

Colonialism and nationalism in India(CNI)

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FYUGP Series

Perspectives on Colonialism

(Liberalism, Marxism,
Postcolonialism)

NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1ST SEMESTER-2022-23



DSC 3: Colonialism and Nationalism in India

Unit 1. Colonialism and Nationalism:

- Main perspectives on colonialism: Liberalism, Marxism, Postcolonialism
- Approaches to the study of nationalism in India: Nationalist, Imperialist, Marxist, and Subaltern

Unit 2. Colonial Rule in India and its impact:

- Constitutional developments and the colonial state
- Colonial ideology of civilizing mission: Utilitarians and Missionaries
- Impact on agriculture, land relations, industry and ecology

Unit 3. Reform and Resistance:

- The 1857 war of Independence
- Major social and religious movements
- Education and the rise of the new middle class

Unit 4. Nationalist Politics and Expansion of its Social Base

- Phases of the Nationalist Movement: Liberal constitutionalist, Swadeshi and the Radicals, Formation of the Muslim League



Colonialism: Definitions & Meaning

- The policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. (<https://www.lexico.com>)
- **Colonialism** is the practice by which a powerful country **directly** controls less powerful countries and uses their resources to increase its own power and wealth. (*Collins Dictionary*)
- Colonialism is a practice of **domination**, which involves the **subjugation** of one people to another. (*Oxford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*)
- a policy or system in which a country controls another country or area. (*Cambridge English Dictionary*)
- Colonialism is the extension of a nation's rule over territory beyond their borders. Colonizing countries usually control and exploit the resources, labour and markets of the colonized.
- Colonialism is a relationship between an indigenous majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and their ordained mandate to rule. (*Jürgen Osterhammel's Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview ; taken from Wikipedia*)



Colonialism and Imperialism

- Both are related but slightly different concepts
- **Colonialism**, originating from the Latin word colonus, meaning farmer, denote transfer of population to a new territory, where they live permanently while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin
- **Imperialism**, originated from Latin term imperium, meaning to command, denotes the way that one country exercises power over another. It may be through settlement or indirect mechanisms of domination and control.
- Thus, practice of colonialism is driven by the ideology of Imperialism. Colonialism is one of the methods of Imperialism
- All colonialism is Imperialism, but all Imperialism is not colonialism
- Neo-colonialism and Imperialism: Left/Marxist ideology treats global capitalism led by free trade, and free market as form of modern colonialism and Imperialism (refer to Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and Kwame Nkrumah's *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism*)



Theoretical Perspectives

Liberal, Marxist, Post-Colonial



Liberal Perspective on Colonialism-1/2

- **Contradictory approach**

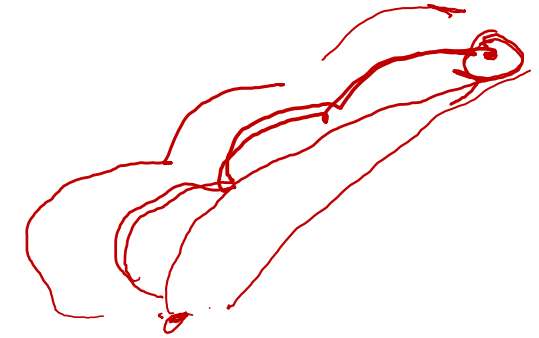
- Great Enlightenment thinkers of equality, justice defended in-egalitarian and exploitative colonialism
- condemned racism and misuse of political power, but endorsed economic exploitation and cultural superiority.
- insisted on protection of the material interests of the colonial subjects, but thought little of destroying their ways of life
- egalitarian interpersonal morality and an in-egalitarian political and international morality
- Rooted to individual autonomy, self-governance, humanism, equality and equal worth of each human life, tolerance, egalitarianism, it nevertheless supported colonialism on thinly based assumptions of universal human nature, laws of nation, contingent views on culture, history of human progress, wastage principle, etc.

- **“Civilizing Mission”:**

- Universal human nature: humans as part of same species have same natural faculty, express themselves in similar ways, and hence entire human civilisation is one unbreakable chain
- Part of humanity, living in remote places, progressed less; those who became more developed have moral obligation to handhold their undeveloped brethren
- a temporary period of political dependence or handholding was necessary in order for “uncivilized” societies to advance to the point where they were capable of sustaining liberal institutions and self-government.
- Pulling “uncivilized” societies towards civilization./modernization was white man's burden
- Ideological effort to appropriate history as a means of establishing cultural hegemony and legitimizing British rule over India



Liberal Perspective on Colonialism-2/2



- **Utilitarianism:**

- Act of colonization is morally good as it increases net pleasure

- **Laws of nation:**

- People of colonies were not a sovereign political community, hence laws of nation was not applicable to them
- Interpersonal relations between all men were subject to the laws of nature, international relations were subject to laws of nation

- **Wastage principle:**

- Lockean principle that humans have God imposed duty to maximize the conveniences of life by best utilization of natural resources
- people of colonies were wasting natural resources(not utilizing in best way); hence, colonizing people were justified in best utilization and improvement of natural resources of the colonies.

- **Historical progression of civilization**

- The idea that civilization is the culmination of a process of historical development, in which some part of the humanity are left behind and they need to be shown path and pulled up.

- **Social Darwinist Approach-**

- if history is a struggle between various peoples and cultures, akin to the struggle among the species, Britain having come to the top could be ipso facto legitimately considered to be superior and as the fittest to rule.

- **Main proponents:** Franciscus de Victoria, John Locke, James Mill, JS Mill, Herbert Spencer



Pros & Cons of the Liberal Perspective

Pros

- Moral protection to natives
- Attempted elaborate theoretical justifications
- Established modern liberal institutions and trained natives for self-governance
- condemned racist prejudices and misuse of political power in the colonies
- protection of the material interests of the colonial subjects,

Cons

- Contradictory- both in theory & practice
- endorsed economic exploitation and cultural superiority
- Destroyed language, culture, and way of life of natives
- Eurocentric, Ethnocentric, and patronizing Approach
- Not free of violence and ills of racism, subjugation, hegemony



Marxist Perspective on Colonialism-1/3

- Views colonialism and imperialism as distinctive features of capitalism;
- expansion is inherent and inbuilt in capitalism (due to overproduction and under-consumption)- Marx (*The Communist Manifesto, Grundrisse, and Capital*)
 - Colonies were required for capitalist expansion; colonies provided cheap labour, natural resources, and new market
- Marx declared India as stagnant society where Oriental despotism(coined by Karl Wittfogel) denoted specific type of class domination; he termed Indian economic structure as 'Asiatic Mode of Production'
- To him, India was going through painful process of modernization under British colonization
- Thus, to Marx, colonialism as a progressive force, though exploitative, bringing modernization to a backward feudal society
- Thus, Marx's views on British Colonization in India has three dimensions
 - 1.an account of the progressive character of colonial rule,
 - 2.a critique of the human suffering involved,
 3. a concluding argument that colonial rule must be temporary if the progressive potential is to be realized.



Marxist Perspective on Colonialism-2/3

- Lenin(in his book Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism) argued that imperialism was driven by the economic logic of late-capitalism
- Imperialism was a technique which allowed European countries to avoid proletarian revolution by sucking wealth from colonized nations to pacify labour class at home.
- However, Marx and Lenin saw capitalism as a progressive, though exploitative, force for development of peripheral/colonies
- Thus, Marxism viewed colonialism and imperialism as interplay of class struggle and capitalism at global level
- Capitalist class of the colonizers collided with capitalist class of the colonies to exploit/subjugate the labour class of the colonies
- Linked anti-colonial struggle to struggle against capitalism



Marxist Perspective on Colonialism-3/3

- **Neo-Marxism and the Dependency theory**
- **Kautsky's views**
 - Imperialism won't lead to the development of the areas subjected to economic exploitation. Imperialism is a relatively permanent relationship structuring the interactions between two types of countries.
 - Although imperialism initially took the form of military competition between capitalist countries, it would result in collusion between capitalist interests to maintain a stable system of exploitation of the non-developed world
- **Wallenstein World System Theory**
 - Capitalist structure of global economic system
 - Core & Periphery
 - Unequal exchange between the core and periphery
- **Andre Gunder Frank's : Development of underdevelopment**
 - Seemingly developed regions with a underdeveloped nation are satellites of the 'Core' or dominant economic powers/regions
 - Such development is not autonomous, self-generating, sustainable, and equitable. Actually, it is development of underdevelopment!
- **Proponents** : Marx, Lenin (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism), Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Kautsky, and Nikolai Bukharin, and all dependency thinkers (Raul Prebisch, Cardoso, Dos Santos, AG Frank, Wallerstein)



Pros & Cons of the Marxist Perspective

Pros

- Using the class lens, revealed the economic motive of colonisation
- Busted the liberal theories of 'civilisation mission' and other moral grounds for colonialism
- By linking colonialism to global capitalist structure, gave permanency to anti-imperial thoughts
- Influenced Dependency theories, post-colonial, and sub-altern perspectives

Cons

- Excess focus on economic aspects, undermined other aspects
- Seemed to defend colonialism as modernizing force
- Faulty depiction of Indian society as stagnant and under oriental despotism
- Could not resolve the colonial question- anti colonial movements led by the bourgeoisie class



Post-Colonial Perspective on Colonialism-1/2

- Postcolonialism denotes both
 - 1. the historical period or state of affairs of the nation-states(post-colonial states) which were under Western colonialism
 - 2. Intellectual project to reclaim and rethink the history and agency of people subordinated under various forms of colonialism/imperialism.
- Postcolonialism attempts to explain the impact of colonialism from the view points of the colonized people
- Post colonial thinkers reveals psychological and cultural aspects of colonialism
- Edward Said(in his book *Orientalism*) revealed real motives behind production of knowledge about the oriental societies by the western thinkers which was to depict oriental culture as backward and inferior in comparison to the western culture.
- Post colonial thinkers used Foucault's discursive analysis to show the knowledge power Nexus in built into colonialism.



Post-Colonial Perspective on Colonialism-2/2

- Franz fanon(The Wretched of the Earth; Black Skin, White Masks) analyzed the deep effects of racism and colonialism on the experiences, lives, minds and relationships of colonized people
- He revealed the psychopathology of colonization- how psyche of entire people of colonies were sickened by colonilaism
- Gayatri Spivak(Can the Subaltern Speak) contended that lived experience of the sub-alterns cannot be interpreted within the knowledge system established through colonial rule
- Post-colonialism is critical to both Liberal and Marxist perspectives on colonialism
- It opposes materialist, rationalist, and progressive perspectives on colonialism
- It contend the liberal assumption of universal human nature and hierarchy of culture; it also criticizes the overtly materialistic and economic focus of Marxism while explaining coloniztaion



Pros & Cons of the Post-Colonial Perspective

Pros

- Gave a 3rd way, different from both liberalism and Marxism, to analyse colonialism
- Explained psychological and cultural aspects of colonialism
- Tried to centrally place the views of colonised people
- Argued for contingent human nature and equal respect/recognition of different cultures
- Recreated colonial history by writing 'history from below' and 'sub-altern' perspective
- Ideological confusion- floated between neo-Marxism and post-structuralism
- Different theoretical apparatus for explaining colonialism and de-colonization
- Post-colonialism inherently denotes sense of history- leading it to rely on a progressive understanding of history
- Uniform treatment of very different forms of colonialism at different places
- By taking anti-elitist view, it became critical to national independence movements led by the Bourgeoise class



In Sum

- Liberalism, though believing in equality and universal humanism, labouriously defended colonialism tenuous grounds of 1. Lockean Property theory 2. Cultural Hierarchy 3. Laws of Nation
- Liberalism viewed colonialism as 'Civilisation Mission'
- Marxism viewed colonialism as natural outcome of inherent expansionist tendencies of capitalism
- It linked colonialism/imperialism to global capitalist structure
- Post-colonial thinkers explained psychological and cultural aspects of colonialism
- It analysed devastating impacts of colonialism from the viewpoints of the colonial people



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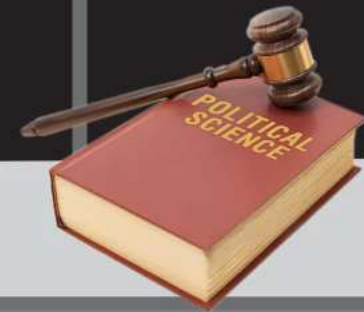
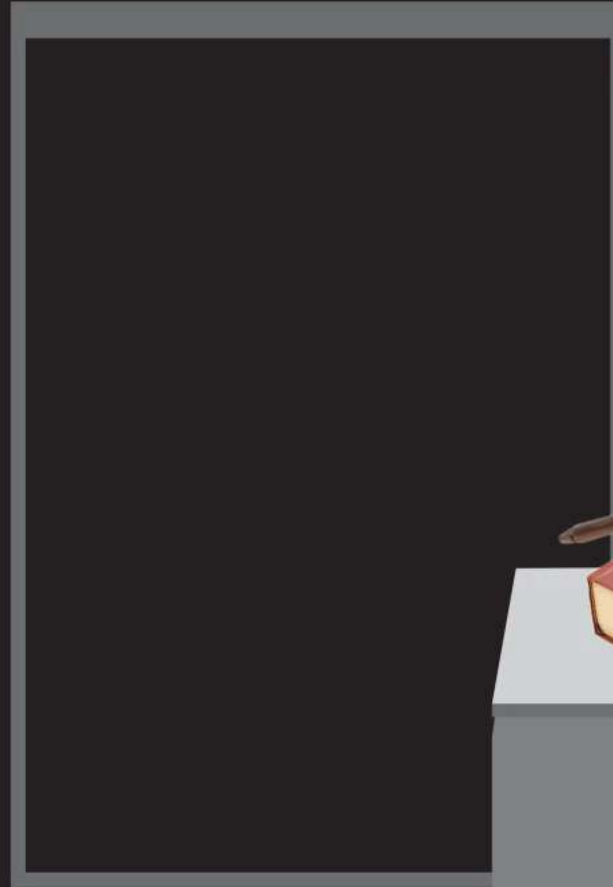
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POL SC HELP
FYUGP Series

Approaches to Indian nationalism (Nationalist, Imperialist, Marxist, Subaltern)

PART 2

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1ST SEMESTER-2022-23



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Marxist Approach-1/4

- Naturally, it used the class lens and highlighted economic factors and class antagonism in narrating the Indian nationalism
- It criticized both the colonialist and nationalist views on Indian nationalism.
 - To them, colonial approach took a discriminatory view on India and its people
 - Whereas nationalist approach searched past roots of Indian nationalism which was not existing. It believed that India was not always a nation but rather a nation which was being created in modern times in which the nationalist movement had an important role to play
- According to them, although the national movement was an expression of the basic antagonism between the Indian people and imperialist government, it was a movement either directly influenced by bourgeoisie or indirectly working in the direction of capitalist development.
- It argued that although various classes, including the peasantry and the working classes, participated in the national movement, its basic character remained bourgeois, and it worked for capitalist interest.



