



B.A. PART-II
(Semester-III)

HISTORY-PAPER-A
HISTORY OF INDIA (1707-1950)

UNIT NO. 1

SECTION-A

Department of Distance Education
Punjabi University, Patiala

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LESSON NO:

UNIT NO. 1

- 1.1 : Causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire
- 1.2 : Lord Clive and his Reforms
- 1.3 : Reforms of Lord Cornwallis
- 1.4 : Reforms of Lord William Bentick
- 1.5 : Reforms of Lord Dalhousie
- 1.6 : The uprising of 1857: Its Nature, Causes, Events, Causes of its Failure and Effects.
- 1.7 : Socio-Religious Reforms Movements in India: Brahmo-Samaj, Arya Samaj, Aligarh Movement, Singh Sabha Movements and Dr. Ambedkar's Efforts for the uplift of the Schedule Castes.

Note : Students can download the syllabus from Department's website www.dccpbi.com

DOWNFALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Before his death, Aurangzeb is said to have left a will partitioning his vast empire among his three surviving sons, although when he got the crown, he rejected the same type of proposal from his father Shah Jahan. The eldest of Aurangzeb's son Muhammad Muazzam, who emerged successful in the war of succession after killing his two brothers, was sixty four of age. The new boundaries, which he was to manage were enforceable. Even the ruler was vacillating in reconciling with the Rajputs. His concessions to Marhattas were half hearted. An obscure Sikh named as Banda Bahadur, collected a strong force and sacked Sirhind. Many Jat peasants converted to Sikhism. Infact, the decline of the mughal empire was a result of number of reasons.

The mughal government was a centralised despotism. In such a system of Government everything depends on the personality and character of the king. If, he happens to be a strong and efficient king, the administration goes well, but if he was weak, his empire would dwindle. But Aurangzeb's successor from Bahadur Shah I to Bahadur Shah II were mere non-entities. Aurangzeb did not give any practical knowledge of administration to his son's and one of the important reason was his suspicious nature. Hence when they became ruler, they remained only puppets in the hands of their nobles. Jahandar Shah, the successor of Bahadur Shah I was a profligate fort, Farrukh Siyar was a cowardly Prince and Muhammad Shah was known as 'Rangila'. So it was not possible for them to manage such a big Empire.

With the passage of time, the Mughal nobility also degenerated wealth and leisure fortered luxury and cloths. They started having large number of women in their harem. They encouraged debauchery. Consequently, Physical, moral and intellectual degeneration overtook them.

Another important cause to the decline was the degeneration in the army set up. The main army mostly consisted of large contingent maintained by the mansabdars and the mansabdars were given large tracts of land for their maintenance. On account of this, the soldiers were more loyal to their mansabs than to the ruler. The inherent defect in the system brought radical in the army set up. With the installation of weak rulers, the nobles with their loyal mansabs, started asserting authority.

The economic bankruptcy further gave blow to the Mughal Empire. The equitable taxation of Akbar's time was no more the principle of the land. More money was spent on unproductive work. There was burden of taxes on the peasants as well as on the commoners. It brought unrest in the public. During Shah Jahan's times, money was being spent on the building and on unnecessary wars. The economic collapse came in the times of Alamgir II, who was starved and the revenues even of the royal privy purse-state were usurped by the unscrupulous wazir Imad-ul-Mulk.

The unwise religious policy of Aurangzeb of persecuting Hindus, hastened the process of decline of Mughal Empire. Akbar won over them through religious toleration. He enlisted Rajputs as trusted warriors, who took the mughal banner upto central Asia. But reimposition of Jaziya and forced conversion during Aurangzeb's times, alienated the Hindus. The Sikhs under Guru Gobind Singh vowed vengeance against the Mughals, when 9th Guru was put to death. Guru Gobind Singh converted this sect, into a militant sect by establishing 'Khalsa', which became a potent cause in the downfall of Aurangzeb's dynasty. Aurangzeb's policy towards the shia's sect was unhealthy. Shia-Sunni riots accelerated the decline of Mughal rule.

The deccan policy of Aurangzeb undermined the Mughal prestige beyond repair, contributed materially to the down fall of his dynasty. This destroyed the shia Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkunda there was an endless war of extermination against the Marhattas. Thus within thirty years of Aurangzeb's death, the Mughals were fighting battles against shias, Marhattas, Rajputs, Rathores, Bundelas, Sikhs and Jats and no Hindu tribe worth of military value were with them.

The Mughal prestige got a blow from the attack of Nadir Shah, who invaded India in 1739 and defeated Muhammad Shah. There was a large scale of persecution of Delhites and he carried away a large booty including the peacock throne studded with Jewels. He tore away the province of Afghanistan from the empire. This was followed by seven invasions of Ahmed Shah Abdali, who became king of Kabul after the assassination of Nadir Shah.

The rise of East India company and in conversion from trading organisation to a territorial power gave a death blow to the dwindling Mughal Empire. The Mughals failed to keep a pace with modernisation of weaponry and military tactics. The Mughal system was overpowered by the British power was well entrenched on the seas and could be dislodged only by a superior sea power, whereas the Mughal had no naval force.

The Mughal government always remained a police govt. excepts in times of Akbar, they only performed the activities of external and internal peace and

collection of revenue. When the govt. became weak and could not perform these activities, it lost its justification. Ambitious governors took advantage of the situation and established their own independence.

The court intrigues among the nobility also undermined the strength of the Mughal monarchy. It was expected that during the attacks of Nadir Shah or Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Mughal nobility will fight it in a unified manner, but it was other way around. Their treachrous role encouraged the invader and weakened the Mughal authority. The later Mughal nobility was divided into two factions, the Turanis (Control Asian faction) and the Irani or Persian faction. The Turanis were Sunnis and the Irani's were Shias. The invaders always took advantage of the court intrigues and made their way.

Finally the Mughals were essentially a foreign people, and alien domination over the native people did not last for ever. It lacked popular support It did last as long as the Mughal were holding authority and wielding the sword, the moment they became weak, it started crumbling down and its fall became inevitable.

LORD CLIVE AND HIS REFORMS

Clive's life and achievements before his appointment as Governor

Early Career: Clive was the eldest son of Richard Clive. He was born in 1725, and was educated at four private schools. At the age of eighteen he joined the service of the East India Company as a clerk and left for India. He did not have any friend in India, and was soon fed up with the post of a clerk. He was so disgusted that he tried to commit suicide with a pistol, but it did not go off. However, at this he was convinced that God had saved him to accomplish some thing great in life. Clive resigned the post of a clerk and joined army. As a soldier, he was a great success and gave many proofs of his bravery.

Important part played by him in the Second Battle of Carnatik : In the second battle of Carnatik, the French were winning and Chanda Sahib their ally had besieged Trichnapoly. Suddenly, Clive invaded Arcot and with the help of a small number of soldiers conquered it. Thus Chanda Sahib was forced to send half of his army from Trichnapoly to Arcot. Clive fought bravely against this army for 53 days and in the mean time the British defeated the enemy in Trichnapoly, and this victory marked a turning point in this war. In this way, the credit for British success in the Second Battle of Carnatik largely goes to Clive. In 1753, Clive sailed for England on grounds of ill health.

Re-occupation of Calcutta : When Clive returned from England after his appointment as the Governor of Saint David, he was told that the Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula had occupied Calcutta. Clive and Watson were sent with a naval fleet and an army to reconquer it. Manik Chand, the Nawab's Governor in Calcutta, was defeated and in the beginning of 1757, the British again established their control over Calcutta. It was another daring achievement of Clive.

Clive and the Revolution in Bengal : Clive now decided to remove Siraj-ud-Daula from the Nawabship of Bengal. He conspired with the Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Jafar to accomplish his aim. In June, 1757, he defeated Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey. This impressive victory of the British was a result of Clive's astute diplomacy. In place of Siraj-ud-Daula, Mir Jafar was appointed the Nawab of Bengal. The new Nawab according to his promise, gave a large amount to the British Commander-in-Chief & the Governor.

Clive's First Governorship (1757-1760 A.D.)

After the Battle of Plassey, the Directors of the Company appointed Clive as the Governor of Bengal. He worked in this capacity for three years. The following are the important achievements of this period.

Assistance given for defeating Ali Gohur : Prince Ali Gohur, who was later known as Emperor Shah Alam, came with his army to Oudh to get assistance from the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, but he suddenly invaded Bihar. Thereupon Mir Jafar's son, Miran prepared to meet him. In order to assist Miran, Clive marched towards Bihar and after defeating Ali Gohur compelled him to retreat. But Clive entrusted the administration of the Jagir to the Company. Therefore, the Company now paid Clive 30,000 pounds every year before it used to pay to the Nawab.

Clive Patched up the differences between Mir Jafar and his officials : Mir Jafar began to doubt the loyalty of his Dewan Durlabh Rai, and also of the Deputy Nawab of Bihar. But Clive patched up the differences among them. As a reward for this service, the Nawab granted to the Company the monopoly of trade in saltpeter.

Annihilation of the Power of the Dutch : The Dutch had established their settlement in Chinsura in Bengal. After the Battle of Plassey, they became envious of the British power in Bengal and in collaboration with Mir Jafar initiated conspiracies against the English. In November, 1759, seven Dutch ships reached the Indian waters. To give them fight, Clive sent an army under the leadership of Colonel Ford. The Dutch were defeated at Vadera and their ships were seized. After this, the Dutch were completely overshadowed by the English.

