from Lahore, Multan and Sirhind. Before the end 1759, the Punjab was once again brought under his control by Abdali.

It was under these circumstances that the third battle of Panipat was fought on 14 January 1761 between the Marathas and Ahmad Shah Abdali. In spite of their best efforts, the Marathas were defeated. Holkar fled and the contingents of Sindhia followed him. The defeat turned into a rout and terrific slaughter ensued. On the battlefield, there lay the corpses of 28000 men. Most of the officers were killed. Both Vishwas Rao, the son of the Peshwa and Sadasiva Rao Bhau died fighting heroically.

After the battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali recognised Shah Alam II as the Emperor of Delhi. Munir- ud-Daulah and Najib-ud-Daulah promised to pay a tribute of Rs. 40 lacs per annum to Ahmad Shah Abdali on behalf of the Mughal Emperor. After that Ahmad Shah Abdali left

India. Ahmad Shah Abdali came to India for the sixth time in March 1764. The Sikhs had increased their power in the Punjab. They had captured considerable property and also killed Khawaja Abid, the Afghan Governor of Lahore. The object of Abdali's invasion was to punish the Sikhs. He stayed in India only for about a fortnight. He had to retreat in view of the possibility of a revolt among his soldiers. As soon as Ahmad Shah Abdali left India, the Sikhs captured Lahore. They also captured Majha and Central Punjab. However, Abdali was able to retain his control over Peshawar and the country West of Attock.

The invasions of Abdali prepared the field for the British to establish their authority because the Marathas and the Muslims had considerably weakened each other on account of their deadly conflict. Thus, the significant result of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali was the rise of the English power in India.

### **1.3.7 Ahmed Shah (1748-1754)**

The death of his father Muhammad Shah in April 1748, Ahmed Shah was put on the throne of Delhi. He was the only son of his father. He was "a good-natured imbecile" who had received no training for war or administration. From his infancy to the age of 21, he had been brought up among the women of harem in neglect and poverty and often subjected to his father's brow-beating.

The affairs of the state fell into the hands of "a cabal of eunuchs and women" headed by the Queen mother Udham Bai, who before her marriage with Muhammad Shah, was a public dancing girl. She promoted worthless men into high offices, receiving large presents in money for every appointment. No one cared for the administration and the Governors and nobles misappropriated the royal revenues. Their example was followed by powerful landlords who usurped the lands of their weak neighbours.

In the field of administration, the Emperor did many foolish things. He appointed his 2 year old son Mahmud as the Governor of the Punjab and named Muhammad Amin, a one year old boy, as the Deputy under him. The Governorship of Kashmir was conferred on Tala Said Shah, a one year old boy and a boy of 15 years of age was appointed his deputy. Those appointments were made at a time when the danger of Afghan invasions was very great.

Delhi became a hot bed of intrigues and rival factions. The most important Minister at the court at that time was Safdarjang, the Nawab Wazir of Avadh. He became so arrogant that he began to give orders without consulting the Emperor. The Emperor retaliated by forming a party headed by Javid Khan. When Javid Khan was assassinated, Mughal Emperor chose Ghazi-ud- Din Imad-ul-Mulk, grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, as his Wazir.

There was a struggle for power between Imad-ul-Mulk and Safdarjang. Ghazi-ud-Din convened the Mughal Dar-I are and proposed the following resolution: "This Emperor has shown is unfitness for rule. He is unable to cope with the Marathas. He is false and fickle towards his friends. Let him be deposed and a worthier son of Timur raised to the throne". The resolution was passed and immediately acted upon. Ahmed Shah was deposed and blinded and consigned to the state prison of Salimgarh. Alamgir II was put on the throne.

### **1.3.8 Alamgir II (1754-59)**

Alamgir II was the second son of Jahandar Shah. He was 55 at the time of his accession to the throne. As he had spent almost all his life in prison, he had practically no experience of administration. He Was a very weak person and was merely a puppet in the hands of his Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk. The Wazir was a man of no principles. He was extremely selfish. He put all the royal revenues into his own pocket and starved the royal family. He persecuted Ali Gauhar, the eldest son of the Mughal Emperor. He tried to form an anti-Maratha, coalition with a view to drive out the Marathas from Northern India but he failed. The relations between Alamgir II and Imad-ul-Mulk were not satisfactory and the latter got him assassinated in 1759. His body was thrown out of the window and was found lying stark naked on the banks of the river Jamuna.

### **1.3.9 Shah Alam II (1759-1806)**

Ali Gauhar was the son of Alamgir II. He became the Mughal Emperor in 1759 and took up the title of Shah Alam II. At the time of the death of his father, he was in Bihar. Although he was declared the Mughal Emperor, he did not proceed to Delhi for 12 years. He reached Delhi in January 1772 with the help of the Marathas. During that period, he tried to conquer Bihar and Bengal but failed. He was defeated in 1764 in the Battle of Buxar and made a prisoner along with the Nawab Wazir of Avadh.

In 1765, he gave the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English East India Company and the latter promised to pay him an annual sum of Rs. 26 lacs. Throughout his long life, Shah Alam II remained a puppet in the hands of his ministers, the Marathas and the British. The Rohilla leader Najib-ud-Daulah and later on his son Zabita Khan and grandson Ghulam Qadir ransacked the palace. The floors of the houses of the grandees in the city were dug out. The princesses were turned out and their jewelry was snatched by Ghulam Qadir. Ghulam Qadir, also blinded Shah Alam and deposed him and put Bidar Bakht on the Mughal throne. However, the Marathas brought out Shah Alam from his captivity and stored him to the throne. Ghulam Qadir was defeated and hanged. In 1803, the English captured Delhi and Shah Alam II became a pensioner of the English East India Company and he died in 1806.

The Great Mughal Empire declined and disintegrated during the first half of the 18th century. The Mughal Emperors lost their power and

glory and their empire shrank to a few square miles around Delhi. In the end, in 1803, Delhi itself was occupied by the British army and the proud of Mughal Emperor was reduced to the status of a mere pensioner of a foreign power.

**Check your progress:**

1. What are the achievements of successors of Aurangzeb?

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## **1.4 SUMMARY**

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The political instability in the country after the death of Aurangzeb had its effect on the social, religious and economic condition of the people. For a long time, there was practically no authority, no administration, no law and no security in vast areas of the country. Anarchy was the order of the day. The strong prevailed over the weak. The Indians had very bad time in every way.

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

Ghulam Hussain, a historian of Bengal, calls the 18th century as "an age of senseless, slothful princes and of grandees, ignorant and meddling." He further writes, "It is in consequence of such wretched administration that every part of Hind has gone to ruin and every one of its discouraged than inhabitants have broken their hearts. Life itself has become disgust. In the 18th century wars, invasions and other calamities wrought havoc and cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra and Mathura in the North and were tracts of the country in the Deccan were destroyed."

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## **1.5 QUESTIONS**

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1. Examine the performances of Bahadur Shah I and Jahandar Shah.
2. Review the achievements of Farrukh-Siyar and Muhammad Shah Rangeela.
3. Give an account of Nadir Shah's invasion on India.
4. Evaluate Ahmed Shah Abdali's invasion on India.

5. Asses the performances of Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II.
6. What are the achievements of successors of Aurangzeb?

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### **1.6. ADDITIONAL READING**

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7. Majumdar R. C. (Ed.), The Maratha Supremacy, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1977.
8. Owen S.J., India on the Eve of the British Conquest, London, 1876.
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# Unit- 2

## B) POLITY

### Unit Structure:

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 The South Indian states
  - 2.2.1 Hyderabad
  - 2.2.2 Carnatic
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  - 2.2.4 Kerala
- 2.3 The North Indian States and Local Powers
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  - 2.3.3 Farrukhabad
  - 2.3.4 Bundelkhand
  - 2.3.5 Bengal Subha
    - 1. Murshid Quli Khan
    - 2. Shuja-ud-Din
    - 3. Sarfaraz Khan
    - 4. Ali Vardi Khan
    - 5. Siraj-ud-Daulah
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  - 2.3.6 The Rajput States
    - 1. Marwar (Jodhpur)
    - 2. Amber (Jaipur)
    - 3. Mewar (Udaipur)
  - 2.3.7 The Jats
    - 1. Churaman (1695-1721)
    - 2. Badan Singh (1722-56)
    - 3. Suraj Mai (1756-63)
    - 4. Jawahir Singh (1764-68)
  - 2.3.8 The Sikhs
  - 2.3.9 Jammu and Kashmir
- 2.4 The Marathas
  - 1. Balaji Vishwanath (1711-20)
  - 2. Baji Rao I (1720-40)
  - 3. Balaji Baji Rao (1740 to 1761)

- 2.5 Malwa
- 2.6 Gujarat
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 Questions
- 2.9 Additional Reading

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## **2.0 OBJECTIVES:**

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After the completion of this unit the students will be able to

1. Know the polity of South Indian States in 18 th century.
2. Learn the political conditions of North Indian States in 18 th century.
3. Comprehend the political conditions of the Maratha in 18 th century.
4. Understand the political conditions of the Malwa and Gujarat in 18 th century.

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## **2.1 INTRODUCTION:**

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The rulers of the South Indian states established law and order and viable economic and administrative states. They curbed with varying degrees of success. The politics of South Indian states were invariably non-communal or secular. The motivations of their rulers were being similar in economic and political terms.

The rulers of South Indian states did not discriminate on religious grounds in public appointment; civil or military; nor did the rebels against their authority pay much attention to the religion of the rulers. None of the South Indian states, however, succeeded in arresting the economic crisis. The zamindars and jagirdars, whose had number constantly increased, continued to fight over a declining income from agriculture, while the condition of the peasantry continued to deteriorate.

While the South Indian states prevented any breakdown of internal trade and even tried to promote foreign trade, they did nothing to modernize the basic industrial and commercial structure of their states.

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## **2.2 THE SOUTH INDIAN STATES**

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Following were the important states of South India in 18th century:

### **2.2.1 Hyderabad**

Hyderabad was formed by the six Deccan Subahs of the Mughal Empire. The Deccan was a newly conquered region in which Mughal authority could not be consolidated on account of the struggle with the Marathas. Zulfiqar Khan, the most powerful and reputed general of Aurangzeb, formed plans to seize the Deccan Subahs after the death of Aurangzeb. In order to achieve his aim, he entered into a secret

understanding with the Marathas. He was a Shia and his aim was to build up Shia kingdom on the ruins of Bijapur and Golconda. Another powerful Mansabdar who aspired to set up an independent state in the Deccan was Chin Qilich Khan who later on became Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah. Zulfiqar Khan and Chin Qilich Khan belonged to two rival factions in the Mughal court, Irani and Turani. For some years after the death of Aurangzeb, Zulfiqar Khan and his father Asad Khan who had held the office of Wazir under Aurangzeb, continued to exercise great influence in the Mughal court. In 1708, Zulfiqar Khan managed to secure the vice-royalty of the Deccan from Bahadur Shah I and held that post till 1713 when he was murdered by Farrukh-siyar.

At the time of the death of Aurangzeb, Chin Qilich Khan was at Bijapur and he observed neutrality during the war of succession among the sons of Aurangzeb. Bahadur Shah removed Chin Qilich Khan from the Deccan and made him the Governor of Avadh and Faujdar of Gorakhpur on 9 December 1707. For some time, he retired from public service but joined it again towards the close of the reign of Bahadur Shah. In 1713, Farrukh-siyar appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk the Governor of the six Subahs by investing him with the titles of Khan Khana and Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fatehjang as a reward for his services having espoused his cause. Nizam-ul-Mulk was extremely ambitious and he wanted to rule over the Deccan independently of Delhi.

Nizam-ul-Mulk was an astute diplomat. He tried to check the growing power of the Marathas by stopping the payment of Chauth and instigating the self-seeking and ambitious Maratha leaders against Sahu. The intrigues at the Delhi court led to Nizam-ul-Mulk's recall from the Deccan by the end of 1715 and in his place, Husain Ali was appointed Governor of the Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk was transferred to Murdabad and subsequently it was decided to move him to Bihar. Before he could assume charge of the new office, the regime of Farrukh-siyar came to an end and Nizam-ul-Mulk was transferred to Malwa. He started for Ujjain after receiving the pledge that he would not be transferred again. While in Malwa, Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to lay the foundation of his future greatness. His activities aroused the jealousy of the Sayyid Brothers and he was recalled. Nizam-ul-Mulk decided to act in self-defence by the use of arms. He occupied Asirgarh in May 1720 and three days later Burhanpur fell. The Sayyid Brothers ordered Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and Alam Ali Khan to oppose the march of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Dilawar Ali Khan was defeated in June 1720. Alam Ali Khan was defeated and killed in the battle. While Husain Ali was on the way to the Deccan, he was stabbed to death on 8 October 1720. Sayyid Abdullah was also defeated and killed.

After the fall of the Sayyid Brothers, Nizam-ul-Mulk made himself the master of the six Subahs of the Deccan and began his operations against the Marathas. In February 1722, he was appointed Wazir of the Mughal Empire and he occupied that office upto 1724. He tried to put

things in order but he was unsuccessful on account of opposition from the Emperor and his flatterers. His strict discipline provoked dislike and jealousy. He was extremely unhappy. As Wazir, he added Malwa and Gujarat to the Subedari of the Deccan. When he found that he was not liked in the court, he marched away to the Deccan without the permission of the Emperor. That was not liked by the Emperor who appointed Mubariz Khan as the Viceroy of the Deccan and directed him to send the Nizam to the court, dead or alive.

Mubariz Khan was defeated and killed by the Nizam who sent his head to the Emperor. Nizam-ul-Mulk defeated the son of Mubariz Khan and took possession of Hyderabad by the beginning of 1725. Nizam-ul-Mulk correctly realised that the activities of Peshwa Baji Rao were opposed to his own policy of establishing an independent kingdom in the Deccan and hence he decided to oppose him. There are many Maratha chiefs who were not satisfied with the Peshwa and they joined the Nizam against him. For five years, Peshwa Baji Rao had to fight against them from 1727 to 1732. The Nizam was defeated at Palkhed in 1728 and his ally Senapati Trimbak Rao Dabhade was killed in 1731. Nizam-ul-Mulk decided to come to terms with the Peshwa who was also anxious to settle with the Nizam so that he could carry on his campaigns in the North. A compromise was arrived at in December 1732 by which the Nizam was to be free to satisfy his ambition in the South and the Peshwa in the North.

After the sudden dash of Peshwa Baji Rao on Delhi, the Mughal Emperor summoned the Nizam from the Deccan and he reached Delhi in July 1737. The Mughal Emperor conferred the title of Asaf Jah on the Nizam. The Nizam marched towards Malwa but he was defeated by Peshwa Baji Rao near Bhopal and was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace in January 1738. The Nizam promised to grant to Baji Rao the Subedari of Malwa and rights over the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal.

When Nadir Shah attacked India, the Mughal Emperor called Nizam-ul-Mulk to Delhi to negotiate the terms of agreement with the invader. The agreement was actually made by the Nizam but the same was upset by Saadat Ali Khan. Nizam-ul-Mulk ruled the Deccan independently till his death in 1748. He continued to profess his allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. He rejected the offer of Nadir Shah to make him the ruler of Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk was not only the foremost general of his time in India and a careful and honest administrator but also a master of statecraft and diplomacy. He was universally regarded as the sole representative of the spacious times of Aurangzeb. The rich provinces under his administration prospered during his long reign. The refractory chiefs, ambitious officers and robber leaders were suppressed. The revenue assessment was moderate. His taxation policy promoted trade. He followed a policy of religious toleration. He appointed Puran Chand as his Diwan.

After the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, there was a war of succession which became linked with the Anglo- French conflict in the Deccan. Political stability was restored in 1762 by the accession of Nizam Ali who had a long reign of more than four decades. In the time of Lord Wellesley, the Nizam entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English East India Company and virtually became their subordinate ally.

### **2.2.2 Carnatic**

Carnatic was one of the Subahs of the Mughal Deccan and was under the authority of the Nizam. As the Nizam became independent of Mughal control, the Deputy Governor of Carnatic, known as the Nawab of Carnatic freed himself from the control of the Viceroy of the Deccan and made his office hereditary. Nawab Saadatullah Khan of Carnatic made his nephew Dost Ali his successor without the approval of his superior, the Nizam.

The Peshwa wanted to occupy Carnatic but the Nizam was equally determined to defend it as it was a part of the Deccan Subah. To begin with, the Nizam tried to undermine the position of Raja Sahu by granting Jagirs to those Maratha officers who turned hostile to their master. The Nizam also entered into a league with Sambhaji, the rival of Sahu. In 1727 when the Peshwa was proceeding to Carnatic, the Nizam wrote to Sahu that until his dispute with Sambhaji was settled, he would not pay Chauth and he must accept his mediation in it. Without waiting for reply, the Nizam invaded the Maratha kingdom and did a lot of destruction. Peshwa Baji Rao hit back and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nizam in 1728 at Palkhed. This defeat unnerved the Nizam and he sued for peace. After 1740, the affairs of Carnatic deteriorated on account of the repeated struggles for its Nawab ship. That gave the British an opportunity to interfere in Carnatic.

### **2.2.3 Mysore**

Another important state which emerged in South India was Mysore under Hyder Ali. The kingdom of Mysore had prescribed its precarious independence ever since the end of the Vijayanagar Empire. Haider Ali born in 1721, in an obscure family, started his career as a petty officer in the Mysore army. Though uneducated, he possessed a keen intellect and was a man of great energy and daring and determination. He was also a brilliant commander and shrewd diplomat. Cleverly using the opportunities that came his way, Haidar Ali gradually rose in the Mysore army. He soon recognized the advantages of western military training and applied it to the troops under his own command.

In 1761, Haidar Ali overthrew Nanjaraj and Devaraj and established his own authority over the Mysore state. He took over Mysore when it was weak and divided state and soon made it one of the leading Indian powers. Haidar Ali extended full control over the rebellious poligars (zamindars) and conquered the territories of Bidnur, Sunda, Sera, Canara, and Malabar.

Haidar Ali practiced religious toleration and his first Dewan and many other officials were Hindus. Almost from the beginning of the establishment of his power, Haidar Ali was engaged in wars with the Maratha Sardars, the Nizam, and the British forces.

In 1769, Haidar Ali repeatedly defeated the British forces and reached the walls of Madras. He died in 1782 in the course of the second Anglo-Mysore War and was succeeded by his son Tipu. Sultan Tipu, who ruled Mysore until his death at the hands of the British in 1799, was a man of complex character. He was, for one an innovator.

Tipu Sultan's infantry was armed with muskets and bayonets in fashion, which were, however, manufactured in Mysore. Tipu Sultan made an effort to build a modern navy after 1796. For this purpose, two dockyards, the models of the ships being supplied. Tipu Sultan was recklessly brave and, as a commander was, however, hasty in action and unstable in nature. Tipu Sultan stood forth as a foe for the rising English power. The English, in turn, too as his most dangerous enemy in India. In 1799, while fighting the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, Tipu Sultan died.

#### **2.2.4 Kerala**

At the beginning of the 18th century, Kerala was divided into a large number of feudal chiefs and rajas. The kingdom of Travancore rose into prominence after 1729 under King Martanda Varma, one of the leading statesmen of the 18th century. Martanda Varma organized a strong army on the western model with the help of European officers and armed it with modern weapons. He also constructed a modern arsenal.

Martanda Varma used his new army to expand northwards and the boundaries of Travancore soon extended from Kanyakumari to Cochin. Martanda Varma undertook many irrigations works, built roads and canals for communication, and gave active encouragement to foreign trade. By 1763, all the petty principalities of Kerala had been absorbed or subordinated by the three big states of Cochin, Travancore, and Calicut.

Haidar Ali began his invasion of Kerala in 1766 and in the end annexed northern Kerala up to Cochin, including the territories of the Zamorin of Calicut. Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, became a famous center of Sanskrit scholarship during the second half of the 18th century.

**Rama Varma**, the successor of Martanda Varma, was himself a poet, a scholar, a musician, a renowned actor, and a man of great culture. He conversed fluently in English, took a keen interest in European affairs. He regularly used to read newspapers and journals published in London, Calcutta, and Madras.

**Check your progress:**

1. Explain the polity of South Indian States in 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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## **2.3 NORTH INDIAN STATES AND LOCAL POWERS**

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Following were the important North Indian States in 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

### **2.3.1 Awadh**

Awadh was a prosperous region, controlling the rich alluvial Ganga plain and the main trade route between north India and Bengal. The founder of the autonomous kingdom of Awadh was Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk who was appointed as Governor of Awadh in 1722. He was an extremely bold, energetic, iron-willed, and intelligent person. Burhan-ul-Mulk was responsible for managing the political, financial and military matters of Awadh. Burhan-ul-Mulk held the combined offices of subadari, diwani and faujdari.

At the time of Burhan-ul-Mulk's appointment, rebellious zamindars had raised their heads everywhere in the province. They refused to pay the land tax, organized their own private armies, erected forts, and defied the Imperial Government. For years, Burhan-ul-Mulk had to wage war upon them. He succeeded in suppressing lawlessness and disciplining the big zamindars and thus, increasing the financial resources of his government. Burhan-ul-Mulk also carried out a fresh revenue settlement in 1723, as he was asked to improve the peasant condition by protecting them from oppression by the big zamindars.

He is the Mughal influence in the province by cutting down on the number of jagirdars (office-holders) appointed by the Mughals and appointed his loyal servants in the vacant positions. Also, he allowed moneylenders and bankers to be an active part of the state's revenue system. Basically, this was a big shift from the earlier mahajans and local bankers. Before his death in 1739, Burhan-ul-Mulk had become virtually independent and had made the province a hereditary possession.

Burhan-ul-Mulk was succeeded by his nephew **Safdar Jang**, who was simultaneously appointed the wazir of the Empire in 1748 and granted in addition the province of Allahabad. Safdar Jang suppressed rebellious zamindars and made an alliance with the Maratha Sardars so that his dominion was saved from their incursions. Safdar Jang gave a long period of peace to the people of Awadh and Allahabad before his death in 1754.



### **2.3.2 Rohilkhand**

The Rohilla first came into prominence under Baud, an Afghan soldier of fortune, who came from Qandhar. He and his party of Afghan adventurers hired themselves out first to the landowners and then to the imperial Governor of that place. Daud "laid the foundations of an estate." On his death in 1721, his adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan obtained command of his retainers and sought to implement his ambitious plans.

Ali Muhammad Khan was able to raise an army of his own. In 1727, he defeated a Khawajasara of the Mughal Emperor and seized all his property. That raised his prestige and he took up the title of Nawab. In 1737, he got the title of Nawab from the Emperor. The adverse effects of the invasion of Nadir Shah on the Mughal Empire emboldened Ali Muhammad Khan to seize territories right and left. He extended his influence to Muradabad and occupied most of the region. His authority extended to the whole of Bareilly and Muradabad and portions of Hardoi and Badaun. He was appointed the Governor of Katehar by the Emperor. In due course, he was able to occupy Pilibhit, Bijnor and Kumaon. In 1745, the Emperor Muhammad Shah was persuaded by Safdar Jang to lead an expedition against Ali Muhammad Khan. After three months campaigning, it "achieved only a superficial and ephemeral victory and that too more by persuasion than by compulsion".

Apprehending trouble during the ensuing rainy season, the Mughal Emperor was persuaded to make peace with Ali Muhammad Khan who agreed to dismantle the fortifications of Bangarh and to surrender the fiefs reserved by him to the Mughal authorities. Soon he received a Mansab of 4000 and was sent to Sirhind as the Mughal Faujdar of that place. On hearing of the capture of Lahore by Ahmad Shah Abdali and his intention to march towards Delhi, Ali Muhammad Khan left his post at Sirhind in the middle of February 1748 and returned to Rohilkhand with his full contingent of Afghans and reestablished his authority by March/April 1748. In this way, the Mughal rule was ended in Rohilkhand.

Ali Muhammad Khan died on 15 September 1748 and his possessions were divided into three parts, to one of which Hafiz Rahmat Khan succeeded as the leader. Shaikh Qutb-ud-Din tried to get back the Faujdari of Rohilkhand which his grandfather had once enjoyed but he was defeated in the battle at Dhampur near Muradabad. Wazir Safdar Jang formed a new plan to suppress the Rohillas whom he considered as serpents infesting his road to Delhi. Safdar Jang instigated Qaim Khan, the Bangash chief, to drive out the Afghans by appointing him the Faujdar of Rohilkhand. After some success at the beginning, Qaim Khan's army met with disaster and he himself was shot dead. All the possessions of the Bangash chief on the left or Eastern bank of the Ganges were annexed by Hafiz Rahmat. However, Hafiz Rahmat dissuaded his troops from crossing the river and invading the territories of Qaim Khan's territories on the West bank. The reason given was that the Afghans could not destroy one another. Within a few months, Safdar Jang became unpopular with the

Bangash Afghans and was defeated at the battle of Ram Chatauni on 15 September 1750. He was also disgraced at the Delhi court. However, he was able to reestablish his position and form an alliance with the Marathas and Jats for invading Rohilkhand. In April 1751, the allies won a resounding victory over the Rohillas. When the Emperor heard of the invasion of the Punjab by Ahmad Shah Abdali in early 1752, the Emperor asked the Wazir to make peace with the Afghans of Rohilkhand.

Farrukhabad some other Mahals worth Rs. 16 or 22 lacs a year were left to Ahmad. Of other sons of Muhammad Khan Bangash while the sons of Ahliammad Khan were confirmed in the possession of Mirabad and some their Mahals which they had seized after the death of Qaim Khan, but were subjected to the payment of revenue for them. Safdar Jang kept a few of the Places for himself. The Rohillas and the Bangashes merged with very little permanent loss. By rendering good services to Ahmad Shah Abdali in the third battle of Panipat in January 1761, the Rohillas and the Bangashes made some gains. After that, Rohillas became independent. For some time, they were able to capture Delhi also but they had to vacate it on account of opposition from the Marathas and Nawab of Avadh.

In the time of Warren Hastings, British troops were sent to Rohilkhand to help the Nawab Wazir of Avadh to conquer Rohilkhand. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed while fighting bravely. About 20,000 Rohillas were expelled beyond the Ganges. Their province was annexed to Avadh. Only a fragment of it, together with Rampur, was left in the possession of Faizullah Khan, son of Ali Muhammad Khan.

### **2.3.3 Farrukhabad**

Muhammad Khan Bangash, an Afghan adventurer, established his control over the territory around Farrukhabad, between Aligarh and Kanpur, during the reigns of Farrukh-siyar and Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Khan raised a band of Afghans whom he employed in plundering raids and fighting the battle of local Jagirdars on payment. In 1713, he was appointed a courtier by Farrukh-siyar. In 1714, he founded the town of Farrukhabad. He was able to acquire a large Jagir whose area was about 75,000 square miles. His influence became so great that he was appointed the Governor of Allahabad and Malwa. He was so faithful to the Emperor that he never thought of independence. When he died in 1743, he was succeeded by his son Qayam Khan.

### **2.3.4 Bundelkhand**

Bundelkhand was an absolutely wild tract and difficult of access in the rainy season. Its dense forests, rapid streams and steep hills shielded it from all outside invaders.

Chhatra Sal fought well in the Purandhar campaign of 1665 and the invasion of Deogarh in 1667. However, Chhatra Sal did not feel happy while serving the Mughals. He wanted to live a life of adventure and

independence like Shivaji. He visited Shivaji in 1670. However, Shivaji advised him to go back to his own country and promote local risings against Aurangzeb. The efforts of Chhatra Sal to win over the Bundela leaders to fight against the Mughal Empire did not succeed.

However, Aurangzeb launched upon a policy of temple destruction which aroused universal indignation among the Hindus. The Hindus of Bundelkhand and Malwa made preparations to defend their places of worship. When Chhatra Sal appeared in their midst to oppose the Mughal army, he was hailed as the champion of Hindu faith and Bundela liberty. He was elected their leader by the rebels. Many petty chiefs joined Chhatra Sal. As Aurangzeb became more and more entangled in the Deccan, Chhatra Sal took full advantage of the opportunity.

He captured Kalinjar and Dhamuni and even looted Bhilsa. He extended his raids upto Malwa. In 1699 Chhatra Sal was defeated by Sher Afghan. A year later, Sher Afghan was killed. There was none to oppose Chhatra Sal.

In 1705, Chhatra Sal was made a Mansabdar of 4000 and he met Aurangzeb in the Deccan. He returned to Bundelkhand after the death of Aurangzeb. For 14 years, Chhatra Sal fully cooperated with the Mughal Empire. In May 1708, the sons of Chhatra Sal met Bahadur Shah and they were given Mansabs. In April 1710, Chhatra Sal presented himself before the Emperor and joined the Mughal army which was marching against Banda, the Sikh leader. He participated in the assault on the Sikji fortress of Lohgarh. He retained imperial favour during the reign of Farrukh-siyar. On 21 January 1714, he got the rank of 6000 Zat. In May 1718, three of his sons and some grandsons attended the Imperial Court and received presents. In 1720, the Bundelas revolted. They sacked Kalpi and killed the local Amil. In a fierce fight on 25 May 1721 between Chhatra Sal and his men with those of Dilir Khan, 500 men of Chhatra Sal were killed.

After the death of Dilir Khan, Chhatra Sal had to be suppressed. In 1723 Muhammad Khan was asked to lead an expedition into Bundelkhand to check the growing power of Chhatra Sal. In May 1727, Muhammad Khan encountered the entrenched position of the Bundelas at Ijoli in Pargana Mahoba. Chhatra Sal and his party sought refuge in the fort of Salhat. He was pursued by the enemy. Active hostilities were resumed in April 1728. In December 1728, the fortress of Jaitpur fell in the hands of the Mohammadans.

The Bundelas renewed their activities in February 1729. Muhammad Khan met with difficulties and reverses. Chhatra Sal asked the Peshwa to come to his help. Peshwa Baji Rao responded and he attacked Muhammad Khan in March 1729. Muhammad Khan and his troops suffered terribly. The Marathas defeated Qaim Khan who had come to help Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Khan appealed to the Mughal

Emperor and the great nobles for help but without any success. On account of the outbreak of epidemic in the Maratha camp, the Marathas raised the siege and returned to the Deccan. Chhatra Sal came to terms with Muhammad Khan in August 1729. Muhammad Khan signed a written agreement that he would not attack Bundelkhand as Chhatra Sal died in December 1731 at the age of 82. His sons divided the state among themselves.

### **2.3.5 Bengal Subha**

#### **1. Murshid Quli Khan**

When the Mughal Empire began to disintegrate, many provinces virtually became independent. The Subah of Bengal was the first to become autonomous and the first to pass under British rule. It became autonomous under Murshid Quli Khan, a South Indian Brahman convert to Islam.

At the time of the death of Aurangzeb, Murshid Quli Khan was Naib Nazim or Deputy Governor of Bengal and full Governor of Orissa and Diwan of Bengal and Orissa. In February 1713, Farrukh siyar conferred on him the Diwani of Bengal. In September 1713, he made him also Deputy Governor of Bengal. On 6<sup>th</sup> May 1714, he received Subahdari of Orissa. In September 1717, he was made full Subahdar of Bengal. Although he freed himself from central control, he continued to send regularly his tribute to the Mughal Emperor. He succeeded in bringing prosperity to the province of Bengal. He died in June 1727.

#### **2. Shuja-ud-Din**

When Murshid Quli Khan died in 1727, without leaving any male issue, his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din Mohammad Khan who had been Deputy Governor of Orissa, ascended the Masnad of Bengal. He appointed his friends and kinsmen to the principal offices of the Government. In managing all important affairs of administration, Shuja-ud-din followed the counsel of Ali Vardi Khan, of his brother Haji Ahmad, of Alam Chand, a loyal officer and able financier and of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, the famous banker of Murshidabad.

#### **3. Sarfaraz Khan**

When Shuja-ud-Din died in March 1739, he was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan. He retained old officers like Haji Ahmad and Alam Chand. Sarfaraz Khan was excessively addicted to debauchery and he did not possess the essential qualities needed for the ruler of a state. He had to pay a very heavy price by losing his life and the Masnad of Bengal. The weakness of Delhi authority, inefficiency of Sarfaraz Khan and machinations of Haji Ahmad excited Ali Vardi's ambition to seize the Masnad of Bengal for himself. With that object, he left Patna for Murshidabad. Sarfaraz was killed in the battle of Gheria on 10 April 1740. Ali Vardi Khan ruled Bengal from 1740 to 1756.

#### **4. Ali Vardi Khan**

Ali Vardi Khan rose gradually to higher and higher posts by dint of his tact and ability. In 1728, Shuja-ud-Din appointed him Faujdar of the Chakla Akbarnagar. In 1733, Ali Vardi Khan appointed Deputy Governor of Bihar and he restored peace in that was app vigorous steps and measures of reconciliation. In 1740 Ali Vardi seized the War of Bengal by defeating and killing Sarfaraz Khan.

He had to subjugate Orissa by force of arms in 1741. However, the Marathas were the greatest menace to Ali Vardi Khan. There were as many as five Maratha invasions in 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745 and 1748. Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur found in the rich province of Bengal a profitable field for plunder and extension of his political influence. In 1742, his general Bhaskar Ram invaded Bengal and his troops ravaged the Western Districts of Bengal and parts of Bihar and Orissa. In 1743, Raghuji Bhonsle himself marched at the head of a large army on the plea of realising the Chauth of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. At the same time, Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao entered at the head of another Maratha army. Ali Vardi Khan conciliated the Peshwa by promising payment of Chauth to Sahu and by making an immediate payment of Rs. 22 lacs. The allied troops of the Peshwa and Ali Vardi Khan expelled Raghuji Bhonsle. The Peshwa also left Bengal.

Bhaskar Ram invaded again in 1744. Ali Vardi Khan got rid of him by treacherous murder and his troops fled. In 1745, Raghuji Bhonsle again attacked Bengal, but he was defeated by Ali Vardi Khan and forced to retreat to Nagpur. In 1748, a Maratha army from Nagpur, led by Janoji Bhonsle, advanced into Bengal and the operations continued till 1751. Worn out with incessant toil and weighed down with age at the age of 75, Ali Vardi Khan concluded a treaty with the Marathas in May/June 1751. The river Subarnarekha was fixed the boundary of the Bengal Subah and the Marathas agreed never to cross it again. Orissa was ceded to the Bhonsle rulers. From October 1751, 12 lacs of rupees were to be paid annually to the Marathas from Bengal revenues as the Chauth of that Subah in two instalments on the condition that the Marathas would never set their foot again in the Subah of Bengal.

Ali Vardi Khan governed Bengal ably and with prudence and foresight. In his private life, he was free from the prevailing vices of the ruling and aristocratic classes of those days. He was a tactful and strong Governor who tried to infuse spirit and vigour into every branch of his administration.

#### **5. Siraj-ud-Daulah**

Ali Vardi Khan died on 10 April 1756 and he was succeeded by his grandson and heir-designate Siraj ud- Daulah. Siraj-ud-Daulah's most formidable enemy was Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief of the army. Soon after his accession, Siraj-ud-Daulah seized the huge wealth of Ghasiti Begum. He removed Mir Jafar from the post of the commander of

the army and appointed in his place Mir Madan Mohan Lai was made Peshkar of the Diwan-i-Khanah. Siraj-ud-Daulah defeated and killed Shaukat Jung in October 1756.

On 4 June 1756, the English factory at Kasim Bazar was stormed by the soldiers of the Nawab. The Nawab captured Calcutta on 20 June 1756. The story of "Blackhole" has been proved to be untrue. The Madras Council sent reinforcement of troops under Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive to recover Calcutta by the first week of February 1757. Adverse circumstances forced Siraj-ud-Daulah to conclude a treaty with the English on 9 February 1757 by which the trade rights and factories of the English East India Company were restored to them and restitution and compensation money were promised by the Nawab to the Company, its servants and tenants. The English were granted permission to fortify Calcutta and coin Sicca rupees. In return for these concessions, the English Company promised to help Siraj-ud-Daulah against the Afghans. However, peace between Siraj-ud-Daulah and the English did not last long. The Nawab was suspicious of the designs of the English Company and the English Company was also convinced that the Nawab would try to destroy them. The result was that the English decided to overthrow the Nawab. A conspiracy was hatched and it was decided to put Mir Jafar on the Masnad of Bengal. In pursuance of that conspiracy, the battle of Plassey was fought on 23 June 1757 in which the English were victorious. Siraj-ud-Daulah ran away from the battlefield but he was captured and put to death. Mir Jafar was made the Nawab of Bengal.

#### **6. Mir Jafar**

Mir Jafar ruled from 1757 to 1760. He was merely a figurehead and the real power was in the hands of Clive. Ultimately, in 1760 he was removed by the English Company and Mir Qasim was made the Nawab in 1760. He ruled from 1760 to 1763. He was also removed in 1763 and replaced by Mir Jafar. Mir Jafar remained the Nawab of Bengal for the second time from July 1763 to February 1765. When Mir Jafar died in 1765, his second son Najamud-Daulah was put on the throne but all power passed into the hands of the English Company. In 1765, Clive set up what is known as Dual Government of Bengal which lasted up to 1772 when the administration of Bengal was taken over directly by the English East India Company.

### **2.3.6 THE RAJPUT STATES**

The Rajput states took advantage of the growing weakness of the Mughal Empire and freed themselves from imperial control and in created their influence in the rest of the Empire. However, the rulers of the Rajput states were divided among themselves. Bigger Rajput states tried to expand themselves at the cost of their weaker neighbours. Most of them were constantly involved in petty quarrels and civil wars. At one stage, the Rajput controlled the entire territory extending from South of Delhi to Surat on the Western coast. However, they failed to consolidate their position on account of their internal dissensions. Their outlook was



essentially parochial. There was no longer imperial control over inter-state disputes. Every state was free to strike at its neighbours. Succession disputes led to civil wars which often invited external intervention. The situation was worsened by the expansionist policy of the Marathas. Instead of using the Rajput princes as useful allies, the Marathas exploited them for money and fostered dissensions among them to serve their own interests.

### **1. Marwar (Jodhpur)**

The two leading Rajput clans at the beginning of the reign of Bahadur Shah I were the Rathors of Marwar and Bikaner and the Kachchwahas of Amber (Jaipur). Aurangzeb's intolerance and persecution had alienated the Rajputs. The result was that, the prominent Rajput rulers like Ajit Singh of Marwar, Amar Singh of Mewar (Udaipur) and Jay Singh of Amber sought to cast off their allegiance to the Mughal Empire and assert their independence. When Bahadur Shah proceeded to subdue them, Amar Singh sent his brother to Agra with a letter of congratulations, 100 gold coins, one thousand rupees and some costly presents. Bahadur Shah also brought Amber under his control and made it over to Bijay Singh who was the younger brother of Jay Singh. Ajit Singh of Jodhpur also tendered submission. He received the title of Maharaja and the rank of 3500 Zat and 3000 Sawar. In view of the Sikh rising in the Punjab, Bahadur Shah adopted a policy of conciliation. In relation to the Rajputs between October 1708 and June 1710. In October 1708, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their ranks in the Mughal service.

Abhai Singh, the eldest son of Ajit Singh, ruled over Marwar till his death in 1749. He served as the Mughal Governor of Gujarat. His invasion of Bikaner involved him in a struggle with Sawai Jai Singh of Amber. Abhai Singh secured a complete victory in the battle of Gangwana in 1741. With the death of Abhai Singh, Marwar lost its internal political stability and the state suffered from a protracted civil war on the issue of succession. During the long reign of Bijay Singh (1752-92), Marwar came to the verge of dissolution. For that sorry state, the Maratha invasions and the growing power of the turbulent Rathor nobility were responsible.

### **2. Amber (Jaipur)**

The greatest Rajput ruler of the first half of the eighteenth century was Sawai Jai Singh of Amber (1699-1743). Sawai Jai Singh died on 21 September 1743. Ishwari Singh's reign of seven years (1743-50) was one long struggle with his younger brother Madho Singh and his Rajput and Maratha allies. Jagat Singh supported the claim of his nephew Madho Singh and advanced towards Jaipur. However, with the support of the Marathas, Ishwari Singh defeated the Rana in February 1745. The Rana managed to secure the help of Malhar Rao Holkar.

In March 1747, a combined army consisting of the troops of Marwar and Bundi assisted by Holkar's troops under his son Khande Rao was defeated in the battle of Rajmahal. At the end of 1750, Jaipur had to



suffer from "a new and disastrous visitation of the Marathas" and saw a revolution in its affairs. Ishwari Singh committed suicide in December 1750 and Madho Singh occupied the throne of Jaipur. In the war of succession, the Marathas became the arbiters of Rajputana. After ascending the throne of Jaipur, Madho Singh adopted an anti-Maratha Policy.

### **3. Mewar (Udaipur)**

In the eighteenth century, the weak rulers of Mewar were not able to control the ambitious and factious nobility and resist external invasions. Sangram Singh II ruled from 1710 to 1733. In his reign, symptoms of internal disintegration came to the surface. Jagat Singh II ruled from 1734 to 1751. In January 1736, Peshwa Baji Rao I appeared at the Southern frontier of Mewar. Jagat Singh welcomed him at Udaipur and signed a treaty by which he promised to pay an annual tribute. Jagat Singh had no strength of character.

In the reign of his successor Pratap Singh II (1751-54), the Marathas exacted large contributions from Mewar which was tormented by disputed successions. During the reign of Raj Singh II (1754-61), the repeated invasions of his country by the Marathas so exhausted it that the Rana was compelled to ask pecuniary aid from the Brahman Collector of revenue, to enable him to marry the Rathor chieftain's daughter. Even after 1761, the Maratha raids into Rajasthan sucked its life-blood and added to the woes of its unhappy people. The Maratha invasions resulted in anarchy, plunder, economic ruin and humiliation of the Rajputs who entered into subsidiary alliances with the English East India Company during the Governor Generalship of Lord Hastings in 1818.

### **2.3.7 THE JATS**

The Jats lived in the region around Delhi, Agra and Mathura.

#### **1. Churaman (1695-1721)**

A leader of the Jats was Churaman (1695-1721) who was the younger brother of Raja Ram. Churaman started his career as a freebooter. When Farrukh-siyar approached Agra to contest the throne, Churaman did not render any help to Jahandar Shah and looted the baggage of both parties. The Mughal Subahdar of Agra tried to subdue Churaman, but he failed. The Mughal Emperor did not approve of the attitude of Churaman and deputed Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur to punish Churaman. Sawai Jai Singh besieged the fort of Thun in November 1716. Churaman made proposals of peace to Sayyid Abdullah and offered to pay a tribute of 30 lacs of rupees to the Imperial Government and a present of 20 lacs of rupees to Sayyid Abdullah. The proposal was accepted and Sawai Jai Singh raised the siege. Churaman visited Delhi in April 1718. When differences arose between Sayyid Abdullah and the Emperor Muhammad Shah, Churaman took the side of Sayyid Abdullah. Churaman also entered into an alliance with Ajit Singh of Jodhpur against the interests of the Imperial Government. He also helped the Bundelas against the Mughal

Governor of Allahabad. The Emperor Muhammad Shah ordered the Governor of Agra to take action against Churaman. Churaman made a mistake in having quarrels with his relations. He committed suicide.

## **2. Badan Singh (1722-56)**

Churaman was succeeded by Badan Singh (1722-56) who was his nephew. In 1752, he was created a Raja by the Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah. He was a patron of architecture. He constructed a temple at Brindaban, fine palaces in the fort of Dig and palaces at Kamar and Sahar. He was succeeded by his adopted son, Suraj Mai.

## **3. Suraj Mai (1756-63)**

During the latter half of the reign of his father, Suraj Mai had acted as Regent on account of his inactivity and growing blindness. During that period, he earned a name for himself as an able warrior, efficient leader and able statesman. As a ruler, he extended his authority over a large area which extended from the Ganges in the East to Chambal in the South, the province of Agra in the West and the province of Delhi in the North. His state included, among others, the Districts of Agra, Mathura, Meerut and Aligarh.

## **4. Jawahir Singh (1764-68)**

Suraj Mai was succeeded by his son Jawahir Singh. He made preparations against Najib-ud-Daulah in order to take revenge of the death of his father. He marched to Delhi and laid siege to it. However, he could not reap the desired benefit due to the faithlessness of Malhar Rao and treacherous conduct of a section of the Jat officers. Jawahir Singh took action against those influential and powerful Jat leaders whom he considered to be refractory. He was involved in a quarrel with the Marathas who had supported his brother Nahar Singh in his claim to the throne of his father. He defeated his enemies in March 1766 and captured Dholpur. He also raided the Maratha possessions in Northern Malwa. However, he brought misfortune upon himself by his quarrel with Madho Singh, Raja of Jaipur. Madho Singh invaded the Jat territory and defeated Jawahir Singh in 1768. He was assassinated by one of his soldiers.

Ranjit Singh entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the English in September 1803 and fought with them in the battle of Laswari against Daulat Rao Scindia. However, in 1804, he joined Yashwant Rao Holkar in his attack on Delhi against the English. The English besieged Dig and captured it. They then laid siege to Bharatpur. Ranjit Singh repulsed four successive assaults of General Lake. However, he made peace with the English East India Company in April 1805. He promised to pay an indemnity of 20 lacs and desist from holding communication with the enemies of the English or employing at European without their permission.