Marxist Approach-2/4

- In this view, all nationalist leaders, including Gandhiji, came from bourgeoisie class, which was conservative and status quoist and worked for protecting the interest of the capitalist/bourgeoise class
- For them, non-violence of Gandhiji was an instrument to protect the propertied class from the proletarian violence
- In this approach, capitalist class of India collided with the colonial capitalist class to exploit the Indian masses.
- This approach linked nationalism to global capitalist structure and national movements to movement against imperialism of the late capitalism
- **Proponents:** R.P. Dutt (*India Today (1947)*), A.R. Desai (*Social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948)*), N.M. Goldberg, V.I. Paylov, Bipin Chandra (*India's Struggle for Independence*)



Marxist Approach-3/4

- **Views articulated by R.P. Dutta (*India Today* (1947))**

- revolt of 1857 'was in its essential character and dominant leadership the revolt of the old conservative and feudal forces and dethroned despotic rulers'
- Indian National Congress(INC) was created through secret manoeuvres of the colonial rule as an intended weapon for safeguarding British rule against the rising forces of popular unrest and anti-British feeling

- **Changing class characteristics of the Indian nationalism :**

- in the initial years, it represented 'only big bourgeoisie – the progressive elements among the landowners, the new industrial bourgeoisie and the well-to-do intellectual elements'.
- Later, in the years preceding the First World War, the urban petty bourgeois class became more influential.
- After the War, the Indian masses – peasantry and the industrial working classes – made their presence felt.
- However, the leadership remained in the hands of the propertied classes who prevented any radicalisation of the movement which could become dangerous to the interests of the capitalist class.



Marxist Approach-4/4 →

- Views of A.R.Desai (*Social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948)*)
 - Indian national movement developed through five phases, Each phase was based on particular social classes which supported and sustained it
 - first phase(Rammohan Roy to INC-1885): leadership of English educated intelligentsia
 - 2nd Phase (1885-1905-swadeshi movement): Emergence of new bourgeoisie(Lal-Bal-pal)
 - 3rd phase(1905-1918): broader social base which included sections of the lower-middle class
 - 4th Phase: (1919-1934): Further expanded social base- like a mass movement; but leadership remained bourgeoisie
 - 5th Phase (1934-39): growing disenchantment with the Gandhian ideology , rise of the Congress Socialists, and left parties ; movements of the peasants, workers, depressed classes and various linguistic nationalities outside congress; rise of communalism
 - However all these side events were not of much consequence and the mainstream was still solidly occupied by the Gandhian Congress which represented the interests of the dominant classes.



Pros & Cons of the Marxist Perspective

Pros

- Using the class lens, revealed the economic motive behind Indian national movement
- Revealed the weaknesses of both the Imperialist & nationalist approach
- Kept the perspective of masses-peasants, labourers- into the centre of discourse on nationalism
- By linking nationalism to global capitalist structure, gave anti-imperial character to Indian nationalism
- Influenced post-colonial, and sub-altern perspectives

Cons

- Excess focus on economic aspects, undermined role of ideas, culture, etc.
- Contradictory: Linking anti-colonial movement to nationalism but deriding leadership of the bourgeoisie class
- Discredited leadership of Indian national movement
- Seems to discredit the entire national movement
- complete break from the past Imagining Indian nationalism as completely modern and Western phenomenon



Sub-altern Approach-1/3

- Sub-altern class: tribes, peasantry, proletariat and, occasionally, the middle classes as well.
- **Ant-elitist Approach:**
 - It rejected elitist historiography of Indian nationalism, both colonialist elitism and bourgeois-nationalist elitism
 - Criticized Elitist historians for ignoring the contribution of masses in national movement and negative characterization of the mass uprising the rebellion.
- It asserted that there existed a parallel subaltern domain of politics which was not influenced by the elite politics and which possessed an independent, autonomous, self-generating dynamics
 - 'As modern as indigenous elite politics, it was distinguished by its relatively greater depth in time as well as in structure'
- The people's politics differed from the elite politics in several crucial aspects
 - First, its roots lay in the traditional organizations of the people such as caste and kinship networks, tribal solidarity, territoriality, etc.
 - Second, while elite mobilizations were vertical in nature, people's mobilizations were horizontal.
 - Third, whereas the elite mobilization was legalistic and pacific, the subaltern mobilization was relatively violent.
 - Fourth, the elite mobilization was more cautious and controlled while the subaltern mobilization was more spontaneous



Sub-altern Approach-2/3

- History from Below:
 - It advocated viewing the history from the point-of-view of the subaltern classes. 'Let the Sub-alterns speak for themselves' ✓
- Rejected nationalist's narrative of charismatic leadership, which was no longer viewed as the chief force behind the national movement. It was instead the people's interpretation of such charisma which acquired prominence in this approach ↗
 - Ex: popular interpretations of the Mahatma's messages was different from Congress leaders' perception of Gandhi (Shahid Amin, in his article 'Gandhi as Mahatma') ✓
- In this view, the Indian bourgeoisie failed in its prime work of speaking for the nation, and the Congress nationalism was bourgeois and elite which restrained popular radicalism.



Changes in sub-altern approach- 3/3

- subaltern historiography on Indian nationalism went through two phases
- Under postmodernist and post-colonialist influences, many of its contributors began to question its earlier emphasis on autonomous subaltern consciousness.
- Gayatri Spivak, in her book 'Can the sub-altern speak?' assert that sub-alterns lost their voice in the knowledge/speech paradigm constructed by the elites
- Subalternity as a concept was also redefined. Earlier, it stood for the oppressed classes in opposition to the dominant classes both inside and outside. Later, it was conceptualized in opposition to colonialism, modernity and Enlightenment.
- The earlier emphasis on the 'subaltern' now gave way to a focus on 'community'. Earlier the elite nationalism was stated to hijack the people's initiatives for its own project; now the entire project of nationalism was declared to be only a version of colonial discourse with its emphasis on centralization of movement
- The ideas of secularism and enlightenment rationalism were attacked and there began an emphasis on the 'fragments' and 'episodes'.
- Proponents: Ranajit Guha (Subaltern Studies, The Prose of Counter-Insurgency); Gyanendra Pandey ('Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism'); Shahid Amin ('Gandhi as Mahatma'); Sumit Sarkar ('The Conditions and Nature of Subaltern Militancy'); Partha Chatterjee (The Nation and its Fragments); Gayatri Spivak (Can the sub-altern speak?)



Pros & Cons of the Sub-altern Approach

Pros

- Placed marginalised people at the centre of the discourse on Indian nationalism
- Revealed the elitist nature of both the Imperialist & nationalist approach
- Attempt to write 'History from below'
- Better explained the existence & features of popular politics separate from the mainstream politics
- Gave primacy to role of consciousness, class, culture, power-relation, and hegemony
- Was anti-hegemonic

Cons

- Rejecting everything considered elitist
- Discredited leadership of Indian national movement- calling it elitist
- Neglected role of idea, benevolence, and ultraism of the elite leadership
- Changes in sub-altern thoughts denotes ideological confusion
- Not independent, considered as part of neo-Marxist and post-colonial paradigm
- Seems to have discredited the entire idea of Indian nationalism



Probable Questions

- Discuss the Liberal, Marxist, and Post-colonialist perspective on Colonialism
- Give a critical account of the Liberal perspective on Colonialism
- Discuss the Nationalist, Imperialist, Marxist, and Subaltern approaches to the study of nationalism in India
- Critically analyze major ideological approaches to the study of nationalism in India
- Which approach to the study of nationalism in India convinced you most? Give arguments in support of your views.



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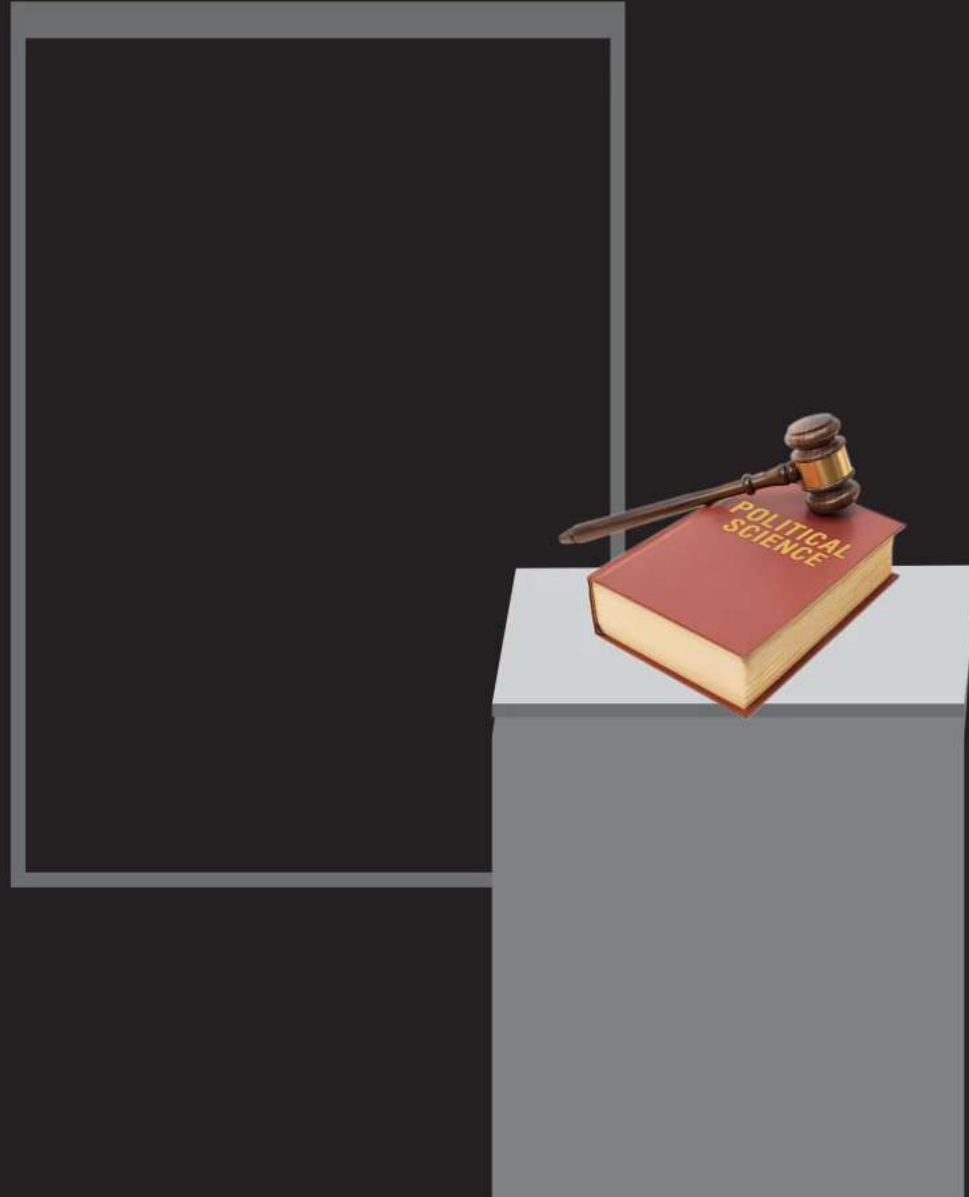
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Ideology of the British Rule

(Utilitarians and Missionaries)

NEW NEP SYLLABUS

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The Colonial Rule: An Ideological Project

- British rule in India was not only an military economic an administrative venture, it was also an ideological project
- Few lakhs of Britishers were able to rule over hundreds of millions of Indians not only on the basis of their military might; the ideology played an important role in creating the hegemony of the British rule
- The ideology of the British Raj was not monolithic. It had multiple current and was intimately linked to the ideological currents flowing at that time back home.
- First ideology visible on part of the British Raj was Orientalism. later on, in late 1820s, the utilitarianism which was becoming popular in Britain became prime ideology.
- later on the Whig philosophy and classical liberalism took over. In between the role of Christian missionary, guided by Evangelical ideology, also became important
- In this video we will discuss only the utilitarian ideology of the British Raj and role of the Christian missionaries



Utilitarianism

- Utilitarianism is a philosophy of judging actions on the basis of utility generated by them. The utility is generally equated as pleasure or happiness.
- In utilitarianism, actions which generate net pleasure, that is, the pleasure is more than the pain across all affected by that action, is considered a good, virtuous, and moral action
- Utilitarianism is based on the ancient philosophy of hedonism which assert that only thing which matters in human life is pleasure and suppression of pain.
- In modern time Jeremy Bentham was the greatest proponent of the utilitarianism. His friend James Mill and his son John Stuart Mill, both prominent philosophers, also supported different versions of utilitarianism. Their utilitarian thoughts and writings were important in guiding the British Raj in India in the mid 19th century.
- Utilitarianism generally focuses on actions based on rationality, Logic, and brute calculation of utility. In practical terms, it stresses importance of legislation, laws, and efficient governance. It also give primacy to property in land and education as part of government's priority. Thus, in nutshell the utilitarianism focuses on laws, land, and education in governance.
- utilitarianism ignored individual freedom, the fulfilment or violation of natural rights and other non-utility concerns such as quality of life. They stressed the sum total of utilities and showed no sensitivity to the ' actual distribution and difference of utilities across individuals. the emphasis was on the aggregate utilities or the happiness of everyone taken together
- Hence, the utilitarianism is guided by the maxim '**Greatest happiness of the Greatest number(GHP).**'
- In Governance, the Utilitarian believed that happiness and not liberty was the end of government



How Utilitarianism Guided the British Raj-1/2

- James Mill's 'The History of British India(1817)', was the Indian history from the Utilitarian perspective
- Lord William Bentick was an ardent follower of Bentham's Utilitarian principles
- Following few decades, focus of the British Raj was efficient governance through reforming laws, property rights in land, and education
- Company Rulers believed that Indian society/culture could be reformed through reforms in laws, landed property, and education
- Law commission, chairman Macauley, set up in 1834; on its recommendation, Indian penal code was enacted in 1862
- Ryotwari System for land revenue was introduced; detailed recording of landholdings and rights in the form of 'records of rights' as part of the settlement procedure was done
- The security of this private property in land was to be achieved through laws, scientifically designed, and embodied in a written form of codes
- Ricardo's theory of rent was used to fix variable land revenue based on elaborate survey
- Through positive reformist laws, social evils- Sati Pratah, female infanticide, human sacrifice, Child Marriage, etc. was abolished
- Law member got place in Governor-General's council



How Utilitarianism Guided the British Raj-2/2

- Legislature became supreme, executive and judiciary (was merged together, became subordinate to Legislature)
- Utilitarian supported self govt but in Indian context, they favoured centralised align rule as it was more useful(more utility) for the natives
- Educational reforms was guided by Lord Macauley's Utilitarian idea
- The Lord Macaulay's Minute, 1835: the New British Educational Policy
 - *'We must at present do our best to form a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'*
 - *Thorough English education form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern*
- The 1833 Charter opened the lower order Civil Service jobs to English educated Indians
- This Act also removed discrimination based on caste, religion, creed, decent, race/colour in public employment
- Salaries in civil & military services rationalized
- Reforms in Judiciary: use of vernacular language, codification of laws, Indian Judges, etc.



Role of the Christian Missionaries-1/2

- Christian missionaries were guided by the Evangelical ideology which was part of strong Protestant Christian movement in England emphasizing improvement in the moral values of the communities.
- Evangelicalism became the moral agency that disciplined rampant individualism and stressed on personal experience and individual reading of the teachings of Jesus(Gospel)
- Evangelicalism emphasized on work, education, frugality, and perseverance as means of furthering the kingdom of God on earth
- Evangelicalism and related sects opposed slavery, dogmatic rituals, superstitions, and supported social reforms
- St. Francis Xavier was the first Jesuit missionary to arrive in India. But under the Evangelicalism, first missionary organisation in India was the Serampore mission founded by William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Warddas in 1800
- The Serampore mission established Press and school & Colleges
- The Evangelical missionaries demanded legal protection for Christian converts, the abolition of Sati and female - infanticide. They also demanded that British government in India should not support Hindu and Muslim shrines.
- The Evangelicals were generally hostile to Indian religions and culture



Role of the Christian Missionaries-2/2

- A large measure of freedom for missionary activity was provided in the Charter Act of 1813. The charter act of 1833 permitted Christian missionaries to propagate English and preach their religion in Company's territories
- The declared policy of British Raj was secularism but it provided liberal grants in aid, government support, and many other kinds of indirect help to the Christian missionaries in India
- The Christian missionaries focused on 4 group of people- is students, Dalits, tribals, and prisoners
- It worked for social reforms, helping people in distress, prisoners, exploited & marginalised
- But they also spread teachings of Bible, Christian religion and values through their schools, press, and missions. They were also doing religious conversions.
- During 1860s and 1870s there en masse conversion of Dalit caste into Christianity. Religious conversion was also went uninterrupted in tribal areas.