The Conquest of Northern Circars : When the Third Carnatik war was being fought, Clive sent a British force to the Northern Circars. This army defeated and expelled the French from Northern Circars and established their control.

In this way, during the period of his first Governorship, Clive defeated enemies of the British and established their supremacy in Bengal. The Nawab of Bengal was full under his control and conducted administration in accordance with his wishes. In 1760, Clive again left for England because of ill health.

Second Governorship of Clive (1765-1767 A.D.)

The condition of law and order deteriorated in Bengal in the absence of Clive. In order to improve such a state of affairs, the Directors of the Company again appointed Clive as the Governor of Bengal. They also gave him the right of Supreme Commander and asked him to run the administration with

the advice and assistance of the Select Committee. In May, 1765, Clive reached Calcutta. During the short period of two years he solved many internal and external problems and enhanced the prestige and status of the Company. According to P.E. Roberts, his achievements during the second Governorship may be classified under the following three heads :

- (a) Reform of the Company's civil and military services.
- (b) The acquisition of Diwani or revenue administration of Bengal.
- (c) External Policy.

(a) Reforms in Company's Civil and Military Administration

Prohibition of Private trade and ban on the acceptance of presents from the Indians :

The Company's officials were selfish and corrupt. They were busy augmenting their resources by carrying private trade and by accepting presents from the Indians. In accordance with the orders of the Directors, Clive tried to eradicate these evils. He forced all the officials of the Company to subscribe to the receipt of presents from the Indians. He also forbade them from carrying private trade without paying octroi tax under 'Dastaks'.

His attempt to increase the income of Company's officials : After removing corruption among the officials of the Company, Clive wanted to please them. Therefore, he advised the Directors to increase their salaries. When this proposal was not accepted, Clive established a trading society which was given monopoly of trade in salt, betel-leaf and tobacco. The income thus derived was distributed among the officials according to their status. However, in 1765 A.D., the Directors abolished this society and started paying to the officials a share out of the income received from the province.

Stopped the Double Bhatta of the soldiers : In 1766, Clive issued an order that soldiers should not be paid double Bhatta in future. He also ordered that half bhatta than before shall be given to the soldiers fighting on the front. Many soldiers and officials opposed this measure of Clive and about two hundred of them submitted their resignation. Clive accepted their resignations and controlled the situation with great ability and composure.

Lord Clive Fund : In order to help the disabled officers and widows of those officials who died in service, Clive opened "Lord Clive Fund". The needy were assisted out of this fund until the system of giving pensions to the officials was introduced.

(b) The Acquisition of the Diwani in Bengal or the Dual Government of Bengal (1765 to 72)

Meaning and Features of the Dual Government : A noteworthy measure of this period was the introduction of dual Government in Bengal

by Clive. In 1765, after the death of Mir Jafar, his son, Nazim-ud-Daula became the Nawab of Bengal. Clive signed a treaty with the new Nawab, according to which the right of 'Nizamat' (police and military administration) was given to the Company. The Company allowed him to remain Nawab of Bengal and for running the administration the company promised to pay him lacs of rupees every year. In this way for all practical purposes, the Nawab became an official of the Company and all the powers of administration also passed under the Company's control. In August, 1765, Clive also signed a treaty with Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor. The Company undertook to pay him Rs. 26 lakhs every year. As a compensation, the Emperor granted the right of Diwani (to collect land revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and a part of Orissa. As a result of the possession of both 'Nizamat' and 'Diwani', the Company became the superman power in Bengal. This administrative set up is known as the 'Dual Government' because the real power to run the administration was in the hands of the Company whereas the Nawab was simply responsible for running the Government. In order to assist the Nawab, Raza Khan and Shitab Rai were appointed deputies of the Nawab in Bengal and Bihar respectively.

Advantages of the Dual Government

There is no doubt that the introduction of the Dual Government suited the exigencies of the time and it was a tribute to Clive's statesmanship and intelligence. It proved to be a very advantageous system for the British. As a result, the British established their supremacy in Bengal and the Nawab remained the nominal ruler. The struggle for supremacy between the British and Nawab came to an end.

While maintaining the name and shadow of the Nawab under dual system, Clive subtly established the supremacy of the Company. Had Clive openly established the direct and complete rule of the Company in Bengal at that time, it is presumed that the French and the Marathas would have become hostile to the British. Abolition of the office of the Nawab in Bengal might have instigated a revolt of the nobles and people in the province. Therefore, he maintaining nominal power of the Nawab, Clive showed great statesmanship.

Besides, it had been well argued that at that time, the strength of the Company's officials was very small; they were not competent to run the administration of Bengal efficiently as they did not know the Indian languages, law, customs, etc. Under these circumstances, the total responsibility of running the administration of Bengal would have been a blunder on the part of Clive.

Disadvantages of the System of Dual Government

Disadvantages of the dual system were far greater than its advantages. The

Company had power but no responsibility, on the other hand the Nawab had responsibility but no power. Thus, the main drawback was that power was divorced from responsibility. Such a system adversely effected the administration and lawlessness increased throughout the province. According to Kaye, it increased lawlessness, and corruption became more than before. Besides, the officials of the Company started private trade in spite of Clive's orders to the contrary. The Nawab was already a nominal ruler and did not have the power to check them. In this way, not only the Company sustained a loss, but Indian trade and traders also suffered. The English forbade the Indians to manufacture silken cloth and compelled the Indian weavers to work in British factories.

The Dual Government system also threw out of gear the administrative set up and the condition of the masses especially the farmers condition got deteriorated. The Company was not interested in the collection of revenue and to run the administration was not its responsibility. Due to lack of funds, the Nawab was not in a position to do any thing for the benefit of the people. The English interfered too much in his administration so much so that even the judges could not administer law impartially. But the Nawab had no power to check them. Taking advantage of these conditions, the Government officials and the zamindars exploited the people and realised maximum revenue from the peasants. As a result, anarchy and chaos prevailed in the entire province and the people were put to much trouble and sufferings. In May, 1769, Richard Becher, an official of the Company aptly remarked, "it must give pain to an English man that since the accession of the Company to Diwani, the condition of the people of this country has been worse than before. He further added that fine country which flourished under the despotic and arbitrary governments is verging towards its ruin." According to K.M Panikar, "In Indian History, in any age, right from Teanman to the period of Mohammad Tughlaq, the people of any province did not suffer so much as the people of Bengal suffered between 1765 and 1772 A.D." The terrible famine of Bengal in 1770 A.D. was also a result of the Dual System of Government. It is notable that the British did not render any help to the famine stricken people and the Nawab did not have any money to help them. The result was that one third population of Bengal perished in this famine. Warren Hastings rightly abolished this defective system in 1772.

(c) Foreign Policy

Treaty with Nawab-Wazir Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh : Before Clive arrived in India, the British had already defeated Nawab-Wazir Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh in 1764. In August, 1765, Clive signed with him the Treaty

of Allahabad, under which the Nawab-Wazir ceded the district of Kara and Allahabad and fifty lakh rupees to the English Company. The Company recognized him as the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh and promised to protect him. Clive deliberately did not annex Oudh. His policy was to use Oudh as a buffer state between Bengal and Marathas. It is notable that his policy towards Oudh was pursued by all the Governor-Generals until Dalhousie annexed it.

Treaty with the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam : In 1765, Clive also signed a treaty with the refugee Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, under which the districts of Kara and Allahabad were given to the latter. The British also promised to pay him twenty six lakh rupees every year. The Mughal Emperor gave to the Company the rights of Diwani for Bengal, Bihar and a part of Orissa. However, some British officials were of the opinion that Clive had shown leniency towards the defeated refugee Mughal Emperor. But Clive thought it necessary to adopt this lenient policy. He was a shrewd statesman and he thought that by getting the right of Diwani, from a legal point of view the position of the Company would be considerably strengthened.

Impeachment and the Defeat of Clive : In January, 1767, on grounds of ill health, Clive returned to England. In the British Parliament, he was accused of exploiting his position and accepting bribes, while in India, Clive defended himself. In the end, it was decided that he had accepted 2,34,00 pounds. However, in recognition of his services the British Parliament passed a resolution that "Robert Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country." Although Clive was declared not guilty, yet he was deeply pained by this trial and on November 2, 1774, he committed suicide.

Estimate of Clive

In History, Clive is considered as the founder of the British rule in India. He joined the services of the Company as a Clerk but gradually rose to the position of the Governor. This was largely due to his ability and boldness. According to Pitt the Elder, he was a heaven born General, e.g., in the Second Battle of Carnatik, he played a significant role to defeat the French. He reconquered Calcutta and as a result of British victory in the battle of Plassey, he made the Company a supreme power in Bengal. He used personal animosities of the local chiefs in the interests of the company rule. During the period of his first Governorship, by defeating the Dutch, French and Ali Gohur, he demonstrated his qualities as a great general. During the period of his second Governorship, he proved to be a sagacious statesman and able reformer. It is true that he was full of many vices as he used to accept bribes through underhand means, but as P.E. Roberts has written, "in spite of

some faults, there is the stamp of grandeur on Clive's all works and actions." Lord Macaulay in his praise observed, "In Army or Council, England has not produced a greater man than Clive."

RELEVANT PAGES OF BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Narang, K.S., Grover, B.L., : British History of India, pp.176-96
Anand, P.L.
2. Roberts, P.E. : History of British India, pp.129-66
3. Ishwari Prashad and Subedar : A History of Modern India, pp. 56
4. B.D. Bassu : Rise of Christian Power in India, pp. 44-192
5. Thompson, E. and Garret, G.T. : Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India, pp. 80-110
6. Smith, V.A. : The Oxford History of India, pp. 465-79
7. Majumdar, R.C. Ray Chadhuary, : An Advanced History of India, pp. 654-66, 669-79
Dutta, H.C.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR YOUR PRACTICE

1. Give an account of Clive's first Governorship.
2. Give in detail the merits and demerits of permanent settlement of Bengal under Clive.