### 2.3.8 THE SIKHS

The Sikhs were transformed into a militant and fighting community under Guru Har Govind (1606-1645). The execution of Guru Teg Bahadur forced the Sikhs to fight against the Mughals. Guru Gobind Singh (1664-1708) showed considerable organisational ability and founded the military brotherhood called the Khalsa in 1699. It is contended that Aurangzeb was not keen to destroy the Guru and he wrote to the Governor of Lahore to "conciliate the Guru". When the Guru wrote to Aurangzeb in the Deccan apprising him of the events, Aurangzeb invited him to meet him. Towards the end of 1706, the Guru set out for the Deccan and when he was still on the way, Aurangzeb died in 1707.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Guru Govind Singh joined Bahadur Shah's camp as a noble of the rank of 5000 Zat and 5000 Sawar and accompanied him to the Deccan where he was treacherously murdered in 1708 by one of his Pathan employees.

After the death of Guru Govind Singh, Banda became the leader of the Sikhs. He had met Guru Govind Singh just before his death and he was sent to the Punjab to continue the struggle against the Mughals. When Banda arrived in the Punjab, he called upon the Sikhs to join him telling them that he would punish Wazir Khan who had cruelly murdered the sons of Guru Govind Singh and chastise the Hill Rajas who had fought against the Guru for many years. The Sikh peasantry took up arms and marched under the leadership of Banda in the direction of Sirhind. Banda had with him about 40,000 well armed Sikhs.

He overpowered the Mughal authorities in the neighbourhood of Sirhind and captured Sirhind for wreaking vengeance on Wazir Khan who was the murderer of the sons of Guru Govind Singh. Wazir Khan was killed by a musket-shot. Banda committed great atrocities at Sirhind.

After invading the Gangetic Doab and occupying a large tract in the Saharanpur area, Banda retreated to the Jullundar Doab where his presence provoked a general rebellion of the Sikhs against Mughal authorities. By the end of 1710, Jullundar and Hoshiarpur were occupied without striking a blow. The Sikh rising spread to Central Punjab and took the form of a religious crusade. The Manjha fell into the hands of the Sikhs who carried their arms to the very gates of Lahore.

The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah was alarmed by the reports relating to the movements of Banda and he hastened to the Punjab. Banda was besieged in the fort of Lohgarh, but he managed to escape with many of his followers to the hills of Nahan. The Sikhs won temporary successes and the Mughal Government tried to crush them. When Bahadur Shah reached Lahore, he died there on 28 February 1712. The happenings in the Mughal court after the death of Bahadur Shah offered a favourable opportunity to Banda to restore his control over the lost territories. He occupied Sadhaura and Lohgarh.

Under the orders of Farrukh-siyar, Abdus Samad Khan and his son Zakariya Khan, Governor of Lahore and Faujdar of Jammu respectively, started operations against the Sikhs who were obliged to evacuate Sadhaura and Lohgarh in October 1713. Banda retreated from post to post. He fought valiantly and inflicted heavy losses on the Mughals. However, he was compelled to shelter himself in the fort of Gurdaspur. He was besieged by the Mughal army and was not able to collect provisions. His troops suffered terribly on account of hunger. In eight months, about 8,000 of them died. The remaining fighters were reduced to skeletons. When the Mughal troops entered the fort, Banda and his famished followers were taken prisoners on 17 December 1715. Banda was kept in an iron cage. His own son was killed before his eyes. He himself tortured to death on 10 June 1718.

Tara Singh Van and his 21 followers were killed by the Mughal troops. Zakariya Khan appealed to Muslim fanaticism and the Haidari flag was hoisted. In 1742, Haniqat Rai was put to death. Mahtah Singh, Buta Singh and Bhai Taru Singh were executed. The Sikhs also hit back. They attacked Sialkot and murdered all those Qazis and Mullahs who had a hand in the execution of Haqiqat Rai. They plundered Gondlanwala and its Faujdar was killed. Tassa Singh Ahluwalia raided Kasur with the help of other Sikh chiefs. However, they were defeated near Basoli hills and about 7,000 of them were killed and 500 were taken prisoners. This happened in 1746 and is known as the first Ghalughara (Great Holocaust).

After the death of Zakariya Khan in 1745, intrigues of the rival parties in the Mughal Court prevented immediate appointment of a Governor of the Punjab. The result was that disorder broke out.

Yahya Khan lost power in 1747 and a year later Mir Mannu became the Governor. The Sikhs took full advantage of the political confusion in the Punjab created by the struggle for the Governorship of Lahore, dissensions among nobles in Delhi and the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. They occupied Amritsar and elected Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as supreme commander of Dal Khalsa in 1748.

When Abdali attacked India in 1748, the Sikhs pursued the retreating Afghan army upto the banks of the Indus and plundered the baggage of Abdali. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab again in 1750. Mir Mannu stopped his advance by promising to pay him 14 lakhs of rupees. In 1752, the Punjab ceased to be a part of the Mughal Empire as a result of the third invasion of India by Abdali. Mir Mannu became the Governor of Lahore and Multan on behalf of Ahmad Shah Abdali. After the death of Mir Mannu in 1753, power was seized by his widow Mughlani Begam. There was complete chaos in the Punjab. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the fourth time in 1756-57 and placed the provinces of Lahore, Sirhind, Kashmir, Thatta and Multan in the charge of his minor son Taimur with the title of Shah. He plundered Amritsar, and

demolished the sacred buildings and the tank. The Sikhs pounced upon his tents and looted his baggage without engaging in any pitched battle.

During the administration of Mir Mannu and Taimur Shah, Adina Beg played a dubious role. Though he was outwardly opposed to the Sikhs, he was not prepared to crush them because that would reduce his own importance in the eyes of his Mughal and Afghan suzerains. He hoped to make himself the master of the Punjab by driving out the Afghans with the help of the Marathas. He invited Raghunath Rao the Maratha chief, who was stationed near Delhi with a large army and promised to pay him a liberal financial subsidy. Raghunath Rao advanced to the Punjab and occupied Sirhind and Lahore in March-April 1758. He was helped by Adina Beg in the Sikhs. Raghunath Rao left Lahore immediately leaving the government in charge of Adina Beg in return for an annual tribute of 75 lakhs. Adina Beg died within four months and the Marathas took charge of the Punjab early in 1759. By that time, the Sikhs had established themselves in a commanding position.

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India in October 1759. He defeated the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat in January 1761. In the course of his return journey, Abdali was harassed by the Sikhs who began to plunder the stragglers. Ahmad Shah Abdali could do nothing as his army was loaded with plunder. The Sikhs followed him all the way up to Attock. When he crossed the Attock, the Sikhs returned to blockade Lahore.

Ahmad Shah Abdali appointed one Governor after another to hold charge of the Punjab, but the Sikhs made a bold bid for sovereignty. They occupied Lahore. Jassi Singh Jhluwalia was proclaimed king with a title of Sultan-ul-Qaum. He coined money in the name of the Guru. Practically the whole of the Punjab from the Indus to the Sutlej passed into the hands of the Sikhs. Only a few pockets remained. In the sixth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Sikhs suffered fearful carnage in a pitched battle in February 1762. This is known as Wadda Ghalughara (Second Great Holocaust). Amritsar was occupied the sacred temple was blown up with gunpowder. The sacred tank was desecrated and filled up with refuse and debris. A wholesale massacre of the Sikhs was ordered. However, the Sikhs regained their prestige by defeating Ahmad Shah Abdali in the battle of Amritsar and the latter was obliged to run away.

After the departure of Abdali in December 1763, the Sikhs set out under different leaders to make conquests in different areas. Sirhind occupied, plundered and devastated in January 1764. In 1764, the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar and struck there the first coins of good pure silver with the inscription "Degh, Tegh, Fateh". This was the first public proclamation of the establishment of the sovereignty of the Sikh community. Realising that his agents would not be able to suppress the Sikhs, Abdali invaded India for the seventh time in October 1764. He ravaged and plundered the country and placed Ala Singh of Patiala in charge of Sirhind and left for Afghanistan. (1765).

The Sikhs occupied Lahore, extended their territories in the Punjab, plundered the territory of Najibuddaula and entered into an alliance with the Tat chief Jawahir Singh and raided the territory of Madho Singh of Jaipur. Abdali came to India for the eighth time in 1766-67 and tried to crush the Sikhs. He came twice again, up to the Chenab in 1768 and upto Peshawar in 1769, but he had to retreat on account of the rebellion of his own troops. Abdali died in 1772. On the final retreat of Abdali from the Punjab, the Sikhs reappeared in their full strength. Lahore was reoccupied and also the entire open country. Between 1767 and 1773, the Sikhs extended their power from Saharanpur in the East to Attock in the West and from Multan in the South to Kangra and Jammu in the North.

### **2.3.9 Jammu and Kashmir**

Jammu was under the rule of a Hindu Rajput dynasty. Farrukh-siyar appointed Zakariya Khan as the Faujdar of Jammu in 1713. Banda had recovered Lohgarh by that time. He held his ground for 6 months and then escaped to the hills. Zakariya Khan pursued him, captured a number of Sikhs and sent their heads to Delhi where they were produced before Farrukh siyar on 13 December 1713. Zakariya Khan was given a robe of honour and the rank of 3,000 Zat and 1,000 Sawar. Zakariya Khan was present in the siege of Banda at Gurdas Nangal near Gurdaspur. Banda faced the Mughal army for 8 months and surrendered on 17 December 1715 along with 740 followers.

With the decline of the Mughal Empire, the Raja of Jammu began to assert his independence. In about 1746, he started paying tribute to the Mughals. Jammu was under Raja Ranjit Deo from 1750 to 1781. He took full advantage of the confused political condition in the Punjab and extended his authority over all the hills between the Chenab and Ravi and over some of those lying to the West of the Chenab. Ranjit Deo was a dependable ally of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He helped him in conquering Kashmir in 1752 and again in 1762. In April 1757, Ahmad Shah Abdali granted him three Parganas of Zafarwal, Sankhatra and Aurangabad.

During the third invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1751-52. Mir Mannu sent his family and treasures to the care of Raja Ranjit Deo. In about 1770, Ranjit Deo submitted to Jhanda Singh Bhangi and agreed to pay tribute. Ranjit Deo died in 1781. He was succeeded by his son Brij Raj Deo. During his reign, the Jammu state came completely under the control of the Sikhs.

As regards Kashmir, Abdus Samad Khan was the Governor of Kashmir under Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. He was transferred to the Punjab by Farrukh-siyar. The decline of the Mughal Empire after Aurangzeb affected the political condition of Kashmir which remained disturbed upto 1752. No Mughal Emperor visited Kashmir after Aurangzeb. Ahmad Shah Abdali conquered Kashmir in 1752 and the Afghan rule lasted for 67 years upto 1819. The Afghan kings were mainly



interested in getting annual tribute and so long as that was paid, the kings left the Governors with full powers and did not care how they ruled, whether ably or tyrannically. There were 28 Governors during the Afghan rule and only one of them was a Hindu. Sukhjiwan took charge of the state and conveyed his submission to Ahmad Shah Abdali. Ahmad Shah Abdali confirmed him and appointed another person as his deputy. Ahmad Shah Abdali demanded from Sukhjiwan to ten times the revenue of the country. Sukhjiwan ignore the demand as it was beyond his capacity. He offered allegiance to the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II (1754-59). In June 1760 Ahmad Shah Abdali sent an expedition against Sukhjiwan but it failed. Another expedition was sent and the Afghan forces entered Kashmir. Sukhjiwan was captured, blinded and sent to Ignore where he was trampled to death by horses.

In 1793, Mir Hazar Khan sewed up Hindu leaders in gunny bilges and threw them into the Dal Lake to be drowned. Abdullah Khan (1796-1800) collected one crore of rupees as his personal wealth. Muhammad Khan forcibly seized petty girls to satisfy his lust. There was great unrest in the province. It was conquered by Ranjit Singh in 1819.

**Check your progress:**

1. Review the political conditions of North Indian States in 18 th century.

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## **2.4 THE MARATHAS**

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The most important challenge to the decaying Mughal Empire came from the Marathas who produced a number of brilliant commander and statesmen at that time. However, they lacked unity and hence failed in replace the Mughals. They waged a continuous war against the Mughal Empire till it was completely destroyed.

When Aurangzeb died in 1707, Sahu was a prisoner since 1689. He was released in 1707. A civil war broke out between Sahu at Satara and Tara Bai, widow of Raja Ram, at Kohlapur. The Maratha chiefs sided with one party or the other. They took full advantage of the situation and increased their influence by bargaining. Many of them even intrigued with the Mughal Viceroys of the Deccan. A new system of Maratha Government was evolved under the leadership of Balaji Vishwanath who was the Peshwa of Sahu.

### **1. Balaji Vishwanath (1711-20)**

Balaji Vishwanath rose to power step by step. He rendered loyal and useful service to Sahu and suppressed his enemies and rivals. He excelled in diplomacy and won over many Maratha chiefs in the side of Sahu. In recognition of his services, Sahu made him his Peshwa. Gradually, Balaji Vishwanath consolidated Sahu's hold and also his own over the Maratha chiefs. The Peshwa concentrated all power in his office. As a matter of fact, Balaji Vishwanath and his son Baji Rao made the Peshwa the functional head of the Maratha Empire.

Balaji Vishwanath took full advantage of the internal conflicts of the Mughal officials and increased the Maratha power. He induced Julfiqar Khan to pay Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the Deccan. He signed a pact with the Sayyid Brothers. All the territories which had formed the kingdom of Shivaji, were restored to Sahu who was given the right to Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six provinces of the Deccan. In return, Sahu recognised Mughal suzerainty. He agreed to place a body of 15,000 cavalry at the service of the Mughal Emperor to prevent rebellions and plundering in the Deccan. He was also to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 10 lakhs. In 1719 Balaji Vishwanath accompanied Sayyid Delhi at the head of a Maratha force.

### **2. Baji Rao I (1720-40)**

Balaji Vishwanath was succeeded as Peshwa by his son Baji Rao I. He defeated the Nizam in the battle near Bhopal in 1738. By the time of his death in 1740, the Marathas had established their control over Malwa, Gujarat and parts of Bundelkhand. The Maratha families of Sindhia, Holkar, Gaekwad and Bhonsle came into prominence. Baji Rao changed the character of the Maratha state. From the kingdom of Maharashtra, it was transformed into an Empire expanding in Northern India.

### **3. Balaji Baji Rao (1740 to 1761)**

Baji Rao was succeeded by Balaji Baji Rao and he was Peshwa from 1740 to 1761. He was as able as his father, but not so energetic. When Baji Rao I died in 1740, the work of management of the affairs of the state fell into the hands of the Peshwa who became the official head of the administration. He shifted the Government to Poona. He extended the Maratha Empire in different directions. Maratha armies overran the whole of Northern India. Maratha control over Malwa, Gujarat and Bundelkhand was consolidated. Bengal was repeatedly invaded. In 1751, the Nawab of Bengal had to give Orissa to the Marathas.

From Delhi, the Marathas turned to the Punjab and brought it under their control after expelling the agent of Ahmad Shah Abdali. This brought them into conflict with Ahmad Shah Abdali. A struggle for supremacy over Northern India started. Ahmad Shah Abdali formed an alliance with Najib-ud-Daulah of Rohilkhand and Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudli. Both of them had suffered in the hands of the Marathas.

On 14 January 1761 fought the third battle of Panipat in which the Marathas were defeated. Vishwas Rao, Sadashiv Rao Bhau and many other Maratha Commanders died in the battlefield. About 28,000 soldiers were killed. When the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao heard the news of the defeat of the Marathas he died in June 1761.

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## 2.5 MALWA

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The old province of Malwa which is now merged into Madhya Pradesh was the connecting link between the Deccan and Hindustan proper. Malwa was first conquered by Humayun and then by Akbar and it enjoyed peace for more than a century, but that peace was disturbed by Aurangzeb's policy of religious persecution. The result was that the provincial administration lost its efficiency. The discontented Rajput chiefs, Zamindars and their Hindu subjects refused to cooperate with the Mughal Subedar and they welcomed the Maratha invaders, gave them secret information about rivers, forts and mountain passes and facilitated their invasions.

In 1703, Nemaji Sindia burst into Malwa and plundered and burnt the villages. The Mughal Emperor had to dispatch a special force to stop his advance. Maratha raids were repeated with greater boldness in the next decade.

When the Mughal Emperor granted the right of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to the Marathas in 1719, Khandesh and Malwa were assigned to the Peshwa for making collection. The Peshwa looked upon the possession of Malwa as the best guarantee for the security of Maratha land and the Deccan. Peshwa Baji Rao invaded Malwa in February 1723 and May 1724. He collected Chauth. Nizam-ul-Mulk who was the Governor of Malwa at that time. In June 1725, Girdhar Bahadur was appointed the Subedar of Malwa. The new Subedar was a man of strong character and he refused to compromise with the Marathas and chased them beyond the Narmada. It was after the defeat of Nizam-ul-Mulk at Palkhed in February 1728 that the Peshwa was able to take action against Girdhar Bahadur. A big army led by Peshwa's brother Chimnaji Appa invaded Malwa. Girdhar Bahadur was defeated.

The policy of Muhammad Khan Bangash failed and Sawai Jai Singh was again appointed the Subedar of Malwa in 1732. He pursued his old policy of appeasing the Marathas. The Mughal campaigns in 1734-36 failed to keep Malwa free from the aggression of the Marathas. The policy of appeasement was not successful and fresh concessions called forth fresh aggression.

In 1738, after his defeat at Bhopal, Nizam-ul-Mulk offered to the Peshwa the whole of Malwa and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal. The Nizam was not able to secure the approval of the Mughal Emperor and the matter remained

unsettled. In 1741, Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao advanced to Gwalior and a settlement was made with the Mughal Emperor through the mediation of Sawai Jai Singh who was then the Subedar of Agra. Emperor Muhammad Shah bestowed the Deputy Governorship of Malwa on the Peshwa. This was merely a device for saving the face of the Emperor as otherwise Malwa ceased to be a part of the Empire of Delhi.

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## 2.6 GUJARAT

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Internal strife among the Mughals in Gujarat gave the Marathas a chance to fish in troubled waters and establish themselves firmly in that province. Civil war among the Mughals began in 1721 when the Nizam was replaced by Sarbuland Khan as the Subedar of Gujarat. At that time, Hamid Khan, the uncle of the Nizam, was acting as the Deputy of the Nizam in Gujarat. Sarbuland Khan himself stayed at Delhi and sent his Deputy Shujat Khan to take charge from Hamid Khan. Hamid Khan also wanted to become the ruler of Gujarat and got the support of the Marathas by conceding them the right to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. With the help of Kanthaji, Hamid Khan defeated and killed Shujat Khan and his brother Rustam Ali who came from Surat.

Sarbuland Khan himself marched to Gujarat and expelled Hamid Khan; but he could not expel the Marathas. In 1727, Sarbuland Khan agreed to pay the Marathas Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in Gujarat. The Mughal Emperor did not approve of the arrangement, recalled Sarbuland Khan and sent Raja Abhay Singh as the Governor of Gujarat with orders to turn out the Marathas from Gujarat. In order to overawe the Marathas, Abhay Singh got Pilaji Gaikwad, a Maratha leader, killed.

That resulted in a widespread upheaval among the local population. Damaji, the eldest son of Pilaji, renewed the struggle, recovered Baroda and harassed Abhay Singh so much that the latter left for Jodhpur without any success. Damaji even invaded Jodhpur. Gujarat was finally lost to the Empire in 1737.

### **Check your progress:**

1. Discuss the political conditions of the Maratha and Gujarat in 18 th century.

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## 2.7 SUMMARY

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The political instability in the country after the death of Aurangzeb had its effect on the social, religious and economic condition of the people. For a long time, there was practically no authority, no administration, no law and no security in vast areas of the country. Anarchy was the order of the day. The strong prevailed over the weak. The Indians had very bad time in every way.

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

Ghulam Hussain, a historian of Bengal, calls the 18th century as "an age of senseless, slothful princes and of grandees, ignorant and meddling." He further writes, "It is in consequence of such wretched administration that every part of Hind has gone to ruin and every one of its discouraged than inhabitants have broken their hearts. Life itself has become disgust. In the 18th century wars, invasions and other calamities wrought havoc and cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra and Mathura in the North and were tracts of the country in the Deccan were destroyed."

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## 2.8 QUESTIONS

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1. Explain the polity of South Indian States in 18 th century.
2. Review the political conditions of North Indian States in 18 th century.
3. Discuss the political conditions of the Maratha in 18 th century.
4. Review the political conditions of the Malwa and Gujarat in 18 th century.

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## 2.9 ADDITIONAL READING

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11. Srivastava A. L., The First Two Nawabs of Oudh.
12. Srivastava A. L., Shuja-ud-Daulah.
13. Qanungo. K. R., History of the Jats.
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15. Sinha N. K., Rise of the Sikh Power.
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# Unit- 3

## SOCIETY

### Unit Structure :

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Social Structure
  - 3.2.1 The Hindu Family
    - 1. Four Caste
    - 2. Status of women
    - 3. Custom of sati
    - 4. Dowry System
    - 5. Polygamy
    - 6. Polyandry
  - 3.2.2 Muslim Family
- 3.3. Slavery
- 3.4 Education
- 3.5 Literature
- 3.6 Art
- 3.7 Science
- 3.8 Religious Condition
  - 1. The Hindu
  - 2. The Muslims
- 3.9 Fasts and Festival
- 3.10. Untouchability
- 3.11 Human Sacrifices
- 3.12 Summary
- 3.13 Questions
- 3.14 Additional Reading

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### 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

1. Perceive the social structure of India in 18 th century.
2. Understand the status of women of India in 18 th century.
3. Know the education and literature of India in 18 th century.
4. Learn the Religious life of India in 18 th century.

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## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

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The political instability in the country after the death of Aurangzeb had its effect on the social, religious and economic condition of the people. For a long time, there was practically no authority, no administration, no law and no security in vast areas of the country, Anarchy was the order of the day. The strong prevailed over the weak. The Indians had very bad time in every way.

Social life and culture in the 18th century were marked by stagnation and dependence on the past. There was, of course, no uniformity of culture and social patterns all over the country. Nor did all Hindus and all Muslims form two distinct societies. People were divided by religion, region, tribe, language, and caste. Moreover, the social life and culture of the upper classes, who formed a tiny minority of the total population, was in many respects different from the life and culture of the lower classes.

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## 3.2 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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### 3.2.1 The Hindu Family

#### 1. Four Castes

Caste was the central feature of the social life of the Hindus. The Hindu society was divided into four parts, viz. the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The Brahmin was the priest, the sole exponent of religion as well as the teacher and guide. Both the ignorant and the educated were superstitious and the Brahmins exploited the innate human fear of the unknown. The hereditary occupation of the Kshatriyas was to wield temporal power. The kings, ministers and soldiers generally belonged to this class. The Vaisyas were the community of businessmen. They had two broad divisions. One branch took to trade and the other to agriculture. They were the usurers and the sole aim of their life was to live on the interest of the money that they gave as loans. The Shudras comprised the mass of the people. They included the aborigines admitted to the Hindu community. Their salvation was supposed to lie in the direct and indirect service rendered by them to the three upper classes.

The Brahmana, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were all divided and sub-divided into a large number of castes and sub-castes. Each caste formed an endogamous group and it was only in this endogamous group that inter-dining was permissible. Restrictions on marriage, food and occupation distinguished and defined his, social status. Any deviation from the customs of a locality was considered to be a sin and one who was guilty of such an offence was liable to be excommunicated. The caste Panchayat did not readmit him in his caste until he humbled himself publicly. The marriage had to be in the same caste in order to prevent the intermixture of blood and maintain the purity of descent.

In the eighteenth century, the people were very sensitive about the concept of Roti (bread) and Beti (daughter). Inter-dining among the people of different castes was non-existent. Only the Sikhs had their institution of Langar which was open to all. People of different castes could worship the same gods, observe the same manners and customs, but would not eat together. As a matter of fact, no one could ever think of it as the threat of excommunication was an effective deterrent.

The question of permissible and forbidden food was an important one. As a rule, the Brahmans had to abstain from meat and intoxicating liquors. The caste prescribed different codes for different groups. Meat was not a staple diet in India. Abstinence from meat was general practiced in the areas dominated by Jain influence. The classes that came into contact with them were generally vegetarian, while the others took meat as a luxury and delicacy. Vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism were determined not so much by caste as by the religious sect to which an individual belonged. The Kshatriyas, Rajputs, Jats and other lower classes all ate meat.

Occupation was another decisive factor in the formation of caste. In spite of the general taboos, social and economic exigencies necessitated contacts between the twice-born and the artisan classes and the creation of relationship between the higher and lower castes. Those who practiced the professions of barber, weaver, embroiderer, dyer, printer, gardener, potter, ivory-worker etc., were sometimes paid directly for the services rendered by them. More often, their remuneration was a fixed quantity of grain at the harvest time, or some money or clothes on occasions of celebration in the family.

There were certain occupations which were open to all. Caste was a major/ division force and an element of disintegration in the India of the eighteenth century. It often split Hindus living in the same village or region into many social atoms. However, it was possible for a person to acquire a higher social status by the acquisition of high office or power as was done by the Holkar family in the eighteenth century. Sometimes, an entire caste succeeded in raising itself in the caste hierarchy.

The family system in the eighteenth century was primarily patriarchal. The family was dominated by the senior male member. Inheritance was through the male line. However, in Kerala, the family was matrilineal. Outside Kerala, women were subjected to nearly complete male control. They were expected to live as mothers and wives only.

**Check your progress:**

1. Review the social structure of India in 18 th century.

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## **2. Status of women :**

Women of that time possessed little individuality of their own. However, Ahilya Bai administered Indore with great success from 1766 to 1796. Many other Hindu and Muslim women played an important role in the politics of that time. The status of a women in the family depended entirely on her capacity to give births to sons and hence they were prepared to make any sacrifice for that purpose. A mother wielded tremendous influence in all important matters of the household. A daughter occupied a peculiar position in the family. Although theoretically she was considered Lakshmi (the goddess of prosperity) but her birth was not welcomed. She had no share in her father's and brother's property. If there were many daughters, they became a galling responsibility.

The custom of female infanticide was very much prevalent among the Rajputs and much in all the cases. Child marriage was prevalent in society. Child marriage was more for social security than as a sign of backwardness. The instability in the eighteenth century created great anxiety among the parents about the honour of their daughters and hence they were married at an early age. Women were excluded and the Purdah became an established custom both among the Hindus and Muslims. The general Insecurity and lawlessness prevailing at that time made their exclusion tighter and that deprived the women of any opportunity to acquire education. Their physical and mental health also suffered.

The custom of Sati mostly prevailed in Bengal, Central India and Rajputana. In the South, it was uncommon. The Peshwas discouraged Sati in their dominion with limited success

Polygamy prevailed among the Kulin families of Uttar Pradesh and Bengal. Remarriage of widows was generally looked down upon though prevailed in some places. The Peshwas imposed a tax called Patdaru on remarriage of widows. The lot of the Hindu widows was usually pitiable. There were all sorts of restrictions on their clothing, diet, movements etc. They were expected to give up all the pleasures of the earth and serve selflessly the members of her husband's or brother's family. Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Amber and the Maratha General Par-shuram Bhau tried to promote widow remarriage but failed. Untouchability was prevalent in society. The untouchables were denied certain basic privileges of living.

In some cases, one could drown oneself in a river in order to escape a disease. In other cases, life could be taken by way of mortification and penance. Under peculiar conditions, parents took vow to offer their first-born child to the Ganges. Another superstitious lite was self-torture. Many devotees pierced their tongues and arms with pointed rods.

## **3. Custom of sati**

In Maharashtra, it was curbed to some extent by the energetic steps taken by the Peshwas. Two great social evils of the 18th century India,

apart from the caste system, were the custom of sati and the harrowing condition of widows. Sati involved the rite of a Hindu widow burning herself (self-immolation) along with the body of her dead husband.

Sati practice was mostly prevalent in Rajputana, Bengal, and other parts of northern India. In the South it was uncommon and the Marathas did not encourage it. Even in Rajputana and Bengal, it was practiced only by the families of rajas, chiefs, big zamindars, and upper castes.

Widows belonging to the higher classes and higher castes could not remarry, though in some regions and in some castes, for example, among non-Brahmins in Maharashtra, the *Jats* and people of the hill-regions of the North, widow remarriage was quite common.

#### **4. Dowry System**

Ordinarily dowry is the property which a man receives when he marries, either from his wife or his family. Dowry is the amount received by the groom's party and the chief evil of this system lies in the compulsion that is employed to extract these things from bride's party, much against to their capacity, willingness and desire.

#### **4. Polygamy**

Besides, ordinarily there was no polygamy. Dubios note significantly "polygamy is tolerated amongst persons of high rank. Nonetheless plurality of wives amongst the great is looked upon as an infraction of law and custom, in fact, as an abuse. Only of one case in which a man can legally marry a second wife, his first wife being still alive, and that is when, after he has lived for a long time with his wife, she is certified to be barren, or if she has borne only female children. But polygamy had become a regular and notorious practice among those who were regarded as kulins in Bengal. Among the kulins family pedigree was like a marketable commodity.

#### **5. Polyandry**

At the same time polyandry was exceptionally practised in Indian society. Buchanan writes that polyandry prevailed among the Tiyahs in Malabar. Similarly, as early as in 200 A.D. widow remarriage was prohibited for being a sin against the departed soul of husband. But widow remarriage was widely prevalent among the non-Brahmins of Maharashtra. Even the Peshwa collected a tax called patdam on the remarriage of Widow.

#### **3.2.2 Muslim Family**

In the eighteenth century, it became difficult to differentiate between the practices of a Muslim family and a Hindu family. Muslims were no less divided by considerations of caste, race, tribe, and status, even though their religion enjoined social equality. The Shia and Sunni (two sects of Muslim religion) nobles were sometimes at loggerheads on account of their religious differences.

The Irani, Afghan, Turani, and Hindustani Muslim nobles, and officials often stood apart from each other. A large number of Hindus converted to Islam carried their caste into the new religion and observed its distinctions, though not as rigidly as before.

Moreover, the sharif Muslims consisting of nobles, scholars, priests, and army officers, looked down upon the ajlaf Muslims or the lower-class Muslims in a manner similar to that adopted by the higher caste Hindus towards the lower caste Hindus.

A polygamous household was the fashion among the royalty and the nobility and all those who could afford it. The individual Muslim, man or woman, was a complete and self-sufficient unit of society. Marriage was a civil contract and the family found legal recognition only in connection with inheritance. The first wife enjoyed the privileges of seniority. She was considered to be the head of the female establishment and she was given precedence over all the other wives. However, the children of the subsequent wives enjoyed equal status.

The mother in a Muslim family had a status of her own. The father was the head of the family but he did not have absolute power in a Muslim family. The Muslim woman had the right to give or withhold her consent to marriage, but she could not exercise her right in the eighteenth century. In certain cases, a marriage in Islam could be even a temporary contract (Muta), having no higher motive than sexual gratification. The son in a Muslim family was the source of much more pleasure than a daughter on account of the patriarchal form of society. The reason was mainly economic as the father of girls was considered to be a poor man.

Muslim women were kept in seclusion. The seclusion of women, both among the Muslims and Hindus, was mainly confined to the higher classes. Women of the lower classes had to appear in public because they had to work and earn. As they had to work like chattels for their menfolk, they could not be kept veiled.

Celibacy did not find any recognition as a virtue in Muslim society. Pairing the princesses of the royal family and sometime the Sufi saints, marriage was an obligation to be fulfilled by even Muslim. The concept of the prohibited degree in marriage seems to have been obligatory on the Muslims in the eighteenth century. Among the orthodox Muslims, there was a prejudice amounting to prohibition in regard to marriages between Sunni Muslims and Shias.

Islam permitted plurality of wives upto four, but alongwith that it was enjoined that the wives should be treated in a very equitable manner. The number of wives almost determined the social status of a man. The leading noblemen kept regular harems while the lower classes were usually monogamous because polygamy was beyond their means.



No age limit was fixed for marriage in Muslims generally favoured early marriages. That may be due to the influence of Hinduism. Almost as a rule, boys were not allowed to see the girls before they were married. Manned writes, "Among the Mohammedans, it is the practice not to see their brides beforehand, but to marry upon reports, interests or respect."

The Mehr formed an important part in a Muslim marriage. It was usually fixed before the marriage. However, in the eighteenth century, in most of the cases, it was more form than reality. Mehr could be payable as soon as possible or its payment could be deferred. Match-making among Muslims was generally the business of women except when the marriage took place for political reasons. Occasionally, there were inter-communal marriages.

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### 3.3 SLAVERY

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Slavery prevailed in the country. Broadly speaking, slaves could be divided into two parts, domestic slaves and serfs tied to the land. The second category of the slaves were transferred with the sale of the land to the buyer. In some cases, economic distress, natural calamities, extreme poverty and famines compelled parents to sell their children. The Rajputs, the Kshatriyas and Kayasthas usually kept slave women for domestic work. Slaves in India were treated better than the slaves in Europe and America. They were usually treated as hereditary servants of the family and were allowed to marry among themselves.

The practice of slavery increased with the coming of the Europeans in India, particularly the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. The European Companies purchased slaves in the open markets. There were reports of Europeans at Surat, Madras and Calcutta purchasing Abyssinian slaves and employing them for domestic work.

#### **Check your progress:**

1. Trace the status of women of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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### 3.4 EDUCATION

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The educational system of both the Hindus and Muslims was unprogressive and hence both of them were equally backward educationally. The education imparted in 18<sup>th</sup> century India was still traditional which could not match with the rapid developments in the West.

The knowledge was confined to literature, law, religion, philosophy, and logic and excluded the study of physical and natural sciences, technology and geography. In due to over-reliance placed on ancient learning, any fact, original thought got discouraged. Elementary education among the Hindus and the Muslims was quite widespread. The education was confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Children from the lower caste sometimes attended the schools, but female presence was rare.

The Hindu schools were divided into two water-tight compartments. One section imparted elementary education. The schools catered for the needs of those pupils who would follow agricultural and commercial pursuits. The teachers largely belonged to the writer castes. In Murshidabad, out of 67 teachers in the same number of schools, 39 were Kayasthas, 14 Brahmanas and 14 members of other castes. In South Bihar, there were 285 schools and the same number of teachers. Out of these, 278 were Kayasthas and 7 came from other castes. None belonged to the Brahman caste.

The pupils in the primary schools spent from five to ten years in completing their course which included elements of reading, writing and arithmetic. The aim was to learn letter-writing and composing business correspondence, petitions, grants, leases etc. In arithmetic, the main object was to acquire proficiency in accounting, either agricultural or commercial. The emphasis was on tables such as multiplication, weights and measures etc. Education was purely utilitarian and extremely narrow. It did not awaken the mind and also did not free it from the trammels of tradition.

The condition of the higher schools of learning was even worse. In those institutions, both the students and the teachers were Brahmanas because their courses were predominantly theological. Three main types of courses were taught, viz., grammar and general literature, law and logic. Studies extended from 2 to 12 and even 22 years. Most of the schools were in the house of the teacher.

Elementary education was widespread. Hindu elementary schools were called Pathshalas and those of the Muslims were called Maktabas. The schools were not attached to temples or mosques. The students were given instruction in the three R's of reading, writing and arithmetic. Moral instruction with emphasis on truth, honesty and obedience found a place in the school curriculum. Education was mainly popular with the higher castes. Female education received very little attention.

The students of law devoted 8 to 23 years in mastering the various branches of Hindu law and rites. In Bengal, the treatises of Raghunandan and Jimutavahan were studied. Manu and

Mitakashara were taught in other schools. The study of logic required 12 to 22 years. In medicine and astronomy, studies were based on

the ancient texts and their commentaries. These prolonged studies made the students narrow in their outlook. The disciplines of grammar, law and logic were largely formal and verbal.

The educational system of the Muslims was not very much better than that of the Hindus. It was intended only for the upper classes and did not any instruction to the Muslim masses. There were three types of instruction for the Muslims. The first type study was of memorising the verses of the Quran without understanding the meaning. The second type of instruction was given in Persian schools. It mainly with literature, grammar, computation and arithmetic. In Poetry Firdausi, Sadi, Hafiz, Urfi, Jami, Khaqani etc., were taught. In prose, Gulistan, Waqai Nimat Khan Ali, Bahar-i- Danish etc. taught. Rules of arithmetic and geometry were included in the course.

The teaching of rational sciences, including medicine and astronomy, was wholly bookish. Laboratories and observatories were not available. The experimental method was not employed in study. The main emphasis was on theology and law and the authority of the great teachers of the past was held in great esteem. The Muslim mind was soaked in medievalism and it was intellectually quite unprepared to withstand the attack from the West.

Centres of higher education in Sanskrit literature were called Chatuspathis or Tols in Bengal and Bihar. Nadia, Kas, Tirhut and Utkala were reputed centres for Sanskrit education. Institutions for higher education in Persian and Arabic were called Madrasahs. As Persian was the court language, it was learnt both by the Muslims and the Hindus. Azimabad (Patna) was a great centre of Persian education.

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### 3.5 LITERATURE

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During the eighteenth century, Urdu spread to all corners of India. Urdu literary circles were established in every province of India. When the British dominion extended over Northern India, Urdu was employed by polite society of the Muslims and the Hindus.

The literature produced during this period was not of high order. Both Hindi and Urdu poets of this period were virtuosos. They were so much absorbed in their pursuit that they almost lost the awareness of the meaning of life and higher purpose of literature. It is worthy of notice that behind the diversities of language, race and creed, a deep cultural unity pervaded the whole of India.

Heer Rahjha, the famous romantic epic in Punjabi, was written by Warns Shah. For Sindhi literature, the eighteenth century was a period of enormous achievement. Dr. Sitapati writes about Telugu literature that "good poetry vanished and a period of decadence prevailed."

However, during this period appeared a large number of masters of rhetoric, style and diction who possessed supreme authority over language. They refined and developed the languages in which they wrote and made them instruments fit to meet the demands of the future. Their literary output indicates the cultural unity of India.

It was during the 18th century that the Christian missionaries set up printing-presses in India and brought out vernacular editions of the Bible. Ziegenbelg, a Danish missionary, composed a Tamil grammar and published a Tamil version of the Bible. The missionaries also compiled a Tamil dictionary. The Baptist missionaries like Carey, Ward and Marsnman set up a printing press at Serampur and published a Bengali version of the Bible.

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### 3.6 ART

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As there was a lack of patronage at Delhi, the artists migrated to the state capitals like Hyderabad, Lucknow, Murshidabad, Jaipur etc. In 1784, Asaf-ud-Daula built the great Imambara. It has no pillars or supports. The view of Percy Brown is that it is a work of "outward show and tawdry pretense" whose style has no spiritual values. The Palace of Suraj Mai at Dig, the capital of Bharatpur, was planned to rival in imperial palaces at Agra. Work on its construction was started in 1725 but the construction was left unfinished.

Many painters of the Mughal school migrated to Hyderabad, Lucknow, Kashmir and Patna and flourished there. New schools of painting also achieved distinction. The paintings of Kangra and Rajput schools revealed new vitality and taste. Music continued to develop and flourish in the 18th century, particularly in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

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### 3.7 SCIENCE

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Throughout the 18th century, India remained far behind the Western countries in the spheres of science and technology. The Indian rulers of the 18th century did not show any interest in the developments in science and technology in the West except in weapons of war and techniques of military training.

#### **Check your progress:**

1. State the progress of education and literature of India in 18 th century.

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## 3.8 RELIGIOUS CONDITION

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### 1. The Hindu

The Hindus believed in the trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh the three major powers of creation, sustenance and destruction. The worship of Brahma was not popular because he was alleged to have been cursed by a god on account of some sin.

Siva and Vishnu, alongwith their female counterparts Parvati and Lakshmi claimed the devotion of almost entire Hindu society. Their worship represented three distinct forms of belief and practice.

The Rajputs were predominantly the followers of Siva. They built temples dedicated to Siva even outside Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bundelkhand. The image of Siva in the form of Lingait was carved out of stone and water was poured over in to give bath to the god. Vishnu was the ideal god for the householder. He was the god recommended to him by the priestly class. Both Siva and Vishnu held very prominent positions in the religious naught of the Hindus.

The religion of Devi and her designations were much more prevalent in the Eastern provinces of Northern India. Their worship was fairly widespread. The worship of the Vam Marg comprised the use of wine, meat, fish, various postures of the body and sexual intercourse. Their shrines could be the centres for bloody sacrifices and sensual obscenities. All over Northern India, the goddesses were worshipped as the Great Mothers.

The Rajputs took their inspiration and courage from Shakti, Durga, Bhawani who had their shrines all over Rajasthan where the rulers were generally the followers of Siva. She was addressed by such names as Mahamaya, Kali Mata, Chamunda, Sakrai, Rai Mata, Naguechian, Sitala Mata, Karniji etc. In addition to Siva, Vishnu and the female personifications of divine power, the Hindus also worshipped Ganesa or Ganpati as god of luck and good fortune and the Sun. This five-fold reverence was called Panchayatan Puja and was the most popular form of worship.

The worship of Surya or the Sun was also prevalent in the 18th century. The Sun being a very potent factor in their life, Sun worship was in the blood of the Hindu people. Every morning the Sun was saluted and offered water in the form of Arghya by the householders who prayed for his liberation in the event of an eclipse. The famous Gayatri Mantra was the invocation of the Sun god for bestowing his glorious brightness to sharpen the intellect of his worshippers.

The worship of nature had a very strong hold over the pastoral and agricultural people. They had always to go through the extremities of weather and were very susceptible to the effects of heat, cold, rain or drought. The rivers, Ganga and Yamuna, were revered as the Great Mothers. Their entire course in the plains was dotted with holy cities. Tree

worship was very common. Pipal was regarded as the Brahman among trees. Tulsi plant was held very sacred by the Hindus. Spirit worship was another major element in Hindu belief.

## **2. The Muslims**

The beliefs and practices of the Muslims in the 18th century were influenced by three main factors viz., the decline of the Mughal Empire, the wide prevalence of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud (Unity of Existence or Immanence) and the influence of Hinduism. The Muslim state was supposed to be Islamic state and Muslim rulers were responsible for the maintenance of the Shariat.

The doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud encouraged an attitude of indifference towards moral laxity although its main aim was to establish a kind of positive tolerance of the beliefs and practices of non-Muslims, on the ground that God is immanent in His creation and Muslims and non-Muslims. Islam and other religions, are all one.

There was opposition to the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud. Shaikh Ahmed of Sirhind declared that those who believed in Wahdat-ul-Wujud were evading or undermining the Shariat, the concept of which was higher and could be realised through a spiritual awareness of the unity of phenomena.

Shah Waliullah (1703-1763) brought about the intellectual reconciliation of the two doctrines through his own spiritual experience. According to him, the two doctrines were the different stages on the road to spiritual knowledge. Shah Waliullah was also a religious reformer. He tried hard to bring Islam to the masses of India by translating the Quran into Persian.

The orthodox Muslims were involved in acute sectarianism. The party system at the Mughal court was strongly influenced by Shiah-Sunni differences.

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## **3.9 FASTS AND FESTIVALS**

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The people believed in fasts of varying rigour and duration. The Nirjala Ekadasi was a rigorous fast as the devotee was not to take even a sip of water. The Janmashtmi fast was also popular. It was connected with the birth of Lord Krishna. Nagapanchmi was a day of fasting in honour of the Nagas. Shivaratri was observed in honour of Siva. It was a day of strict fasting and vigil. The full moon inspired the people to observe fast and worship Satya Narayan, that is, Vishnu.

The people also celebrated Rakshabandhan, Bhaiduj, Teej etc. Holi was a very popular festival. It was celebrated best in Mathura and Brindaban. It was celebrated both by the Hindus and the Muslim. Dussehra and Diwali were also celebrated by the Hindus.



Islam being a puritanical religion, the Muslims had very few festivals. Id-ul-Azha or Id-i-Qurban was the most important festival. Barat was a Muslim festival. Houses were illuminated alongwith display of frameworks.

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### 3.10 UNTOUCHABILITY

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Untouchability was prevalent in society. The untouchables were denied certain basic privileges of living. They could not use tank wells, inns or schools meant for upper class people, not to speak of places of worship or public institutions. The outraging of human Peached its high watermark under it. But the extent of untouchability varied from place to place. The depressed classes demarcated from the upper caste Hindus by certain mental social oppression and disabilities common to them hove all, untouchability had basically economic foundation and the untouchables were the most poverty-stricken section of the Todian people. Their low social position accentuated their anomic exploitation and their economic conditions tended to stabilize their low status. Among the upper classes, the evil customs of incurring heavy expenses on marriages and of giving dowry to the bride prevailed.

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### 3.11 HUMAN SACRIFICES

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The people performed many superstitious rituals. The upper-class Hindus resorted to human sacrifices on certain occasions. It was believed that the Goddess Kali requires human blood or heads and for the gratification of the Devi, a human victim was slaughtered. Self-immolation was another form of human sacrifice. In some cases, one could drown oneself in a river in order to escape a disease could be taken by way of mortification and penance. In some cases, one's child was sacrificed. Under peculiar conditions, vow to offer their first-born child to the Ganges. Another superstitious title was self-torture. Many devotees pierced their tongues and arms with pointed rods.