Two strategies

- Religious conversion (Evangelicalising or proselytising through education), interventionist in religious matter hard tactics disregarding Indian culture; for example: Charles Grant
- Non interventionist, doing its work quietly with due regard to local culture and customs; For example: The Serampore mission



In sum

- Apart from a military and economic venture, British rule in India was also an ideological project
- Colonial rule was part of the civilising mission and as stated by Rudyard Kipling was 'The White Man's Burden'
- Both the Utilitarianism and Evangelicalism were part of the overall project of the civilising mission
- Utilitarian attempted to do it through reforms in laws, landed property, education, and efficient governance
- The evangelical Christian missionaries did it through spread of Christian religion and values, social service & reforms, and education. They also indulged in religious conversions



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<https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/20311/1/Unit-13.pdf>
- Multiple online resources such as Encyclopaedia Britannica, Wikipedia



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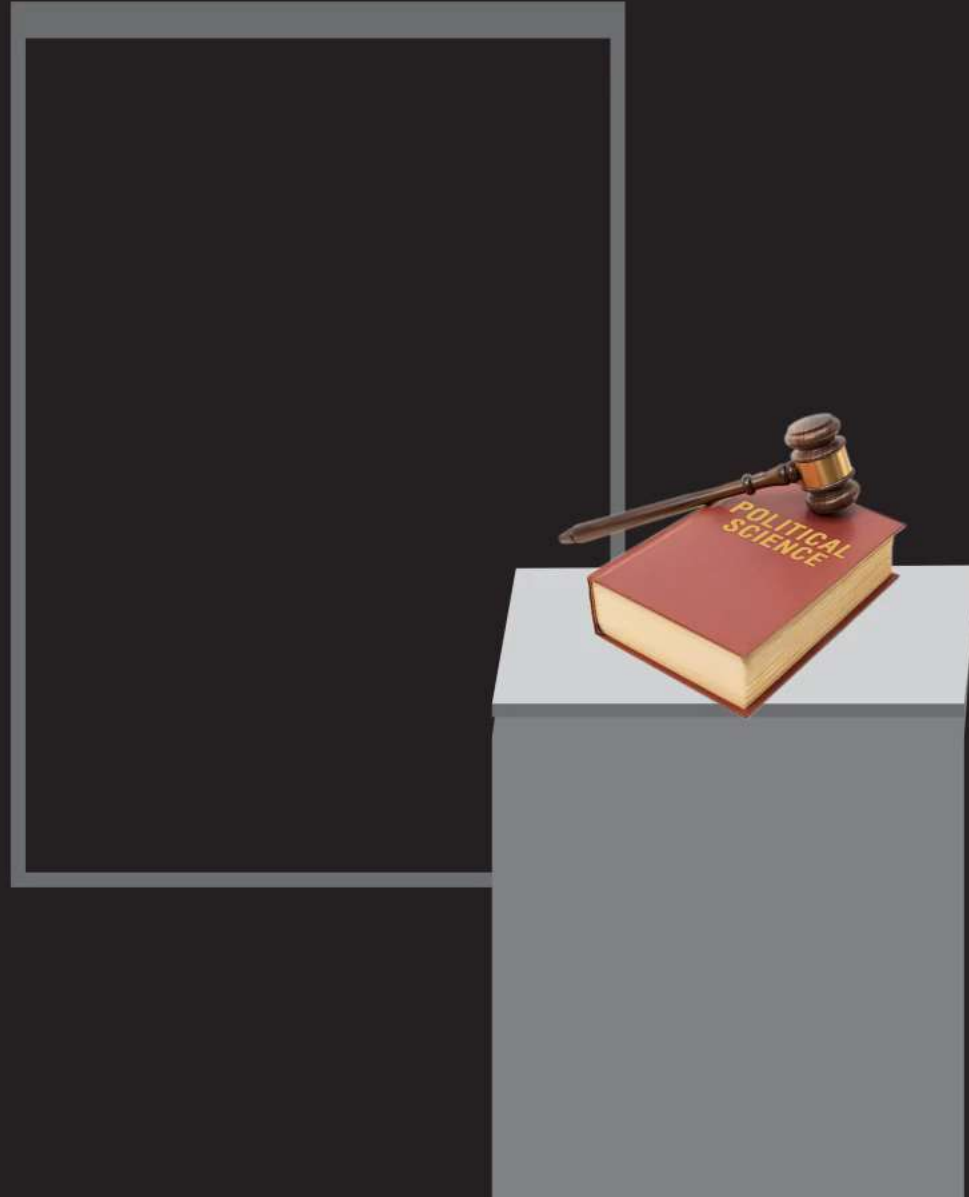
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FYUGP Series

Constitutional Developments

(During the British Rule)

NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS

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DSC 3: Colonialism and Nationalism in India

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- Main perspectives on colonialism: Liberalism, Marxism, Postcolonialism
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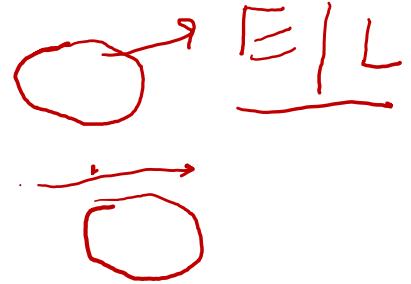
Unit 4. Nationalist Politics and Expansion of its Social Base

- Phases of the Nationalist Movement: Liberal constitutionalist, Swadeshi and the Radicals, Formation of the Muslim League

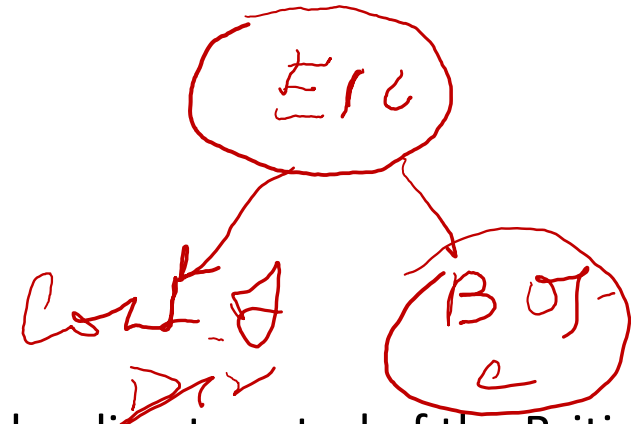


THE REGULATING ACT, 1773

- Background:
 - Parliamentary oversight and control East India Companies administration of the acquired territories in India
- Main provisions:
 - Changes in the constitution of the Company
 - Company's court of Directors to submit to the British Government all communications about civil and military affairs
 - Governor of Bengal was raised to Governor General
 - Bombay and Madras Presidency's superintend and control to Governor General of Bengal
 - Governor General was under the direct control of Court of Directors
 - Governor General's Council- four members
 - establishment of a Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta
 - Legislative powers were granted to the Governor General and Council
- Deficiencies
 - Supervision of the British government on company's affairs was ineffective.
 - The Governor General faced opposition & obstruction from his council, against which he had no overriding power
 - superintend and control of Bombay and Madras Presidency remained loose and ineffective



PITT'S INDIA ACT, 1784



- Background/purpose ✓

- to remove defects in the Regulating Act, 1773
- To bring Company's public affairs and its administration under direct control of the British Government

- Features

- Established a Board of Control- 6 commissioners, including, two Cabinet ministers
 - Board of control directly accountable to British Parliament
- The Board of Control was to guide and control the work of Company's Court of Directors
- A secret committee -3 Directors for top decisions in political and military matters
- Governor General's council- now only 3 members; casting vote with Gov-Gen ✓
- For all matters, Bombay and Madras Presidency was brought under the Gov-Gen
- laid the foundation of a centralised administration of the British Rule

- Deficiencies

- divided authority and responsibility (board of control, board of director, secret committee)
- Gov-Gen acquired many discretionary powers



CHARTER ACT OF 1793 —

- Charter of the Company(for trade monopoly) was renewed for 20 years
- Company was allowed to continue with the possession of all territories for the next 20 years
- Governor General's control over the Presidencies was strengthened.
- The Governor General's and Governors' powers to overrule their council were made clear
- code of all regulations formulated for governance, protecting rights of people and dispensation of justice
- Those codes were printed in vernacular language
- laid the foundation of government by written laws and regulations in British India
- concepts of a civil law. enacted by a secular human agency and applied universally



CHARTER ACT OF 1813 and 1833-1/2

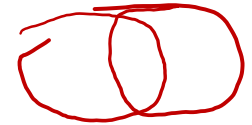
- **CHARTER ACT OF 1813**

- Company was allowed to have territorial possessions for another 20 years.
- But its monopoly of trade with India was revoked(taken away)

- **CHARTER ACT OF 1833**

- **Background**

- Rise of utilitarianism, evangelicalism, and reforms in Britain
- widespread agitation for abolition of the Company and take over of administration by the Crown
- A Parliamentary enquiry was held against the Company Rule
- In Britain, the Reform Act was passed in 1832
- Industrial revolution



- **Features:**

- Monopoly of the company abolished completely, only territorial possession and political function allowed
- The President of the Board of-Control became the minister for Indian affairs
- The Directors were to act as expert advisors of the President of the Board of Control
- Governor General of Bengal became the Governor General of India
- Bombay, Bengal, Madras and other regions were subjected to complete control of the Governor General in Council.
- Governor General in Council were given the power to legislate for the whole of the British territories in India



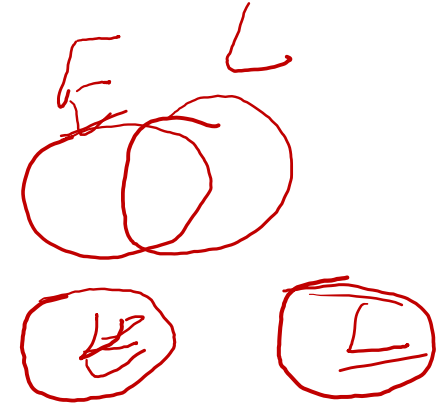
CHARTER ACT OF 1833- 2/2

③ →

- The Act added one Law member to the Executive council of the Governor General.
- The number of members of the Presidency Councils was reduced to two
- The Act provided for the codification of laws in India. (1860) IPC
- The Act provided for the codification of laws in India. The Indian Penal Code and Codes of Civil and Criminal Law were enacted by the efforts of Indian Law Commission
- No discrimination on grounds of religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them in matters of public employment
- Deficiencies:
 - not of much practical importance, since nothing was done and Indians remained excluded from higher posts in civil and military service.



CHARTER ACT OF 1853 ✓



- **Background:**

- Increased clamour to abolish the Company rule

- **Features:**

- The Company was allowed to retain possessions of the Indian territories, but in trust for the British crown
 - separation of the executive and the legislative functions- one addl. Law member, now full member
 - The "Legislative Councillors" were neatly distinguished from the "Executive Councillors"
 - The consent of the Governor General was made necessary for all legislative proposals.
 - Constitution of Central Legislative Council -one representative each from the Provinces
 - 12 members-the Governor General, Commander-in-Chief, four members of his council and six legislative members.
 - All vacancies in India were to be filled in by competitive examinations

- **Deficiencies**

- Legislatives became supreme, overriding and obstructing the executives
 - No Indians in Legislative Council



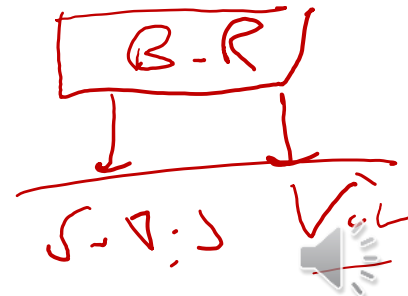
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT. 1858

- **Background:**

- 1857 Revolt
- Extreme pressure to take over the Indian rule directly by British Crown

- **Features:**

- The Government of India passed from the hands of the English East India Company to the crown.
- The armed forces of the company were transferred to the crown.
- The Board of control and court of Directors were abolished. Their place was taken by the Secretary of State of India and his India Council-15 members; Secretary of State could override his council
- Secretary of State directly accountable to British Parliament
- The Secretary of State was to present to the House of Commons periodically report on Governance in India
- The Governor General became Viceroy or Crown's representative
- Secretary of State and the Viceroy- twin pillars of the direct British rule in India



Indian Councils Act 1861

- Background/purpose
 - Initiate representative and responsible Government
 - Curtail the powers of legislature vis-à-vis Executive
- Viceroy's executive council- cabinet with portfolio system- each member responsible for one ministry/Deptt.
- The executive Council was enlarged- 5 members
- The Legislative Council- 6 to 12 nominated members, half must be non-official
- half of the additional members were to be non-official
- Indians nominated, first time, in the central Legislative Council
- But legislative council had limited role. It was chiefly advisory.
 - Prior approval of Gov-Gen/Viceroy was necessary to introduce measures affecting public finance, religion, discipline and maintenance of military forces and foreign relations
 - His consent was necessary for any Act passed by the legislature
 - empowered Viceroy to issue ordinances, without the consent of the Legislative Council
- Provincial legislative councils in Madras and Bombay



Indian Councils Act 1892

1885

- Background/purpose
 - To initiate government based on popular representation
- Increased the number of additional members in the legislative councils- both central (12 to 16) & provincial Councils; half of the addl. Members must be non-official
- But still official members had the majority in the legislative council
- legislative council members were given the right to ask questions on the budget
- Principle of popular representation was initiated: The district boards, universities, municipalities, chambers of commerce and zamindars were authorized to recommend members to the provincial councils.
- First step towards a popular representative form of government in modern India



Indian Councils Act 1909

- Background/purpose
 - To expand powers of Legislature
 - Indian representation in executive
- Called Morley–Minto Reforms
- Increased the number of additional members in the legislative councils- both central (16 to 60) & provincial Councils(30 to 50)
- Central Legislative Council- majority of the official members; provincial councils, the non-officials formed the majority.
- expanded the functions of the legislative councils- discussions on' the budget, discussion on any matt& of general public interest and asking questions
- The representation was functional- different interest groups elected members representing them
- Separate Electorate to Muslims
- Included Indians to Executive councils of Viceroy and Governors;
- Also, Indians were nominated to the Council of the Secretary of state for Indian affairs
- **Deficiencies:**
 - Indirect election, extremely low voter base, functional representation
 - Separate Electorate
 - Still limited powers to Legislature
 - Indian representation was symbolic

1905

50



Government of India Act, 1919 →

• Background/purpose

- Increasing association of Indians in administration
- Development of self-governing institution
- progressive realisation of responsible government in British India

LS
RS

• Features:

- Called Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms
- Bicameral Legislature: the Lower House or Central Legislative Assembly (145 members) and the Upper House or Council of State (60 members). Majority of elected members
- Provincial legislative councils were further expanded and 70% of the members were to be elected.
- Viceroy's executive Council- 8 member, 3 Indians
- the Council of the Secretary of state - 8-12 members with 3 Indian Members
- **Diarchy** (dual Government) at the level of the provincial government
- Transferred subjects- elected legislative council members- nominated as ministers
- Reserved Subjects: important subjects/portfolio reserved for members of executive council
- Separate Electorate for Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Christians and Europeans
- establishment of a Public Service Commission in India for the first time.
- classification of the central and provincial subjects.