SELF-CHECK EXERCISE

- Q. 1. Fill in the blanks :
- (i) Siraj-ud-Daula became the Nawb of Bengal, Bihar and Orrisa in.....
 - (ii) Treaty of Ali Nagar was concluded on
 - (iii) Battle of Buxar was fought in
 - (iv) Clive's first Governorship of Bengal lasted from..... to.....
 - (v) Dual Government of Bengal was abolished by....in 1772 A.D.
- Q. 2. Mark (tick) the correct statements :
- (i) Who first mentioned the Black Hole Tragedy ?
(a) Clive (b) Holwell
 - (ii) When was the Battle of Plassey fought ?
(a) 23rd June, 1757 (b) 29th December, 1756

- (iii) Who remarked about the Battle of Plassey that, "Plassey was a rout and not a battle ?
 (a) V.A. Smith (b) P.E. Roberts
- (iv) Who summed up the Battle of Buxar in these words, "Buxar finally rivetted the shackles of British rule over Bengal ?
 (a) Ramsay Muir (b) Dodewell
- (v) Who praised Lord Clive in the words that he was a heaven born general ?
 (a) Macaulay (b) Pitt the Elder (c) P.E. Roberts

Key of Answers

- Q. 1 (i) 1756 A.D. (ii) February 9, 1757 (iii) October, 1764
 (iv) 1757 AD.-1760 A.D. (v) Warren Hastings
- Q. 2 (i) b (ii) a (iii) b (iv) a (v) b

Now find out your position :

Excellent	:	Above 6 correct answers
Good	:	5-6 correct answers
Satisfactory	:	4 correct answers
Unsatisfactory	:	Less than four correct answers

**MODERN INDIA
REFORMS OF LORD CORNWALLIS**

- 1.3.1 Objectives
- 1.3.2 Introduction
- 1.3.3 His Policy
- 1.3.4 Reforms
 - 1.3.4.1 Administrative Reforms
- 1.3.5 Judicial Reforms
 - 1.3.5.1 Criminal Law, Cornwallis Code
 - 1.3.5.2 Civil Law
 - 1.3.5.3 Police Reforms
- 1.3.6 Permanent Settlement of Bengal
- 1.3.7 Answer to check your progress

1.3.1 Objectives

The basic objective of this lesson is to make the student understand the policy of expansion of British reign as well as various reforms which were undertaken by Lord Cornwallis. The stress is more on the reforms. The various reforms in the shape of administrative, judicial, public as well as permanent settlement of land revenue in Bengal has been dealt explicitly.

1.3.2 Introduction

Lord Cornwallis, when he assumed charge at Calcutta in September, 1786, was vested with full authority as both Governor General and C-in-C to control all civil and military affairs of the British settlements in India, and, if necessary, to overrule opposition by his colleagues. He also enjoyed the confidence of the ministry at home, and thus started his work with advantages never possessed by Hastings. His first three years were devoted to internal reforms. It is rightly said that "if Hastings was the founder of the civil administration in India then Lord Cornwallis definitely laid the structure on it." R.C. Dutt has remarked that:

"There was a gleam of sunshine in India after an age of darkness and storms. Lord Cornwallis did not belie the expectations that had been formed of him."

1.3.4 Reforms

1.3.4.1 Administrative Reforms

- (a) Increase of salaries and restrictions of Private Trade.
When Cornwallis came to India, the private trade of the company employees was rampant. The salaries of the employees were low and they used to make money either through corruption or private trade. In order to improve the system, Cornwallis increased the salaries of high and low paid employees of the Company and put restrictions on their private business.
- (b) The collectors had the right of dispensing justice in civil jurisdiction. But Cornwallis withdrew this right of collectors and they were only to look after the collection of taxes in the land revenue. Thus, collectors had only the administrative power.
- (c) There was denial of high post to Indians. In other words, Cornwallis did the Europeanization of all the higher post in the administration. Indian could get maximum a post which had an annual income of 300 pounds. He always considered that Indians are not competent and capable of high posts. But this assessment of Cornwallis about Indians was incorrect and against the natural justice.

1.3.5 Judicial Reforms

A large number of reforms were undertaken in the field of justice.

1.3.5.1 Criminal Law

For three years Governor General had consultations with judges and officials and on December 3, 1790, he produced new regulations which were to be the basis of criminal jurisdiction for the next 40 years. The preamble explained that it was done due to the robberies, dacoities, murders and other enormities which were committed daily throughout the country. The old courts were set aside. Under the new system, the lowest court was that of Daroga and then there were District Courts headed by a session judge. He could hear the appeals against the decisions of Darogas. Cornwallis established four courts of circuit namely Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. The judges of these courts were in charge of their divisions and for giving a death sentence, they were to get the approval of the superior court namely 'Sadar Nizamat Adalat' at Calcutta.

Cornwallis Code

Lord Cornwallis along with George Barlow prepared a code of laws, which was known as 'Cornwallis Code'. This code was based on the Hindu and Muslim laws. The basic purpose of this code was to avoid the unnecessary interference in the practice of religion and the judges should also know their limits. The

jurisdiction of various courts were demarcated. Drastic changes were also made in the Penal Code. The harsh punishments like cutting of organs, inhuman punishments were set aside and moderation was adopted in punishment.

1.3.5.2 Civil Law

Radical changes were also made in the administration of civil law. The earlier system had two defects, the collector who presided over the district courts were neither skilled in law nor interested in this work, also they might be tempted to misuse their position, either to defend their actions as revenue officials or to further their private interests. Cornwallis wished to make civil law cheap and accessible, and have a well defined law administered by disinterested judges. In 1793, he issued a new set of regulations, re-enacting nearly all his criminal reforms of 1790, but entirely altering the system of civil jurisdiction. He appointed 28 judges in the district and further strengthened the four courts of circuit, which now became also civil courts of appeal. Under them were a number of Indian Sadar Amins and Commissioners, the munsiffs of a later date and they heard minor civil cases. The judges were European civil servants. Cornwallis also attempted to codify the existing law and procedure into the form of regulations. In this work Sir William Jones, a known orientalist took a leading part. It was an honest attempt on the part of Cornwallis to establish the rule of law.

1.3.5.3 Police Reforms

The weakness of the criminal administration lay in the detection of crime, and Lord Cornwallis entirely reformed the police system in 1792. Each district was divided into 'Thanas' under the charge of a 'Daroga' and these were under the direct control of the district judge. The zamindars were deprived of all police authority. In 1808, S.P.'s were appointed in three districts and in 1827, this organisation was extended throughout the province. Normally, these S.P.'s were all Europeans and used to assist collectors in maintaining peace in the district.

1.3.6 Permanent Settlement of Bengal

The most famous measure of Lord Cornwallis was the permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa concluded in 1793. He put this through the help of Jonathan Duncan and John Shore. In 1790-91, the land revenues of these districts were Rs. 34,53,000 of Benaras, Rs. 2,68,00,000 for Bihar and Bengal. Shore who did most of collecting the information, wanted to substitute for annual assessments lasting for 10 years. Cornwallis decided to make unchangeable settlement and assessment, and to recognize the zamindars who were hereditary rent-collectors, the Govt. being the landlord, as the actual land owners. This settlement, which today hardly any one will defend, and Indians denounce without measure upto 30 years ago was believed by most nationalist writers to

be almost the only good thing the English had done, they were scolded for not having done it everywhere. Its evils were that the zamindars were given a big property not theirs, and relapsed into a selfish, careless class and the Govt. obtained a small settled revenue, which should have been an expending one. The assessment was made roughly on the basis of accounts of previous collections and was necessarily done in a haphazard fashion. The author of permanent settlement fancied that he would create a race of ideal landlords, eager to improve their estates and was not sufficiently acquainted with the facts of Indian life to know the baselessness of such a fancy. He also designed to protect the subordinate tenure-holders and cultivating tenants against the oppression of their lordes, and so far as words went, the regulations gave such protection. This settlement gave a boost to the growth of agriculture. The farmers improved their lands as they knew that they have to pay a fixed land revenue and the rest would be their profit. This act brought an overall improvement in trade as well and Bengal from 1793 onwards did not suffer from any famine. It can be safely concluded that it had many defects in it and , therefore, it was not put into practice in other provinces.

1.3.7 Check your Progress

1. To know the policy of reforms of Lord Cornwallis, check 4a.3
2. To check the details of reforms, check 4a.4 to 4a.5.3
3. To know the merits and demerits of permanent settlement of Bengal, check 4a.6

**MODERN INDIA
Reforms of Lord William Bentick****Structure**

- 1.4.1 Objectives
- 1.4.2 Introduction
- 1.4.3 His Policy
- 1.4.4 Reforms
 - 1.4.4.1 Army
 - 1.4.4.2 Social Reforms
 - 1.4.4.2 Suttee, Infanticide, Thagee
- 1.4.5 Judicial Reforms
- 1.4.6 Reforms in Education
- 1.4.7 Summing Up
- 1.4.8 Answers to check your progress

1.4.1 Objectives

The basic aim of writing this lesson is to make you understand the old regime which was in existence during the British times, and the changes which Lord Bentick brought in the social, political and administrative structure during his times.

