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**MEMOIRE**

Pour l'obtention du diplôme de Magister  
En Langue Anglaise

**MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT  
1857-1947**

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## DEDICATIONS

*To my beloved parents for their endless love, for always believing in my aptitudes and for their constant moral support.*

*To my precious daughter who always keeps me smiling.*

*To my dear colleague, brother and friend Mr. BOUMEDDANE Larbi for his very valuable help.*

*To my dear friend and sister ARJOUJ Amel who supported me and for constantly being present in difficult moments.*

*To Mrs. HOURE Wahiba, who always encouraged me especially through rough times.*

*To all of my friends and colleagues.*

*To all the members of my family: my dear late grand-mother, aunts, uncles, cousins, and my late aunt as well.*

*To Mrs. ABDELOUAHAB Khadidja, my high school teacher of English.*

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## **ABSTRACT**

It is generally known that the British presence in India was in the beginning for trade. After ensuring monopoly over India, the British sought to reform the country socially, economically and politically. The Indian reaction to those reforms was under the form of rebellions. The main one was the Great Revolt of 1857. After that, the two main political parties that are the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League were created along with some nationalist movements, namely, Non Co-operation, Civil Disobedience, Non-Violent Resistance and the Quit India Movement. It was under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi that India succeeded in reaching its independence in 1947.

## RESUME

Il est généralement connu que la présence initiale de la Grande Bretagne en Inde était due au commerce. Après avoir assuré le monopole sur l'Inde, la Grande Bretagne a cherché à changer la société, l'économie et la politique du pays par des réformes. La réaction des indiens se fit sous forme de rebellions. La plus importante fut la Grande Révolte de 1857. Après cela, deux principaux parties politiques ont été créés : le Congrès National Indien et la Ligue Musulmane, en même temps que quelques mouvements nationalistes, dont : la non coopération, la désobéissance civile, la résistance non violente et quittez l'inde « Quit India ». Ce fut sous la direction de Mahatma Gandhi que l'Inde a réussi à obtenir son indépendance en 1947.

## ملخص

إنه من المعروف أن وجود بريطانيا في الهند كان من الأول بدافع التجارة. فبعد أن ضمنت احتكارها على الهند حاولت بريطانيا تغيير المجتمع الهندي اقتصاده وسياسته عن طريق اصلاحات. كان رد فعل الهنود على طريق ثورات، و اهمها كانت ثورة الهند سنة 1857. بعد ذلك ظهر حزبين سياسيين رئيسيين هما : المؤتمر الوطني الهندي و العصبة الإسلامية. ثم ظهرت بعض الحركات القومية و هي كالتالي: حركة عدم التعاون، حركة العصيان المدني، حركة المقاومة الغير العنيفة و حركة ترك الهند. تمكنت الهند من نيل استقلالها تحت قيادة ماهاتما غاندي عام 1947.

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# **General Introduction**

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The period between the fifteen century and the seventeenth marked the beginning of the European explorations. The European powers which were involved in the explorations were the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British.<sup>1</sup> By the eighteenth century, Britain was the only remaining power in India.<sup>2</sup> The British supremacy over the Indian Subcontinent was evident after the British victory in the battle of Plassey and moreover with the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.<sup>3</sup> In the seventeenth century, the East India Company was granted a charter by Queen Elisabeth I which affirmed its authority over India.<sup>4</sup>

The British monopoly of India resulted in changes in various fields, for instance, politics, society, religion and economy. The British contributed very much to the development of India through their reforms and changes. Some of the changes like the educational ones altered the Indian mind. In fact, the British involvement in India worked in two spheres. The first one, Britain helped for the advancement of India and the second one was that India became the main source of wealth of Britain. After that the British gained authority and changed the country making it the developed country it is currently. The question I attempt to answer throughout this research work is: Would India have been able to change and progress by itself the way it did by the British hands? This thesis deals with how the British who were initially traders among others, turned out ruling as well as improving the whole country.

The first chapter deals with the coming of the British and how they became the supreme authority over India. After Queen Elisabeth I granted a royal charter to the East India Company, trade started to flourish. Although conquest was not the first aim of the British, soon after they gained authority over the country, the British began an economic conquest from which Imperialism resulted.

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<sup>1</sup> J - Haig, Sir T Wolseley, H. H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1934, p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India*, MacDonal, London, 1952, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> John McLeod, *The History of India*, Greenwood Press, Westport CT, 2002, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Percival Griffiths, *Modern India*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1958, p. 43.

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Following commercial expansion, the British interest was focused on social and religious traditions. Indeed, the Indian traditions and particularly the religious ones are qualified of inhuman when civilized people witness them. On one hand, the Indian population lives under the caste system which is a closed group whose members are severely restricted from intermingling with the classes above them and the ones below them. On the other hand, Indians were compelled to live under social rules which not all of them agreed about, mainly because of their cruelty. The British made an attempt to change those traditions through reforms.<sup>5</sup>

The seventeenth century marked the beginning of the development of the economic field. Factories were built, and manufacture of the main Indian products was modernized. The growth of economy in India contributed also to the growth of its population especially in the large cities such as Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Furthermore, the system of taxes was introduced along with custom duties, exports and imports. Plus the Industrial Revolution, in the eighteenth century, that transformed and modernized Indian economy.<sup>6</sup>

The second chapter deals mainly with the Indian reaction towards such monopoly. How some British were sympathetic of the Indian cause and brought forth the idea of the Indian National Congress which would become one of the principal political bodies in India along with the Muslim League.<sup>7</sup> The imposition of English education played a great part in the awakening of the Indian minds. There was a new sense of unity which resulted in the desire to have an Indian nation. During the nineteenth century, not only the Indians began to show their dislike towards British rule but also began to defend their country.<sup>8</sup>

The British presence was not all full of advantages. As a matter of fact there were tons of conflicts between the colonizer and the colonized, which led to the rise of many rebellions as well as the Nationalist Movements. In this regard, there is the question of the British who

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<sup>5</sup> Belkacem Belmekki, 'Sociocultural *Malaise* of India under the English East India Company Rule', *Anthropos*, 2012, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> Anne M. Todd, Martin E. Marty, *Spiritual Leaders and Thinkers: Mohandas Gandhi*, Chelsea House Publishers, Philadelphia, 2004, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Lloyd I. Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home*, Oxford University Press Ltd., London, 2006, p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British Impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 243.

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wanted to civilize the Indians by introducing English education and imposing it, not only have they brought light to the Indian mind but also they gave them the key to awareness and to the rise of Nationalism. This thesis also deals with how the Indians fought for their country's independence. And how they used the education imposed on them against the enemy who imposed it.

The third chapter is about the desire of the Indians to build a nation of their own, which led the Indian population to start thinking about their political future which was not going to include British rule. Although it was only the educated classes which were aware of such fact, soon after the rest of the population joined.<sup>9</sup> The masses were fighting for the sake of their country. The desire was more developed with the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene.<sup>10</sup> Gandhi had already encountered discrimination when he was in South Africa.<sup>11</sup>

His methods were unusual but certain. He always relied on Satyagraha which means truth and force.<sup>12</sup> It is a philosophy that Gandhi developed during the Indian Independence Movements. Such movements were Non Co-operation, Civil Disobedience, Non-Violent Resistance and the Quit India Movement. With these peaceful means, he headed the Indians into acquiring a country of their own since by the nineteenth century, the Indians demanded immediate transfer of power.<sup>13</sup> Self-government was granted along with the independence of India in 1947.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 47.

<sup>11</sup> Bhikhu Parekh, *Gandhi a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 2001, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Krishnalal Shridharani, *War without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Method and Its Accomplishments*, Brace Harcourt, New York, 1939, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Social and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, Routledge, New York, 2006, p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 78.

## **Chapter One**

# **The British Conquest of India and Its Impact on the Indian Society**

# CHAPTER ONE: THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIAN SOCIETY

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## CHAPTER ONE

### The British Conquest of India and Its Impact on Indian Society

#### Introduction

By the end of the fifteenth century, the European powers, which were Portugal, Holland, France and Britain, started the explorations. These explorations had mainly trading and conquest purposes. Also, they already existed centuries ago under Alexander the Great. From the fourteenth to the fifteenth century and on, they resumed. However, the Turkish ascendancy represented an obstacle in the trade route. Furthermore, the route that used to be crossed was through the dangerous Arabian Peninsula, and since it was no longer safe. It was the Portuguese who were conducting the mission of finding a new and safer route. This fact made of the Portuguese the pioneers of the explorations. The new route consisted of surrounding the continent of Africa by sea in order to reach India.<sup>1</sup>

A Portuguese navigator named Vasco da Gama was the first to reach Calicut on the Malabar Coast in south-western India. The Portuguese had one main idea which was the monopoly of the maritime spice trade and to have power over Middle Eastern Muslim World which was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. They were firmly decided to establish their empire in the East therefore they had three main goals, namely, trade, anti-Islamism and religion.<sup>2</sup>

The Portuguese suffered in India because of a shortage of manpower, this was due to the fact that they were also in Africa. Due to such weakness, there was intermarriage in order to increase population and at the same time defense. On the other hand, the church worked on the spread of Christianity. As a consequence, by 1560, Roman Catholicism was established in

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<sup>1</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 484.

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Goa thus offering a new strong defense for them.<sup>3</sup> Their trade flourished in India. However, they wanted to transform the country into a Christian Empire, but as they found a great number of Muslims, they oppressed them, as Sir Percival Griffiths explains:

*The Moors and Gentiles are outside the law of Jesus Christ, which is the true law that everyone has to keep under pain of damnation to eternal fire. If then the soul be so condemned, what right has the body to the privilege of our laws? It is true they are reasoning beings and might, if they lived, be converted to the true faith, but in as much as they have not shown any desire as yet to accept this; we Christians have no duties towards them.*<sup>4</sup>

Such desire for a new Christian Empire made the Indians strongly dislike them and they refused to befriend non Christian Indians. The result was that they had few allies in the East, and therefore they became weaker. Such weakness opened the route to both the British and the Dutch.<sup>5</sup> By the middle of the sixteenth century, they had begun losing glory and their decline was certain. The voyages were financed by the Portuguese Crown. And the resources back home began to be smaller and smaller. In India, they used Indian servants because they disliked hard labor and preferred luxurious lives. As Percival Griffiths quoted Saint Francis Xavier, a Roman Catholic missionary:

*There is here a power which I may call irresistible, to thrust men headlong into the abyss, where besides the seductions of gain and the easy opportunities of plunder, their appetites for greed will be sharpened by having tasted it, and there will be a whole torrent of low examples and evil customs to overwhelm them and sweep them away .. . Everywhere and at all times, it is rapine, hoarding and robbery.*<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 483.

<sup>6</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 45.

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In the second half of the sixteenth century, Portugal's union with Spain worsened the bad situation of Portugal in India, because Spain influenced Portugal with excessive intolerance. The constant rise of Protestantism caused Portugal's status in India to a forthcoming decline.<sup>7</sup>

Unlike the other powers, the Dutch had only one aim, namely spice trade. They had no imperialistic or religious aims. Besides, they headed toward the Malay Archipelago. In the seventeenth century, they had established trading posts all along the southern coast, from Madras in the east to Goa in the west. They defeated but did not destroy the Portuguese who represented an obstacle for them. However, as their military power was concentrated in the Malay Archipelago, they were weak in India which resulted in the impossibility to have a great power in India.<sup>8</sup>

## 1.1. The British Conquest of India

The Mughal Empire was at its zenith during the seventeenth century. The British used diplomacy. They were friendly with the Mughal representatives. However, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they started to use force. For example, they defeated the Dutch in 1759 in Bengal. As the Dutch did not have enough support in India, it was the end of trade for them.<sup>9</sup>

The East India Company was created for trade with the East Indies. It was granted a royal charter in 1600 by Queen Elizabeth I. The Company was then known as '*The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies*'. The charter gave all rights to the British to have power over trade in the Indian Ocean.<sup>10</sup> From the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, the British supremacy over India was developing. Even though the Company's policy was 'trade not conquest', there was a high desire for expansion.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 500.

<sup>9</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 512.

<sup>10</sup> Griffiths. P., *Modern India*, op. cit. , p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.



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The French represented a competition to the British in India as well as in Europe. Joseph François Dupleix was the French governor of the French establishment in India, and Robert Clive was a British governor who established the military and political supremacy of the East India Company in Bengal. Both governors made alliances with the Indians in return of protection. These alliances were used for building powerful armies who fought during the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763.<sup>12</sup> The British won the war and almost defeated the French. Clive took his British and Indian soldiers to Bengal in order to capture Calcutta. The British won against the French in 1757 in the Battle of Plassey. Due to such victory, Robert Clive became Governor of Calcutta and India was under Company rule from then on.<sup>13</sup>

By 1790, Bengal and Bihar in north-western India were under British rule and the Company took over the Indian Government. To strengthen relations between India and London, the "Regulating Act of 1773" gave the Company's governor the title of Governor-General. The "India Act of 1784" gave supremacy to the British Government over the Company.<sup>14</sup>

Profits became the new British aim. Bengal and Bihar were the main sources for this aim. In order to make profits, the East India Company had to establish law and order to increase trade and collect taxes. After 1755, the British allowed private foreign traders such as the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese. Due to such commercial activity, Indian trade increased rapidly.<sup>15</sup>

After Robert Clive, Lord Cornwallis was appointed as Governor-General in 1786. His mission was to avoid war. Trade between India and Britain changed because Bengal and Bihar were not the only sources for profits, the Company started to use local taxes. Its expenses grew so much that the Government relied also on salt and opium.<sup>16</sup>

The sources that were Bengal and Bihar suddenly fell in the 1780's. Many reasons were behind such a failure among which, a famine that killed between one fifth and one third

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<sup>12</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 70.

<sup>15</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit.

<sup>16</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit.

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of the population of Bengal in 1760-1770. Another one was the failure of the law that British rule had established. And the last one was about an economic decline in the Middle East and South Asia in the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

Lord Cornwallis tried to find a solution. According to him, the Indians were dishonest and could not be trusted. As a result, they were no longer allowed to have high posts in the Company's administration and trade. And he recruited only educated British who were chosen on a contest. Private trade was no longer allowed either. These chosen elites formed what was known as the Indian Civil Service which was composed of a great number of Indians as well as British subordinates.<sup>18</sup>

In 1798, Lord Wellesley was appointed Governor-General. Under his rule, expansion resumed. According to him, British rule was the best thing that happened to India. At first, he won the war against Tipu Sultan, who ruled Mysore in southern India, and killed him in 1799. After that, he brought Mysore under British rule. He wanted Hyderabad and Awadh under British rule too in order to expand on those territories. In 1802, Baji Rao II signed a treaty by which Maratha territory came under British rule. Some warlords refused such treaty. They went on a war against the British who won and thus gained Delhi and Orissa. However the war did not stop and it cleared all Company's money. In 1805, Lord Wellesley was discharged because he refused to stop that war.<sup>19</sup>

In 1805, Lord Cornwallis resumed his position in office as Governor-General. His solution was to carry on expansion. In 1806, the war ended with a big shortage in the Company's profits. In 1823, Lord Amherst was the new Governor-General. Due to his victory over Burma he gained in the east: Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur and the Bay of Bengal.<sup>20</sup>

In 1828, Lord Bentinck was appointed Governor-General. During his time, Company rule saw a real change and improvement. Unlike previous times when the profits were low, in

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<sup>17</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 74.

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Lord Bentinck's time costs became more balanced and the judicial system was better. In short, his rule was peaceful since he believed in the fact that the aim of governing is the welfare of the ones being governed.<sup>21</sup>

Although the Governor-General's power was limited because the Home Government imposed the doctrine of non-intervention, it was easy for Lord Bentinck to accept the situation due to the good temperament he had. However this time of steadiness was not the case of Mysore, but the Raja was replaced with a British administration. British ascendancy was well distinguished as the Governor-General Wellesley stated that the relations between the British and the Indians had improved. The Indian states would hold firmly to their alliance with the British Government. A fact that should prevent any state from entering another one, therefore every state would have secured its territory and would carry on its authority under the protection of British rule.<sup>22</sup>

In 1836, Lord Auckland became Governor-General. He wanted to carry on with the policy of expansion so he intervened in the Afghan War which had a disastrous outcome because it was mishandled. In 1848, Lord Dalhousie became Governor-General. His Doctrine of Lapse was that the states which ruler did not have any heir came under British rule. In case of adopted heirs, they could rule the state only if British rule had approved their adoption. The Doctrine of Lapse was applied on six states mainly Jhansi and Nagpur and later Punjab and Oudh were annexed to the British Empire too.<sup>23</sup>

In 1856, Lord Dalhousie left India and the Indian Subcontinent was under Company rule. From the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, there were numerous battles between the Indians and the British which were mainly due to personal injustices but the most significant one was the Great Revolt of 1857.<sup>24</sup>

After Lord Dalhousie left, Company rule was threatened because of a national uprising. This Great Revolt did not spread all over India. The disturbances were mainly in Punjab in the north-west, the valley of the Ganges in the east and in Central India. The Indian

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<sup>21</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 94.

<sup>22</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 100.

<sup>24</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 101.

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population was not involved. The Great Revolt began when in 1857 a rifle was introduced. To load it, the soldiers had to bite the end off a cardboard cartridge. Those cartridges were lubricated with grease made of beef and pork. This act represented a sin to both Indians and Muslims because Hindus considered the cow as sacred and the pig was unclean for the Muslims.<sup>25</sup>

Eighty five soldiers at Meerut near Delhi refused to use the new rifles and were punished by the British. The British punishment revolted their comrades who marched to Delhi and seized the city. Bahadur Shah II, who was then the heir to the Mughal throne, became their leader. Mughal nobles, other soldiers and the population of Delhi joined the rebellion. The Great Revolt spread over Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh. It was limited to the Gangetic area. The rebels did not have any strategy which allowed the British to defeat them. Company rule re-established control during 1858.<sup>26</sup>

Among the outcome of the Great Revolt was the fall of the Mughal dynasty. In order to punish Bahadur Shah II for leading the rebels, the British exiled him to Burma and abolished the titles of Mughal ruler. And under the Government of India Act 1858 the British authority over India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown in the person of Queen Victoria who in 1876 was proclaimed Empress of India. This transfer was because the Company was blamed for lack of efficiency. The Crown Government appointed a Secretary of State who lived in London and led the Government Department called the India Office. In India, the prime minister also appointed a Viceroy who represented the British Government in India. The capital of British India was still Calcutta.<sup>27</sup>

## 1.2. The Socio-Cultural Impact on Indian Society

Hinduism is the overwhelming religion in India. Such fact distinguishes the Indian society from the other societies worldwide as well as their attachment to traditions. The social organization of the Indian society is known as the caste system. The Indian term for caste is 'jati'. The caste system is divided into four social classes that are the Brahmans (priests and

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<sup>25</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 83.

<sup>27</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit.

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scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (farmers and tradesmen) and Shudras (serfs and menials). Those who were not from these groups were called the 'Dalits' (untouchables) and they were considered as a small indefinite group of people.<sup>28</sup>

Each social class includes only its own members. There cannot be any mingling whatsoever between the different classes because it is considered as a sin. Each class is inferior to those above it and inferior to those below it. Also, the status of man is always determined by his caste.<sup>29</sup> There cannot be marriage between people from a different class nor can food be shared. The transgressor is severely punished, for instance, they were excommunicated or tortured. Although the rules of the caste system are very harsh, the Indians never transgress them.<sup>30</sup>

The British observed how the Indians were living. They qualified their traditions as primitive and uncivilized. The Christian missionaries came from Britain to change the religious and social traditions. At first the Company did not let the missionaries make any reforms because the British who were in India were aware of how important customs were to the Indians. However in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Evangelical movement gained strength in Britain and managed to get into India through the British Government.<sup>31</sup>

As soon as the missionaries entered India, they began converting the population. They handed out copies of the New Testament in mission schools.<sup>32</sup> They assumed the education as well. English-speaking Indian elite was created chiefly in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. These elite were part of high Hindu castes.<sup>33</sup> They formed voluntary associations on British lines, with paid membership, bylaws, regular meetings and fund raising campaigns. They even replaced the armed resistance, which used to be the only way by which the Indians revolted, by voluntary associations.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit. , p. 179.

<sup>29</sup> Anne Shraff, *Mahatma Gandhi*, Saddleback Education Publishing, California, 2008, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit.

<sup>31</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit. , p. 180.

<sup>32</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 87.

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In 1828, Lord Bentinck became Governor-General. He banned 'sati' a practice that means devotion and that consists of the fact that a widow throws herself on her husband's deceased body while being immolated. There was also 'thugi' a practice performed by 'thugs' who worshipped 'Kali', the Hindu goddess of destruction. The practice of 'thugi' consisted of a ritual which was about killing. The 'thugs' would become friends with travelers in order to protect them, but after some days, the chief of those 'thugs' would clap their hands and yell "bring the tobacco".<sup>35</sup>

This signified the signal for the beginning of the ritual of 'thugi' in which the 'thugs' would strangle the travelers with a special sacred scarf, with a coin dedicated to the goddess. Such ritual took only few minutes and after the killing; the 'thugs' would steal all what the travelers owned. Such practice has always been present in India. It was part of the tradition. The British did not notice such practice until the 'sepoys' began to disappear while on their way back to the barracks. Ever since they discovered it, it was outlawed. The British banned such ritual for their safety more than for its cruelty.<sup>36</sup>

What was regarded as the most horrible practice was the sacrifice of children. Such murder was for three main reasons. First, women who had had no child yet would sacrifice their first newborn by letting him drown in the river Ganges as a fulfillment of their vow to the sacred river which is a Hindu deity. Second, the girls were murdered right after they were born. The child would be killed because it was shameful for a family to have an unmarried girl. Moreover, even if the girl gets married, it would be a great financial burden for her family because the bride had to offer the dowry to the groom. And the last reason for killing their daughter is that the Indian family would fear not to find a suitable husband for their daughter. It was during Lord Wellesley time that the Company passed "Regulation XXI of 1795" and "Regulation III of 1804" which put an end to the murder.<sup>37</sup>

Beside those social customs there was education. In the eighteenth century, science was fast developing in the West however in India. There was an incredibly low intellectual level. India used to be a country of philosophy and mathematics but not anymore. The Indians knew nothing of their history and even Sanskrit learning decreased so much that there were

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<sup>35</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit. , p. 181.