30-50

✓

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P

• Deficiencies:

- Impractical Diarchy ✓
- Still executive oriented centralised administration



Government of India Act, 1935

- **Background/purpose**

- federation and parliamentary system
- responsible government in British India
- Outcome of 3 Round Table Conference- 1930-32

- More responsible Government; both at centre and provinces, Gov-Gen/Gov ruled as per the advise of council of ministers responsible to legislature having majority of elected members

- Introduced **Diarchy** in **Centre** ; never implemented ; Diarchy in provinces abolished

- Provincial Autonomy- to act as autonomous units of administration in their defined spheres

- Bicameral Legislatures in Provinces

- All India Federation(British province and princely states)- if 50% of Indian states decided to join it.

- However, the provisions with regards to the federation were not implemented

- Federal Court in Delhi
- 3 lists; residual powers with Gov-Gen

- Expanded electoral base: 5 million to 30 million ; direct election

- Separate electorates for depressed classes (scheduled castes), women and workers.

- Indian council abolished; secretary of state had team of advisors



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<https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/20078/1/Unit-29.pdf>
- Multiple online resources such as Encyclopaedia Britannica, Wikipedia



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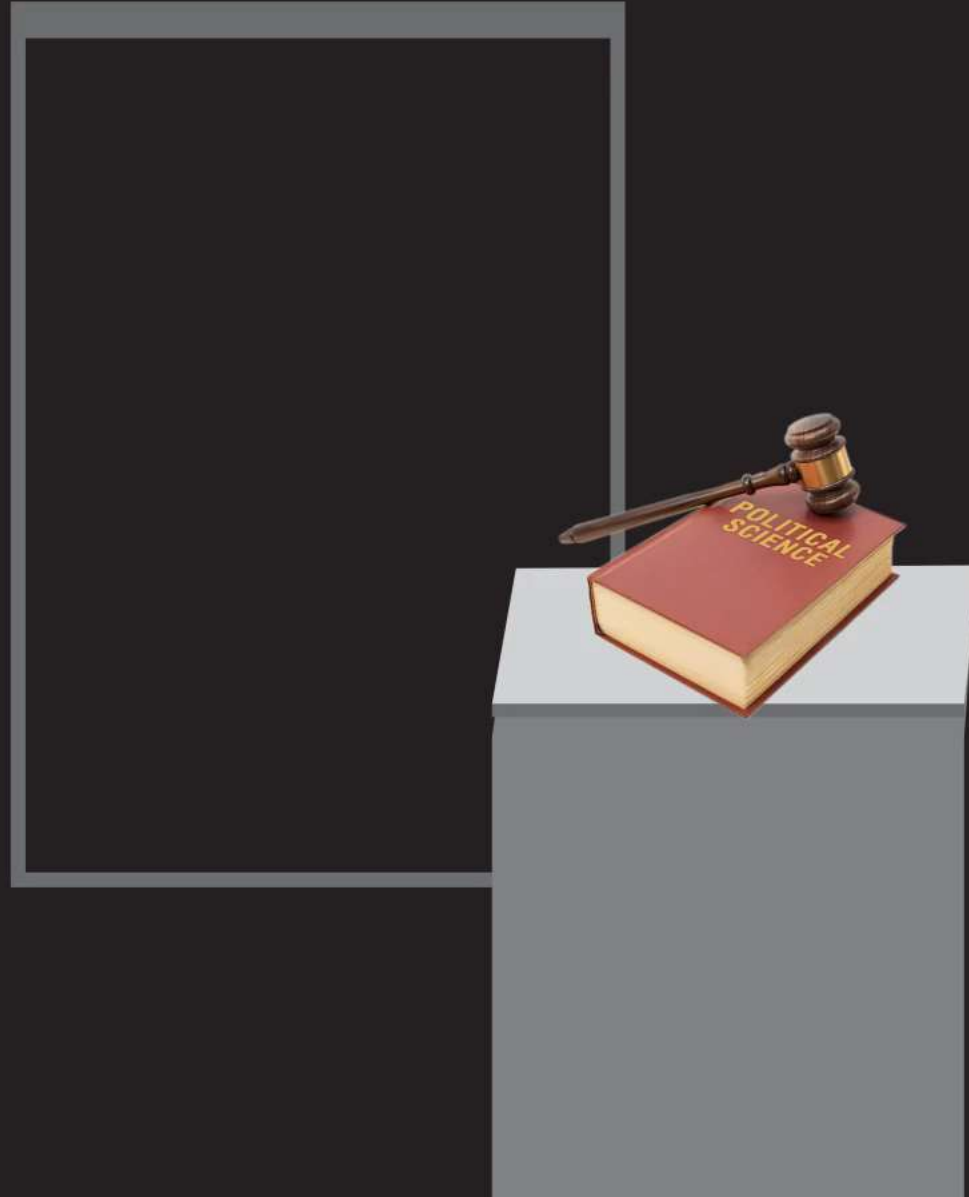
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POL SC HELP
FYUGP Series

The 1857

(War of Independence)

NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1ST SEMESTER-2022-23



DSC 3: Colonialism and Nationalism in India

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- Main perspectives on colonialism: Liberalism, Marxism, Postcolonialism
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What it was?

- A popular uprising of Indian people, especially in North and North west, against the British colonial rule
- It started on 10 May 1857 with mutiny of Indian soldiers in the Meerut cantonment
- The revolting soldiers marched to Delhi and declared the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah, as their leader
- Soon the mutiny spread to many other cantonments; people, especially in rural areas, joined and it took form of mass uprising
- Real actors were the revolting soldiers but leadership was provided by popular prince/princess and feudal lords who lost their esteem in the British Rule
- For next few months, British rule was wiped out in areas inflicted by the revolt
- But with the victory of Delhi in Sept 1857, the British were able to suppress the revolt



Factors(causes)

- Exploitative Company Rule
 - Ruination of Peasants, artisans, and craft workers
 - Plight of Zaminadars and Talukdars
 - Further exploitation by Money lenders & traders
- Alienation of the Middle and Upper Strata of Indians
- Annexation of Princely States
 - Doctrine of Lapse: Jhanshi, Satara, Nagpur, Awadh
- The Alien nature of British Rule
- Plight of Indian Soldiers
 - Low wages, Hardship, Low rank, no promotion
 - Forced practices believed as taboo
- Perceived threat to religion
 - Conversion
 - Religious Reforms
- The Immediate Cause : Greased Cartridges





Bakht Khan - Delhi



Mangal Pandey



Nana Saheb and Tantya Tope - Kanpur



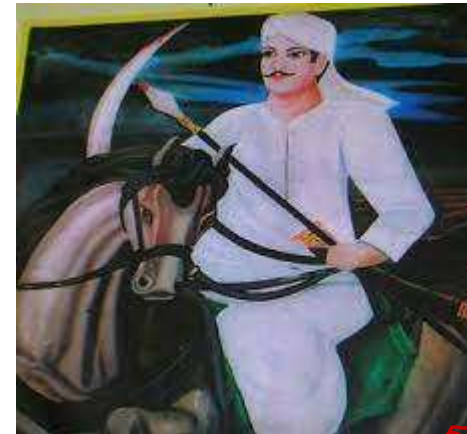
The Begum of Awadh
Birjis Qadr



The Leaders



Shah Mal- Barout in U.P.



Rani Lakshmi Bai - Jhansi



Kunwar Singh - Arrah

Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah- Faizabad



Features

- Spontaneity ✓
- Spread mainly in North & North West
- Was also against money lenders, traders, and age old social privileges & hierarchies
- Hindu Muslim Unity
- Role of Rumours & Hearsay
- Some sort of planning, communication, and coordination
- Led by olden times conservative feudal class



Causes of Failure

- Lack of a Unified Programme and Ideology
- Led by representatives of the old feudal world- no new vision for India
- Lack of Unity Among Indians
 - Sikhs, Rajput chieftains in Rajasthan and Nizam in Hyderabad, most of southern India remained aloof
- New capitalist class- zamindars of Bengal, big merchants of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras- who benefitted from British Rule, supported British
- Lack of Support from the Educated Indians
- Disunity Among the Leaders
- Military Superiority of the British



Impacts

- **Transfer of Power from Company to Crown**
- **GOI Act 1858**
- **Changes in Military Organisation**
 - number of European soldiers was increased and fixed at one European to two Indian soldiers in Bengal Army and two to five in Bombay and Madras armies
 - The crucial branches of the army like artillery were put exclusively in European hands
 - Caste/race based organisation of Army
- **Policy of no interference in Religious Matters**
- **Divide and Rule**
- **New Policy towards the Princes**



Historiography of the Revolt- military mutiny or is it ,a national revolt?

- **The official view**

- Sepoy mutiny followed by civil disturbances caused by the breakdown of law and order machinery

- **Nationalist's viewed it as first war of Independence**

- **Savarkar**, called it "Indian War of Independence."
- **S.B. Chaudhary**, demonstrated that 1857 was a "rising of the people"

- **Dissenting Indian Historiographical views**

- **R.C. Majumdar**- refused to treat it as either national in character or a war of independence of India
- **Outram** regarded the revolt as a "Muslim conspiracy exploiting Hindu grievances".
- **Talmiz Khaldun** and many other historians: The people were fighting two forces-British and reactionary feudal forces
- **Bipin Chandra**: The entire movement lacked a unified and forward looking programme
- **Tara Chand**- the "Revolt of 1857 was the last attempt of an effete(worn out) order to recover its departed glory"
- **Percival Spear**: the last effort of the old conservative India to regain their lost fortunes



Probable Questions

- Situate the 1857 revolt in the national struggle for independence from the British rule
- Do you agree that 1857 revolt was first war of independence. Give arguments in support of your views
- Discuss the causes, impacts, and reasons for failure of the 1857 revolt
- The historiography of the 1857 revolt has no consensus on the nature of the revolt and its linkage to national independence discuss



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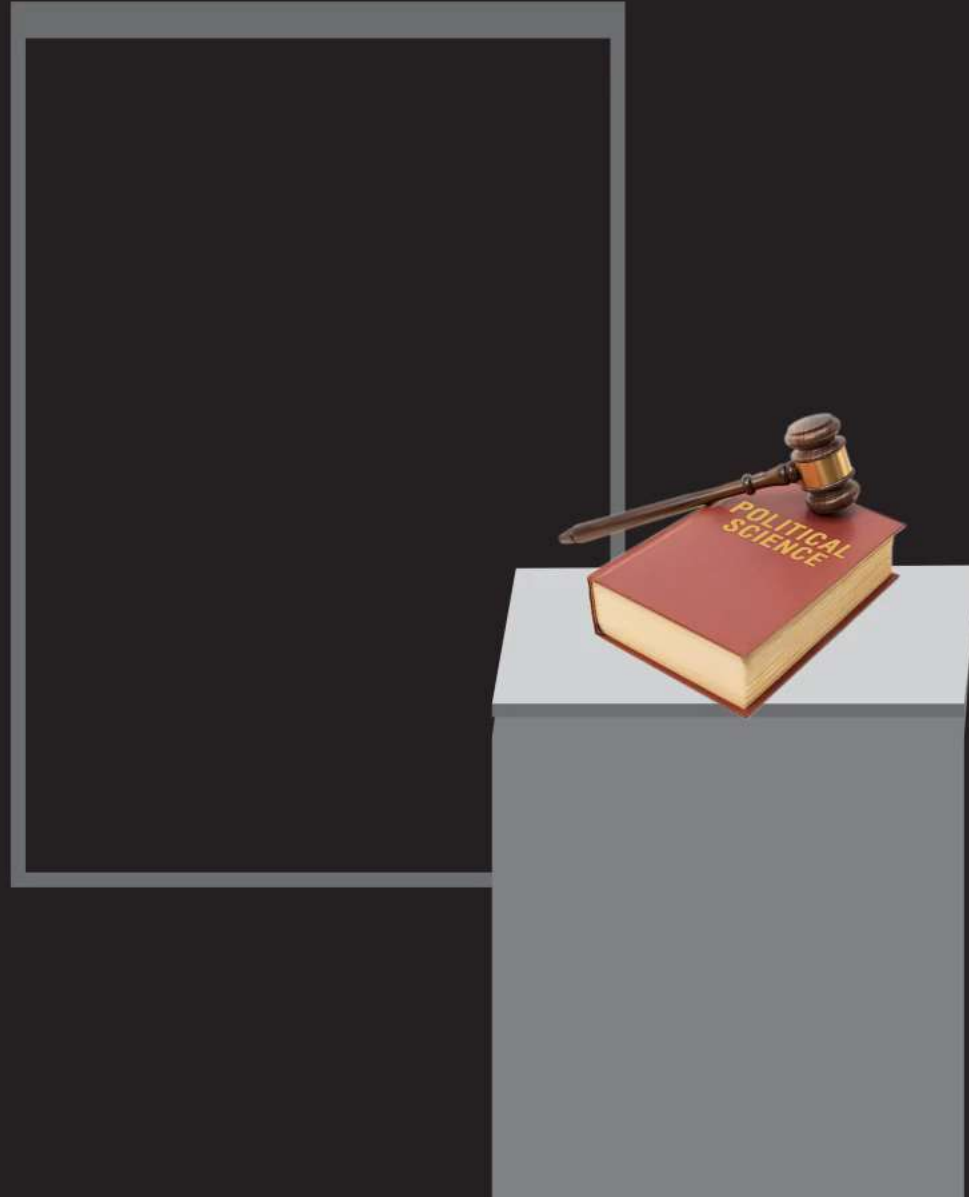
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Impact of Colonial Rule

(Agriculture, Industry, Ecology)

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3 phases of the Colonial Rule: method & mechanism of economic exploitation

• 1757-1813: Monopoly trade Mercantilism

- Fusion of exploitation by political & economic means/methods
- "monopoly trade and revenue collection" (Bipin Chandra) which was marked by the 'element of plunder and direct seizure of surplus' and absence of any significant import of manufactures.