After going through this lesson, the student shall be able to learn about the various reforms which Lord Bentick undertook and certain landmarks which he brought in the field of Education and Justice.

1.4.2 Introduction

Lord William Cavendish Bentick had served India earlier before assuming the charge of Governor General in 1828. His reign marked the beginning of new era in numerous ways. His rule was a period of peace and reforms of and remarkable changes in the internal administration. Lord Macaulay writes that "He was the man who rules India with eminent prudence, integrity and benevolence."

His own instincts were those of a liberal reformer.

1.4.3 Policy

He believed in the policy of peace, retrenchment and reform, in free competition,

free trade and strictly limited sphere of state action. Bentick initiated new policies in the spheres of finance, justice and education. Freedom from war gave him a large devoted staff even in taking unpopular measures. Bentick and his staff were imbued with a new spirit of religious and social revival. The English began to believe that they had a moral mission in India, as they represented a higher civilization and a better religion. People like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were also working against the orthodox Hinduism.

1.4.4.1 Reforms : Army

Extensive reforms were undertaken in this field. Bentick sailed to India with a definite instructions to cutdown civil and military salaries and allowances and reduce expenditure generally. In 1831, Bentick took a free hand by assuming the office of C-in-C in addition to that of Governor General. His studies of military organization had led him to form a poor opinion of the Indian army. He considered Indian army as a 'Less efficient and most expensive in the world.' The army was mulcted of half of its 'Bhatta', the extra allowance which the officers had come to regard as permanent in addition to their salary. Special committees examined and reduced the expenditure of each Presidency. This act was very unpopular but was done with a great tact.

1.4.4.2 Social Reforms

The most famous reform associated with him was 'Suttee' enacted in 1829. The regulation declared 'the practice of Suttee or burning alive the widows of Hindus, illegal and punishable by the criminal courts. The practice had attained terrible prevalence in Bengal, where in some years, 800 women were sacrificed. "SAHAMARANA", dying in the company with one's husband is a very ancient rite. The Mughals also condemned it and discouraged it. In 1780, sixty four women burnt themselves at the death of Raja Ajit Singh of Marwar. In 1820's onwards, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a Hindu reformist, spoke against this practice. After the enactment, there was opposition to it in Bengal and Bihar and an appeal was also launched in Privy Council, but it was heard and dismissed.

1.4.4.3 Thuggee : The suppression of Thuggee was a notable achievement of the Pre-Mutiny Era. The 'Thug or 'Phansidar' was a member of those hereditary criminal castes which have always been a feature of Indian life. Working in gangs, which were bound together by strict religious vows to the goddess Kali, would ingratiate themselves with travelers and then strangle them and bury them. They formed a powerful confederacy operating over the whole of north India and supported by many landowners, through whom they disposed of their booty. A special department under Col. Sleeman was appointed to deal with them. More than three thousand thugs were arrested and an elaborate system of detection and punishment was organised.

In 1837, Col Sleeman was also entrusted with the job of eliminating the 'Dacoities'. There were parts of India where decoity was a national past time. It was considered as a honourable procession. In Western India, large number of dacoits were Bhils, whose settlement and reclamation by Outram was a wholly admirable work. The killing of girl babies (infanticide) was commonest amongst the war-like casts in Central and Western India and was a natural development of primitive civilization in which an unmarried woman was considered as Unchaste and a fair proportion of men killed in war. This custom was very much prevalent in Rajputana. The systematic affair of murdering the children was an affair of the 'Zenana'. The mother was usually the executioner. She either did not feed the child or used opium on the nipples of her breasts. The female infanticide was also due to the pressure of 'Dowries' demanded among certain castes. The practice of registering the new births had a deep impact on the practice of infanticide.

1.4.5 Judicial Reforms

The judicial system had been little altered since the times of Lord Cornwallis. The courts had become in the words of Bentick, 'resting places for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities.' The delay in the courts were a major worrying factor. The courts were now abolished as their criminal jurisdiction transferred to the commissioner of revenue. This experiment was a failure and the session duties were allotted to the civil judges. Lord Bentick's measures threw open to Indian candidates responsible employment in the judicial service. In 1827, more subordinate judges were appointed and Sadar Amins were empowered to try suits involving double the former amount. In 1831, he appointed a superior type of Indian civil Judge authorizing to try cases involving property to any amount. The practice of appointing Indian judges thus kept down the arrears of work. This resulted in for Indians of gaining seats in high courts and as well as judicial committee of the Privy Council

1.4.6 Educational Reforms

The decision of making English language 'the Official and Literary Language' of the country was a momentous decision of Bentick. Previous Governors paid attention for the oriental languages system also but a serious discussion on this policy came during the course of company's Charter Act of 1833.

The new law member Lord Macaulay played a role in deciding the new education policy of the British in India. A struggle between the 'orientalists' and 'Anglicists' was going on. Some of the Europeans like Mr. Wilson were with the orientlists. Bentick ultimately gave a decision that the 'object of the British government should be the promotion of English literature and science. Thus, later on, a

medical college was opened to Indian students in 1837. In Bombay, Elphinstone College was also opened. English was adopted as a medium of instruction. Bentick was guided primarily by practical considerations. He believed that Science would be the subject most taught, he was anxious to foster the growth of a small educated class, who would know English and through that knowledge bring western ideas to India. They wanted a class of Indian "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."

Bentick also made Shimla as Summer capital of India from 1830 onwards. Darjeeling was bought from Raja of Sikkim in 1835. He also established the hill station of Ootacamund, in Nilgiris of South India.

1.4.7 Summing Up

Thus, the period of Lord Bentick had been a period of reforms, retrenchment and plenty. The breakthrough which he brought in adopting English as the medium of instruction and official language proved to be a right decision for the government in the long run. His crusade against Thuggee, child infanticide, Suttee and human sacrifice were also supported by a large number of Bengalees, who were the members of Brahma Samaj.

1.4.8 Check your Progress

1. To know the policy of Lord Bentick, base your answer on 1.5.3
2. To give a detail of Educational reforms, base your answer on 1.5.6
3. To write about Administrative reforms, base your answer 1.5.4 to 1.5.6

MODERN INDIA

Reforms of Lord Dalhousie

Structure

- 1.5.1 Objectives
- 1.5.2 Introduction
- 1.5.3 His Policy
- 1.5.4 Reforms
 - 1.5.4.1 Public Works-Railways, Post and Telegraph
 - 1.5.4.2 Administrative Reforms
 - 1.5.4.3 Military Reforms
 - 1.5.4.4 Social Reforms
 - 1.5.4.5 Educational Reforms
- 1.5.5 Summing Up
- 1.5.6 Answers to check your progress

1.5.1 Objectives

The basic purpose of this lesson is to familiarize you with an era of reforms which were undertaken by the Governor General before the mutiny. Some of the reforms done by Cornwallis and Bentick were further carried away by Dalhousie, particularly in the field of social as well as judicial reforms. Dalhousie also did large number of public works like canals, railways etc.

The student after going through this lesson, would understand in a better way about the reforms undertaken by Lord Dalhousie.

1.5.2 Introduction

Lord Dalhousie, a brilliant young Scottish nobleman, only with age of thirty five, took over the charge in Calcutta in Jan. 1848. His predecessor gave an assurance that not even a single shot would be necessary to fire for coming seven years. But he was proved wrong as the very next year Dalhousie had to fight with Sikhs and Punjab became a British territory.

1.5.3 His Policy

Lord Dalhousie made a beginning in framing a system of government on modern lines and got rid of absurd traditions which had come down from the old

mercantile days of the company. W.W. Hunter has rightly said "Lord Dalhousie converted the stationary India of Lord Wellesley into the progressive India of our own day."

1.5.4 Reforms :

1.5.4.1 Public Reforms :

He greatly increased the expenditure on public works. The money which he collected through his policy of annexation was all utilized for the welfare of the people of India. He is rightfully known as the father of Indian Railway, post and telegraph. In 1852, he introduced his railway minute in which a wide net of railways was spread out in India. The first railway line was constructed from Bombay to Thane in 1853 and in 1854, Calcutta to Raniganj. The railway lines were given to British Private Companies. This network of railways boosted the economy and people's movement also became more frequent.

Post : The inefficient postal arrangements were abolished. The variety of fees in the postal system was prevalent. There was no system of stamps, the sender of the letter used to pay money and the persons who used to deliver the letters always had their commission before delivering the letter. Dalhousie appointed a three member commission for posts and implemented their recommendations. The distance and weight of the letter was kept into consideration and the system of fixing the stamps by the sender was started. A director general to coordinate this system was also appointed. Thus with the new reforms postal system became a source of revenue for the Government.

Telegraph : He introduced the electric telegraph system and laid out more than 400 miles of wires on wooden poles throughout the country. This helped the government to run in a better and efficient manner.

Public Works Department : Before Lord Dalhousie, all the public works were under the supervision of Military Board. On the advent of the Governor the supervision of this department, a network of roads was spread out. The construction of famous grand trunk road also got started during this time. Canals were vastly extended and the mighty Ganges Canal was finished in 1854. The construction of Bari Doab Canal was also started.

Dalhousie initiated steps to preserve the old buildings and monuments in Agra and Delhi. A provision in the budget and a temporary department was also made for the said purpose.

1.5.4.2 Administrative Reforms

Appointment of Lt. Governor General in Bengal : In 1853, for running the administration of Bengal, a separate Lt. Governor General was appointed. He adopted a non-regulated system for the newly annexed territories in the British Empire. In every province, he appointed Commissioner and Chief

Commissioner, who were directly responsible to the Governor General in Council. He also introduced a system of submission of annual reports by the provincial Governors to the Central Government. In this report they were to highlight the public works undertaken by them during the year. It was also decided in his times that Indians would be given higher positions in the Government, provided they qualify the competitive exams.