#### **Check your progress:**

1. Give an account of the Religious life of India in 18 th century.

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### 3.12 SUMMARY

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There were pronounced social disparities. The higher classes and castes were over-conscious of their supremacy and superiority. The entire

wealth of the country was concentrated in the hands of the higher classes while the masses lacked the bare necessities of life. The Muslim concept of equality and fraternity had vanished so completely that a Muslim Sharif could not bear to see a Muslim Radhil trying to come in any way near him in social status. The different castes among the Hindus were jealous of their rights and each caste and every group was isolated within its own customs and social traditions. Any deviation from established laws and conventions resulted in excommunication. The people were so much absorbed in the celebration of marriages, feasts, festivals and other family ceremonies that they had no urge to create new social values.

The social system in the eighteenth century had two aspects. One aspect was a grading on the basis of official power and position. The second aspect was an ordering based on religion and the traditional divisions of society. The first was a reflection of the political system. The second comprised the castes and sub-castes among the Hindus and a rigid grading in Muslim society on the basis of Kufr.

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### 3.13 QUESTIONS

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1. Review the social structure of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.
2. What was the status of women of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century?
3. State the progress of education and literature of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.
4. Give an account of the Religious life of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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### 3.14 ADDITIONAL READING

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# Unit- 4

## ECONOMY

### Unit Structure:

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Agriculture
- 4.3 Status of peasant
- 4.4 State of Village economic life
- 4.5 Beginning of the disruption of Village economy
- 4.6 Factors responsible for disruption of village economy
- 4.7 State of Urban industries and Handicraft
- 4.8 Karkhanas or Workshops
- 4.9 Trade
- 4.10 Restrictions on imports from India in Europe
- 4.11 Industry
  - 1. Important Centres of Textile Industry
  - 2. Ship-building Industry
  - 3. Other Industries
- 4.12 Class of Financiers
- 4.13 Loss in Customs duties
- 4.14 Monopoly killed the skill
- 4.15 Effect of British conquest on Indian industries
- 4.16 Consequences of British rule on economic life
- 4.17 Summary
- 4.18 Questions
- 4.19 Additional Reading

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### 4.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

1. Comprehend the Agriculture and Trade of India in 18 th century.
2. Review the Industries of India in 18 th century.
3. Analyse the consequences of British rule on economic life of India in 18 th century.

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## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

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India of the eighteenth century failed to make progress economically, socially or culturally at an adequate pace. The increasing revenue demands of the state, the oppression of the officials, the greed and rapacity of the nobles, revenue-farmers and zamindars, the marches and counter-marches of the rival armies, and the depredations of the numerous adventurers roaming the land made the life of the people quite despicable.

India of those days was also a land of contrasts. Extreme poverty existed side by side with extreme riches and luxury. On the one hand, there were the rich and powerful nobles steeped in luxury and comfort, on the other, backward, oppressed and impoverished peasants living at the bare subsistence level and having to bear all sorts of injustices and inequities.

India had a flourishing foreign trade with many countries of Asia and Europe. Indian imports included mainly bullion, raw silk, horses, metals, coral, precious stones, ivory, amber, velvets, brocades, perfumes, broad-cloth, Chinese porcelain, African slaves and drugs. Customs duties were not very high but no trader was allowed to carry bullion out of India. Even European merchants much as the English and the Dutch had to bring bullion into India in order to purchase articles for export.

However, during the latter part of the reign of Aurangzeb, economic decay set in and industry and trade began to suffer. His constant wars ruined agricultural and normal economic life, including trade and commerce, became difficult. Bengal, the richest province of his kingdom had to bear the brunt of the cost of the Deccan wars. After the coming of the English, their unscrupulous policy and their greed and private trade affected Bengal adversely.

From 1757, the export of bullion from Bengal and the Company's monopoly of trade in certain essential commodities such as salt, betel-nut and tobacco caused a great drain of wealth. The collapse of the political power of the Nawab of Bengal and the disbanding of his army led to further confusion for the troops, now unemployed, turn to robbery. All these added to the general state of lawlessness on the land and uncertainty of life.

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## 4.2 AGRICULTURE

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Indian agriculture during the eighteenth century was technically backward and stagnant. The techniques of production had remained stationary for centuries. Agriculture was the main industry of Mughal India and the most important source of income. The crops cultivated were much the same as those of modern times. Tobacco, brought to India by the Portuguese, was introduced first in Gujarat during the reign of Jehangir; Bengal and Bihar yielded sugar; Indigo was produced mostly in northern

and central India; opium in Malwa and cotton and silk in different parts of the country.

In spite of the efforts of Akbar to introduce a stable revenue system farmer in many parts of the country were oppressed by local officials. The most important item of agricultural produce was food grains. In the Deccan, wheat and gram, rice and millet were the crops grown. Khafi Khan states that Jowar and Bajra were the main support of the people of the Deccan and were extensively grown. In the North also, millets supplied the major part of the articles of food of people and formed the principal crop. Wheat was not an important crop in Uttar Pradesh at that time. Next to food grains, cotton and sugar were the most widely grown crops. Tobacco, opium and indigo were the other commercial crops.

The country was not free from the danger of famines. Not less than 24 famines and deaths occurred over a period of 200 years from 1595 to 1792. Famines in those days were caused by the non-availability of food in the affected area although there may be surplus in some other parts of the country. This was partly due to the lack of efficient means of transport at that time.

There were wide variations of prices of food grains. Generally, food-grains were cheaper in Bengal than Northern India. Those were cheaper in Northern India than in Gujarat. The prices of commodities of daily consumption were very low.

Every region and even every village tried to be self-sufficient in food supply. If the rains were deficient and crops failed, he could not supplement his stock from outside except at ruinous prices. The margin of fluctuations in prices in the same locality from year to year was very wide.

The price level was a matter of great importance to the wage earners. In the 18th century in India, wage labour was exclusively an urban phenomenon. In the villages, the menials and the agricultural labourers and artisans were remunerated for their work by giving them a share in the produce of the farm on which they worked. Money wages were paid to ordinary and skilled labourers employed in the town. By the middle of the 18th century, the prevailing rate of daily wages in Calcutta was six pice for ordinary labourers and ten pice for skilled workers.

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### **4.3 STATUS OF PEASANT**

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The view of Dr. Tara Chand is that the peasant in the 18th century was better off than his successor in the 19th century. This was so not only in respect of the larger size of his holding, but also because the average productivity of land was higher at that time. The peasant tried to make up for technical backwardness by working very hard. He, in fact, performed miracles of production; moreover, he did not usually suffer from shortage of land. But, unfortunately, he seldom reaped the fruits of his labour. Even

though it was his produce that supported the rest of the society, his own reward was miserably inadequate. The state, the zamindars, the jagirdars, and the revenue-farmers tried to extract the maximum amount from him. This was as true of the Mughal state as of the Maratha or Sikh chiefs or other successors of the Mughal state.

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#### **4.4 STATE OF VILLAGE ECONOMIC LIFE**

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India had been mainly an agricultural country. Ninety percent of the population lived in the villages. The village community in India has always remained self-sufficient, despite political upheaves. All economic needs were commonly met in the village itself, except salt or luxury articles, spices and the currency which could be procured from other places. The carpenter, the black-smith the barber, the weaver, the potter and all other artisans were servants of the village and their chief source of income was a fixed share of the produce a farmer gave to them every year for their services. The artisans followed their hereditary professions and their services were always available to the village community.

The state of these industries was backward for want of competition. The lack of proper communication and transport from village was another factor that led to this self-sufficiency. By and large such village industries remained unaffected by British rule during the earlier decades, except in Bengal and Assam.

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#### **4.5 BEGINNING OF THE DISRUPTION OF VILLAGE ECONOMY**

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But the introduction of the land revenue system and the judicial and administrative reforms by the British changed the self-managed village Panchayat organisation and this brought about the disintegration of the old socio-economic frame-work of village life.

Charles Metcalfe was full of praise for the village organisation of India and said that "Like little Republics they had every-thing and were almost independent of outside help. He deplored the disruption of this village community and wrote: "the union of village communities, each one forming a separate little state in it. self, I conceive, contributed more than any other to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence. I wish, therefore, that the village constitutions may never be disturbed, and I dread everything that has a tendency to break them up."



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## 4.6 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR DISRUPTION OF VILLAGE ECONOMY

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But with the growth of governmental control, the development of railways, roads and better means of communication, the growth of population and the increasing demand for cash crops, the little republics could not remain unaffected. The basis of village economic life underwent transformation, for instance, agricultural crop instead of satisfying the needs of the village came to be adapted to meet the needs of the external markets. They began to produce more cash crops and the emphasis on the production of food grain was reduced.

A farmer's income now came to depend on a number of factors such as the prices of agricultural produce in the other markets and draught conditions. In order to pay the revenue demanded by the government and to satisfy his other needs the farmer began to sell his produce soon after the harvest. Thus, the self-sufficiency of the village in matter of food grains was adversely affected. The farmer was gradually drawn into the money economy the age-old system of barter economy. Up to this time, all service had been paid for in the form of grains and money was not required even for the payment of taxes. The farmer also suffered because his small holdings and the heavy revenue assessment by the new revenue system introduced by the British.

Village industries and crafts were not spared and because of the opening of the village market to foreign imports, the artisan lost the market for his wares because of competition. Gradually the same fate befell the weavers. Village artisans having lost the source of their income from hereditary occupations began to work as landless labourers.

This in turn disrupted the social and family bonds of the villagers. The joint-family system began to disintegrate. Social groups which had lived happily as one self-sufficient economic and political unit in the village began to break up. Competition instead of co-operation, envy and jealousy instead of affection and tolerance marred village life in general and individualism replaced a corporate village life.

### Check your progress:

1. Explain the condition of Agriculture of India in 18 th century.

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## **4.7 STATE OF URBAN INDUSTRIES AND HANDICRAFT**

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In the 18th century, the organisation of industry and crafts bore no resemblance at all to the European form of capitalism and factory system. In Europe, much before the Industrial Revolution began in elementary form of capitalism had developed and most cities had grown into centres of industry and trade. In India also there were number of towns, some of which were as large as those of Europe but only a few of them owed their existence to industry and trade. Economic affairs did not form the basis of the civic life of Indian owns as they did in Europe. The Indian merchant class did not play the same vigorous role in the social and political spheres of their country as did their counterparts in 18th century Europe. It was mainly the merchant class or the middle class in Europe that was responsible for the social, economic and political changes in their countries.

In India, towns grew at capitals, at places of pilgrimage or commerce. The existence of industries was not the cause for the growth of towns as in our own times. There were certain industries common to all towns, while some industries were confined to certain owns.

Indian industries were meant to satisfy two kinds of demands, viz the needs of the common man and the needs of the aristocracy. Normally, village industries satisfied the needs of the common man the goods manufactured to meet this demand were generally primitive.

The industries and crafts meant to satisfy the needs of the upper class, which included landlords, rich merchants, nobles and princes, produced luxury articles. These included cotton, silk and woollen cloth, metal ware, jewelry, diamonds and a variety of costly handicrafts.

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## **4.8 KARKHANAS OR WORKSHOPS**

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Though there was no industrial organisation of the Europe type, there were signs of the development of large-scale industry units in some places. Bernier, writing in the seventeenth century describes these industrial halls or Karkhanas (workshops). Saen “In one hall embroiders are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painteresque a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, and shoe makers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade a fine muslin. The artisans repair every morning to their respective Karkhamas, where they remain employed the whole day and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regulome manner their time glides away: no one aspiring after any improvident in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born. The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of the goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and the physician in the city educate his son for a physician.”

Tavernier, another traveler, speaks highly of the well organised diamond industry. Shipbuilding and salt making industries were also well-developed. Craft guilds Some of these industries were well organised by craft-guilds, where crafts were hereditary occupations and the craftsman member of each of his own particular caste. The administrative functions of the guilds were performed by the castes and by the concede panchayats. Evidence of existence of such well organised of guilds mostly refer to Gujarat localised industries The following were famous centres where certain industries were localised.

The upper classes in India demanded luxury articles. Its volume was considerable. The rich created a great volume of demand for luxury goods as they loved good things of life and desired expensive articles of fine make. The producers of high-quality luxury goods worked in their homes or in the state Karkhanas (workshops) in the towns. Some village artisans who had acquired special skill in their respective crafts also contributed to the supply of these articles.

As most of the craftsmen were poor, they had to work for merchants who advanced them money through brokers or dealt with them through agents. Money was paid to craftsmen for implements and raw materials and advance wages were given in return for finished goods. The finished articles were usually collected and placed in the market by middleman. Sometimes the nobles held direct dealings with the artisans.

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## 4.9 TRADE

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On account of being self-sufficient in handicrafts and agricultural products, India did not import foreign goods on a large scale. On the other hand, its industrial and agricultural products were in good demand in foreign markets. Hence its exports were more than its imports; trade was balanced by import of silver and gold. India was known as a sink of precious metals.

The Indian merchants were well established all along the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. They were also met in considerable numbers in Qandhar, Kabul, Balkh, Bukhara, Kashghar etc. in Afghanistan and Central Asia. Peter, the Great wrote, "The commerce of India is the commerce of the world and he who can exclusively control it is the dictator of Europe," Indian goods found their way into the East- Asian countries viz., Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, China and Japan.

**India imported** pearls, raw silk, wool, dates, dried fruits, and rose water from the Persian Gulf region; coffee, gold, drugs, and honey from Arabia; tea, sugar, porcelain, and silk from China; gold, musk and woolen cloth from Tibet; tin from Singapore; spices, perfumes, attack, and sugar from the Indonesian islands; ivory and drugs from Africa; and woolen cloth, metals such as copper, iron, and lead, and paper from Europe.

India's most important article of export was **cotton textiles**, which were famous all over the world for their excellence and were in demand everywhere. India also exported raw silk and silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpeter, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper and other spices, precious stones, and drugs. Constant warfare and disruption of law and order, in many areas during the 18th century, banned the country's internal trade and disrupted its foreign trade to some extent and in some directions.

Multan in the Punjab and the three Sing towns of Bukkur, Sukkur and Rohri were important centres of inland trade in the North West.

They had a flourishing community of merchants comprising mostly of Khattris, Lohanas and Rhatias. Lahore, Delhi and Agra were also great centres of commercial activity in Northern India. Malda, Rangpur and Kasimbazar were important trade centres in Bengal. In Rajasthan, Ajmer, Jodhpur, Pali and Jaisalmer were old centres. Ahmedabad in Gujarat and Poona and Nagpur in the Maratha country rose in importance after 1750. Hyderabad, Bangalore and Tanjore were flourishing centres of trade and commerce.

Many trading centers were looted by the Indians as well as by foreign invaders. Many of the trade routes were infested with organized bands of robbers, and traders and their caravans were regularly looted. The road between the two imperial cities, Delhi and Agra, was made unsafe by the marauders. With the rise of autonomous provincial regimes and innumerable local chiefs, the number of custom houses or *chowkies* grew by leaps and bounds.

Every petty or large ruler tried to increase his income by imposing heavy customs duties on goods entering or passing through his territories. The impoverishment of the nobles, who were the largest consumers of luxury products in which trade was conducted, also injured internal trade.

The decline of internal and foreign trade also hit the industries hard in some parts of the country. Nevertheless, some industries in other parts of the country gained as a result of expansion in trade with Europe due to the activities of the European trading companies.

The impoverishment of the nobles, who were the largest consumers of luxury products in which trade was conducted, also injured internal trade. Other historians believe that the effect of political changes and warfare on internal trade has generally been exaggerated. The impact on foreign trade was also complex and differential. While sea trade expanded, overland trade through Afghanistan and Persia was disrupted.

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## 4.10 RESTRICTIONS ON IMPORTS FROM INDIA IN EUROPE

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England as well as other European countries, with the exception of Holland, either prohibited or imposed prohibitive import duties on Indian textiles. In the meantime, the English textile industry was developed rapidly and by the middle of the 18th century English was so well developed that fewer Indian goods were in demand. The restrictions on the import of Indian goods and the development of English industries affected Indian industries adversely. It was not, however, until the British Conquest of India real damage was done to Indian industries for even in 1760 calicoes amounting to 988,709 pieces and 51,108 pieces of wrought silk from Bengal and many other varieties of cloth from other parts of the country were exported to England.

India's most important article of export was its cotton textiles which were famous all over the world for their excellence and were in demand everywhere. India also exported raw silk and silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpeter, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper and other spices, precious stones, and drugs.

Since India was on the whole self-sufficient in handicrafts and agricultural products, it did not import foreign goods on a large scale. On the other hand, its industrial and agricultural products had a steady market abroad. Consequently, it exported more than it imported and its trade was balanced by import of silver and gold. In fact, India was known as a sink of precious metals.

### Check your progress:

1. Explain the development of Trade of India in 18 th century.

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## 4.11 INDUSTRY

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### 1. Important Centres of Textile Industry

There were many textile manufacturing centres in India. Dacca and Murshidabad in Bengal; Patna in Bihar; Surat, Ahmedabad, and Broach in Gujarat; Chanderi in Madhya Pradesh; Burhanpur in Maharashtra; Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow, and Agra in U.P.; Multan and Lahore in Punjab; Masulipatam, Aurangabad, Chicacole, and Vishakhapatnam in Andhra; Bangalore in Mysore; and Coimbatore and Madurai in Madras. Kashmir was a center of woolen manufactures.

The whole region from Orissa to East Bengal was like enormous cotton factory. Dacca produced Muslin-world-renowned for its finest. The manufacture of silk cloth was an important industry and the fine silks of Murshidabad and the flowered brocade of Benares and Ahmedabad were in great demand for export. Woolen shawls of Kashmir, Ludhiana, Amritsar were in great demand in France.

The flourishing state of the cotton and silk industries in India can well be understood from an account given by Bernier, a French traveler who came to India in the 17th century-who observed : "There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindustan or the Empire of the Great Moghul only but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even in Europe."

## **2. Ship-building Industry**

Maharashtra, the Andhra region and Bengal were the leaders in ship-building. Indian shipping also flourished on the Kerala coast at Calicut and Quilon. The Zamorin of Calicut used the Muslim Kunjali Maraikkars (who were well known for their seafaring ability) for his navy. Shivaji Bhonsle's navy put up a good defense on the west coast against the Portuguese.

Merchant ships in the port towns and boats playing on the country's rivers were all manufactured in the country. There was a flourishing boat building industry at Dacca, Allahabad, Lahore, Thatta, Masaulipatam-Pulicat, Calicut, Surat, Bassein and Goa. In the art of ship-building, India was ahead of European nations. According to Bipan Chandra, the European companies bought many Indian-made ships for their use. Parkinson writes, "In ship-building, they probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them."

## **3. Other industries**

The making of brass, copper and bell-metal ware was common in Bombay state, Hyderabad and Tanjore. Other industries included enameling, bidri work, ornamentation of arms, enameled jewelry. Stone carving and a variety of handicrafts.

Dyeing and printing also were popular and Bengal had almost the monopoly of the silk trade. Shawls and woolen industries in the north and saltpeter industries in many parts of India, especially in Bihar, were highly developed. Besides, there were a number of smaller industries and handicrafts, but there was no industrial organisation in the modern sense of the term. The artisan, the weaver or the carpenter, who produced articles were financed in most cases entirely by middle-men and these did not hesitate to exploit the poor workers. Hence, the general condition of the worklets' was not a very happy one.

Particular group of artisans undertook distinct processes of production and the specialists worked in coordination to produce finished goods. Specialization promoted skill and Indian workmanship reached a perfection unrivalled in those times in the world. In industrial organisation and techniques, India was more advanced than the Western countries. The products of Indian industry fulfilled not only the needs of Asian and African countries but there was also a great demand in the markets of Europe. They reached the Western countries by sea and land routes.

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## **4.12 CLASS OF FINANCIERS**

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The trade and industry of India was organised and financed by Indian merchants. They were not confined to port towns but were spread in all cities and towns all along the trade routes of the country.

In addition to the merchants, there was a class of financiers, both big and small. The Jagat Seths of Bengal, the Nathjis of Gujarat and the Chettis of the South were famous financiers. The Jagat Seths possessed a capital of 10 crores of rupees in the first half of the 18th century. During their first invasion of Bengal, the Marathas carried away from their Kothi too crores of Arcot rupees but even that loss did not affect their resources appreciably. The Nathjis in Surat had similarly vast resources. The single family of Nathu Kothari Chettis monopolised business and was regarded the richest. Their business extended to Burma, Malaya and the Eastern Islands. The Chettis acted as bankers and supplied the British merchants with cash for their bills of exchange on Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. They had regular agencies in the Presidencies. The big bankers performed all the functions of a modern bank viz., receiving deposits, giving loans and issuing Hundis. There were small bankers who gave loans to artisans and other producers. Every village had its' own moneylender who advanced loans for agricultural operations and also to meet their other requirements. If the resources of all the bankers, financiers and moneylenders in India in the 18th century are taken into account, the aggregate capital resources of the country were substantial, though they were scattered.

The tradesmen, bankers and moneylenders constituted the Indian mercantile community. They utilised their income in giving loans to the members of the ruling class. However, they lacked the spirit of enterprise. Pyrard has written about the greatness and originality of Indian industry and culture. To quote him, "I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians; they have nothing barbarous and savage about them, as we are apt to suppose." Again, "No people in the world know so much about pearls and precious stones; and even at Goa, the goldsmiths, lapidaries and other workmen occupied with the finer crafts, are all banias and Bramenis (Brahmans) of Cambay and have their own streets and shops."



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#### **4.13 LOSS IN CUSTOMS DUTIES**

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The Company had secured from the Governor of Bengal the exemption from the payment of Customs duties in 1656 in return for a yearly payment of Rs. 3,000. The English were obliged to rescuer the concession from the Emperor Farruk-shiyar in 1717, when the Bengal Governor Murshid Quli Jafar Khan refused to continue the concession. Murshid Khan however agreed on the condition that the dastaks or concession should not be used for internal trade and that it should cover the imports on articles intended to be exported by sea. The promise was not honoured by the company servants. The officials used the dastaks for the benefit of their own private trade and sometimes they even sold them to the Indian men chants who could use them to evade customs duties. The abuse of this privilege resulted in heavy losses to the Bengal government. It was Mir Kasim who strongly protested to the Council in Bengal but to no effect. He abolished inland duties altogether in order bring all traders on a par. But his bold stand cost him his throne.

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#### **4.14 MONOPOLY KILLED THE SKILL**

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English traders grew bolder as their political power increase and did not hesitate to harass the poor skilled weavers. They developed a system by which they were assured of a regular and plentiful supply of Bengal textiles.

The Company employed agents known as gomasthas most them on monthly wages. Each gomastha accompanied by a clerk and a cashier visited the weavers in the villages to purchase cloth from them. The gomasthas grew so powerful that they defied the authority of the Zamindars and local Rajas and acted as magistrate and law-givers. The poor weavers were defrauded and made to enter into forward contracts to supply certain quantities of cloth by fixed dates.

The consent of the weavers was not considered necessary, for the gomasthas when employed on the Company's investment frequently make them sign what they please; and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known they have had it tied to their girdles and they have been sent away with a flogging. The names of several weavers were registered in the Company's books.

Weavers were compelled to sign agreements they could not honour and were paid less than their normal price. The same policy as followed with the silk industry. The weavers could not tolerate the oppression and many of them had to give up their age-old professions. Thus, the irresponsible conduct of the Company's servants helped to ruin the cotton and silk industries of Bengal. The effect of the Industrial Revolution on the Bengal textile industry is discussed elsewhere. What was true in case of the trade and industry of Bengal was true in a general way of the rest of India.

### **Check your progress:**

1. Review the progress of Industries of India in 18 th century.

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## **4.15 EFFECT OF BRITISH CONQUEST ON INDIAN INDUSTRIES**

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With the advent of the English, most of these industries declined for one reason or the other

- (i) The disappearance of the Indian Royal Courts which patronised them.
- (ii) The establishment of British Rule and European influence also must have discouraged the existence of some of them.
- (iii) Indian products failed to compete with the cheaper products of mechanised industries.
- (iv) Many of articles of handicrafts, prices of decoration were normally in demand in the courts of the nawabs and princes. With the disappearance of this class the demand for luxurious goods declined though it did not stop suddenly.
- (v) Some of these industries continued to exist and for some time flourished in the courts wherever the princes continued to exist and for some time flourished in the courts wherever the princes continued to rule as in Hyderabad, Rajputana and other princely States.
- (vi) Handicrafts were not encouraged by the new educated professional classes and European officials who had replaced the old class of the nobility. However there continued to be some demand by European tourists, at this was negligible.

British rule by its administrative changes and indirect control of guilds weakened these organisations and in the absence of proper control former standards of quality could not be maintained.

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## **4.16 CONSEQUENCES OF BRITISH RULE ON ECONOMIC LIFE**

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The British conquest produced adverse effects on India's economic life. Indian industry, and trade suffered and India became a

poorer nation. The consequences of the conquest were: the self-sufficient economic life of the Indian village was disrupted; industries and handicrafts were disorganised; agriculture received no encouragement and foreign trade declined and the situation was further aggravated by the drain of wealth.

Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim had to pay very heavy amounts to the Company and its officers to retain power over Bengal. Both of them paid more than 5 million sterling pounds to English between 1757 and 1765. After Diwani rights were acquired in 1765, the surplus revenue received by the Company was vested in purchasing articles for export, which meant that much money was lost to Bengal. Until then, bullion had been imported into Bengal but now it was sent out of it. Besides, the large wealth amassed by the Company's servants in Bengal found its way to England. It is estimated that between 1757 and 1780, Bengal nearly 35 million sterling pounds, and this certainly crippled economically.

While discussing the economic condition of the people in the 18th century, a reference may be made to what was done by the English East India Company in India in the second half of the 18th century. The servants of the English Company penetrated into all parts of the country and compelled the handicraftsmen to deal exclusively with them. The prices of the monopolised goods were arbitrarily fixed by the officials and the producers were fleeced mercilessly. The weavers were compelled to enter into engagements to work for the English Company and for a breach of the contract, they were punished with fine, imprisonment, flogging etc. Even the highest officials of the Company were engaged in private trade which brought them huge sums of money. Even the Directors of the English Company admitted that "the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country. Vansittart tells us that the English compelled the natives to buy or sell at just what rates they pleased on pain of flogging or confinement. It was estimated that between 1757 and 1766, the English East India Company and its employees received £ 6 million from Indians as gifts. Clive himself was guilty of this offence. Trade monopolies, political corruption and exorbitant land taxes enabled the English Company to transfer large sums of money annually to Great Britain. There was a regular drain of wealth from India to Great Britain. Sir John Shore wrote in 1797. "The Company are Merchants as well as sovereigns of the country.

In the former capacity, they engross its trade, whilst in the latter they appropriate the revenue.

The remittances to Europe of revenues are made in the commodities of the country which are purchased by them. Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the state, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it, there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counter-balanced by evils

inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion." Lord Cornwallis wrote in 1790 "The consequences of the heavy drain of wealth from the above causes, with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittances of private fortunes, having been for many years past and are now severely felt, by the great diminution of the current specie and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country."

**Check your progress:**

1. Analyse the consequences of British rule on Indian industries and economic life of India in 18 th century.

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#### **4.17 SUMMARY**

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Political factors which hurt trade also adversely affected urban industries. Many prosperous cities, centres of flourishing industry, were sacked and devastated. Delhi was plundered by Nadir Shah; Lahore, Delhi and Mathura by Ahmad Shah Abdali; Agra by the Jats; Surat and other cities of Gujarat and the Deccan by Maratha chiefs; Sarhind by the Sikhs, and so on.

Similarly, in some areas artisans catering to the needs of the feudal class and the court suffered as the fortunes of their patrons declined, leading to the decline of cities like Agra and Delhi. The decline of internal and foreign trade also hit them hard in some parts of the country.

Nevertheless, some industries in other parts of the country gained as a result of expansion in trade with Europe owing to the activities of the European trading companies. Moreover, the emergence of new courts and local nobility and zamindars led to the emergence of new cities such as Faizabad, Lucknow, Varanasi and Patna and the recovery, to some extent, of production by artisans.

Even so, India remained a land of extensive manufactures. Indian artisans still enjoyed fame all the world over for their skill. India was still a large-scale manufacturer of cotton and silk fabrics, sugar, jute, dye-stuffs, mineral and metallic products like arms, metal ware, and saltpeter and oils.

In fact, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, India was one of the main centres of world trade and industry. Peter the Great of Russia was led to exclaim: "Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world and ... he who can exclusively command it is the dictator of Europe."

Once again, historians disagree whether there was overall economic decline as a result of the decay of the Mughal empire and the rise of a large number of autonomous states or whether trade and agricultural and handicraft production continued to grow in some parts of India while they were disrupted and declined in others, with overall trade and production not suffering any sharp decline.

But, in fact, the question is not of some progress here and some decline there but of basic economic stagnation.

On the other hand, there was a definitely declining trend. At the same time, it is true that there was less economic distress or decline in agricultural and handicraft production in the Indian states of the eighteenth century than what was to result from the impact of British colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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#### **4.18 QUESTIONS**

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1. Explain the conditions of Agriculture of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.
2. Explain the development of Trade of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.
3. Review the progress of Industries of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.
4. Analyse the consequences of British rule on economic life of India in 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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#### **4.19 ADDITIONAL READING**

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# Unit - 5

## IDEOLOGIES OF THE RAJ

### Unit Structure :

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 The Orientalist Images: The Genesis of The Ideology of Empire
- 5.3 Evangelicalism And The Civilising Mission
- 5.4 The Utilitarian Scale of 'Happiness'
- 5.5 The Romantic Spell
- 5.6 The Liberal Project: Re-Making India as The Replica of Britain
- 5.7 Positivism as A Tool of Knowing The Colonial Society
- 5.8 Humanism and The Colonial World
- 5.9 Summary
- 5.10 Questions
- 5.11 References

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### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

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The process of territorial acquisition in India by a body of British merchants, had transformed the East India Company into a ruling power. The resultant 'colonial encounter' was not a simple process as a large number of indigenous rulers lost their power. At the same time, the cultural elements present in the coloniser's society per & eated the recipient colonial society in the context of a superordinate-subordinate relation. The colonisers possessed superior technology and military force, which could be used to crush any form of opposition. However, the sordid and seamy side of colonialism necessitated that an ideological justification of the colonial rule also be provided. The co-relation between ideology and policy-making had further complications because of the size and diversity of India. Political exigencies and the fact that the British preferred to utilise their energies in gathering information than immediately pursuing their grand designs of political domination added to the complications. In this Unit, an attempt has been made to investigate the direct and indirect ways in which the imperial ideologies influenced the Indian political scene.

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## 5.2 THE ORIENTALIST IMAGES: THE GENESIS OF THE IDEOLOGY OF EMPIRE

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The 'East' or 'Orient' was described in the medieval Christian iconography as an exotic land of miracles and monsters. The rationalist and secular conceptions of Enlightenment modified these images of the 'East' as the land of monsters and demons. But still these lands and people were perceived as different, from a secular category of development and civilisation. They were seen as 'inferior' and 'culturally backward' as compared to the European societies. This perception became the basis of categorising the colonisers as well as their colonial subjects.. According to Thomas R. Metcalf, "As the British endeavoured to define themselves as 'British', and thus 'not Indians', they had to make of the Indian whatever they chose not to make of themselves" (*The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj*). Thus, the British defined themselves as honest, laborious, masculine, rational and the enlightened ones. As a natural corollary Indians were depicted as deceitful, lazy, feminine, irrational, superstitious and so on. By and large, these early orientalist images persisted for long. Yet, to govern and rule such a different land and its people required sufficient knowledge of the colonial society. As a result, Warren Hastings directed considerable energies and resources towards building such institutions of learning that would help in understanding India's past. He believed that such knowledge would be very useful to the needs of the colonial state. The aim was to create an orientalist elite competent in Indian languages and responsive to Indian traditions. Motivated by such a vision, orientalist scholars- cum-administrators like William Jones, H.T. Colebrooke, William Carey, H.H. Wilson and James Prinsep made their contribution in the field of philology, archaeology and history. They 'invented' a golden age and dramatically and metaphorically contrasted it with the degeneration and stagnation of contemporary Indian society, which fostered Sati, female infanticide, caste - prejudices, idolatry and superstitions of all kinds. This is apparent from what William Jones wrote, "... how degenerate and abased so ever the Hindus may now appear, that during early age they were splendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wise in legislation and eminent in various knowledges". Learning of indigenous languages - both classical (Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit) and 'Vernaculars' became a prerequisite for gaining knowledge in all other fields. This linguistic competence, according to Bernard S. Coh, was essential "to issue commands, collect taxes, maintain law and order and to create other forms of knowledge about the people they were ruling. This howledge was to enable the British to classify, categorise and bound the vast social world that was India so that it could be controlled" (Colonialism and its Fo~mation of Knowledge). In short, running the colonial-administration knowledge of the history and culture of the people. Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784) took a major leap in this direction by translating Indian works and by doing research on Indian society and religion. Some of the early dictionaries, works related to grammar and teaching aids were



William Jones' Grammar of the Persian Language (1771), William Carey's grammar of Vernaculars, and Nathaniel Halhed's Grammar of Bengali (1788). John B. Gilchrist, a medical practitioner became professor of Hindustani literature and Languages department at Fort William College. Hastings's principle of governance was that India should be governed by the Indian principles, particularly in relation to law. William Jones, H.T. Colebrooke, Halhed and other legal scholars all shared a suspicion about the integrity of Indian scholars and wished to develop a direct understanding of the canons of authoritative texts. This, they believed, would help in the codification of Indian law and enable the British officials in the task of governing India. Knowledge contained in a Law digest (such as that of Jones, 1798) would effectively, they believed, keep a check on the Indian subordinates and Pundits or Maulais so that they would not lead the British astray. However, Hindu and Muslim Legal advisors remained attached to the British Indian Courts until the 1860s. The knowledge of Indian languages facilitated intervention in the social sphere. This is evident from the career of Jonathan Duncan, who had persuaded the Raj Kurnars of Benaras to stop female infanticide when he was the Resident there in 1789, Later on he rose to the position of Governor of Bombay (1795-1811) on the basis his linguistic proficiency. The foundation of Fort William College (1806) at Calcutta by Lord Wellesley served the practical task of training and orienting would-be-administrators. This was done by providing them skills in Indian languages and making them familiar with Indian culture and history in a more concrete fashion. This function was subsequently taken up by the Haileybury College. The category of 'oriental despotism', the idea of unchecked, absolute power of a despotic emperor, ruling through an administrative elite and supported by the labour of slaves, was used by orientalist to comprehend Indian states of the past. Alexander Dow (History of Hindustan, 1770) and Robert Orme (Government and People of Indostan, 1753) used such notions to understand pre-colonial Indian state-structures. The British found, paradoxically, implicit justification for their own authoritarian rule in the subcontinent through the use of such analytical categories. The tropical climate, religions of India especially Islam were cited by them as the reasons that had their own formative influence in fostering such despotism. For them "Muslim family structure too represented 'private species of despotism; Muslim rule derived its strength from the sword; and the native Hindus were represented as ineffectual, submissive and effeminate in character." The process of giving coherence to a congeries of religious practices is well marked in J.Z. Holwell's (Tenets of Gentoos, 1767) and in Jones' and Colebrooke's description of the Indian belief systems. N.B. Halhed tried to decipher the precise legal prescriptions from the Sanskrit sacred texts with the help of the Brahmin pandits and published them as A Code of Gentoo Laws, 1776. The Orientalists further differentiated India from Europe by their insistence upon the primacy of religion as a pre-eminent marker of Indian identity. Art and architecture were also conceived as being derived from and expressing the religious ethos. Hence we find the conflation of all Ancient art with Hindu or Buddhist category and description of all

medieval art as Islamic art. In the field of law also, separate realms of Hindu and Muslim laws were established.

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### 5.3 EVANGELICALISM AND THE CIVILISING MISSION

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In the last decades of the eighteenth century, evangelicalism emerged as a strong Protestant Christian movement in England emphasising improvement in the moral values of the communities in Britain. It coincided with the advancing industrialism and the rise of new middle class in England. Evangelicalism became the moral agency that disciplined rampant individualism and provided 'respectability' with its stress on personal experience and individual reading of the gospel. Evangelicalism as a faith relied upon individual resurrection, a process of conversion, a kind of 're-birth', instead of depending on the agency of priests and performance of religious rites. The experience of being saved from sin was to be one of sudden illumination. They also emphasised on work, frugality, and perseverance as concrete means of furthering the kingdom of God on earth. Evangelicalism also laid stress on education as a pre-requisite for conversion and salvation because the knowledge of God was possible only through individual reading of the revealed word or the Bible.

John Shore and Charles Grant, who were part of the East India Company's 1<sup>st</sup> establishment in India, after their return to England, founded the Clapham sect, along with Wilberforce, Zachary, Macaulay, Henry Thorton and John Venn. It had great influence on the Evangelical opinion. The Clapham sect demanded the abolition of slave trade and opening of India to missionary enterprise. Some Evangelical missionaries such as David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Marty and Thomas Thompson were sent to India. A large measure of freedom for missionary activity was provided in the Charter Act of 1813. The Evangelical missionaries demanded legal protection for Christian converts, the abolition of Sati and female - infanticide. They also demanded that British government in India should not support Hindu and Muslim shrines. Charles Grant's treatise entitled *Observations On the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with respect to Morals; and on the Means of Improving it*, was a severe condemnation of Indian society and culture, which was seen as superstitious, barbaric and despotic. He believed that mere legislation would be powerless to change human character. Grant's remedy for the ills of India was the liberation of Indians from the tyranny of Brahmanical priesthood. This could be achieved by a process of "Evangelicalising or proselytising" through education. He believed that civilising the 'barbarians' would also bring about their material prosperity, which will, in turn, serve the original British design of extension of commerce. The Evangelicals were generally hostile to Indian religions and culture. This is apparent from Wilberforce's speech on June 22, 1813 in the British parliament:

"The Hindu divinities were absolute monsters of lust, injustice, wickedness and cruelty. In short, their religious system is one grand abomination." (Quoted in Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, p.31) The Serampore missionaries, as cited by Kopf (*British Orientalism*, p. 53) also wanted to end "the current degeneration" of Indian society but they wanted to do it quietly, respecting Indian traditions through "cultivation of friendship."

The Evangelicals were not alone in devaluing Indian languages, customs, sentiments and religions. The Liberals and Utilitarians also shared the belief of the need for the upliftment of the Indians. A powerful alliance of free trade, other ideological currents and Christianity all stood together for an ultimate transformation of Indian society in the image and likeness of England. To 'civilise' and 'improve' the 'half-devil' and 'half-child' Indian, i.e., to anglicise Indian society, it was felt, would serve the colonial interests better in the country. Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis did not intend to interfere in the religious traditions of the Indians. However, Evangelicals took a lead in the campaign against Sati and they exposed its horrors to force the British in India to support Evangelicalism. The suppression of the 'barbaric' and 'inhuman' practice of Sati could make an affirmation of British superiority, and with it, that of Christian civilisation. The ideological basis of Sati was an extreme form of 'self-renunciation' on the part of women by burning themselves on their husbands' pyre. The Evangelicals and those believing in Victorian ideology also stressed on similar virtues of 'self-renunciation' among the women. Moral purity and self-sacrifice were twin virtues of the British ideology at home. But for them, as described by Metcalf (*Ideologies of the Raj*, p. 98) the appropriate mode of self-sacrifice was as 'angels in the house', not as 'victims upon the pyre.' Moreover, it is interesting to note that Bentinck disallowed unethical intent to convert Indians to Christianity and sought authority for the suppression of Sati in the Brahmanical scriptures. The British approached various pandits, and from them secured interpretations of select Sanskrit texts, which were evoked to support the claim, that the irrational practice of Sati was not an integral part of Hindu social system. In fact, the colonial state generally demonstrated the posture of neutrality and non-interference in the religious matters of its Indian subjects. The Christian missions saw caste as a major obstacle in their task of conversion. They, therefore, urged the state to adopt an interventionist line vis-à-vis caste. However, the events of 1857 and its aftermath compelled the colonial state to re-affirm its non-interventionist stance and support caste-distinctions. The success of the missionaries came in the 1860s and 1870s when there was an upsurge in the number of converts due to group-conversions among the so called 'untouchable' castes. The powerful incentives for conversions was material relief provided by the missions during famines, and above all restoration of dignity and self-respect by Christian patrons who treated the lower-caste persons as equals and instilled a sense of ability to choose one's own destiny among them (Duncan B. Forrester, "The Depressed Classes and Conversion to Christianity", in G.A. Oddie, (ed.), *Religion in South Asia*, p. 65-94).

### Check your Progress :

1) What is the meaning of Evangelicalism?

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## 5.4 THE UTILITARIAN SCALE OF 'HAPPINESS'

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Utilitarianism as developed particularly by Jermy Bentham defined utility as pleasure or happiness, and everything that turn on these mental satisfactions. This statistics of pleasure ignored individual freedom, the fulfilment or violation of recognised rights and other non-utility concerns such as quality of life. They stressed the sum total of utilities and showed no sensitivity to the ' actual distribution of utilities, the emphasis was on the aggregate utilities or the happiness of everyone taken together as is evident from the phrase 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' The Utilitarians were intimately connected with Indian affairs. James Mill and his son John Stuart Mill were part of East India Company's establishment. Like Evangelicals, they were critical of Indian society at the root of which they saw 'primitive barbarism', 'despotism' and an encompassing religious tyranny. However, whereas Evangelicals laid stress on the role of education and self-revelation in a changing society, the Utilitarian emphasis was on legislation, the might of law and its commands. James Mill made happiness of Indians contingent upon the nature of laws, the form of government, and the mode of taxation. The Utilitarians rejected the liberal conception of separation of powers and wanted to make the legislature as the sovereign body with the judiciary and executive as mere executants of its will. The Utilitarian idea that happiness and not liberty was the end of government, and that happiness was promoted solely by protection of individual in his person and property, suited the colonial establishment. It found expression in the maxim that good government and laws were a substitute for self government. While they believed that the means to ensure good government was representative democracy, they would not accept it in Indian conditions. The Utilitarians criticised the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis for not defining and recording the proprietary rights of cultivators. They favoured a detailed recording of landholdings and rights in the form of 'records of rights' as part of the settlement procedure. This, they believed would give a fixed, written, and legal status to the property rights in soil in place of existing vague, unwritten, customary, and ambiguous rights. The peasant would acquire a clear title to property, which he could freely sell, mortgage, or transfer by inheritance. The security of this private property in land was to be achieved through laws, scientifically designed, and embodied in a written form of codes. However, this could only be attained in a system like *ryotwari* where the state entered into direct administrative relations with the mass of

cultivators. The law of rent, first propounded by Malthus in 1 *b*; 15, and subsequently refined by Ricardo and Say, became the basis of Utilitarian remoulding of Indian revenue system. As Eric Stokes in his book *The English Utilitarians in India* points out that 'Rent constituted the differential advantage enjoyed by all soils of higher fertility than the last taken into cultivation. On the last quality of lands, at the margin of cultivation, the capital employed merely replaced itself and yielded the normal prevailing rate of profit. But lands of higher fertility yielded a surplus or rent beyond this. Rent could, therefore, be exactly calculated by subtracting the cost of cultivation and the ordinary rate of profit on the capital employed from the total or gross produce. An alternative term for rent was the net produce'. Ricardo, the propounder of Utilitarian economic doctrine, demonstrated that rent is a monopoly value, which arose because land was limited in quantity and variable in quality and could be appropriated by landlords as private property. The landlords performed no useful service and lived as parasites. In England, rent property was in the hands of the powerful aristocracy and it was not possible to advocate even taxing this rentier class. In India, the East India Company acting as the supreme landlord, however, could claim the entire economic rent. There were, however, other practical problems in implementing this Utilitarian idea in India. It required a minute and efficient enquiry into the yields of the different soils, the cost of production, and the history of agricultural prices. It also pre-supposed a highly efficient system of administration, and information about the local agrarian conditions.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) What was the local agrarian conditions of India during British East India Company?

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## **5.5 THE ROMANTIC SPELL**

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The Romantics in India included administrators like Thomas Munro, John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone and Charles Metcalfe. They were opposed to the Cornwallis system of impersonal laws and limited government. They stressed on a personal style of rule and believed in conserving the long-lasting social-institutions of India's past. The Romantics favoured a simple, paternalistic government for the Indian peasants. They wished to make the collector, in place of Cornwallis' judge, the key figure in Indian administration, who would act as the compassionate father and mother for the peasants. Such a notion meant rejection of landed intermediaries between the state and peasants. Stressing the need to preserve the age-old institutions, Munro wrote: "It is

time that we should learn that neither the face of the country, its property, nor its society, are things that can be suddenly improved by any contrivance of ours, though they may be greatly injured by what we mean for their good; that we should take every country as we find it." (Quoted in Stokes, p. 19).