• 1813-1860: Free trade

- exploitation through trade & economic means
 - "exploitation through trade" wherein the colony became the market for (industrial) goods and a supplier of raw materials-the best known mode of colonial exploitation thereby converting the colony into a "subordinate trading partner". (Bipin Chandra)
- Industrial revolution in England
- Unequal exchange

• 1860-1914: Financial capitalism

- large scale export of capital in railways, loans to the Government of India, plantations, coal mining, jute mills, shipping, banking, etc.
- Super normal profit by investing capital in the colony
- "Foreign investments and competition for colonies" during which surplus metropolitan capital was exported into the colonies for the direct exploitation of raw material by establishing industry and taking away the profits.(Bipin Chandra)



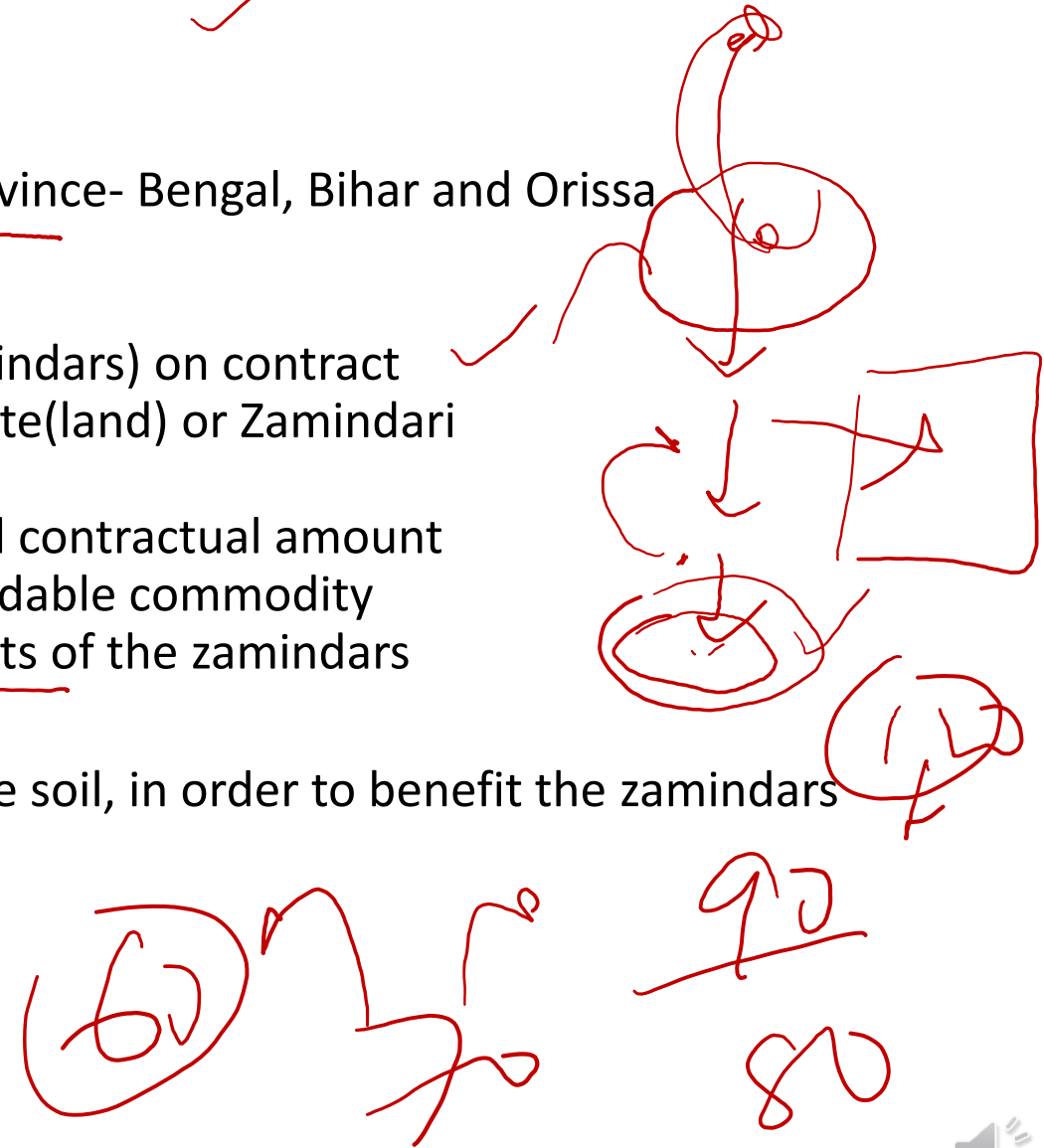
Colonial Land Revenue System: Permanent Settlement

• Permanent Settlement: What it was

- Implemented 1793 by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal Province- Bengal, Bihar and Orissa
- Land tax/revenue was permanently fixed
- But the tax was fixed at a very high level
- Tax collection assigned to rich & landed gentry(Zamindars) on contract
- Zamindars could sell, mortgage or transfer their Estate(land) or Zamindari
- Zamindari was hereditary
- Zamindars were owners of their estates till they paid contractual amount
- The Zamindari or the Estate(Land) became freely tradable commodity
- Actual peasants were reduced to the status of tenants of the zamindars

• Impacts

- worsened the position of the actual cultivators of the soil, in order to benefit the zamindars and the British Government.
 - No tenancy rights, Oppressive conditions, no surplus left
- Surplus extraction without investment in agriculture
- Renteeing, subletting or subinfeudation
- Agriculture land became commodity



Colonial Land Revenue System: Ryotwari System

• Ryotwari System

- Implemented in Madras Province by Munro and in Bombay Presidency by Elphinstone
- Land tax/revenue was fixed for each field cultivated by individual peasants (Ryots)
- The rate(land revenue) so fixed could be revised
- this system depended on a detailed survey of each field, cropping pattern, soil type, productivity, yield, etc.
- But the estimates were largely guesswork, and the amounts demanded very high
- 'putcut' assessment: Later on, tax was fixed arbitrarily fixed based on previous years
- Initially doing farming on assessed fields was voluntary, but later on became forced/mandatory
- Improvements after 1860- scientific survey, lower tax , option not to till the assessed fields

• Impacts

- Since there was no intermediaries, and tax rates so high it resulted into a larger revenue than the permanent settlement
- But it was at the cost of the Peasants, who became impoverished and lacked the resources to cultivate new lands
- Huge areas remained uncultivated
 - in 1855 that only 14 million acres of Ryotwari land were cultivated, while 18 million acres were waste
 - Many peasants deserted and shifted to nearby princely states
- heavy burden of taxation distorted the land market- on one wanted to buy land due to such heavy tax
- Surplus extraction was through economic means
- Entry of money-lenders and merchants in agrarian economy
- Factor behind the rural uprising in the Bombay Deccan in 1875.

Other Impacts on Agriculture

- Commercialisation of Agriculture
 - Change in cropping pattern- focus on cash crops for world market
 - Opium, Indigo, Sugarcane, Cotton, Tobacco, Jute, oilseeds, etc.
 - Increasing role of money-lenders and merchants (village bania)
 - Oppressive conditions for the cultivators- lost freedom, alienation
- Inadequate investment in agrarian economy
 - Lopsided Irrigation infrastructure
- Break between agricultures, artisanship, handicrafts, and manufacturing
- Class differentiation increased
- Disposition of land – increase in landless farmers
- Less focus on food crops for domestic consumption led to famine
- India as a supplier of agricultural commodities and raw material for the industrialized West
- International division of labour?



ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF COLONIAL RULE

- De-industrialization

- Drain of Wealth

- Famines

- The per annum increase in population in 1891-1947 was 0.67%, while total food-grain production increased by only 0.11% in this period.
- The per acre production of food-grains decreased by 0.18% per annum

- India integrated to global capitalist system as Periphery

- Dependent Development



Ruination of Indian manufacturing

- **Mercantile phase:** Indian artisans were forced to sell their goods at cheapest price to the Company- the ruler and monopolist trader
 - This excessive exploitation of Indian artisans weakened the very basis of Indian handicraft industries
- **Industrial Revolution phase:** (last decade of 18th & early 19th century): Indian artisans faced competition from cheap factory produced goods imported at minimum tariff
 - This ruined the Indian manufacturing in cotton textile, silk, and other handicrafts
- In the middle Ganga basis, a study of A.K. Bagchi showed that the weight of industry in the livelihood pattern of the people was reduced by half from 1809-13 to the census year 1901.
- Soon the colonial India became exports of raw material and agricultural commodities- Indigo, Cotton, Silk, Tobacco, Oilseed, etc.
- Thinkers who studied impact of the colonial rule on Indian Manufacturing: Romesh C. Dutt, Madan Mohan Malviya, N.K. Sinha, A.V. Raman Rao, R.D. Choksey, A.K. Bagchi, etc.
- **Imperial apology** : division of labour and competitive advantage thesis: de-industrialization of India was good for both India as the colonies were specialised in the production of agricultural goods



Drain of wealth

- During the British rule India continuously transferred net income/ wealth to England
- This happened systematically by the political and economic policies of the colonial rule
- **Mercantile phase:** Drain of wealth by company which was monopolist trader and ruler
 - Excessive revenue from land taxes funded profligate company rule and industrial revolution in Britain
 - Trade and revenue were then the two direct means through Colonial master exercised its control to exploit the Indian economy and transfer the surplus to Britain which was soon to enter on the stage of a long Industrial revolution.
- **Free trade phase:** huge profit by traders in Indian goods(cotton, Indigo, Silk) shifted to England
 - Unequal Exchange
- **Financial capitalism phase:** drain of wealth through transfer of super-normal profit to England



*Amount of Drain

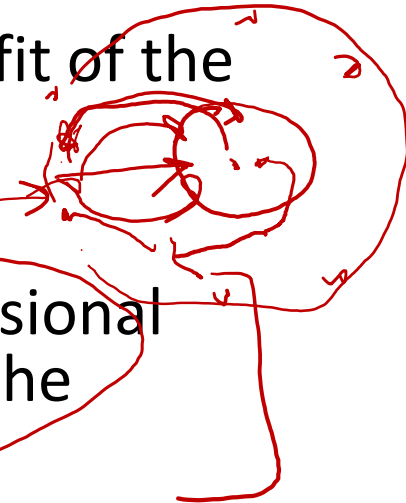
- **RC Dutt:** One-half of India's net revenue flows out of India each year, according to R.C. Dutt. This is estimated to be around £20 million in early 20th century British currency.
- **MG Ranade:** more than a third of the national income of India was taken away by the government in one form or another.
- **Dadabhai Naoroji:** approximately one-fourth of the money which is raised in India goes to England, approximately \$12 million per year.
- **William Digby:** According to his calculations, the annual drainage was £30 million.

*<https://unacademy.com/content/upsc/study-material/modern-indian-history/drain-of-wealth>



Dependent Development

- Not organic, endo-genetic, and tied to Agriculture
- Disjunction between Agriculture & Industry
 - Most areas which developed industry remained agriculturally backward and those which became agriculturally advanced like Punjab remained industrially backward
- It was dependent development, directed towards and for the benefit of the metropolitan core
- India was integrated to the global capitalist system as periphery
- The colonial rule created bourgeoisie class (English educated professional middle class) and neo-capitalist class, both dependent for ever on the world of the colonial masters
- Colonial rule thus created permanent market, source of raw material, and labour for its economy



Ecological Imperialism

- Environmental historians Alfred Crosby and Richard Grove developed the concept of 'ecological imperialism'
- Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, two prominent historians, also studied environmental impact on colonialism in India & South Asia
- 500 years long history of western domination of the world was not just political and military domination but systematic expansion of ecological dominance
- Imperial botanists, European settler-farmers and plantation entrepreneurs played crucial role in transforming ecological specificities of colonies to commodify their natural resources.
- Massive transfer of natural resources of colonies to metropolis core resulted in massive ecological destruction, changes in livelihood patterns, spread of epidemic diseases, species extinction and dispossession and elimination of indigenous population



Ecological Impact of British Rule

• **Commercial farming**

- Wealth of Britain's empire was largely based on plants: cotton, timber, tea, spices, dyes and indigo
- Large-scale monocropping of cash crops reduced soil fertility, soil salinity, and deterioration in soil health
- Such rapid change in cropping pattern radically altered existing food-production systems and their ecological basis
- Thus, European planters produced sugar, tea, spices, cotton and indigo at the cost of fertile soil and small peasantry

• **Mining:**

- Large tracts of dense forests were cleared in Chotanagpur Plateau for Mining purpose
- Apart from deforestation, large scale mining displaced tribal, destroyed forest soil, bad lands, disease, and loss of lives & livelihood



Colonial forest policy and ecological degradation

- Colonial forest policy promoted replacing of mixed forest with single-species and commercially valuable trees such as: Teak, Sal, and Deodar.
- It disturbed the bio-diversity and natural forest ecosystem
- Dependence of tribals on forest for livelihood was controlled by forest Acts
- Community-managed livelihood resources were taken into control by colonial planters and industrialists.
- Colonial rule introduced a series of forest acts to control forest resources in India. This was to meet heavy demand from Europe to provide wood as crucial material to develop industrial infrastructures like railways, factories, furniture and carts to package materials.
- Large scale destruction of forest resources were done for laying railway track, paper, boards, factories, and packaging products.



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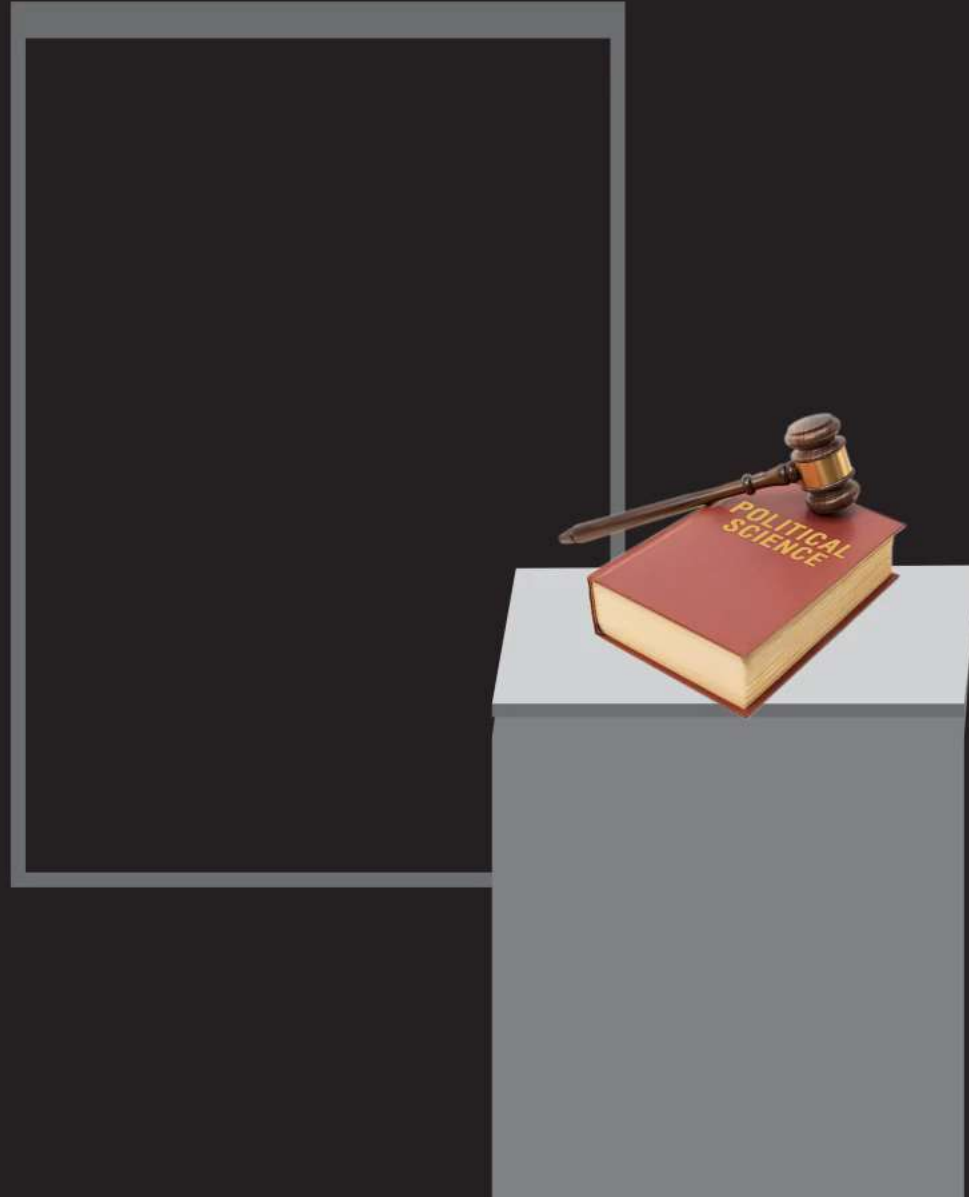
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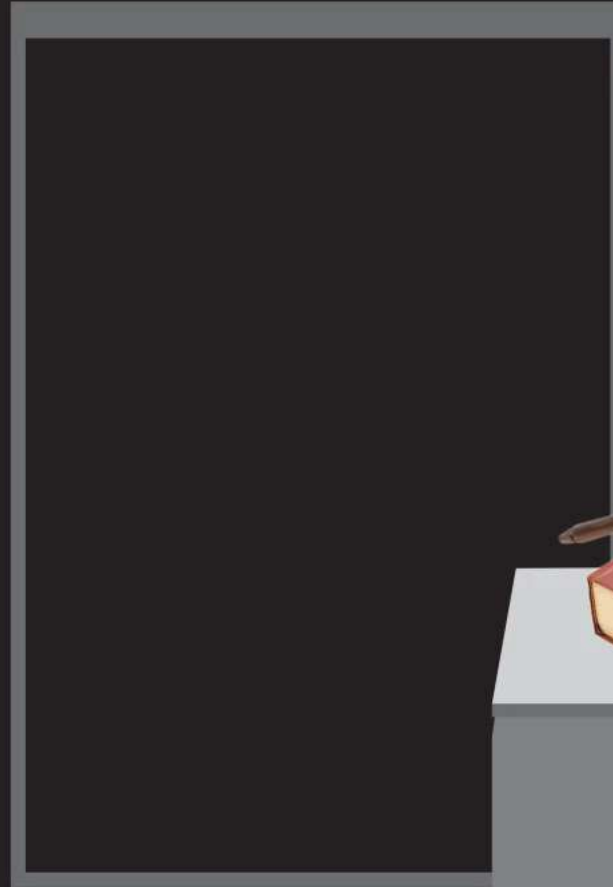
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Peasant & Tribal Movements- Part 1 (Colonial India)