1.5.4.3 Military Reforms

He also made Merrut as the center of British Artillery. Shimla was also marked as a center for stationing army garrisons. Dalhousie enrolled Gurkhas in large number in Indian army later on during Mutiny, Gurkhas were used against the mutineers. He also organized an irregular Punjab Frontier force.

1.5.4.4 Social Reforms

Dalhousie carried out the policy of prohibiting child female infanticide and suttee. With his effective measures, the number of incidents reduced considerably.

The widow remarriage Act was also passed during this tenure. Dalhousie also strictly observed the policy of checking the sacrifice of human beings. This practice was very much prevalent in the tribal areas of Orissa. Although this policy was already initiated during Bentick's times, yet larger strict measures were adopted.

1.5.4.5 Educational Reforms

A new policy was laid down in the Director's dispatch of 1854, which is usually described as "Woods Despatch". For the first time, the British Government came out that it is the duty of the British Government to dispense elementary and higher education to the Indians. The establishment of universities in the presidencies was mentioned in this dispatch. A policy decision was also taken that Government would assist and encourage private to institute new schools.

This dispatch also provided for the establishment of Indian Language schools in all districts. Lord Dalhousie organized the department of Public Instruction and for the proper execution of its policies inspections in schools and a DAL was also appointed. Woods Dispatch in India is known as 'Magna Carta of Indian Education'. By 1857, three universities in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were opened. An Engineering college was also opened in Roorkee. A girls college was founded in Calcutta by J.E. Drinkwater Bethune a member of his council, who died in 1851.

Thus, Lord Dalhousie worked unpausingly through the sorrow of wife's death and his own unbearable pain which he was suffering from Government. He was one of the greatest Governor Generals who made a place for himself in Indian history.

Despite his policy of annexation and extension of British empire in India, he pursued a policy of modernizing India. His reforms in education and public works were outstanding and laid the foundation of modern India. His suggestion of creation of the position of Lt. Governorship for Bengal was carried out in Queen's proclamation of 1858 and thus lessened the burden of the administration of Governor General.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

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**THE UPRISING OF 1857: ITS CAUSES,
NATURE AND EFFECTS**

Introduction : The revolt of 1857 was the most significant event in India in the 19th century. There was much of heroism, ferocity and suffering, but still the nature of this uprising has remained controversial as is obvious from the following narrative.

Nature of the Revolt of 1857 : Historians have expressed divergent views about the nature of this revolt. While some have described it as a mutiny, confined to the army which did not command the support of the people at large, other say that it was a religious war against the Christians or a racial struggle for supremacy between the black and white people, there are still others who describe it as a struggle between Eastern and Western civilization and cultures. A few have described it as a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British rule. Some Indian nationalists have called it a well planned national struggle and the first war of Indian Independence.

The truth seems to be in midway of these extreme views. These were the sepoys of the Bengal Army who began to revolt and did most to sustain it. To that extent it was a mutiny. But it was more than a mutiny insofar as it was backed by dispossessed **zamindars, Talukdars**, princes and **nawabs** deprived of their states, titles and pensions. It was also backed by the soldiers and officers of the annexed territories whose occupations were gone. Hence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru described it as a more deep rooted abuses of discontentment. Thus, there were many others besides the sepoys who were interested in overthrowing the British rule. The conservative section of the people was seriously alarmed at the progressive trends of the British rule which seemed to threaten their ancient social order. " But if the outbreak was more than a mutiny, it was not a national rebellion against foreign rule." It was for the most part confined to region above the Narmada and in these territories also there were important exceptions of the native states and the Punjab. There was reason why native states remained aloof as many Sikhs swelled the ranks of the English in crushing the enthusiastic outburst of their own countrymen. None the less these are important facts which deprive the revolt of its national character. Dr. Tara Chand's view on the nature of the revolt seems to be somewhat correct. He says: " The uprising of 1857 was a general movement of the traditional elite of Muslim and the Hindu princes, landholders, soldiers, scholars and theologians (Pandits and Maulvis).

The Emperor of Delhi, the King of Oudh, some **Nawabs** and **rajas, talukdars** and **zamindars**, soldiers-pathans, Walaytis, Mughals, Rajputs and Brahmans of northern India and the Maulvis who were members of three orders comprised the main body of the rebels. The class compositions of the insurgents reflects the geographical dispositions of the movement and shed light upon the motives of the participants. There is little doubt that practically all those who belonged to this order were disaffected although some of them abstained from active participation because of their peculiar circumstances".

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT

Exactly a hundred years had passed since the treachery of Mir Jafar in the battle of Plassey fought in June, 1757 by which the British rule was established in India. The causes of the revolt are to be found in those hundred years of the British rule. Greased cartridges provided the immediate cause. For the sake of clarity and convenience the causes of the revolt can be studied under political, social, religious, economic, administrative, military and the immediate causes.

Political Causes : Of the political causes most important was the policy of annexation of Lord Dalhousie. His annexations through wars by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse alarmed the ruling classes and a general belief gained ground that the British had embarked upon an unscrupulous course of aggrandizement. The distinction between the dependent states and the protected allies was very thin and looked more like hair splitting. In case of disputed interpretation, the decision of the East India Company was binding and that of the Court of Directors final. There was no supreme court to give an impartial verdict on questions of right and wrong. While the Punjab, Pegu and Sikkim had been annexed by the 'Right of Conquest', Sitara, Jaitpur, Sambhalpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur, were annexed by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse. Oudh was annexed on the pretext of the good of the governed, Royal titles of the Nawabs of Carnatic and Tanjore were abolished and the pension of the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II was stopped. The Indians felt that existence of all the states was threatened and their absorption into the British Empire was a question of the time. The British proposal of removing the Mughal Emperor from his ancestral palace filled the people with hatred and increased the feeling of loyalty to the Emperor. The English, secure in their position, became arrogant which in turn increased the hatred of the Indians, but the East India Company had no means of knowing it. So hatred found vent in the revolt. The landholding classes were also surely aggrieved. Bentinck's resumption of rent free lands had ruined many landowners. Thus, a feeling of uneasiness prevailed among the ruling classes and ruler of a native state felt insecure. According to Ludlow, "Surely the native of India must be less than men if their feelings could not be moved under such circumstances in favour of the victims of annexations and

against the annexer. Surely, there was not a woman whom such annexations did not tend to train upon hatred of the Firangee rule."

Socio-Religious Causes : Hindu society is a socio-religious fabric based upon religion. British contempt for the Indian people extended to their religion and culture also. The Christian missionaries criticised Hinduism in all its aspects. Many English officers, both civil and military, considered it their duty to spread the gospel of Jesus. They argued that it was essential to do so to save pagans from perdition. They attempted to introduce Western ideas of inheritance marriage and succession and thereby consciously and unconsciously interfered with the sensitive aspects of the social life of the Hindus. They failed to realise that thrown out of his religion a Hindu or a Muslim was anchorless and rudderless. They resented such measures of the English as the abolition of Sati, remarriage of Hindu widows, recognition of the claim of a convert to Christianity to ancestral property, enforcement of a common mess for prisoners belonging to different castes, non observance of caste distinction on railways, recruitment of sepoys on the condition that they would serve across the seas and the assumption of management of temples.

Economic Causes : The political changes prior to the advent of the British had little or no effect upon the economic structure and life of the people. The reason was that the wealth remained in the country. But under the rule of the East India Company, the situation was different though paramount in India, it was subordinate to the Crown of the England and its economic policy was subservient to the policies of the mother country. Indian wealth began to be drained out of the country Indian economy began to be so planned as to meet the needs of the industries in England. With the progress of Industrial Revolution in England during the 18th and early 19th centuries, raw material for her factories and markets for her finished goods became England's prime needs. British economic policy in India was also developed to meet those needs. The once famous Indian industry died in English competition and neglect. Burden on agriculture increased and India became a land of exporting raw material and importing finished goods. English capital flowed into the country which in turn carried away both interest and profits to England. Consequences of the policy were disastrous for the Indian economy.

The destruction of property rights and financial privileges also had far reaching economic effects. Steps were taken to snatch away jagirs and Inams. Commissions and survey parties were appointed in the North-West Provinces, Bengal, Bombay and other areas. Property of every kind was rendered insecure." Thrones of princes, **vatans of sardars** land of **zamindars**, **talukas** of **Talukadars**, houses of citizens, the land dedicated to the temples, the fields of agriculturists all these were in this terrible conflagration burnt and reduced to ashes." In

other words, each day produced a new list of victims..... who came out from the shearing house shorn to skin, unable to work, ashamed to beg, condemned to penury". In fact every exclusion of a property holder was held by the young settlement officer to be a great deed as to shoot a tiger. Vices of the property holder were highly exaggerated. When the claims of the great talukdar could not be altogether ignored, it was declared that he was a rogue or a fool, perhaps an atrocious compound of both and that he forfeited all claims to the compassion of the State." The process adversely effected both the pockets and the pride of the people and filled them with discontentment against the English.