This, however, contradicted the type of land settlement Munro himself advocated. Ryotwari settlement required more detailed surveys, more state officials, and a more interventionist form of government. Moreover, the Romantics were also committed to the values of the rule of law, property and notions of 'improvement' like other British administrators. For example Charles Metcalfe tried to preserve around Delhi the distinctive features of the idealised village community, derived from his romantic imagination. In 1830, defending the award of revenue collecting right to the village communities, rather than to landlords or cultivators, he wrote: "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they can want within themselves, or almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindu, Pathan, Mogul, Maratha, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same." (Quoted in Metcalfe, p.25). Later on Henry Maine used this image of the Indian 'self-sufficient' village, existing as a kind of living fossil in a timeless zone, in his evolutionary scheme. The 'unchanging' Indian villages with their patriarchal clans and 'communal land-holdings' were marked out as the earliest phase of an evolutionary process. This reinforced the earlier notion of a 'backward' and 'stagnant' Indian society.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the concept of 'Self sufficient village'?

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## **5.6 THE LIBERAL PROJECT: RE-MAKING INDIA AS THE REPLICA OF BRITAIN**

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The early Whig conception of separation of powers that would secure the liberties of individual and check arbitrary power found expression in Cornwallis' appointment of a separate district judge and collector. For most of the liberals, however, private property in land was necessary for an enduring social order. Cornwallis, guided by the principle which sought to make private property secure, transformed the zamindars into owners of their estates. The zamindars are only the revenue-collecting



intermediaries in the earlier times. The purpose was to make them 'progressive' landlords who would indulge in productive investments. The results were just opposite. The zamindars, their revenues fixed permanently, emerged as a rentier class exacting ever-greater rent from their tenants. Under the intellectual influence of people like Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, liberalism remoulded English society. Its main aim was to secure the 'liberties' of the individuals and their fundamental natural rights to property and life. As a manifesto of reform, it did not have any coherent ideological position. But broadly it wanted to free individuals from their bondage to the clergy, despotic rulers and feudal aristocracy. This social change was to be achieved gradually by the establishment of free trade, rule of law, reforms in education and administration and establishment of elective principle and parliamentary democracy. They wanted to transform a society, which conferred patronage and status on the basis of birth into a society where individual achievement became the sole criterion of a person's competence and status. In English society, liberalism found expression through the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, the repeal of Corn Laws, reform of labour legislation, establishment of new local administrative bodies such as municipal corporations and elected county councils, reform of civil laws, and the introduction of modern 'secular' education, etc.

The liberal view of Indian society found its fullest expression in James Mill's *History of British India* (1818). In this book, he envisaged a programme to free India from stagnation and decay and set it on the road to progress. This aim was to be achieved through 'light taxes and good laws'. The liberal programme meant flowering on Indian soil of such institutions, which were representative of English society and culture. The chief among these were private property, the rule of law, the liberty of the individual, education in the western scientific knowledge and at the core of it all the representative institutions and modern politics of mobilisation. The principle of private property was made sacrosanct in India. The spirit of 'rule of law' found expression in the codes of civil and criminal procedure proposed by Macaulay's Law commission and enacted in the 1860s. Codification of the procedural law introduced predictability and transparency in the sphere of law. The legal system of colonial India, however, accommodated both the assimilative ideals of liberalism (through the codes of procedures) and the insistence upon variation in Indian personal laws (defined in terms of being a part of Hindu or Muslim community).

In the field of education, Macaulay's minute on education (1835) tried to transform an Indian into an Englishman, or to create not just a category of Indians educated in the English language, who might help the British in administration, but one "English in taste, in opinions, in moral and in intellect". However, this project of Anglicisation had its limitations. There was shortage of funds for education. The colonial state's fiscal constraints meant that only a few selected natives could reap the benefits of this education and it was believed that from these elitist groups



education might "filter down" and 'percolate' to the lower ranks. The basis of imparting the new education remained 'selective', elitist throughout the colonial rule. Secondly, schooling in early Victorian England was religious in nature. The Christian sects generally ran the schools, though endowed with grants-in aids from the government. The mission societies in India followed the same pattern of education as religious conversion was a part of their strategy. The colonial state, however, never introduced the teaching of Christianity in the state-sponsored schools due to fear of intense hostility it would have provoked. The ideal of secularism and neutrality, however, did not prevent the colonial state to play an active, interventionist role in re-making religious and caste-identities through the use of sectarian and communal electorates.

Thus, despite liberal attempts to re-model India in the image of England so as to create 'so many happy England's (This in fact was the aim of colonialism as per Gladstone in 1855), the empire itself was a negation of the liberal ideals. The inconsistencies in the liberal design for India and other colonies resurfaced again and again. James Mill denied the representative government to India on the utilitarian ground that happiness and not liberty was the end of government. John Stuart Mill, son of James Mill, while recognising the intrinsic value of liberty per se, also made it clear that representative government was not appropriate to all people. Moreover, there was a conviction that in colonies and their governance a strong and decisive executive action was necessary in order to secure order. Many rebels were summarily shot dead, blown from the guns and hanged to crush the Kuka uprising in the Punjab (1872). This was a sort of precursor to the infamous Amritsar massacre (1919). India was also provided, on the model of Irish police organisation (1836), a quasi-military instrument of policing in the 1840s for maintaining order and assisting a fragile political authority. Easy mobility, a clear and firm hierarchy, a direct and formal link with the military and a highly centralised command marked this police organisation. Sir Charles Napier provided the lead in creating such a force in Sind province. This was a time when the lonely, untrained village constable was still the instrument of law enforcement over most of rural England. The Vernacular Press Act of India (1878) was a piece of repressive legislation to muzzle the critical Indian Press. It contained provisions for proceedings against 'seditious papers' with a minimum of legal fuss, a certainty of being convicted and almost universal censorship. Such legislation could never be visualised in a liberal England. The Liberal ideology was institutionalised in India during 1860s and 1870s in the municipalities and district boards with elected members. Seats in these local bodies, however, were allotted between precisely defined trading and religious communities. They increased the government's revenue by raising local taxes. The colonial state was also able to integrate powerful local groups in the governance. Although the aim of these reforms was to train Indians in 'selfrule'; it led to proliferation of communal electorates. Despite these weaknesses, the English-educated Indians did take advantage of these political reforms. The Ilbert Bill Controversy (1882-83) around the piece of legislation that

sought to empower the Indian Magistrates in the rural areas to try British subjects, also brought out inconsistencies in the imperial governance. The Bill itself was based on the liberal idea of equality before law. The opponents of the law argued that India's social and legal institutions being different from Europe, such legal equality could not be ensured.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the Ilbert bill controversey?

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## **5.7 POSITIVISM AS A TOOL OF KNOWING THE COLONIAL SOCIETY**

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The British usually steered clear of grand political theories in favour of methods based on empirical observation. John Locke had insisted upon the experimental modes of understanding and this became handy and convenient in investigating the conquered lands and their people. Empiricism is the knowledge acquisition through the use of senses as we observe and experience life. Such observation and measurement of facets of social life, of course, can never be neutral as we mentally process information deploying already existing notions, concepts and ideas. Positivism as a theory of knowledge, as it grew in the nineteenth century Europe, was merely an extension of the established notions of empiricism. It was characterised by the verifiable or empirical measurement and the notion of predictability of the relationship between the measurable discrete phenomena.

The colonial state and its officials used in their operations what Bernard S. Cohn calls 'investigative modalities'. An 'investigative modality' is used to obtain the information that is needed. It includes the procedures to gather this information, its ordering and classification, and then how it is transformed into usable forms such as published reports, statistical tables, histories, gazetteers, legal codes and encyclopaedias. The colonial rulers required help of the Indians: in this "conquest" through knowledge. These Indians were known by such titles as akund, dalal, gomastah, dubashi, pandit, vakil, etc. The first type of historical modality were the 'enquires' in the 1770s about land revenue assessment and collection, and later land settlement reports, which also contained information about the customs and local histories related to land revenue. The second type of historical modality included the British writings on the Indian past and civilisation, of writers such as Alexander Dow, Robert

Orme, William Jones, James Todd, etc. The third type of writings were about the activities of the British in India. The results that were produced can be categorised as:

**1) The observational-cum-travel modality** produced images of India that casual travellers recorded and found significant.

**2) The Survey modality** explored the natural and social landscape of India. It included the mapping of India, measurement of its lands, collection of botanical specimens, etc. Colin Mackenzie, Francis Buchanan Hamilton and William Lambton conducted some of the important surveys in India.

**3) The Enumerative modality** sought to see India as a vast collection of numbers expressed in lists of products, prices of products, duties, weights and measures. An important category of the enumerative project were the censuses conducted at regular intervals after **1857** and designed to reveal the population number, its demographic and social indexes, economic data of all kind and so many other things. The censuses also objectified social, cultural, religious and linguistic differences among the people of India.

**4) The Museological modality** treated India as a vast museum, a source of collectibles. Colin Mackenzie collected a large number of artefacts, texts and manuscripts during his survey of South India. Alexander Cunningham, an army engineer, urged Lord Canning to establish the Archaeological Survey of India, which recorded the past by excavating and preserving sites and collecting archaeological specimens.

**5) The Surveillance modality** was an instrument to control those defined as beyond the civil bounds. A special Thagi and Dacoit department was established in **1835** to investigate and punish gang-robberies and murders. W.H. Sleeman's **The Ramaseena or Vocabulary of Thug literature**, exemplified this modality. Later on an increasing number of people, groups, tribes, communities were stigmatised as the 'criminal tribes' or 'criminal castes' following the model of Sleeman.

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## 5.8 HUMANISM AND THE COLONIAL WORLD

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Humanism placed man at the centre of everything. Such an intellectual trend was a product of Enlightenment in Europe and its victory was assured by the rise of industrial capitalism and scientific discoveries. Popular 'representative governments, equality of opportunity, the free market & the ability to control the creation of knowledge accompanied the rise of such a "rational man". Humanism as a philosophy developed, therefore, within the context of an emergent capitalism, new class relations, a new human-centred framework for comprehension of reality. Now, man was privileged and seen as a unified, stable, coherent, self-acting human agent. This 'human' subject was supposed to be endowed with the will, the ability, and the freedom to make rational choices, i.e., he was a 'rational autonomous subject' in the words of Immanuel Kant.

Liberal humanism also defined man as the engineer, the maker of history, the creator of empires, the founder of modern nations, and the conqueror of backward people, the Master of Science and technology. Question arises where would this humanism place the people who did not make progress, who lagged behind time, who were technologically backward and who did not develop modern nations and democracies? Such colonial subjects were written out of historical evolution, out of modernity and into a timeless primitivism, i.e., endemic, simple and fixed. Initially, India was construed as a land of 'unchanging village communities' and feudal principalities. India's decline was traced to Aryan decline. Technological supremacy of West was proclaimed. The 'effeminacy' of India was stressed. Men were depicted as strong, active, intellectual possessing self control and discipline while females were fragile, passive, sentimental exhibiting tenderness of feelings according to the British ideology of gender distinction. British imperial experience, therefore, brought into prominence the 'masculine' virtues of the master race and devalued 'feminised' colonial subjects. Moreover, the categories that denoted India's distinctiveness such as those of caste, community and tribe were given undue weightage in shaping the Indian identities. Having no place in the process of historical evolution, the people of India were described as possessing unchanging racial and cultural identities. The most important of these was caste which was defined by a set of characteristics such as endogamy, commensality rules, fixed profession, and common ritual practices. India was depicted as an ethnographic museum. As time went on Indian ethnography, as evolved by the British, asserted its rigorous scientific claims. Its categories, embedded in censuses, gazetteers and revenue records, became ever more closely tied to the administrative concerns of the colonial state. The valorisation of castes which were considered as fixed and immutable found its most striking expression in the creation of the notion of 'criminal tribes' and 'martial races'. The notion that certain castes and tribes practiced crime as a hereditary profession stigmatised those outside sedentary society, hence they were believed to challenge British efforts to order and control their Indian dominions. Its final outcome was the Criminal Tribes Act (1871). Similarly, in the years after the 'mutiny' (1857), a perceived sense of distinctive martial fitness came to distinguish certain people of the northern India as imbued with martial skills from others. The army in India was organised into units based on caste or ethnicity by the 1880s.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the structure of Army in India during British Rule?

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## 5.9 SUMMARY

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We have seen how the multiple strands of imperial ideology converged to justify and legitimate the British rule in India. Edward W Said has given this I collective ideological formation the name of 'Orientalism'. According to him, the various western techniques of representation that make the 'orient' visible and subordinate it to the west had some common features despite subtle variations. The way the 'orient' was created, it encompassed complex phenomena of power, of domination, and of varying degrees of hegemony. The 'orient' was created as a kind of collective abstraction, which was unequal with the west, and endured without existential human-identities. Therefore a reassessment of the 'others' was essential to define their own western identities and also this served as an accessory to sustain the empire. However, we should not neglect the historical context of the changing political and administrative policies and ideologies that shaped them. The justification of the colonial rule was not sought in monolithic, unitary terms but found expression in multiple ideological discourses. Moreover, the colonised people did not accept the western domination without overt or covert resistance. The multiple voices of the colonised people, which sometimes subverted the discursive mode, amended it and re-applied the amended stereotypes of this discourse to the British rule in India.

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## 5.10 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Explain the utilitarian point of view in the development policies in India.
- 2) Trace the efforts of British historian and thinkers in in re-making India as the replica of Britain.
- 3) Describe positivism as a tool of knowing the colonial society in India.

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## 5.11 REFERENCES

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# Unit - 6

## ARMS OF COLONIAL STATE-ARMY, POLICE AND LAW

### Unit Structure :

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Nature of The Colonial State
- 6.3 The Political Economy of The Colonial State
- 6.4 Instruments of Control
- 6.5 Sources of Legitimation
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Questions
- 6.8 References

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### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

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The political structure which evolved in India under the British during the initial phase of their rule was civil in nature due to the East India Company's stress on trade and commerce. However, war and conquest followed soon with the aim of establishing a territorial empire. The British introduced various Acts between 1773 and 1858 to establish parliamentary control over the government in India. After 1858 the administration of the East India Company was dissolved and the Crown was directly empowered to exercise control over the administration. The political authority of the colonial state relied upon many instruments for preserving and enforcing its power which was a pre-condition for the formulation of colonial policy. The frontiers and territorial boundaries had to be demarcated for security which was a prerequisite for the growth and development of colonial state and policy. Certain developments in Britain found expression in policy making in India.

The laissez faire ideology was responsible for the progressive rise of parliamentary control in government and centralisation which led to political integration in India. The philosophy of liberalism eliminated from the doctrine of laissez faire. The influence of liberal ideas was reflected in the administrative and legislative endeavours of Governor General William Bentinck. The British policy at this stage was an attempt to devise a balance between the traditional Indian society and the British Capitalist system based on rule of law. In Britain the ideology of laissez faire gave impetus to industrial capitalism in economy and democracy in politics.

The new social and economic exigencies influenced the abolition of the company's trade in 1833 and the Indian market was opened to British industrial manufactures. Thus it became necessary to introduce reforms in administration and decree fresh laws in the changed scenario of the arrival of an increasing number of European settlers (immigrants) in India. The European settlers constituted a group which disapproved of the highly centralised executive administration. They wished to promote their interests through a separate legislative authority which paved the way for the growth of representative government in India. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 tried to create a counterpoise between the representative government and the executive bureaucratic administration.

The new Indian middle class of English educated elites who were the support base of the government and the new landed aristocracy joined hands with the European business interests to curtail the power of the executive by pressing for representative legislative authority. Representative government meant an accountable political system controlled by the socially dominant which acted as a link between the bureaucracy and the masses. In the legislative councils the Zamindars, planters and lawyers pursued their own interests. This gave rise to agrarian distress. Therefore the executive government was forced to introduce agrarian reforms to protect the interests of the Raiyats. As a consequence of British policy political associations were constituted (to give opinion on legislation) and the urban middle class elites pressed for the introduction of representative government through this platform. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 accepted the elective principle in practice but in the guise of recommendation. The legislative councils were a forum for getting information regarding the popular reaction to various legislations. The views of the Indian representatives which were aired in these councils were revoked by the press and could be used to justify British policies.

The Morley-Minto Reforms (Indian Councils Act of 1909) accepted the criteria of representation on the basis of classes, races, communities and interests which was in accordance with India's pluralistic society but later separate electorates were used to create divisions between Hindus and Muslims. Minto had acknowledged the principle of a special separate electorate for Muslims in 1906. This was done to offset the influence of the middle class professionals in representative bodies. To ensure the implementation of the principle of election an electoral system had to be formulated. The growth and development of the legislative system led to the rise of an alternative system of governance carried out by the people of India themselves through their elected representatives.

Based on these introductory comments this Unit discusses the nature of colonial rule. Further, it goes on to explain the political economy of the state along with the various instruments of control adopted by the British. It also discuss the sources that were used by them to legitimise their authority.



**Check your Progress :**

1) How was the political economy during the British Rule in India?

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**6.2 NATURE OF THE COLONIAL STATE**

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**The British  
Colonial State**

The Battle of Plassey (1757) marks a significant break in the modern Indian history. The East India Company, whose original purpose was commercial gain, transformed itself into a ruling territorial power by acquiring all the attributes of the state. It could wage war, make peace, raise taxes and administer justice in the conquered territories like any other sovereign power. As a private enterprise, it administered its territories for the profits of its shareholders, but the ultimate source of sovereignty lay with the British Parliament and Crown, the twin institutions that regulated its governance before taking over direct administration of the Indian Empire in 1858. After 1858, some modification was introduced in the institutions and administrative machinery founded by the Company Raj, but the basic fabric of the state and its purpose remained unaltered. Some scholars argue that the early colonial state and its edifice was built on the foundations of the existing pre-colonial institutions and identities.

They refuse to acknowledge any sharp break in the nature of polity after assumption of power by the British. But while acknowledging the forces of continuity, we must also understand that colonialism refashioned the existing indigenous political arrangements, social-structures and relations in a qualitative way. As the colonial state was the key actor in bringing about all these socio-economic changes, we now turn to the analysis of some important aspects of colonial state.

The colonial state was qualitatively different from the pre-colonial Indian states especially in the manner in which it marshalled military force and extracted resources from India. The colonial state in a subtle way combined the radical method of social transformation with the use of conciliatory means to appease various social groups. Being an alien force, the final sanction for the maintenance of colonial rule in India was necessarily physical force and repression. It was the conviction of the colonial rulers that in colonies and in their governance, a strong and decisive executive action to secure order was necessary. For instance, to crush the Kuka uprising (1872) in Punjab, many rebels were shot dead, blown from guns and hanged. We all know the notorious Amritsar massacre at Jalianwala Bagh. In other words, army was the instrument for maintaining the coercive apparatus of the colonial state. However, even

the most autocratic regimes require some sort of legitimisation. The British used various means and ideological strategies to justify their rule in the eyes of the Indian people. The State, even though armed with an efficient bureaucracy and a huge amount of information about Indian society and people at its disposal, lacked the financial resources and sufficient military might to rule so vast and turbulent a land by force alone. The colonial state was a product of historical circumstances and was shaped by the British ideologies. The British ideologies projected the state established by the British in India as an engine of modernisation. They laid stress on the positive virtues of colonial rule such as establishment of rule of law, modern education system and an impersonal 'rational' bureaucracy that improved and made more efficient the work of maintaining law and order. Despite its selective administrative intervention for initiating changes in the social sphere, the colonial state was to a large extent guided by the basic liberal principle: establishment of the principle of private. Proprietorship of land. But the principle of private proprietorship can be implemented only if contracts are guaranteed, and if law protects contracts and property rights. The liberal ideology of the colonial state emphasised that the state should enable markets to function freely and act as the guarantor and protector of market by introducing the necessary laws and legal institutions. The Romantic paternalist strand of colonial-ideology, however, feared that unregulated markets would disrupt indigenous institutions such as the village community and harm certain social groups in a manner that could jeopardize political stability. It is difficult to measure the degree of colonial state's reliance on the consent of the people and the ideological precepts for justifying its rule in India. The colonial state sought the consent of the Indian people in various ways and attempted to legitimise its rule. For example, it acquired to some extent the image of a public authority responsible for maintaining social-order and justice. But although, the rhetoric of the 'rule of law' and 'individual freedom' decorated its claims to legitimacy, in practice the colonial state maintained its domination by the use and demonstration of force, which reflected the very nature of colonial state in India.

At the same time it is also true that naked force was used only in case of crisis whereas the demonstrative aspect was always there. The British state upheld the theoretical principle of equality before law. This formal, legal equality of all citizens was absent in the pre-colonial administrative system of the Indian rulers. Peshwas, for instance upheld the principle of hierarchy and scale of worthiness according to caste and birth in deciding the exact nature of penalty to be imposed in case of crime. The British colonial state, in its enactment of the Indian penal code, standardised personal law separately for Hindus and Muslims. The colonial administrators prepared Compendia of the customary laws for each region, but the underlying thrust of the colonial state was towards codification of law and uniformity in respect of the law. The upper caste customs were codified and applied to all the Hindus. The colonial state based itself on formal legal equality guaranteed by rules and procedures that were to be followed by the police and the courts. These imposed partial checks on the arbitrariness of the rulers despite the drawback that

they reflected colonial needs and were not framed by a democratic procedure by the Indian people. The laws were often repressive, like, The Vernacular Press Act (1878) enacted to muzzle the critical Indian Press. It contained provisions for proceedings against 'seditious papers' with a minimum of legal fuss, a certainty of conviction and almost complete censorship. In the field of justice, the Ilbert Bill Controversy (1882-83) reflected the racial prejudices of European administrators in India. The Bill was based on the liberal principle of equality before law and sought to empower Indian Magistrates in the rural areas to try British subjects. The British opponents of the Bill argued that India's social and legal institutions were different from Europe, hence such a legal equality could not be granted. Similarly, representative self-government was denied to the Indian people on the pretext that Indian people were not competent and intellectually mature to establish representative and accountable government – a complete negation of traditional Indian local governance. The colonial state institutionalised the liberal ideology during 1860s and 1870s through the creation of municipalities and district boards with elected members. Seats in these local bodies, however, were precisely allotted to specified trading and religious communities. The basic purpose was to increase the government's revenue by raising local taxes and to integrate the powerful indigenous groups in governance. Although the alleged aim of these 'reforms' was to train the Indians in 'self-rule', they initiated the process of the establishment of communal electorates. Despite these drawbacks, the colonial state unconsciously did provide such knowledge that was utilised by the Indians in fighting for self-governance and independence.

The problem of seeking legitimacy was also related' to the issue of accommodating alien concepts and doctrines within the traditional structure of Indian society. The colonial state's anxiety to legalise existing rights and privileges of the powerful and the dominant groups (Indian intermediaries, e.g., Taluqdars in Oudh) often subverted and undermined their own ideals as in the case of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. The practical need to accommodate powerful indigenous social groups often grew out of the colonial state's requirement to maintain political stability. The social policies of the colonial state had to be devised to appease the dominant and the powerful social groups. Hence, reinforcing caste system through the Census classification of social hierarchy and legitimising the authority of the Brahmins, etc. were some of the methods used in this regard.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the basic principles of Ilbert bill?

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### 6.3 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE COLONIAL STATE

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The early colonial state's chief concern was to ensure the smooth appropriation and collection of land-revenue (the main source of its income). A variety of land- settlements were introduced in different parts of the country to achieve this aim. The Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis (1793) assigned the right to collect revenue, as an inheritable, transferable right of ownership of the estates to the Zamindars of Bengal. The revenue demand was fixed in perpetuity. The Zamindars were expected to collect rent from the cultivators and remit a part of it as revenue to the Company's treasury. The revenue assessment was initially very high. Many Zamindars defaulted and sold their Zamindaris to other landlords and usurers. In the early nineteenth century, therefore, the colonial state empowered Zamindars with extra-economic coercive powers such as the right to imprison and evict peasants. In parts of Madras Presidency that were acquired from Mysore agrarian magnates had already been squeezed dry by Tipu Sultan's policies. This facilitated a direct settlement between the colonial state and the cultivators.

The Utilitarian ideology also stressed the maximum appropriation of net produce from the peasants. In Madras and Bombay Presidencies, about two-thirds of the agricultural lands were under Ryotwari settlement. In the later settlements, the colonial state also retained the right to enhance revenues periodically, usually at a thirty years interval. The early Company rule was, in fact based on the direct plunder of the Indian revenues. These were 'invested' in the purchase of Indian manufactured goods especially cotton textiles, which were further sold in the European markets. With the expansion of the territorial empire of the Company, the revenues also soared from about 3 million in 1765 to 22 million in 1818. The heavy- reliance of the colonial state on the doctrine of private property removed the customary safeguards that shielded the Indian peasants and the state laws greatly strengthened the new class of property owners. India's textile manufactures lost their edge in the world- market due to the emergence of the industrial organisation and mechanised techniques of production in the English factories. The British industrialists of Lancashire and Manchester also demanded the abolition of the Company's monopoly over Indian trade. The Charter Act of 1813 ended the Company's monopoly of trade in India. China's tea and silk now substituted Indian textiles as the most profitable item of the Company's trade. The East India Company financed its China trade by forcing Indian cultivators to grow indigo and by establishing a state monopoly over opium cultivation in India. With the smuggling of huge amounts of Indian opium into China it was no more necessary for the Company to export bullion to finance their China trade.

Although India's markets were opened up for the British industrial goods from the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was only in the second half of the century that India was systematically transformed into a

typical colonial economy exporting agriculture based primary products such as cotton, jute, tea, wheat and oilseeds. The colonial state unilaterally transferred resources from India to England to meet an array of Home Charges. India received no equivalent value of goods and services in return for a rising export surplus. Home Charges included the cost of the secretary of state's establishment in London, costs of war at home and abroad, purchase of military provisions, pensions for British military and civilian bureaucracy in India, etc. It also included a guaranteed 4.5 to 5% annual interest to the British Railway Companies that helped in the construction of the Railways in India. The interest payments on public debt raised by the colonial state in London money markets was also a part of this visible resource transfer. The Home charges amounted to \$17-18 million at the turn of the century. In addition to this, the other means of 'drain' of Indian resources were private remittances by British officials, merchants and the 'invisible' charges for services accruing to British shipping, banking and insurance companies. The silver rupee of India was equal to 2 shillings in 1872 but depreciated against the pound sterling and was equal to 1 shilling and 2 pence in 1893. The depreciation in the value of Indian currency meant that there was increase in the real burden of India's payments to England. The British denied that there was any drain of resources from India and maintained that they received only a 'fair' return on the capital invested in India and payments for various services rendered to India's colonial subjects. However, the nationalist critique of Colonialism stressed that the wealth drained away from India represented a potential investible surplus, which would have contributed to economic development of India if it had remained within the country. The transfer of resources from India took place through the council bills of the Secretary of State. British buyers of Indian goods paid pound sterling for council bills. These council bills were exchanged for rupees (obtained from the government of India's revenues) in the branches of the exchange banks in India by the British trading firms. The rupee currency was then used to finance the production and trade of export commodities. The rupee profits accruing, due to the exchange rate being favourable for the British, could subsequently be used to buy sterling bills at the local branches of the British-owned exchange banks. Pound sterling could be obtained against these bills in England, which could be again used to buy council bills. The cycle was repeated year after year.

The main aim of the colonial state was to facilitate the expansion of the markets in India for the manufactured products of the Metropolitan country. The low purchasing power of the agricultural population in India, as reflected in a very low per-capita income, hindered this expansion. Therefore, the emphasis shifted on the production of commercial crops, introduction of irrigation canal networks in certain areas and moderation of revenue demands. In such circumstances, the main channel of appropriating the agrarian surplus was credit mechanism. The traders and moneylenders advanced money to the peasants for the production of commercial crops that were to be exported by the export companies. Although, expanding commercialisation of Indian agriculture did create some brief periods of boom, one example was the cotton boom of early

1860s during the American Civil War, it also increased dependence of Indian peasants on usurers and resulted in a spate of devastating famines, especially in the 1890s. The imperial interests mostly determined the financial and political needs of the colonial state. The Indian railways, often seen as the great modernising force of colonialism leading to social mobility and internal unification of markets, were constructed and designed to serve the economic and military interests of the British. They facilitated movement of the army, the dispersal of the British industrial goods, served as channels for extracting the agriculture based primary products and their transportation from the Indian **bazaars** to the ports. It was a profitable source of investment for the British capital while the risk was, primarily the responsibility of the colonial state in the form of guaranteed interest payments, whether the railways made profits or not.

### **Check your Progress :**

1) What was the main aim of the colonial state?

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## **6.4 INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL**

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In this section, we will discuss the major instruments of control used by the colonial state. The colonial army and police were the means through which the political authority of the colonial state was exercised while the judiciary and the bureaucracy implemented laws framed by the colonial state policy makers. We have omitted the ideological and educational apparatus of the colonial state here as they have been discussed in other Units in greater detail.

### **The Colonial Military Apparatus**

The colonial army was the mechanism used by the colonial state to maintain its paramountcy. Its emergence can be traced to the establishment of the Bengal army under the command of Calcutta Presidency. The increasing financial power of the East India Company derived from its monopoly over trade and supplemented by the **Diwani** or the power to collect taxes enabled it to directly recruit and pay the sepoy's instead of hiring soldiers through the indigenous chiefs. Europeans utilised the power of the infantry, organised on the basis of strict command and training pattern. The collective, coordinated musket fire wielded by these troops proved very effective. But creation of such an army required professionalization i.e. the army had to be separated from the civil society for a long period so as to train and discipline the soldiers as professionals who could act in a cohesive, coordinated manner on the battlefield. Military parade and close-order drill and manoeuvres were not merely ceremonial performances; they were rather means to create professional soldiers. This professionalization also required regular payments and a



system of reward and security, such as promotion system, linked to the length of service and performance and a pension system for long-serving sepoys. The linguistic and caste-divisions of the Indian society were used by the British to create socially segregated inward looking groups thinking only in terms of their own regiment and divorced from the civil society. Sepoys were grouped into companies and battalions and were commanded at the lower unit level by Indian officers from the sepoy's own social-group.

The East India Company's army consisted of the Bengal army and the armies of Bombay and Madras Presidencies, each with a different type of internal organisation and level of professionalization. The sepoys of the Bengal army generally hailed from the high-caste (Brahmin and Kshyatriya) Hindu families of Oudh and Bihar. They maintained the caste and village ties even in their 'military villages'. The ties with their original villages were however, slackened but not snapped. The Bombay and the Madras army recruits belonged to the Punjab, Oudh, and Rajputana and hailed from different castes. There was an influx of Maratha soldiers after the Anglo-Maratha war. These armies consisted of different ethnic groups and castes and were organised on professional basis, e.g.,n Mer Corps. They were further distanced from the civil society and made proud of their regiments. They generally helped the British during the 1857 revolt as loyal professional soldiers. The British armies also professionalized logistics by routine purchase and stockpiling of non-perishable goods so as to attain mobility without resource problems and without resorting to plunder. The colonial state, also took special care to deny the Indian rulers the access to resources to prevent them from organising similar professional armies. The annexation principle was applied in territories of the Princely States where succession lapsed. The system of subsidiary alliances with the Indian rulers was initiated with the aim of liquidating the local military and even the quasi-military forces so as to achieve almost complete "de-militarization" of the Indian kingdoms.

The revolt of 1857 necessitated certain reforms in the organisation of colonial armed forces. The Royal Peel Commission (1859) spelt out the proportion which was to be maintained between the number of British and Indian soldiers in India. The ratio was fixed as 1 British: 2.5 Indian sepoys. The mobile artillery was completely controlled by the British and the Arms Acts were passed to deny the possession of weapons in the hands of 'unlawful' elements. The colonial state also evolved the ideology of martial-fitness of certain castes and races. The ideology of martial-race was an attempt by the colonial state to utilise ethnicity for promoting imperial interests. The territorial nomenclature of the armies was abandoned and now the Bengal army was re-organised by absorbing soldiers from the so called "martial race such as the Sikhs", the Jats, the Muslims, the Punjabis, the Pathans and the Dogras. Nepali Gorkhas acquired such an importance in the British military organisation that they constituted 116% of the army in 1914. This powerful instrument of colonial power was commanded by the King's commissioned officers from Sandhurst in the beginning and subsequently by the officers from the



Military Academy in Dehradun to obey the **hukm-i-sahiban alishar** (the orders of the Great Sahibs).

The total strength of the Company's standing army was 1,55,000 in 1805 and it was a unique feat in the history of the growth and development of the state institutions in India. Although the colonial state professed that the maintenance of public order was ordinarily the duty of police, troops were frequently summoned to deal with disturbances. This policing role of maintaining public order remained a major function of the colonial army even till 1947. Besides maintaining the 'internal frontier' of India, the colonial army safeguarded the global strategic interests of the empire. The colonial army was used in many places to protect imperial interest such as in Ceylon, Java, Red Sea, Egypt, China and Afghanistan. During the First World War, it played a crucial role in the defence of the Suez Canal and the sea-route through the Red Sea which was so important for Persian-Gulf supplies. In East Africa, Indian troops were used for the liquidation of the German colony of Tanganyika. And, a much larger role was played during the Second World War.

### **The Police Organisation**

The colonial state in its early phase used the indigenous institutions for controlling crimes. Warren Hastings, for example, retained the post of the **fauzdars** and utilised the policing functions of the Zamindars during the early phase of Company rule. Finding this arrangement inadequate, he also appointed Magistrates in the districts and each district was divided into smaller sub-units, each under the charge of a **darogah** who headed a group of 20-30 armed policemen and supervised the village watchmen who was in charge of 20-30 villages. The **darogahs** functioned under the over-all control of the Magistrates. Regulation XXII of 1793 abolished the policing right of Zamindars. In the system of administration, evolved by Cornwallis, District Collectors combined the duties of revenue-collection and the police duties as Magistrates. These functions were separated briefly at the recommendation of the Bird Committee (1808-12) when separate District Superintendents of Police were appointed. However, in 1844 the functions of the Collector, the Magistrate and the Police were again combined to tackle the problem of the increasing incidences of property crimes.

The Police organisation emerged as an autonomous organ of the colonial state in the North-West-Frontier Province in the 1840s as a quasi-military instrument for maintaining order and assisting a fragile political authority. Sir Charles Napier modelled 'his' Police in the Sind Province on the pattern of Irish Police Organisation (1836). Easy mobility, a clear and firm hierarchy, and direct and formal links with the army and a highly centralised command marked this Police organisation. In his scheme, the posts of lieutenant of police and an adjutant in the district, both were to be manned by the British army officers. **Thanedars** or Commissioned officers of the mounted police were in charge of each division of a district. By 1859, there was a complete network of about 345 Thanas in Sind. This type of police organisation was later recommended by the Police

Commission (1860) and enshrined in the Police Act of 1861. The Act was applied to various provinces except Bombay and Madras. However, separate Police Acts were framed for these two provinces. The Police organisation thus emerged as a distinct department of government, with some degree of military discipline. In some cases, the District Magistrates had initially resisted the move to divest them of policing powers. The British officers dominated the superior posts in the police. In 1887, a system of competition for higher appointments was introduced but it was meant only for the British citizens. A few posts of Assistant Superintendent of Police were thrown open to the selected Inspectors. The Andrew Frazer Police Commission (1902-03) recommended that there should be an Imperial Service Branch in which recruitment was to be conducted in England and a Provincial Service Branch in which recruitment was done entirely in India. The issue of Indianisation of an alien bureaucracy came before the subsequent Police Commission. Gokhale and Justice Abdur Rahim expressed their concern regarding the substitution of indigenous for alien police officers as members of the Police Commission (1912). In the twentieth century, the Indianisation did take place at a gradual pace. The proportion of the Indian police officers of Assistant Police Superintendent and above rank was about 10% in 1924 but it reached 30% by 1946.

Another important aspect of the Police organisation within the colonial state was its military character in its administrative and organisational form. Although the colonial state attributed the responsibility of the maintenance of public law and order to the police, however the army was frequently used to deal with 'disturbances'. Its military character influenced even its perception of dealing with crime and the problem of violation of social norms. These were seen primarily in terms of rebellion and disorder and as aspects of public safety and political stability rather than simply as matters related to lawlessness and security of property and persons. The lack of financial resources and political will forced the police to rely on selective control, i.e., identification of particular social groups as their targets. The police also remained poorly armed, inefficient, lacking in proper training and highly corrupt. Even Curzon found all these weaknesses and defects in the police organisation. In the 1920s, an armed contingent of the police was established to avoid over-deployment of the army but the colonial policy makers always mistrusted this agency of administration. There was the lurking fear of revolt, of taking sides or of their sympathising with the crowds. The police organisation of the colonial state was also inhibited by the power of the racial ideology and by the fact that it was aligned with the powerful dominant landed groups. So much so that in most parts of the countryside it was the **daroga** and the local landlord who mattered as government for the peasants and labourers or to say for every section of the rural society.

### **The Judiciary and Law**

The colonial state inherited an autocratic judicial setup governed by ill-defined and outdated laws. In the indigenous judicial system criminals were punished according to their caste-status. After an initial

recognition of the caste-hierarchy, the colonial state attempted to incorporate the element of formal equality in the legal system. However, the system of legal equality adopted by the colonial state was limited in scope and ambiguous in its nature. British rulers considered the principle of racial discrimination and privilege as the cornerstone of the colonial judicial system. The legal inequality inherent in the earlier system with regard to the various social groups was sought to be removed but the racial distinctions were preserved as a privilege for the British subjects. However, after 1836, the British subjects could be tried in the same courts as the Indians in the civil matters. The other special privileges granted to the British subjects were abolished in 1836, but an Indian judge could still not try them in the criminal cases. The early Company courts followed the principle of justice by the executive head with the Governor-in-Council deciding the legal cases of the English subjects. Warren Hastings established two types of courts at the district-level diwani adalats (civil-court) and nizamat adalats (courts for criminal cases). The British Collector enjoyed both revenue and judicial powers in a district whose boundaries followed the pattern of pre-existing revenue units called the Sarkars. Pandits and Moulvis were associated with these courts to assist the European judges. The Governor-in-Council acted as the court of appeal in both criminal and civil cases.

In India, the British found that laws were generally based on traditions recorded in memory and customs embedded in a variety of usages. Hastings believed that the knowledge of Indian laws as embodied in the textual traditions of India was relevant for developing the judicial set-up. The traditional Indian legal interpreters, the Pandits and the Moulvis, were seen as the upholder, expositors and interpreters of the legal tradition and hence they were associated with the courts as experts in this area. The British, however, distrusted Indian subordinates due to their own racial ideology. They wanted to acquire a complete knowledge of the canons and the authoritative legal texts. They wanted to codify the Indian laws. This, however, could be done only with the help of Indian assistants, whose integrity the British doubted. The British scholars hoped that this would remove the dependence of the future British officials on Indians subordinates. N.B. Halhed's "A Code of Gentoo Law" (1776) and H.T. Colebrooke's "The Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts-and Succession"(1798) were early attempts to codify the laws concerning property, inheritance, marriages, castes and succession, etc. The attempt to standardise and codify the laws remained the basic concern of the colonial rulers. The Utilitarian ideology emphasised this need to remove the vagueness and diversity in legal practices in order to dismantle the structure of 'despotic' rule in India. Macaulay was appointed as chairperson of the First Law Commission (1834) to achieve this objective. A series of enactments established the colonial "rule of law". The Indian Penal Code (1860) codified laws and sought to eliminate social inequality. The Codes of Criminal Procedures (1872) settled the quality and quantity of evidence required for proving or disproving facts related to offences. The Indian laws (indigenous), were seen as changeless and immutable. In the case of Hindu law, the upper caste customs were codified and applied

to all castes in the name of legal equality, whereas, the English law system was based on the historical precedents and was responsive to historical change. Such an element of flexibility and the principle of multiple interpretation was reintroduced in the procedure of the working of the High Courts in India subsequently. The High Courts established in 1861 at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and later at Lahore and Allahabad, with original and appellate jurisdiction, took cognition of the earlier judicial decisions. The colonial state could also conveniently use the principle of non-interference to justify the existing oppressive practices or it could seek the justification for continuation of customary practices, despite references to its repudiation in certain "ancient customs and traditions". At the same time, the different social category and groups could also articulate their specific interests and pressurise the colonial 'state to modify the existing law or enact new laws to protect their legal rights. The examples of such legal enactment were tenancy acts and the land alienation acts. After 1858, in many areas the judicial powers were also given to the big landlords, say like the Talukdars of Oudh, to further enhance the colonial control over the countryside.

### **The Bureaucracy: The Steel Frame of the Raj**

Apart from the armed forces and police the colonial state also created a hitherto unknown centralised bureaucracy. The colonial bureaucracy maintained its racial exclusiveness, although Indians occupied the lower rungs of administration. The structure and logic of the bureaucracy guaranteed unquestionable dominance of the British. Cornwallis formed a code of rules to guide executive actions. The Company's civil servants were paid in the form of commission on the total amount of revenue collections. The system of appointment was based on patronage and nomination by the Court of Directors. The College of Fort William (1800) at Calcutta was established to provide training to the Company's civil servants but was soon abolished. Later on a college was established at Hertford in 1805 for the same purpose which was shifted to Haileybury in England in 1809. It provided training in Oriental languages literature and history.

The charter Act of 1853 substituted the system of patronage by a competition through public examination. The Haileybury College for training civil servants was abolished in 1858 and recruits to the civil service were to be affiliated to the different universities and colleges. In 1892, the Covenanted Civil Service continued to be the higher administrative service in which recruitments were to be made in Britain while a lower executive service called the Provincial Civil Service was dominated by Oxford and Cambridge graduates, with an educational background of the so called 'public schools'. However, there were a fair number of recruits from the Irish universities as well. The bureaucracy provided the 'steel frame' to support the Raj and the upper echelons of the Covenanted Civil Service were exclusively British in composition. The educated Indians demanded a simultaneous examination in India but despite its acceptance by the government in principle, the system of simultaneous examination in India was implemented only after World War I. Even then the selected

Indian candidates were excluded from a particular category of posts especially in the judicial services. The Indian recruits also received lower pay and allowances. The Indian nationalist leaders resented this kind of racial discrimination and the Indianisation of the bureaucracy was one of their main demands. After the World War I, the pace of the Indianisation of the bureaucracy intensified. By the time of the Quit India Movement, nearly half of the civil servants were Indians. Since higher education in the colonial system was confined to the upper castes and middle classes of India, the process of Indianisation by itself did not make the **The British** bureaucracy truly Indian in character. The bureaucracy retained the power and **Colonial State** privileges of the colonial era even after Independence.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the importance of bureaucracy during British India?

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## **6.5 SOURCES OF LEGITIMATION**

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During the initial years of Company rule, the social policies of the colonial state were guided by the principle of minimising the disruptive influence and retention of many of the indigenous institutions and ceremonial trappings of indigenous ideology. The puppet Mughal emperor was treated with reverence and respect. Even coins were struck bearing the Emperor's name. Persian was retained as the official language until 1835, which ensured a continued livelihood for the Hindu and Muslim service gentry. While certain modifications were introduced in the judicial institutions and procedures, the Mughal legal system was not completely dismantled. The qazis, muftis and pandits continued to be associated with the British judiciary till 1861. Even when intervention was made in the sphere of the indigenous customs as in the case of the abolition of Sati (1829), sanction for taking such a step was sought in the Indian scriptures. All these attempts were meant to establish a semblance of legitimacy by appropriating the cultural symbols and markers that were sources of authority in the indigenous culture. After the "rebellion" of 1857, the colonial state transformed the princes into a reliable base of support for the empire. The preservation of the ceremonial aspects of indigenous sovereignty together with a measure of internal autonomy to the Indian princes was a major step of the colonial state to seek the sanction and legitimacy through persons of higher order invested with authority. Similarly landlords and taluqdars were nurtured as the potential allies of the colonial state. This attempt to seek Indian allies was further evident in the institutions such as the municipal and local boards of the 1880s. This was an attempt to distribute social patronage to various groups and raise indirect taxes through the consent of the Indian non-official members. The colonial state used law as the most important source of constituting its legitimacy. The appropriation of revenue, forest and natural resources was

not to be seen as arbitrary unjustified exaction but was represented as the legal right of the state. The colonial state also used law as an arbiter of social-relations between the different social groups. Laws relating to tenancy, land-alienation and payment of rent and interests became contentious issues due to the divergence of interests between various groups such as Zamindars and Raiyats. The instruments that were used by the colonial state to justify domination and exploitation were now used by certain social groups to articulate their specific interests after modifications in the structure of the administration. The ideology of improvement- moral, intellectual and material was used to selectively introduce certain 'reforms' in the Indian society and this became a powerful vehicle of manoeuvring in the social sphere by the colonial state to sustain its rule in India. While upholding the principle of hierarchy and caste distinction, in many instances, the colonial state also brought with it the ideological currents of science, reason and modernity. The promotion of western education through the medium of English (see unit 26 for details) by the colonial state and the creation of the Indian urban middle class stemmed from the motive of creating a support base for their rule. However, Indian intellectuals did not always support the reformist, progressive zeal of the colonial state. They questioned the right of the colonial state to interfere with the Indian social customs as in the case of the Age of Consent Bill (1891), which raised the legal age of marriage for girls from ten to twelve. There was also violent protest against the intrusiveness of the colonial state seeking to impose western medical system during the plague epidemics of late 1890s. But this did not mean a complete rejection of the potential benefits of the colonial rule, western science, medicine or rationality. Even a reformist institution within Hinduism like the Arya Samaj working within the framework of the assertion of Aryan supremacy and Vedic infallibility, adopted colonial curriculum in its DAV schools.