<sup>36</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit. , p. 182.

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only a few Brahmans who could still understand the sacred texts. However British colonialism brought an educational light to India. Even though the opinions were divided into two schools which were the Orientalists and the Utilitarians also known as Anglicists. Such fact was not an obstacle for the beginning of education and its development.<sup>38</sup>

British scholars felt that there was a need for an intellectual awakening, they began making researches in Indian history and the result was extraordinary. For example, Sir William Jones, who was an Anglo-Welsh philologist and scholar of India, identified Emperor Chandragupta as the first fixed point in Indian chronology. Later James Prinsep, who was an English scholar, Orientalist and antiquary, Mint Master of Calcutta, during seven years, examined bilingual inscriptions on coins collected by his friend, Henry Massie Rector, who was an American politician, found the key to the Brahmi script. These are only two examples of the greatest discoveries by European scholars.<sup>39</sup>

In 1813, Lord Warren Hastings became Governor-General. At the very beginning of his time in office, he decided to start to work on developing the educational system for both the Muslims and the Hindus. He founded a Mohammedan College in Calcutta for Islamic teachings. He established the Asiatic Society for Sanskrit learning by Sir William Jones. William Carey, a Baptist missionary who settled at Serampore which was in Danish territory, established schools for the Indian boys. Carey and the other missionaries translated the bible in many Hindu languages and pamphlets in Bengali.<sup>40</sup>

The Company's servants did not trust the missionaries, but Lord Wellesley did trust them so much as to offer to Carey to lecture the Company's servants in one of his new colleges. David Hare settled in Calcutta in 1800, was a watchmaker, he concluded that Sanskrit learning was not enough and western literature and science were to be taught to the Bengalis. Some years later, a Hindu college was established for western education.<sup>41</sup> In 1813, the British Government decided to spend one lakh, that is 100,000 £ by the East India Company. A Sanskrit college was built with that sum when Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a social,

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<sup>38</sup> Griffiths. P., *Modern India*, op. cit. , p. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>40</sup> O'Hanlon. R., op. cit. , p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Mario Prayer, 'The Vatican Church and Mahatma Gandhi's India, 1920-1948', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 37, No. 1 /2, January/February 2009, p. 41.

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religious reformer and an exceptional Bengali scholar of his time, protested in these following words:

*We were filled with sanguine hope...that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other useful sciences. We now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pandits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it.<sup>42</sup>*

Ram Mohan Roy was not the only one to protest, many others claimed to receive western education. During two years, the School book society bought 31,000 English books. In 1835, British rule decided that learning English literature and science was to be promoted and that financial support would be spent on English education.<sup>43</sup>

There were some critics about English learning in India, among which described the decision by the Government of India as follows:

*Vernaculars would have grown so greatly as to break up even the idea of an Indian unity. Much of the New Learning on which India's Great Recovery has been based would not have been available to us... what was the alternative? Even the most advanced Indian languages of the time, excepting*

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<sup>42</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 54.

<sup>43</sup> Ajit K. Dasgupta, *Gandhi's Economic Thought*, Routledge, New York, 1996, p. 133.



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*Sanskrit and Persian, had not reached the level of literary standard for secondary education... The great colleges, universities and schools of India, which have attained a position of some eminence in the world of learning, are the direct result of Macaulay's system.*<sup>44</sup>

Thomas Babington Macaulay, who was Secretary of the Board of Control, introduced English education in India during 1835. His educational system was about creating a class of Anglicised Indians who would become the cultural intermediary between the British and the Indians yet it was during Lord Bentinck time that Persian was replaced by English as an official language, an idea that the Court of Directors had rejected by the time of his retirement. Many elementary and secondary schools opened in addition to universities. They were mostly attended by male gender. The University of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in the same year of the outbreak of the Great Revolt. The major fields studied were law and liberal arts. It is worth mentioning that the law behind the caste system was applied for example, the University of Madras had an exclusive select for the Brahman caste which happens to be the first class.<sup>45</sup>

The payments for the schools were different. They were paid according to the region, that is to say, to the sum of taxes, and each region was different, for example, the southern regions paid much more than the eastern ones. In the villages, education was growing but the British rule was always seeing it from the colonial perspective, such policy made education decrease in the villages. Especially with the introduction of English education and the elimination of vernacular one, the decline was certain. Right after that, not only English education was highly encouraged but also religious one. Missionaries started getting more involved in the development of the educational system. Moreover, they strengthened it as the English language became the official language of education.<sup>46</sup>

The universities were growing as well because by the beginning of the nineteenth century, 60,000 Indians were admitted. They were all of male gender, and mostly in the fields

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<sup>44</sup> Griffiths. P., op.cit. , p. 54.

<sup>45</sup> Griffiths. P., *Modern India*, op. cit. , p. 56.

<sup>46</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British Impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 94.

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of arts and law. Some went working in the public administration and the others became lawyers. By the end of the century, the Indians held the mid-level positions and the British held the top-level ones.<sup>47</sup>

The next universities that were opened were mainly supported by private sources. Such fact led to a rapid growth too. By the middle of the twentieth century, there were 21 universities and 496 colleges throughout India. The first university which was attended by women was the Madras Medical College. The reason behind its opening is that Indian women were too shy to be medically examined by male doctors. Educated women in the medical field grew a lot after that which led to the opening of the Women's Christian Medical College, in Punjab, which was an exclusive medical school for women.<sup>48</sup>

On one hand, the Government College University was opened in Lahore. After that the Aligarh Muslim University that became the leading intellectual centre of Muslim political activity. In its beginning the university was supposed to train Muslims for British service and prepare them to attend universities in Britain however, it became a centre for political activism and later was attended by an all-India nationalist movement. Then it returned to its original purpose that is intellectual Muslim political activism and that was behind the success of Jinnah and the Muslim League.<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, the Haileybury College was opened in England for the training of administrators. In India, there were also colleges of civil engineering: Thomason College, Bengal Engineering College. They provided civil engineers mainly for the Indian Public Works Department. After that, there was a rising awareness for more technical education thus the Indian Institute of Science was established and that is how modern technical education in India saw its birth.<sup>50</sup>

British rule did not contribute for the development of science and technology but rather for arts and humanities. Not until the end of the nineteenth century when the universities of Calcutta and Bombay opened. India was far behind in both scientific and

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<sup>47</sup> Ajit K. Dasgupta, *Gandhi's Economic Thought*, Routledge, New York, 1996, p. 140.

<sup>48</sup> Ajit K. Dasgupta, op. cit. , p. 158.

<sup>49</sup> Ajit K. Dasgupta, op. cit. , p. 136.

<sup>50</sup> Ajit K. Dasgupta, op. cit. , p. 176.

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technical fields but the nobility and aristocracy encouraged those fields. Furthermore, the lack of funds blocked some science related subjects to be followed and the scientific education under British rule was too expensive. In addition to that, the wages from colonial administrations were too low.<sup>51</sup>

On what concerns the field of education in India, Britain gained the credit for the intellectual awakening of the country. Even though Britain had achieved some good deeds in India, its presence in India was mainly for its own interest.<sup>52</sup>

### 1.3. The Economic Impact on Indian Society

From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, the British East India Company had been in India for trade only. After that, the Company's aim became more about political power than trade. The British improved trade in India and widened its commercial activities through industry and exports. In the seventeenth century, there was a European competition over Indian products. The Bengal silk production was of 22,000 bales. From 6000 to 7000 of that silk was exported to Holland or Japan by the Dutch. The Company took large quantities of cotton cloth to Europe. Due to these European exports of Indian goods, people from the Cape of Good Hope to China were clothed in Indian-made clothes.<sup>53</sup>

The Company's factories grew in importance along with the population that increased largely in number, for example, in western India like Bombay, in the south-east like Madras, and mostly in Calcutta, where it was the most crowded European settlement especially in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>54</sup> In the second half of the seventeenth century, the East India Company faced custom duties on foreign trade. Prince Shuja, the Governor of Bengal, deduced the tax in return for an annual payment of Rs. 3,000.<sup>55</sup> The local officials did not

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<sup>51</sup> Ajit K. Dasgupta, op. cit. , p. 181.

<sup>52</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>53</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 361.

<sup>54</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 362.

<sup>55</sup> 'Rs.' stands for Rupees, which is the Indian money. Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 362.

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respect the arrangement with the Company and the future heirs to the Governor of Bengal did not renew the arrangement.<sup>56</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, the arrangement was granted again by Ibrahim Khan, however Murshid Quli Khan cancelled it officially because he disliked the English. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Company was granted the exemption again from the Emperor Farrukh-siyar on all goods imported into or exported from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.<sup>57</sup> This new arrangement was for the goods that were imported or bought for export but not for trade within India.<sup>58</sup>

Furthermore, the Company's servants lied about the goods that were to be exported and said that they were for internal trade in order to sell the goods wherever they wanted to in India. Plus the Company had the arrangement from the Emperor which allowed them to travel and sell through India without paying any taxes.<sup>59</sup> During the second half of the eighteenth century, the British ascendancy began to increase politically as well as economically. Such fact made the Company's servants act freely, for example, they refused to let the custom 'Gomastahs' (officers) check the merchandise which was obligatory even though they did not receive any tax payment.<sup>60</sup>

The Company had no more tax to pay and acted freely on what to sell and where to sell it. This fact made it easier for the Company to control the whole trade. Plus, the Company's decisions emptied the public revenue.<sup>61</sup> The rapid growth of the Company's authority over Indian trade made the British want more and more. For example, they forced the natives to sell their products very cheaply and to buy them again very expensively.<sup>62</sup> As Sir Percival Griffiths quotes what Harry Verelst, the Governor of Calcutta, who wrote in '*A View of the English Government in Bengal*':

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<sup>56</sup> Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History A History, 1600-1857 (Studies in Modern History)*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 69.

<sup>57</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>58</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 363.

<sup>59</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>60</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 73.

<sup>61</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>62</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Village Industries*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960, p. 6.

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*They had established numerous factories, and setting up the English colors, oppressed the ryots (peasants), the merchants, and people of the country, every Bengalee Gomastahs makes a disturbance at every factory, and thinks himself not inferior to the Company.... They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the ryots, merchants etc. for a fourth part of their value and by ways of violence and oppressions; they oblige the ryots, etc. to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee.'*<sup>63</sup>

Not only the British had no more taxes to pay but they also had the monopoly of the Indian trade. Such fact is not that bad when compared to how the British oppressed the Indians. First, the Company destroyed the Government, they became tyrannical. Second, they obtained money and goods illegally. They became the rulers of the country. They took control of the justice system and always applied it to their own favor. And they continued to practice trade in their very own way which means oppression and violence. Consequently, the Indian rulers along with the inhabitants began to flee the country.<sup>64</sup>

Numerous complaints against the Company's servants were reported in '*Narratives of the Transactions in Bengal*' by Mr. Vansittart who was the next Governor in Bengal after Clive, which illustrates the British oppressions as follows:

*This place was of great trade formerly, but now brought to nothing by the following practices. 'A gentlemen sends a Gomastahs here to buy or sell, he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods, or to sell him theirs; and on refusal (in case of non capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues.'*<sup>65</sup>

Many other kinds of oppressions along with this one drew the inhabitants to leave their country, seeking safety and markets in which they could sell and buy at the market price. The 'Gomastahs' had taken the justice in hand. They took by force money from the 'zamindar', who is a revenue-collecting landlord, thus paying for injuries caused by fights between their

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<sup>63</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 365.

<sup>64</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 101.

<sup>65</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

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peasants or as a payment for theft that the 'Gomastahs' would have done but accused the 'Zamindar' for it.<sup>66</sup>

Another example of oppression is also reported by Vansittart, the successor of Robert Clive, about a Mr. Chevalier who acted very violently and arbitrarily oppressing traders to control some products mainly tobacco and salt, which were not to be sold or bought without his permission. Such tyranny was caused mainly by the fact that Indian trade was under the British flag. A fact which also led the British to punish in the way they desired the Indians or whoever disagreed with them, or tried to prevent them from oppressing Indian peasants. As Sir Percival Griffiths quoted Vansittart:

*The truth is, that every struggle made by the country people against the oppressions and extortions of the private English Gomastahs, was immediately construed as an attack upon the Company's rights.*<sup>67</sup>

The British oppression during the second half of the eighteenth century was felt by every class of society because it made India a very poor country. Mir Kasim was established as Nawab (a princely title, originally a Muslim provincial governor or viceroy) by the Company in 1760. Vansittart and Hastings supported him, but the majority of the Calcutta council disagreed with him. His aim was to put an end to the British oppressions and reestablish fair trade and justice, but the council wanted to secure their servants' rights of oppression and if he came to disagree with them, the result would have been his own deposition.<sup>68</sup>

The Home Government was aware of all what was done to the Indians and to the Indian trade, and although the East India Company attempted to oppose them, in 1768, the Court of Directors ordered firmly to the Company to stop the inland trade in the following words:

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<sup>66</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 110.

<sup>67</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 366.

<sup>68</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 113.

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*Past experience has so impressed us with the idea of the necessity of confining our servants, and Europeans residing under our protection, within the ancient limits of our export and import trade, that we look on every innovation in the inland trade as an intrusion on the natural right of the natives of the country who now more particularly claim our protection.<sup>69</sup>*

The oppression and maladministration were not the only aspects which harmed the inland trade in India during the second half of the eighteenth century. By the end of the century, the East India Company had recognized the harm it had done to the Indian trade and to the Government in Bengal.<sup>70</sup> After that, foreign rule left place to investment, that is to say, the goods that were meant to be exported to Britain. Exports and imports were exercised in India even before the Europeans came to the country. The large quantity as well as the quality of production of the Indian lands allowed the Indians not to import a lot but rather to export. Foreign traders came to India mostly for the high quality of its production and above all because it was cheap.<sup>71</sup>

The European nations invested a lot in silk and cloths and so on. The production was distributed to the West and North for example, Gujarat, Lahore and to Iran. India's wealth increased, the farmers produced what the Government asked them to produce, thus trade developed very much. The East India Company was settled in Bengal in the beginning. Its inhabitants had a lot to export but did not import much so the Company began thinking about developing the imports.<sup>72</sup>

Even though the British did not want to import gold to Bengal, Indian traders had the desire to buy gold. Plus the Company was facing competition from the Dutch East India Company which also imported gold. So the Company was forced to import gold, as a consequence three quarters of its imports were in gold. After that, the Company noticed that the gold imports increased in comparison with raw silk and other raw materials which

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<sup>69</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 114.

<sup>70</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 369.

<sup>71</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 372.

<sup>72</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 116.

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happened to be produced by India, and that money began to decrease so the Company took the decision to import less gold from Britain.<sup>73</sup>

A very important consequence to gold imports was the balance of payment. Very large sums went to the Company's servants under the form of presents. In addition to the payment of the damages that the Company caused when Siraj-Ud-Daulah took Calcutta. The House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to find the reason behind the low profits. Indeed, between 1756 and 1765, the payment of the Company's servants amounted to £2.169.655 and the compensations equaled £3.770.833, along with £5.940.488 half of which was spent in India, and the other half was sent to Britain. The Company refused to pay for the decline of Indian specie although it had very large amount of money in its hands. However the other European Companies paid for the compensations.<sup>74</sup>

The Company had £1.500.000 annually from land revenues, from which it paid for the military services, and the profit that the Company had made so far due to military payment was of £1.650.900 sterling. The Home Government wanted also its share from the Company's wealth which was of £400.000 annually. All of these profits were only from Indian land revenues. The Company was a body of traders but also political people which allowed them to monopolize the revenues. The territories in which inland trade generated the largest profits were Bengal, the upper parts of Hindustan, the Gulf of the Moro (currently known as the Philippines), the Persian Gulf and the Malabar Coast.<sup>75</sup>

Between the years 1766 and 1769, exports of gold amounted £5.686.875 while imports of gold was of £624.375. In 1783, the House of Commons declared that what investment meant to Britain was that the revenues of Bengal were to be used for the acquisition of goods for exportation to Britain. India's most valuable goods were exported to Britain in a continuous frequent way, and such action was the chief cause behind Indian economic failure. The investment's source was still the same until 1813. The Government was put apart from

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<sup>73</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 120.

<sup>74</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 548.

<sup>75</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 587.



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trade then. Even though the revenues and the payments increased a lot, the amount for the investment was of £1.300.000 between 1793 and 1812.<sup>76</sup>

Besides the fact that the British exploited India by exporting its production to Britain which led Indian trade to fail and which also led to a big shortage of money, there is another reason for that economic failure. India was without any currency. The only way for the country to have currency again was to receive it from Britain. One of the causes of the currency shortage was first the annual payment offered to the Mughal Emperor that amounted more than £1.000.000 sterling. Part of that money was spent on the goods produced in Bengal.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to that shortage of currency was its value and quality. The money in India is rupee. The coins were to be uniform in weigh and fineness. Such fact was not the case of all rupees found in India, plus the longer a coin of rupee existed, the more its value diminished.<sup>78</sup> Also the British exported gold from Britain to India. Gold was highly demanded in comparison to silver. Rupees happen to have been made of silver. So the gold imported had much more value than the silver that already existed in India. Moreover, the Indians refused to use the currency made of gold because it was too pricy and made the profits very low. The British found it important and necessary to have money with an exact value, so they decided to introduce bimetallism, which consisted of making money from both gold and silver, and which would have one value.<sup>79</sup>

The currency made of gold and silver existed only in Bengal. This was a huge problem for the rest of the Indian population. To acquire that money, they had to pay taxes which were very expensive. So a complaint under the form of a petition was sent from traders mostly to the current governor of Calcutta. The result was to remove the tax payment. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Home Government and the Council in Bengal decided to return to the old money made of silver since the value of gold was so high that it almost ruined Indian trade.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 600.

<sup>77</sup> Martin Deming Lewis, *The British in India: Imperialism or Trusteeship?*, D. C. Heath, Boston, 1962, p. 13.

<sup>78</sup> Martin Deming Lewis, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>79</sup> Martin Deming Lewis, *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>80</sup> Reginald Coupland, *India: A Re-Statement*, Oxford University Press, London, 1945, p. 54.

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The East India Company had the monopoly of trade which means that the Company had the right over land revenue as well. Information about land revenue that was dated before the arrival of the Company was unavailable because it was in the possession of Indian subordinate officials, but during the eighteenth century, the land revenue was not only available but also increasing, especially between 1722 and 1763 when it doubled.<sup>81</sup>

Even though the increase of the revenue is certainly due to the Company two very important experts of the twentieth century, Sir John Shore and Mr. James Grant disagreed about the factor that led the revenue increase so rapidly. According to Grant, as the state takes a quarter of the produce, the revenue in 1763 was justified. In addition to that, many imports were illegal plus their price increased more than the value of the produce that multiplied through time.<sup>82</sup> On the other hand, Sir John Shore considered that the increase was due to the fact that the payment to the Imperial Treasury was very low when compared to the revenue. Grant argued that both sums were almost equal every time.<sup>83</sup>

Both experts turned out to be right because the Mughal demand for the Imperial Treasury was too high which happened to be helpful as in the great famine of 1770. Furthermore, Bengal was of ninety thousand square miles of which only one fifth was under cultivation which makes the Mughal demand more than reasonable. In conclusion, production was so low that it barely covered the needs of the inhabitants which led the Mughal Emperor to ask for almost all the revenue so that it would be enough for commercial activity.<sup>84</sup>

However, Shore regarded the revenue as excessive. First, because of the “Permanent Settlement of Bengal” in 1793 fixed revenue which was mainly based on the British revenue administration, and second, because of the great number of ‘zamindars’, who were the revenue collectors. The disorder occurred only for the annulment of the law that fixed the revenue. Nevertheless, what really revolted the inhabitants was not the amount of the revenue but the way on which it was collected.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 122.

<sup>82</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 379.

<sup>83</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 131.

<sup>84</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 380.

<sup>85</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit.

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In theory, the landlord had to force the cultivator to work the land to get as much as possible goods because the 'zamindar' had the right to seize the landlord's property as security for payment. However, in practice, oppression was not a real choice because only one-fifth of Bengal was cultivated. This meant that relocation for lower revenue was necessary. After two decades, the Permanent Settlement revenue was adjusted for the satisfaction of both landlords and Government. During the nineteenth century and even at its end, the revenue was tolerable.<sup>86</sup>

After the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of inhabitants grew so much that competition for land replaced the one for cultivators. As a result, cultivators sought the help of legislation which passed the "Rent Act of 1859" as a protection which made sure that rent and revenue were reasonable. Henceforth, revenue was moderate and agriculture prospered.<sup>87</sup>

In spite of the fact that the Company policy concerning industry was of good intention that is to say to develop and improve it, a lot of oppression and harm were done to Indian economy. Although, some policies proved to be wiser than the previous ones which includes silk industry. The Home Government urged for encouragements through higher wages so that the winding of raw silk would replace the manufacture of raw silk. Moreover, the Company took the initiative of importing silk worms from china in order to improve the silk quality, plus the Italian method of winding silk was introduced. Consequently the quality of silk improved and its trade increased very much. Such success did not last long because Bengal silk cost more than Italian one so the Company's silk exports failed.<sup>88</sup>

Some private Englishmen, including Prinsep, who was a resident of Calcutta and in fact, the pioneer of such endeavor, undertook the production of indigo and sold it to the Company. Such exports were very lucrative for Bengal. Then, the Governor-General Warren Hastings started his own business of weaving cotton cloth. The Company had no concern in this business. Hastings declared that he would sell his product to native traders who would sell it to the Company through contracts. But in reality, Hastings exported his goods directly

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<sup>86</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 630.