Administrative Causes : The administrative machinery of the East India Company was inefficient and insufficient. The land revenue policy was so unpopular that many districts of the newly annexed states were in permanent revolt and military had to be sent to collect the revenue. For instance, in the District of Panipat 132 horsemen were maintained for the collection of land revenue, while a large number employed for the performance of police duties. The East India Company took great pride in the introduction of civil and legal equality in India, if a peasant or a maid-servant brought a suit against a zamindar, the latter has to appear in the court and sometimes he was imprisoned. But the disposal of cases by the law courts took long time and involved lot of expenditure. So to the Indian mind, it was a deliberate method of impoverishing the people. Only rich could afford to go to the law courts. In fact in their hands law courts became crafty and an instrument of unjust oppression because false witnesses could be purchased and false documents could be fabricated to establish a false claim.

Another important administrative cause was that the Indians were not given responsible position in the administration of the country. Such an attitude was bound to cause hostility and discontent. Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khan beautifully explained the defects of such a policy. He said, " It is universally accepted that for good and proper government and stability, it is essential that the subjects should have influence in the government of the country. The administrators are made aware of the merits and defects of their policies only by the people before the civil results reach the stage when remedy becomes impossible. There was no justification for giving no access to the people of India. Their exclusion not only did this harm that the government could not find out the real shortcomings of the laws and regulations which were promulgated, but the worst consequence was that the Government failed to know the real aims, objects and intentions of their subjects, and the people misunderstood all the proposals of the Government." Pointing out more defects of the administrative set up, Marquess of Clanricade said that the system by which the Government of India administered tended to degrade the natives and render them cunning, sordid and deceitful.

Military Causes : Indian sepoys in general and their counterparts of the Bengal Army in particular had a large number of grievances. Their more important grievances related to unsatisfactory service conditions, encroachment upon their religious customs and offences against their dignity and self-respect.

Now coming to their service conditions, there were several serious defects. Firstly they could not hope to be promoted to any high position. Secondly, their salaries were very low in comparison to the emoluments of European soldiers. Thirdly, after the annexation of native state, allowances of its soldiers were withdrawn and they were posted in the same territory on a reduced salary. Naturally, it caused a lot of discontentment among the Indian soldiers.

Since the times of Lord Dalhousie military had become weak due to another reason also. The Government had transferred a large number of military officers to the civil posts to administer the newly annexed territories.

General Enlistment Act of Lord Canning also caused a lot of discontentment among the Indian sepoys especially in the sepoys of the Bengal Army, majority of whom were Brahmins. Under this Act, any Indian soldier could be sent anywhere, even across the seas. But on account of undertaking a sea voyage, the Indian soldiers especially the Brahmins of the Bengal Army could be thrown out of their caste.

Immediate Cause (The Greased Cartridges) : The part played by greased cartridges in bringing about the revolt is sometimes unduly exaggerated. Its introduction added to the apprehensions of the sepoys and aggravated the discontentment. But the fact is that in the conditions prevailing then, "The normal state of the Bengal Army was mutiny." How could it be otherwise? The Indian sepoy was a pure mercenary. He joined the army partly because of his caste traditions and partly because the Indian armies which had provided him his livelihood in the past, had ceased to exist and the Company offered him a regular pay and pension. Victories of the Company's army gave him a feeling of self importance. That apart, in the early days of the Company he was treated respectably by the European officers. Such a treatment tended to evoke a sense of personal loyalty and comradeship. But as the situation changed, these feelings changed for worse and acute estrangement grew between the European officers and the Indian soldiers.

Thus, it is obvious from above that the pride of the Indians had been wounded. Royal families had been humiliated. The nobility was divested of its influence. Indians used to prostrate before the might of the foreign rulers. The ancient seats of power were in ruins and the ancient ways and manners had been eclipsed. Men of English race, alien in religion, language and culture lorded over the sons of the soil and heaped contempt upon them. In the circumstances, it

is no surprise that both the civilians and the soldiers were exasperated and ready to take up arms against the foreign rulers. In short, the country was ripe for a rebellion.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLT

The revolt started on March 9, 1857 when the sepoys of Barrackpore (in Bengal) refused to use the greased cartridges and one brahmin sepoy, Mangal Pandey attacked and killed the Adjuant. The 34 Native Infantry Regiment was disbanded and sepoys were held guilty of rebellion. But this repressive measure did not stop the revolutionaries and there were rising in Birbhum, Bankura, Jessore, Malda, Dacca, Faridpur, Bakargani, Sylhet, Chittagong, Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills.

The disaffection spread in the north also. First of all, it broke out at Ambala. However, the decisive outbreak occurred at Meerut in May 1857, where 85 sepoys of 3rd Cavalry Regiment were court martialled and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. At this, three regiments mutinied openly, shot down their officers, broke open the Prisons and released their comrades. The city of Delhi was seized by the rebels on 1st May, 1857. Lieutenant Willoughby, the incharge of the ammunitions at Delhi, offered some resistance but was overpowered. Thus, sepoys became the masters of the city. They massacred the Europeans and proclaimed the revival of the Mughal Empire by placing the aged titular Emperor Bahadur Shah II on the throne. The capture of Delhi by the mutineers marked a serious loss of prestige for the English. As a result, there were revolts at Lucknow, Bareilly, Kanpur, Agra, Jhansi, Central India, Bundelkhand, Bihar and other places. Everywhere the revolutionaries killed the Europeans, broke open the jails and released the prisoners.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT

Delhi : The most pressing need for the restoration of British prestige was the recapture of Delhi. Therefore, all efforts were directed towards this end. Troops were rushed from the Punjab. They took their position to the north of Delhi. Though resistance was offered by the rebels but in September 1857, Delhi was recaptured by the English. The aged Emperor Bahadur Shah II was taken prisoner and transported to Rangoon. His two sons and a grandson were publically shot dead by Lieutenant Hudson himself. Thus, ended the career of the Mughal Emperor.

Lucknow : At Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence was besieged at the Residency where all the Europeans and a small force of the royal sepoys was deployed. On July 4, Sir Henry died of a shell wound but his garrison maintained a gallant defence. It was reinforced by General Havelock in the last week of July who forced his way into the residency after fierce fighting. However, he was forced to

retreat to Kanpur. But reinforcements reached under Gen Outram both again marched up on Lucknow on September 19. They fought three pitched battles and thus partially recaptured Lucknow on September 5. Further control of the city was gained by Sir Colin Campbell who marched upon it on 9th November and entered the city on 12th November after a pitched battle, but even thereafter sepoys continued to fight. It was only in March 1858, that Campbell regained Lucknow completely.

Kanpur and Gwalior : At Kanpur, the operations of the revolutionaries were directed by Nana Sahib from his residence at Bithur. He was joined by his able and experienced lieutenant Tantia Tope. The military operations for the recapture of Kanpur were closely associated with the recovery of Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell occupied Kanpur on December 2, 1857. Tantia Tope escaped and joined the Rani of Jhansi. Both of them marched towards Gwalior and by their brilliant stroke occupied it. They compelled Sindhia who had remained loyal to the East India Company, to take refuge at Agra and proclaimed Nana Sahib as the Peshwa. Sir Huger Rose marched against the rebels and defeated them in two battles. In one of these, the Rani of Jhansi died. Tantia Tope escaped southwards. Thus, Gwalior was recaptured on June 6th, 1858. Tantia Tope was butted up and down in Bundelkhand and Malwa till he was betrayed into the hands of the British in April 1859, and hanged. Nana Sahib was driven into the jungles of Tarai on the borders of Nepal but his end is unknown.

Bareilly, Banaras and Bihar : At Bareilly, Khan Bahadur Khan proclaimed himself the nazim. At Banaras also a rebellion was organised but it was mercilessly suppressed by Colonel Neil who put to death all rebels, suspects and even disorderly boys. In Bihar, Babu Kunwar Singh, a local zamindar raised the banner of revolt, but it was suppressed. Thus, by July 1858, the revolt had been suppressed almost everywhere.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLT

Lack of collective and simultaneous action, resources and common ideas after the fall of Delhi and the capture of Bahadur Shah seem to be the three main causes of the failure of the revolt. The revolt at its heights did not extend beyond northern India. In that area also there were such exceptions as the Sikh states, the states of Rajputana and the Maratha states of Gwalior and Indore. Apart from these, there were many smaller states, many zamindars and talukdars who did not participate in the revolt. In fact, many persons in northern provinces either preferred to remain silent spectators or actually supported the British. Even in the revolting armies, there were dissensions. While each army fought well, it could not co-ordinate its actions with others. Absence of a common national leader and the personal jealousy of individual leaders also stood in the way of a collective action.

The resources of the British India and of those native states who supported it, lay at the disposal of the Company. Gurkhas of Nepal also fought on the side of the English. Government of England also sent reinforcements of the Company. Against it, the leaders of the revolt had no rich territories to fall back upon and no recruiting ground except the northern provinces. The revolting armies had to fight with swords and their leaders could not provide them with guns and ammunition.

The common ideal of restoring the Indian Government which had inspired the armies of the revolt in the beginning, was lost sight of with the fall of Delhi and the capture of Bahadur Shah II. It left the leaders with no better ideal to fight for than the destruction of the company, but that was negative ideal. Dissensions which Bahadur Shah could not sort out by his presence increased many times more after his capture. The revolt became after his capture, a story of individual exploits of great men rather than a collective action of people fighting for a national cause.

RESULT OF THE REVOLT

Although the revolt of 1857 did not get any immediate success, yet its results were far reaching. According to Ashok Mehta; "it has transformed the rhythm of our national life."

End of the Rule of the East India Company: The most important result was the end of the East India Company rule by the Government of India Act of 1858. Consequently, the design after of the Governor-General was changed to that of the Viceroy and Governor-General. India was placed under the direct rule of the British Crown. Indian Council of 15 members was established in London to look after the Indian affairs. The Secretary of State of India was its chairman.