### **Check your Progress :**

1) How British rule interfere in the Indian Social Customs?

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## **6.6 SUMMARY**

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The purpose of this Unit was to make you understand the various facets of the British colonial power in India. After reading this Unit you should have understood the nature of the colonial state and its economic compulsions as well as the logic and organisation of the various instruments of control such as the army, the police, the bureaucracy etc. that safeguarded the imperial interests. Lastly, you would have also known something about the ideological categories that were used by the British to justify their rule in India.



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## 6.7 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Explain the nature of colonial state in India during the British rule.
- 2) Describe the economic measure in colonial rule with the special reference to the land settlement schemes.
- 3) Trace the administrative frame under the British colonial rule..

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## 6.8 REFERENCES

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# Unit - 7

## EDUCATION: INDIGENOUS AND MODERN

### Unit Structure :

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Education in The Pre-Colonial Period
- 7.3 Modern Education System
- 7.4 Summary
- 7.5 Questions
- 7.6 References

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### 7.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to -\

- 1) Understand the Indian Education System in the pre-colonial period.
- 2) Study the Modern Education System introduction by British Govt.

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### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

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This chapter endeavours in outlining the development and spread of formal education in India during the colonial era. In order to explore gender bias in curriculum it is necessary to study the foundation of present day curriculum. I have divided this chapter into two subsections. Focusing on the development of mainstream educational system during colonial period, Section- A studies the British educational policy from the late 18th century to the first half of 20th century. In Section-B the focus is on expansion of women's education during British rule (from mid 19<sup>th</sup> century to first half of 20th century).

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### 7.2 EDUCATION IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

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Present day formal institutionalized education, was almost absent during pre-colonial era and even at the dawn of 19th century. Access to indigenous education was restricted among upper caste Hindus and Muslims. Hindu boys used to visit village pathshalas for lessons in elementary reading and accounting. Tols were centre for higher learning in Sanskrit grammar, lexicography and literature. For Muslims there was maktabas and madrassas. Gurus or pundits and maulavis were vested with the responsibility of imparting knowledge. There was a parallel system of home education where teacher used to visit or stay at the pupil's house. Female education was by and large informal, infrequent, recreational and

almost non-existent. Some upper class women received lessons on classical or vernacular literature and simple accounting. Instruction on household arts was an integral part of female education. Ghosh<sup>272</sup> identifies three distinct stages of development of British education in India during 1757 to 1857. This was also the period of consolidation and expansion of British power in India and conversion of British people from merchants to rulers. Initially British approached education lackadaisically and apathetic way. They lacked any formal educational policy for Indian people. However some British enthusiastic due to their admiration for traditional Indian culture undertook the first initiative. There was some politico-administrative motive also. Governor General Warren Hastings, a passionate admirer of Indo-Persian culture, found the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781. Under his patronage Sir William Jones set up Asiatic Society of Bengal (in 1784). It aimed at learning indigenous history, science and arts. With the intention to preserve and cultivate laws, literatures and scriptures of the Hindus, Jonathan Duncan, with the permission of Lord Cornwallis (then Governor-General), created a Sanskrit College (in 1792) in Banaras. Later Lord Wellesley established Fort William College (in 1800) at Calcutta to train British civilians as proficient administrators equipped with Oriental knowledge. Indigenous pundits or scholars were appointed to teach Oriental knowledge.

There was also a group of British officials who were dismayed at the degeneration of Indian society. In their view practice of sati (self-immolation), infanticide, caste inequality, distorted interpretation of religious, scriptures fostered corruption and societal decadence. They encouraged missionary activities. Charles Grant was one of them. Initially his idea was discarded by higher authority, but with Wilberforce's advice he wrote the first draft of *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly in the respect to Morals: and on the means of improving it* in 1792. He avowed for the smooth spread of English among indigenous people by replacing the official language (Persian). Instruction in English would ensure access of European knowledge among Indians. William Cabell justified the political advantages of Grant's proposal. He opined a common language will facilitate communication between British and Indian people and at the same time 'will successfully transmit western scientific knowledge. However Grant's ideas were interpreted as an attempt of converting indigenous people by sending missionaries. It was discarded by the East India Company. The spread of political turmoil in the aftermath of French Revolution in Europe deter the Company from causing any unfavorable political consequence in India. Hence the Charter Act of 1793 prohibited entrance of missionaries in India. However in the late 1790s, William Carey, a Danish Baptist missionary opened a free boarding school at Dinajpore. Sanskrit, Persian, Bengali, as well as doctrines of Christianity were instructed there. Later he was joined by J. Marshman and W. Ward in 1800. They together worked for disseminating education and principles of Christianity among inhabitants of Bengal. However the Charter Act of 1793 was revised and renewed in 1813. Wilherforce, Zachary Macaulay, Grant and many others presented numerous petitions to the Parliament to

ensure unrestricted passage of European missionaries. In response to their persuasion Charter Act of 1813 granted some privileges. The Act, particularly the section 43 is significant in the history of education in India. It empowered Governor-General to spend; a sum of not less than one lakh rupees each year from excess revenue. Its aim was to rejuvenate traditional knowledge and literature and promote education in India. It encouraged Indians to learn western sciences. However the clause was imprecise in certain ways. It did not state the acceptable maximum amount of expenditure in educational sector. In addition it did not form any department to officiate the disbursing of fund. However the Charter Act of 1813 is historically significant as the first formal educational policy of East India Company. Through this Act the Company undertook the task of spreading education in India.

Despite the Act was passed in 1813, the surplus revenue was available only in 1823. For the dissemination of the fund a General Committee of Public Instruction consisting ten members came into being. Most of them support Oriental learning and promoted Sanskrit and Arabic literature. Introduction of Western education was disapproved due to dearth of books and trained teachers. But the utilitarian's and newly educated Indians opposed them. Utilitarian like James/John Mill published *History of British India* in 1817. Basing his ideas on missionary accounts he found nothing appreciable in Indian society and culture. He criticized Indian culture and literature as defunct, illogical and stagnant. Mills proscribed traditional learning and justified moral superiority of the West. For him western scientific knowledge is the only path to progress. Even newly educated enlightened Indians considered traditional learning as futile and advocated the diffusion of western education in India. Rammohan Roy was one of them. In association with David Hare he planned to set up an English institution in Calcutta. Later he quit. But Hare opened the school in 1817 with 20 scholars. Establishment of the college mark an important era in the history of education in India. It was the first spontaneous desire manifested by Indians for instruction in English and European literature.

In 1823, Roy appealed the Governor-General to discard the establishment of Sanskrit college in Calcutta. He proposed an alternative education system "promoting more liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences"<sup>276</sup>. Meanwhile with the diligent effort by Christian missionaries since 1813, Calcutta School Book Society and Calcutta School Society came up in 1817 and 1819 respectively. These institutions were set up to promote education in India.

Being unable to arrive at a unanimous decision the General Committee of Public Instruction split into two groups, Anglicist/Modernist and Orientalist. The Orientalists promote vernacular education embedded in indigenous traditional culture and civilization. Anglicists campaign for English medium Western education. Soon after the split some old members retired or died and were replaced by new ones inspired by

utilitarian ideas. After several debates and deliberations, both groups decided to present their argument to Governor-General. At that time son of Zachary Macaulay, was the President of General Committee of Public Instruction. He accepted and executed overriding Anglicist propositions. Macaulay prepared a minute supporting English education and forwarded to Governor-General Bentinck. Education in modern India owes its origin to Macaulay's Minute of 1835. He condemned indigenous education as "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia"<sup>277</sup>. He defend initiation of Western education in India as it would aid British rulers by supplying educated officials mediating between them and ordinary people, ensuring smooth governance. Bentinck's inclination in education in India is discernible when he permit Alexander Duff to establish General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Institution, (later renamed as Scottish Church College) Calcutta in 1830. Prior to Macaulay's Minute in February 1835, Bentinck undertook two important decisions. He appointed William Adam to report on the state of vernacular education in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. And following European system of medicine and surgery he also resolute to establish a Medical College in Calcutta. His intention was to spread European as well as vernacular education among the masses. Bentinck states 'object of British Government should be the promotion of European literature and science among Indians. The funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone. However he was not ignorant about indigenous education. Limited available educational fund and Charter of 1833 compelled him to undertake decision favouring utilitarian Anglicists and Macaulay. To curb the administrative expenditures of East India Company the Charter of 1833 made it mandatory to employ Indians in responsible official positions. It necessitated the creation of docile officials acquainted in English language and British ideology. Available resource was usurped for promoting English education and preparing English educated native officials. Bentinck's landmark decision 'paved the way for emergence of English as the most important and powerful languages'.

**Check your Progress :**

1) Who was the author 'History of British India in 1817'?

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### **7.3 MODERN EDUCATION SYSTEM**

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English education opened the door of West to East rendering great impact in communicating social and political ideas. Missionaries, utilitarians and some devoted Indians worked hard in spreading education. English education became popular and demanded in cities. English became the official language (Act XXIX of 1837 abolished Persian as the

court language) in British administration. English education was a gateway to British administrative job, a tool for individual socio-economic advancement. It was break away from age old impenetrable caste barrier. Widespread dissemination of western education generated the myth of moral superiority of British power and inferiority of Indians. Western science, philosophy and rationality were contrasted with Indian traditionalism. Demand for higher education and university education increased to a great extent. In 1845, F. J. Mouat, secretary of General Committee of Public Instruction, submitted a plan for university education to the Court of Directors. The consecutive years experienced rapid expansion of education all over India. Governor-General Dalhousie gave a cohesive and systematic form to British educational policy. He reformed Calcutta Madrasa and Hindu College (renamed it as Presidency College) and planned to set up an institute of technical learning. He is accredited as the first Governor-General providing official support for the cause of female education in India. After Bethune's demise.

Dalhousie took charge of Hindu Balika Vidyalaya (later renamed as Bethune School). The renewal date of the Charter of the East India Company was approaching. As a result, debate on structure of Indian education once again hit the British Parliament. The debates led to the formation of a despatch in 1854. Charles Wood was vested with the responsibility to formulate a comprehensive educational policy conducive of Indian society and British administration. Wood's Educational Despatch, the Magna Carta of Indian education reached India in October 1854. It embodied the education policy of British Parliament. It aimed at diffusing European knowledge of arts, philosophy, literature and science through the use of English and vernacular. It consisted of 100 paragraphs classifiable in three groups: i) machinery for the managing the department of education, ii) establishment of university, and iii) institution of grants-in-aid. The dispatch made suggestions for forming Departments of Public Instruction under the Director of Public Instruction. By 1855 a supervisory department was constituted and each Governor appointed a director of public instruction. It also proposed a scheme to set up universities in India. Hence a separate committee was constituted to frame the scheme of establishing universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Universities were founded in 1857. Consequently secondary education ceased to be an independent course of study, but a step or medium to university education. University education started dominating the content and scope of secondary education. The latter became rote learning missing link with real life situation. Provision for technical and vocational courses and teachers training was absent. Instruction through mother tongue remained neglected. Secondary education suffered stagnation till 1882. 1882 is another remarkable year in- the history of education in India. The Indian Education Commission (Hunter Commission) met for the first time under William Hunter. Lord Ripon appointed the commission to review the effective implementation of Wood's Despatch of 1854, to rectify the earlier educational policies and make more provision for primary education and female education. The Commission recommended gradual withdrawal of the state from direct support and management of institutions

of higher learning<sup>281</sup> and secondary education. Surveying the secondary education it recommended diversified vocational, technical and academic courses. The former was for professional or vocational career pursuits, the later for university entrance examination. However in spite of these recommendations, the report was neither appreciated nor valued. In the hands of colonizers education was an instrument spreading ruling ideology. They prepared controlled and transmitted knowledge consistent with maintenance of then prevalent socio-political framework. Championing British sovereignty, rationality, superiority and advancement the colonial education preserved and reproduced colonial regime. Opposing colonial intellectual hegemony contesting attitude in the educational realm developed gradually among Indian intelligentsia. From 1880 onwards new discourse on national education emerged.

National education is “the process of learning and imparting political culture of citizenship as opposed to the culture of acquiescent subjection to foreign rulers. The forging of nationhood involved the transformation of subjects into citizens if a nation state that would emerge in future”<sup>282</sup>. Problematizing the asymmetrical relation between hegemonic authoritarian colonial rulers and the ruled, the movement challenged traditional hegemonic unequal social relations. It rendered attention on caste and gender inequalities as well. These social inequalities were conditioning and constraining the access to education and educational benefits among privileged section. For Aurobindo Ghose national education ‘begins with the past and making full use of the present build up a great nation’<sup>283</sup>. The common agendas of national education movement are demand for authority of Indians in influencing the decision making process in education, promoting Indian regional languages through spreading vernacular education and including as well as inculcating patriotic values through study program. Objective of the advocates of national education was to create an alternative to colonial education. It was difficult to defy the cultural authority of colonial education. It was an unequal contest between national education and a globally dominant hegemony. It was difficult to enter the realm of education as a medium of socio-cultural reproduction. English Education was the key to jobs, professions and social mobility and at the same time an instrument in producing conditions of colonial dominance. Rejuvenation and restoring national culture and instilling civilizational identity through curriculum was the main objective of campaigners of nationalist education. Gandhi criticizes colonial education as enslaving and retrogressive; Tagore condemns it as alms bowl of knowledge affecting individual self-respect. However discourse on national education was not a homogenous one. It was variant and contradictory. Concept of secular education constitutes a diverging premise. While Poona Sarvajanik Sabha appreciates British policy of not interfering in religious beliefs, National ‘tQA Council of Education and B. G. Tilak favour denomination specific religious instructions . Lajpat Rai condemns such instruction as narrow and sectarian. In his view, curriculum must portray general social life of people. Advocates of national education were troubled by the British policy of low prioritization of education among all other



Governmental expenditures. It was adversely affecting the spread of education. They opposed racist practice in appointing officials in educational services. British officials enjoyed higher branches and higher emoluments and Indians were placed in lower grade positions. Mass education through vernacular received enormous attention among different sections of the population. Numerous petitions and memoranda justifying the immense importance of vernacular as medium of instruction were presented to the government. Some passionate individuals and associations voiced for mass and vernacular education. They include Arya Samaj in Punjab, Sri Guru Singh (Sikh National) Association, the Brahmo Samaj, Bhasha Sabha in Hoshiarpur district, Aligarh Bhasha Improvement Society, the Satya Dharmavalambini Sabha at Aligarh, the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmadabad, the Muhammedan Association of Meerut, the Shastris of Poona, Shastris of Ahmadabad, Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras and so on. However some of them had diffident attitude regarding primary education for the masses. They pressurized for more governmental funding in primary education but refrained from questioning the internal hegemony (caste and gender disparities) within education. They opposed cultural imperialism of the west. But they were indifferent, sometimes hostile regarding disparities in social inequalities and disparities in access to education within indigenous society. Colonial education materialized social mobility by assuring jobs. But traditional hegemonic structure remained almost unaffected. Issue of mass education became a national agenda when G. K. Gokhale framed Compulsory Primary Education Bill in 1911. However British legislative council dismissed his proposal. In response to growing demand for mass education the Government issued an Education Resolution in 1913 comprising of three key principles: i) raising the standard of extant educational institutions in place of increasing their number, ii) diversion of primary and secondary education to more practical aims, and iii) creating provision for higher studies and research in India<sup>285</sup>. Although the Resolution was promising but the outbreak of World War I put halt in its implementation. Education Resolution of 1913 adapted mass education program and illiteracy eradication. Bombay Legislative Council passed a similar Bill in 1918. Successively similar Bills were passed in Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa in 1919 and in Central Provinces and Madras in 1920<sup>286</sup>. Initiating scientific and technical education was another agenda of national education movement. Primarily the business community (S. S. Bengali, Ambaidass, Jamshetji Tata and many others) made demand for technical education. S. R. Mudaliar stirred the first resolution on technical education in the Indian National Congress in 1887. Criticizing prevalent technical educationers as insufficient and inadequate Congress made demand for a holistic scientific and technical curriculum with large scale governmental funding. Later this initiative was taken over by major Indian scientists like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Roy, and the prominent nationalist leaders like G. K. Gokhale and Madan Mohan Malaviya.

In order to assess the condition and progress of Indian universities and reorganizing university administration Universities Commission was set up in 1902 and Indian Universities Act was passed on 1904. The



Commission's report resulted in increased control of universities on secondary education. Schools required mandatory recognition by the universities. Boards of Secondary Education were set up in certain states to prepare syllabus, conduct examinations and issue well furnished Secondary School Leaving Certificate to the pupils at the completion of course. Under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler Calcutta University Commission (Sadler Commission) was formed in 1917. It attempted improvising secondary' education in order to develop university education. It recommended<sup>287</sup>, i) the dividing line between secondary and university courses should be properly drawn at the intermediate examination, not at Matriculation, ii) the Government should develop independent intermediate educational institutions (either attached to high schools or independent) to instruct in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching etc, iii) criteria for university admission should be the passing of intermediate examination, and iv) a separate Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education should be set up to administer and control secondary education. During the subsequent years secondary education expanded to a great extent both in rural and urban areas. But problems relating to teachers training, salaries and provision for technical education continued. With the passage of Government of India Act 1919 education became a transferred responsibility of the Provincial Government There on each Provincial Governments appointed Minister of Education supervising educational projects and providing suggestions to the government. In order to assess the development of education in the country the Hartog Committee came into existence in 1929. The committee prescribed diversification in secondary school curricula to persuade, particularly the boys to opt for vocational, industrial and commerce courses. In addition, it also noticed and understood the service condition of teachers and their training. U.P. Government appointed Sapru Committee in 1934 to inquire the reasons behind rising rate of unemployment. It observed that the formal schooling was ineffective in ensuring an occupation. Prevalent education awarded degrees and certificates but was ineffectual and inadequate in the job market. Hence the Committee suggested i) introducing diversified courses at the secondary level, one of them leading to universities, ii) abolishing intermediate stage and extension of secondary level by another one year, iii) introducing vocational training at the end of lower secondary level and iv) initiating three years degree course in the universities.

In the year 1935 Government of India set up Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) to assist educational planning. In 1936-37 two experts, Abbot and Wood were invited to advice on the problems of educational reorganization and vocational education. A large number of university graduates in spite of possessing the requisite qualification, failed to secure vocation. Hence the experts suggested establishing hierarchical vocational institutions parallel the hierarchical educational institutions. In response to Abbot-Wood Report a new type of technical institution, the Polytechnics came into being and various technical, commercial and agricultural schools were established in all provinces. In 1937 the Congress Ministry organized an All India National Educational

Conference at Wardha. The Conference made declarations like nationwide compulsory and free education for a period of seven years and use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction. While presiding the conference Gandhi recommended a curricula embedded in environment and integrating manual and productive work. The Conference appointed Zakir Hussain Committee (popularly known as Wardha Scheme) to prepare a plan of education. It suggested i) including basic craft education, that is imparting the entire education through some industry or vocation, ii) an educational scheme covering teachers' salaries and rendering the pupils self-supporting at the completion of the course, iii) including manual labour to teach the child to be able to earn a living in later life, and iv) close coordination of child education with the environment and village crafts. C.A.B.E. submitted a comprehensive report proposing post-war educational development scheme in 1944. It is also known as Sargent Report. It proposed universal, compulsory, free education for all between 6 years to 14 years. The Sargent Committee planned an effective all round education preparing pupils for their future role. It recommended initiating variety of courses at the completion of middle stage, that is, after 11 years of age. It proposed two types of high schools, technical and academic and increased the duration of high school course to 6 years, beginning at 11 years of age.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the recommendation made by Sargent Committee?

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## **7.3 SUMMARY**

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There was also a group of British officials who were dismayed at the degeneration of Indian society. Initially British approached education reluctantly and apathetic way. They lacked any formal educational policy for Indian people. However some British enthusiastic due to their admiration for traditional Indian culture undertook the first initiative. There was some politico-administrative motive also. Governor General Warren Hastings, a passionate admirer of Indo-Persian culture, found the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781. English education opened the door of West to East rendering great impact in communicating social and political ideas. Missionaries, utilitarian and some devoted Indians worked hard in spreading education. English education became popular and demanded in cities.

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## 7.4 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Explain Education in the Pre-Colonial Period in India.
- 2) Enumerate the British initiatives in the modern educational policy in India.

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## 7.5 REFERENCE

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# Unit -8

## DEINDUSTRIALIZATION AND COMMERCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

### Unit Structure :

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Deindustrialization of the Indian Industries
- 8.3 Causes of the Decline of Native Industries
- 8.4 Impact of Deindustrialization
- 8.5 Commercialization of Agriculture
- 8.6 Causes of the Commercialization of Agriculture
- 8.7 Impact of the Commercialization on Agriculture
- 8.8 Commercial Crops
- 8.9 Summary
- 8.10 Questions
- 8.11 Reference

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### 8.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Explain the concept of deindustrialization.
- Grasp the various impact of deindustrialization
- Comprehend the policy of commercialization of agriculture
- Understand the impact of commercialization on the agriculture

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### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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The British rule had a drastic impact on Indian economy. The commercialization of agriculture, excessive land revenue demands, growth of Zamindar class (landlords), rising indebtedness and the impoverishment of the cultivators made the Indian economy stagnant. British rule considerably affected the political, socio and economic structure of India. The various economic policies adopted by them resulted in poverty and misery of the masses. The British followed a policy of the extinction of the self-sufficient village economy in India. The earlier leadership was keen on the growing economic problems of the peasants under the British authority. The earlier Indian leaders were ardent to show the economic exploitation of the cultivators and workers due to the British imperialism.

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## 8.2 DEINDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES

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The early decades of the nineteenth-century witnessed a heavy decline in the production and export of Indian industrial products. H. H. Wilson points out that British employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately a strange competitor which he could not could not have contended on equal terms. B. D. Basu mention the list of measures adopted by the British authority to ruin Indian industries for their benefit- 1) Imposing heavy duty on Indian manufactures in England 2) The export of raw material from India 3) Offering special privileges to British in India 4) Compelling Indian artisans to reveal their trade secrets. Dr. D.R. Gadgil mentions three principal causes which operated in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in bringing the rapid deindustrialization in India with the special reference of the decline of craft industry- The disappearance of native ruling power, the establishment of an alien rule and the competition of a more developed machinery.

The policies adopted by the Government were very harmful for indigenous industries. For example,, British goods were allowed to come to India without any duty or barrier. On the other, hand Indian exports of manufactured goods had to pay heavy customs duties. Many such instances of the British policy can be quoted. The simple consequence of this policy was that Indian industries suffered. Ultimately many of them closed down. Industrial Revolution was booming in England and other western countries. However, simultaneously ly in rich India industries began to decline. In other words process of ‘deindustrialization’ of India began. The industrial labour was rendered unemployed. It increased the pressure on land. Land was divided and subdivided into smallholdings. Agricultural productivity fell down and agriculture thus became a backward industry. Before the British rule India had a well-organized industry. With the arrival of the British, Indian industry began to decline. The process of decline began as early as the end of 18th century. It became very steep towards the middle of 19th century.

### Check your Progress :

1) What is the concept of Deindustrialization?

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## 8.3 CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF NATIVE INDUSTRIES

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1) There was a sudden collapse of the urban handicraft industry. It was caused by cheaper imported goods and British imperialist policy. The

Indian artisans and craftsmen were patronized by the native ruling states. Organized industry in India produced chiefly luxury and semi luxury articles. Nobles generally purchased these. With the establishment of British rule in India, native rulers began to disappear. In the process of the expansion of the British rule in India, these native states were annexed to the British Empire. Hence the artisan lost the patronage earlier they received. Their courtiers and officials became jobless. Their disappearance meant the closure of the main source of demand for the products of these industries. The craft industry lost its customers for their commodities like jewelry, utensils and many others. The artisans became jobless due to the lack of demands for their production. They turned to the cultivation.

2) The British commercial policy ruined the artisans and craftsmen. The British pressurizes farmers in India to take cash crops needed to their industries. Hence the native craftsmen and artisans could not get raw material for their industry. The British used many techniques to destroy native industry. They bring pressure on many artisans to stop their work. The small-scale industry of India was the pillar of its foreign trade and prosperity. As soon as the Company established its political supremacy in Bengal, it began to exploit the artisans of cotton and silk cloth. As a result, the cloth trade did not remain a source of profit for the artisans and the cloth industry of Bengal disintegrated. This kind of exploitative measures were adopted British for their own benefit at the cost of native industry.

3) The British witnessed the growth of industries with modern technology in the eighteenth century. This industrial revolution required raw material for production and marked for finished goods. England utilized the raw material from India for the industries and sold the manufactured goods in India. England imposed a heavy duty on the goods to be exported from India. It patronized the British industry. On the other hand, the government of India imposed a minimum duty on the goods imported into India so that these could be sold in the Indian market easily. The industrial production was superior in quality and cheaper as the British levied less tax on it. This made Indian product costlier hence they began to lose market share fast. Thus, it affected the Indian trade and industry from both sides and resulted in the ruin of trade and industry.

4) The British rule affected handicrafts in another way also. Urban artisans and craftsmen were organized in the form of guilds. The guilds supervised the quality of the products. They also regulated the trade. With the entry of British traders, these guilds lost their power. As soon as supervising bodies were removed, many evils began to appear. These were, for example, the adulteration of materials, shady and poor workmanship etc. This at once led to a decline in the artistic and commercial value of the goods produced.

5) The competition from the European manufacturers was responsible for the decline of the local industry. The construction of roads and railways made it possible to distribute the goods to every corner of the country. The

opening of the Suez Canal reduced the distance between England and India. English goods in large quantities were sent for sale in India. Among these goods textiles were the most important item. The quality of these clothes was poor as compared to Indian clothes. However, they were cheap. They were within the reach even of the poor man. Hence, these imported clothes and other machine made goods came to be demanded in large quantities. Local handicraft lost their demand.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the important cause to decline the native industries?

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## **8.4 IMPACT OF DEINDUSTRIALIZATION**

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The vast amount of resources and capital which flowed from India into England naturally enabled the people of England to live a better standard of life. The drain also made possible rising investments in English agriculture and industry after 1750. These investments were partly responsible for the agricultural revolution in England in the eighteenth century and also industrial revolution which commenced after 1750. Karl Marx, has cited the impact of the deindustrialization process. According to him, it was the British rulers who broke up the Indian handloom and textile handicrafts. England broken the cotton industry in India and then introduced its cotton product manufactured in England. This was caused by the disappearance of native rulers who patronized handicrafts, the establishment of alien rule and the competition of highly developed technology from of machine industry.

1) The migration of the people from the old towns to the new trading centers was the most important impact of the British rule in India. These trading centers were situated in the cities. Thus many new cities developed. However, at the same time, many important towns began to decay. Among these important towns were Mirzapur. Murshidabad, Malda, Santipore, Tanjore, Amritsar, Dacca etc. Among the important cities that developed were Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Nagpur Karpura and Karachi, Lahore (now in Pakistan) Chittagong (Bangladesh), Rangoon (Burma) etc. These cities grew in importance as great commercial towns.

2) The decay of urban handicrafts following the disappearance of the royal courts brought about a decrease in the population of the old Indian towns. As the craftsmen lost their occupations, they turned to agriculture.



3) Introduction of railways in India by the Britishers opened up new means of transportation. Some of the old towns were prosperous because they were located on some important trade routes. For example, Mirzapur was an important trading center because of its location on the River Ganga. With the introduction of railways, old routes and old means of transportation lost their importance. Hence the old towns also began to lose their significance.

4) The ruin of the Indian art and crafts industry greatly affected the artisans and craftsmen in India. The unemployed artisans left with no choice but to work in cultivation. The agricultural sector was exhausted already due to the British commercial policy towards it. It was not capable enough to accommodate the artisans it. The hidden unemployment increased due to this.

5) Most of the old towns had become stagnant. These were vulnerable to diseases. Recurrent eruption of epidemics like plague and cholera was a common feature. Such epidemics took a heavy toll of the urban population. These, therefore, also drove a large population from the urban areas. In this way, many old towns lost their importance. However, simultaneously commerce and trade encouraged the growth of new cities.

6) Modern India witnessed the growth of large scale industries

The machine age in India began when cotton textile, jute and coal mining industries were started in the 1850s. Most of the modern industries were owned or controlled by the British capitalist class. Foreign investors were attracted to Indian industry by the high profit. Labour were cheaper, raw material was easily available, India and neighbor countries were ready market for them. The colonial government was willing to provide investors necessary help. The textile industry laid down the foundation of the industrialization of the country. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, "The history of cotton and of textiles is not only the history of the growth of the modern industry in India but in a sense, it might be considered the history of India". Mumbai (known as Bombay at that time) became the center of the textile industry. The mid-nineteenth century marked the emergence of textile industry in Mumbai. The nineteenth-century witnessed the growth of plantation industries such as indigo, tea and coffee. These industries were owned by European. Indigo was used as a dye in textile manufacture. Indigo planters oppressed the peasants. The invention of synthetic dye proved to big blow to this industry. The tea industry developed in Assam, Bengal and south India after 1950. It was also foreign-owned. The British government gave it all the necessary impetus. The plantation industry had not served the purpose of development for Indian people. The profit out of these industries went to England. Around 1920 the pressure of the rising nationalist movement and the Indian capitalist class, the government of India granted favourable incentives to the Indian industries. However Indian owned industries like cement, iron and steel were denied protection or given inadequate protection. On the other hand, foreign industries were given desired incentives and protection.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) How commerce and Trade encouraged the growth of new cities?

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**8.5 COMMERCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE**

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Introduction of new land revenue policy and commercialization of agricultural remained the chief features of the British policy towards the agricultural sector in India. The British policy of commercialization was followed by the need of British industries and trades. It had no concern with Indian peasants. The various economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of India's economy into a colonial economy whose nature and structure was determined by needs of the British economy. One important aspect of British economic policy was the commercialization of agriculture. The commercialization of agriculture means that the crops and goods are produced by the peasants for sale in the market and not for their own consumption. Commercialization of agriculture in India began during British rule. The commercialization of Indian Agriculture took place not to feed the industries of India as India was far behind in industrial development as compared to Britain, France, and many other European countries of the eighteenth century.

The commercialization of agriculture had many results. It was beneficial to the British planters, traders and manufacturers, who were provided with the opportunity to make huge profits by getting the raw material products at a cheaper rate. The commercialization of Indian agriculture also partly benefited Indian traders and money lenders who made huge fortunes by working as middlemen for the British.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) What was the structure of commercialization of agriculture in India?

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**8.6 CAUSES OF THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE**

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- 1) The land revenue systems initiated by the British demanded revenue in cash instead of kind. The farmers could not get enough money from the production of traditional crops like food grains. To pay taxes, in cash it

became obligatory for them to cultivate cash crop and get money to pay the higher taxes.

2) The commercialization of agriculture was inevitable because of the British industrial policy in India. The agricultural products were used by Indian for livelihood. The food grain were composed the main part of agricultural production. The Indian small scale industries utilized agricultural raw material but their usage was limited. The agricultural production was dominated by eatables. The British wanted to utilize Indian agricultural products for their industries. Hence, it became the key factor for the commercialization of agriculture. The new crops as cotton, tobacco, indigo and tea cultivated as these crops were essential for their industries.

3) The infrastructural developments like railways, shipbuilding and roads led to favourable environment for businesses. Many employment opportunities became available because of this. Many people lost their traditional work of cultivation due to the British policy of new land settlements. Those who still engaged into cultivation tried to get commercial crops to sell it to the market as it was more in demand.

4) The British tried to create a wealthy class in India which could help them or remain loyal them in difficult time. They created landlord or Zamindar class in Bengal and moneylenders in western India. These rich sawkars started offering loans to the farmers for cash crop. The traditional crop did not need big amount but the cash crop needed investment.

5) Another boosting factor for the commercialization of agriculture in India was the gaining of speed of Industrial Revolution in England. This led to factor in commercialization as more and more agricultural goods were produced to satisfy the demand for raw materials by the British industries. The enlargement and expansion of international trade and the entry of British finance capital also belted commercialization of agriculture.

6) The world events like opening of Suez Canal and the American civil war also speeded the commercialization of the agricultural. Due to the civil war in America, the cotton demand in India increased around 1850. The farmers tried to encash this opportunity. Many farmers cultivated cotton instead of food grains as the civil war disrupted the supplies of cotton from America and thereby increased demand for Indian cotton. Further, the British policy of one-way free trade also acted as sufficient encouraging factor for the commercialization as the manufactured items in textile, jute etc could find free entry in Indian markets.

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## 8.7 IMPACT OF THE COMMERCIALIZATION ON AGRICULTURE

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- 1) The growing commercialization helped the money lenders to exploit the cultivator. The peasant was forced to sell his produce just after the harvest and at whatever price he could get as he had to meet in time the demands of the government, the landlord and the money-lender.
- 2) High revenue demands led to the devastation of the Indian agricultures as it led to poverty and the deterioration of agriculture in the 19th century. It forced the peasant to fall into the clutches of the money-lender. As a result the moneylenders provided them money and made huge profit. If the poor farmers fail to repay the loans the land was confiscated. The commercialization proved beneficial only to the British industrialists, trades and moneylenders. The Indian people were ruthlessly exploited in this. Because of the reduction in cultivation area the prices of food grains increased, It also became chief cause of the famines.
- 3) A commercialization of agriculture was one of the cause of famines in India. The famines occurred in Uttar Pradesh in 1860-61 and cost more than 2 lakh lives. In 1865-66 famines near twenty lakh people died in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. The worst famine occurred in 1876-77 in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and western Uttar Pradesh where many people died. According to Bipin Chandra, these famines were not natural. They were man made. The natural resources of India ruthlessly exploited. The growing population could not get enough food to sustain as a result of commercialization of the agricultural.
- 4) Indian money lenders advanced Cash advances to the farmers to cultivate the commercial crops and if the peasants failed to pay him back in time, the land of peasants came under ownership of moneylenders. The misery was further enhanced because the population of India was increasing every year, fragmentation of land was taking place because of the increasing pressure on land and modern techniques of agricultural production were not introduced in India. The poor peasant was forced to sell his produce just after harvest at whatever prices he could get as he had to meet in time the demands of the government, the landlord, the money lender and his family members' requirements. This placed him at the mercy of the grain merchant, who was in a position to dictate terms and who purchased his produced at much less than the market price. Thus, a large share of the benefit of the growing trade in agricultural products was reaped by the merchant, who was very often also the village money lender.
- 5) It affected adversely the poor people of India; it became difficult for them to get sufficient food. The net result of the commercialization of Indian agriculture was that most of Indian farmers failed to produce even that much food crops which could provide them even two meals a day. Most importantly the life of the Indian peasant was tied to the highly

fluctuating national and international market. He was no longer a deciding factor in agricultural practices. Further, by making agricultural land a tradable commodity, the peasant lost his security feeling. High land revenue demand forced him to take loan from the money lender at high interest rates. Failure to pay debt in time meant loss of land to the money lender at high interest rates. It led to land alienation and increase in the number of agricultural labourers whose conditions especially in plantation industry was pathetic.

6) Most of the Indian people suffered miserably due to the British policy of commercialization of Indian agriculture. It resulted in reduced area under cultivation of food crops. The net result of this change was that Indian failed to produce that much food crops which could provide two time meals to its population. The commercialization of agriculture was a new phenomenon in Indian agriculture scene introduced by the British. The worst effect of commercialization was the oppression of Indian peasants at hands of European. This found expression in the famous Indigo revolt in 1859. Moreover, commercialization of Indian agriculture got manifested in series of famines which took a heavy toll of life.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What the impact of commercialization of agriculture in India?

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## **8.8 COMMERCIAL CROPS**

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The commercialization of India agriculture was initiated in India by the British through their direct and indirect policies and activities. A several efforts were made to increase the production of cotton in India to provide raw and good quality cotton to the cotton-textile industries of Britain which were growing fast after the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Therefore, cotton growing area increase in India and its production increased manifold with gradual lapse of time. Indigo and more than that, tea and coffee plantation were encouraged in India because these could get commercial market abroad. Most of the plantations for commercial crops were controlled by the English.

Jute was another product that received the attention of the English company because the jute made products got a ready market in America and Europe. Moreover, crops like cotton, jute, sugarcane, ground nuts, tobacco etc. which had a high demand in the market were increasingly cultivated. The beginning of the plantation crops like Tea, coffee, rubber, indigo etc heralded a new era in agricultural practices in India. These were essentially meant for markets and thus commercialization of agriculture took to new heights with the expansion of British rule.

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## 8.9 SUMMARY

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The drain of wealth from India to England led to the industrialization of England and deindustrialization of India. The Indian artisans and craftsmen were patronized by the native ruling states. Organized industry in India produced chiefly luxury and semi-luxury articles. Nobles generally purchased these. With the establishment of British rule in India, native rulers began to disappear. In the process of the expansion of the British rule in India, these native states were annexed to the British Empire.

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## 8.10 QUESTIONS

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- 1) What factors were responsible for the deindustrialization in India during British rule
- 2) Trace the growth of large scale industries in Indian under British rule.
- 3) Account for the decline of urban handicraft under the British rule.
- 4) Make assessment of the permanent settlements system of land revenue.
- 5) Examine the causes and the effects of commercialization of Agriculture in India

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# Unit - 9

## TRANSPORT, INDUSTRY, URBANIZATION AND AGRARIAN CHANGES

### Unit Structure :

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Transport: Shipping
- 9.3 Industry in Modern India
- 9.4 Urbanization
- 9.5 Agrarian Changes
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Questions
- 9.8 Reference

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### 9.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Comprehend the development of transport in modern India.
- Grasp the growth of industry and urbanization
- Understand the important agrarian changes
- Realize the process of industrial development and urbanization

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### 9.1 INTRODUCTION

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The wind of change began to blow in India when the new rulers began to introduce new techniques and sophisticated means of transport and communication. England had reveled in the new confidence when Industrial Revolution began in England in the middle of the 18th century. England had emerged victorious from the Napoleonic wars in Europe and had become the undisputed “mistress of the seas”. England began to stabilize her position after defeating Napoleon and a treaty with her old colonies in America that is the U.S.A. The Steamship, railways and postal services made great strides in the home country along with the expansion of industrial products. Consequently, the new rulers started sharing some of the benefits of their inventions, discoveries and new techniques with their subjects in India, always keeping in view the prospects of commercial profits and consolidation of their political power.



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## 9.2 TRANSPORT: SHIPPING

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English and American inventors and engineers had successfully harnessed steam power to propel ships and carriages. Steam-boats and locomotives had become a reality in Europe and America by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Navigation was in a primitive stage in India. However, the ship “Trimali” built by Wadia brothers in Bombay Mumbai (known as Bombay at that time) in 1817 had clearly demonstrated what the Indians could accomplish even with the old techniques. Incidentally, this is the only ship preserved by the British Government in the naval dockyards at Portsmouth (England) as the artifact of nineteenth century craftsmanship. It used to take time for a vessel or a ship with sails from London to Bombay. In 1828 the first steam-ship arrived in Bombay Port. Earl of Clare, Governor of Bombay was the first governor to arrive in Bombay by a steam-ship in 1831. It became convenient for the British rulers to establish speedy contacts with Eden and other middle-eastern ports because of steam-ships. Bombay acquired a pre-eminent position not only in the Western Coast but also became a great midpoint of trade and commerce after the introduction of steam-ships.

### Road Transport

A network of road transport and maintenance of roads in good repair was absolutely necessary for movement of troops, military goods and wheeled carriages. The Deccan plateau posed many difficulties in linking the cities and important towns with Bombay, the headquarters of the Presidency. The Sahyadri Mountain stood as a great barrier between the Konkan and the mainland of Maharashtra.

In 1824 the commissioner of the Bombay Deccan called for the opinion of the collector of Ahmednagar regarding the opening of Thal or Pimpri Ghat for road transport. The Commissioner of Pune was also interested in the building of a new road from Kalyan to the Thal Ghat and also showed keen interest in the construction of roads in the vicinity of Dhulia. More than twenty-passes in the Sahyadri could be used to connect Konkan with the rest of Maharashtra by construction of roadways. Important passes in the Ghats are Par, Malsej, Diva, Ramghat, Nana, Thal, Bor and Balaghat. The Commissioner of Pune was more interested in the Thal and Bor Ghats for vehicular traffic.

The repairs and maintenance of the existing roads was also important. The roads in the rainy season with big pot-holes were of little use. The mending of roads, metalled roads with the use of tar which had been in vogue in Europe was a far cry. The Bombay Government however could do very little to improve the condition. The military insisted on quick supply of goods for its use and also demanded services of men to carry head loads and cartloads of their material.

## **Railway**

In the home country of the British rulers steam-propelled 'Rocket' had made a successful run in 1830. In the period of the next ten years about 800 mile-long rail-roads were built in England. The railway service became a reality in England. Most of the European countries followed England's example. The business community in Bombay was enthusiastic for such a revolutionary transport. However, the British Government was not enthusiastic about it. The Government thought in terms of profit and loss. They also hesitated to make heavy investments in this adventure. In 1840 Jagannath Shankar Sheth and other businessmen seriously mobilized public opinion and opened talks with some British industrialists. They formulated plans and brought pressure on the Bombay Government to start a Railway Company as a speedy movement of goods and passengers by railway trains would be of immense help to the people of India and also to the East India Company's Government. In 1843 "Great Eastern Railway Company" was established in Bombay. Among the promoters the outstanding businessmen were Nana Shankar Sheth and Jamsheji Jeejibhoy.

The demand for railway in India took a concrete shape when Erskine Perry the Chief Justice of the Company's Supreme Court assumed leadership in presenting a memorandum to the Government of the East India Company on July 13, 1844. This attracted the attention of British investors and statesmen. The investors wanted to utilize huge amounts that were lying idle with them and the British statesmen wanted to use rail-roads to fortify the expanding Empire in India. English capitalists established 'Great Indian Peninsular Railway' incorporated in England. They brought pressure on the hesitating Directors of the East India Company, the rulers of India and secured their assent for starting such a venture. The Government granted permission to construct rail-road from Bombay to Kalyan a distance of 57 km (35 miles) in July 1848. The actual construction work started on October 31, 1850.

As no Indian contractor could undertake such a big work the famous Fabil and Fowler Company of England took up the work. The rail-road between Bombay and Thane was completed on August 16, 1853 under the able supervision of the famous engineer James Berkeley. The section between Thane and Kalyan was completed on May 1, 1854. G.D. Madgaonkar has given the details of the historic journey of Lord Elphinstone (nephew of Mountstuart Elphinstone) the Governor of Bombay with officials, businessmen and prominent citizens.

Later on, plans for linking Pune with Bombay by rail-road was undertaken. As already stated linking the 'Konkan' with the 'Desh areas even by roads was a formidable task; to construct railroad by cutting many tunnels was a stupendous performance. The challenge of the BorGhat was ably met by English engineers, technicians with full co-operation from Indian labourers. The first railway train from Bombay arrived at Pune on March 23, 1864. A new era in transport and communication began. The

volume of trade and commerce between Bombay and Pune increased tremendously. Before the construction of railway, the movement of goods was slow. Pune was then regarded as a big “Place” for loading and unloading of goods from Ahmadnagar and Satara. The rail link between Bombay and Pune changed the whole Scenario. In the beginning doubts were expressed by the business community in Pune that their interest would be ruined by such a trade link. They were proved wrong. In a matter of few years, Pune and neighbouring cities and towns began to make a roaring business thanks to the quicker movement of goods.

**Check your Progress :**

1) How trade and commerce between Bombay and Rome?

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### **9.3 INDUSTRY IN MODERN INDIA**

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The British rulers constructed roads, railways, post offices, irrigation works, banking, insurance for keeping their hold on India. Yet it paved the way for industrialization in modern India. An important development in the second half of the nineteenth century was the establishment of large scale machine base industries in India. The machine age in India began when cotton textile, jute and coal mining industries were started in the 1850s. Most of the modern industries were owned or controlled by the British capitalist class. Foreign investors were attracted to the Indian industry by the high profit. Labours were cheaper, raw material was easily available, India and neighbor countries were a ready market for them. The colonial government was willing to provide investors necessary help.

#### **Textile Mills**

The textile industry laid down the foundation of the industrialization of the country. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, “The history of cotton and of textiles is not only the history of growth of the modern industry in India but in a sense, it might be considered the history of India”. Bombay became the center of the textile industry. The mid-nineteenth century marked the emergence of textile industry in Mumbai.

The textile industry influenced every aspect of life in Mumbai, its migrations, social relation, housing, municipal administration and above all its economy making Mumbai the commercial capital of the country. According to R. Chandavarkar, in 1914, “Mumbai received over 87 percent of the value of Indian capital investment which accounted for nearly half the total value of private industrial investment centered in the city.” Mumbai had become the bastion of not only Indian Capital but also provided employment to lakhs of people in the textile mills and related

industries. In the textile industry alone there were 153,000 workers. By 1931 according to an estimate, half the population must have been economically reliant on this industry alone. Textile mills flourished in Mumbai even after independence. From 1947 to 1960, Mumbai witnessed the growth of cotton production due to textile mills.

### **Rise of Cotton Mills**

“Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company” was the first mill founded in 1854 with the help of 50 leading businessmen in the city. By 1862 four mills were added and this number grew in course of time. “The Oriental Spinning and Weaving Company”, floated in 1855 under the leadership of M. N. Petit, Beramji Jijibhai, Varjivandas Madhavdas, E. Sassoon and two Europeans, started functioning in 1858. M. N. Petit's entry into the mill industry marked the transition of his family from trade to industry.