<sup>87</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 633.

<sup>88</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 391.

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to European agents who were ready to invest to develop the local industry. This inevitably led to the re-start of manufactures which was aimed to be removed from Indian industry.<sup>89</sup>

Nevertheless, Indian manufactures were declining during the eighteenth century because of the monetary disorder and the oppression of the Company's servants. Furthermore, the Indians would not try to undertake such manufactures by themselves because commerce and industry were under Company rule. And India did not benefit from the profits made, whereas the Indian producers earned large profits.<sup>90</sup>

Another way for the British to improve commerce and industry in India was by introducing means of transport. Sir Macdonald, a British engineer, left Britain for India, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and proposed the project of building the first railways. But the East India Company could not pay £15,000,000, so the Home Government offered £1,000 per mile. In order to make the offer profitable for British capitalists, the Directors of the Company guaranteed 4 per cent return on £5,000,000.<sup>91</sup>

The British Government was not that interested about Indian railways. Moreover, the guarantee was raised to 5 per cent, which was hard for the East Indian Railway Company because it could not pay the deposit required. Soon after, that Company and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company undertook the same project in Bombay. The Government wanted to have control over the Company and to have the right to buy the Company after twenty-five years.<sup>92</sup>

In addition to that, the Directors' interest lowered even more than before which led them to reduce both the sum to be guaranteed and the distance to be built. On the other hand, the railway companies competed on which company would finish the project first. The Bombay Company won since the first train ran on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1852, and the first train to Calcutta four months later.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 116.

<sup>90</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Panchayat Raj*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1959, p. 23.

<sup>91</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 422.

<sup>92</sup> Lewis. M. D., op. cit. , p. 9.

<sup>93</sup> Lewis. M. D., op. cit. , p. 10.

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The Directors interest for the railway project increased again and they asked the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie to develop the project. He accepted and introduced three principles which were first, to give priority to the construction of great trunk lines which were mainly for military purposes. Second, private enterprises were to undertake the railway projects. And third, the Government would have to continue its control over the project. As a result, the project was very lucrative as the guarantee of 5 per cent led to the increase of the amount of the investment of £12.000.000 and ten years later, it was increased to £84.000.000 sterling. Such project had also an immediate success among the Indians. The construction of great trunk lines concluded the railways project.<sup>94</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, nearly two thousand seven hundred miles of railways had been built and more than six thousand miles by private enterprises. The total Government loss was of £25.000.000 sterling but the loss was not consequent in comparison to the amount of effort made in order to achieve such project.<sup>95</sup>

The railways project made economic development possible, especially for industrial growth, foreign trade and world markets which became available. There are also a number of advantages that this project brought to India such as economic unification of the country, political consolidation, the breakdown of social barriers of caste and community, the expansion of businesses for both agriculturists and industrialists. The result was that the expansion of the economy and of internal trade relied greatly on the railway system.<sup>96</sup>

During the eighteenth century, India had no large-scale industrial organization. Moreover commerce was in a great disorder mainly due to political anarchy and currency failure. In order to develop furthermore, Indian economy was in need of organization. For such reason, British experts were brought to India from Britain. The development started under the form of partnerships which became later private companies.<sup>97</sup>

The British had a strong desire for developing the industry. However, their resources were not enough to allow them to finance new enterprises. The Managing Agency System

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<sup>94</sup> Lewis. M. D., op. cit.

<sup>95</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 425.

<sup>96</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 152.

<sup>97</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 729.

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was thus introduced. Such system meant that a managing agent would operate an industry as well as manage and invest in others. In addition to that, he would probably hold a lot of shares.<sup>98</sup>

Due to a number of transactions, the British partnerships had thus managed some independent companies which resulted in the development of managerial skill. Such system proved to be economic for the reason that the British managed themselves their companies. There was no necessity to bring foreign experts, and it increased industrial growth greatly. The immediate success of the system which allowed industrial expansion was at first in Calcutta, the Indian capital at the time. Right after that, some wealthy Hindus undertook such system in Bombay. The industries that were under the Managing Agency System were cotton mills, jute companies, and coal mines.<sup>99</sup>

The Managing Agency System is the origin of the success of the British industry in India. Indeed, as soon as a number of Managing Agencies gained a reputation, they undertook other companies which were not theirs. Such system saved Indian industry from bankruptcy ever since they were introduced to India. For example, during the depression of 1930, the Managing Agency System is what saved Indian mills from ruin. A fact well described by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, a great industrialist who said that if it were not for the Managing Agency System, there would be thirty mills in liquidation.<sup>100</sup>

The Managing Agency System acquired good critics and appreciations due to the impressive outcome it reached. For example, Indian imports lowered from 65 per cent to 53 per cent between 1879 and 1907 and the exports increased from 8 per cent to 22 per cent. Indian industry was increasing. In the second decade of the twentieth century, the number of Indian companies went from 1,728 in 1905 to 3,668 in 1919. Plus, regular Indian production such as coal and jute rose, after which the League of Nations recognized India as one of the eight most important industrial states of the world.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 190.

<sup>99</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 272.

<sup>100</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit.

<sup>101</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 274.

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In conclusion, the Managing Agency System raised Indian economy on the international scale, as it became the main British traders' weapon for commercial conquests. The Managing Agency System indeed helped to shape Indian industry yet every industry needs a banking system and insurance. Concerning the banking system, which is necessary for trade, it had always existed in India but it was not successful. First, the rates of interest were too high for what the agriculturists could pay. Second, the system was based on the credit of particular individuals.<sup>102</sup>

Furthermore, the political instability and economic failure worsened the system. Native bankers failed to manage the banks, and British traders needed banks. As a result, they created their own banks under the management of the British Agency Houses in Calcutta. Although the native bankers were not good managers, British traders needed them because of their interest in inland trade. The East India Company was the main source for savings for the Agency Houses. After Calcutta, an Agency House was established also in Bombay in 1720.<sup>103</sup> The Agency House in Bombay failed because the sums were lent on personal bond. No care was taken of the securities pledged. There was a debt of twenty years standing. And the houses mortgaged to the bank had fallen into decay before the account was settled. In 1770, the bank was in great debt so it came to an end in 1778.<sup>104</sup>

Some European banks were established such as the "Bank of Hindustan", the "Bengal Bank" and the "General bank". Then the presidency banks among which were the "Bank of Bengal", this bank was primarily founded for businessmen in Calcutta. All these banks were managed by the Agency Houses. The major activity of these banks was foreign exchange. On the other hand, in 1835, there was the monetary unification which weakened the banks.<sup>105</sup> After the loss of such important business as money changing, joint stock in India saw a great development. Nevertheless, the fact that there was no control and mismanagement led to the failure of the banks. As long as the most fundamental standards for managing a bank could not exist in India, all Indian joint stock banks, that were under either British or Indian management, had no chance to succeed. In sum, the banking system did not develop at all.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 459.

<sup>103</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>104</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 802.

<sup>105</sup> Griffiths. P., *Modern India*, op. cit. , p. 62.

<sup>106</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 461.

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For the reason that all attempts for establishing banks in India failed, the United Kingdom banks made an attempt to establish the chain of Empire banks, since overseas investment was increasing. The East India Company opposed such attempt fearing to lose its profits on the previous expenses, and the Agency Houses opposed the attempt along with the Company. Finally, the bank that was called the “West Indian Bank” was transferred to the United Kingdom under the name of the “Oriental Bank” in 1845. Such transfer occurred under a Charter from the Home Government, not from the East India Company, a fact that let the Company contest the bank’s legality.<sup>107</sup>

The only banks that could survive in India were the British ones because the natives were unable to manage and develop them. The United Kingdom’s intervention in India’s banking system saved the situation because the Agency Houses were more interested in trade than in banking. Moreover, after the United Kingdom undertook Indian banking, the system was under good control and development. Such undertaking proved how British influence was efficient in banking management especially in economic activity in India.<sup>108</sup>

In the middle of the nineteenth century, laissez-faire ideas emerged strongly in Britain. Laissez-faire is a political and an economic doctrine which says that an economic system works better when the government does not interfere in it.<sup>109</sup> Such doctrine helped the textile industries improve. The fact that the East India Company did no longer exist, helped also the laissez-faire doctrine develop. Manufacturers in Britain became more and more interested in the Indian textile industries. They were interested in influencing the Indian policy, improvement of communications and develop trade as much as possible.<sup>110</sup> Such trade was chiefly about exports of Indian raw materials and imports of foreign manufactured goods.<sup>111</sup> The Government was asked to intervene in trade by the Famine Commission of 1880 only as a protection against famine by introducing scientific methods of production and to guide and educate private trade. In sum, help develop new industries with technical advice and information. In addition to that, the Government was encouraged to buy from India and not

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<sup>107</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 52.

<sup>108</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 462.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Laissez-faire’, *the Columbia encyclopaedia*, sixth edition, Columbia university press, new York, 2009.

<sup>110</sup> Kenneth Rivett, ‘The Economic Thought of Mahatma Gandhi’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-15, March 1959, p. 9.

<sup>111</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 100.



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from Europe. The Government was expected not to push its involvement any further mainly for the laissez-faire principle.<sup>112</sup>

The Government did not accomplish much. By the end of the nineteenth century, some achievements started, for example great businesses with subsidiary factories which were highly successful. In addition, there was the manufacture of home leather and pump irrigation which were developed too. In 1905, an Imperial Department of Commerce and Industry was established due to the importance of improvement of trade.<sup>113</sup>

The Europeans that were settled in Madras opposed that small interference from the Government in trade. However, the Government made it clear that its involvement would not do much than invest state fund in order to improve methods of production.<sup>114</sup> Also, private enterprises would have to undertake the responsibility to prove that such improvements can develop trade.<sup>115</sup>

Actually, Indian trade was not improved. By the time the Government made its decision about developing commerce, the First World War had broken up and all hopes for such modernization faded. First, there were political and economic factors that prevented such innovation. Second, patriotism did nothing else than completely break down Indian trade. Although Indian trade saw a great failure, the European one only became stronger. Moreover, the Indians admitted their inability to develop trade without the Government involvement. In spite of the fact that the Government had already stopped interfering, the Indian traders claimed their need for state assistance.<sup>116</sup>

By the end of the First World War, it became clear that trade needed state involvement. It was not only assistance but also a boost that Indian trade was in need of. Indeed, a system of technical, financial and administrative assistance had to be created. Furthermore, all traders, Indians and Europeans, agreed upon the Government's decision. The laissez-faire doctrine was no longer applied. From that time on, only trade development was the major concern of the Government.<sup>117</sup>

One of the main reasons for which the laissez-faire doctrine did not work in India was because Indian traders had no skills and not enough fund to support trade in such a vast

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<sup>112</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 53.

<sup>113</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 54.

<sup>114</sup> Rivett. Kenneth, op. cit. , p. 9.

<sup>115</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 60.

<sup>116</sup> Lewis. M. D., op. cit. , p. 59.

<sup>117</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 720.

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country. Such doctrine could have worked only where capitalism already existed. Although there were some rich men in Bombay in the nineteenth century, these men had no commercial knowledge, experience or technique which would have led to economic inactivity and poverty.<sup>118</sup>

Along with the involvement of the Government in Indian trade, imports have a significant importance. The Indian mills were able to manufacture fine yarn and cloth which helped them sell cheaply British imports. The British textile manufacturers were aware of such fact. Soon after this, the appearance of new mills was also considered as a threat to British manufacturers. The import duty on coarse cotton goods that was abolished was voted against by the Viceroy's Executive Council.<sup>119</sup>

From 1882 to 1894, Britain had no export duties to pay except for the export duty on rice. After that, because of the increase of expenses and the value of the rupee that dropped a re-imposition, on the import duties, was proposed. However cloth goods were still exported duty free but not for long. Increased budgetary difficulties led the Secretary of State to impose a 5 per cent on cotton piece-goods and yarn.<sup>120</sup>

Nothing seemed to satisfy British manufacturers. According to them, Indian goods made from Indian yarn could sell British goods cheaply while paying a 5 per cent import duty. British businessmen in India disagreed about the fact that there was a competition between British and Indian coarse cotton goods. Furthermore, they drew attention to the fact that India's power looms were of a total of one sixtieth of the world's supply. British manufacturers' persistent disagreement led to a decrease on import duty on cotton piece goods to 30 per cent. The same was applied on Indian mill woven cloth, coarse or fine. The import duties on cotton yarn were removed.<sup>121</sup>

### Conclusion

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<sup>118</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 61.

<sup>119</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 61.

<sup>120</sup> Lewis. M. D., op. cit. , p. 33.

<sup>121</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 467.

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During the years that followed, which were during the second half of the nineteenth century, Indian cotton mills produced more and more. The exports of cotton manufacture had largely increased. The disagreements that happened because of export duties between British manufacturers and British businessmen in India had very minor effect on Indian production of cotton manufacture.<sup>122</sup>

It might seem like the British had emptied Indian capital. However, after the transfer of power from the East India Company to the Crown, the British Government did everything possible to reduce taxation, and to improve Indian economy. Modernization was the British main concern.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>123</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Reaction of the Indian Society: Emergence of Indian Nationalism**

# CHAPTER TWO: REACTION OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY: EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

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## CHAPTER TWO

### Reaction of the Indian Society: Emergence of Indian Nationalism

#### Introduction

The British presence in India was mainly for economic purposes. However, such fact did not prevent the British from bringing into the Indian civilization some changes. These changes concerned most fields among which were politics, education, religion and society. Each field mingled with the other, that is to say, the reforms that occurred in the field of education had an effect on the political field. Indeed, the fact that the British had introduced education in English resulted in the emergence of an Indian educated elite.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the fact that before the British, there were large numbers of only hostile and separate states, the British presence quickly changed all differences that existed before. Certainly, the Indian communities were bound by harsh traditions, especially religious ones. Nevertheless, the British reformed them successfully. The first step that the British took was the imposition of a uniform system of law and administration. Then the second step was the decision taken in 1835 which was about providing only English education.<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, the changes brought by the British faced a great obstacle. The big differences encountered throughout India were the major obstacle that the reforms faced, that is to say that India is not a country where there is only one population, only one language, and only one religion. Before the British arrival, there were not just “the Indians” but there were the Bengalis, the Madrasis and the Punjabis and so on, which meant different races. Also, there were one hundred and seventy nine different languages throughout the country. There were different religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and Islam.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D. Mackenzie Brown, *The White Umbrella: Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1959, pp. 81-82.

<sup>2</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 119.

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In addition to the caste system, which consisted of five different social classes that were the Brahmans (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (farmers and tradesmen), Shudras (serfs and menials), and the last group which were the Dalit, also known as 'untouchables', are the lowest caste.<sup>4</sup> As a conclusion, the British reforms would face obstacles. However, they would also make a huge difference in India.<sup>5</sup>

British rule had an influence on the Indian community. The Indians desired to have their own common government. The reforms brought by the British became the factors for such new desire. Such factors were the introduction of English education, the development of communications, local self-governing institutions, early steps towards a small measure of self-government and the foundation of the Congress Party. Then they began to dislike foreign rule, which proved efficient enough for the birth of a bond between the races and the castes.<sup>6</sup>

The new sense of unity that began to emerge among the Indians was in fact nationality. The Indian leaders who were on the political scene during British rule encouraged more than anything else the idea of nationality. Such encouragement was intended to make the Indians express nationalism that is to say to be able to identify themselves as Indian patriots. Also, the aim was to make them become people who share a common history, religion, and language thus forming a national identity.<sup>7</sup> Although in the beginnings, it was only the educated classes who knew the concept of nationality. The rest of the Indians were aware of the existence of a desire for independence and a new unity.<sup>8</sup>

The introduction of English education rather than vernacular education was for some British administrators evident that it would increase consciousness among the Indians. For example, in 1818, Lord Hastings, states that there would be a time in which Britain will remove the authority it had over India. Certainly it would be a matter of time and an unwilling decision, but the rise of the Indian consciousness as a result of English education was

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<sup>4</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit. , p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Rajiv Gandhi, 'India's Democratic Experience', *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 9, No. 6, July/August 1987, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Village Swaraj*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1962, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> "Nationalism", *The Columbia Encyclopaedia*, Sixth Edition, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004

<sup>8</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 120.

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expected by Lord Hastings and some civil officials such as Sir Thomas Munro, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Charles Metcalfe and Sir John Malcolm.<sup>9</sup>

These civil officials shared the liberal principles of Lord Hastings. For instance, Elphinstone insisted on the fact that Britain should educate and prepare the Indians for self-government. It is for Britain's best interest to leave India populated with civilized people rather than leave the country in its actual state. The best interest of Britain is mainly in the economy and all the changes that happened so far in the various fields.<sup>10</sup>

Although such fact as bringing English education in India meant that the British would eventually be returning to Britain, the process was still in course. British administrators and tradesmen were all well aware of such transition, even though they did not agree about it. However, India was to continue to be controlled by the British, who would still consider it as a permanent possession. When the Indians would become civilized as Britain expects them to, Britain would remove step by step its rule over India.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of the fact that these four officials were totally conscious of the consequence behind such change, the rest of the British administrators disagreed completely with them. Nevertheless, whatever what opinion the British officials had, the idea that Britain would leave India in the future was certain. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, liberal administrators, missionaries and Members of Parliament felt the need for developing education. For example, in Bengal, schools were founded. In 1813, the Company's new charter provided one lakh of rupees annually. Thus English education started but there was a mixture between education in vernacular and in English. Vernacular education was mainly to bring interest among the Indians, after which education in English would be the main one.<sup>12</sup>

Indian culture faced the threat of disappearance, because vernacular education was not available. In addition to that, the introduction of English education resulted in the fact that Western thought began to emerge among Indians. They were starting to acquire knowledge in science, history and politics. However, such result was not that obvious even though the signs

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<sup>9</sup> Hemen Ray, 'Changing Soviet Views on Mahatma Gandhi', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 85-106, November 1969, p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> D. Brown. M., op. cit. , p. 105.

<sup>12</sup> Glyn Richards, *The Philosophy of Gandhi: a Study of his Basic Ideas*, Curzon Press Ltd., Surrey, 1991, p. 106.

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of national consciousness began to emerge. One of the signs was the memorial in 1823 that was drafted by Ram Mohan Roy, who also founded two of the four existing newspapers and he is considered as being the father of the Indian Press.<sup>13</sup>

### 2.1. Reaction of the Indian Society

Due to the Western thought, religion was itself reconsidered. Such fact explains how English education not only awakened the Indians politically but also made them re-examine their traditional practices especially the religious ones. As a consequence, the reaction differed from one Indian to the other. For example, some turned their back to Hinduism while others did not.<sup>14</sup>

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the father of the Indian Press, had worked for the East India Company for twenty years, after which he retired. The fact that when he was a boy, he was present at the 'sati'<sup>15</sup> of his sister-in-law, led Ram Mohan to reconsider the true principles of Hinduism. When he retired, he had learned Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, English, as well as Hebrew and Greek in order to study the bible. In 1828, he built a 'Brahma Sabha' temple in Calcutta and declared by its Trust Deed to be '*for the worship and adoration of the eternal unsearchable and immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe*'.<sup>16</sup>

In 1846, Debendranath Tagore founded the 'Brahmo Samaj', which can be described as a little more formal as well as organized continuation of the 'Brahma Sabha'. The 'Samaj' split but during the nineteenth century, it provided the most vital element in progressive Indian thought. Its synthesis of two religions helped the Indians to learn Western thought without being detached from their Hindu traditions. Consequently, there was a combination between true Indian nationalism and Western thought.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 86.

<sup>14</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p.133.

<sup>15</sup> 'Sati' is a practice that means devotion, in which the wife throws her-self on the body of her deceased husband while being immolated. Belmekki. B., op. cit., p. 181.

<sup>16</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> Harold Coward, *Indian Critiques of Gandhi (Suny Series in Religious Studies)*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2003, p. 108.



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In spite of the fact that Ram Mohan along with others worked on aligning learning of Western thought and of Hinduism, there was the danger that some Indians could either totally reject Hinduism and embrace Christianity. A fact that would lead them to be separated from the rest of the population, and as a result they would play no part in a national movement. Or they would have cut themselves off from the Western thought and the result would be the same because it is due to the Western thought that Indian minds were awoken. The ‘Brahmo Samaj’ was indeed the first great spiritual result of the Western thought. It was based in Calcutta, Bengal, which in the middle of the nineteenth century was the Indian intellectual leader.<sup>18</sup>

Educational institutions began to be founded by missionaries and philanthropists, from which, debating societies resulted. For example, in Calcutta, there was the Academic Association, the Athenaeum, and the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge. Such new education was only for the high-caste, the rest of the population had no access to it. In addition to that, it was useless because the discussions were mainly about religious and social reforms. As a result, the new area of debate was in politics.<sup>19</sup>

Through English education, an interest began to grow in the Indian minds about Western ideas. There was an inspiration from English literature and also the growing European philosophy of democracy. These would deeply influence the Indian minds. The Indian political consciousness was emerging. It was in the middle of the nineteenth century that in Bengal, the political associations started developing.<sup>20</sup>

In 1837, the “Bengal Zamindari Association”, which was later known as the “Bengal Landholders’ Society”, was founded to protect the cultivators. In that same year, in London, the “British India Society” was also founded. Its goal was to create an interest in the conditions of India and in the graphical language of the founders who were English.<sup>21</sup>

One of the founders of the “British India Society” was George Thompson. He went to Calcutta in 1842 and in 1843 he founded the “Bengal British Association”. Its purpose was

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<sup>18</sup> D. Brown. M., op. cit. , p. 82.