End of the Mughal Dynasty: The revolt ended even the nominal royal existence of the Mughal dynasty. As already discussed, Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor had joined the rebels so he was sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to Rangoon. His two sons and a grandson were shot dead publicly.

Change in the British Policy towards the Native States: The revolt affected seriously the British Policy towards the Indian states. The earlier policy of annexation of the native states through the Doctrine of Lapse was given up and the native rulers were granted the right of adopting sons. Previously this right had been withdrawn by the East India Company.

Reforms in the Army: The revolt compelled the British Government to make reforms in the army. Before the revolt, the strength of Europeans in the Indian army was very small. Now the ratio was fixed at 2 : 1, i.e., for every two Indian

- (iii) The land revenue policy ofwas very unpopular.
 - (iv) There was grave inequality in the conditions of service of the in the British Indian army.
 - (v) The fall of and the capture of Emperor Bahadur Shah II were turning points in the revolt of 1857.
3. Name two prominent Indian figures of the revolt of 1857:
 (a) (b)
4. In which year was the British Indian Empire placed under the direct rule of the British Crown?

- 1. (i) The British
- 2. (i) Lord Dalhousie (ii) England (iii) The British (iv) Indian sepoy (v) Delhi.
- 3. (a) Nana Sahib (b) Rani of Jhansi
- 4. 1858.

KEY TO ANSWERS

CHECK UP YOUR POSITION

- Excellent : More than 6 correct answers.
- Good : 5-6 correct answers.
- Satisfactory : 4 correct answers.
- Unsatisfactory : Less with 4 correct answers.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INDIA : BRAHMO SAMAJ, ARYA SAMAJ, ALIGARH MOVEMENT, SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT AND DR. AMBEDKAR'S EFFORTS TO UPLIFT SCHEDULE CASTES

During the nineteenth century many socio-religious movements surfaced in India, which exercised a deep influence upon the life and thought of the country. Some of the factors, which led to the rise and growth of these movements are given below:-

(1) Contact with the West : The establishment of the British rule in India and easier means of communication brought India in contact with the West Liberalism, materialism and rationalism of the West invaded the conservatism traditionalism and spiritualism of the East.

(2) English as a Court Language : English became the court language in place of Persian. To qualify for jobs in government service, more and more Indians began to acquire English education. This study opened for them flood gates of Western literature that had been enriched by renaissance which in turn laid stress on enquiry before acceptance. This quest of what and why demolished the hitherto blindly views on age old customs and superstitions which went under the name of religion.

(3) Influx of Indian Missionaries : The patronage of the British government to Christianity gave the Christian missionaries a long rope to preach and convert Indians to their faith. They had ample funds and numerous temptations at their disposal to offer to the converts.

(4) Ridiculing Indian Mythology: Christian evengalists, foreign scholars and Indian new-converts ridiculed the Indian religions, disparaged Indian philosophy and looked down upon Indian mode of living, practices and customs. After the suppression of the Indian revolt of 1857, every white man was filled with hatred against the Indians. They took airs, asserted their superiority and deliberately created an inferiority complex among the subject people. Such was the demoralization that the Indians themselves began to look at their native culture with contempt.

(5) The Work of Indologists : Some European men of letters like Max Muller, Monier, Colerbrooke, etc. who spent their lifetimes in going deep in the ancient Indian lore, found in it a treasure-house that could benefit the whole human race. Their publication raised the heads of Indians with pride in their past.

(6) Challenges and Response : Nevertheless the Western challenge was all around. Social, religious and political leaders recognized the existence of certain abuses like caste system and untouchability in their society. They must mend or end, that was clearly the choice. The danger was real and imminent and the response and reaction of the Indian leaders was countrywide.

(7) Reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Ranade and Swami Dayananda, etc. addressed themselves to the task of meeting the challenge of the Western civilization and inculcating a sense of self-confidence among the Indians in countering them. They started reform movements, the most important among these are described below.

Brahmo Samaj

The founder of Brahmo (or Brahman) Samaj was Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), a Bengali **Kulin** Brahmin. He received education in Bengali and was then sent to Patna to learn Persian and Arabic to qualify for Government service. It was there that he came under the Influence of the Muslim Sufis, and the monotheism of Islam appealed to him.

After the death of his father in 1803, he studied Sanskrit at Banaras and entered the service of the East India Company in the Revenue Department. This brought him in contact with the Christian missionaries of Serampore. His dissatisfaction with the existing state of Hindu religion, its rituals, sacrifices and practices was now complete. By 1815, he had also mastered the English language and translated the **Vedas** and the **Upanishads**, in English. Through his work he presented a monotheistic interpretation of the Vedic religion and criticized orthodox current beliefs, superstitions and practices. He advocated respect for all religions and their scriptures.

In 1828, Raja Rammohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj, "to teach and practice the worship of the One, Supreme, Undivided, Eternal God." Brahmo Samaj Permits no grave, image, statue or Sculpture or idol worship. He stood for the purification of Hindu religion which, he felt, had been corrupted by the Brahmins for their selfish ends. He sought to build a universal religion. He is rightly called the Herald of a new age and a saviour of Hinduism. He revived the Pristine glory of the Hindus and saved Hinduism from the onslaughts of Christianity. He liberalized Hinduism to fit in with the modern world.

The major reform of Rammohan's life was his tireless and successful campaign against **Sati** which had no sanction in Hindu scriptures, Lord William Bentick abolished this evil practice in 1829.

Raja Rammohan died in 1833 in England, Devendranath Tagore, called Maharishi (1817-1905) and a son of Dwarkanath Tagore strengthened Brahmo Samaj after the founder's death. He introduced corporate worship, added prayer and devotional

exercises and a vow of membership. Tagore relied on reason, intuition and experience. Under him Brahmo Samaj made rapid progress.

Along with Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen (1841-1884) actively worked for the Brahmo Samaj. He introduced ceremonies for birth, marriage and campaigned against caste system. His ethical innovations with emphasis on Christian and Vaishnav doctrines caused a split in the Brahmo Samaj in 1865. After his death in 1884, Brahmo Samaj lost some of its momentum. It has, however, changed the outlook of the Hindus towards the Western ideas.

Arya Samaj

The Original name of Swami Dayananda (1824-1883), the founder of Arya Samaj, was Mul Sankara. He was a son of Amba Sankara, a wealthy Brahman and a devout Shaivite and was born in Tankara in the Morvi state of Kathiawar (Gujarat). He learnt the **Vedas** by heart at the age of 14. His vigil on the night of Shivratri when he saw a mouse jumping and defiling Lord Shiva's status, was a turning point in his life. In 1846, he fled home when his parents had decided to get him married and joined the saraswati order of **Sanyasis** and was re-named Dayananda in the course of his wanderings in 1860, he found at Mathura in Swami Virjananda, a teacher had been in search of . From him he learnt more of the **Vedas** and increased his knowledge of sanskrit grammar. Both agreed that the **Vedas** were infallible, the **Puranas** were myths created by selfish men and the idolatory, caste system and sacrifices had no religious sanction. With his slogan Back to the **Vedas**, Swami Dayananda went about the country, debating and propagating his views. He wrote a large number of books, the foremost being **Satyarth Parkash** published at Allahabad in 1874. Next year, i.e. in 1875 he founded the first Arya Samaj in Bomaby. It was, however, Lahore which he visited in 1877, that became the centre of Arya Samaj. The Swami died in Rajasthan in 1883 at the age of 59. Arya Samaj stands for :-

- (1) **Vedas Dharm**, i.e., the pristine religion of the early Aryans wherein there were no rituals , no image worship and no caste system based on birth. It believes in one God, who is true and indestructible and the transmigration of soul.
- (2) Education in the ancient lore through the media or Sanskrit and Hindi.
- (3) Proper status for women by imparting them education, disallowing child marriages, banning **Sati** and encouraging widow remarriage.
- (4) Adherence to the four Asharams : Brahmacharya, Garihstha, Sanyasa and Vanaprastha.
- (5) Reform of Indian religions and extirpation of religions born in foreign lands.
- (6) Love for the country and **Bharat Mata's** emancipation from the British slavery.

As mentioned above, Lahore became the centre of Arya Samaj and to begin with, it attracted educated middle class men to its fold like Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Hans Raj, Pandit Lekh Ram, Guru Dutt and many others. Through D.A.V. schools and colleges the message of Swami Dayananda was spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. In 1892, Arya Samaj was split into two sections; the College Section and the Gurukul Section. The former led by Mahatma Hans Raj stood for modern liberal education along with the ancient one, while the latter under Swami Shraddhada exclusively advocated education in the ancient love in Gurukulas away from the temptations of modern life.

Arya Samaj exercised a deep impact on the Indian mode of thought, inculcated respect for religion, extended generous reliefs in times of famines, earthquakes, epidemics etc., instilled love for the country and stood in the vanguard in the struggle for independence from foreign rule.

Other organisations which brought about revolution in the minds of the Hindus in India were:

- (a) Prarthana Samaj (1849).
- (b) Ramakrishana Mission (1896).
- (c) Dev Samaj (1887).
- (d) Theosophical Society (1857).

Aligarh Movement

Among the Indian Muslims, a movement known as the Aligarh Movements was started by the Muslim thinkers and publicists who sought to keep pace with the changing conditions in India and rescue Islam from obscurity and stagnation. Mughal rule was now a thing of the past. The Hindus were filling Government offices because they were acquiring the knowledge of the English Language which had replaced Persian as the court language in 1835. The revolt of 1857 had made the Muslims suspect in the eyes of the British master of the country. The Aligarh movements had the two - fold aims of introducing English education among the Muslims to enable them to get their due in the administrative jobs and to bring about approachment between the muslims and the English.