Besides the men of amazing commercial career mentioned above, the other pioneers of industry in Bombay included, Dinshaw Petit, Nusserwanji Petit, Bomaïy Wadia, Dharamsey Punjabhai, David Sassoon, Merwanji Pandey, Khatau Makanji, Tapidas Varajdas, James Greaves, George Cotton, Morarji Gokuldas, Mancherji Banaji, Mulji Jetha, Thackersey Moolji, Jamshetji Tata and many more. Morarji Gokuldas established a mill that bears his name even today, in 1870. Thackersey Moolji floated the ‘Hindustan Spinning and Weaving Company’ in 1873. This was followed by the mills of David Sassoon in 1874 and of Khatau Makanji in 1875. In 1875, the Mumbai mills employed almost 2,50,000 workers in more than 52 mills. The progress of the industry was particularly rapid from 1875 to 1885. The Greaves Cotton and Company and the firms of D. M. Petit and the Thackersey family expanded their textile ventures by establishing many new mills. The number of mills in the city increased to 70 in 1895. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Mumbai had become, with its over eighty textile mills, India's largest textile center. It was the largest employer of workers.

World War I brought wealth to Mumbai by the opening up of Africa and West Asian markets, which all till then had depended on German textiles and manufactures. The raw cotton exports fetched another eight crores. In 1919, the textile industry alone accounted for a huge profit of nineteen crore rupees in addition to the large profits that accrued due to the heavy increase in import and export trade. At the time of World War I British Empire received generous support from Mumbai. Mumbai so far known as the textile capital of India began to turn into an industrial city. In 1919, as soon as the British government removed the ban on starting Indian companies nearly 208 old partnership companies were converted into Limited Companies, and within two years 272 new companies were registered.

The textile industry regained its 1927 level of production in 1937, the year when the Congress formed its first ministry in Mumbai under the

provisions of Provincial Autonomy. Import and export trade rose and the Mumbai Port Trust showed a surplus of 24 lakhs of rupees in 1937. During the Second World War, textile mills of Bombay witnessed unprecedented growth which further led to the growth of island city. It provided employment opportunities to thousands of village men, especially from Konkan. Number of other industries was also established related with textiles industry. By the end of the Second World War, Mumbai was truly emerging as the industrial center of India with 477 metal industries, 210 printing presses, 75 chemical and 94 other industries, while there were still 184 textile mills in operation.

British industrialist enjoyed close connection with the British suppliers of machinery, marketing agencies and government officials. The government also followed a conscious policy of favouring them.

### **Plantation industry**

The nineteenth-century witnessed the growth of plantation industry such as indigo, tea and coffee. These industries were owned by Europeans. Indigo was used as dye in textile manufacture. Indigo planters oppressed the peasants. The invention of synthetic dye proved to big blow to this industry. The tea industry developed in Assam, Bengal and south India after 1950. It was also foreign-owned. The British government gave it all necessary impetus. The plantation industry had not served the purpose of development for Indian people. The profit out of these industries went to England. Most of the technical staff was foreign. Only unskilled jobs were given to the Indian.

### **Steel and Iron Industry**

Tata worked in his father's company until he was 29. He founded a trading company in 1868. He bought a bankrupt oil mill at Chinchpokli in 1869 and converted it to a cotton Mill, which he renamed *Alexandra Mill*. He sold the mill two years later for a profit. He established Tata iron and Steel Company in 1907 at Sakchi.

Around 1920 the pressure of the rising nationalist movement and the Indian capitalist class, the government of India granted favourable incentives to the Indian industries. However Indian owned industries like cement, iron and steel were denied protection or given inadequate protection. On the other hand, foreign industries were given desired incentives and protection.

### **Check your Progress :**

- 1) Which industry in colonial India was given desired incentives and protection?

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## 9.4 URBANIZATION

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By the middle of the nineteenth century these settlements had become big cities from where the new rulers controlled the country. Institutions were set up to regulate economic activity and demonstrate the authority of the new rulers. Indians experienced political domination in new ways in these cities. The layouts of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were quite different from older Indian towns, and the buildings that were built in these cities bore the marks of their colonial origin.

Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were the Anglicized names of villages where the British first set up trading posts. They are now known as Chennai, Mumbai and Kolkata respectively. From the mid-eighteenth century, there was a new phase of change. Commercial centers such as Surat, Masulipatnam and Dhaka, which had grown in the seventeenth century, declined when trade shifted to other places. As the British gradually acquired political control after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, and the trade of the English East India Company expanded, colonial port cities such as Madras, Calcutta and Bombay rapidly emerged as the new economic capitals. They also became centers of colonial administration and political power. New buildings and institutions developed, and urban spaces were ordered in new ways. New occupations developed and people flocked to these colonial cities. By about 1800, they were the biggest cities in India in terms of population.

By the eighteenth century Madras, Calcutta and Mumbai had become important ports. These settlements that came up here were convenient points for collecting goods. The English East India Company built its factories there and because of competition among the European companies, fortified these settlements for protection. In Madras, Fort St George, in Calcutta Fort William and in Bombay the Fort marked out the areas of British settlement. Indian merchants, artisans and other workers who had economic dealings with European merchants lived outside these forts in settlements of their own. Thus, from the beginning, there were separate quarters for Europeans and Indians, which came to be labelled in contemporary writings as the “White Town” and “Black Town” respectively. Once the British captured political power these racial distinctions became sharper. From the mid-nineteenth century the expanding network of railways linked these cities to the rest of the country. As a result the hinterland – the countryside from where raw materials and labour were drawn – became more closely linked to these port cities. Since raw material was transported to these cities for export and there was plentiful cheap labour available, it was convenient to set up modern factories there. After the 1850s, cotton mills were set up by Indian merchants and entrepreneurs in Bombay, and European-owned jute mills were established on the outskirts of Calcutta. This was the beginning of modern industrial development in India. Although Calcutta, Bombay and Madras supplied raw materials for industry in England, and had emerged because of modern economic forces like capitalism, their economies were



not primarily based on factory production. The majority of the working population in these cities belonged to what economists classify as the tertiary sector. There were only two proper “industrial cities”: Kanpur, specializing in leather, woolen and cotton textiles, and Jamshedpur, specializing in steel. India never became a modern industrialized country, since discriminatory colonial policies limited the levels of industrial development. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras grew into large cities, but this did not signify any dramatic economic growth for colonial India as a whole.

**Check your Progress :**

1) Which two industrial cities were set up during colonial rule in India?

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## **9.5 AGRARIAN CHANGES**

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The introduction of new land revenue policy and commercialization of the agricultural remained the chief features of the British policy towards the agricultural sector in India. The British policy of commercialization was followed by the need of British industries and trades. It had no concern with Indian peasants. The various economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of India's economy into a colonial economy whose nature and structure were determined by needs of the British economy. One important aspect of British economic policy was the commercialization of agriculture. The commercialization of agriculture means that the agricultural crops and goods are produced by the peasants for sale in the market and not for their own consumption. Commercialization of agriculture in India began during British rule. The commercialization of Indian Agriculture took place not to feed the industries of India as India was far behind in industrial development as compared to Britain, France, and many other European countries of the eighteenth century.

The commercialization of agriculture had many results. It was beneficial to the British planters, traders and manufacturers, who were provided with the opportunity to make huge profits by getting the raw material products at cheaper rate. The commercialization of Indian agriculture also partly benefited Indian traders and money lenders who made huge fortunes by working as middlemen for the British.

The specific results of commercialization are bound up with the structure of land relations consolidated by British revenue and tenancy policies. The evolution of the zamindari and raiyatwari systems falls outside the scope of the present volume; here we need only note a few long-term trends. British agrarian policies were moulded basically by a

combination (in changing and sometimes conflicting proportions) of greed for more revenues (producing recurrent tendencies towards over assessment) and desire to encourage certain types of agricultural production for export; while the need to win or retain political allies, administrative convenience, and changing ideological assumptions also played a certain role at times. A recurrent pattern of reversal of intentions is clearly noticeable. Thus the belief of the makers of the Permanent Settlement that 'the magic touch of property ... would set a certain productive principle in operation' was never realized, as Bengal zamindars never developed into improving landlords of the eighteenth-century British type. Left virtually free to extort as much rent as they liked while revenue remained perpetually fixed (and therefore became progressively less of a burden despite initial problems of over-assessment), they naturally preferred feudal and usurious exploitation to risky investments in capitalist farming. Enhancement of rent was easy. The Bengali zamindars and tenure-holders were being hit hard by rising prices, diminishing employment opportunities in government services or professions, and some restrictions on rent-enhancement. But their landed income remained parasitic in nature. This helped to create a curious amalgam of radicalism and social inhibitions which we shall see to be basic for the understanding of nationalism in Bengal.

British policies after the 1850s did occasionally try to administer into existence a class of enterprising rayats on the model of English yeomen farmers. Once again the colonial situation led to a paradoxical outcome. The privileged minority of occupancy rayats', given legal protection in 1859 and 1885 from arbitrary eviction or rent-enhancement, seldom were, or remained. The actual cultivators, as the same pattern of shifting the burden and risks to groups below them (under-tenants or sharecroppers) soon asserted itself. Thus the direct producer was too oppressed to go in for improvements, while above him had developed a hierarchy of renters with no need to go in for entrepreneurial risks and consequently no capacity for innovation.

Raiyatwari tenants became a growing category whose woes were enhanced by the fact they were unknown to and therefore unprotected by the law. Recent detailed studies have revealed significant regional variations here: Tanjore with its powerful raiyatwari Landholders employing agricultural labourers; the less numerous and more scattered tiny elite of rich peasants in the interior dry zone of Tamilnadu and Rayalseema, dominating the mass of cultivators through usury and trade; and the significantly different broad 'middle peasant' development of the Andhra delta.

Plantations and mines, jute mills, banking, insurance, shipping and export-import concerns-promoted through a system of interlocking managing agency firms which usually combined financial, commercial and industrial activities-all undoubtedly implied significant innovations. How far they contributed to the progress of India is quite another matter,

since the tendency was at best towards creating capitalist enclaves under foreign control which really inhibited the development of the rest of the economy. 'Export of capital' takes on a rather special meaning in the Indian context when we remember that in the 1870s, for instance, interest payments abroad regularly exceeded annual capital inflows. Above all, some recent studies of regional variations have revealed how British control over the decisive sectors of the economy inhibited indigenous capitalist growth throughout this period.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) What was the main features of British Policy towards the agricultural sector in India?

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## **9.6 SUMMARY**

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A network of road transport and maintenance of roads in good repair was absolutely necessary for movement of troops, military goods and wheeled carriage for the swift movement. The textile industry laid down the foundation of the industrialization of the country. The network of roads and transportation led to the rise of urbanization in India. By the middle of the nineteenth century these settlements had become big cities from where the British controlled the country. The British policy of commercialization was followed in accordance with the need of British industries and trades.

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## **9.7 QUESTIONS**

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- 1) Explain the development of transport system in modern India.
- 2) Narrate the growth of industry and urbanization
- 3) Explain the important agrarian changes

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## **9.8 REFERENCES**

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# Unit - 10

## DRAIN OF WEALTH

### Unit Structure :

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Precursor of the Drain Theory
- 10.3 Drain Theory of Dadabhai Nauroji
- 10.4 External Drain
- 10.5 Internal Drain within India by the British Government
- 10.6 Effects of the Drain of Wealth
- 10.7 Summary
- 10.8 Questions
- 10.9 Reference

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### 10.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Comprehend the Drain theory.
- Grasp the internal and external drain of the Indian economy.
- Explain the important consequence of the drain of Indian economy.
- Realize the internal and external drain of wealth

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### 10.1 INTRODUCTION

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The British exploited Indian resources to develop their trade and industries at the cost of the Indian economy. It resulted in the exploitation of the peasants and depletion of the resources. The land revenue settlements introduced by them drained the wealth to England. There was a sudden collapse of the urban handicrafts industry due to the cheaper imported goods and British imperialistic measures towards the Indian craft workers. The Indian artisans and craftsmen were patronized by the native ruling states. Organized industry in India produced chiefly luxury and semi-luxury articles. Nobles generally purchased these. With the establishment of British rule in India, native rulers began to disappear. In the process of the expansion of British rule in India, these native states were annexed to the British Empire. Hence the artisan lost the patronage earlier they received. The British rule drastically affected the political-socio-economic structure of India. The result of the various economic policies adopted by them resulted in poverty and misery of the masses. The British followed a policy of the extinction of the self-sufficient village

economy in India. The constant flow of wealth from India to England for which India did not get an adequate economic return became the chief cause of growing poverty in India.

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## 10.2 PRECURSOR OF THE DRAIN THEORY

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### **Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar (1816-1847)**

Bhaskar Tarkhadkar was younger brother of Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar. He was educated at the Elphinstone Institute like his brothers Dadoba and Dr. Atmaram. He did not enter Company Government Service but sought employment in the firm of Jamsheji Jeejibhai. His writings revealed his analytical mind and an in-depth study of the subject he discussed. He wrote eight articles in the Bombay Gazetteer from July to October 1841. He exposed the ugly features of their political and economic policies and trade practices.

The economic nationalism of a kind was evident through his articles on the trading policy and practices of the company. He said the worst feature of their trading policy was discrimination against Indian goods and Indian traders. The rulers talk about 'Free Trade' when it suited their object. The imports into India from England are lightly taxed but the Indian goods especially textiles are not allowed free movement into England as heavy custom duties were imposed. Industrialized England did not encourage mechanization of means of production in India. The company's Government had ruined handicrafts in the villages and dumped machine-made goods into India. Many cultivators had lost their lands and craftsmen were thrown out of their jobs. The country was getting poorer every day. Dadabhai Naoroji, later on, developed the 'Drain Theory'. While addressing a meeting of English elite in England in 1887, his subject was 'Englishman's duties to India'. He referred to the groundwork that some Bombay economists like Bhaskar Tarkhadkar had done which became very useful for his Drain Theory.

### **Ramkrishna Vishwanath**

He was a contemporary of Bhaskar Tarkhadkar. Ramkrishna Vishwanath was forthright in his assessment of the economic policy of the East India Company's Government in India. He condemns the colonial mentality of the British rulers. He cites the example of cotton purchases at cheaper rate in India and the sale of cotton cloth in India at exorbitant rates. He says the company purchases cotton at the rate of one anna for a pound of cotton which was equal to 1.25 pence of England's currency. After manufacturing cotton cloth it sold it at a little more than Rs. 2/- per pound (The old one anna was equal to 1.25 pence, 12 pence make one shilling and twenty shillings made one pound"). In weight, one pound is equal to 0.454 kg. Thus in this example, a twenty paise worth of cotton could fetch Rs. 8/- per kilogram of manufactured cloth from that cotton.

In his monograph, he states that the prosperity of England depends on the sale of goods manufactured in England. The 'Industrial Revolution' had given an advantage to England over other European countries. England's colonies are captive markets for its manufacture. The British Government in India deliberately discourages indigenous industries. The Company's directors say Indian cotton had to be refined so that good cloth could be manufactured. The textile mills in the U.S.A. are functioning with the locally produced cotton and they do not send it to England for refinement. The Company's Government has placed so many restrictions on the export of Indian goods. The Government imposes a heavy-duty on Indian textiles which had a world market before the Company's rule. The same Company allowed imports from England without any duty. The market for British goods in India has ruined the Indian cottage industries and handicrafts.

The Government, he says, has not only ruined the native handicrafts by importing machine-made goods from England but has violated the provisions of the Charter Act of 1833. The Company has entered into an illegal trade in salt and opium. He also criticized the Government for discrimination of native in respect of recruitment to Government service and administration of justice. A white man was paid many times more salary than a native. He complained that the avenues for promotion for natives were blocked. He says, in the past a clerk in the Government service used to get Rs. 50/- per month, now he gets Rs. 12/- per month. 50 At this rate he would get RS. 5/- per month in the next few years. On the contrary, the salaries of the white men are progressively increasing. The Governor-General of the Company's Government was not satisfied with Rs. 40,000/- as his salary.

### **Bhau Mahajan (1815-1890)**

The British Colonial Empire was being consolidated and India was getting poorer day by day. The Industrial Revolution in England and the improvement in transport and communication had affected indigenous industry and trade. He asked through the columns of his periodicals why India was getting impoverished when England was prospering as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Bhau Mahajan along with Bhaskar Tarkhadkar and Ramakrishna Vishwanath was in fact the fore-runners of the Drain Theory- developed by Dadabhai Naoroji in the 1870 s. Bhau Mahajan had thrown light on the financial aspect of the unnecessary Afghan War (1830-40) and how Lord Auckland was responsible for the drain of India's wealth. That was one instance of bad government that resulted in the suffering of the Indian people.

### **Mahatma Phule (1827-1890)**

The economic exploitation of the country attracted heavy criticism of contemporary Indian thinkers. Ramkrishn Vishvnath, Dadabhai Naouraji, Mahatma Jotirao phule have described in detail about this. Ramkrishna Vishvnath, Dadabhai Noraoji and many others criticized the British authorities about their overall exploitation of the country. They



systematically studied the economic exploitation and exposed it through their writings whereas Phule's condemnation of the British policies was a result of his first-hand experience with peasantry and artisans. His booklet *cultivators whipcord* makes an analysis of the cultivators' and artisans problems caused by the British rule.

Phule felt that British rule had only worsened the problems of poverty and indebtedness among the cultivators. He criticized British economic policies and their effects on rural society in his writings. He stated that there were frequent and excessive increases in land revenue demands, the depression of Indian crafts and manufacturer, the import of British goods, and enormous debt charged on Indian debt. All these actions of the British government increased the pressure on the land under cultivation.

While tracing the root cause of the impoverishment of the handicraft in India, Phule shares that all over India noblemen, horse riders, soldiers, elephant riders, camel men and other craft workers were in service of Indian rulers. Hence they did not have much problem of paying land tax to the government as one of the member was working with the government. The introduction of the British government rule in India made these people jobless. Hence they found it difficult to pay the higher land tax to the government.

While exposing the miseries of the craft workers, he states that the craftsmen from England had started selling their machine-made goods at cheaper rate. Goods like bread, biscuits, sweet pickle, small needles, knives, scissors, sewing machines, stoves, colour glassware and many other finished goods flooded Indian market. Because of this impoverishment, many workers engaged themselves in cultivation which was already troubled due to British land revenue system

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the Drain Theory?

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### **10.3 DRAIN THEORY OF DADABHAI NAUROJI**

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The earlier leadership was keen on the growing economic problems of the peasants under the British authority. They were ardent to show the economic exploitation of the cultivators and workers due to the British imperialism. This exploitation was sensed by Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt and many other economists in India. The constant flow of wealth from India to England for which India did not get an adequate economic

return became the chief cause of growing poverty in India. Dadabhai Naoroji propounded the 'Drain theory' to expose the exploitation of India through British authorities. He used phrases such as the material and moral drain, the deprivation of resources the bleeding drain etc. The economic exploitation of India and Adam Smith's book *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of Indian Poverty* led to propose Drain Theory in his book entitled 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India' published in 1901. 'Drain Theory' propounded by Dadabhai Naoroji became the economic basis of Indian nationalism. Dadabhai recited British officers at every step to convince the British rulers about exploitation of India.

Various scholars have given account of drain of wealth from India to England. However, their estimate about drain, differs depending on the period under review or the method of calculations employed. George Wingate estimated the drain 4,222,611 pounds per year for the period from 1834 to 1851. William Digby estimated it somewhere around 500 to 1000 million from 1757 to 1815. In 1897 Dadabhai Naoroji reckoned the drain figure at Rs. 359 crores for the ten years from 1883-92. Dadabhai described the drain of the wealth as evil of all evils and the main cause of Indian poverty.

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#### **10.4 EXTERNAL DRAIN -**

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Dadabhai Naoroji traced that India was getting poorer and poorer every day because of low national income, the low import, the low standard of living of people, and the low revenue returns of the government. He thought that this existing poverty was the direct result of the British rule in India. Dadabhai attributed the poverty of India to the heavy drain on the resources of the country.

Dadabhai and his precursors sensed the external and internal nature of drain. It was an instrument that exhausted resources of India and the surplus generated through a complex process was drained out of the economy through the process of external trade, the dynamics of which was supplied by the unilateral transfer of funds in an equally complicated way. According to Dadabhai, the functioning of this transfer of resources was uniquely determined by following factors.

1) India was a colony governed by British through their officers. 2) India was burdened with an expensive civil administration and equally expensive army of occupation. 3) India was a strategic base of operations that had to bear the burden of empire building not only in India but also beyond her borders. 4) The public expenditure out of the proceeds of taxation and loans failed to generate domestic employment in India.

#### **The plunder of Indian wealth**

The basic economic situation in India was radically transformed after 1757, following the British victory in the battle of Plassey which laid the foundation of the British power in India. The drain of wealth from

Bengal began in 1757 when the company's servants began to carry home immense fortunes extorted from Indian rulers, Zamindars and common people. They sent home nearly six million pounds between 1758 and 1765. This amount was four times bigger than the total land revenue collection from Bengal. After the battle Plassey, India exported goods mainly silver bullion to pay tribute to Britain. Britain itself wished to use revenues from this trade to buy tea and silk from China. For this silver worth of 58 lakh rupees had been exported to England from India. The opium trade became an instrument of profit making. The surplus had been transferred to England. This had attracted the attention of Dadabhai's predecessors whom he quoted in defense of the drain theory. Dadabhai Naoroji quoted British administrators of a much earlier period in support of his drain theory. Lord Cornwallis in his minute of 1790 had specifically referred to the heavy drain of wealth. According to him the causes of external drain were large annual investment in Europe and remittances of private fortunes for many years past, the impact of which was severely felt, at the time or writing, in the form of the scarcity of specie for current transactions and the consequent depression in India's agriculture and internal trade. Dadabhai Naoroji traced that economic drain was carried by two ways-annual charges in India and annual charges in England.

#### **Remittances to England from India**

- 1) Remittances to England by European employees for the support of families and education of children a feature of the colonial system of government.
- 2) Remittances of savings by employees of the Company, as most employees preferred to invest at home
- 3) Remittances for the purchases of British goods for the consumption of British employees as well as purchases by them of British goods in India.
- 4) Government purchase of stores manufactured in England.

#### **Annual charges in England**

- 1) The East Indian Company had piled up a public debt to dislodge Indian rulers from their Principalities. By 1900 the public debt had risen to £ 224 million. Only part of the debt was raised for productive purposes i.e., for construction of railways, irrigation facilities and public works
- 2) Dividend to the shareholders of the East India Company
- 3) Civil and Military charges included payments towards pensions and furloughs of British officers in the civil and military departments in India, expenses on India Office establishment in London, payments to the British war office etc. All these charges were solely due to India's subjection to foreign rule.
- 4) The Secretary of State and the Government of India purchased stores for the Military, Civil and Marine Departments in the English market.

The annual average expenditure on stores varied from 10% to 12% of the Home charges between 1861-1920.

- 5) The opium trade with China played an interesting role in the external economic drain. The East India Company transferred its revenue surplus and its corrupt officers their savings and secret gains via China. All the profits of opium went the same way of the drain to England.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) What is the meaning of external economic drain?

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## **10.5 INTERNAL DRAIN WITHIN INDIA BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT**

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The external economic drain was the counterpart of the internal economic drain. The internal transfer was as much of an economic drain as the external transfer.

- 1) Resources abstracted from internal production through taxation took the form of commodities which, in real terms, were the equivalent of the transfer of income abroad.
- 2) The internal economic drain was a 'drain because of one-sided exports, which did not bring any return in the form of imports.
- 3) Dadabhai pointed out that Indian public finance lacked the vitality and utility for Indian economy. As the railway and road transportation could not bring desired prosperity to India as they served the imperialistic purposes.

The view of Dadabhai Naoroji was shared by liberal minded Englishmen in the middle of the nineteenth century who had a sympathetic understanding of the reality of the Indian economic situation. The views of Dadabhai Naoroji on public expenditure had crystallized as early as 1871 in his papers called *commerce of India* and *Financial Administration*.

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## **10.6 EFFECTS OF THE DRAIN OF WEALTH**

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- 1) Dadabhai Naoroji was of the opinion that the drain was the principal and even the sole cause of India's poverty. He wrote that the India has been exploited in rude manner. The British invasion continuous and the economic plunder goes right on. He pointed out that the drain represented not only the spending abroad of certain portion of national income but also the further laws of employment and income that would have been generated in the country, if the drain would have been spent internally.

2) It is impossible to accurately measure the amount of drain which in the form of resources and gold bullion flowed from India into England during the long British rule over India. With the available information, it was calculated that one-fourth of all revenue derived in India came to be annually remitted to England as Home Charges. According to Dadabhai Naoroji between 1814 and 1865 about 350 million pounds went to England by way of drain.

3) The vast amount of resources and capital which flowed from India into England naturally enabled the people of England to live a better standard of life. The drain also made possible rising investments in English agriculture and industry after 1750. These investments were partly responsible for agricultural revolution in England in the eighteenth century and as also industrial revolution which commenced after 1750.

4) This drain took the form of an excess of exports over the imports for which India got no economic or national return. According to the nationalist calculations, this drain amounted to one-half of the government revenues more than the entire land revenue collection and over one-third of India's total savings.

5) Retired British officials had the leisure and money to devote their attention to new inventions, construction of roads, canals and railways and bring rapid changes in all sectors of the economy. The drain provided the foundation of English economic prosperity. On the other hand the effects of the drain on Indian economy and on its people were disastrous. The loot and plunder and the enormous profits which were taken out of India year after year meant a continual drain of Indian resources and a dead loss. These resources and gold which could have been available for investment in India were siphoned off to England.

6) The nationalist leaders also saw drain as so much loss of capital rather than loss of wealth. They were aware that the drain was harmful chiefly because it resulted in the depletion of productive capital. The drain resulted in industrial retardation as it produced shortage of capital. The nationalist leaders, thus, tried to analyze and show the effects of the drain on income and wealth, capital, industrial development, land revenue, the terms of trade and on the poverty of the Indian people. Through the drain theory, the nationalist writers, especially Dadabhai Naoroji effectively brought out the highly exploitative nature of British rule in India.

7) For the early nationalists the drain also took the form of colonial pattern of finance. The nationalists of the twentieth century were relying heavily on the main themes of their economic critique of colonialism. These themes were then to reverberate in Indian villages, towns and cities. Based on this firm foundation, the later nationalists went on to stage powerful mass agitations and mass movements. The drain theory thus laid the seeds for subsequent nationalism to flower and mature.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) What was the effects of Drain of wealth in India?

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**10.7 SUMMARY**

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The British rule had drastic impact on Indian economy. The commercialization of agriculture, excessive land revenue demands, growth of Zamindar class (landlords), rising indebtedness and the impoverishment of the cultivators made Indian economy stagnant. The extent of poverty increased due to the economic exploitative policies of the British authority. The various land revenue systems, the drain of wealth and deindustrialization of the Indigenous industries had profound impact on India. Industrialized England did not encourage mechanization of means of production in India. The company's Government had ruined handicrafts in the villages and dumped machine-made goods into India. Many cultivators had lost their lands and craftsmen were thrown out of their jobs. The country was getting poorer every day. Dadabhai Naoroji, later on, developed the 'Drain Theory' exposing the economic drain of India.

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**10.8 QUESTIONS**

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- 1) Discuss the contribution of Dadabhai Nouraji on the drain of wealth from India during the British rule.
- 2) Write a detailed note on drain theory.

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# Unit - 11

## ADVENT OF PRINTING PRESS AND ITS IMPLICATION: REFORM MOVEMENTS- NATURE AND ISSUES

### Unit Structure :

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Emergence of the press in different parts of the country
- 11.3 Important role of the newspaper and periodicals
- 11.4 British Governments Response to the Press
- 11.5 Reform Movements: Nature and Issues
- 11.6 Brahmo Samaj
- 11.7 Prarthana Samaj
- 11.8 Arya Samaj
- 11.9 The Ramakrishna Mission
- 11.10 The Theosophical society
- 11.11 Satyashodhak Samaj
- 11.12 Reform movement among the Muslims
- 11.13 Impact of reform movements
- 11.14 Summary
- 11.15 References
- 11.16 Questions

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### 11.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Understand the Advent of printing press and its implication.
- Explain the development of the press in various parts of the country.
- Note the role played by the press in the awakening of the masses.
- Understand the role of the press in the reform movements.
- Comprehend the different types of reform movements in India.
- Understand the impact of reform movements in India.

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### 11.1 INTRODUCTION

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Indians were well versed in the oral tradition of learning. Nevertheless, the written accounts were rarely available to the masses. But



with the arrival of the British, the new chapter of mass awakening began in the form of printed books, newspapers and Journals. It was Portuguese who first introduced the printing press in India. The Portuguese and British started Journals initially but very soon educated Indians took lead and dedicated themselves in this field. The advent of the press led to the social, cultural and nationalistic awakening among the people. In the initial stage, social and cultural retrospection and remedies were traced by the press. After few years the press also started creating a national awakening. The Portuguese were the first to reach India and colonies some part of it. Consequently, they initiated the beginning of the press in established colonies. Goa was one of it. The press became a vehicle to spread the nationalistic and reformative zeal among the people.

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## **11.2 EMERGENCE OF THE PRESS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY**

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### **11.2.1 Goa**

Juan De Bustamante, Spanish by birth brought to Goa a printing press from Portugal in 1556. Father Stephens composed the first Marathi book, the *Khrista Puran* in 1616. After that, the missionaries made use of the press to propagate their views and to spread Christianity. Dr. William Carey was the first European who provided the impetus to the Vernacular language. Carey used the *Modi* script for some of his books.

### **11.2.2 South India**

Ambalakkadu in Cochin was also a center of early Indian printing. But no books can be found printed in this place. Another altogether separate volume on Doctrine on Christ was printed at Cochin in 1579. Printing actively continued unabated in Goa till 1674 but gradually it declined due to the demoralization of the missionaries and their apathy to learn Indian languages. The decree of 1684 replaced Portuguese abandoning local languages in Goa and thus discouraged the growth and development of Indian printing. As the Catholic missionaries, the Danish Protestant mission's work to introduce printing in India is very important to propagate their faith. All these things except the printer arrived next year. The Press started functioning at Tranquebar (Madras) on June 11th, 1713 with the assistance of a German printer who was already working with a Danish company. Another Danish missionary Christian Frederick Schwartz who acted as a teacher of the enlightened Tanjore ruler Sarfoji Bhonsle (1799-1833) impressed the ruler to establish a press in to publish Sanskrit and Marathi books.

### **11.2.3 Madras**

The first printing press of Madras was started at Vapery and later this press became famous as the Deccan Press. The Tamil types were the first cast in Madras and used at Vapery till 1870. *Madras Courier* was started by Richard Johnston in 1785. The Kannada printing developed with the help of the Christian Missionaries of Bellary, Bangalore and Mangalore and a blacksmith of Mangalore. The College St. George,

Madras was established in 1812 and the press attached to the college took the responsibility of publishing books in Telegu and Kanada languages.

#### **11.2.4 Bengal**

James Hickey established the first newspaper *the Bengal Gazette* at Calcutta in 1780. The newspapers and printing presses were subjected to various restrictions in the earlier phase. The newspapers had to follow the approval of the Government.

The East India Company took the direct responsibility of running the administration of Bengal since 1765. As a result of this transfer of power the civil servants of the many who were entrusted with the administration started learning the language of the province. This zeal for learning Bengali was directly responsible for the growth and development of printing. Journalism The East India Company of England had established its political authority in Bengal in the middle of the 18th century. Many British journalists published weeklies or monthlies and expressed their opinions on the current topics.

#### **11.2.5 Vernacular and indigenous Press**

The awakening and Growth of National consciousness among the Indians gave rise to the vernacular and indigenous Press. From 1815 onwards Raja Ram Mohan Roy was involved in reforming superstitious and decaying Hindu society in India. Ganga Kishor Bhattacharya and Harachandra Roy thought of propagating the ideas of Rajaram Mohan Roy. They started a paper Vangal Gazette in Bengali it was countered by Baptist Missionaries by using Press for spreading Christianity. In 1821 he started Sambad Kaumudi, in Bengali and Mirat-ul-Akhbar in Persian in 1822. These Weeklies aimed at inspiring the people to fight against socio-religious malpractices, to get oriented with western culture and to inform both public and Government about the real situation on the country.

#### **11.2.6 Maharashtra**

In Bombay, the 'Telegraph', 'Courier', 'Bombay Gazetteer' 'Bombay Times' and the 'Times of India' had been in circulation among the English reading public but there were no Marathi periodicals. *Bombay Herald* was the first newspaper in Mumbai (1789). It was also known as Bombay Gazette. Fardunji Marzban founded *Bombay Samachar* in 1822, the first vernacular newspaper. It was in the Gujrathi language. It is the oldest vernacular newspaper in western India. In 1836 Naoraji Dorabji started *Mumbai Vartman*. Dadabhai Nauroji, the Grand old man of India added an important addition in the history of Journalism by starting *Rast Goftar*. Balshastri Jambhekar was the pioneer in the Marathi press. The first Anglo-Marathi periodical was edited and published by Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar better known as Balshastri Jambhekar in 1832. It was modelled after the Anglo Bengali periodical 'Samachar Darpan' which appeared in 1818. The name of the Anglo-Marathi periodical edited by Balshastri was 'Mumbai Darpan'. It opened the way for a whole series of periodicals, magazines and books in the next two decades. The first printed Marathi monthly was edited and published by Raghoba Janardan

Gavankar - Vasaikar in 1840. In 1841 Govind Vithal alias Bhau Mahajan published his weekly 'Prabhakar'. This weekly was issued every Sunday and it held the central stage.

Marathi Journalism was working during this time with certain objectives such as the spread of knowledge among the people and the eradication of orthodoxy. They tried to create an awakening among the people. The journalists of that era tried to import scientific and liberal ideas. Secondly, the newspapers tried to create and guide public opinion. Thirdly, most of the newspapers favored the social reforms in society. They made good use of the press to create consciousness among the people they wanted to check the activities of Christian Missionaries. Following are some of the prominent publications and journals of that era published in Western India.

The American Mission set up a printing press at Bhendi Bazar in Bombay in 1813. Thomas Graham was the manager. He printed books in Marathi and Gujarathi to propagate Christianity. The Americans also set up Lithopress at Harne in Ratnagiri district. In the American Press at Bhendi Bazar a Bhandari youth Ganpat Krishnaji learnt the technique and opened his own press at Bori Bandar. He printed ephemeris (panchang) and religious books in Marathi and Gujarathi. The Brahmins would not touch the printed books for fear of getting contaminated by the printed ink mixed with animal fat. Ganpat substituted ghee for the fat and made moulds for the types himself. His example was followed by others.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) Where did the American mission was set up printing press at Bombay in 1813?

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### **11.3 IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICALS**

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Bhau Mahajan wanted to present thoughts even on such sensitive matters as conversion to Christianity. He showed great courage to allow Baba Padamji, the famous compiler of dictionary and a literary personality who had embraced Christianity, to explain his position through the columns of 'Dhumketu'. The efforts of Balshastri Jambhekar to enlighten the people were ably undertaken by Bhau Mahajan in his monthly journal 'Digdarshan'. This magazine provided knowledge on many subjects. It was a monthly encyclopaedia and the objective was to create a sense of enquiry among the readers. In 1854 he started a quarterly magazine 'Dnyanadarshan'. The mouthpiece of Christian Missionaries was 'Dnyanodaya' in Marathi which was started in 1842 and survived till

the middle of the 20th century. There were some periodicals to counteract the Christian propaganda but such periodicals were short-lived. The focus of Marathi journals and periodicals was on spreading knowledge and also enlightening the Government on matter of public interest.

Before 1818 many English journals conducted by Englishmen freely criticized the Company's officers. The Supreme Court of the Company in Bengal checked such criticism through English journals issued from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In 1835 Sir Charles Metcalf who held office of Governor-General granted freedom of the Press which continued for the next forty years or so. In the first fifty years under British Rule and educated middle class in Maharashtra concentrated on social matters. They admired Western Science and literature. They hardly criticized the foreign government.

Through his article in the *Nibandhmala* and *Kesari* Vishnushastri left a deep impression not only upon his contemporaries but also on the future generations of writers, journalists and men of public affairs like Tilak. He is regarded as the one who inspired and promoted modern Marathi. They hail him as the representative and spokesman of the 19th Century Maharashtra. But Some others regard him as a literary genius but leader of Hindu reactionaries. Vishnushastri was the first Marathi writer to introduce scientific literary criticism, including criticism of great classical writers like Kalidasa, Bana, Subandu and Dandi.

### **11.3.1 Journalism of downtrodden**

Journalism played a significant role in the socio-religious revolutionary movement. The orthodox and high castes reformative newspapers did not give much importance to the grievances of peasants and workers. The social reform movement initiated by them was limited up to the higher castes. It aimed to bring social reforms within the educated class of society. Hence Satyashodhak Samaj needed to launch radical periodicals to bring the reform within large strata of society.

Jotirao Phule, the founder of Satyashodhak Samaj expressed his radical views in the contemporary press. When he declared his intention to dine with any person without taking consideration of his caste through a letter, no Hindu paper including social reformers paper was ready to publish it. Eventually, it was published in Christian magazine named *Shubhvarthmandarshan Churchsambanthi Nanavidh Sangrah* on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1873. *Dnyanoday* was one of the periodicals which supported Phule's movement by publishing his letters and other works.

Satyashodhak Samaj launched a social revolutionary movement under the leadership of Phule. *Deenbandhu* was the mouthpiece of Satyashodhak Samaj. The newspaper was extremely important to understand the Satyashodhak Programme and its ideology. It was started on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1877 by two brothers, Krishnrao Pandurang Bhalekar and Ramchandraro Bhalekar in Pune. Krishnrao Bhalekar was a close associate of Jotirao Phule. He started *Deenbandhu* independently. In this

venture, he states that, he had to face many difficulties including loss of his house and agricultural land. Phule played a prominent part in relieving the distress caused by famine. He wrote many articles in the *Deenbandhu* urging the government to give the people work and food. N. M. Lokhande and *Deenbandhu* played a significant role in seeking the lacunas in the mild factory act of 1881. In comparison to England, cheap labours were easily available in India. This led to the formation of various mills in Bombay around 1875-1882.

**Check your Progress :**

1) Who founded Satyashodhak Samaj?

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## **11.4 BRITISH GOVERNMENTS RESPONSE TO THE PRESS**

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### **11.4.1. The censorship of the press act 1799**

Lord Wellesley imposed this act to curb down the independence of the press. The newspapers to clearly print every issue in the name of the printer and the publisher to submit all material from pre-censorship to the government. Breach of these rules was punishable offense.

### **11.4.2 Licensing regulation 1823**

It was enacted by John Adams. According to this regulation, the press without a license was a penal offense. The restriction was directed mainly to Indian language newspapers or those edited by the Indians.

### **11.4.3 The Liberation of press: act of 1835**

Metcalf (Governor-General 1835 to 36) repealed the obnoxious 1823 ordinance and was named, "liberator of the Indian press" This act imposed licensing restriction and the right to stop publication and circulation of book, newspaper or printed matter reserved with the Government.

### **11.4.4 The Vernacular Press Act of 1878**

Lytton favoured the conservative view and passed the Vernacular Press Act, in 1878 and suppressed the Freedom of Press. Lord Lytton, however did a great service. The restrictions imposed by the Act of 1878 inspired the indigenous journalist to come together and condemned the act unitedly. It was opposed vehemently by the Indian Journalist and declared as a draconian piece of legislation. According to this Act various restrictions were imposed on the indigenous press and Districts Magistrate orders were final. It was discriminatory in nature as it was only against Vernacular Press. The vernacular press like *Somprakash*, *The*

Daccaprakash, The Samachar faced the punitive action by the government authorities

#### **11.4.5 The Newspaper Incitement to offenses Act, 1908**

Through this act, Magistrate was empowered to confiscate any printed material which contained inflammatory matter even with slight doubt he could summon the Press and asked for an explanation.

#### **11.4.6 The Indian Press Act, 1910**

The new act was more oppressive than the newspapers act of 1908. It compelled the publishers to deposit Rs. 500/- with the Magistrate as the security. The Magistrate was empowered to increase the amount of security up to 10 times as well as forfeit the security without assigning any reason. It contained the definition of the term objectionable and seditious.

#### **Check your Progress :**

1) Who passed the Vernacular Press act of 1878?

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### **11.5 REFORM MOVEMENTS: NATURE AND ISSUES**

The socio-religious reform movement, also known as the Indian Renaissance was the spiritual character of the national awakening. It was the expression of the rising national consciousness. These movements increasingly tended to have a national scope and programme. Their aim was the reconstruction of the social, religious and cultural life of the people. Religious reform aimed at the rejection of elements that were considered incompatible with the original faith. Several schools of thought arose both among the Hindus and Muslims. In spite of their outward differences, they showed similar trend, i.e., a vivid consciousness of the need for religious reconstruction and moral reform and an attempt to unite all those professing the same faith.

The socio-religious reformers believed that their political failure and the resulting misfortune were due to the moral decline and social degeneration which was the consequence of the neglect of true religion. The spirit of reform embraced almost the whole of India beginning with the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal leading to the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. Besides the Brahmo Samaj which had its branches in several parts of the country, the Paramahansa Mandali and the Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra and the Arya Samaj, in Punjab and North India were some of the important movements among the Hindus, There were several other regional and caste movements like the Kayastha Sabha in Uttar Pradesh and the Sing Sabha in Punjab.



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## 11.6 BRAHMO SAMAJ

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Like the Christian Missionaries, Raja Ram Mohan Roy attacked polytheism and idolatry. He pointed out that polytheism and idolatry were completely antagonistic to the monotheistic spirit of the Upanishads. He found that most orthodox Hindus could not justify the idolatry they practiced. To emphasize the fact that idolatry was not sanctioned by the highest religion Raja Ram Mohan Roy went back to the Vedas. Though Raja Ram Mohan Roy's social reforms were manifold and of great importance, it was in religion that his contribution had the most far reaching effect. In 1828, he founded the Brahmo Samaj, a theistic society opposed to polytheism, mythology and idolatry. The Brahmo Samaj was initially conceived by Raja Ram Mohan Roy as a universalistic church. He was a defender of the basic and universal principles of all religions the monotheism of the Vedas and the Unitarianism of Christianity and at the same time attacked polytheism of Hinduism and Trinitarianism of Christianity.

### 11.6.1 The Principles of Brahmo Samaj

- 1) God is a personal being with sublime moral attributes.
- 2) God alone existed in the beginning.
- 3) He is intelligent, infinite, benevolent, eternal and governor of the universe.
- 4) God never incarnates.
- 5) God hears and answers prayers.

Throughout the long history of the Brahmo Samaj it remained theistic and opposed to idolatry and always advocated progressive social reforms. While its roots have been grounded deep in the Hindu religion, Raja Ram Mohan Roy as well as the early founders of the Brahmo Samaj, derived inspiration and stimulus from keen intellectual controversies with the Christian missionaries. Infact the impulse which proved more creative in Raja Ram Mohan Roy's mind was the desire to found a form of religion capable of meeting the missionaries attacks on Hinduism in a manner that would conform to the scientific spirit of the age. After the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bristol, England on 27 September 1833, Dwarkanath Tagore gave some financial support to the Samaj.

### Check your Progress :

- 1) Who was the founder of Brahmo Samaj?
- 2) When did Prarthana Samaj was established by Atmaram Pandurang?

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## 11.7 PRARTHANA SAMAJ

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Under Keshab Chandra Sen the Brahmo Samaj movement spread outside Bengal. His tour of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras made the Brahmo Samaj something like an all-India movement. In Maharashtra, the reformers desired to have an organization similar to that of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1867, the Prarthana Samaj was founded by Atmaram Pandurang, R.G. Bhandarkar and M.G. Ranade, who were its prominent members. Justice M.G. Ranade was one of the most active members of the Prarthana Samaj.

### 11.7.1 The Principles of Samaj

1. God has created the universe. He is perfect and the infinite.
2. Idol worship is a folly.
3. The universe is God's creation and is real.
4. The praise and worship of God can be done through prayer. For the progress of human being asceticism, a donation to gurus and belief in miracles are unnecessary.
5. All men and women are equal and it is the supreme duty of man to love the man and love God with devout.

The Prarthana Samaj was deeply rooted in Hinduism. By nature, it was like a protestant reform movement among Hindus. Members of Samaj always looked upon themselves as reformers in Hindu society. One of the chief beliefs among the member of the Samaj was the 'fatherhood of God' and 'brotherhood of man'. Like contemporary social reform organizations, the Prarthana Samaj attempted to purify Hinduism from the age-old useless and futile traditions. The Samaj tried to make religion more simple and spiritual. It stood for universalism and rationalism. Ranade, who was the chief force behind the activities of Samaj, believed that in course of time all the religions and cultures will be dissolved into the universal religion.