<sup>19</sup> D. Brown. M., op. cit. , pp. 83-84.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Weber, *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Weber, *Ibid.*, p. 109.

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the prosperity and wellbeing of the Indians by peaceful means and on the basis of complete loyalty to the British Crown. Both societies had English and Indian members but in 1851, both societies were combined into only one named the British Indian Association in which most the members were Indians.<sup>22</sup>

In 1853, there was the idea of renewal of the East India Company's charter. Such fact represented a threat for the Indians who knew that it would exclude them from high posts in the government. As a result in 1852, the principal Hindus, Parsis, Muhammadans, Portuguese and Jews of Bombay met for the formation of an association in which the demands of the Indians and the development of the wellbeing of their country would be considered. Such measures were to be represented to the authorities in India and in Britain.<sup>23</sup>

Dadabhai Naoroji who was also known as 'the grand old man' spoke in that meeting about the meaning of such Association saying that its goal was the liberty and prosperity which were rare in India. In this meeting, it was also discussed about how the Indians were subjects to the British Government. British officers who came to India did not understand the needs or customs of the country and its people, even after they had a very long stay and experience. Their intentions might be good however they only harmed the Indians.<sup>24</sup>

Consequently, the Indians had only one solution which was to complain about such treatment, which would be done by the media of the Press. And even if such means turns out to be unsuccessful, other measures will be considered so that the wellbeing of the Indians will exist and be simultaneous with a good agreement between both governments, Indian and British.<sup>25</sup>

Mr. Jagannath Sunkersett was the chairman in this meeting. He spoke about the fact that neither this association nor its members opposed the British Government. Their only claim was about the welfare of the country and its population. They knew that the British Government had the power to make their claim possible. However the British Government was unaware of what the Indians really needed. The aim of such association was to inform the

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<sup>22</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 73.

<sup>24</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British Impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 256.

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British Government and to belong to one of its already existing official sources of information.<sup>26</sup>

Such complaints were submitted to the British Government under the form of a petition. The first petition was submitted only a few months after the foundation of the “British Indian Association”. The following year, another petition was submitted. The petitions contained all what the Indians had suffered from since British rule started. These petitions did not see any success. What the members of the “British India Association” expected did not happen.<sup>27</sup>

In this petition, they honestly criticized the existing constitution of India. Their claims were about a responsible, more efficient and acceptable government. They acknowledged all the improvements made by British rule. However the good was much less than the worst that was done to the country. They disagreed about the dual authority which was held by both the Court of Directors and the Board of Control.<sup>28</sup>

They complained about the overly expensive administration and the tyranny of many officials. They insisted on the fact that the European local officers supervised districts that were too large for only one officer. Also, the doings of the Government were always kept secret and they ignored the young servants of the government. The Association insisted on the matter of the future generations and protested against the highly paid officers who do not have such big labor which would necessitate their high salaries.<sup>29</sup>

They demanded to be included in the government. They refused to be described as untrustworthy and irresponsible. They also refused the segregation that resulted from the caste system that denied mixture between different castes. They demanded to be included in the Governor- General's Council of judges in the Supreme Court. They urged that the Executive Government should include some persons trained and experienced in public offices of England who can bring to the consideration of public affairs a more extended knowledge.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 702.

<sup>27</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 715.

<sup>28</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 760.

<sup>29</sup> Lewis. M. D., op. cit. , p. 27.

<sup>30</sup> D. Brown. M., op. cit. , p. 90.

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Such demands can be explained by the fact that the members of the association wrote this petition thinking that the British people in Britain are moderate and generous than the British who were in India. They also affirmed how their interests are bond up with those of Britain. They made the mistake of thinking that Britain could be trusted to act according to their expectations. They thought that Britain would have an answer to their petition and a solution.<sup>31</sup>

This association was founded some years before the outbreak of the Great Revolt of 1857. The British Indian Association disapproved of the Great Revolt and declared that the population would not support such uprising. The Muhammadan Association of Calcutta had the same reaction. Dadabhai Naoroji explained the Great Revolt as the result of the mismanagements of the British authorities. He explained too that the Indians did not take part in it and were ready to support the British to fight against the rebels. Although the Great Revolt was considered by both British and Indian authorities as being a 'nationalist' movement, it was only a countrywide uprising that can be considered as a boost for nationalism.<sup>32</sup>

Due to the Great Revolt, the relations between the Indians and the British had become bad. There was suspicion and no normal discussions afterwards. The only means that the Indians could rely on to communicate with the British were their political organizations. In addition to that, the transfer of power had just occurred in 1858. The Crown had accused the East India Company of misrule and thus the Company was dissolved. After the transfer, the Proclamation was issued by Queen Victoria, which gave back to the Indians their rights and obliged the British to do only what they were in India for. No oppression of any kind would be allowed.<sup>33</sup>

Although the Proclamation was issued, it took considerable time for the British to apply it which led the Indians to be skeptical about it. However the men who were to be part of the great movement of national liberation saw only hope in the Proclamation. As stated by Queen Victoria:

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<sup>31</sup> Lewis. M. D., op. cit. , p. 27.

<sup>32</sup> D. Brown. M., op. cit. , p. 110.

<sup>33</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 124.

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*It is our further will, that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our services, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.*<sup>34</sup>

By the end of nineteenth century, the Indians started to visit Britain for business or education. In 1855, Dadabhai Naoroji went to Britain. He was from Bombay. He was one of the very first to travel from India to Britain. He joined the first Indian business firm established in London. He later became a Member of Parliament. In spite of the reaction that was given to the petitions issued by the British Indian Association, his first visit convinced him that Britain could be trustworthy into improving India in the very best ways.<sup>35</sup>

Dadabhai Naoroji had stayed in London for three years. Such stay completely changed him. Once he returned to India, his mind was enriched. He became aware of the social, political and economic difference that was between Britain and India. He now viewed London as the ideal place to learn about political theory, the working of democratic institutions, and the parliamentary system of government, the study of international commerce, banking and currency.<sup>36</sup>

The East India Association had just been founded in London. Dadabhai seized it as a chance to talk to the British of the highly unsatisfied educated Indians. The most important point was the exclusion from high services. When he returned to India in 1869, he declared the achievement of an Indian parliament as the next goal of all the patriotic Indians. Such declaration was made sixteen years before the foundation of the Indian National Congress.<sup>37</sup>

The Indians from Calcutta went also to Britain. Some went for higher education, others to study law, and from 1868 some sat for the Indian Civil Service. Such endeavour was extremely disapproved by the rest of the Indians. Even among Indians of the same caste. In this case it happened to be the 'Brahmans' which is the highest caste. It was in 1871, that the

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<sup>34</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 260.

<sup>35</sup> Kate L. Mitchell, *India Without Fable: A 1942 survey*, A. A. Knopf, New York, 1942, p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> Bhikhu Parekh, *Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination*, University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 1989, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 53.

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first three Indians who went to Britain were Surendranath Banerjea, Romesh Chunder Dutt and Behani Lal Gupta.<sup>38</sup>

The Hindu society was very much opposed to such improvements. They refused the fact that the educated elite had the chance to go to Britain in order to receive proper education in the various fields that are needed to help develop their country. These three men were not welcome once back in their country. They were only welcome inside their families which opened the homes for them. The rest of the society disapproved and described such travels as a transgression.<sup>39</sup>

Usually, when a transgression happens, the transgressor is sanctioned. In this case, it is the whole family that was sanctioned. The family was banned from the rest of the society. The rest of the Indians refused to share anything with them. Beside the transgression, the rejection of the family was also partly due to the recent success of their son, Surendranath Banerjea. Indeed, he had just received British education in London, which was not available to every Indian even in India.<sup>40</sup>

Unlike these men who had received British education and especially in politics, the rest of the Indians who did not receive such education had no interest in politics. As a result, in 1875, Surendranath Banerjea along with Ananda Mohan Bose, who also went to London for higher education, organized a students' association in which they gave lectures about "Indian Unity", "Higher Education" and "The Life of Mazzini".<sup>41</sup> His doctrines had deeply impressed the educated elite, at such point that they relied on them to teach about politics and nationalist movements.<sup>42</sup>

The British Indian Association did not possess the necessary dynamics and popularity that was then needed for nationalist movements. The Indian League which was another organization that had just been founded in 1876, but it was still not enough. The aims of the new organization were first, the creation of a strong body of public opinion, second, the

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<sup>38</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 147.

<sup>39</sup> O'Hanlon. R., op. cit. , p. 125.

<sup>40</sup> Parekh. B., op. cit. , p. 145.

<sup>41</sup> Mazzini is an Italian nationalist whose writings spurred the movement for a unified and independent Italy (1805-1872). Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 262.

<sup>42</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 58.

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unification of the Indian people on the basis of common political aspirations and third, the promotion of friendly feelings between the Hindus and the Muslims.<sup>43</sup>

After its creation in 1877, the “Indian Association” had its first action, which was to oppose the reduction of age limit for the open contest for the Indian Civil Service from twenty-one to nineteen years in 1879. Surendranath Banerjea was its principle organizer. He pointed out that its aim was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India. He also had to travel throughout India to spread his message. Such tour was successful in awakening the Indian opinion not only about the civil services but also in establishing Bengal as the leading province of political India.<sup>44</sup>

All activities in which the members of the “Indian Association” were involved provided them with some experience in political technique. The Vernacular Press and the Arms Act helped the Indian Association as well as other bodies of the same kind to gain more public support and strengthen the new habit of holding meetings and demonstrations.<sup>45</sup> In 1883, Surendranath Banerjea was imprisoned because he disagreed about the fact that a certain British High Court Judge had claimed for a stone idol for identification. After his release, large masses demonstrated and this was the symbol for accession to the political movement of new classes of supporters.<sup>46</sup>

Now onwards, there would be a more effective national organization. Such organization would call not just the English-educated but also the aristocracy and the rest of the Indian population. The Indian history was about to witness a new epoch with the official creation of the Indian National Congress.<sup>47</sup> The first members of the Indian National Congress were few. They could not influence the Indians on the nationalist thought. However, they had the Press which was the main media through which Western ideas of freedom and democracy

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<sup>43</sup> O’Hanlon. R., op. cit. , p. 170.

<sup>44</sup> W. H. Roberts, ‘A Review of the Gandhi Movement in India’, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 2, June 1923, pp. 227-248.

<sup>45</sup> S. N. Bhattacharyya, ‘Mahatma Gandhi: The Journalist’, *Indian Literature*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 91-95, April-June 1966, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Lloyd I. Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home*, Oxford University Press Ltd., London, 2006, p. 151.

<sup>47</sup> Griffiths. P., *Modern India*, op. cit. , p. 48.

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could be spread. This was considered as one of the major British contribution, which was mainly by non-officials and to which the British Government was opposed.<sup>48</sup>

The background of the Press in India goes back to the Mughal Empire. The chief reporter called 'waqia navis' was in all the greatest cities with the mission of making reports for the emperor on all local happenings and what was talked about. Unlike the Press known nowadays, this one was totally private. Moreover, the reporters were hired by more than one noble. The reports sometimes fell between soldiers' hands. Such activity was unknown to the rest of the Indians until the end of the eighteenth century when the idea was brought with British rule.<sup>49</sup>

The same was happening in Britain where there were no reports for the public ear. There was no discussion out of the Parliament. Indeed, the circulation of information was strictly forbidden and the sanction was imprisonment if ever some information was divulged. The British Government feared that some kind of rebellion would rise because of public disagreement with what would have been decided inside the Parliament. As a matter of fact, the beginning of circulation of newspapers in India was considered as useless and dangerous by the East India Company.<sup>50</sup>

The opinion of the East India Company towards the Press was due to three main causes. First, the Company's position in India was not secure until the end of the eighteenth century. Up till that time, the British newspapers reported mainly on military affairs. The only support that the Company had was the one of the Indian army. It was feared that criticism may shake the loyalty and the confidence of the army.<sup>51</sup>

Second, the British administration was authoritarian. The large amount of power that the British had over huge areas and large numbers of men made them overconfident so much as they thought they were exempt from errors. Such feeling made them fear criticism which might weaken their confidence. The self confidence along with integrity of any District Officer helped develop in them the feeling of a false certainty of being always right. The

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<sup>48</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 154.

<sup>49</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British Impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 264.

<sup>50</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 78.

<sup>51</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 83.



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consequence of such feeling leads to qualify the critics as being ignorant and unable to rightly judge and so cannot be allowed to critic.<sup>52</sup>

The third cause would be the British who did not belong to the Company's servants and were inside India. They took a license in order to reside in India. The East India Company considered them as intruders and accepted their presence in India as long as they represented no trouble for the Company according to which they had not the right to criticize it. However they were themselves the founders of the Indian Press. They had to fight for the freedom of the Indian Press.<sup>53</sup>

In 1780, James Hicky founded '*The Bengal Gazette*'. In order to secure the newspaper, he received an approval, because the first attempt of founding a newspaper was prevented by deporting the responsible of the foundation. The newspaper was mainly a political and commercial paper. Its insults were directed to the missionaries, officials, the Chief Justice, the Governor-General and his wife. It had received only one sanction which was not to circulate by post. In 1782, a missionary and the Governor-General complained against the paper. This time, James Hicky was imprisoned and his paper stopped.<sup>54</sup>

Between 1780 and 1785, five other newspapers were established in Calcutta, among which '*The Calcutta Gazette*' was officially authorized since it published the orders of the Governor-General in Council. There was no official law to control the liberty of the Press. However the threat of deportation was another means to control its liberty. From 1785, '*The Madras Courier*' was also an official paper which published the orders of the Madras Government. It consisted of four pages. One page was dedicated to Indian news and letters to the editor. And two pages were extracts from the British press in Britain. Every newspaper in India also contained the same extracts.<sup>55</sup>

In 1789, '*The Bombay Gazette*' appeared. After two years from its appearance, it had published some critics about the local police administration. After that publication, the paper was submitted to control. It became the official publisher of the Bombay Government's

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<sup>52</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 152.

<sup>53</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 699.

<sup>54</sup> Prayer. M., op. cit. , p. 46.

<sup>55</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 594.

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orders. The Indian newspapers at that time included parliamentary reports, editorials on subjects of interest and on events in Britain or the army, or the reported plans of Indian rulers. There were also newsletters and reports from Paris, Stockholm, Vienna, Madrid, China and Rio de Janeiro. As well as letters to the editor, Government orders, personal news, Poets corner, advertisements, and fashion notes. Such elements showed that the Indian press was on the right way for development. However it looked like a paper destined for the British people more than for the Indians.<sup>56</sup>

All editors, in all India, always faced the fear of deportation. Censorship too was harsher than it has even been. The main cause behind such severe measures was the publication in '*The Asiatic Mirror*' of the weakness of the Governor-General, of that present time, who was Wellesley, while he was in his campaign against Tipu Sultan. Wellesley was rather authoritarian in nature. Such feature led him to issue a regulation preventing the publication of all observation on the state of public credit or the revenues or the finances of the Company along with all observations with respect to the conduct of the Government or any of its officers, civil or military, commercial or judicial.<sup>57</sup>

After that, Wellesley came to consider that a Government newspaper should be started, which would stop the private press from existing. In 1813, Lord Hastings was his successor. Unlike Wellesley, in 1818, he abolished the regulation, but kept the censorship. His principal officials and the Court of Directors were opposed to such decision. On the other hand, his decision was based on the fact that he realized that the regulation was an abuse of power of the Governor-General in Council.<sup>58</sup>

Instead of being too severe with the editors, Hastings asked them not to publish harsh criticism or show their disapproval on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, and essays on political transactions of the local administrations. Such commands were not legal, but the threat of deportation still existed. The result was that the editors had to

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<sup>56</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 525.

<sup>58</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 597.

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have only objective publications. By the means of these new measures, the freedom of the press increased very much.<sup>59</sup>

Some British officials opposed the decision and refused to let the decision be signed, but the Chief Justice signed it. James Silk Buckingham was the new editor of '*The Calcutta Journal*'. He was one of the many who were opposed to the free Press, and one of the many who wanted to dissolve the Company's monopoly. He mentioned his opposition to the extension of term of the Governor of Madras. He was told to be cautious about his violation of moral, and that his action would lead him to be also deported. He answered such warning by insulting the Regulation of 1818. According to him, the Regulation could not have been applied because it was illegal. Moreover, as it had not been signed by the Supreme Court, it had no value.<sup>60</sup>

In 1823, Adam was appointed Governor-General, right after that, he deported Buckingham. Adam was opposed to the policy of Lord Hastings. The Governor-General Adam objected the privilege of the editor to criticize the acts of the Government. According to him, the freedom of the Press was nothing but a means to weaken the authority of the Government which he qualified of shameful.<sup>61</sup>

The system continued to exist for ten years. In 1835, the new Governor-General Sir Charles Metcalfe cancelled the system. According to Metcalfe, If India was to be part of the British Empire. Its inhabitants should not ignore what happened inside their country as well as outside it. Although the British Government disapproved with Metcalfe, they did nothing about it. As a consequence, the freedom of the Press existed and was accepted.<sup>62</sup> The fight for the freedom of the Press was assumed by the British editors not by the Indian ones. By the middle of the nineteenth century, there was improvement. In 1838, '*The Bombay Times*' was founded to become later on '*The Times of India*'. In the second half of the nineteenth century, '*The Times of India*', '*The Statesman*', '*The Pioneer*', and '*The Civil and Military Gazette*' had very much developed, and they had limited influence on European and Indian thought. Their role was more concentrated on the political education of the Indian middle classes.

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<sup>59</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 269.

<sup>60</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 151.

<sup>61</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 552.

<sup>62</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 614.

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There were some English papers that were owned by Indians, for example, '*The Hindu*' in Madras and '*The Leader of Allahabad*'. Both papers functioned with integrity and respect.<sup>63</sup>

The Baptist missionaries of Serampur in Bengal had started the first vernacular newspapers. These papers were religious pamphlets in different languages. They contained no critics about political activities. Their focus was mainly on comments on Hindu and Muslim beliefs and practices. They obtained from Lord Hastings an authorization to publish a Bengali weekly magazine named '*The Samachar Darpan*'. This paper was used by the Government to publish official orders in Bengali.<sup>64</sup>

In 1821, the missionaries published mostly their disagreements with Indian religions. Such fact led Raja Ram Mohan Roy to establish '*The Sambad Kaumudi*' in which he disagreed with the missionaries. After that, two Persian papers appeared, and the first Gujarati paper appeared in Bombay '*The Bombay Samachar*'. After that, a Hindi paper appeared in Calcutta and financially failed because there were few readers of Hindi in Calcutta.<sup>65</sup>

The Governor-General Lord Bentinck prohibited the practice of 'sati'. Ram Mohan Roy was also campaigning against it, and it became the subject that the Press talked the most about. In 1839, there were nine papers in Calcutta and four in Bombay. In the aftermath of the Great Revolt of 1857, English newspaper in India claimed for vengeance, whereas Indian journals accused the British of dishonesty and treason.<sup>66</sup> A high interest in politics emerged within the Indian press right after the Great Revolt. In 1868, '*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*', a newspaper was created mainly to support the nationalist movement. By 1873, there were thirty-eight papers in Bengal owned by Indians and the majority was in Bengali. Soon after, there were sixty-two Indian language papers in the Bombay Presidency, and nineteen in Madras.<sup>67</sup>

The Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878 by Lord Lytton after the assassination of

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<sup>63</sup> Sukumar, Muralidharan, 'Religion, Nationalism and the State: Gandhi and India's Engagement with Political Modernity', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 34, No. 3/ 4, March/April 2006, p. 12.

<sup>64</sup> Prayer. M., op. cit.

<sup>65</sup> Gandhi. R., op. cit.

<sup>66</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 271.

<sup>67</sup> Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 722.

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Lord Mayo, because some vernacular journals became too provocative and the Act was the means through which Lord Lytton would arrange the situation. After that, '*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*' was immediately issued in English rather than in vernacular. And *The Hindu* was now onwards considered as the best paper in India. The Act was annulled by Lord Ripon.<sup>68</sup>

By the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, India was ready for a political development. Although the Indians fully acknowledged all the improvements that Britain had achieved in India, they noticed how slow the political progress was. The relations between the British and the Indians were declining. In the beginning, the British and the Indians had good relations, but the acquisition of power and the difference between the ruler and the ruled changed the relations to a great degree.<sup>69</sup>

The change was mainly the consequence of the Great Revolt of 1857. The great Indian Muslim leader Sir Sayyid Ahmad explained that the Government had not much contact with the people, which was the main cause of the Great Revolt. According to him, the Government should first know what the people think of the laws it passes before making them official and legal. Then again, the misunderstanding between the Government and the people, because the Government's intentions were good however they never communicated with the people, which made the people feel disliked while they were in favour of British rule in India.<sup>70</sup>

Such change was also predictable. After the Great Revolt, there was bitterness, hatred and suspicion. These feelings were reciprocated by both British and Indians. It was due to the Proclamation issued by Queen Victoria in 1858 that the atmosphere regained some peace. The Queen used good language in order to calm the tension, for example, she promised that all British subjects, of whatever race or creed, should be freely admitted to the public services; she recognized Britain's obligation to India; and she declared that: 'their prosperity will be our strength, and their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward'. The Proclamation resulted in a new relation between the British and the Indians. However the British minds were filled with bitterness and suspicion.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> K. M. Panibar, *The Foundations of New India*, Georges Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1963, p. 228.

<sup>69</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 273.

<sup>70</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 274.

<sup>71</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 274.