DSC3- NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1ST SEMESTER-2022-23



DSC 3: Colonialism and Nationalism in India

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Social movement: Meaning & Features

- **Definitions:**

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- 'A Social Movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community.' (Paul Wilkinson in his book, Social Movements)
- a social movement is an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem they feel they share in common (Toch (1965))

- **Features:**

- Collective action by group of people
 - sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization
- is deliberate, intentional, and planned in accordance with the goals and targets it aims to achieve
- is directed towards change relating to a specific issue at hand
- Most of the social movements have some ideological base
- the social movement has an organization
- Employing variety of tactics from peaceful to violent means
- Has a political nature



Main grievances of Peasants & Tribals

- New land tax rules- Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari- a heavy burden of taxes, eviction of peasants from their lands, oppression by new intermediary- Zamindars, encroachment on tribal lands.
- Promotion of British manufactured goods in Indian markets leading to destruction of Indian handloom and handicraft industries
 - Artisans becoming landless agricultural labourer- increase load on land
- Increased exploitation in rural society- Zamindars, British officials, Traders/merchants & Money Lenders
 - Exploitation now by both means- political and economic
- Expansion of British rule into tribal areas- loss of tribal people's hold over agricultural and forest land.
 - Loss of traditional tribal way of life- collectivism, egalitarianism customary rights and obligation, are distinct way of life integrated to nature
- British forest laws snatched customary rights of tribals to secondary forest produce. Big contractors and forest officials became another source of exploitation
- Troika of Zamindars, Traders, Money Lenders, and missionaries (in subtle ways) destroyed peace in rural and tribal areas



Common Features

- Mostly directed against Revenue or forest officials, Landed class, traders/merchants, money-landers
- Movements sometimes broadened its ambit to include issues beyond the immediate grievances
- Protest of the oppressed also often involved redefinition of the relationship of the oppressed to the language, culture and religion of the dominant classes. This took the form of denial of the convention of respect and submission in speech or the destruction of places of worship or of symbols of domination or oppression
- protests took varied forms in many spheres, from everyday life to organized insurgency, looting, firing, killing, guerilla warfare, etc.
- Being public and open these rebellions were political actions, different from crime
- Public or popular legitimacy- religious sanctity, God's command
- Most of them were highly localized and isolated
- Exposed the underlying tensions between class, caste or ethnic and religious groups
- As the first expression of the protest of the oppressed in the colonial period, these movements were highly significant for the national movement



Linkages of Peasant & Tribal movements to the national movement

- Gandhiji became mass leader by organising the Champaran Movement- a peasant movement ✓
- Subsequently, Gandhiji and Patelji organised Kheda and Bardoli Satyagraha respectively
- Ruination of Indian agriculture, rural industries, rural and tribal life became rallying theme against the colonial rule
- Inclusion of peasants and tribals made the national movement a mass movement- people's movement ✓
- 1857 uprisings was essentially a peasant supported movement ✓
- Peasants were the backbone of all Gandhian movement



Pros & Cons

Pros- positives

- Raised mass consciousness against the colonial rule
- made national movement a mass movement
- Peasants were the main foot soldiers of Gandhian movement
- Imagery of socio-economic arrangement of rural India post-independence
- Peasants developing into distinct political class

Cons- negatives

- Most of them were localised with narrowly defined objectives
- Most of them adopted violent means
- Many involved caste wars and communalism
- Many were externally influenced- by communists, congress, Muslim leagues, missionaries
- Not much positive impacts on social structure and exploitation in rural India



Some of the prominent peasant movements in the colonial India

- Indigo movement, Bengal- 1860
- The Deccan Riots- 1875
- Champaran Movement - 1917
- Kheda Satyagraha- 1918
- Bardoli Satyagraha- 1928
- Tebhaga Movement- 1946-47
- Telengana Movement- 1946-52



Some of the prominent tribal movements in the colonial India

- Pahariya Revolt- 1778- Jharkhand
- Birsa Munda movement (Ulgulan)- Jharkhand- 1890s
- Santhal Movement – Santhal pargana- Jharkhand- 1855-56
- Moplah Rebellion-1921
- Kol Movement -1829-1839
- Bhil movement- 1818-1831
- Khond Uprising, Odisha- 1837




The Indigo Movement

- **Timeline:** 1859-60
- **Location-Areas** affected:
 - arose in Nadia district of Bengal, entire Bengal province was affected
- **Main Grievances:**
 - Forced plantation, by European planters, of Indigo
 - Very low rates of Indigo produce
 - Loss of soil fertility, force, extortion, and exploitation by the planters,
- **Events/Features**
 - Peasants refused to grow indigo
 - The revolt got support from Zamindars, Bengali intelligentsia, Muslims and the missionaries.
 - Dinabandhu Mitra wrote Nildarpan in Bengali which highlighted the plight of the Indigo peasants.
- **Outcomes/Impacts**
 - The indigo riots forced the Government to set up an official enquiry (1860).
 - A notification was issued which stated that farmers could not be forced to grow indigo.
 - The movement also knocked down the Indigo plantation system in lower Bengal, forcing the planters to shift to Bihar
 - It influenced the later Champaran Movement led by Gandhiji; also highlighted the oppressive and exploitative nature of the British Rule



The Deccan Riots

- **Timeline:** 1870s- 1875 ✓
- **Location-Areas** affected:
 - Poona, many areas of Bombay Presidency, Karnataka
- **Main Grievances:** 
 - Excessive land tax under the Ryotwari system
 - Exploitation and coercion by troika of Revenue officials, merchants, money-lenders
 - Eviction from land- loss of tenancy rights
 - Bust of Cotton Boom of 1860
- **Events/Features**
 - Peasants socially boycotted the moneylenders, burnt and destroyed their account books, and resorted to violence
 - Vanis (village moneylenders) vs the Kunbis (cultivator caste)- caste war
 - Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (M G Ranade) supported the peasants
- **Outcomes/Impacts**
 - Deccan Riots Commission was set up which presented a report to the British Parliament in 1878.
 - In 1879, the Agriculturists Relief Act was passed which ensured that the farmers could not be arrested and imprisoned if they were unable to pay their debts.



Peasant movements under Congress/Gandhi Leadership

- **Champaran Movement (1917)**

- Gandhiji led the movement to protest the exploitation of Indigo farmers of Champaran, Bihar
- In June 1917, the Government appointed an enquiry committee with Gandhiji as one of the members.
- The enactment of the Champaran Agrarian Act, 1918 freed the tenants from the special imposts levied by the indigo planters.

- **Kheda Satyagraha (1918)**

- Against no land tax waiver by Govt despite failed crop in Kheda, Gujarat
- Gandhiji along with Sardar Vallabhai Patel supported the peasants, who did satyagraha for rent remission
- Finally, The Government had to agree to the demands of the peasants.

- **Bardoli Satyagraha (1928)**

- Against excessive land tax(increased by 30%) by Govt in Bardoli district of Gujarat
- Led by Vallabhai Patel, No-Revenue Campaign was launched
- An enquiry committee was set up, which came to the conclusion that the increase had been unjustified and reduced the enhancement to 6.03%



The Tebhaga Movement

- **Timeline:** 1946-47
- **Location-Areas** affected:
 - arose in North Bengal and included the districts of Dinaipur and Rangpur in East Bengal and Jalpaiguri and Malda in West Bengal; epicenter was- Dinajpu, Midnapur and 24-Parganas
- **Main Grievances:**
 - Excessive land tax(50 %) by the Jotedars (landed class below Zamindars)
 - No tenancy rights to actual tillers- bagraders
 - Bengal Famine of 1943
 - Main demand: ' Tebhaga' (two thirds share of crops) for the sharecroppers and land to the tiller
- **Events/Features**
 - bargardars refused to pay half share of crop to the jotedars, resisted arrest and police actions, took arms and fired & killed
 - tebhaga elaka and tebhaga committees were set up for the governance of the area locally
 - The movement was supported and organized by communist cadres of the Bengal Provincial Krishak Sabha.
- **Outcomes/Impacts**
 - 40% of the sharecropping peasants got tebhaga right granted willingly by the landholders
 - Influenced the passage of the east bengal state acquisition and tenancy act of 1950
 - Led to abolition of the zamindari System



Telangana Movement

- **Timeline:** 1946-52
- **Location**-Areas affected:
 - present day Telangana state and rest while areas under nizam of Hyderabad
 - Started in Nalgonda district in 1946 which spread to the neighboring Warangal and Bidar districts, and then to entire Telangana region
- **Main Grievances:**
 - Excessive land tax under the Jagirdari system ; Main demand: writing off of peasants' debt.
 - extra-economic coercion known as vetti (forced labour) and Bhagela by the jagirdar and deshmukh, locally known as dora
 - money lenders cum-village officials joined the Jagirdars in exploiting poor peasants
- **Events/Features**
 - peasants formed an army and started fighting guerilla wars
 - set up their own 'People's Committees'. These 'Committees' took over land, maintained their own army and own administration
 - The armed resistance continued until 1950 and was finally crushed by the Indian army
 - Razakars, a private militia, organized by Qasim Razvi to support the Nizam, brutally started crushing the armed revolts by the peasants
 - The movement was supported and organized by communist cadres
- **Outcomes/Impacts**
 - Not any tangible gains
 - Thousands of communists and peasants were killed
 - But it remained most revolutionary and violent peasant movement which might have influenced Naxalite movements in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana later on



Probable Questions

- Write short notes describing any two radical peasant movements in the colonial India.
- Describe any two prominent tribal movements in the colonial India.
- Elaborate the changing pattern of agrarian structure and peasant movements in colonial India.
- Discuss the causes, impacts, and reasons for the peasant and tribal movements during the colonial period
- How peasant and tribal movements were linked to the national movement



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Dikun



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Birsa Munda Revolt (ULGULAN)

- **Timeline:** 1895-1901
- **Location-Areas** affected:
 - Singbhum and Ranchi districts of the Chotanagpur region; current day Jharkhand
- **Main Grievances:**
 - Exploitation and ruination of simple tribal life by the outsiders dikus - landlords, traders, merchants and government officers
 - Replacement of traditional land revenue system- 'Khuntkari system'- by the Zamindari System ; loss of customary rights over their land
 - Loss of tenancy rights; eviction from land
 - Two famines in 1896-97 and 1890-1900
- **Events/Features**
 - movement was led by Birsa Munda, considered to have possessed Godly powers
 - Aim was to attain religious and political independence for Mundas by driving out the Dikus
 - Refusal to pay land tax, looting, rioting, killing
- **Outcomes/Impacts**
 - Tenancy Act of 1903 was passed which recognized the Mundari Khuntkatti system
 - Chotanagpur Tenancy Act in 1908 was also passed reaffirming tenancy rights of Tribals on their land
 - movement inspired the future social, religious and political movements of tribals



Santhal Revolt

- **Timeline:** 1855-56
- **Location-Areas** affected:
 - Santhal Pargana region of Chotanagpur ; current day Dumka and Bhagalpur Districts of Jharkhand
- **Main Grievances:**
 - Exploitation and ruination of simple tribal life by the outsiders dikus - landlords, traders, merchants and government officers
 - Displacement of Santhals from their traditional homeland- Daman-ikoh
 - Excessive interest rate by the money landers
 - ~~Two famines in 1896-97 and 1899-1900~~
- **Events/Features**
 - movement was led by two brothers- **Sidhu and Kanhu**
 - Aim was to take back their land from their oppressors; total annihilation of the Dikus, establishment of old pristine Santhal raj
 - It was an armed uprising against the Dikus; many many moneylenders and Company agents were killed
 - The company rule suppressed the revolt by violent means killing more than 20000 Santhals
- **Outcomes/Impacts**
 - Around 5000 sq. miles areas was carved out as "Non-Regulation" district, which came to be known as "Santhal Parganas".
 - An administrative head was appointed to recover the taken away land.