### 11.7.2 Activities of the Samaj

The Prarthana Samaj had undertaken numerous social works. It took over the management of the institutions including the 'Home for the Homeless' and 'orphanage at Pandharpur' in 1881. The Prarthana Samaj also established Arya Mahila Samaj in 1882 in Mumbai for the upliftment of women. The members of the Samaj tried to enlighten women by arranging lectures on various social issues. Ramabai Ranade, R.G. Bhandarkar and other members made great efforts to organize many social activities. The Prarthana Samaj also founded 'sanghat sabha' (friendly association to attract youths). The activities of the Prarthana Samaj were regional in character. As it did not have definite, well defined principles, the Samaj could not launch a nationwide movement. Its activities were restricted to Maharashtra. Its leaders were men of moderate views and were opposed to radical reforms.

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## 11.8 ARYA SAMAJ

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The Arya Samaj, founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati, was more conservative and aggressive than the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were largely products of ideas associated with the West and represented Indian response to Western rationalism. They were inspired by western learning and western religions. Whereas the reform movement initiated by Swami Dayananda Saraswati was inspired by India's past and derived its basic principles from India's ancient scriptures and religion, especially those of the Vedic Age.

Swami Dayananda Saraswati whose original name was Mul Shankar name from conservative Gujarat. He was not touched by western learning or thought, neither was he influenced by the monotheistic religions, Christianity and Islam. He was of the opinion that the Hindus' required no new religious knowledge and no external spiritual aid. He insisted that they should rely on the Vedas-alone. As he studied the Vedas deeper, Dayananda was convinced that the Vedas-were the source of all truth and supreme knowledge. It was in the Vedas that he found the doctrine of Monotheism and devotion to one formless God. He regarded the Vedas infallible and eternal. in a book entitled 'Satyartah Prakash', Swami Dayananda Saraswati laid down his own interpretation of the Vedas. Though Dayanand was revivalist in religious matters, he was a reformer in social matters. He attacked polytheism, idolatry, superstitions, caste system, child marriage, sati, forced widowhood and ban on foreign travel. According to him qualification should determine their caste or class rather than birth. He disregarded the authority of the Being influenced by the teachings of Swami Virajananda, Dayananda strongly took his stand on the Veda. He denounced superstition, caste, untouchability, child marriage, forced widowhood, neglect of women's education and ban on foreign travel.

### Check your Progress :

- 1) Arya Samaj was founded in which year?

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## 11.9 THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

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Ramakrishna (1836-86) was born in a highly orthodox Brahmin family in a small village in the Hoogly district of Bengal. He did not have any formal education. Even as a child he had mystic vision. Ramakrishna tried to understand and practice not only the religious tenets of Hinduism but also those of Islam and Christianity. He went to Muslim and Christian mystics and lived with them for years. Ultimately he came to the conclusion that Krishna, Allah and Jesus were but different names of God,

and that the practice of all religions would lead to the same goal. Ramakrishna was a simple man with no western education. However, many highly educated, skeptical and westernized Indians mostly from Calcutta came to him and found faith, serenity and strength that they lacked.

Keshab Chandra Sen, the Brahmo leader often visited Ramakrishna. Among the visitors who became the most famous of his disciples was a young graduate of the Calcutta University named Narendra Nath Dutt, later popularly known as Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902). After the death of Ramakrishna in August 1886, Vivekananda took charge of his disciples at the Baranagore ashram. However, in 1888 he took up the life of wandering monk and travelled throughout the country. He carried with him only the Gita and Thomas A. Kempis 'Imitation of Christ'. For nearly five years he travelled to different parts of the country, mostly on foot.

In 1893, Swami Vivekananda attended the famous 'Parliament of Religions' at Chicago, U.S.A. He electrified the world by his address at this congregation, by his directness, simplicity and brilliant eloquence. The 'New York Herald' wrote that Vivekananda was undoubtedly, the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. After his return from abroad, Swami Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission on 5 May 1897, which was to be more than a mere religious organization. Its main objectives were - (1) to propagate the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahansa. (2) To spread the meaning of Vedantic spiritualism far and wide. (3) To strive for a synthesis and harmony among various faiths.

**Check your Progress :**

1) Where did Swami Vivekananda attend famous parliament of Religions?

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## **11.10 THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY**

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The Theosophical Society, like the Arya Samaj stimulated the spirit of cultural nationalism among the Indians. The Theosophical Society was founded by Madame Blavatsky, a Russian and Colonel Olcott an American in New York (U.S.A) on 17 November 1875. Both the founders of the Theosophical Society repudiated Christianity and both of them were converted to Buddhism. Colonel Olcott emphasized on the majesty and sufficiency of eastern scriptures and appealed to the sentiments of patriotic loyalty of Indians to uphold the religion of their forefathers. He also pleaded for the revival of Sanskrit learning and of the ancient philosophy, drama, music, and literature of the Hindus. Madame

Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott came to India in 1879 and transferred the headquarters of the Theosophical Society to Adyar, near Madras. Gradually, branches of the society were established in different parts of India.

#### **11.10.1 The chief aims of the Theosophical Society were –**

- 1) To form a nucleus of universal brotherhood.
- 2) To encourage the study of comparative religions, philosophies and sciences.
- 3) To investigate the complex and unexplained laws of nature and the power hidden in man.
- 4) To strive for women's welfare, upliftment of depressed classes and the promotion of 'Swadeshi'.

Theosophists were of the opinion that promotion of a spirit of brotherhood at all levels, international, national, inter-religious, inter-communal and individual is the answer to many problems of the world. The most important propagator of Theosophical movement in India was Annie Besant, an Irish lady. She renounced Christianity and came under the influence of Theosophy. She joined the Theosophical Society in 1889. After the death of Madame Blavatsky in 1891, Annie Besant took over the leadership of the society and came to India two years later. She guided the society for nearly fifty years and infused a new life into the Theosophical movement and attracted many Indians towards the society.

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### **11.11 SATYASHODHAK SAMAJ**

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Satyashodhak Samaj was one of the most significant and influential movements in modern Maharashtra. It was the first organization in modern India that worked for the common toiling masses. The aim and objectives and the programmes of the Satyashodhak Samaj had more concern with the cultivators, workers, landless labourers and the downtrodden. Unlike the other social reform movements, Satyashodhak's involved themselves in the radical social reforms like removal of untouchability, widow remarriage, imparting the education to the women and creating awareness among the masses. It aimed at social religious and economic reforms. Having started the social revolutionary movement in Maharashtra, he decided to launch a movement in Maharashtra for the liberation and uplifting the downtrodden. The Satyashodhak Samaj was established by Jotirao Phule and his associates on 24 September 1873 to infused courage among the masses against the poverty and social injustice.

#### **11.11.1 Objectives of the Satyashodhak Samaj**

Many scholars and historians regarded Theosophical society, Ramkrishna Mission, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Prarthana Samaj as religious reformatory movements. They ignored the activities of Satyashodhak Samaj. These two movements were radical in nature. They were basically religious reformatory movement aiming at removing social evils such as caste distinctions, forced widowhood, untouchability, child

marriage and supremacy of priestly class. Despite of reformatory work, these movements were neglected because they did not offer too much importance to spiritualism or the concept like Atma, Brahma and Parabrahma.

The main objective of the Samaj was to liberate 'Shudras' and 'Atishudras' from the social and religious bondage and to prevent their exploitation by the Brahmins. All members of the Samaj were required to treat all human being as 'children of God' and worship the creator without the help of any mediator. Membership was open to all, irrespective of caste and religion. Satyashodhak Samaj was the manifestation of the Jotirao's ideals of liberalism and rationalism. He refused to regard the Vedas as God's creation. He opposed the custom of worshipping before idols and denounced the caste system. The Samaj made no distinction between non-Brahmin and untouchables. Irrespective of the caste and creed it attracted membership from all the sections of the society, including Brahmins, Matangs, Mahars, Jews and Muslims. It was an organization of the masses and for the masses. Jotirao was elected as the first President and treasurer of the Samaj and Narayan Meghaji Lokhande as its first secretary. Much later after the death of Jotirao in 1890, the goal of the Samaj was summarized as follows:

1. All men are the children of one God.
2. There is no need of mediator for the worship of God.
3. Anyone who does accept the principles can become member of samaj.
4. The Samaj believed in the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of men.

The Samaj held its weekly meetings in which various issues like compulsory education, encouragement to swadeshi goods and removing the superstitions were discussed.

#### **11.11.2 Satyashodhak Samaj and Social Reforms**

With the foundation of the Satyashodhak samaj, the systematic struggle against the injustice began. Jotirao used his position as a nominated member of the Poona municipality to help the famine-stricken areas of Maharashtra. The Victoria Orphanage was founded under the guidance of the Satyashodhak Samaj. Jotirao's book Sarvajanic Satyadharma became the chief inspiration for the Satyashodhak Samaj. His main work was to arouse the exploited and suppressed masses from age-old slavery. In the matter of widow remarriage, the practice of untouchability, social equality, the evil of caste system, the established organization could not eradicate the existing social problems. Jotirao began to arrange the marriage according to the Satyashodhak ceremony. The leaders of the Samaj were mass leaders. Though Satyashodhak Samaj lacked the support of major intellectual, its philosophy was simple and honest. The leaders of Samaj were moved to social actions by their hearts. Their language of communication was simple; their places of publicity were the common gathering places of the people. The Satyashodhak Samaj was the first institution to launch a social revolutionary movement in modern India.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the mouthpiece of Satyashodhak Samaj?

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**11.12 REFORM MOVEMENT AMONG THE MUSLIMS**

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The most effective movement among the Muslims in favour of English education was initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan. He began his career as an official in the British government. He used his position for the upliftment of the Muslim community. His chief aims were to bring about an understanding between the English and the Muslim community and introduction of modern education among the Muslims. Syed Ahmad Khan formulated an educational scheme for the Indian Muslims. He made an appeal to the higher and middle class Muslims to learn English and adopt westernization to some extent. He regarded the western Knowledge through the English language as the foundation of all real progress among the Muslims, Syed Ahmad Khan established an English School at Gazipur and the Scientific Society for translating useful English books into Urdu. He established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The college provided liberal education in arts and sciences through the medium of English. Later the college was developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. The reform movement in the Muslim community initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan came to be known as the Aligarh Movement which played an important role in bringing about awakening among the Muslims. It aimed at spreading Western education among the Muslim without weakening their allegiance to Islam. The movement appealed to the Muslims to adopt Western culture and interpret the Quran in a rational manner and in accordance with the needs to the Muslims to restructure their social system on more or less democratic basis. Syed Ahmed Khan endeavored to remove backwardness among the Muslims.

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**11.13 IMPACT OF REFORM MOVEMENTS**

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1) Spirit of Reforms- The reform movements drew the attention of the people towards the evils from which different religious communities in India were suffering. To some extent these helped in removing ignorance, illiteracy and superstitions. It created among all religious communities a sense of pride for their past cultural heritage and thus saved them from the inferiority complex from which these societies were suffering. The work done by the reformers significantly contributed in the spirit in which freedom struggle was fought.

2) Eradication of social evils-It was due to the movements of social reformers that people of India thought of removing their social evils both



with the help of government and independent of that. Female education received encouragement and sati system was banned. Evils of cast system were highlighted and the system of polygamy received great set back. Several bad religious practices and evils were ended and 200 religion was purified to some extent. A new outlook started developing in the society.

3) Spread of Modern Education-Whether through English medium or Vernacular medium, the Reform movements gave top priority to the spread of modern education. Most of the reformers were basically teachers and sometime or the other had taught in schools or colleges. Some of them had even prepared textbooks, while many of them had started schools and colleges. The modern education libraries and reading rooms. Different reform movements started imparted by them was scientific, rational, logical, objective, liberal, useful and open to all. Because of these efforts, the educational monopoly of certain classes was broken. The spread of modern education introduced educated Indians to Western thoughts and culture. It opened new fields of knowledge in science and literature and this had a profound influence in shaping the ideas of educated Indians.

4) Influence of Press-Since Press was the only medium of mass communication, practically every social reformer and every reform institute started their own newspapers. These papers appeared in English as well as in vernaculars. Some reformers fought for the freedom of Press. Some newspapers were devoted to the cause of women, some to workers, while some were dedicated to the eradication of untouchability.

5) Emancipation of Women-Today women are working shoulder-to-shoulder with men and are shining in every field of life, and have even excelled men in some fields. But, this transformation is not a sudden one. It is the result of sustained efforts by several reformers and reform movements. It also took great efforts to educate women and create self-confidence among them.

6) National and Political awakening- Due to the work done by the social reformers, the task of political awakening and political leadership became considerably easier. National Movement in India on all India basis could be 201 possible only due to socio-religious movements. The Indians began to feel the need of having increased share in the administration of their own country. They wanted to have broad based franchise system and Indianising of the whole administrative system.

### **Check your Progress :**

1) What was the important features of emancipation movement of womens?

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## 11.14 SUMMARY

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The British conquest and the subsequent insemination of colonial culture and ideology had led to an inevitable introspection about the strengths and weaknesses of indigenous culture and institutions. The spirit of the reform embraced almost the whole of India beginning with the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal leading to the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828, the Paramhansa Mandali and the Prathana Samaj in Maharashtra, the Arya Samaj in Punjab, the Ramkrishna Mission in Bengal, The Theosophical Society in Madras were some of the prominent movements. The Satya Shodhak Samaj, Shri Narayan Dharma Paripalana Sabha etc. Although religious form was their major concern, none of them, were exclusively religious in character. They were strongly humanist and their attention was focused on worldly existence.

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## 11.15 REFERENCES

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## 11.16 QUESTIONS

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- Q.1. Trace the origin and growth of Press in India in the nineteenth century.
- Q.2. Evaluate the role of British authorities & indigenous people in the development of Press in India?
- Q.3. Explain the various Press acts of enacted in India during the period of your study?
- Q.4. Analyze the role Brahmo Samaj in socio-religious reform movement in India.
- Q.5. Describe the work of Satyashodhak Samaj in the social reform movement
- Q.6. Discuss the various reform movement in India.



# Unit - 12

## SOCIAL CHANGE-CASTE, CLASS AND GENDER

### Unit Structure

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Caste-Class-Gender Consciousness

12.3 Caste

12.4 Efforts of reformers to solve caste problems

12.5 Class Issues

12.6 Gender

12.7 Reformers efforts in gender sensitization- from emancipation to equality

12.8 References

12.9 Questions

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### 12.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Understand the nature of caste system and the efforts of social reformers to eliminate it. .
- Explain the development of class struggle with the rise of modern Industries.
- Note the role played by anti-caste movement.
- Understand the contribution of Social reformers in creating equality in Indian society
- Comprehend the progress of gender emancipation to equality.

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### 12.1 INTRODUCTION

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Inequality is an endemic feature of human societies. Notwithstanding, the growing acceptance of the ideal of equality, liberty and fraternity and democratic forms of government the inequalities have continued to persist and grow. Older forms of inequality have been changes its nature but they have not been ended. The contemporary world has also seen a manifold increase in newer forms of inequalities based on class caste and gender. Caste system in India remained virtually unchanged over centuries. Hindu society was caste-ridden. With the

process of westernization, unleashed during the British colonial period and after independence the system to be changed its nature as it is considered a crime to observe it openly.

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## **12.2 CASTE-CLASS-GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS**

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Bharat Patankar states that if we look to consciousness related to class-caste conflict, or class conflicts and caste conflict, then it many times is revealed as a mixed consciousness. Which aspect of the consciousness is going to dominate at a particular point of time depends on the social relations or social events in which the person is participating at a particular juncture. Many times it is said and also empirically found that people get united in the factory or the factory gates as a working class, abstracting themselves from their gender and caste existence. Their class consciousness dominates, subduing their caste and gender consciousness. When the same persons go to their residential areas and to their homes their caste and gender consciousness becomes dominant. But this doesn't mean that when the person's existence as a class comes to the fore other aspects of consciousness are completely wiped out, or that other aspects of consciousness don't affect the dominant aspect as a class as they always coexist and affect each other, shape each other.

Mahatma Jotirao Phule proposed an alliance between all exploited castes for abolishing slavery and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said that the "caste division of labour" is in fact for exploited castes a division of labourers "and he proposed to abolish this division of labourers as a precondition for the creation of consciousness which transcends caste-class and gender divisions amongst the exploited people.

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## **12.3 CASTE**

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Before colonization, Indian society was a caste-ridden and it practiced systems like bonded Labour. The Hindus were divided into many castes and sub-castes. The caste system was unequal in inflicting punishments to members of the lower castes. It never allowed the lower castes to invoke any law for their protection or welfare because they were treated as good as criminals. The word caste derives from the Portuguese *casta*, meaning breed, race, or kind. Among the Indian terms that are sometimes translated as caste are *varna* or *jati*. Many castes are traditionally associated with an occupation, such as high ranking Brahmins; middle ranking farmer and artisan groups, such as potters, barbers, and carpenters; and very low-ranking 'Untouchable' leatherworkers, butchers, and .

### **12.3.1 Caste Distinctions**

Traditionally, it is believed that Aryan society or society in India followed the Chaturvarnya system. The society was divided into four main classes. There was the caste hierarchy consisting of the Brahmin at the upper level, followed by the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, the Shudra and the

Ati-Shudra. The Marathas also supported their claims to ascendancy in the social scale by favouring infant marriages, forbidding the marriages of widows and wearing the sacred thread. Those who were forced to live outside the village were labelled as the fifth class or the untouchables. The fate of Shudratishudras (downtrodden) was the worst. The caste system was complicated since Hindu society consists many castes and sub castes. Manusmruti and other religious texts highlighted it.

In the early nineteenth century, each caste had its own code of conduct and customs. The notion of caste superiority thus infiltrated downward carrying its stigma of 'being superior to someone else.' The status of a man born in a particular caste was determined by the rank of that caste in this hierarchy. Once born in a particular that caste, the status of a person was permanent and determined. The Shudratishudras itself indicated many castes and sub castes. The caste was totally based on an accident of birth. A person could not make a choice of his profession. He was not permitted to have conjugal relations with other castes. The untouchables were not allowed to enter the worshiping sacred places like temples or monasteries. In this way, it is clear that, the caste system in Indian society was extremely autocratic and totalitarian.

The untouchables were not allowed to use the public streets. They were required to have a black thread either on their wrist or around their neck as a sign or a mark to protect the upper caste Hindu from getting polluted by his touch by mistake. In Pune, the capital of Peshwa, the untouchable were penalized even for small mistakes. The untouchables were assigned the lowest duties like removing the dead animals from the village. They were socially and legally prohibited from employing themselves in any other profession. They had no right to study religious scriptures. They had to live in a separate and restricted areas. Hence, eradication of the untouchability became the main agenda of the social reform movements in its initial stage.

**Check your Progress :**

1) What was the main agenda of social reform movement in its initial stage?

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## **12.4 EFFORTS OF REFORMERS TO SOLVE CASTE PROBLEMS**

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### **12.4.1 Jotirao Phule**

Jotirao initiated radical social reform movement in modern India to oppose the caste system and caste discrimination. The most virulent opposition came from the lower caste movement initiated by Phule. There

were many mythical or scriptural justification of the caste system. The division of society into a number of groups describes the actual reality of the caste system. Jotirao presented his thought on caste distinction and its origin. He was troubled to find that the toiling section of the society was suffering at the hands of the upper caste only because of the accident of birth. According to him British had a fear in their minds that if a large section of the population of Shudratishudras were educated they will revolt against the British. The British government accepted the Brahmins as the natural leader of the large population. They were aware that in the name of religion the members of the upper castes enjoyed tremendous influence on the masses.

Jotirao's radicalism towards the caste system attracted heavy criticism from the orthodox forces and social reformers as well. According to him, the institution of Caste system had no existence among them originally. The caste system was invented by the Brahmins to keep Shudratishudras divided to keep their cultural supremacy intact. Jotirao vehemently opposed Manu due to his inhuman approach to the lower castes. The caste system existed long before Manu. He was upholder of it. His work ended with the codification of the existence of caste rules and the preaching of caste dharma or the duties of each caste. Jotirao's assessment of the origin of the caste system was a strategic move to counter the arrogance of the higher castes. He consciously sought to bring together the major peasant castes like Kunabi, Mali and Shepherds alongwith the untouchables to fight against the Brahminical dominance in society.

#### **12.4.2 Self-Respect Movement by E.V. Ramasamy**

E.V. Ramasamy, popularly known as Periyar is regarded as the 'Father of Modern Tamil Nadu.' Periyar was a social activist, politician and a thinker who was way ahead of his time. He was the pillar of the Dravidian framework and philosophy that went on to shape the politics of Tamil Nadu. The Self-Respect Movement is also known as the Dravidian Movement. Self-Respect Movement was not a mere social reformist movement. It aimed at destroying the existing Hindu social order in its totality and creating a new, rational society without caste, religion and God. So it was considered a socially revolutionary movement that had been destroying and creating, i.e., creative destruction or creation through destruction. E.V.R. had fully explained the meaning of Self-Respect and the reasons for its emergence. "The Self-Respect Movement was inaugurated not for talking ill of a particular community or sect, but to destroy the social evils as a whole. The motive behind the inauguration of the Self-Respect Movement was nothing but E.V.R.'s contempt for the caste system and its evils. His bitter experiences in Congress were also responsible for its emergence. E.V.R.'s break with Congress in 1925 came essentially as a result of his confrontation with the Brahmin Leaders who were opposed to reforms.

### **Objectives of this movement**

This movement aims to do away with such a social structure of the society where one class of people claim to be superior to others and some men claim to be of higher birth than others. b) It aims to work for getting equal opportunities for all people, irrespective of their communities it will strive to secure equal status for women along with men in life and according to law. c) All people should be given equal opportunities for growth and development. d) Friendship and fellow feeling should be natural among all the people. e) It aims to completely eradicate untouchability and to establish a united society based on brotherhood and sisterhood. f) To establish and maintain homes for orphans and widows and to run educative institutions. g) To discourage people from building new temples, mutts, chlorites or Vedic Schools. People should drop the caste titles in their names. Common funds should be utilized for educational purpose.

Caste Eradication Programme in its caste eradication programme, the movement insisted on the removal of caste marks and caste names. No one in the movement was allowed to wear the sectarian caste marks of faith on his forehead. The propaganda of the Self - Respect Movement against the practice of using caste names such as Pillai, Naidu and Mudaliar resulted in the discontinuance of such appellations among the educated and enlightened people. Along with Self Respect Movement he conducted number of Movements to reform society till his death.

### **12.4.3 Reform movement by Narayan Guru**

Shree Narayana Guru (1856–1928), also known as Shree Narayana Guru Swami, was a Hindu saint and social reformer of India. The Guru was born into an Ezhava family, in an era when people from backward communities like the Ezhavas faced social injustice in the caste-ridden Kerala society. Gurudevan, as he was known among his followers, led Reform movement in Kerala, revolted against caste system and worked on propagating new values of freedom in spirituality and social equality which transformed the Kerala society.

### **Fight against casteism**

Casteism was practiced in Kerala during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the lower caste people and the untouchable castes like Paraiyars, tribals and Pulayars had to suffer discrimination from the upper caste people such as Brahmins. It was against this discrimination that Guru performed his first major public act, the consecration of Siva idol at Aruvippuram in 1888. Overall, he consecrated forty five temples across Kerala and Tamil Nadu. His consecrations were not necessarily conventional deities; a slab inscribed with the words, Truth, Ethics, Compassion, Love, a vegetarian Shiva, a mirror and a sculpture by an Italian sculptor were among the various consecrations made by him. The social protest of Vaikom Satyagraha was an agitation by the lower caste against untouchability in Hindu society of Travancore. It was reported that the trigger for the protest was an incident when Narayana Guru was stopped from passing through a road leading to Vaikom Temple by an

upper caste person. It prompted Kumaran Asan and Muloor S.Padmanabha Panicker, both disciples of Guru, to compose poems in protest of the incident. T. K. Madhavan, another disciple, petitioned the Sree Moolam Popular Assembly in 1918 for rights to enter the temple and worship, regardless of the caste. A host of people including K. Kelappan and K. P. Kesava Menon, formed a committee and announced Kerala Paryatanam movement and with the support of Mahatma Gandhi, the agitation developed into a mass movement which resulted in the opening of the temple as well as three roads leading to it to people of all castes. The protest also influenced the Temple Entry Proclamation of 1936.

#### **12.4.4 Dr B. R. Ambedkar**

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar was aware that education was the only remedy for the upliftment of the lower strata of society. “Educate, agitate and organize” was the slogan of Dr Ambedkar’s Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha which was established in 1924. Through Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha, Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar established a number of schools, hostels and libraries. In 1945, he established the ‘Peoples Education Society’ in Mumbai. This society established Siddhartha College in Mumbai in 1946 and Milind College in Aurangabad in 1950.

#### **Mahad Chavdar Lake Satyagraha (March 1927)**

By 1927, Dr. Ambedkar decided to launch active movements against the practice of untouchability. The problems of the downtrodden were centuries old and difficult to overcome. Their entry into temples was forbidden. They could not draw water from public wells and ponds. Mahad Satyagraha was launched to establish the right of Dalits to obtain water from Chavdar Lake in Mahad. Dr Ambedkar’s march to the ‘Chavdar Lake’ in Mahad in 1927 was really a historic event. He had presided over a conference at Mahad in Raigad district where he said: “We can attain self-elevation only if we learn self-help and regain our self-respect.” On 20<sup>th</sup> March 1927, Ambedkar led the peaceful march at Mahad to establish the rights of the Dalits to taste water from the Public Chavdar Lake, traditionally prohibited to them. He knelt and drank water from it. After he set this example, thousands of others became courageous enough to follow him. They drank water from the lake and made history and this marked the beginning of an anti-caste movement in India.

#### **Burning of Manusmriti (25 December 1927)**

Dr Ambedkar held Manusmriti as responsible for the social inequality and the oppressive conditions of the Dalits. In order to liberate Dalits from the age-old slavery of caste-ridden Hindu society, Dr Ambedkar decided to burn Manusmriti which was the symbol of tyranny and injustice. It was supported by Ambedkar’s upper caste activists. Manusmriti was burnt publically at Mahad on 25 December 1927 along with thousands of his followers. This event was symbolically rejecting the rules so specified and the doctrine of inequality at birth on which the caste system was based. It was a historic event which denied the unequal social stratification and demanded social norms based on modern humanitarian



principles. This ended the thousand years of slavery and freed the Dalits from the shackles of virtual bondage.

### **Nashik Kala Ram Temple Entry Satyagraha (1930-1935)**

Dalits had always been forbidden to enter Hindu temples. Dr. Ambedkar used Satyagraha against the restriction on the entry of Dalits in the temples to establish their right to equality in society. In order to establish the right to enter into temples, Dr Ambedkar launched the temple entry Satyagraha on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1930 at the Kalaram Temple, Nashik. It is another landmark in the struggle for human rights and political and social justice. This satyagraha was lasted up to 1935 but orthodox Hindus didn't open the gates for the Dalit's. Finally, Dr Ambedkar summoned a conference of untouchables on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1935 at Yeola near Nashik. Babasaheb told the conference; "We have not been able to secure the barest of human rights. I am born a Hindu. I couldn't help it, but I solemnly assure you that I will not die as a Hindu." In this conference, he exhorted the depressed classes to leave Hinduism and embrace another religion. He also advised his followers to abandon the Kalaram Temple entry Satyagraha. Babasaheb summoned a number of conferences to spread the message of his conversion. This has shaken the very foundation of Hindu religion. However, Hindu people did not change their approach and attitude towards the Dalits. They continued their restrictions and evil social practices. Finally, Dr. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism on 14 October 1956 at Nagpur.

### **Check your Progress :**

1) Kalaram Temple located at which place is Maharashtra?

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## **12.5 CLASS ISSUES**

Indian society was marked with the presence of caste system and caste discrimination. Nonetheless, with the industrialization in 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the growth of class distinction and class struggle as well. The beginning of the class struggle did not freed them from the yoke of caste stigma, on the contrary, they had to face class struggle while entrapped in caste bondage. The people. The foundation of modern industries in India was laid between 1950 and 1870. Lord Dalhousie's railway minutes of 1853 started the process of the introduction of machinery. The development of industries directly or indirectly connected with Railways became invertible. The coal industry developed fast and a large working force employed into it. The first cotton mill was set up in Bombay in 1854. The Indian working class suffered the exploitation from the employers such as low wages, long working hours, unhygienic and

hazardous working conditions, employment of child labour and the absence of basic amenities.

The Jute mill was set up in Calcutta at the same year. The tea industry also greatly developed. The Indian working class suffered from all forms of exploitation- low wages, long working hours, unhygienic conditions, employment of child labour and lack of amenities. Meanwhile the government formed a commission in 1875 to look into the issue of the Factory Act to take care of the workers. The members of the Mill Owners' Association opposed the Act and thus the government did not take any further action.

### **12.5.1 Labour commission**

Owing to the constant demands from the mill workers, in 1879 the Factory Bill was once again brought before the government for review. Few intellectuals supported the bill. The *Rast Goftar* and *Indian Spectator* supported the bill. At the same time from Bombay N.M. Lokhande started publishing the *Deenbandhu* which took up the cause of the workers and supported The Factory Act. N. M. Lokhande, the satyashodhak follower and close associate of Mahatma Phule played a significant role in seeking the lacunas in the mild factory act of 1881. In comparison to England, cheap labours were easily available in India.

Under the leadership of N.M. Lokhande the workers started united agitating for their rights. In Bombay, along with the rich and intellectual, a third united front was launched-that of the mill workers. They attracted a number of intellectuals towards their cause, people who started supporting them in their struggle. With this the demand for The Factory Act became stronger. Finally after a long struggle, under Governor General's Law Council "The Factory Bill" was approved. The Bill outlined that any industry which worked for more than four months and which had more than hundred workers, was bound by this Act. The age of the child workers was fixed at not less than 7 years for children who worked part-time and between 7 and 12 for children who worked full time. Owing to the opposition from the mill owners, when the Bill was passed it was very mild and limited in its scope.

Narayan M. Lokhande criticized the mild form of the Bill. He wrote in the *Deenbandhu* on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1881" that the minimum age limit for children to be employed in the factories should be set at least 16, as the work pressure in the mills could retard the growth of the children; the government should at least take responsibility for the education of those children who are working in the mills; workers should be given better remuneration and the workers need to get enough rest"

### **12.5.2. The Bombay Mill Hands' Association:**

With the cooperation of the workers, N.M. Lokhande established, "The Bombay Mill Hands' Association", which was the first workers' organization in the country. The Association strongly opposed the mild Factory Act of 1881. Realizing the growing opposition to the 1881 Factory Act by the Mill Hands' Association; the government under the

chairmanship of W.B. Mullock appointed a Factory Commission. Lokhande demanded that this commission should listen to the appeal of the workers' representatives. The Mill Hands' Association wanted to put forward the real problems of the workers before the commission and for this it was decided to organize a huge public meeting.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1884, at Suparibagh, near Parel, the first workers' public meeting was organized by N.M. Lokhande. Around four thousand workers unitedly participated in this meeting. He reassured the mill owners that the New Factory Act would not hamper the progress of the mills. Instead, he felt that as the mills were already closed twice every month, the demand for two more days of holidays, if accepted, would benefit both owners and workers.

For the first time in India, the opinions of the working class were openly voiced in this public meeting organized by The Bombay Mill Hand's Association.

After 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1884, a second meeting was organized on 26<sup>th</sup> September at Byculla. This meeting also saw the participation of many workers. In this meeting N.M. Lokhande put resolutions which passed in both the meetings. In this meeting a petition signed by five thousand five hundred workers was also prepared. This included the following demands.

- 1) Mill workers should get a weekly holiday on Sunday.
- 2) In the afternoon workers should be entitled to a half hour recess.
- 3) Mill should start working from 6.30 in the morning and close by sunset.
- 4) The salaries of the workers should be given by the 15<sup>th</sup> of every month.
- 5) If a worker is injured while at work, then till he recovers his full salary should continue to be paid.
- 6) Besides this if a worker died while at work, his family should continue to be paid. Besides this if a worker died while at work, his family should receive pension.

Lokhande along with other mill workers put forward this petition in front of W.B. Mullock, the Chairman of the Commission on 15<sup>th</sup> Oct 1884. The demand for a weekly holiday put forward by the Mill Hand's Association did not receive any support from the mill owners. Instead they gave frivolous reasons to suppress the demand. They produced statistics of around 26 mills between the period 1888-89 concerning the women working in the mills who remained absent for 5 to 6 days every month. This they asserted exceeded the four days a month demanded by The Mill Hands' Association.

In 1890 The Mill Hands' Association under Lokhande organized a strong agitation to oppose the decision of the Mill Owners and a huge

public meeting was organized at the Mahalaxmi Race Course on 24<sup>th</sup> April 1890. Almost ten thousand workers gathered for this meeting. The enormous participation of the workers in the race course meeting made the mill owners and the governments realize the strength of the workers' movement. On Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> June, 1890 the mill owners passed the resolution to declare Sunday a weekly holiday.

### **12.5.3 The New Factory Act (1891-92)**

The International Labour Conference of 1890 decided to look into the problems of women and children workers in different parts of the world. Thus in India on 25<sup>th</sup> September 1890 the initial committee under Mullock was dissolved and a new Factory Labour Commission was appointed. The members of the commission included Surgeon A.M. Lethbridge, (Chairman of the Commission), Pyare Mohan Mukherjee, Muhammed Hussain and Sorabji Shahpurjee Bengale. To assist this Commission the government appointed N.M. Lokhande as the representative of the workers. The New Factory Act was passed in 1891 and it came into force from 1<sup>st</sup> February 1892. The New Factory Act fulfilled almost all the demands of the workers. The support given by Lokhande in the making of this New Factory Act was specially appreciated and mentioned by the commission in its reports. The Act raised the age limit for children from 7 to 9 for part-time workers and from 12 to 14 for full-time workers. Provisions were also outlined to give them opportunities for education. Similarly, working hours for women were fixed at 11 hours per day. All these new clauses were a result of Lokhande's efforts and his Satyashodak ideology. The Mill Owners finally acknowledged Lokhande's work in the Factory Commission and honored him by referring to him as the 'Intelligent and Industrious Mill Workers President.'

### **12.5.4. Class struggle 1891 onwards**

During this period the working conditions and living conditions of the workers were very bad and their working hours were long. The period from 1850 to 1900 there was no trade union in the real sense but they were social unions because they could not serve the purpose of trade unions. The leadership in this movement was provided by social reformers and politicians-cum-nationalists.

### **Strikes in India (1880-1900)**

Workers of India strongly resented the repressive policies of mill owners and capitalist class through the spontaneous short-lived strikes. Twenty-five important strikes have been recorded in Bombay and Madras between 1882 and 1890. A several big strikes were organized by the Calcutta jute mill workers in the mid-1890's, leading the Indian Jute Mill's Association to ask the Bengal government for 'additional police supervision' to curb 'riotous combinations' of mill-hands in April 1895. During this period, the first big strike occurred in Ahmadabad, in protest against the substitution of fortnightly payment of wages in place of weekly payment.

### 12.5.5. Struggle from 1900 to 1920

First World War was started in 1914. After that prices of the commodity increased. Similarly profits to the factories also increased. But there was no increment in the salary. Therefore, dissatisfaction increased among the labourers as well. By 1918, the workers were settling in industrial centres and were workers getting accustomed to industrial life. Many adhoc unions disappeared and a number of strong and large sized unions came into existence in India. After First World War the Russian Revolution, 1917 and the establishment of International Labour Organisation, 1919 gave a new turn to the trade union movement in India, B. P. Wadia an associate of Annie Besant, formed the Madras Labour Union of all textile workers in the city of Madras in 1919. The first modern trade union emerged only in the second decade of the twentieth century in the shape of the Madras Labour Union on 27<sup>th</sup> April 1918 by Mr. B. P. Wadia, of the workers of Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in the then Madras Presidency. Since then the progress of the movement has been both rapid and successful.

In 1918, B.P. Wadia led a strike on economic demands for the workers benefit in Madras. Within a period of three years it spread rapidly to other centres and several other industries. It was principally an organization of textile workers, but subsequently it became a general union of all the workers, namely, the workers of tramways, printing press, M.S.M. Railway Workshop and rikshawalas. Moreover, The Madras Labour Union was the first systematic attempt at trade union organization, with regular membership and dues and a relief fund. Trade unionism after 1919 spread to centres other than Madras, Bombay and Ahmadabad. Unions are formed on the railways and in the iron and steel industry besides textiles.

While assessing the strike movement at that period, V. V. Giri in '*Labour Problems in Indian Industry*' observed that during and after World War I the spread of democratic ideas, the realization of the principles of equality, fraternity and liberty, the development of industries, the scarcity of labour, the rise in the cost of living and the establishment of the International Labour organization, all contributed to the general awakening of the workers and to an era of trial strength between workers and employers.

The year 1920 was the most important year in the Trade union congress. AITUC was formed in this year under the president-ship of Lala Lajpat Rai. It was estimated that in 1924 there were 167 unions in the country. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the spinners 'Union and Weavers' union was established in Ahmedabad which later on federated into the Textile Labour Association. This union was based on Gandhian Philosophy of non-violence and mutual trust.

The emergence of Left wing Trade Unions came into existence between periods from 1924 to 1940 and also a number of important Labour Acts were passed by the government in the interest of workers.

The communists were gaining importance in the trade union movement from 1928. As a result of this, N. M. Joshi broke away from the AITUC and formed All India Trade Union Federation (AITUF). In the year 1931, due to the fundamental differences between communists and left wing, there was another rift in the AITUC and the communists Mr. B. T. Ranadine formed the Red Trade Union Congress (TTUC). In 1935, the RTUC merged into the AITUC and finally the unity was achieved in 1940 when N.M. Joshi becoming General Secretary of the AITUC.

During the period from 1923 to 1940, the workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, the Trade Union Act, 1926, the Trade Disputes Acts, 1929, and the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, were passed in India. During Second World War, the Indian National Congress was in power in several provinces but in year 1943 the war was coming to close and the communists decided to revert to their old role of militant trade unionism as an effort to regain their lost popularity.

#### **12.5.6 Class-Caste conciseness**

Workers were employed in large number in the industrial cities of India and they also got opportunity to work in rural-urban areas. They were mainly divided into two categories in Indian context one was Upper caste workers and Dalit workers. They were working in various occupations, but Dalit labourers had to suffer a lot due to the stigma caste. Dalit labourers were forced to take their hereditary occupations and professions in villages and were dominated by upper caste landlords and moneylenders. Their exploitation was continued in cities also. They migrated from their villages to suburban and urban areas in search of jobs and to deny the caste based identity which was located in villages. They came to industrial places and employed themselves in mills, factories, industries etc. However, in cities also Dalit workers were subjugated by caste Hindu workers by not giving key positions and high wages departments. The stigma of caste attached to them, was responsible for their dual exploitation-One with the hands of mill owners, businessmen and capitalists class and another by upper caste Hindu workers by denying them their just and humanitarian rights. These problems were not taken into consideration by prominent labour leaders. This was the situation of labour movement up to 1920.

Labour historians and scholars claims that there was no working class consciousness amongst the workers in India in 19<sup>th</sup> Century. However it is observed that though they were not aware of working class consciousness as like European workers but their participation in various strikes and class-conflicts manifests that they had class consciousness. They expressed their consciousness on various issues and supported the labour leader like N.M. Lokhande and other labour leaders for their emancipation. Dr. Ambedkar transformed the labour movement in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century by adding his own contribution and new dimensions to the labour movement of his times. He has contributed immensely for the welfare of labourers in India. He addressed the problems of labourers from caste, class and gender point of view.



**Check your Progress :**

1) Who started Dinbandhu News paper?

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**12.6 GENDER**

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Women in Indian society have been placed in a disadvantageous position in Indian society. They were discriminated and exploited since ancient times. Number of restrictions was imposed upon them and deterred their progress and advancement. The extent of such exploitation is more intense in case of women belonging to the Dalit castes, primarily on account of their ignorance, illiteracy and social backwardness. They were the direct victim of the caste and occupation oriented disadvantage and have to bear the maximum brunt and hardship.

The general condition of women was derogatory in society. The women were treated like slaves in chains of unjust religious customs and traditions. The high caste women suffered due to the heavy restrictions on their day to day life. The social evils like sati, prohibition on widow remarriage, child marriage and prohibition of women education made their life miserable.

**12.6.1 Problems of women- Sati**

The orthodox forces prevailed on the Indian society at larger extent. The killing of female child, burning the widows, forced widowhood and many other inhuman practices were carried by the people. In Kathiawad, Jonathan Duncan, the then superintendent and resident of Banaras (1788-1795) found that the custom of killing daughters was as general among certain castes as it had been near Benares. The custom of burning widows alive was more notorious practice followed by high caste Hindus. It was widespread in India. Though the Vedic texts do not mention it, later on Brahminical orthodoxy prevailed upon it. In Bengal, a widow was tied to the corpse, men stood by with poles to push her back in case her bonds should burn through and the victim scorched and maimed should struggle free.

**12.6.2 Forced Widowhood**

The widow who survived from sati lived more depressed life than death. She was denied every good in life. Her life was full of miseries and hardships. The existing condition of the widows are depicted in the writings of Baba Padmanji and Pandita Ramabai. It throws light on psychological and physical torturing of the widows. The sufferings of widowhood knew no bounds. The famous Marathi classic *Yamuna Paryatan* by Baba Padmanji presented a graphic account of the suffering and humiliations of Brahmin widow. He narrated the sordid tales of



torturing, adultery, prostitution and forced celibacy and other restrictions imposed on young widows. *Yamuna Paryatana*, the contemporary literary work highlighted the contemporary social and religious condition. Hence it is considered the first modern novel in Marathi based on social religious problems.

### **12.6.3 Child marriage**

Child marriage was another heartless practice followed by the upper caste Hindus. There were cases of marriage between old man and a child bride of ten year age. The horrible scenario can be understood by the example of Justice Ranade, a well known social reformer, who could not prevent his own marriage with a child bride because of fear of social excommunication and his father's wrath. Pandita Ramabai has given a graphic detail of this child marriage "many girls are given in marriage out the present day while they are still in their cradles; from five to eleven year is the usual age for their marriage among the Brahmins all over India. This account gives us graphic picture of the condition of society. The lower castes and women from upper castes as a widow and child bride were subject to suffer by religious hypocrisy and traditional orthodox forces in society. The religious irrationality prevailed over society all the way. As a matter of fact, these evil practices were realized by the Indians who received western education that made them compare Indian society with western society and their values.

### **12.6.4 Denial of education**

Illiteracy was one more problem faced by Indian women due to misunderstanding, wrong notions, superstition and general backwardness of the society. Traditionally, it was said that parents should spend money on girls marriage including dowry and other heads but not to spend any thing on their education. They should spend money on the education of boys only.

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## **12.7 REFORMERS EFFORTS IN GENDER SENSITIZATION- FROM EMANCIPATION TO EQUALITY**

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### **12.7.1 Raja Ram Mohan Roy**

Raja Ram Mohan Roy wanted to improve the condition of the Indian women. He raised his voice against the practice of sati. He pointed out that most of the sati cases were not voluntary, but forced. When the orthodox leaders petition to the government, requesting the withdrawal of the regulations of 1812-13 and 1817, Ram Mohan Roy and his friend submitted a counter-petition in August 1818. Ram Mohan Roy wrote a number of articles in English to show that nowhere in the Hindu Shastras the burning of widows have been mentioned as a compulsory measure. He also published articles in his Bengali journal Samvad Kaumudi against the evil practice of sati. Ram Mohan Roy struggled against sati and finally succeeded when Lord William Bentinck declared the practice of sati illegal and published by the law passed in 1829.

In 1880, B. M. Malbari, the editor of Indian Spectator had attracted the attention of people towards the child marriage and published his notes on enforced widowhood and infant marriages in 1884. He said that the Government should include the evils of child marriage in the school syllabus to create awareness at the early age among the people. Justice Ranade advised the Government to pass Laws to fix twelve years the minimum age of girls for marriage and amend the penal code to punish the people who infringed these laws. Although, some of the prominent members opposed to this, B. M. Malbari went to England to pressurize the British Government to get passed these legislations. Due to the hard efforts of B. M. Malbari, the Age of Consent Act of 1891 was passed. This was a step ahead in the emancipation of 267 women. These legislations led all enlightened and English educated people in Maharashtra to work jointly towards creating better conditions for women in society.

Due to the impact of western education and the educated Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and other social reformers, an attempt was made to liberate women from the shackles of ancient social disabilities through the socio-religious reform movements. Raja Ram Mohan Roy also opposed to polygamy. He pointed out that the Shashtra has permitted the second marriage of men under certain circumstances. Ram Mohan Roy was in favour of the education of women. The Brahmo Samajists sought to bring women into new roles through schools and prayer meetings. Swami Vivekananda was arguing that women could become a powerful regenerative force. Dayananda encouraged female education and condemned all evil customs. M.G. Ranade, Malabari, D.K. Karve tried to educate young widows and made them teachers in girl's schools. R.V.R. Naidu opposed the devdasi system while Pantulu worked for marriage reforms. Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar supported the female education and advocated the widow remarriage. Although, the widow remarriage Act was passed in 1856, the status of women was not changed and never received the approval of the society.