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There was also the fact that the British would always see the Indians as inferior to them, even if they would have reached a high level in their education. But there were some exceptions like Allan Octavian Hume who was an Indian civil servant and George Yule who was a British businessman. These two men are the founders of the Indian National Congress. Relations between the Indians and the British were not good and the new thing that had appeared in India did not improve the situation. Indeed, Englishwomen were coming to India either to marry or to live in the country.<sup>72</sup> The new coming of Englishwomen worsened the relations. Whether an official or a businessman, they became dependent of the new habits that developed with the coming of the women. English colonies were established wherever needed. The racial prejudice had also increased because of the new presence of women. Then again, their presence was not that much of a problem. In fact, these women devoted themselves for organizing good activities. Such activities were perhaps good for the English men, but they made them stay apart from the Indian society which increased the loss of communication.<sup>73</sup>

Another fact caused the growth of racial feelings towards the Indians. They were not allowed to superior judicial posts. In 1883, the Ilbert Bill was introduced by Lord Ripon so that the admission of the Indians becomes possible. British officials and lawyers reacted violently to the bill. They asked the Governor-General to compromise with a trial and a jury which half members were to be either Europeans or Americans.<sup>74</sup>

The consequence of the introduction of the bill led to the increase of racism towards the Indians. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt an Englishman who visited India in 1883 wrote about the relation between the British and the Indians. The change was fast and real. Hotels did not receive natives and railways carriages were not shared with them. The British behavior towards the Indians was of disrespect and dislike, and such behaviour was everywhere in India.<sup>75</sup>

Intolerance, arrogance and even physical attacks were the new British attitude. Such attitude appeared mainly in post-revolt era. The most important fact about this change of

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<sup>72</sup> Bose. A., op. cit.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 275.

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attitude is that it was chiefly directed towards the educated Indians, the peasants did not suffer from it, and the reason was that the British were in fact fearful of the educated Indians because they were politically conscious. They represented a threat to them. However the peasant who had not received any education and had no idea about politics was a simple Indian and was not subject to the new behaviour. Moreover, the change of attitude was not the only change since its appearance contributed to the growth of nationalism.<sup>76</sup>

The attitude of the British also contributed to the fact that they did not admit the political awakening of India because they were convinced that their superiority was stronger than the Indian new consciousness. Such mistake was not placed in the right moment because the Indians had developed the desire for self-government and the sooner the British realized the threat to their superiority, the faster they took part in the foundation of the Indian National Congress.<sup>77</sup>

### **2.2. The Emergence of the Indian Nationalist Movements**

The first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held from 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> December 1883, in Calcutta. It had been organized by the Indian Association. According to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, three quarters of the hundred delegates were Bengalis. There was a discussion about the Parliament and the Government. He pointed out that the speeches were good, however there was an incompetence regarding the organization. In 1885, the second meeting was held. Allan Octavian Hume was the man behind such congress. Hume was a retired member of the Indian Civil service and a District Officer. After his retirement, he dedicated his life for welfare activities. He had independent and progressive ideas.<sup>78</sup>

In 1883, he issued a circular letter by which he called Calcutta graduates for a meeting. He was aware of the present atmosphere in India, and he knew that there were only the educated Indians who could look for their country. In the circular he issued, he pointed out at the fact that the British had helped for the development of India and placed their experience, abilities and knowledge at the disposal of the workers. And they gave a lot of money and

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<sup>76</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 72.

<sup>77</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 800.

<sup>78</sup> Griffiths. P., *Modern India*, op. cit. , p. 48.

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attention and made sacrifices. However, unlike the Indians, they do not have the Indian identity, a factor that is vital if anything is to be done for the country.<sup>79</sup>

His address was directed to found a new national movement, he asked for fifty graduates for such purpose. In his address, he described the Indians as the salt of the land. He explained that India could only have hope in her children. Power of self sacrifice, love, pride, patriotism and devotion were all what was required for such purpose. He pointed out that complaining about the fact that they were denied high position in Government and in Court would not make them access them. Furthermore, India needed only her children to hold those high positions as well as the low ones.<sup>80</sup>

The meaning of this address was that even if the Indians had reached a certain point of political and national consciousness, they were still not aware enough. Hume explained that the true meaning of patriotism was to rule their country, and not let others be their rulers. He asked them not to wait for the moment when they will not be able to tolerate the ruler anymore in order to rise, but to rise now. It was only self-sacrifice and unselfishness that would lead India to freedom.<sup>81</sup>

In 1884, Hume received his response. Leading men held with him the first meeting of the Indian National Congress. First, the delegates had to be men who spoke English, since it was the language of the ruler. Second, the people who were serious about the goal behind the Indian National Congress had to know each other. Third, there had to be discussions and making of plans. And fourth, such Congress was to be regarded as a national parliament.<sup>82</sup>

Hume wanted to discuss about only social matters because the associations in Bombay and Madras were already discussing about the political ones. He wanted the Governor of the Province where the meeting was held to preside over the Congress in order to strengthen the relations between the Government and the people. However, the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, decided to discuss political matters in order to improve the administration, and he thought that

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<sup>79</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 207.

<sup>80</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 179.

<sup>81</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British Impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 280.

<sup>82</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 280.



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the presence of the Governor would intimidate the rest of the members to take part in the talk.<sup>83</sup>

In the first meeting of the Congress, there were seventy-two lawyers, journalists and schoolmasters, some military and agriculturists, and two Muslims. The delegates agreed upon the fact that they had to remain loyal to the British Crown, and not to forget all the good things the British had done for India. On the other hand, progress had to be achieved in education as well as in wealth but mostly in politics.<sup>84</sup>

The major matters were the expansion of the Legislative Councils, recruitments in England and in India for the Indian Civil Service, and the restoration of the import duty on cotton. The members of the Congress then hoped very much that such organization would teach the Indians self-respect and patriotism so that India would achieve self-government.<sup>85</sup>

The spirit in which this meeting was held stayed in the minds for three years. In 1888, the fourth meeting of the Congress was held, in Allahabad, in which the members complained about hostility and the obstacles of the Indian Civil Service. Some explained such troubles as being from the difference of method of action between the British and the Indians.<sup>86</sup>

Hume was mostly concerned about the situation in rural areas where poverty, hunger, sickness, suffering, and sorrow were the daily life of the Indians. The only solution according to him to remedy to such situation was to act by strong governmental action. However, there had to be more than that. Indeed, education and encouragement and motivation had to exist and be strong in the popular minds in order to succeed.<sup>87</sup>

The awakening of the masses would not happen by itself. Hume issued pamphlets, held meetings, sent lecturers and modeled Congress activities on the pattern of the Anti-Corn Law League in England. Sir Auckland Colvin was indeed enthusiastic about the Congress but he feared the danger that would come from the outcome. His reasons were that India was not

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<sup>83</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 207.

<sup>84</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 281.

<sup>85</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 180.

<sup>86</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British Impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 281.

<sup>87</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 281.

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yet ready for such political activities. It was too early to criticize so openly the present government.<sup>88</sup>

Hume agreed that it was too early, for the only reason that the Indian mind was not aware enough, but there had to be action despite the Indian unconsciousness. Colvin and Hume loved India but had opposite opinions. Since the beginning of the Congress, the Government was hostile towards it. In 1890, a declaration was issued in which the Government of India said that the Congress was what in Europe would be called an advanced Liberal party. And it was stated that the Government would be unbiased. Then again, the work of Congressmen was not acknowledged by the Government. Englishmen continued to help the Congress and the Press was becoming its enemy.<sup>89</sup>

During twenty years, the Indian National Congress had been calm. The opposite parties within the Congress coexisted. Such calmness was due to the fact that those members were expecting British rule to answer their demands, especially the ones concerning the constitution. It was not until 1892 that the Indian Council Act was passed as an almost answer to those demands. Even if some answers were received, the most important one was still pending. The employment of the Indians in superior posts in public service was the main claim. In addition to that, they wanted that examinations for the Indian Civil Service to be held in India and in Britain. In sum, since the beginning of the Congress, no concrete answers were received.<sup>90</sup>

The Congress was very patient considering the many meetings that have been held and the demands that were not answered. Concerning the demands that were answered, they were mostly the military ones. The demands were a reduction of military expenditure, the establishment of military colleges, and the admission of the Indians into the commissioned ranks in the Army. Nonetheless, the answers to the military demands were more about what Britain needed, not what India needed.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 282.

<sup>89</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 282.

<sup>90</sup> Griffiths. P., *Modern India*, op. cit. , p. 50.

<sup>91</sup> Griffiths. P., *The British Impact on India*, op. cit. , p. 283.

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One of the other demands of the Congress was the separation of executive and judicial functions along with some economic demands too. The removal of the duty on cotton goods manufactured in British India, which meant that India produced only so that Britain could consume, in such situation India was referred to as being a victim rather than a beneficiary. Furthermore, the Congress was growing with time and was in need of rights plus the patience of its members had reached its limits, especially after twenty years of existence.<sup>92</sup>

The Indian National Congress was founded by men who followed European liberalism and not Hinduism. Their aim was an Indian state not a Hindu kingdom. Not that Hinduism was banned from Indian politics, but it was a renewed Hinduism. India is just not the country of Hinduism but also of Brahmanism. The latter had faced Muslim invasions followed by the British conquest. From then on, and through the way to independence, there was a struggle between the Hindus and the secularists. The conflict was so strong that it continued even after the independence.<sup>93</sup>

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a 'Chitpavan' Brahman, was the founder of the militant school in modern Hindu politics. 'Chitpavan' means purified in Hindu. The origin of the 'Chitpavans' goes back to the god Vishnu, who in one of his earthly incarnations saved fourteen dead bodies from the sea by breathing life into them in order to create a new sect of Brahmans who were known as 'Chitpavan'. They were employed as spies and messengers.<sup>94</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, the 'Chitpavan' Balaji Visnanath Rao placed himself as 'Peshwa' which means ruler, in the Maratha territories, which are in the south-western India. His son deposed him to replace him. In the third generation, Nana Phadnavis placed himself as the new sovereign, and since he was a 'Chitpavan' too, all the important offices were occupied by a 'Chitpavan'.<sup>95</sup>

The 'Chitpavans' were considered as the most intelligent and they were as able as cruel. The Maratha Empire became a 'Chitpavan' empire. However, they could not take over the whole Indian Territory because at the time when they decided to do that, the British had

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<sup>92</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 7.

<sup>93</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 60.

<sup>94</sup> Kathryn Tidrick, *Gandhi a Political and Spiritual life*, Replika Press Pvt. Ltd, India, 2006, p. 106.

<sup>95</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 285.

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come to India. Nevertheless, they did not lose hope for their desire of conquering India, and kept secret their hatred towards the British.<sup>96</sup>

Tilak was a 'Chitpavan' with great education, ability, dynamism and energy. He was also full of hatred towards the British. He made journalistic attacks against Mr. Justice Ranade, who was the founder of the social-reform movement and who believed in progress on Western lines. Tilak was determined to keep on fighting all kinds of social reforms which would be against ancient Hinduism. And a tragedy occurred which let Tilak be even more hostile. A girl died after her marriage which led to the introduction of the Age of Consent Bill, which forbade consummation of a marriage until the wife was twelve years old. The Bengali Hindu Press opposed the bill but Tilak was more hostile to it than anyone else.<sup>97</sup>

Tilak's opposition to the bill consisted of first, accusing the Hindu who supported it as being traitors and then carried on propaganda against it in schools and colleges which gained him popularity among his followers. He taught the necessity of militancy, he organized gymnastic societies to train his party to use force against their enemies, and he connected his movements with one of the most popular Hindu deities, 'Ganesh', the one with the elephant head. The British were described as monsters who wanted to destroy the basis of Hinduism. Tilak used all means he could to affect the British feeling. The only aim he had was to make India the land for Hindus alone. In addition to that, he decided to affect the feeling of the Muslims too.<sup>98</sup>

In order to do that, he issued in his paper '*The Kesari*', in 1897 a discussion of the treacherous murder of Afzal Khan by 'Shivaji'. 'Shivaji' was the founder of the Maratha military in the seventeenth century and the Mughals' enemy. Afzal and Shivaji had met at a peace conference. When Afzal courteously leant towards his guest, he gave 'Shivaji' the opportunity to stab him with his 'tiger's claw' or steel hook affixed to his hand. There is disagreement about the way the murder happened by all Indian historians.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 285.

<sup>97</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 164.

<sup>98</sup> D. Brown. M., op. cit. , p. 83.

<sup>99</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 286.

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However the professor who took part to that discussion made it clear that 'Shivaji' had not committed a sin but just disregarded a minor duty while performing a major one. The authority of the Bhagavadgita<sup>100</sup> was mentioned in support of this version. Tilak insulted that moral judgment which would inevitably cause disorder in India. After this, the Government forbade Hindu parades to play music in front of Mohammadan mosques. Then Tilak established an 'anti-cow-killing society' as part of his program of India for the Hindus.<sup>101</sup>

In 1896, there was a plague in Western India. The Government officers took immediate measure to segregate those afflicted. The decision interfered with domestic privacy. The result was that Indians accused once more the British of undermining Hindu religion. The Indians invoked again 'Shivaji' to destroy the British Government. Apparently 'Shivaji' awoke since two 'Chitpavan' Brahmans, who had founded the 'society for the removal of obstacles to the Hindu religion', killed two British officers. Tilak was imprisoned and released right after. Tilak was as dangerous as extraordinary. The British had difficulty to understand his character which was greatly intellectual and too primitive. However, every Indian who studied modern Indian politics was like him.<sup>102</sup> As described by Sir Percival Griffiths:

*The existence of a thoroughly reactionary attitude towards social reform, side by side with the modern spirit of national revolution, and the ability to ignore the rights if not the existence, of other great communities containing many millions of people.*<sup>103</sup>

The Maratha country was not the only one to consider him as a hero but also Bengal, even though the Bengalis' cult was 'Kali', the terrible goddess, not 'Shivaji'. And 'Kali' could also be regarded by Bengalis as 'Shivaji' was regarded by the Maratha. Surendranath

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<sup>100</sup> Bhagavadgita in Hinduism is the sacred "song of god" composed about 200 BC and incorporated into the Mahabharata (a Sanskrit epic). It contains a discussion between Krishna and the Indian hero Arjuna on human nature and the purpose of life. Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 286.

<sup>101</sup> Weber. T., op. cit. , p. 46.

<sup>102</sup> Haig. J., Wolseley. T., Dodwell. H. H., op. cit. , p. 869.

<sup>103</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 287.

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Banerjea disapproved Tilak's imprisonment. He said: "For Mr. Tilak, my heart is full of sympathy. My feelings go forth to him in his prison house. A nation is in tears."<sup>104</sup>

In Lord Curzon's time, as Viceroy, the administration was so well managed that it gained strength. He also taught to the Indians about the value of their monuments. He made many reforms in education, for example, he introduced the University Bill. He opposed recruitment of Hindu labourers under contracts for the Transvaal gold mines. And he punished harshly British regiments for attacks by individual soldiers on Indians. In spite of the fact that Lord Curzon seemed to have done a lot of good to the Indians, they disliked him. His educational reforms were not accepted. They resented his desire to control the Calcutta Corporation. And they considered him as impolite when he refused to receive a delegation from the Congress in 1904.<sup>105</sup>

All these deeds worked as a boost to the hatred of the Indians towards the British. Tilak's two principal followers, Bepin Chandra Pal and Arabindo Ghose issued in '*New India*' and '*Bands Matram*', in their speeches: "Arya for the Aryans". After this, in Bengal a new militant spirit rose among students who joined the gymnastic schools that Tilak had organized before in order to train physically and politically.<sup>106</sup>

Bengal had never stopped from being politically and religiously in chaos. Before 1905, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa formed one province. The population was of seventy-eight million people. The east of the province was concentrated with the Muslim while the Hindus were in the West of Bengal, along with Bihar and Orissa. Lord Curzon decision of the partition of Bengal was not only for improvement of the administration but also for its necessity. The vast territory that Bengal occupied made it hard to manage all the area. So a partition was necessary.<sup>107</sup>

When Lord Curzon and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal talked to the local leaders about the partition, they discovered that the Hindus opposed it. Such opposition was supposed to cancel the partition, but the partition was done in spite of the opposition. Eastern and

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<sup>104</sup> D. Brown. M., op. cit. , p. 84.

<sup>105</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 61.

<sup>106</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 288.

<sup>107</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

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Northern Bengal were combined with Assam into a new province where Muslims dominated. West Bengal was left with Orissa and Bihar where the Hindus dominated. After the partition, East Bengal was neglected for a very long time. While the Hindus considered the partition unfair for the reason that Bengal was one province and will always be. They even accused Lord Curzon of an attempt of weakening the rising Hindu elite by the means of the partition.<sup>108</sup>

Even though, the accusation was unjustified, it was believed by all Indians. Sir Henry Cotton agreed with the Indians as he supported their belief. According to him, there were no administrative reasons, Lord Curzon only desire behind the partition was to weaken the growing power and destroy the political tendencies of patriotism. He declared that the Bengalis were the political leaders of modern India. They are the ones who inspired hope and belief in good destiny for India. Sir Henry Cotton was known for his great qualities and sympathy especially with the people of Bengal, he was the victim of prejudice for judging so badly Lord Curzon's good intentions.<sup>109</sup>

The Hindu community in Calcutta looked at the partition as a crime, according to them, the British had wounded India. Moreover, the creation of a Muslim majority province was like a threat for Tilak and his followers. Sir Surendranath Banerjea declared that the Indians felt insulted, humiliated and tricked. The future of their country was in danger. The partition was intended to destroy the solidarity and consciousness of the Bengali-speaking population. The partition would destroy the political progress achieved by the Hindus and the Mohammadans upon which the Indian progress depended.<sup>110</sup>

Action followed the reaction. Campaigns of propaganda against the partition were organized and followed by the rise of patriotism among all the educated Bengalis. The ceremony of Rakhi Bandhan was performed in which a girl tied a slight woolen thread round her brother's wrist and asked him to take the vow to undo the partition of Bengal. From this time onwards, women had an important role in Bengal politics. The militant Brahmanism of Poona was immediately with Tilak. Barendra Kumar Ghose, brother and student of Arabindo

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<sup>108</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>109</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>110</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 127.

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Ghose, together with the brother of Swami Vivekanda who was the disciple of Ram Krishna Paramahasa, founded the first revolutionary newspaper '*The Yungantar*'. The aim of this newspaper was the preparation of the youngsters for terrorism.<sup>111</sup>

The philosophical foundations of terrorism were in an article headed "The Age of the Gita again in India". In the article was the message of the god 'Krishna' who says that he will incarnate whenever needed in order to destroy the wrongdoers, and establish righteousness. After this article, another one appeared in which Bengalis were asked to shed the British blood. The worship was said not to be successful if lives were not taken.<sup>112</sup>

Even the British who were in favour of freedom, found it hard to understand why the British Government gave such liberty to the Press. The British Government was one of the rare empires to be that tolerant. The rise of nationalism along with the renewal of Hinduism coexisted with British authorities' patience. However, it must be remembered that the educational and political reforms that the British Government had introduced and sometimes forced on the Indian population were the principal cause of such awakening.<sup>113</sup>

Nevertheless, the rise of terrorism was not to be accepted even though the British Government had harmed India. The British on the other hand could not even fight against this rising propaganda. The fight was first by economic boycott and second terrorism and murder. The Bengalis started the boycott of British goods which would naturally bring pressure on British industries. Another example of economic boycott was known to the world and at that same time, in China who also did the boycott of American goods. Such similarity was widely published in the Indian press. The moderates like Surendranath Banerjea were aware of the danger that would come with the boycott but preferred to qualify it of temporary. Mr Gokhale was Tilak's main enemy, but he still believed that the boycott worked well as a weapon against the partition.<sup>114</sup>

The application of the boycott was to be unanimous, especially after the spread of the movement among the community. It became dangerous for the Indians to go against the

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<sup>111</sup> Bose. A., op. cit.

<sup>112</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit.

<sup>113</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit.

<sup>114</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 291.



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movement, for example wearing clothes made by foreign textiles. Paper manufactured abroad could not be used in schools. In fact, it was not safe for them to use British goods. Such movement that boycotted British goods was called the '*Swadeshi*' movement.<sup>115</sup>

Everyone in India, the youngsters as well as the adults, every one applied the boycott in the best way possible. Clothes, paper, medicine and food that were made abroad were not used. The few Indians who still wanted to have foreign made goods, had to purchase them in the night, when nobody could see them, otherwise, it was impossible because of the strength and effectiveness that the '*Swadeshi*' movement had gained.<sup>116</sup>

### Conclusion

The meetings that the movement held were all over Bengal. In these meetings there were songs that were written for the special occasion. Music had gained notoriety during the fight against the partition. It was then that the Bengali national anthem was created which was '*Bandi Mataram*', which means '*Hail to the Mother*'. This song was taken from a novel dealing with the Sanyasi raids in 1772 in which the British had suffered local reverses. And the present campaign of propaganda was the most opportune. The authorities sang it as an invocation of the goddess Kali against the British. It is known in the history of India that this song became the war-cry against British rule. Many years after the partition, Bengali terrorists went to the gallows singing the song.<sup>117</sup>

From 1907 onwards, terrorism had become common in Bengal. Khudiram Bose was hanged and treated as a martyr by the educated youngsters. He killed two British women while trying to kill a British District Magistrate. After that, nineteen youths were found guilty for conspiracy to collect arms, manufacture bombs, and cause revolution. Then an approver and a police officer were shot dead.<sup>118</sup> Such terrorism was regarded as the work of some unwise youths. However it was the expression of the great feeling of violent hostility towards the British Government. Even if such act is normally disapproved, anybody in the place of those who led it would understand their feeling. Nevertheless, the damage caused discouraged

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<sup>115</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 292.

<sup>116</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit.

<sup>117</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 293.

<sup>118</sup> Richards. G., op. cit. , p. 4.