Tana Bhagat Movement

- **Timeline:** 1914-20
- **Location-Areas** affected:
Among Oraon Tribal areas of Chotanagpur ; current day Gumla Districts of Jharkhand
- **Main Grievances:**
 - Exploitation and ruination of simple tribal life by the outsiders dikus - landlords, traders, merchants and government officers
 - Tribal lives inflicted by bad food and social habits
- **Events/Features**
 - movement was started by a 25 years young man named Jatra Uraon
 - Jatra declared that Dharmes (Supreme Being) had told him in a dream to give up bad habits- ghost findings and exorcism and belief in spirits, animal sacrifices, animal food and liquor, ploughing their fields, working as coolies or labourers,
 - Aim was to establish a pristine Oraon Raj and pure tribal life
 - The Uraon bhagats (prophets) promised their followers safety and relief from the oppressive and unjust revenue system and exploitation by landlords, usurers and Government officials.
 - The Bhagat refused paying land tax and doing begar (forced labour)
- **Outcomes/Impacts**
 - Tana bhagats were followers of Gandhiji and adopted Gandhian means
 - The movement inspired introspection and purification of tribal life; it was more like socio-cultural movement but also directed towards Dikus and their oppressions



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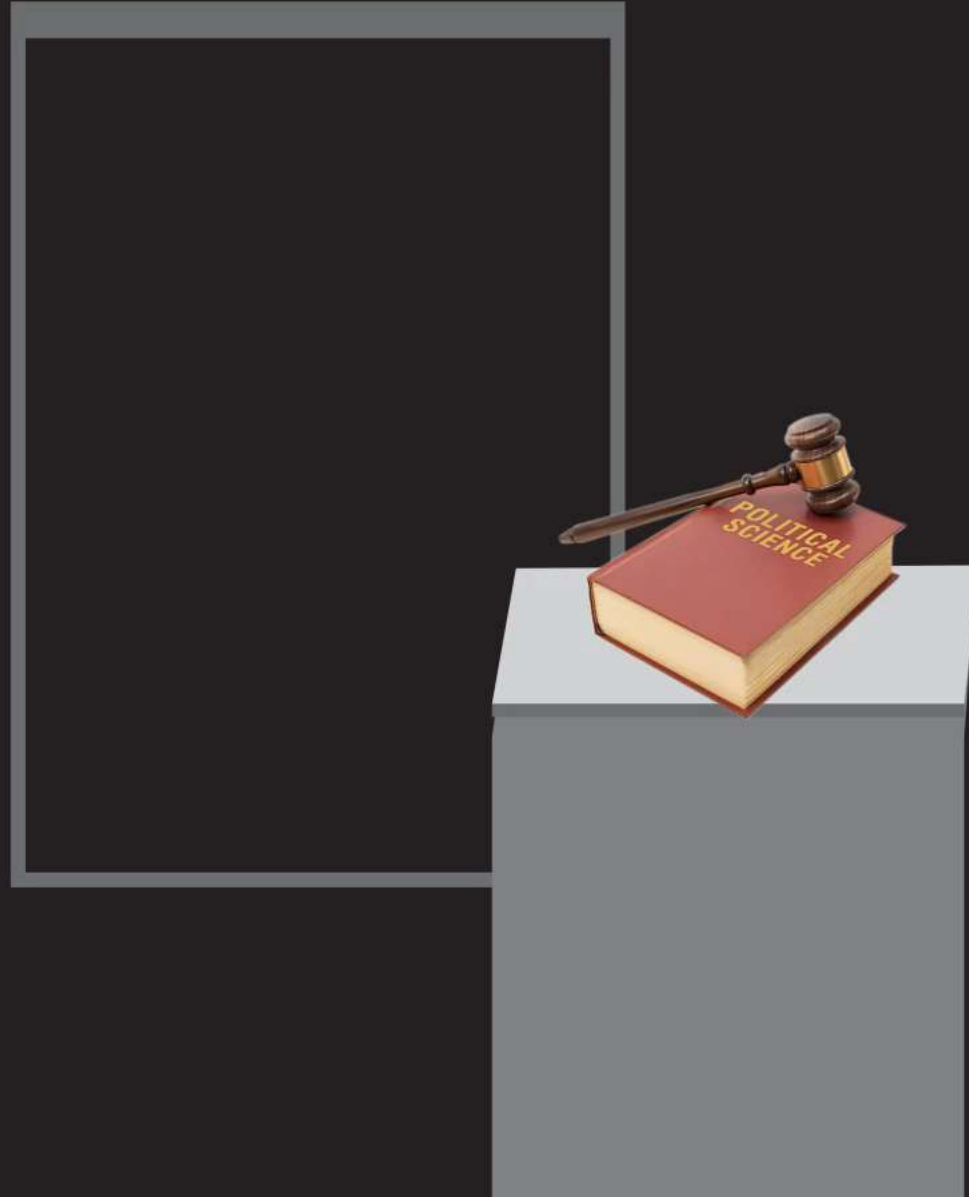
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Women's Movements **(Colonial India)**

**Colonialism and nationalism in
India(CNI)**

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Structure of the Video Lecture

- Social movement – meaning and definitions ✓
- Two streams of women movement in colonial India- Liberal and revivalist
- Prominent organisations raising and improving women's condition ✓
- Women's contribution in India's freedom movement
- Notable women's organisation during India's freedom movement



Social Movement- Meaning and Definitions

- A social movement is a collective effort by a group of people who are trying to bring about or resist social, political, or economic change
- a form of collective action aimed at challenging or changing established societal norms, values, or institutions
- an organized, enduring, and purposeful effort to achieve social change
- A social movement is a cultural and ideological shift led by a group of people who share a common worldview and are committed to transforming the dominant culture or societal framework.
- Women's movement is an important variant of social movement in the sense that it aims to bring changes in the institutional arrangements, values, customs and beliefs in the society that have subjugated women over the year



Two Components of Women's Movement

• Reform Movements and Women's Issues in Colonial India

- Socio-religious reforms to improve women's condition
- Activating State's power to enact laws to improve women's condition
- Efforts of visionary individuals and Institutions in improving women's condition

• Women's Participation and contributions in the Freedom Movement

- Women's participation in the Swadeshi Movement, Non cooperation movement, civil disobedience movement, and quit India movement
- **Institutionalisation of women's movement:** Women's Indian Association (1917) and The National Council of Women in India (1920s). All India Women's Conference (1926-27)



Reform Movements and Women's Issues in Colonial India- Two streams: Liberal and Revivalist

- **Liberal Stream**

- Inspired by European Enlightenment and Western Liberal thoughts, utilitarianism
- Liberal Feminism- equal worth and equal rights to women, positive laws to stop social practices against Women, such as, 'Sati', ban on Widow remarriage, child marriage, 'Parda Pratha', etc.
- Individual agency: Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, MG Ranade, DK Karve, Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu, Pandita Ramabai
- Organisations: Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Sharda Sadan, Arya Mahila Samaj
- **Outcomes:**
 - Sati (Prevention) Act, 1829
 - The Widow Remarriage Act, 1856
 - The Age of Consent Act, 1891- Minimum age of girls marriage 12 years(from 10 yrs)
 - The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (Sarda Act) : Minimum age of marriage Girls- 14 years Boys—18 years



Reform Movements and Women's Issues in Colonial India- The revivalist Stream

- Key Features:
 - Inspired by ancient Indian civilization, values, customs, practices
 - attempt to bring back the glory of Vedic civilization in modern India
 - The Role of Women: Good Mother("Mother India" ideology), Wife, carrier & protector of Indian culture/civilization, active role in national movement
- Aimed at bringing about social changes for Improving the women's conditions consistent with India's cultural and religious traditions
- Individual Agency:
 - Dayananda Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay
- Organisations:
 - Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Theosophical Society



Important organisations

Worked for improving women's condition



Brahmo Samaj

- Founded in 1828
- **Founder:** Raja Ram Mohan Roy
- Other Prominent Leaders: Debendranath Tagore, Keshab Chunder Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar
- Key Contributions:
 - **Abolition of Sati** (Self-immolation of widows)- Laws enacted in 1929 ✓
 - **Promotion of Widow Remarriage:** Supported widow remarriage, which was revolutionary at the time.
 - **Women's Education:** Advocated and supported for the education of women, believing it was essential for the progress of society
 - **Social Equality:** Worked against caste discrimination and polygamy



Prarthana Samaj

- Founded in: 1867 in Bombay(Now Mumbai)
- Founder: Atmaram Pandurang, influenced by social reformers like Jyotirao Phule
- Provided a platform for like-minded reformers to push for Improving the conditions of Women
- Objective:
 - Improve the status of women through social and religious reforms.
 - Work against the oppressive practices prevalent in society.
- Key Contributions
 - Promoted Women's Education
 - Supported widow remarriage
 - Condemnation of Child Marriage



The Arya Samaj

- **Founded** in 1875 in Bombay(Now Mumbai)
- **Founder:** Swami Dayananda Saraswati
- **Other Prominent Leaders** : Lala Lajpat Rai , Swami Shraddhanand, Madan Mohan Malaviya
- **Objective**
 - Promote Vedic teachings and reform Hindu society
 - Advocate for women's rights and social equality, based on Vedic Principles
- **Key Contributions:**
 - Women's Education: Opened schools, colleges for women's education
 - Widow Remarriage: Strongly supported widow remarriage
 - discouraged the practice of child marriage
 - Condemnation of Sati and Dowry
- **Impact:**
 - The Arya Samaj helped ignite the reformist spirit in Indian society and influenced many social changes, particularly in the fields of education and women's rights



The Theosophical Society of India

- Founded in 1875 in Adyar, near Madras(Chennai)
- **Founders:** Annie Besant, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Henry Steel Olcott(in USA)
- Objective
 - Promote the study of religions, spiritual philosophy, and the pursuit of truth
 - Empower women by providing educational opportunities and uplifting their social status
- Key Contributions
 - **Women's Leadership:** Annie Besant, a prominent leader of the Theosophical Society, advocated for women's rights and their inclusion in spiritual and intellectual pursuits
 - **Women's Education:** Established schools and institutions for women's education
 - **Social Reform:** Supported the cause of women's rights, especially in terms of marriage, child welfare, and suffrage



Critical appraisal of the social reform movements on women's issue


- All these movements had a very limited perspective of improving the position of women within the family without challenging the social structure – Patriarchy and Caste System
- Their appeal was limited to the urban middle class
- Leadership of these movements were not in the hands of Women
- The gender bias of the reform movement was most pronounced in the argument that education would improve women's efficiency as housewives and mothers
- Revivalist Stream limited itself to Hindu Women; they were also very critical and dismissive of the radical feminism, such as of Pandita Ramabai



Women's Participation and contributions in the Freedom Movement



Women in Early Struggles (Pre-Gandhi Era)

- Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi: Led a rebellion against British forces during the 1857 Revolt.
- Begum Hazrat Mahal: Led the uprising in Lucknow during the First War of Independence.
- Kittur Rani Chennamma: Fought British colonialists in Karnataka.
- Bhikaiji Cama: Revolutionary woman leader working from Europe 

Women's Participation in the Swadeshi movement 1905

- The women workers of Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and Arya Samaj in Punjab actively participated in the Swadeshi Movement
- Prominent woman leaders: Sarala Devi, Begum Roquiah Sakhawat Hossain, Sarojini Naidu
- Women actively participated in boycotting British goods, particularly textiles.
- They encouraged family members and communities to use Indian-made products like khadi
- Women actively promoted the use of indigenous products by organizing khadi spinning & weaving centers, and encouraging the consumption of Indian goods
- Women contributed significantly to the Swadeshi movement by raising funds for national causes. Women contributed their bangles, nose rings and bracelets to the national fund ; They organized bazaars, collected donations, and participated in various fundraising activities.
- In villages, women started putting away a handful of grain daily for such purpose




Women's Participation in Civil disobedience movement 1930

- women from all class and walks of life joined enthusiastically the salt Movement
- Prominent women leaders, such as Sarojini Naidu and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Sucheta Kriplani played significant roles in organizing and leading women during the Salt Satyagraha
- The act of making salt became a powerful symbol of resistance, particularly resonating with women who traditionally managed household needs
- women across India engaged in similar acts of defiance against salt laws, organizing local protests, and participating in picketing
- This marked one of the first large-scale participations of women in the Indian independence movement, contributing to their empowerment and visibility in public life.



Women's Participation in Quit India Movement 1942

- All prominent men leaders were arrested in the first round up and in their absence, women carried on the movement
- The women not only led processions and held demonstrations but also organised camps for training on civil duties, first aid and democracy
- Women organised political prisoners' relief fund while some women went underground and directed the movement secretly
- Leadership Roles:
 - **Sarojini Naidu:** Known as the "Nightingale of India," **she** was one of the most prominent women leaders playing an active role in the Quit India Movement
 - **Aruna Asaf Ali:** A significant leader in the Quit India Movement, **Aruna Asaf Ali** became a prominent symbol of resistance when she hoisted the Indian flag at the **Gowalia Tank** in Mumbai in 1942
 - **Kamala Nehru:** She took part in street protests and campaigns, encouraging women to rise up against British rule
 - **Usha Mehta:** organized the Secret Congress Radio, an underground radio station during the Movement
 - **Mrityu Bahini** (Force of Death) in Assam, actively engaging in resistance activities during the Movement
- Impact: The involvement of women in the Quit India Movement symbolized their emerging role in the nationalist struggle. They challenged traditional gender roles and demonstrated their commitment to India's independence 

Women in Revolutionary Movements

- **Rani Lakshmi bai** of Jhansi: A symbol of resistance during the 1857 Revolt
- **Women in the Azad Hind Fauj:**
 - The Rani of Jhansi Regiment Led by Captain Lakshmi Sahgal, who played a crucial role in organizing and training the women volunteers
- **Durgawati Devi** was a prominent figure in the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA)
 - She helped Bhagat Singh escape British intelligence networks
- **Bhikaji Cama:**
 - A prominent revolutionary freedom fighter who was exiled in Europe, known for raising the first flag of independent India in 1907
 - She was especially active in France and Germany, where she interacted with revolutionaries like Lala Lajpat Rai, Sardar Ajit Singh, and Shyamji Krishna Varma



Woman's organisations for mobilising women in the national movement

- Women's Indian Association (1917)
- The National Council of Women in India (1920)
- All India Women's Conference (1926) — 26 ✓



Women's Indian Association (WIA)

- Established in 1917 in Madras (Chennai) by prominent leaders like Begum Roquiah Sakhawat Hossain, Annie Besant, and Sarojini Naidu
- Objectives
 - To promote women's education, social reforms, and improve women's participation in politics.
- Contributions:
 - Advocated for the right of women to vote and to hold public office
 - Played a significant role in the formation of policies for women's welfare
 - Worked towards the inclusion of women in political movements like the **Non-Cooperation Movement**.



The National Council of Women in India (NCWI)

- Established in 1923 by Lady Meherbai Tata and others
 - *Note: There is a bit of confusion in the exact year of its establishment many sources mention 1925*
- Objectives
 - Advocate for women's rights, legal reforms, and education.
- Activities & Contributions:
 - provide a platform for women's organizations and social workers
 - involved in community development projects, such as providing education and healthcare services to women and children
 - Contributed towards enactments of laws for women's welfare, such as the Child Marriage Restraint Act and Hindu Women's Right to Property Act
 - NCWI is still operational and works for women's rights, gender equality, legal reforms, and social justice



All India Women's Conference (AIWC)

- Established in 1927 by Margaret Cousins with Kamini Roy and Sarojini Naidu; Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay was its first organising secretary
- Objective:
 - providing a forum for women's social and political issues
- Activities & Contributions:
 - Focused on issues such as child marriage, widowhood, dowry, and women's education
 - Pushed for laws promoting gender equality and reforming marriage laws
 - Advocated for better health and hygiene for women, especially in rural areas
 - Supported various protests and movements led by Gandhi, including the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930) and the Quit India Movement (1942)



Sum Up

- One of the focus of all the socio-religious reform movements during the colonial India was to improve upon the conditions of women
- Two streams of social reform movements– liberal and revivalist
- Brahmo Samaj and Prarthna Samaj of the liberal stream and Arya samaj and Theosophical Society of the revivalist stream --prominent organisations working for improvement of women's condition
- Woman participated and contributed significantly in the Swadeshi, Civil Disobedience, Quit India and revolutionary movements
- Women's Indian Association, The National Council of Women in India, All India Women's Conference- Woman's organisations for mobilising women in the national movement