### **12.7.2 Pandita Ramabai**

Pandita ramabai was one more pioneering personality, who worked hard towards the emancipation of women. Many orthodox people in Pune criticized her for her marriage to a non-Brahmin Bengali man. She was very much critical about the miseries of women at the hands of men. In order to support women in miseries Pandita Ramabai established Arya Mahila Samaj with the help of Prarthana Samaj. She was also supported in her efforts by Bhandarkar and Justice Ranade. Pandita Ramabai was harassed by orthodox Brahmins to such extent that she was forced to convert to Christianity and leave for England and America for some time. She wrote a book and blamed the orthodox people in Hinduism for her troubles and sufferings. She established sharda sadan in Mumbai in 1889 and shifted it to Pune on the request of M. G. Ranade and Bhandarkar, who supported her in her efforts of solving problems of destitute women. In 1930, the Government passed the Sharda Act which made a provision for fine and imprisonment to a person instigating for marriage of the girl below fourteen years of age.

### **12.7.3 Mahatma Phule and Savitribai Phule**

Mahatma Jyotibha Phule never discriminated between men and women on the basis of sex and wanted to give them equal rights in all matters. He envisaged a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity. In order to profess and spread his message he started *Dinbandhu*, a weekly journal with the help of Narayan Meghaji Lokhande, who was his close associate and a trade union leader. Phule used his whole energy and intellect to emancipate the women from their age old bondages of tyrannical brahmanical patriarchy. He tried to create awareness among them against the unnatural and unreasonable claims of the Hindu people and professed individual dignity and equality in socio-religious matters. He was the first man to start school for girls in Maharashtra.

### **12.7.4 Gopal Ganesh Agarkar**

Agarkar was the first editor of *Kesari*. During this period he discussed several social problems and offered solutions for them. For his reformative view he had to resign the editorship of *Kesari*. Agarkar started ‘*Sudharak*’ to propagate social reforms. He discussed several social problems and offered solution for them. Agarkar’s thinking was independent Progressive and powerful.

### **12.7.5. Maharshi Dhondo Keshav Karve**

Maharshi Dhondo Keshav Karve was pioneer in promoting women’s education and the right for widows to remarry. The greatest achievement of Karve is the foundation of the women’s university in Maharashtra. He presented the idea of establishing the special institute for women’s education in the meeting of National Social Conference at Mumbai. He was supported by many leaders including Annie Besant, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Bhandarkar. The women’s University was founded in 1916.

### **12.7.6 Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar**

Dr Ambedkar was truly liberator of the Indian women. He rendered great service to all the women by his emphasis on equality. He gave equal importance to the advancement of women along with Dalits for the overall development of the country. Through his writings and speeches, it is evident that he has studied the problem of women in India and evolved his own perspective and strategy for the empowerment of women in India. On 20 and 21 March 1927, during the Mahad Satyagraha, Dr. Ambedkar addressed to women and told them to participate in the struggle against the tyranny of caste system and gender discrimination. He emphasized to them that men alone cannot fight this menace. Dr. Ambedkar addressed a meeting of about 3000 women, where he said that “I measure the progress of community by the degree of progress which women had achieved. Let every girl who marries stand by her husband, claim to be her husband’s friend and equal, and refuse to be his slave. I am sure if you follow this advice, you will bring honour and glory to yourselves.” Thus Dr. Ambedkar brought about a revolutionary change in the attitude of women. They began to think of their own progress which paved the way for their emancipation.

Dr. Ambedkar was an ardent supporter of family planning. He emphasized the need of family planning way back in 1938. He also raised the Women's issue as member of Bombay Legislative Assembly on 10 November 1938; he strongly advocated family planning measures and said that besides many other problems giving birth to too many children negatively affects Mother's health.

As a Labour minister in Viceroy's Executive Council (1942-1946), he enacted various laws especially for the betterment of women. Because of his efforts, working women got the full pay maternity benefit. He also took further measures to give relief for women working in coal mines and protected their rights. While drafting the constitution of India, Dr. Ambedkar was the prime mover of the provisions related to the welfare of women. He was instrumental in granting equal status to all the citizens irrespective of sex, religion etc. Thus the women, contrary to their low status as per Hindu law books, were for the first time got equal status lawfully. Dr. Ambedkar had also been encouraging women to organise themselves. One such historic Women's conference was held on 20th July 1942 at Nagpur. Nearly 25,000 women participated in the conference. Dr. Ambedkar was highly impressed by the large gathering. In his speech, he told the women to be progressive and told them to abolish traditionalism, ritualism and customary habits which were detrimental to their progress.

**Check your Progress :**

- 1) Gopal Ganesh Agarkar was started which news paper?

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## 12.9 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Trace the caste problem and forms of discrimination attached with it.
- 2) Enumerate the contribution of Ramaswami Nayakar and Narayan Guru against caste discrimination.
- 3) Discuss the historical struggle of the workers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- 4) Describe the condition of women in 19<sup>th</sup> century India.
- 5) Describe the class struggle followed by workers organization in the twentieth century.
- 6) Trace the contribution of social reformer begin with emancipation upto seeking equality for women
- 7) Assess the contribution of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar in the in the promotion social equality in India.



# Unit - 13

## MAKING OF RELIGIOUS, LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES AND RISE OF NATIONALISM

### Unit Structure :

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Muslim response to the British conquest
- 13.3 The Aligarh Movement
- 13.4 Lucknow pact
- 13.5 Hindu Mahasabha
- 13.6 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (R.S.S.)
- 13.7 RSS Ideology
- 13.8 Summary
- 13.9 References
- 13.10 Questions

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### 13.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Understand the factors that were responsible for the rise of communalism in India
- Explain the rise and growth of Muslim communalism.
- Understand the growth of Hindu Communalism.
- Trace the communalistic role of Aligarh Movement and Hindu Mahasabha.
- Comprehend the problems created by Communalism in India.

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### 13.1 INTRODUCTION

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The rise and growth of religious sentiments during the later part of the nineteenth century continued to shape the course of Indian history during the freedom struggle. The great communal divide gradually began to harden the attitudes of the two predominant communities of India, Hindus and Muslims. The religion based nationalism led to the establishment of communal organizations to streamline the aspirations of the respective communities. The religious-cultural organizations of both the Muslims and the Hindus gave way to the establishment of political

organizations such as the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha. The British instigated the drift between two communities a part of their imperialistic strategy. They were neither the true friends of the Muslims nor Hindus but they were the true friends of British imperialism.

According to Bipin Chandra, Communalism or communal ideology comprises of three basic elements or stages. First, it is the belief that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests such as political, economic, social and cultural. This is the basic foundation of communal ideology. 'From this arises the notion of socio-political communities based on religion. The second element of communal ideology rests on the notion that in a multi-religious society like India, the secular interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the followers of another religion. The third stage of communalism is reached when the interests of the followers of different religions or of different communities are seen to be mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile. Thus, the communalists assert at this stage that Hindus and Muslims cannot have common secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other.

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## **13.2 MUSLIM RESPONSE TO THE BRITISH CONQUEST**

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The Muslims and Hindus responded differently to the British conquest of India. With the advent of the British rule the social relations between the Hindus and Muslim did not undergo any radical change. However, the political outlook of the two communities was very different from the beginning. While the Hindus took advantage of the English education to further their socio-economic and political interest under new dispensation, the Muslims lagged far behind the Hindus in this respect. Other factors also powerfully operated in the same direction. As a result that the two, communities, though subject to the same foreign rule, suffering from the same disabilities and seeking the same remedies or reforms, could not present a united front in politics and meet on a common political platform.

The difference of approach in politics between the communities was clearly manifested, for the first time, in the Wahabi movement. Although the later phase of the movement, namely, a violent hatred against the English and an organized attempt to drive them out of the country should have evoked sympathy at least among a section of the Hindus. However, there is no evidence of such sympathy. The reason for the lack of sympathy among the Hindus to the Wahabi Movement was that it was a purely Muslim movement and was directed theoretically against all non-Muslims. Its aim to establish in India 'dar-ul-Islam', that is 'Muslim sovereignty pure and simple'.

In 1863, Abdul Latif, a leading public servant and one of the first Bengali Muslims proficient in English, organized the Mohammedan



Literacy and Scientific Society of Calcutta, to represent those 'Bengal Muslim who wish to adopt English education and European customs ... without contravening the essential principles of Islam, or ruffling the traditional prejudices of their Mohammedan fellow countrymen'. Its purpose was primarily educational and social. As the leader of one section of Calcutta's small community of educated Muslims, Latif was regularly consulted by the government, and the Literary Society intentionally avoided any adventurousness in its politics.

In 1878, Nawab Amir Khan founded the National Mohammedan Association. Amir Ali held that Muslim fortunes would not revive by Muslim efforts alone. Government help was essential, and if it was to be won, Muslims needed a political organization of their own. Thus, when he was invited by Surendranath Bannerjee to join the Indian Association, he refused to do so. In its memorial of 1882, the National Mohammedan Association listed its demands - a proportion of jobs to be reserved for the Muslims, less emphasis to be placed on University education as a qualification for office, no simultaneous examinations for the covenanted service and no competitive examinations for the uncovenanted, and the provision for the special educational requirements of the Muslim community. Thus, almost two years before the first Indian National Congress was convened, a separate Muslim political conference had been suggested.

Gradually, the Muslim leaders began to appreciate the value of the English education. In a public meeting held on 10 January 1868, Abdul Latif made a vigorous plea for the English education of the Muslim boys. Suggestions were made for the transformation of the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta, Madras to the status of a college. The Muslim leaders in Bengal thus took a lead in this matter even before Sir Syed Ahmed Khan thought of the Aligarh College. Although the proposal of Abdul Latif was not put into effect, Muslim education in Bengal got a great impetus from the munificent charity of Haji Muhammad Moshin in 1873. He left a large legacy, and it was resolved by the government that out of the Moshin Trust Fund, two-third of the fees would be paid to every Muslim student in any English school or college in Bengal. This partly accounts for the greater progress of Muslim students of Bengal in English education as compared to other provinces.

So far evidence goes, Muslim politics, throughout the nineteenth century, has followed a course different from that of the Hindus. While the Hindus were developing their political ideas and political organizations on modern lines under the influence of English education, the Muslims launched the Wahabi Movement which was most violent and anti-British, and extremely communal in character.

**Check your Progress :**

1) Which movement was launched by Indian Muslims against Britishers?

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**13.3 THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT**

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After the Revolt of 1857, there were two main threats to their position. One was the conviction in official circles that Muslims had been responsible for the revolt. The other was the growing competition both from Bengalis and local Hindus. Syed Ahmad Khan was the first to look synoptically at these problems. He felt that unless Muslims could be persuaded to come to terms with their Christian rulers and the new learning, they would continue to fall behind 'in the race for position among the magnates of the world.' They would remain inflexibly orthodox, their rulers would discriminate against them, and more adaptable groups would usurp their position and offices.

Syed Ahmad Khan was born in 1817. He began his career as an official of the British Government at the age of twenty. At the time of the Revolt of 1857, he was serving the Company's Government in a subordinate judicial post. He remained loyal and asked his coreligionists to behave likewise. He saved the local Europeans by successful diplomacy, first with the mutineers and then with Nawab Mahmud Khan. His loyal services were recognized by the grateful British Government and he was given a distinguished position after the Revolt of 1857. Syed Ahmad Khan utilized the opportunity not for advancing his own material interests, but for the upliftment of his co-religionists. He pondered deeply over the deplorable condition of the Muslim community and made a noble resolve to take up its cause.

**13.3.1 Drift From Nationalism to Communalism**

Syed Ahmed Khan tried to restore the good name of his community by denying that the Revolt had been a Muslim conspiracy. He argued that Bahadur Shah's cause had been self-evidently hopeless, and since the English Government did not interfere with the Muslims in the practice of their religion, they had no reason to launch a 'Jihad'. Most of them, according to Syed, had in fact stood by the Raj. Together with these political vindications, Syed Ahmad Khan wanted to give new orientations in religion. Without this, his educational projects could not have succeeded. He had to show that western learning was compatible with the faith. On the assumption that the Quran was the only reliable guide to Islam, Syed set himself to formulate traditional Quranic teachings anew, so as to avoid all that was irrational in Islam. This brought him into conflict with the ulemas and all their orthodox followers in northern India. At first Syed Ahmad Khan had argued that the best way of bringing western learning to the people of his province was through the vernacular,

but later he became convinced that English must be the medium. His most notable educational achievement was the foundation of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which became a great centre for the spread of western knowledge and the study of Islamic ideas. The reform movement among the Muslims initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan came to be, known as the Aligarh Movement. In the address presented to Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, who laid the foundation-stone of the college in 1877, it was said that British rule in India was the most wonderful phenomenon the world had ever seen, and that the object of the college was to make this fact clear to the Indians, to educate them about the blessings of such rule as also 'to reconcile oriental' learning with western literature and science, to inspire in the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the west'.

Theodore Beck, the Principal of the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College who regarded himself as a disciple of Syed Ahmad Khan in matters political, claimed that Indian Muslim thought resembled the old Tory school of England far more than Radical and that Indian Muslims were not very enthusiastic about democratic institutions as was generally believed. Beck was entirely hostile to Congress. Beck made a systematic effort to divide the Hindus and Muslims. His contribution to the anti-Hindu bias in Aligarh Movement was very considerable.

Beck was succeeded as principal by Theodore Morrison, who was in charge of the London Office of the Mohammedan AngloOriental Defense Association Morrison who continued in this post till 1905 was a pupil of Beck. He was alarmed at the growing political solidarity among the Muslims. Thus, he tried to wean away the Muslims from political agitation and divert their energies to educational and economic upliftment of their community. Due to the efforts of the first two principals of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, an open manifestation of hostility against the Indian National Congress formed the basic creed of the Aligarh Movement.

Syed Ahmad Khan felt that if the British left India then the Hindus and the Muslims would not be able to live together peacefully. In March 1888 he asked that if the English army left India then was it possible that the 'two nations - the Muslims and the Hindus - could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power ? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down'. Syed Ahmed Khan, the father of the Muslim renaissance was radical so far as educational and social questions were concerned, but he was conservative in political matters. Syed Ahmad Khan passed away in 1898. Both the Aligarh Movement and its founder have been severely criticized and condemned by a class of writers, mostly Hindus. They rightly point out that this movement was responsible for bringing about the conflict between the Hindus and Muslims and promoting communalism in the Indian sub-continent. The Aligarh Movement finally led to the foundation of the Muslim League and the creation of Pakistan.

### **13.3.4 Establishment of the Muslim League**

With the establishment of the Muslim League in 1906, the Muslims entered a new era of political manifestation and organization. Congress movement was assuming a militant tone by the turn of the twentieth century. Towards the end of 1903, the Governor General, Lord Curzon announced a plan for the partition of Bengal. This announcement led to an outburst of public indignation all over the province. When the Government of India announced, on 7 July 1905, the scheme of partition, there were public meetings and demonstrations all over the country. One month after the announcement of the partition of the province Congress launched the Swadeshi movement against the British. Thus the situation in India was deteriorating.

The new Viceroy, Lord Minto, who assumed office in November 1905, felt seriously concerned about the situation. Minto wrote to the Secretary of State, John Morley that he was thinking of 'a possible counterpoise to Congress aims', and that he had in his mind the formation of a Privy Council of the native rulers and few other 'big' men which would give ideas different from those of Congress. Morley in turn warned Minto that the Muslims were likely to throw their lot with Congressmen against him. Meanwhile the Viceroy began to devise plans to wean away the Muslims from Congress movement. He started working on a scheme of reforms to satisfy at least the moderate elements in India.

This spurred the Muslim leaders into action. They were faced by the fact that since the Indian Councils Act of 1892, not only the principle of representation but also in practice the principle of election introduced in the constitution of the provincial legislature. They felt that another scheme of reforms was sure to confirm and extend the elective principle. As soon as it was known that the reform was in the air and the Viceroy had appointed a Committee to consider, among others, the question of extending the representative element in the Legislative Council. Nawab Moshin-ul-Mulk, who succeeded Syed Ahmad Khan as leader, decided to wait upon the Viceroy in a deputation at Simla. The Deputation consisted of 36 members with Agha Khan as their leader. The Deputation was received by Lord Minto on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1906. The address presented by the deputation demanded several special concessions for the Muslim community.

After some preliminary observations of a general nature, Lord Minto assured the deputation that 'in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase the electoral organization, the Mohammedan community should be represented' as a community, (and its) position should be estimated not merely on numerical strength but in respect to its political importance and the service it has rendered to the Empire'.

This assurance given by Lord Minto heralded a new policy of British rule in India. In the first place, it gave the official seal of approval

to the principle that the Hindus and the Muslims constituted practically two separate nations with different interests and different outlook. In the second place, the government practically promised to show undue favour to the Muslims in respect of their number of representatives in the Legislative Council, by making it far in excess of their numerical ratio to the whole population. These two points formed the chief planks in Muslim politics ever since, and it may be said without much exaggeration that they formed the foundation on which Pakistan was built about forty years later. The partition of Bengal and the events that followed also filled them, with a new zeal and quickened their political consciousness. They felt the need to have a central political organization to promote the political interest of the entire Muslim community. Syed Ahmad Khan had not encouraged the idea of such organizations as he regarded them as unnecessary. He had implicit faith in the justice of the British Government. His English friends also supported his view, as they were afraid that if the Muslims were politically organized, they might follow in the footsteps of the Hindus and may turn against the British. The situation was, however, completely changed, first by the partition of Bengal, and next by the announcement of the coming constitutional reforms. The anti-partition agitation among the Hindus was mounting high and Congress championed their cause. Under these circumstances the Muslims felt the need to have their own central political organization in order to counteract the political organization of the Hindus.

Taking advantage of the presence of a large number of eminent Muslim leaders at Decca in connection with the Mohammedan Educational Conference, Nawab Salimullah of Decca convened a meeting and proposed the scheme of a Central Mohammedan Association to look exclusively after the interests of the Muslim community. He said that it would provide scope for the participation of Muslim youth in politics and thereby prevent them from joining the Indian National Congress. The proposal was accepted and at a meeting held on 30 December 1906, the All India Muslim League was established.

The aims and objectives of the Muslim League were laid down as the following –

- 1) To promote, amongst the Muslims of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intentions of Government about Indian measures.
- 2) To protect and advance the political rights of the Muslim of India and respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- 3) To prevent the rise among the Muslim of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the aforesaid objects of the League.

The communal spirit to which the Muslim League owed its origin in December 1906, characterized its activities during the next seven years, and its chief objective throughout this period was to secure political and other advantages for the Muslims at the cost of the Hindus. The first

annual session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi on 29 December 1907. The choice of the venue was an indication of the new nationalism which was growing among the Muslims. Sindh was chosen because, as a League publication put it, 'Sindh is that pious place in India, where Muhammad bin Qasim came first, with the torch of religion and the gift of Hadis. No other place could appeal to our elders'.

In the second annual session of the League held at Amritsar on 30 December 1908, there was a prolonged discussion on the forthcoming constitutional reforms. From 1912 onwards the Muslims became more militant. The Muslim middle classes developed increasing political maturity in the years immediately preceding the First World War. The Young Turk Movement led by Enver Pasha in Turkey also greatly influenced the Indian Muslims in the direction of a programme of self-government for India, which was subsequently adopted by the Muslim League in 1913. The Muslims steadily began to be drawn into the orbit of national movement. The Muslim League at its Lucknow session on 1913 adopted the goal of 'attainment under the aegis of the British Crown, the self-government suited to India'.

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### **13.4 LUCKNOW PACT**

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The common cause against the British brought about the Lucknow Pact between Congress and the Muslim League. England was at war against Turkey, a Muslim state and this had aroused strong Muslim sentiments against the British. The Lucknow Pact was the first instance of collaboration between the two organizations. The Pact provided greater weightage with separate electorates to the Muslims in areas where they constituted a minority, and demanded from the British Government that definite steps should be taken towards self-government by granting the reforms. The League with the Muslim middle classes as its predominant social basis was steadily orienting towards nationalist conceptions and aims though on its own communal basis. At its session at Delhi in 1918, the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding the application of the principle of self-determination to India. The Indian Muslims were indignant at the terms of the Treaty of Sevres imposed by the victorious Allies on Turkey. By this treaty, Turkey was deprived of her homelands such as Syria, Palestine, Arabia and other Asiatic zones to the Ottoman Empire. They argued that their holy places situated in these territories should always be under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey who was also the Kalifa or the religious head of the Muslims all over the world. 244 Gandhi and other Congress leaders supported the Khilafat issue and allied with Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali in organizing the powerful Khilafat Movement in India. However, with the abolition of the Sultanate and Caliphate in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Turkey, the Khilafat Movement lost its purpose. Hence, the Muslim League began to drift from cooperation with Congress towards confrontation which finally led to the demand of a separate state for the Muslims and the creation of Pakistan.



**Check your Progress :**

1) Lucknow pact was signed between whom?

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## **13.5 HINDU MAHASABHA**

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The Hindu Mahasabha was originally founded as a social, cultural and religious organization and not as a political body. A Hindu Sabha was formed in 1907 in Punjab. Later in 1915, the All India Hindu Mahasabha party was founded in Punjab where the Hindu minority which had the monopoly of wealth power and talent, was given a bad deal both in the new legislation and the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. The Hindu Mahasabha was opposed to the Muslim orientation of Congress and not to Congress itself. However, it was in direct conflict with the Muslim League.

The first important session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held in 1923. It was attended by many Congressmen including the Ali Brothers and Abul Kalam Azad. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the Hindu Mahasabha became more Hinduised. It justified making converts to Hinduism. This was to stem the tide of conversion of Hindus, particularly untouchables to Islam and Christianity. Originally, Hindu Mahasabha did not have much mass appeal as it comprised largely of zamindars and princes along with landlords, teachers, government servants and the like. It opposed separate electorates which was the persistent demand of the Muslim League. As Hindu-Muslim riots spread, more and more Congressmen began to come over to the Hindu Mahasabha, especially in support of its 'suddhi' and 'sanghatana' movements.

### **13.5.1 Important Leader of the Hindu Mahasabha**

The most important leader of the Hindu Mahasabha was **Vinayak Damodar Savarkar**. Savarkar, born in 1883, was a Chitpavan Brahmin. Later at the age of sixteen, he was deeply disturbed at the hanging of the Chapekar brothers by the British Government. Savarkar took a pledge that he would participate in an armed revolution and even lay down his life for freeing the country. In January 1900 he started 'Mitra Mela', later known as 'Abhinava Bharat', an organization of firebrands and revolutionaries. In 1905 Savarkar organized a bonfire of foreign cloth and the crowd that gathered was addressed by Tilak. Because of such activities he was expelled from the Ferguson College, Poona. with the help of Shyamji Krishna Varma, the India revolutionary leader in London, Tilak arranged for Savarkar's study there on the condition that Savarkar would never accept a government job. Shyamji Krishna Varma was so impressed by the devotion of Savarkar that he entrusted to Savarkar the management of his India House in London. In July 1909 Madanlal Dhingra assassinated



Sir Curzon Wylie. The British press charged that Dhingra was inspired by Savarkar. Savarkar had drafted a statement, which Dhingra read in court, in which he claimed that he was a soldier in the Indian war of independence against the British. Dhingra was sentenced to death and hanged. Savarkar was arrested and was sent to India. He was tried in March 1911 and was sentenced to fifty years' imprisonment. He was sent to Andamans.

Later in 1923, he was brought to India and was interned at Ratnagiri. He was released in 1924 on the condition that he would not take part in political activities. Later he joined the Hindu Mahasabha and was its president for several years. Savarkar's ideas on Hinduism were espoused in his treatise 'Hindutva', published in 1923. In 'Hindutva' he detailed the geographical, racial, religious and other factors which contributed to the making of the 'Hindu nation.' Savarkar was convinced that Hindu civilization which had 'survived through the centuries, whereas many others had perished, was the best. He glorified Vedic Hinduism.

Savarkar wanted the Hindus, or at least Hindu ideas, to have pre-eminent position in the Indian subcontinent. Savarkar said that the India Muslims, who went for Haj to other countries, did not look upon India as their own country. He also denounced Pan-Islamism and maintained that the Hindus could never resign their rights as a majority community. In his introduction to 'The Indian War of Independence' he had, however stated, that the feelings of hatred against the Muslims, though justified in Shivaji's time, would be unjust and foolish if nursed now.

The Hindu Mahasabha which supported the war effort of the British did not take part in the Quit India Movement. This politically harmed the Hindu Mahasabha and it fared badly in the 1945-46 election. Savarkar was not in agreement with Gandhi's nonviolence. He was also not a supporter of Gandhi's love of villages and cottage industries. He denounced Gandhi's decentralist policy. In his presidential address at the 1931 session of the Hindu Mahasabha he said, 'We shall first of all welcome the machine. This is a machine age. The handicrafts will have their due place, but national production will have to be on the biggest possible scale' Savarkar did not believe in class struggle. According to him class collaboration was essential for building a prosperous economy. The interest of both capital and labour would have to be subordinated to the interests of the nation. Savarkar wanted the state to take steps to maximize production and to keep strict control over strikes and lock-outs. Hindu Mahasabha leaders claimed that Congress policy of appeasement had widened the gulf between Hindus and Muslims, and had jeopardized the rights of the Hindus. Savarkar asked the Hindus to consolidate and strengthen Hindu nationality. Savarkar's concept of nationality was based on cultural, racial and historical affinities. He claimed that in Europe, during the last three to four centuries, only those nations such as England, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal, which had developed racial, linguistic, cultural and other organic affinities, in addition to territorial unity had survived.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was another important leader of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was also a member of Congress. In his presidential address at the special session of the Mahasabha in 1924, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya argued that the Mahasabha was not a communal organization and was not antagonistic to Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha, he claimed, would supplement the work of Congress. He argued that, Congress being a political body, could not deal with social and nonpolitical matters such as untouchability, inter-caste jealousies, child marriage and various other social abuses. But the Mahasabha could deal with them and also safeguard the interests of the Hindus. Thus, Malaviya had envisaged a socio-cultural role for the Hindu Mahasabha. However, this role was superseded by its political role. The decision to participate in the elections was taken in 1926 and the Mahasabha became primarily, if not exclusively, a political body. Thus, the Hindu Mahasabha became a party of the Hindus and the Muslim League was a party of the Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha strongly opposed the demand for the establishment of a separate state for the Muslims and attacked Gandhi for eventually agreeing to the partition of the country.

**Check your Progress :**

1) In which year the first important session of Hindu Mahasabha was organized?

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### **13.6 RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEVAK SANGH (R.S.S.)**

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In pre-independence India, the chief nationalist organization was the Indian National Congress. It was an umbrella organization which accommodated a variety of interests, including the revivalists. In order to retain the support of its diverse membership, Congress adopted a consensual strategy requiring the acceptance of compromise and, by extension, the principle of territorial nationalism. However, it was not entirely successful in accommodating all groups. Many Muslim leaders, for example, felt that the westernized Hindu-elite who controlled Congress did not adequately respond to Muslim interests. Moreover, there were Hindu revivalist leaders, who also believed that the interests of the Hindu community were not adequately protected by Congress.

The founder of the RSS doubted whether Congress, which included Muslims, could bring about the desired unity of the Hindu community. The RSS was established in 1925 as a kind of educational body whose objective was to train a group of Hindu men who, on the basis of their character-building experience in the RSS, would work to unite the Hindu community so that India could again become an independent country and a creative society. Its founder was convinced that a

fundamental change in social attitudes was necessary precondition of a revived India. A properly trained cadre of nationalists would play an important role in that change.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was founded by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (1889-1940), an Andhra Brahmin who had settled in Maharashtra. He was a close friend of Savarkar and a member of the Hindu Mahasabha until 1929. Hedgewar realized that the cause of India's decline was the divisive and fragmented character of Hindu society. Thus, he wanted to build a cohesive corporate life for the Hindus. To achieve this he did not regard politics as important. What important was religious and social regeneration. Hedgewar believed that this could be achieved only on the basis of the revival and purification of Hindu 'Sanskriti', which was to be brought about by devoted 'Swayam Sevaks', i.e. volunteers.

The RSS emerged during a wave of Hindu-Muslim riots that swept across India in the early 1920s. Hedgewar viewed the communal rioting as a symptom of the weakness and divisions within the Hindu community. He believed that Congress, in which he had been an active participant, had appeased Muslims and was therefore unable to unite the Hindus. In his opinion Hindu unity was the necessary precondition of any successful independence struggle. As a result of the intensification of Hindu-Muslim tension between 1921-1923, the dormant Hindu Mahasabha, formed in 1915 as a forum for a variety of Hindu interests was revitalized. The challenge from Islam in the early 1920s was viewed by many Hindus as a threat to their self-esteem. This proliferation of Hindu 'Sabha' and other "defensive" Hindu associations were reactions to the growing communal violence, the increasing political articulation of the Muslim community, the cultural 'Islamization' of the Muslims and the failure to achieve independence. While these organizations probably had little effect on British policy, they did advance Hindu unity. It is in this setting of Hinduism in danger that the RSS was established.

The roots of the RSS are imbedded in the soil of Maharashtra. its membership and symbols were almost exclusively Maharashtrian. its discipline and ideological framework were shaped almost entirely by Dr. Hedgewar, a medical doctor who had abandoned a potentially lucrative practice to participate in the struggle against colonialism. According to his most reliable biographer, the Hedgewar family migrated from Hyderabad, a Muslim princely state and settled in Nagpur around the turn of the nineteenth century. As a young student, Hedgewar was keenly interested in history and politics.

Dr. Munje persuaded him to join Congress. During the early 1920s, Hedgewar became even more deeply engaged in Congress party activities. At the 1920 annual Congress session in Nagpur, he organized a volunteer unit of some 1,200 young men to keep order at the meeting. The outbreak of communal riots in 1923 made Hedgewar to think that the disunity among Hindus was a major social problem. On 30 October 1923,

the Collector banned Dindi procession. But influential Hindus decided to disobey the ban. One newspaper reported that upto 20,000 Hindus marched in defiance of the government order. Hindu leaders were surprised not only by the popular response, but also by the involvement of most segments of the Hindu community. Out of this defiance emerge the Nagpur Hindu Sabha. Dr. Munje was chosen the vice-president of the local sabha and Hedgewar became its secretary. Hindu revivalists such as Hedgewar saw that organization was necessary, but they argued that more was needed to protect Hindu interests. A Major influence on his thinking a handwritten manuscript of Savarkar's 'Hindutva' which advanced the thesis the Hindus was a nation. The central propositions of Savarkar's manuscript are Hindu's are the indigenous people of the subcontinent and that they form a national group. He defines Hindu as a person who feels united by blood ties all those whose ancestry can be traced to Hindu antiquity and who accepts from the Indus River in the north, to the Indian Ocean, as his fatherland (Pitrubhumi).

Though Savarkar's work provided Hedgewar with an intellectual justification for concept of a Hindu nation that embraced all the peoples of the subcontinent, it did not give him a method for uniting the Hindu community. Hedgewar had experimented revolution, Satyagraha, and constitutional reform, but each method for uniting the Hindu community, he felt, had failed to achieve independence or national rejuvenation believed that independence and national revitalization could be achieved only when, the root cause of India's weakness was discovered.

In September 1925 on the Hindu festival of Dasera, Hedgewar launched his new movement of Hindu revitalization. The first participants were recruited from a largely Brahmin locality in Nagpur. This early group had neither a name nor developed Programme of activities. The participants were expected to attend an 'akhara' (gymnasium) during the week and take part in political classes on Sunday and Thursday. Hedgewar selected the first mission of the young organization with great care. Wanted to demonstrate the value of discipline to both the volunteers and to the general public, and chose a popular religious occasion, Ram-Navami, to do so. According to Hedgewar's biographer, the chaotic conditions around the temple at Ramtek, a village near Nagpur during the Ram-Navami festival, created great hardships to the worshipers. Moreover, many villagers were reportedly cheated by Muslim fakirs' and 'Brahmin pandits'. Hedgewar decided to take his volunteers to the 1926 festival to remedy the situation. For the occasion, he chose both the name and the uniform of the organization.

The 'Swayamsevaks', in their new uniforms, marched to temple singing verses from Ramdas. According to RSS sources, they enforced queues for the worshippers visiting the temple housing the main idol, provided drinking water, and drove off the corrupt priests. . Soon after this dramatic introduction to the public, 'lathi' instruction and group prayers were incorporated into the RSS discipline. In 1926, the first daily 'shakha' (branch) was held, and the practice of meeting daily was quickly adopted

by the RSS group. Ninety-nine young men were accepted into RSS membership in 1928 by taking a life oath in a forest close to Nagpur. When communal riots broke out in Nagpur in September 1927, Anna Sohoni, a former revolutionary and close associate of Hedgewar, organized RSS members into sixteen squads to protect various Hindu neighbourhoods in the city. Hedgewar's revolutionary past and the paramilitary nature of the RSS convinced the Central Provinces Home Department that RSS could develop into a dangerous revolutionary group, and this suspicion continued throughout the pre-independence period.

The RSS movement gradually began to expand. Because of its growth, Hedgewar called senior RSS leaders to Nagpur in November 1929, to evaluate its work and to consider ways to coordinate the expanding network of 'shakhas'. They decided that the organization should have one supreme guide, 'sarsanghchalak', who would have absolute decision making power. He would choose all office bearers and personally supervise the activities of the RSS. By a unanimous decision of the senior workers, Hedgewar was acclaimed the first 'sarsanghchalak.' In the early 1930s, the RSS began to spread beyond its Marathi speaking base in the Central Provinces. RSS activities were introduced in Sindh, Punjab and the United Provinces.

G.D. Savarkar, a former revolutionary and the older brother of V.D. Savarkar, helped the RSS expand into western Maharashtra. He merged his own Tarun Hindu Sabha as well as the Mukeshwar Dal into the RSS. He accompanied Hedgewar on trips to western Maharashtra, introducing him to Hindu Nationalists. Pune developed into the centre of RSS activities in western Maharashtra.

A women's affiliate, the Rashtra Sevika Samiti, the first RSS affiliate, was started in October 1936 in the Central Provinces by 253 Mrs. Lakshmi Bai Kelkar, mother of a 'Swayamsevak'. The discipline and organization of this group was parallel to that of the RSS. While there is no formal connection between the two groups, leaders of the Rashtra Sevika Samiti often consult with their RSS counterparts, and they support the other organizations affiliated with the RSS. Hedgewar maintained close ties with the Hindu Mahasabha leadership, due to his close association with Dr. Munje and Savarkar.

Dr. Munje presided over the 1927 Hindu Mahasabha annual session at Ahmedabad, and he invited the RSS to perform drills at the session. This provided opportunity to Hedgewar to establish contacts with Mahasabha leaders throughout India. Prominent members of local Hindu 'Sabhas' would introduce RSS organizers to potential recruits and donors, provide organizers housing and the RSS with a meeting area. This assistance led many members of the Mahasabha including Dr. Munje, to conclude that the RSS would function as the youth wing of the Mahasabha. However, events were to prove them wrong.

To emphasize the nonpolitical character of the RSS, Hedgewar refused to sanction RSS support to the Mahasabha's 1938-39 civil disobedience campaign in the princely state of Hyderabad, through individual RSS member took part in it. Savarkar was trying to convert the Hindu Mahasabha into a political party at a time when Hedgewar was seeking in to insulate the RSS from politics. The Hindu Mahasabha established its own paramilitary youth group, the Ram Sena in 1939. The distancing of relations between the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS after the death of Hedgewar in 1940 was a continuation of a process that had begun three years earlier when Savarkar was elected president of the Hindu Mahasabha. Savarkar attempted to give the organization a more specifically political orientation. Neither Hedgewar nor his successor wanted the RSS to be closely associated with a group whose political activities would place the RSS in direct opposition to Congress. Savarkar's disdain for Golwalkar, Hedgewar's successor further soured relations between the two organizations. Both men were apprehensive regarding the other's role in the Hindu unification movement. Savarkar did not appreciate Golwalkar's saintly style and Golwalkar had reservations about Savarkar's unwillingness to compromise. Savarkar's followers, particularly those in Maharashtra, considered him the driving force behind the Hindu unification movement. While many of the RSS members respected Savarkar, they did not consider him the supreme leader of Hindus.

#### **13.6.1 RSS after Hedgewar**

After the death of Hedgewar on 21 June 1940, Golwalkar who was designated by the former a day before his death succeeded him as the 'sarsanghchalak.' Two years after earning his M.Sc. in biology at Banaras Hindu University, he was selected as a lecturer in zoology there. Some of Golwalkar's students encouraged him to attend RSS meetings. Hedgewar met Golwalkar while visiting Banaras in 1931 and was attracted to the ascetic twenty-five year old teacher. In the summer of 1935, shortly after completing his law examination, Golwalkar was asked to manage the RSS Officers' Training Camp, a clear sign of his high standing with Hedgewar. Yet Golwalkar was a reluctant leader. Hedgewar feared that Golwalkar's ascetic temperament could lead him to become a 'sanyasi'. In spite of his apprehensions regarding Golwalkar, Hedgewar recognized the former's leadership qualities and after assigning him various responsibilities in the RSS organization nominated him as his successor. Golwalkar's saintly style and his apparent disinterest in politics convinced some 'Swayamsevak' that the - RSS had become more concerned with other-worldly implications, of character building than with its national political implications. Links between the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS were virtually severed, the military department of the RSS was dismantled, the RSS remained aloof from the anti-British agitations during the World War II, and it refused to assist the various militarization and paramilitary schemes advocated by many other Hindu nationalists. Golwalkar, unlike Hedgewar, showed no public interest in the movement to enlist Hindus in the armed forces of British India.



Golwalkar was not a revolutionary in the conventional sense of the term. The British understood this. In an official report on RSS activity, prepared in 1943, the Home Department concluded that, 'it would be difficult to argue that the RSS constitutes an immediate menace to law and order.' Commenting on violence that accompanied the 1942 Quit India Movement, the Bombay Home Department observed, 'the Sangh has scrupulously kept itself within the law, and in particular, has refrained from taking part in the disturbances that broke out in August 1942' Golwalkar opposed the effort of some Hindu organizations to encourage the recruitment of Hindus into the military and considered it unpatriotic. He was openly critical of the Hindu Mahasabha for engaging in such recruitment activities.

The RSS continued to expand rapidly during the war years in spite of the defection of some members disappointed by its apparent retreat from activism. 255 The post-war expansion of the RSS in northern India coincided with deteriorating communal relations between Muslims and Hindus. The Muslim League, campaigning for the creation of a separate Muslim state, declared a Direct Action Day on 16 August 1946. Communal violence erupted in Bengal and north-western India. On 3 June 1947 Lord Mountbatten, the British Viceroy, announced his Majesty's Government's decision to partition the subcontinent on communal basis and to terminate colonial rule on 15 August 1947.

Gandhiji was assassinated on Friday evening, 30 January 1948, at 5.30 p.m. by Nathuram Godse. He had previously been a member of the RSS, and at the time of assassination, was an editor of a pro-Hindu Mahasabha newspaper in Pune. Because of his background, the government suspected that the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS had both been involved in a conspiracy to assassinate Gandhiji and to seize control of the government. Leaders of both groups were arrested. On 3 February 1948 Golwalkar was arrested and the government banned the RSS the next day. Before his arrest, Golwalkar had instructed the RSS leaders temporarily to cease all RSS activities. In spite of this instruction and the subsequent ban, a large number of 'swayamsevak' continued to meet under the guise of study groups, sports associations, devotional assemblies etc. The government was not able to show any RSS involvement in Gandhi's murder its involvement in a conspiracy to overthrow the government. By August 1948 most of the detainees were released and Golwalkar himself was released on 5 August 1948.

**Check your Progress :**

1) Who was the founder of R.S.S.?

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## 13.7 RSS IDEOLOGY

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As the RSS draws liberally from the Hindu past to construct its belief system, an investigation is necessary of how Hindu thought and practices inform the verbal symbols, signs, and rituals which the RSS employs. Hedgewar, like all revivalists, believed that the Hindu past possessed the conceptual tools for the reconstruction of the society. Also like other revivalists, he was convinced that only Hindu thought would motivate the population to achieve independence and to reconstruct society. In the early part of the twentieth century, Aurobindo Ghose stated the case in terms that the RSS was later to emphasize. RSS theoreticians maintain that the social body functions well only when individuals perform their economic, social and religious duties (dharma).

The founders of the RSS concluded that the Hindu social body was weak and disorganized because 'dharma' was neither clearly understood nor correctly observed. While the disintegration of Hindu society was perceived as advancing at a rapid pace in the contemporary period, the malady is traced back at least to the Islamic invasions of India when it is alleged creative Hindu thought ceased to inform society about new ways to respond to changing conditions. A recurrent theme in the RSS belief systems is the identification of hostile forces which plot against the nation and which are responsible for the 'disruptive' strains in the country.

These forces are often identified with particular social groups, who are usually defined as different, united and powerful. RSS writers identify two general types of potentially 'disruptive' forces in contemporary Indian society - (1) Muslims and Christians who propagate values that might result in the denationalization of their adherents and (2) the 'Westernized' elite who propose capitalism, socialism, or communism as solutions for Indian development. RSS writers allege that Christian values have tended to distance Christians culturally from the national mainstream in some parts of the country. From this proposition, a sub proposition is deduced, because some Christians do not consider themselves culturally Indian, they do not experience a sense of community with Indians. The case against Islam is stated in similar terms. However, Islam is viewed as a more serious problem because of the size of the Muslim community, the history of communal animosity between Hindus and Muslims and existence of Muslim states in the subcontinent. Democracy, capitalism and socialism, according to RSS writers, are western concepts that have failed to improve the human condition. According to a leading RSS publicist - 'democracy and capitalism join hand to give a free reign to exploitation, socialism replaced capitalism and brought with it an end to democracy and individual freedom' These concepts are considered contrary to the traditional principles of the Hindu thought. The argument is that each of these concepts limits itself to the premise that man is a 'bundle of physical wants'. While not disregarding the notion that 'passion' is natural to man, RSS writers argue that these 'foreign' philosophies stimulate the quest for material gratification which results eventually in greed and class

antagonism, attitudes that lead to exploitation, social warfare and anarchy. As an alternative to these socio-economic systems, the RSS offers a social blueprint that minimizes social conflict and functionally links the various social units together into an organic whole.

Such a transformation is considered a necessary prerequisite for revitalizing society and for sustaining it. Golwalkar, in his major treatise on the RSS belief system mentions four virtues that characterize the ideal person. The first is 'invincible physical strength', which he interpreted as the calm resolve that is needed for commitment to the disciplined activity. The second virtue is 'character', which is a personal resolve to commit oneself to a noble cause. The third virtue is 'intellectual acumen' and lastly, 'fortitude' which permits the honourable person to persevere in a virtuous life. The virtuous life can be summarized by industriousness combined with zealous and painstaking adherence to 'dharma'. The RSS belief system proposes that disciplined activity is the sign of a virtuous life. Life is considered a struggle against disorder and anarchy, and it requires organization, calculation and systematic endeavor. Because disorder and anarchy are presumably strengthened by human passion, the individual must diligently tame and discipline his energies.

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### 13.8 SUMMARY

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Due to the British rule in India the rise and growth of communalism came into existence and which shaped the political life of the country. This gave birth to certain organizations and began to function for their own people. The British used the Muslim league as a counterpoise to the Indian National Congress in pursuit of their divide and rule policy which ultimately led to the creation of Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha was brought into existence to oppose the Muslim orientation of Congress and finally came in direct conflict with the Muslim league. The Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh was established in 1925 as an educational body for character building of the people and uniting the Hindu Community. It wanted to make independent India a creative society. But before and after independence of the country it surmised that the Hindu-Muslim riots projected the weakness and divisions within the Hindu community.

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### 13.9 REFERENCES

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- 2) Bipin Chandra, History of Modern India, Orient Blackswan, 2009.
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### 13.10 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Give a brief account of religious nationalism turning in communalism in modern India.
- 2) Examine the factors that were responsible for the rise religious identities and religion based nationalism in India.
- 3) Explain the rise and growth of Muslim communalism in India.
- 4) Explain the role of Muslim league in promotion of communalism.
- 5) Trace growth of Hindu Communalism in India.



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## M.A. - HISTORY

### Semester I & II - Evaluation Pattern

Internal Evaluation (40) + Semester End Examination (60) = 100

The Internal Evaluation for the Master of Arts (M.A.) History Sem I and Sem II (CBSGS) that is 40 Marks, shall be further distributed as follows – 20 Marks for Internal Written Test and 20 Marks for written Assignment. The Internal Evaluation of 40 Marks will be conducted by the respective Course Teachers.

Internal Evaluation – 40 Marks	
Internal Written Test	20
Written Assignment	20

Semester End Examination - 60 MARKS will be as follows, Time duration : Two Hours. Question Paper Pattern for M.A. History Semester I End Examination and Semester II End Examination

- N.B. a) Attempt all questions  
b) All questions carry equal marks

	SEMESTER – I	SEMESTER – II
Q.1	Based on Module I	Based on Module I
	OR	OR
Q.1	Based on Module I	Based on Module I
Q.2	Based on Module II	Based on Module II
	OR	OR
Q.2	Based on Module II	Based on Module II
Q.3	Based on Module III	Based on Module III
	OR	OR
Q.3	Based on Module III	Based on Module III
Q.4	Based on Module IV	Based on Module IV
	OR	OR
Q.4	Based on Module IV	Based on Module IV