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the rest of the Bengali community. The other classes were not even interested in taking part of the fight, while the Muslims were completely indifferent towards the movement.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Richards. G., op. cit. , p. 8.

## **Chapter Three**

# **Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Independence Movements**

# CHAPTER THREE: MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

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## CHAPTER THREE

### Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Independence Movements

#### Introduction

In the session of 1905 of the Indian National Congress, the President made the first official demand for 'Swaraj' which means self-government.<sup>1</sup> Its official resolution was to support the Swadeshi movement.<sup>2</sup> It was agreed on national scale that the bill was meant to weaken the rising political power in Bengal. The Congress even allowed the use of boycott as a political weapon. The victory of Tilak's party was considered as complete.<sup>3</sup>

In 1907, because of the moderates' refusal to support the boycott and the movement, the extremists refused to open a new session of the Congress. This marked the beginning of the existence of two separate sides. The first was the side of the moderates, and the second was the side of the extremists. The Congress members stayed divided like that for a long time. The leaders of the moderates were Gokhale and Sir Surendranath Banerjea, and the leaders of the extremists were Tilak and Aurobindo Ghose. In the following year, the moderates received support from the Morley-Minto reforms that were passed into law in 1909. The most important new fact was that the Indians were admitted in the Executive Council of the central Provincial Governments.<sup>4</sup>

After such change, Gokhale was totally loyal to the British Crown and he would agree to co-operate with the Government concerning the future and the progress of India. According to him, British rule was doing nothing but what was good for India. British rule should continue for a longer time. For such purpose, he invited people to illuminate the differences of race between the British and the Indians. Second, India would need to change its form of

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<sup>1</sup> Coward. H., op. cit. , p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> M. K. Gandhi , *Ashram Observance in Action*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1948, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Coward. H., op. cit. , p. 87.

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government from empire to democracy. In order to achieve both, the Indians were to make the effort to gain strength of character and have the necessary capacity, which Gokhale insisted on, saying that they would need a long time for such improvement.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, in Bengal, terrorism continued and the Press that supported it was so extreme in its articles that in 1910, the Government passed the “Press Act” by which a penalty was imposed. The penalty of the Government was considered as minor in comparison to the amount of violence that was in the Press. The moderates were now at the head of the Congress. They were grateful to Lord Morley and Lord Minto for their reforms.<sup>6</sup>

When Lord Hardinge became Viceroy in that same year, the leaders of the moderates took the opportunity of his sympathetic attitude towards them, to get close to the Government. King-Emperor George V visited India in 1911. During his visit, it was announced that the capital will be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. The transfer would result in restoring the divided Bengal. The measures taken against those who opposed the partition were so successful that the opposition had abandoned hope for the annulment of the partition.<sup>7</sup>

The Government was pleased that the opposition had lost hope because it would have meant that their protestations had worked. Such fact made the moderates look strong. In the session of 1911, the President of the Congress declared that the futures of both Britain and India were linked. And he insisted that such link had to be maintained so that their political success will be achieved. Moreover, he stated that all the troubles that Indians faced were mainly because of the very bad relations they maintain with the British.<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, the Indians made the mistake to think that the British who were in India were not like the British who were in Britain. They thought that the manifestations of opposition would induce the British Parliament to help the Indians. The annulment of the

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<sup>5</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Krishnalal Shridharani, *War without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Method and Its Accomplishments*, Brace Harcourt, New York, 1939, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> Coward. H., op. cit. , p. 90.

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partition stated that the provinces could not get self-government. A fact that the Secretary of State refused to admit but the Congress held on to it.<sup>9</sup>

After the First World War broke out in 1914, Tilak was released from prison. Terrorism still existed in Bengal but Tilak had abandoned his militancy. The Legislative Council was good and the extremists were losing power and influence. Lord Hardinge was loved by the Indian community and the Congress was trying to improve its relations with the Muslims. Due to the outbreak of the First World War, the Indians' loyalty to the British Crown became greater than ever.<sup>10</sup>

Gandhi offered himself for active service, and declared to the Indians that they should offer their service to Britain as well. They answered to that quest and got involved in the First World War. Even Muslims took part in it, but they found difficulties because of Turkey. Every Indian offered loyal support to the British Crown. That participation in the war made the Indians feel that they were approaching self-government. And during 1915, the moderates still dominated in the Congress. They were determined to play their role in the very best way in order not to disappoint the British Crown.<sup>11</sup>

In 1916, Tilak returned to his militant movement and to terrorism. Annie Besant, who was one of the leaders in the Congress, saw it necessary to wake the Indian mind to work for their country. In order to awake the national pride, she founded the "Home Rule League". It had fifty branches all over India. Then the involvement of Indians in the First World War gave birth to their desire to free India. All Indians were determined and decided about the new resolution: India was going to be free and have self-government.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.1. Mahatma Gandhi and the Civil Disobedience Movement

Unlike the Hindus who were loyally serving the British Crown in the war, the Muslims were serving but with discontent. They disagreed about the annulment of the partition of Bengal. In addition to that, the involvement of Turkey disturbed them mainly

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<sup>9</sup> Coward. H., op. cit. , p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 129.

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because of the revolt of the Sharif of Mecca against the Sultan of Turkey. They accused the British to be behind that revolution. The consequence of these doubts and disagreements was that the Hindus and the Muslims were now two communities apart from each other.<sup>13</sup>

In 1916, both communities, Muslims and Hindus, met in Calcutta, in spite of the hostility between them, they decided to ask for self-government. There had to be solidarity and separateness at the same time, which are two contrasts. In the same year, the next session of the Indian National Congress was at Lucknow. Hindus and Muslims worked together and sent a reform to the Viceroy. The Muslims demanded in the reform to be represented in the Council by separate electorates, and they demanded for a quick answer from Britain to their claim about self-government. The reform also included the quick reconstitution of the Imperial Legislative Council with a non-official majority, along with the claim about non-officials introduction to the Viceroy's Executive Council.<sup>14</sup>

The president of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah acknowledged all the good things that the British had accomplished for India. They introduced administration. They maintained order and peace for a very long time. They administered even-handed justice. And the most important British contribution to India was the introduction of Western education. The education gave birth to the intellectual and moral awakening, among which there were patriotism, nationality, and a desire for unity. Nonetheless, even though the Indians acknowledged all what the British had done for them, they still wanted self-government.<sup>15</sup>

Some answers were finally given to the Congress. The British Government increased the cotton duty which meant that the Indian cloth was greatly protected. An Industrial Commission was appointed to examine methods of development of Indian industry and the "Defense Bill" allowed recruitment of the Indians in the Indian Army.<sup>16</sup> In 1917, the Secretary of State, E.S. Montagu declared that the Montagu Chelmsford Report shall be published. It was stated that from then on, the Indians were to be included in all the branches of the

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<sup>13</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 72.

<sup>15</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 75.

<sup>16</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 54.

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government and that gradually, there will be a realization of responsible government in India which would be part of the British Empire.<sup>17</sup>

In 1917, the next session of the Congress was held. Its members expressed their gratefulness towards the British Government. However, the extremists did not agree with the Montagu Chelmsford Report after its publication in 1918. They carried a bitter propaganda against it. In spite of that opposition, the 1919 Government of India Act was passed in 1921 by which the reforms became real and concrete.<sup>18</sup>

Due to these reforms Diarchy was established. In each Provincial Government, there were Indian ministers who would be in charge of transferred subjects, and British governors or officials who would be in charge of reserved subjects. According to Mrs. Besant, such reforms were enslaving the Indians, not making them part of the Government, and that a revolution was required so that India finally obtains what she wants. The extremists agreed with her, while the moderates did not and accepted the reforms. Such reaction was the clear result of the split between the extremists and the moderates. This split was emphasized when the moderates refused to attend the next session of the Congress which was held in 1918, in which the members were supposed to discuss the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in Bombay, and they held a session of their own.<sup>19</sup>

The crime and terrorism that continued in Bengal was investigated by a committee under Mr. Rowlatt. The report of the committee confirmed the greatness of the danger, and the effectiveness of the “Defense of India Act” concerning the actions against the revolts. The committee feared the crimes will rise again after the end of the Act and suggested to the Government to be armed to fight terrorism.<sup>20</sup>

The Rowlatt Committee included a committee of two High Court Judges with one Indian, Sir Narain Chandravarkar. They investigated the people who were detained for terrorist crimes and found out that the different revolutions were connected. There were to be trials for those crimes and the imprisonment of the people involved in the revolutions. The

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<sup>17</sup> R. K. Prabhu, *Two Memorable Trials of Mahatma Gandhi*, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, 1962, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 273.

<sup>19</sup> Coward. H., op. cit. , p. 75.

<sup>20</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 126.



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moderates disapproved the revolutionary movements. However, they would not give the executive the power to deal with those movements.<sup>21</sup>

The moderates had split up from the Congress and started their own Liberal League. The extremists ran riots to express their reaction against the trials taken against the revolutionary movement. During the session of the Congress in 1918, the President Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya talked about the help offered by the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S.A. Senate. And it was also talked about the violent description of the riots during the trials of Lahore. According to the members of the Congress, the “Rowlatt Bills” allowed abuse. They objected the passing of the bills and published their opposition in the Imperial Legislative Council and in the Press.<sup>22</sup>

The only problem was that the population did not read the Press which would leave them in a total ignorance of all what happened. They would have no knowledge of the existence of the bills or the opposition against them. The same was about the educated people. They were few to read the Press. And even though they knew about those bills, they would not consider them or they would not consider it as their role to fight against them.<sup>23</sup>

The general belief was that all the accused were innocent from those crimes cited. Nevertheless, there would be arrests at the will of the police and condemnations without trials. There would be no gathering of more than three people, even women and children were suspects of violence and crimes. There had been a special session of the Congress only to declare the “Montagu-Chelmsford Reform” proposals as disappointing and unsatisfactory, and again in the session of December 1918, the members held an official session in which they expressed the same oppositions. They remained calm during the session but carried violent campaigns against the reforms, which led to disorder.<sup>24</sup>

Mrs. Besant warned the Congress not to be too violent against the British because they were India’s only defense, after this, she left the Congress. Her departure surprised the rest of the members because it was unlikely for either a man or a woman who would fight in order to

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<sup>21</sup> Coward. H., op. cit. , p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *The Law and The Lawyers*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1962, p. 94.

<sup>24</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 6.

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wake the population, to abandon so fast after the appearance of danger.<sup>25</sup> Fortunately, she was not the only one who was fighting for the Indian cause. Gandhi was also a person whose influence had deeply affected the Indians.<sup>26</sup>

Gandhi supported the extremists and threatened to use Non-Violent Civil Disobedience if the “Rowlatt Legislation” was passed.<sup>27</sup> The moderates disapproved his threat. Despite that threat, in 1919, the “Rowlatt Bill” was passed. Gandhi asked the Indians to stop working. He called for a ‘hartal’ which means suspension of business, on the 6th April 1919. The first result of this action was chaos which began in Delhi on the 8th April.<sup>28</sup>

The chaos that occurred led the police to open fire and to the arrest of Gandhi while on his way to Bombay. Gandhi’s arrest raised the Indians’ anger and they were even more violent. Ahmadabad along with other places faced disorder. An Indian officer was burnt alive, Europeans were assaulted and properties destroyed. Gandhi's intentions were not for such violence.<sup>29</sup> Neither he nor the authorities could control that violence.<sup>30</sup>

During his prison time, Gandhi fasted for three days and cancelled the Civil-Disobedience movement. He declared that his call was for peace not violence and that those people, who were responsible of that violence, had much to learn about peace. Gandhi was a man known for peace.<sup>31</sup> Before he returned to India in 1915, he was in South Africa where he first encountered discrimination against the Indians.<sup>32</sup> For example, while on a train, he refused to move from the first class to the third class because he had a valid first class ticket. He had been thrown away from the train while travelling from Durban to Pretoria. The second time, the driver beat him because he refused to move from the stagecoach to the foot board, so that a European passenger could take his place. Many hotels refused to let him stay. He also refused to remove his turban when the Magistrate of Durban asked him to remove it.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Coward. H., op. cit. , p. 75.

<sup>26</sup> Dipankar Gupta, ‘Gandhi before Habermas: the Democratic Consequences of Ahimsa’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 10, March 7-13th 2009, p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> Dipankar Gupta, Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Gandhi. M. K., *The Law and The Lawyers*, op. cit. , p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> Douglas Allen, ‘Mahatma Gandhi on Violence and Peace Education’, *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 57, No. 3, pp. 290-310, July 2007, p. 295.

<sup>30</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Gupta. D., op. cit. , p. 27-33.

<sup>32</sup> Schraff. A., op. cit. , p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of my Experiments With Truth*, Navajivan Publishing House,

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Such events are the source of his awakening for social injustices. He began to think about the position of the Indians among the British.<sup>34</sup> Since then, Gandhi has led many campaigns in order to help the Indian community within South Africa, for such purpose he even extended his stay there. He helped the Indians to found the Natal Indian Congress in 1894.<sup>35</sup> In 1907, the Government of Transvaal passed a law by which the Indians were forced to register. Gandhi suggested to the Indians to oppose the law by suffering the punishment and not to react violently. The struggle lasted seven years and many Indians were imprisoned, beaten up and shot, including Gandhi.<sup>36</sup>

The public was so outraged by the Government's violence against the Indians who used peace to protest that the South African Governor Jan Christian Smuts was forced to compromise with Gandhi. It was at this stage that he started developing 'Satyagraha'. He encountered many occasions to protest peacefully against the British in South Africa.<sup>37</sup> He used the experience he acquired in South Africa to deal with the British when he went back to India in 1915.<sup>38</sup>

In Punjab, the revolution existed since 1907. Gandhi could have done nothing about it. Plus, they were supported financially and morally by the 'Ghadr', which means rebellion. The 'Ghadr' are some Indians who reside in the United States of America.<sup>39</sup> Many Sikhs were influenced by the doctrines of the 'Ghadr' and moved to Punjab to join the war. Some Sikhs also moved to Lahore and Amritsar in 1915. They intended to make even more trouble than there was, but the population of Punjab prevented them. The authorities also had their share for preventing more trouble from happening by the "Defense of India Act". However the occasion for more trouble soon came. The rise of prices and the conflict between the Muslims and Turkey were ideal reasons for that.<sup>40</sup>

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Ahmedabad, 1940, p. 55.

<sup>34</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1933.

<sup>35</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1968, p. 173.

<sup>36</sup> Parekh. B., op. cit. , p. 6.

<sup>37</sup> Schraff. A., op. cit. , p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , pp. 59-60.

<sup>39</sup> G. P. D., 'All Clear on the Western Front', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 22, No. 47, November 21st 1987, p. 1985.

<sup>40</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 12.

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Among the rebellions that broke out, the one in Amritsar in 1919 was the most violent one. Two extremist leaders were deported and the authorities did not allow Gandhi to go to Punjab.<sup>41</sup> The enthusiasm of the masses was high. Dr. Satyapal, who is the congress historian, explained that the masses were peacefully headed towards the Deputy Commissioner so that the deportations would be cancelled, but on their way, they were stopped at the railways bridge and the police opened fire so a 'hartal' (suspension of business) was organized again. Banks were robbed and British agents killed. The post and the telegraph offices were burnt and the railways lines destroyed.<sup>42</sup>

The Congress thought that those masses were naive for thinking that the British would allow them to arrive to the Deputy Commissioner and ask for the annulment of the deported extremists, because the Congress knew that the chief goal of the British was to exterminate the Indians. The crowd was peaceful, non-violent and harmless. They were following the instructions of Gandhi about peace.<sup>43</sup> They were stopped at the bridge but refused to stop, so the police opened fire and the sight of some of them being killed or injured caused the violence that occurred after that.<sup>44</sup>

Another rebellion rose on the 17<sup>th</sup> April at the Jallianwala Bagh to protest against the reform that forbade gatherings of more than three people. General Reginald Dyer, with twenty-five 'Gurkhas' (soldiers) and twenty-five Sikhs opened fire until the mass spread. The action of the General raised the anger of the extremists. Even though it prevented a revolution, there were casualties. The Indian politicians expressed their bitter opinion either in speeches or published it in the Press. According to them, the measures which were taken to fight against the riots were too extreme.<sup>45</sup>

In 1919, the Congress showed its rejection of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, because apparently the reaction of the Congress was not yet known. After that, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Gandhi wanted to offer co-operation and C.R. Das rejected the reforms. Gandhi's offer was successful but his opinion was to change after. Indeed, his mind was on

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<sup>41</sup> Schraff. A., op. cit. , p. 42.

<sup>42</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 57.

<sup>43</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *My Non-Violence*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 7.

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Non Co-operation.<sup>46</sup> Non Co-operation is a movement led by Gandhi and supported by the Indian National Congress. It consists of resistance to British rule by non-violent means.<sup>47</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup> August 1920, it was the first time in which this movement was applied by Gandhi for the Muslims case.<sup>48</sup>

Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali were the principal leaders of the Khilāfat movement.<sup>49</sup> In September 1920, in Calcutta, a special session of the Indian National Congress was held with the chief aim to discuss Punjab affairs and Non Co-operation Movement, which was the new means of defense. The movement was to be applied and it should be started by the educated classes: titles and honorary offices were to be surrendered, resignation from seats in nominated local bodies, the boycott of British courts, the refusal to attend government functions, the withdrawal of children from schools or colleges aided or controlled by the Government and the withdrawal of candidates from the elections to the reformed councils.<sup>50</sup>

Non Co-operation is a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice. Industrial manufacture was to be abandoned. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving were to be the new ways of making clothes. The Indian capital was to be used not the British one. All ancient methods were encouraged from then on.<sup>51</sup> The Congress had again changed the history of India because Non Co-operation and boycott were to be the new weapons of the Indian population for a long time. The success was on the side of the extremists because they used the “Rowlatt Act”. The educated Indians were still offended because of the Jalianwala Bagh incident, and the Muslims also joined because of the Khilāfat movement. After some time, Gandhi withdrew from the extremist side.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the conflict between the Indians and the British, The Indian population had itself another conflict which was the Hindus and Muslims conflict. This conflict was more centred during the twentieth century. It was mainly about what should be the form of the constitution and who would have power after self-government is obtained. Because of this,

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<sup>46</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *My God*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1962, pp. 21-22.

<sup>47</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 58.

<sup>48</sup> Ray.Hemen, op. cit. , p. 88.

<sup>49</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit.

<sup>50</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 13.

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Muslims created for themselves the Muslim League since the Hindus had the Indian National Congress. Muslims were in need of a party for them too.<sup>53</sup>

The Muslims were convinced that they would receive no justice if they waited for the Congress to speak for them, so they created the Muslim League. They also thought that their political, economic and cultural needs were not the same as the Hindus'. The fact that British rule replaced the Mughal Empire was maybe of no major consequence to the Hindus, but it was for them. Their reign was significant. They occupied high offices within the Government. Such privileges disappeared with the arrival of British rule.<sup>54</sup>

The difference between Hindus and Muslims had always been considerable. In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were two hundred and forty Indians admitted in the High Court, among them there was only one Muslim. The Hindus did not notice the difference existing between them and the Muslims. The Indians who came from high classes and who had received good education served the British as well as they have formerly served the Mughals in government. They were also obliged to hide their wealth because they feared to be confiscated. The Brahmans were known to easily adapt to new regimes. They were quickly interested in Western education and impressed by the Western thought.<sup>55</sup>

On the other hand, the Muslims were surprised by the fact that education was secularized. The abolition of Persian as an official language deprived many Muslims because they refused to learn to speak English in its place. The result was that Hindus acquired high positions and authority while Muslims qualified in manual work. There was also the fact that a Hindu Office Superintendent would always try to elevate the Hindus and lower the Muslims subordinate to him, and the opposite was true, when there was a Muslim Superintendent, he would also try to elevate the Muslims and lower the Hindus.<sup>56</sup>

The Muslims were angry towards such situation even though they knew that it was of their fault if they were in that position of inferiority. Their dislike of this situation goes back

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<sup>53</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 107.

<sup>54</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 53.

<sup>55</sup> T. J. Nossiter, 'Communism in Rajiv Gandhi's India', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7 No. 4, October 1985, p. 934.

<sup>56</sup> Weber. T., op. cit. , p. 109.

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to the pre-revolt period which is before 1857. In fact, the British blamed them for the Great Revolt. And it was considered that the Muslims unfortunate situation was due to that revolt. The hostility between both communities increased with time and as they lived in the same geographical area, their feelings would break out at any time. The two communities faced what the different social classes in Hinduism faced, that is to say, they could not intermarry, or eat together and their philosophies and daily life were different too.<sup>57</sup>

The nineteenth century was the period in which the Muslims were living a revivalist phase better known as 'jihad'. 'Jihad' means a holy war that is waged by Muslims against infidels who, in this case, were the Sikhs. The war was declared by the Puritan reformer Maulana Sayyad Ahmad Shaheed of Bareilly in 1826. The war began in Punjab and spread to East Bengal. The whole Muslim population was enthusiastic about the revival of Islam and its culture. The Muslims had found their leader a little before the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Sayyid Ahmad had noticed that the Muslim community was reluctant and hopeless. These two factors would certainly lead to their defeat before the Hindus. He noticed too that the educated Hindus relied on Western education to win and achieve self-government.<sup>58</sup>

His desire was that India achieves self-government but not a Western government. After the Congress was created, he asked the Muslims to found the Joint Committee of the Friends of India. The party's main aim was to oppose all ideas and activities of the Congress. His first activity was to encourage Muslims to be interested in Western education and they agreed. He founded the Muslim educational conference and the University of Aligarh.<sup>59</sup>

In 1906, the Muslim League was founded because of the disorder that occurred after the partition of Bengal. It had its aims which were first, 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 the Government with regard to Indian measures, second, to protect and advance the political rights of the Muslims of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government, and third, to prevent the rise among the Muslims of

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<sup>57</sup> Clifford Manshardt, *The Mahatma and The Missionary Selected Writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi*, American Book-Stratford Press Inc., New York, 1949, p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 61.