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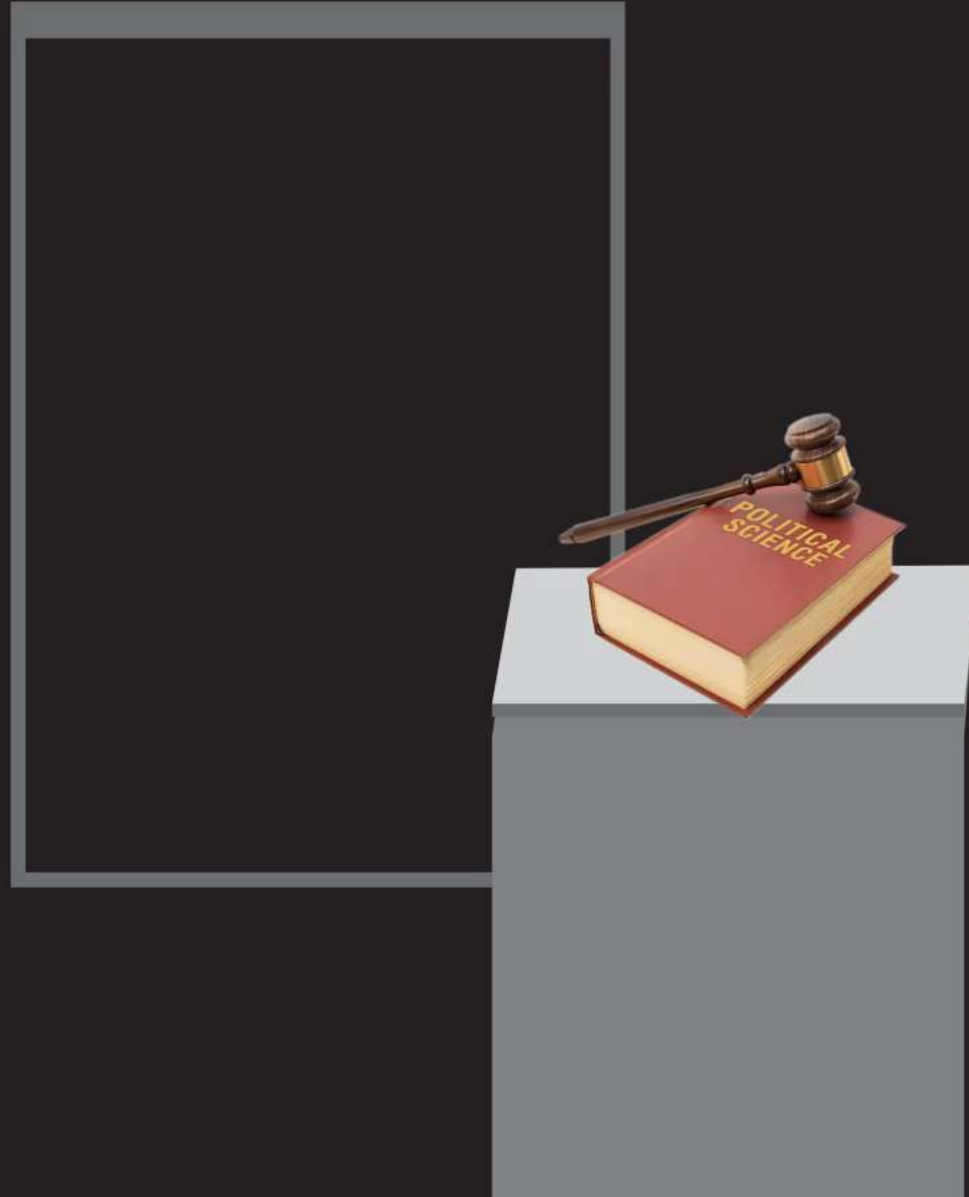
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Anti-Caste Movements (Colonial India)

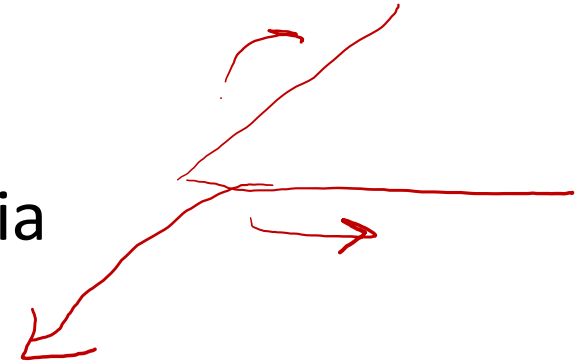
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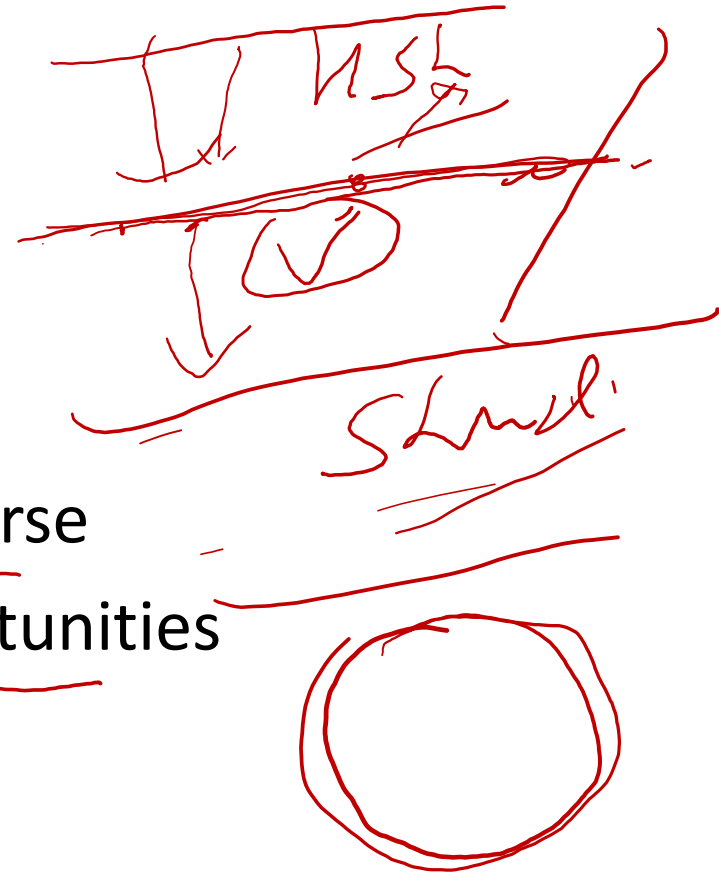
Structure of the video lecture

- The caste system features unique features
- Two streams of anti caste movement in colonial India
- Anti Brahmanical movement and their features
- Prominent anti-Brahmanical movements in colonial India
- Impacts and Legacy of anti-caste and anti-Brahmanical movements



Features of the Caste System

- Antiquity
 - Considered even older than Vedas
- Graded Hierarchy →
- Ascriptive(birth based) Social Status
- Endogamy in Marriage, Dining, Social Intercourse
- Determinant of Vocation and Economic opportunities
- Notion of Purity & Impurity
- Religious Sanctions and sanctity



The Role of the colonial rule in unleashing the agencies for anti-caste Movements

- Liberal egalitarian and utilitarian doctrine
- Secular and scientific education system
- Imposition of rule of law, Codification of laws, legal equality
- Modern transport, urbanisation, industrialization
- Political representation and franchise
- Opportunities for new vocations and social mobility



Anti-Caste Movement: Two Streams

- **As part of socio-religious reform movement- By the Outsiders**

- By reputed social reformers of generally upper caste Hindu
- liberal egalitarianism, Not radical, - Within the paradigm of Brahminical Hinduism
- Brahmo Samaj (Raja Ram Mohan Roy), Prarthna Samaj (Atmaram Pandurang), Ramkrishna Mission (Vivekananda), Arya Samaj (Dayananda Saraswati) Gandhi's Untouchability abolition movements (Harijan Sevak Sangh)

- **Anti-Brahminical Movements—By the Insiders**

- By path breaking social reformers from Dalit & lower castes
- Radical- not only against the caste system but critical & against Brahminical Hinduism
- Satyashodhak Samaj (Jyotiba Phule), Self-Respect Movement (Periyar), Dalit & backward caste Movement (Ambedkar), Namasudra Movement (Matua, Bengal), Adi-Andhra Movement (Telugu Region), Adi-Hindu in Uttar Pradesh and Adi-Dharm in Punjab, Adi Dravidas movement in Tamil Nadu, Shri Narayan Dharma Paripalan (SNDP) movement in Kerala



Key Features and Demands of anti-Brahminical movement

- **Counter Hegemonic:**

- Challenged the cultural hegemony of Brahmins and upper caste Hindus
- Rejected authenticity of Vedas, considered Aryans as invaders, Brahminical Scriptures as false narratives and pre-Aryan people in India as the carrier of original Indian culture and civilization

- **Critical of Brahmanical Hinduism:** questioned religious texts and practices that justified caste hierarchy and Brahmanical Supremacy

- **Social Equality:** Leaders promoted inter-dining, inter-caste marriage, and equal social rights.

- **Fought caste discrimination:** temple entry, right to access water from public tanks, no discrimination in education, employment, public offices

- **Self respect** and empowerment: instilled the dignity and self respect in Dalits, untouchables and lower castes and empowered them socially and politically



Prominent anti Brahmanical movements in colonial India

- Satya Shodak Samaj by Jyotiba Phule
- Dravida Kazhagam and Self-Respect Movement by EV Ramaswamy Naickar Periyar
- Dalit and Anti-Caste Movement by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
- The Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) movement by Shri Narayana Guru
- Adi-Andhra Movement (Telugu Region), Adi-Hindu in Uttar Pradesh and Adi-Dharm in Punjab, Adi Dravidas movement in Tamil Nadu



Jyotirao Phule and the Anti-Caste Movement in Maharashtra-1/2

- Jyotirao Phule (1827-1890), himself of a lower-caste, was one of the earliest and most prominent leaders in the anti-caste movement in colonial India.
- **Ideology:** Ant-Brahminical-- Brahminical Hinduism is perverted Form of Hinduism; Ant-Casteism-Caste system Oppressive discriminatory and against social equality
- Contributions:
 - **Satyashodhak Samaj**(Truth-Seekers' Society): He founded it in 1873
 - Expose the false beliefs and practices that justified caste discrimination, especially those related to religious orthodoxy and the dominance of Brahminical Hinduism.
 - Promote education for women and lower castes.
 - Encourage social reforms like inter-caste marriages and the abolition of untouchability
 - **Education for Women and Lower caste**
 - In 1848, Phule and his wife **Savitri Bai Phule**, opened the first school for girls in Pune
 - In 1873, he established a school for the Dalits in Pune
 - education should be rooted in reason, science, and rational thought
 - Challenged Brahminical Control of Education



Jyotirao Phule and the Anti-Caste Movement in Maharashtra-2/2

- His Books and creations
- **Gulamgiri (1873)**
 - Critique of Brahminical Hinduism and the Caste System
 - caste system was a creation of the Brahmins to maintain their social, cultural and economic power over the lower castes
 - Prevailing caste system had no basis in the original teachings of Hinduism
- Shetkaryacha Asud(1881) – ‘The Farmer's Whipcord’
 - critiques the exploitation and suffering of peasants, especially the lower castes, under the oppressive economic system that dominated colonial India
 - Intersection of caste discrimination, oppression and economic exclusion of caste system and British Land Revenue System
 - Lower caste peasants facing triple whammy- Caste discrimination, oppression by landlords/Zamindars and oppressive land revenue system
 - called for a radical overhaul of the existing social and economic structures
 - urged farmers to become politically aware and actively engage in the struggle for their rights



Periyar's Anti-Caste and Anti-Brahminical Movement-1/2

- Born in 1879 in Erode, which was then part of the Coimbatore district of the Madras Presidency, in a Kannada Baliya merchant family
- Core Ideology: social justice, abolition of caste-system, Anti-Brahminism, dignity of the lower castes
- Key Goals of Periyar's **Dravidian Movement**
 - abolition of caste-system
 - Eradication of caste-based discrimination
 - Eliminating Brahminical Privileges
 - Promotion of Women's Rights
 - combined anti-Brahminical ideology with rationalism, feminism, and linguistic & regional pride



Periyar's Anti-Caste and Anti-Brahminical Movement-2/2

- **Contributions:**

- **Self-Respect Movement:**

- Founded in 1925 in Madurai, Tamil Nadu

- **Aims:**

- Independence from Brahminical domination.
- Promotion of self-respect for lower castes.
- **Social reforms**, especially in terms of **education** and **legal rights** for the marginalized.

- **Protest Against Untouchability**

- Public protests against untouchability practices.
- Fought for public spaces like temples, roads, and wells for lower castes.

- **Temple Entry Movements**

- Advocated for the **right of lower castes** to enter Hindu temples
- Vaikom Satyagraha (1924–1925)
 - agitation for access of 'Dalits' and Lower castes to the prohibited public environs of the Vaikom Temple in the Kingdom of Travancore



Dalit and Anti-Caste Movement by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar-1/3

- Born in 1891 at Mhow in MP, by caste 'Mahar' (Dalit)
- Ideology:
 - Anti-Caste crusade- Annihilation of caste system
 - Caste system- biggest ailment of Indian Society; it makes political reform meaningless and economic reforms almost impossible.
 - Hindu Sashtra provide legitimacy and sustenance to caste system
- Contributions:
- Public protests & Movements
 - **The Mahad or Chowdar tank Satyagraha (1927):** to allow untouchables to use water in a public tank in Mahad
 - Public Burning of **ManuSmriti**
 - **The Kalaram Temple Entry Movement (1930):** for Dalits' right to enter the Kalaram temple in Nasik
 - **Mahad** conference (1927)-- to raise awareness about the civil rights of Dalits
 - Struggle for Separate Electorate for Dalits , The Poona Pact:1932
 - 22 Vows-1956- Nagpur oath by thousands of his Dalit Supporters while converting to Buddhism



Dalit and Anti-Caste Movement by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar-2/3

- Organisation for Rights of Dalit & oppressed castes
 - Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha --1924
 - Samata Sainik Dal --1924
 - Samaj Samata Sangh--1927
 - Depressed Classes Education Society --1928
 - Scheduled Castes Federation--1942
- Journals, News Papers & Magazines
 - Bahishkrit Bharat (Marathi Fortnightly)- 1927
 - Mook Nayak (Marathi-language newspaper)- 1920
 - Janata (weekly Magazine)--1930
 - Samata (News Paper)--1929



Dalit and Anti-Caste Movement by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar-3/3

- Books & Creations
 - Castes in India
 - Annihilation of caste
 - Who Were the Shudras?
 - The Untouchables
- The Constitution of India– Modern Manu
 - Drafted a liberal, egalitarian Constitution- removed untouchability, social equality, Social Justice, no caste-discrimination
 - Constitutionalism and Constitutional Morality



The Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) movement by Shri Narayana Guru

- Sree Narayana Guru: Born: 1856 in the Ezhava community (Kerala).
- Ideology: **equality, rationalism, and universal brotherhood**
- In **1903**, **Sree Narayana Guru** founded the **Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP)**
- **Aims**
 - to unite the **lower castes** and encourage **self-respect, education**, and social participation.
 - to promote **social equality** and empower the **Ezhava** community
- Key Principles of SNDP Movement
- one caste, one religion, one god
- Social Equality, Opposition to Caste-based discrimination, Spiritual Unity, Promotion of Self-Respect, **allow access to temples** for lower castes



Anti-Brahminical movement : Impact and Legacy

- Political
 - Dalit and backward Caste politics
 - Reservation policies in education, employment, political representation
 - Strong regional political movements, especially in South India
- Social
 - Increased social mobility among lower castes
 - Increase in educational, employment, and political opportunities among lower castes
 - Weakening of traditional caste restrictions
- Cultural
 - Development of alternative cultural narratives—sub-alternism
 - Emergence of Dalit literature and art
 - Recognition of non-Brahminical cultural traditions



Sum Up

- Imposition of an alien British rule based on liberal doctrine unleashed the agencies of social reformers to challenge the deep entrenched caste system and subjection of Dalits and lower castes within that
- ~~Anti~~- caste movements in colonial India can be categorised on the basis of insider outsider
- First were the liberal egalitarian movements by the renowned social reformers belonging to upper caste Hindus, The second was radical movements by social reformers from the Dalit and lower castes
- Key Features of anti-Brahminical movements- Counter Hegemonic, Critical of Brahmanical Hinduism, Social Equality, Fought caste discrimination, Self respect and empowerment
- Anti Brahmanical movements have a lasting socio-political impacts



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