The foremost among the Aligarh School was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898). He belonged to a Delhi based family of the Afghans who were traditionalists in matters of religion. Syed Ahmed became a clerk at the age of 20 at the Sadr Amin Court of the East India Company and rose to become a Munsif. At the time of 1857 Revolt, he was serving at Meerut and remained steadfastly loyal. At the end of Rising , he wrote a book entitled Courses of the Indian Mutiny (Absad-i-Baghawat) to explain that the Muslims were not responsible for the event. At the same time, he urged upon the Muslims to change their social, political and educational views and work

The aims and objects of the Aligarh movement were the following :

- (1) To bring about a serious social and educational reform among the Muslims.
- (2) To collaborate with the British and show utmost loyalty to their rule.
- (3) To give English education to the Muslims without prejudice to their religion. "The adoption of new system does not mean renunciation of Islam", said he.
- (4) To enable the Muslims to qualify for the Government services.
- (5) To oppose all moves of demanding elected bodies, municipalities or legislatures or recruitment of civil service through competitive examinations because the Hindus were likely to edge out Muslims and could dominate over them.

The Aligarh Movement was opposed by the traditionalists who started a parallel organisation called the Deoband School (1867) after the name of a small town in Saharanpur district. They stood for Quranic education through Muktabs and Jihad crusade against the rule of the Firangis.

Singh Sabha Movement

Singh Sabha Movement was launched at Amritsar in 1873 by prominent Sikh chiefs and theologians to combat the assault of Christian missionaries spreading their network in the Punjab on the one hand, and the attempts of a Sanatanist Hindu, Sharda Ram Phillauri, distorting the teachings of Sikh Gurus on the other. Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia was chosen the Chairman and Gian Singh as the Secretary of the Sabha. The aims and objects of the movements were described by the organizers as under:

- (1) To restore Sikhism to its pristine purity.
- (2) To propagate current knowledge through the medium of Punjabi and to start magazine and newspapers in Punjabi.
- (3) To edit and publish religious and historical works.
- (4) To reform and bring back apostates into the Sikh-fold.
- (5) To ensure the association of highly placed Englishmen with the educational programmes of the Sikhs.

Educated Sikhs earnestly involved themselves in furthering the causes for which the Singh Sabha Movement stood. The zeal very soon percolated into the countryside and local Singh Sabha and Istri Sabhas were organized in town and villages on the line of the parent body. These organisations vied one another in sweeping away the adulterations and abuses. Thus, on the one hand, these organisations persuaded the misled Sikhs not to leave the Sikh religion and on the other, they spread education among their brethren.

A parallel Singh Sabha was established at Lahore in 1879 with Diwan Boota Singh as its President and Professor Gurmukh Singh as its Secretary. Unlike the Amritsar body the Lahore Singh Sabha was more democratic and excluded from its membership apostates, Sehajdharis and all those disloyal to the Government. Most of the mofussil Singh Sabhas, linked themselves with the Lahore group which began to be known as the Tat (pure) Khalsa group. Mutual rivalries between the Singh Sabha necessitated the need of a central body to co-ordinate and supervise their activities and for this purpose a Khalsa Diwan was founded in 1833, but infighting did not cease. The split continued till 1902, when in the face of external dangers posed by the Arya Samaj and with the passing away of their early leaders, the two Sabhas merged themselves into the Chief Khalsa Diwan aimed at uplifting the Sikhs in all spheres, spreading education and safeguarding the political rights of the Sikhs through constitutional methods. In pursuit of its aims, it professed unstinted loyalty to the British Government. The Diwan enjoyed a place of prestige in the social life of the Punjab till 1919 when like all other moderate and ultra-loyalist organisations it was supplanted by the extremists.

The Singh Sabha Movement has had many achievements to its credit. Besides accelerating a process of regeneration in the community, it created a sense of awareness as well as involvement among the Sikhs through press and platform. Schools, colleges, orphanages and lepers homes etc., were built; the premier institution, i.e., the Khalsa College, Amritsar, was founded in 1892. Newspapers like Khalsa Akhbar, the Khalsa Samachar in Punjabi and the Khalsa in English came out to propagate the Sikh cult and present Sikh point of view. Sikh Educational Conference began to hold its sessions annually from 1909 onwards to promote the cause of education.

Sikh organizations other than above, which worked for similar ends, were the Nirankari Movements of Baba Dayal (1783-1855); the Namdhari (Kuka), movement of Babu Balak Singh (1799-1862) and Babu Ram Singh (1816-1885).

Dr. Ambedkar's Efforts to uplift the Scheduled Castes

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956) was born on April 14, 1891 to Ramji Maloji Sankpal and Bhimbai at Mhow. Educated first in Bombay and then Columbia University, U.S.A he belonged to London School of Economics. Naturally, Economics, Law and politics interested him greatly. He was also a good journalist and wrote on many political and social problems of his time. The first book he wrote was Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development (1916). His other important books are : (1) Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah (1942), (2) Who were the Shudras and how they came to be the fourth varna in the Indo Aryan Society (1946), (3) Thoughts on Linguistic States (1955) and (4) The Budha and His Dharma (1957).

Ambedkar was not only a man of letters but also of actions. He took part in India's freedom movement and also played a very important role in the constituent assembly.

The constitution of free India bears the stamp of his personality. It was on the insistence of Ambedkar that, Directive Principles of state policy were incorporated in the Indian constitution. The Principles were intended to commit Indian state as well the upper caste/classes of India to work for the poor and out-castes of India called the shudras and Chandalas.

Ambedkar was a great advocate for the cause of social equality which meant not only caste equality but also the end of the caste itself. Influenced by Buddha, Kabir and Mahatma Phule (1827-1890), John Dewey and Karl Marx, Ambedkar denied that caste had any divine or spiritual education behind it. He regarded caste based on birth as an ideological weapon in the hands of Brahmins and other Swaran Jatis of India to keep the Sudras socially and politically down. For him caste had nothing to do with birth or colour. Ambedkar had no love for the Brahmins and the Vedas and Upanishads because all these Brahminical books justified caste and division of humanity as well as country on the basis of karma theory. He questioned Karma theory in accordance with which man's position in society was determined by the actions (Karma) done by him in the previous birth. Borrowing from Lord Buddha his concept of 'Anicca' which means everything was in the making Ambedkar said that caste was not made in heaven by God or Brahma. In other words, caste was not only man made but man could also change it because caste, like everything else in the world, was in the process of making. He denied that caste has been given to us for ever.

Ambedkar believed again like Buddha, that human mind (man) was capable of attaining limitless heights. Further it is mind that determines man's action. One does good or bad actions because of one's mind. By education and other efforts an individual can improve his mind and action. So by doing this he can throw his caste away.

Ambedkar firmly believed in social democracy which means that society should be based upon free and equal individuals. Society should not be a combination of castes, jatis, tribes or religious and linguistic groups. A man should be known by his own (individual) achievements, not by his tribal, caste, religious or linguistic background.

Ambedkar did not question caste only on the ideological plane. Practically, he fought for the rights of the Shudra jatis. He organized for them political action also. When the British Govt. gave the depressed classes separate representation in Indian legislatures in 1932, he appreciated it. Doing so he came into clash with Mahatma Gandhi who was opposed to this separate representation given in the MacDonald Award of 1932. Gandhi sat on fast-up to death against this representation. This led to caste-riots in some places between the lower and higher castes. Caste war threatened parties and the unity of national movement. For the sake of national and political unity, Ambedkar refused to accept the award. But he greatly criticized Gandhi for

his pro-upper caste bias. He never addressed Gandhi as 'Mahatama'. Ambedkar formed 'Independent Labour Party' in India during 1936-37.

Much before India became free, Ambedkar demanded that the future law of India would be based upon the concept of equality of citizens irrespective of their caste. Not only this he wanted Indian legislative bodies from parliament to village Panchayat to work for the depressed/scheduled caste and tribes, by giving them in the public services. As a member of the advisory committee on fundamental rights and minorities of the constituent Assembly of free India, Ambedkar demanded the abolition of untouchability.

Apart from these political, legal and constitutional methods for the reformation of Depressed Classes, Ambedkar also employed education. He considered the untouchables as sleeping slaves who need some one to awake them. He took upon himself this task of awakening the shudras. he coined the slogan, "Tell the slave that he is a slave and he will revolt against slavery.' For this purpose he organized the Bohishkirt Hitkarni Sabha in 1924, at Bombay. The Sabha had the following as its objects.

- (a) to work for the education of depressed classes by opening schools and hostels for them.
- (b) to promote the spread to culture among them by opening libraries, social centres and study circles for them.
- (c) opening of industrial and agricultural schools to lift them economically.
- (d) to represent their grievances to the governments.

In 1927, Ambedkar founded 'Samaj Samata Sangh' to preach the idea of social equality. In the same year, he launched his satyagraha at Mahad to protect the untouchables right to have water from a public tank called ' Chaudan Talen. In 1930 he launched another satyagraha for the shudra's right to enter the temple of Kalarama at Nasik.

In 1942, Ambedkar formed the Scheduled Castes Federation and in 1945, he founded the people's Education Society which opened schools and colleges in the Bombay region.

It was Ambedkar who prepared the draft of Hindu Code Bill and earned for himself the title of 'Modern Mannu'.