<sup>59</sup> Parekh. B., op. cit. , p. 18.

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India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other same objects of the League.<sup>60</sup>

The Muslim League wanted its interests to be regarded as its own and completely apart from the Hindus' ones. There could never be any relations between the two organizations. In addition to that, they wanted the British Government to realize that they were a minority when compared to the majority of Hindus, along with their political importance and the value of their contribution to the defense of the British Empire.<sup>61</sup>

After that, the "Morley-Minto Reforms" were finally considered and the Muslims asked for representation in the Council. The Muslims wanted to represent themselves in the Council and to vote themselves for their representatives. The Hindus disagreed about this last fact and even blamed the British for including the communal electorates in the "Morley-Minto Reforms". The Muslims wanted too self-government and they feared to be defeated by the fact that they were a minority in comparison to the Hindus. For such reason, they would rather have British rule in India than to be ruled by the Hindus.<sup>62</sup>

The partition of Bengal represented many advantages for the Muslims and after it was annulled, they lost their trust in the British Government. They felt betrayed because they fought against the opposition to British rule that rose in East Bengal. Muslims were also facing the problem of Britain being hostile to Turkey. Two Muslim politicians attacked the British Government in the Press and in their speeches, Mohamed Ali and Abul Kalam Azad. They sought an alliance with the Congress because of its fear that the British would not defend them. They made a deal which was the "Lucknow Pact" of 1916. In this deal, the Muslims and the Hindus demanded self-government and the Congress accepted separate electorates for Muslim members of the Council, in addition to the 'weight-age' principle for minorities.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 74.

<sup>61</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 76.

<sup>62</sup> Gandhi. R., op. cit. , p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> Manshardt. C., op. cit. , p. 15.



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The Muslims feared also the destruction of the 'Khilāfat' which is an important institution in the Muslim world.<sup>64</sup> The Sultan of Turkey was the 'Khalifa' whom the whole Muslim community had approved of. 'Khalifa' means Commander of the Faithful. He should have sufficient territories, military, naval resources and financial ones. When the First World War was over, the Muslim League sent to Britain a delegation for support for the 'Khilāfat' which was rejected. In 1920, the Turkish Peace Treaty was published and Gandhi joined the 'Khilāfat' movement to the Congress.<sup>65</sup> At that time, regarding all the differences between both communities, Hindu and Muslim. It was a great surprise to see them work together. The Muslim leaders along with the militant Hindus leaders headed by Gandhi the apostle of peace. Indeed, both communities had a mutual enemy the British, and solidarity was needed to defeat that enemy.<sup>66</sup>

Tilak died in 1920 just before the next session of the Congress. Gandhi's dominance was growing. Colonel Wedgwood advised the Congress not to adopt Non Co-operation. According to him, the Indians were alone. Nobody outside the country would help them. Plus, self-government was their right. The result was the boycott of the Councils, resignation of titles, and withdrawal of students from government educational institutions, and lawyers who abandoned their practices.<sup>67</sup>

Non Co-operation Movement was thus started by the Congress in Ahmadabad in 1921. After that a tragedy shocked Gandhi, which is known as the Chauri Chaura incident.<sup>68</sup> Policemen were burnt to death by his followers. Such event made Gandhi realize that Non Cooperation would not happen without violence.<sup>69</sup> For this reason the movement was suspended. In 1922, Gandhi was imprisoned for six years.<sup>70</sup>

Even if the Congress approved and applied the Non Co-Operation Movement, some Indians disagreed about it. In the elections of 1920 for the new Councils, the Congress did not take part and after that, they realized that their absence from the Councils' seats would keep

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<sup>64</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit. , pp. 227-248.

<sup>65</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit.

<sup>66</sup> Nossiter. T. J., op. cit. , pp. 924-941.

<sup>67</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Village Swaraj*, op. cit. , p. 79.

<sup>68</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 15.

<sup>69</sup> W. H. Morris-Jones, 'Mahatma Gandhi – Political Philosopher?', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 203-224, July-September 1960, p. 209.

<sup>70</sup> Schraff. A., op. cit. , p. 47.

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them away from the public eye and that their influence would decrease. As a consequence, in 1923, the Congress took part in the elections of the new Councils headed by C.R. Das as Gandhi was in prison. In 1924, Gandhi was released because of his health.<sup>71</sup> He tried to make the Congress withdraw from the Council but failed.<sup>72</sup>

The Congress had entered the Council but not for the same reasons as C. R. Das. The Congress desired to replace Diarchy with rule by the Governor and to give the Indian ministers experience and to train the electorate and the rank and file of council members in electoral and parliamentary procedure. It worked in only two provinces. The abandon of Diarchy would happen as the result of its failure. In order to abandon it, they would need to deny its value.<sup>73</sup>

It appeared easy to put in practice that plan but it did not succeed. However, the aim was achieved as they learnt parliamentary procedures. Nonetheless, the Congress continued to make Diarchy look like a failure. And through that attempt, the Indians were trying to make an Indian Government. In 1924, the Lee Commission proposed to recruit the Indians for the Indian Civil Service with the aim that after fifteen years half of its members would be Indians. With such decision, Britain proved to be trustworthy again, especially after the rapid growth of the military during the Second World War.<sup>74</sup>

Some important developments began to happen. For example, India was represented in international conferences such as the Imperial Conference from 1918 onwards, and the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. Such changes proved also that India was in fact reaching self-government.<sup>75</sup> After that, the Fiscal Convention of 1919 decided to take in consideration Indian rather than British interests concerning fiscal matters. And that whenever the Government of India and the Indian Legislature were in agreement over such matters, the Secretary of State would not interfere. The same convention also led in 1921 to

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<sup>71</sup> Schraff. A., op. cit. , p. 47.

<sup>72</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 91.

<sup>73</sup> Nossiter. T. J., op. cit. , pp. 924-941.

<sup>74</sup> Nossiter. T. J., op. cit.

<sup>75</sup> Gandhi .M. K., *My Non-Violence*, op. cit. , p. 31.

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the policy of discriminating protection which increased Indian industry at the expense of British exporters.<sup>76</sup>

The beginning of the twentieth century was mainly characterized by the dislike and distrust between the Indians and the British. The Indian nationalists believed in the honesty of Britain, but this aspect seemed to have disappeared since the Indians were beginning to develop an anti-British feeling. The same was happening on the British side since the British started qualifying the educated Indians as agitators. This hostility led the Indian National Congress to decide to reach self-government the soonest possible. The British were not ready to leave India because they did not think of the Indians as being ready to lead responsible government.<sup>77</sup>

From 1930, the Indian population began to be interested in 'Swaraj' which is self-government.<sup>78</sup> Not all Indians understood the deep issues India was facing but pictures of Gandhi, Pandit Nehru or Subhas Chandra Bose were found in most Hindu village homes. And when the Second World War began, most Indians began also to care about Indian politics. For the next two decades, Gandhi was the dominant figure. The Indian population knew that he was the man they needed to rely on in order to achieve self-government and free India from British rule.<sup>79</sup>

Gandhi insisted on the fact that Non Co-operation had to be free from violence but the Congress was full of the spirit of violence. Such feeling of violence affected the rest of the Indian society. Furthermore, the unusual union between the Hindus and the Muslims also disappeared as hostility between them violently rose. Such hostility became more serious under Hindu militants who launched the 'suddhi' and 'sangathan' movements. The 'suddhi' movement was to purify and reconvert those who became Mohammadans or Christians. And

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<sup>76</sup> Gupta, D., op. cit. , p. 27-33.

<sup>77</sup> A. B. Mathur, 'Mahatma Gandhi's Relevance Today', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 2, pp. 145-156, April- June 1989, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Michael Emin Salla, 'Satyagraha in Mahatma Gandhi's Political Philosophy', *Peace Research*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 39-62, February 1993, p. 40.

<sup>79</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *The Voice of Truth*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1969, p. 350.

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the 'sangathan' was to reduce the number of the Muslims by conversion and to eliminate the remaining population.<sup>80</sup>

The Muslims understood the intention of the Hindus by those movements. They noticed that Hindu militants had taken advantage of the pre-existing disorder to attack Islam. The Hindus were filled with aggressiveness. They were taught drills, gymnastics and sword play. The Muslims on their part wanted the political tension to continue existing. Everywhere throughout India communal troubles broke out, especially Delhi, Gulbarga, Nagpur, Lucknow, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad, Jubbulpore and Kohat. In Kohat the rebellions were so bad that a committee including Gandhi and Shaukat Ali was appointed in order to investigate the rebellion.<sup>81</sup>

The reports of the committee about that rebellion were different since both members made personal decisions about who to blame. Those reports inspired horror even a decade after. Gandhi had fasted for twenty-one days after that rebellion. Plus the atmosphere had changed forever especially in Bengal. People began to fear that a rebellion might break out of nowhere. The blame for the rebellion was not directed to the conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims but to the disorder that resulted from the Congress propaganda.<sup>82</sup>

In 1924, the Muslim League held a session apart from the Congress for the first time since 1919. In this session, they established six basic principles among which two were the most important. The first concerned separate electorates and the second concerned the new constitution that should be federal with full and complete provincial autonomy.<sup>83</sup> The League asked the Muslim population to be strong in the provinces where the majority was, and to be weak where the Hindu majority was. The Congress refused to unite again with the Muslim League when the latter proposed for a union in 1924, although their desire for parliamentary self-government was mutual.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Nossiter. T. J., op. cit. , pp. 924-941.

<sup>81</sup> Nossiter. T. J., op. cit.

<sup>82</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 54.

<sup>83</sup> Gandhi.M. K., *Panchayat Raj*, op. cit. , p. 10.

<sup>84</sup> Nossiter. T. J., op. cit. , pp. 924-941.

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In 1927, a Commission headed by Sir John Simon was appointed in order to examine all the necessary changes in the Government of India Act. The result was negative as there was no solution to the conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims. Moreover Indian nationalists did not accept the fact that the Commission included only British members. And they decided to boycott the Commission and refused to take part in the Committees.<sup>85</sup>

The British Government concluded that they could not know what the Congress wanted. However not all the members of the Congress would not co-operate which meant that they would overshadow the non co-operators in front of the rest of the population. The Congress established the 'All Parties Conference' for the purpose of considering and determining the principles of the constitution of India. The Committee was headed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, and produced the *Nehru Report* in 1928.<sup>86</sup>

The report contained the constitutional problems which were about complete independence. It also claimed for a federation however its principles were not considered. It recommended direct election by adult suffrage, but it did not try to deal with the problem of the minorities and it rejected the principle of separate communal electorates, which the Muslims regarded as important. Plus it disagreed about the weight-age in excess of numerical strength for minority communities. In sum, the report did not deal with the concerns of the Muslims and it did not fully provide for an Indian constitution.<sup>87</sup>

In 1929, the All-India Muslim Conference set the demands of the community. It insisted on four points. The first was about the constitution of India which had to be federal, completely autonomous and the power rested in the constituent provinces. The second was to have separate communal electorates. The third was about weight-age where Muslims were in minority. And the fourth, Muslims must have statutory share in the Central and Provincial cabinets. These were the demands of the Muslims which were completely different from the principles stated in the '*Nehru Report*'.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 62.

<sup>86</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 111.

<sup>87</sup> Nossiter. T. J., op. cit. , pp. 924-941.

<sup>88</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 112.

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In 1930, the Simon Commission produced a report too, which many authorities considered as good, since according to them, it described very well the Indian conditions and it was four times bigger. Its first recommendation was about the constitution of India which was to be federal in order to include the Indian states and the British India. The federation was not to suddenly begin but to grow and develop towards self-government. For such purpose the transfer of power to Provincial ministers should begin immediately. The last recommendation stated that in order to achieve self-government, even those Provincial ministers had to be under a strong Central Government.<sup>89</sup>

The Commission recommended also a full responsible cabinet government with the right for the Governor to interfere in certain purposes. The result would be that law and order would be under ministerial control. And technically, the Central Government would be the strong and the Governor-General's Executive Council would not. The aim behind all these changes was to reach federation and the members of the Central Legislature would be elected by the Provincial Councils.<sup>90</sup>

In spite of the fact that these recommendations were very suitable for a federal India, it was unfortunate that they received no support. The British had completely lost faith that the Indians could govern themselves. Because of the non co-operation with the British and the disorder that the Congress created, the Indians appeared to the British more as troublemakers than as future rulers of their country. Plus they disliked the recommendations since they stated that even if they obtained somehow self-government they would still be under British rule.<sup>91</sup>

In 1929, the Viceroy Lord Irwin declared that the main concern of India's constitutional progress was to reach the Dominion status. Lord Irwin's aim was to reach a certain level of peace between Britain and India however he failed. The Indians wanted the Dominion status to be introduced but Lord Irwin could not guarantee it. Right after this, the Congress gave permission to the Working Committee to launch Civil Disobedience Movement which this time would include not paying taxes. In addition to that, the Congress asked for the '*Nehru Report*' principles to be accepted before the end of 1929 otherwise, the

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<sup>89</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 112.

<sup>90</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 112.

<sup>91</sup> Rajindar K. Koshal, Manjulika Koshal, 'Gandhian Economic Philosophy', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 32, No. 2, April 1973, p. 191.

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Congress would again enter in a Non Violent Non Co-operation Movement. Indeed, in 1930, the Working Committee headed by Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience campaign.<sup>92</sup>

Gandhi decided to organize a new Satyagraha which would unite the Congress and make his dominance sure. He aimed at reminding the British that the Congress could mobilize the whole country. The 'Salt Satyagraha' then began, which is also called the 'Dandi March' or the 'Salt March'. Salt production was the British monopoly. Because of a series of laws, the Indians were not allowed to produce and sell salt. They had to buy very expensive imported salt. As the Indians were poor, the protest against the salt tax thus began. Furthermore, Gandhi organized the Salt March as a demonstration against the increasing salt tax.<sup>93</sup>

Gandhi marched from his 'ashram' which is a religious retreat near Ahmadabad to the town of Dandi which is near Surat on the Arabian Coast. The March began on the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1930. He was with a dozen of followers. Along his route, he stopped at each village where the crowd increased more and more. Gandhi did not just march. He also made speeches about the unfairness of the tax on poor people. The March ended on the 5<sup>th</sup> April. Gandhi would have marched 240 miles which is 385 kilometers. On the 6<sup>th</sup> April, Gandhi along with his followers picked up handfuls of salt along the shore, which would mean that they broke the law as it meant that they were producing salt. The Salt Satyagraha lasted for another two months, after which Gandhi was arrested. He was released on January 1931.<sup>94</sup>

To sum up, the British Government was ready to grant India self-government but gradually, not until the British decided that the Indians were responsible enough to govern their country. However, the Indians disagreed. Their desire was to get self-government immediately. As both sides disagreed, Gandhi had launched the Non Co-operation Movement which created nearly twenty years of complete disorder, violence and damage in India.<sup>95</sup>

Right after 1930, British as well as Indian political leaders held conferences and committees so that a peaceful solution would be found as the answer to all the troubles India

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<sup>92</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 4.

<sup>93</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 63.

<sup>94</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 113.

<sup>95</sup> Koshal. R. K., Koshal. M., op. cit. , p. 192.

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was facing then, whereas the Indian National Congress along with its militant bodies were getting ready for rebellions. The Civil Disobedience Movement gave birth to all negativity in India. The youngsters developed a sense for violence, hatred and rebellions. Moreover, respect for human life was completely destroyed. Terrorists used the sacred scripture as recruiting manuals by which they inspired to murder. The Congress seemed not to condemn terrorism as some terrorist movement derived from district Congress Committees.<sup>96</sup>

### 3.3. The Quit India Movement

It became usual that the Indians refused any solution that the British and the Indian leaders would suggest. During the beginning of the 1930's, three Round Table Conferences were held. The Indian National Congress was absent from the first one which was held in 1930 unlike all Indian parties, including the princes who were present. These conferences proved to be successful. It was agreed that the new constitution should be federal. Then everyone agreed about the Dominion status and to make the Indian Government under the form of parliament. In addition to that, Diarchy was to remain during the phase of transfer. It appeared that an agreement was the result of the conference but only because the Congress was absent from it.<sup>97</sup>

Lord Irwin called for a truce before 1931 and when the second Round Table Conference was held, Gandhi attended it. He refused Diarchy and he did not contribute to the problem of communal representation. He wanted to represent all the Indians with the Congress and he refused to recognize the minorities' representatives. Gandhi refused to make the Congress accept a decision that the British Prime Minister had made and declared his deep sadness for not being able to come to an agreement with the communities concerned.<sup>98</sup>

In 1932, the British Government made a communal award for the Hindus, the Muslims the Untouchables and also the British separate communal electorates. The Hindus thought that it represented more advantages to the Muslims than for them. The Sikhs completely rejected it. And Gandhi declared a fast unto death because it was also granted to the Depressed Class

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<sup>96</sup> Koshal. R. K., Koshal. M., op. cit.

<sup>97</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 67.

<sup>98</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 68.



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which is the political name for the Untouchables. Gandhi's fast urged the Depressed Class' leaders to accept the award.<sup>99</sup>

A plan under the name of the "Poona Pact" was accepted under which certain seats would be reserved for them. After a system of sifting candidates through primary elections by a Scheduled Caste electorate, the Scheduled Caste representatives would be elected by all Hindus. Even the sifting by primary elections was to be for a period of ten years only.<sup>100</sup> The truce was over when the third "Round Table Conference" was held in the end of 1932. Terrorism had risen again. One more time, the Congress was absent from the conference and because of its absence, little was achieved. As a conclusion, the three conferences resulted in material provided for the "Joint Committee" of both Houses of Parliament. Their recommendations were to form the basis of the new "Government of India Act of 1935".<sup>101</sup>

Due to the Act, India was going to be a federal state and it was to be governed by the system of responsible government, the same as in Britain and in its other Dominions. The "Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms" had paved the way for federation. The "Simon Commission" was ready to accept the federal principles. The Congress disliked the federal principles. Nevertheless, the Act provided for autonomy for the provinces and allowed them to exercise their own jurisdiction. They would be free from the Central control. In the end, India became a federal state but not due to the Act since it never came into operation. It was in fact the British Parliament that approved of the federation for India.<sup>102</sup>

Concerning the new system under which India was then, the Governor chooses his ministers in consultation. The ministers were to command a favourable majority in the legislature and they were to advise and guide the Governor. The responsible government granted in the provinces was somehow limited in two directions. Firstly, the Governor was charged of the responsibility to preserve peace in the provinces. He had the responsibility of safeguarding the legislative rights of the minorities. He had to protect British commercial

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<sup>99</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 94.

<sup>100</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Trusteeship*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960, p. 23.

<sup>101</sup> Manshardt. C., op. cit. , p. 76.

<sup>102</sup> Manshardt. C., op. cit. , p. 77.

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interests from discrimination. The Governor had to consult with his ministers on certain matters but he could also not require consulting them for other matters.<sup>103</sup>

In fact, the minor work that the ministers were to do proved how their value was little. Later on, the minorities and the British business community would complain about the Governor refusal to work with them, which meant that he prevented them from carrying out their own responsibilities. But it did not mean that the Governor was not doing his work correctly.<sup>104</sup>

Secondly, the British wanted equality concerning British commercial interests. The main characteristic of the new “Act of Federal Government” was Diarchy and subordination to the British Parliament. After 1937, the Congress began to be interested in the affairs of the state mainly because of the introduction of the federal system. The Congress disliked the new system because it weakened the power of the Congress in the Legislature. The Congress reaction was to abandon its policy of non-intervention in the states and attacked the princes.<sup>105</sup>

The first successful disorder was in Mysore and after 1939 the Congress started creating disorder in other states. Because of this agitation, Gandhi called again his Civil Disobedience Movement and the princes hesitated to join a federation in which the Congress would be important. They hesitated far too long since war broke out before they could take a decision. Indeed, because of the war, the princes lost the opportunity of federation on the very favourable terms of 1935 Act.<sup>106</sup>

Although the “Act of 1935” was the best way to the ‘Dominion Status’, the Indian parties disliked it. In 1936, the Liberals were absent from the elections for the Central Legislature. The Indian National Congress disapproved the Act. The Congress was suspicious about it because the Act allowed the Indian princes to nominate representatives to the Central Legislature. It also excluded the Defense and External Affairs from Indian parliamentary control. The Congress was convinced that the British did not aim for the good of India at all.

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<sup>103</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit. , pp. 227-248.

<sup>104</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit.

<sup>105</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 139.

<sup>106</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 67.

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After the attacks of the Congress to the Act, they took part to the Provincial elections of 1937.<sup>107</sup>

The Indian National Congress was not the only one to dislike the Act. Indeed the Muslim League complained about the limitation of powers of the Federal Government. They considered too that the princes received more advantages than themselves. Once again, the Hindus seemed to agree with the Muslims. Both parties criticized the 1935 Act on the Provincial elections and they also claimed for social and economic reforms. The only difference between both claims was that the Congress was more socialist due to the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had indoctrinated the party.<sup>108</sup>

The Congress competed fifty-eight of the Muslim communities. And over four hundred of the Muslim seats were secured by non-Congress Muslims. The Congress was then in majority in five provinces and was the strongest single party in two others. After that, Pandit Nehru considered the fact that if the Congress had rejected the “Act of 1935”. It had also to refuse office. The congressmen in the provinces wanted to accept the office and to form a ministry. They thought that they would lose their popularity if they decide to be out of office.<sup>109</sup>

On the other hand, Pandit Nehru explained that the Constitution would not provide them with power but only responsibility. After that, in 1937, the “All-India Congress Committee” agreed to accept office only if the Governor would not use his powers. This fact was impossible therefore a non-Congress ministries, not commanding a majority in the Legislature was placed in the provinces.<sup>110</sup>

The “Working Committee of the Party” made it clear that the Congress had entered office only to fight against the act. As much as this entrance in office pleased those who were in touch with influential Congressmen, their fears about the honesty of the British still existed. They were convinced that when power will be transferred, the main problems India was

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<sup>107</sup> Todd, M. A., Marty, M. E., op. cit. , p. 67.

<sup>108</sup> Shridharani, K., op. cit. , p. 234.

<sup>109</sup> McLeod, J., op. cit. , p. 115.

<sup>110</sup> McLeod, J., op. cit. , p. 120.

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facing such as poverty, ignorance and diseases will immediately disappear. The Indians were perhaps offered power but were still under British control.<sup>111</sup>

After accessing the offices, the reason for which they entered in government was soon forgotten and this can be more explainable by the fact that they were too busy with the government's problems to worry about their first aim. They maintained law and order successfully. They conformed to the normal principles of government finance. They learned how to use the knowledge and industry of the civil services. And they carried on their plans for reforms.

In 1937, the Congress leaders had accessed power in three provinces which were Bengal, Punjab and Sindh. Assam was between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress was the most important political aspect in India. The Muslim League had not made any important or serious claims since its creation. The only way for the Congress to establish their power was to work peacefully with the Muslim League.<sup>112</sup>

From then on, the Congress had to have a political organization in order to deal with Central and Provincial parts of India. The Congress was demanding self-government which was based mainly on Indian nationality. This surely meant that the organization would be based on the All-India aspect. The fact that there was rivalry between the Bengal leaders and those of Bombay had weakened the concept of nationality. On the other hand, Gandhi was the actual paramount authority for the Indians.<sup>113</sup>

The All-India Congress was elected every year by the Provincial Congress Committees and it was the ultimate authority in theory. However, the Working Committee was the real authority as it grew during the Non Co-operation and the Civil Disobedience Movements. After 1934, the "Working Committee" was decided to be chosen by the President. The President was elected by the Congress members. In 1937, the Congress High Command controlled the Provincial Committees. This can be explained by the fact that Provincial leaders wanted to take office which would not mean fighting against the "Act of

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<sup>111</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit. , pp. 227-248.

<sup>112</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p. 121.

<sup>113</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 72.

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1935". Then, Provincial autonomy would lead to its separatism and result in the destruction of the unity of India, which was the basis of the Congress.<sup>114</sup>

In 1934, the Parliamentary Board was formed urgently to co-ordinate Provincial parliamentary activities which meant to control the Congress Provincial parliamentary parties. After this, the Congress Provincial ministers began to neglect their responsibilities. As a result, the system of responsible government began to lose any sense. The Congress High Command was protecting India but it kept the parliamentary parties in the provinces from progressing.<sup>115</sup>

In the provinces, parliamentary life gave birth to tolerance and respect for the others which was not the case of the Central Congress Cabinet in which there was no responsibility for the government of the country. The Congress High Command regarded itself as the guardian of true faith followed by the Congressmen who were regarded as the patriots. The Congress began to believe that it was the only party which could represent India. Moreover, the discussions about the "Act of 1935" led to the conclusion that minority communities were to be included in the Provincial Governments.<sup>116</sup>

The Indian National Congress wanted to include the Muslims to the Congress but the Congress demanded that the League ceased to exist. The Muslim representatives were invited to the ministry since in the Hindu majority provinces, ministries were only Congressmen. The Muslims disliked the idea because they were excluded from office. Furthermore, there was the risk that India would be communally divided as they were going to be either all Muslim or all Hindu communities and no intermingling was intended.<sup>117</sup>

Because of this eventual division, the Congress attempted to convert Muslims into Hinduism. Such attempt was an alarm for the Muslims who feared that their religion was in danger in India. The anger of the Muslims rose along with Mr. Jinnah who declared that the Congress would never seek the wellbeing of the Muslims and would never be fair towards them either. From then on, Muslims throughout India were alarmed at the Congress request

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<sup>114</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 239.

<sup>115</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 264.

<sup>116</sup> Gupta. D., op. cit. , p. 27-33.

<sup>117</sup> Gupta. D., op. cit.

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and intentions towards them. The result was what happened before with the Hindus who claimed that the British Government did not grant them anything. The Muslims complained about the fact that they were not included in the Government. And about the administrative discriminations they were victims of.<sup>118</sup>

As long as there was a Hindu majority in India, the Hindus would not fear for themselves, which was not the case of the Muslims who began to fear the danger. The League began to complain openly about the Congress. Militant campaigns were organized and both parties had their own armies. The difference between the Indian National Congress was that it was all ready. The Congress had previously fought injustice against the British, a fact that made it a little ahead of the Muslim League in experience.<sup>119</sup>

Nevertheless, the Muslim League was not intimidated because of the experience of the Congress. On the contrary, it too began recruiting. The prior experience of the Congress did not scare the Muslim League. Their main concern was that Indian federation meant Hindu domination. Even if some Muslims were ready to accept a federation, the rest of them would not accept it. As a consequence, the Muslims began to consider the idea of 'Pakistan'.<sup>120</sup>

It was back in 1933 that Rahmat Ali one of four Pamphleteers invented the name Pakistan. In the pamphlets, they claimed the Muslim community to be apart from the Hindu community. Therefore they claimed for a separate state for the Muslim provinces of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province which was Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan. The initial letters of these states were formed into the word 'Pakistan', and that in Arabic meant the 'land of the pure'.<sup>121</sup>

Since 1933, nobody considered seriously the idea of Pakistan but after the Provincial autonomy was granted the Congress High Command was the main cause behind the demand for Pakistan. The Muslim proposals for a federation where the balance of power would be in the autonomy were granted and the Congress refused to consider the provinces. As both parties did not co-operate, the Muslims soon joined altogether for the demand of a separate

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<sup>118</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 273.

<sup>119</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 48.

<sup>120</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 50.

<sup>121</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 51.

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Muslim state. In 1938, the All-India Muslim League met and condemned the “Act of 1935”. Moreover, they suggested reacting against it.<sup>122</sup>

In 1940, Mr. Jinnah demanded for the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. And the Second World War broke out. The Muslims rejected totally the federation and the Congress disapproved the demand for the partition. The Indians’ reaction towards the outbreak of the war diverged greatly because some were pacifists like Gandhi while the others decided to put difficulties in the way of British imperialism. When the Congress held a session in 1936, they decided not to let Britain exploit India and her population as well as her resources for the purpose of imperialism concerning the coming outbreak of the Second World War.<sup>123</sup>

Indian troops were sent to Aden and Singapore just before the war. The Congress Working Committee asked the Congressmen not to attend the autumn session of the Central Legislature. Nevertheless, all Indians supported Britain for her fight against fascism. Moreover, during the first days of the war, journalists and politicians suspended their controversies against Britain. Even Gandhi offered his moral support. Other Indians agreed on the point made by Gandhi concerning their support for Britain which would bring them their own victory.<sup>124</sup>

In 1939, Satyamurti who was a Congressman settled in Madras who strongly supported Gandhi pointed out that the British might have oppressed the Indian population however, British rule was not the worst that could exist. He gave the example of Germany and Adolf Hitler, who unlike Britain would not have any regards towards the Indian opinion and who would not have some good sense and political honesty. Hitler unlike Britain would have killed all Indians since he declared himself as the enemy of the black races in the world. Satyamurti specified that what the Indians wanted was self-government which Britain was willing to grant them even if under conditions. He advised the Indian population not to

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<sup>122</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 74.

<sup>123</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 75.

<sup>124</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 73.

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complain too much about Britain for fear that another rule would settle itself in India which would be worse.<sup>125</sup>

Nevertheless, the “Working Committee” intended to demand for immediate transfer of power. Lord Linlithgow asked the Indians for their co-operation. Such request led the Congress to the false idea that they were in position to negotiate with the British. During the request, the Congress complained that Britain did not ask them whether they would take part in the war or not. Such complaint was not right at that very moment, since the authority in India was still between British hands. They even argued that the British could have asked them in a more formal way such as an Assembly. The “Defense of India Bill” included the opportunity for public expression which was introduced in the Central Assembly only two days before the outbreak of the war. Nonetheless, the Indians declined the opportunity avoiding to give an accurate answer as to what if they wanted or not to support the Allies. They also asked Britain to declare its war aims which should include the immediate independence of India.<sup>126</sup>

Now, concerning the Muslim League, they accepted to support Britain but on one condition. Their condition was that the British Government should not make any more constitutional progress for India without the League’s consent. Once in 1939 and twice in 1940, the Viceroy made a declaration that His Majesty’s Government affirmed the ‘Dominion Status’ and had the intention to reopen the constitutional issue at the end of the war. The League refused to offer official co-operation unless their demands were fulfilled. Yet the Muslim League leaders encouraged recruitment to the armed forces. They might be neutral in theory but they co-operated to the war.<sup>127</sup>

In 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps went to India with the aim of persuading the Indians of the British honesty towards them. The British proposals included a long-term and a short-term plan. The long-term plan included two main points and conditions. The British Government promised that as soon as the hostilities stopped, it would set a Constituent Assembly which would be elected by the lower houses of the Provincial Legislatures. Britain would accept the

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<sup>125</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 56.

<sup>126</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 54.

<sup>127</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 281.



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constitution presented by that body subject under two conditions. The first one was that in case of dissatisfaction, the province could withdraw itself from the new Union. The second one included a negotiation of a treaty between the Crown Government and the Constituent Assembly concerning the minorities' rights.<sup>128</sup>

The statement was clear about the fact that the Indian Union could leave the Commonwealth if it desired to. Plus, the minorities to be covered by the treaty would not include the British. The British commercial interests would not benefit from protection in the constitution until India obtained constitutional self-government. The Indian National Congress as well as the Muslim League rejected the declaration. The first reason was that it declared the right of provinces to withdraw from the Indian Union. The second one was that the states representatives to the Constituent Assembly were to be nominated by the rulers. On what concerns the Muslim League, they were satisfied with the possibility of partition.

Nonetheless, it was decided by all Indians that if the Congress rejected the plan, the League would follow. The League agreed on that and both parties rejected the plan.<sup>129</sup> The short-term plan proposed that each of the main parties should have representatives in the Central Cabinet which would be entirely Indian except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. The responsibilities of the Commander-in-Chief would be shared with an Indian Defense Minister. However the Crown Government would have the control of defense during the war. Therefore, power was going to be granted but not concerning defense. The Congress demanded for another constitution. The result was the rejection of the whole plan either long-term or short-term.<sup>130</sup>

Gandhi's position was stronger than before, ever since the Cripps negotiations failed. However, Gandhi's mind has also been confused more than ever. Indeed, when the war was at its worst moments, he demanded the immediate withdrawal of Allied troops. After that, he published in his paper '*The Harijan*' about the fact that the presence of Britain in India is the main reason behind Japanese attacks on India.<sup>131</sup> In 1942, the "Working Committee" held a

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<sup>128</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , pp. 73-74.

<sup>129</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit. , pp. 227-248.

<sup>130</sup> Roberts. W. H., op. cit.

<sup>131</sup> R. Bangaruswami, 'Mahatma Gandhi as Man of Letters', *Indian Literature*, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp, 66-70, July-September 1975, p. 4.

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session and supported Gandhi's view on the withdrawal of the Allied troops. The Congress wished very much that India would not be involved in the Second World War. They had seen the damage that it caused in the East, for instance in Malaya, Singapore and Burma and feared that India would be next.<sup>132</sup>

The Indian National Congress threatened the British to organize another Civil Disobedience Movement as a protest against Indian involvement in the war. In 1942, the All-India Congress met at Bombay and launched the Quit India Movement headed by Gandhi. This rebellion was very brutal and violent. The Railways lines were destroyed as well as the police stations. Civil servants were killed. In addition to every possible damage that could happen. The Congressmen denied having any responsibility towards the outcome of the rebellion and Gandhi declared that the violence was a simple result of the anger of the Indian population.<sup>133</sup>

Indeed, the Indian population was far from happy. In fact, they faced famine because of wartime inflation, disrupted communications that interfered with the distribution of food, in addition to poor harvests. In Bengal the exports of rice and grain from Burma were lost. The outcome of the famine was of millions of people in 1943 and in 1946. This Quit India Satyagraha could very well remind the British of the rebellion of 1857 as it was of almost equal greatness in violence.<sup>134</sup>

The British reaction was predictable as there were people arrested, and the movement was so quickly interrupted that it was hard to say that the rebels had the support of the rest of the population. Then again, the Congress High Command could not have control over all its followers so that chaos could be prevented. On the other hand, there was still the issue of partition and of self-government. During the Second World War, the British repeated many times that they intended to bring peace between Hindus and Muslims as well as to offer self-government. The promise was repeated once again in 1946 that is to say a Cabinet Mission was going to be sent to India on that year to answer all the claims of the Indians.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 56.

<sup>133</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit.

<sup>134</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p.122.

<sup>135</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 94.

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For the reason that any solution that the British could find was rejected instantly by the Indians, the British had to force a time limit on them so that Hindus and Muslims could finally agree on a solution. The result was that the British declared on the 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1947 that power will be transferred to the Indians in June 1948 with or without a constitution. Yet the attempt of making a constitution was on the way. The British had a further aim behind this declaration which was to encourage Muslims to take part in the Constituent Assemblies and inspire them with a sense of urgency and reality towards the making of the constitution. The leaders of the major parties were in fact in agreement to settle those matters however they did not seem ready to understand the opinion of the other parties.<sup>136</sup>

The disagreeing parties came to an understanding that there must be a compromise and each one was expecting the other to make it. The result was that no progress was in view. In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten was sent as Viceroy with a new approach. The Crown Government acknowledged the partition which led the Congress to accept it. In June 1947, the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee made the statement which was applied in the “Indian Independence Act 1947”.<sup>137</sup>

The Act included three changes. First, India was to be partitioned into two completely independent dominions. Second, each dominion would have self-government on which the Crown Government would have no responsibility.<sup>138</sup> Third, all suzerainty would be surrendered over the Indian states and all treaties between the British and the Indians would be ended. The first change was easy because the East Bengal members of the Bengal Constituent Assembly voted in favour of the partition of Bengal and the inclusion of East Bengal in Pakistan. Sindh voted too for that inclusion. The new Muslim state consisted of an eastern and western block separated by thousands of miles from one another. The boundaries of India and Pakistan were fixed in the Act.<sup>139</sup>

The Commission that drew the boundaries was accused by the Muslims of injustice. The chairman of the Commission was Sir Cyril Radcliffe who drew the boundaries which suited the Muslims because the religious factor was taken into consideration. After that, he

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<sup>136</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 78.

<sup>137</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 81.

<sup>138</sup> Gandhi. R., op. cit. , p. 11.

<sup>139</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 306.

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was accused of following Lord Mountbatten when redrawing the boundaries. However, the accusation happened to be false. The second change was that India and Pakistan were self-governing.

### **Conclusion**

This second change meant that the new Dominions were free to frame their own constitutions. Moreover, they had the choice between staying and leaving the British Commonwealth.<sup>140</sup> The third and last change leaves the Indian states independent to either join India or Pakistan or not to join at all. Therefore, there would be five hundred and sixty-four independent countries, of which only two, namely, India and Pakistan were to be Dominions. The Indian Independence Act left India free to rebuild itself which was an enormous task for the Indian leaders.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 308.

<sup>141</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p.

## **General Conclusion**

### GENERAL CONCLUSION

Britain had for India a commercial interest that led her to a political one. Indeed, the fact that India was a wealthy land led Britain to consider the country as its new colony and thus imperialism became economic rather than political. British rule in India remained for more than three centuries. It started by European rivalry then the British desire for monopoly resulted in the supreme authority over the country.

British rule over India had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Indeed, the change that Britain brought to India concerned improvements in many aspects. It went from economic development, to progress in the educational field and modernization through industrialization. The initial purpose was not of that magnitude but India was a poor country at the arrival of the British.

The population of that country was facing the very strict and severe caste system. Indeed, each social class had its own rules and customs. The Indian society considered the transgression of those rules as sinful. The measures that were taken to punish the transgressor were very harsh too.<sup>1</sup> In addition to that, there were cruel religious practices too. For instance, the Indians would sacrifice their daughters for fear that they would never marry and become a burden on the poor family. There was also the sacrifice of the widow who would throw herself on her husband's dead body while being cremated as a proof of her devotion to him. The British reacted towards such cruel practices by passing laws which made those practices illegal and punishable by criminal courts.<sup>2</sup>

Although British rule fought against the social cruelty in India, the Indian customs were the result of the ignorance of its population and the backwardness of the country. In order to civilize the country, the British modernized the various fields. Such development was mostly during the period of the Industrial Revolution. The British built factories and

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<sup>1</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit., p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

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modernized the manufacture of the main Indian products like cotton, salt and crops.<sup>3</sup> They also introduced imports, exports and taxation. The banking system was developed as well as investment. Moreover, some raw products of India like silk were imported in order to improve the quality.<sup>4</sup> Means of transport such as the railways were ensured to facilitate the growth of the Indian economy.<sup>5</sup> Britain had done everything to improve Indian economy because India was its main source of wealth.<sup>6</sup>

The development of the economic field led to the increase of the population which with the educational development became aware and the sympathy of some British like Hume inspired the Indians to start thinking about their own country and its political and economic future.<sup>7</sup> Therefore the Indian National Congress was founded. Its main purpose was to awake the Indian consciousness. The Congress was to defend the Indian voice and get Indians their rights.<sup>8</sup>

Under British rule, Indians were not allowed in the government or in high offices.<sup>9</sup> The British expected them to accept the fact of being ruled by a foreign authority without complaining.<sup>10</sup> However, they introduced English education which consequence was far from expected. Indeed, English education brought light to Indian minds since it opened the doors to knowledge and awareness.<sup>11</sup> They developed their thoughts and their interest increased as they learnt English literature and philosophy. Moreover, Indians started travelling to Britain for further studies.<sup>12</sup> They founded associations to defend their rights.<sup>13</sup> After the field of education grew, the Press also prospered especially during the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, British rule was not the only problem Indians were facing. As a matter of fact, there has always been a religious conflict in India between the Hindus and the Muslims.

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<sup>3</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Coupland. R., op. cit. , p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Belkacem Belmekki, 'A Wind of Change: The New British Colonial Policy in Post-Revolt India', *Atlantis, journal of the Spanish association of Anglo-American studies*, 2008, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> Lawson. P., op. cit. , p. 116.

<sup>8</sup> Gandhi. R., op. cit. , p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 275.

<sup>10</sup> Belmekki. B., op. cit. , p. 114.

<sup>11</sup> Dasgupta. A. K., op. cit. , p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> Parekh. B., op. cit. , p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Chakrabarty. B., op. cit. , p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 151.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

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Such conflict went to a bigger dimension especially when the British decided to partition Bengal. The aim behind that partition was to facilitate the administration of Bengal which territory was very large. However, Hindus disagreed about it while the Muslim community was, on the opposite of the Hindus, pleased by the partition since it regrouped them into one province.<sup>15</sup>

The aftermath of the propaganda that rose because of the disagreements due to the partition was the rise of terrorism. The second consequence was the boycott of British goods. And the third was the Press. Unfortunately, since the time when terrorism rose, it never stopped. Moreover, terrorism was also described as the demonstration of the violent hostility the rebels had towards the British Government.<sup>16</sup>

When the First World War broke out, the Indians were very loyal and supportive to the great surprise of the British. The war ended with very high casualty rates. After the war, the Hindus unified with the Muslims to fight for their new claim which was self-government.<sup>17</sup> The British responded by introducing diarchy followed by the “Rowlatt Act”.<sup>18</sup> Diarchy was meant to include the Indians to the government but they were denied higher positions which led to protests through the press. Unfortunately, the British could fight against those protesters due to the “Rowlatt Act” which gave full freedom to the police to abuse of its power. The campaigns of revolts were supported by Gandhi and it was during these revolts that the Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Movement was used for the first time.<sup>19</sup>

Gandhi called for a ‘hartal’ which means suspension of business.<sup>20</sup> The police reacted violently since the “Rowlatt Act” allowed it and it opened fire to the angry mob. This was known as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre which was shortly followed by the Chauri Chaura incident. Moreover, Gandhi was arrested but soon after his release he launched his most famous Salt Satyagraha which is also known as the ‘Dandi March’ or the Salt March. This was a protest against the British taxes on salt and the British monopoly of the salt

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<sup>15</sup> Griffiths. P., op. cit. , p. 288.

<sup>16</sup> Bose. A., op. cit. , p. 280.

<sup>17</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 118.

<sup>18</sup> Tidrick. K., op. cit. , p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> Prabhu. R. K., op. cit. , p. 5.



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production.<sup>21</sup> Gandhi was again imprisoned but after his release, Gandhi resumed the Civil Disobedience Movement. He launched the Quit India Movement as a protest against the British who involved India in the Second World War without consulting the Indians.<sup>22</sup> Along with that protest, the Muslim claimed for the partition of India into two sovereign states, one for the Muslims and the second for the Hindus.<sup>23</sup>

The British Government sent a delegation to India headed by Cripps. The aim was to obtain co-operation for the war in return of gradual transfer of power from British rule to the Indians. It was known as the “Cripps Mission” and it failed.<sup>24</sup> The British Government responded to the demand of self-government. They promised to transfer the power when the Second World War ends. Indeed, the British declared on the 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1947 that power will be transferred to the Indians in June 1948. This was under the “Indian Independence Act 1947” by which India became an independent nation.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> McLeod. J., op. cit. , p.113.

<sup>22</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> Rudolph. L. I., Rudolph. S. H., op. cit. , p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , pp. 73-74.

<sup>25</sup> Todd. M. A., Marty. M. E., op. cit. , p. 78.

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