

THE GANDHIAN ERA

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FOREWORD

Mahatma Gandhi had said, "My life is my message". It is essential that the guiding light provided by Mahatma Gandhi reaches all who are devoted to national re-construction and human well being.

Shri N. Rama Krishnamacharya has made a commendable effort in this book to bring to readers various aspects of Gandhian thought. I congratulate him for this endeavour and hope that this book will be read widely.

(S.D. Sharma)

Vice-President,

REPUBLIC OF INDIA

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PREFACE

"The Gandhian Era" represents the noblest moral force known to the annals of the world.

India obtained her independence by waging a non-violent war against the largest empire ever established on the globe.

Freedom movement, under the unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhi transformed the downtrodden masses of India - the political pigmies into moral giants.

Einstein has pointed out that the future generations might not believe that such a man as Mahatma Gandhi in flesh and blood had ever walked on this earth.

Let alone "future generations". What about the present generation which is fast forgetting the Mahatma and the Freedom Movement?

It is one of the wonders of world history that a tiny nation situated more than six thousand miles away could conquer and rule world history that a tiny nation over India for over two centuries.

The English, who came to India as merchants, soon became masters of a vast country, stretching from Kashmir to Kanya Kumary with a population of about one fifth of the whole world.

What a feat!

Maxmuller ran to raptures over the word "India".

"If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow - in some parts a very paradise on earth-I should point to India.

"If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life and has found solutions to some of them which

well deserve the attention of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India".

But, India with all her geographical splendour and historical glory lost her independence. How she regained her freedom is an exhilarating story.

This book depicts this story.

Perhaps The Gandhian Philosophy, signified a wider message to the whole world, as Toynbee has proclaimed in prophetic words.

"It is already becoming clear that the chapter which had a western beginning will have to have an Indian ending, if it is not to end in self-destruction of the human race.

At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way for salvation of mankind is the Indian way - Emperor Ashoka's and Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-violence and Sri Rama Krishna's testimony to the harmony of religions.

Here we have an attitude and spirit that can make it possible for the human race to grow together into a single family and in the atomic age, this is the only alternative to destroying ourselves."

History is supposed to be a pyramid of facts and figures free from the facade of fable or fiction. No doubt, true history is the fascimile of the dead past. But "the communication of the dead is tongued with a fire, beyond the language of the living".

Surely, Mother India, has shed many precious tears at the sufferings and sacrifices of her patriotic sons and daughters and showered some sweet smiles on their successes.

This book - "The Gandhian Era"- tries to preserve for posterity, amidst the dumb shades of these sentences, the music of the tears and the **melody** of the smiles of Mother India.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to innumerable SATYAGRAHIS of the Gandhian Freedom Movement-atomic epitomes of eternal anonymity -some of them my dearest departed friends whose epic sacrifices have inspired me to write this book.

Millions and millions of patriotic men and women made Mahatma Gandhi great. The Mahatma was a mighty ocean. Little drops of water and little grains of sand maketh the mighty ocean"- sang a poet. It was my privilage to have known the mighty ocean as well as the drops of water and grains of sand rather intimately. I am thankful to the Hon'ble Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharmaji, Vice-president of India for contributing the short and simple FOREWARD, combinig sweetness and light in tune with Gandhism.

Writing a book is supposed to be a difficult task; publishing it, I know, is doubly difficult. Prof. K.R.Acharya, a kindred soul and gifted writer is responsible for this book, seeing the light of the day, Prasad Rao of Cauvery Publications has undertaken to publish the book, out of cultural instincts quite distinct from commercial motives. Aruna and Lakshmi of S.R.Graphics rendered commendable service. I am thankful to them. I thank Sri Rama Narasimham who is not merely a professional steno but every inch an artist for preparing the script as a labour of love. I always found him to be a volunteer and never a conscript. I am grateful to P.V.S.Sastry who supervised the script.

Last but not the least, my thanks are due to Sri A.L. Prasad of the Jay Bharat Industries who got my manuscript typed at the outset with the gratuitous graciousness quite characterstic of him.

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DEDICATION

**THIS BOOK
THE GANDHIAN ERA
IS
DEDICATED
TO**

The memory of the many Satyagrahis of the Gandhian Freedom struggle, the unknown soldiers of the invincible spirit of the human soul and the synonyms of self-sacrifice, who have waged the noblest war against the mightiest Empire on earth utilising the weapons of Truth and Non-violence.

PRAYER FROM GITANJALI

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high:

Where knowledge is free:

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls:

Where words come out from the depth of truth:

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection:

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit :

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever widening thought and action, Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake.

- RABINDRANATH TAGORE

TRIBUTES

"I love India, not because I cultivate idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons, "Satyam-Jnanam-Anantam Brahma" - (God is truth, infinite knowledge).

"If Gandhi fails, he will have failed as the Buddha failed and as Jesus failed to wean men from their inequities; but he will always be remembered as one who made life a lesson for all ages to come."

- RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A leader of his people, unsupported by any outward authority, a politician whose success rests simply on the convincing power of his personality, a victorious fighter who has always scorned the use of force, a man of wisdom and humility armed with resolve and inflexible consistency, a man who has confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of the simple human being and thus at all times risen superior, asserting the dignity of human integrity and generations to come will scarce believe that such a man as Gandhi ever, in flesh and blood ever walked on this earth.

- EINSTEIN

I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. GANDHI, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a true representative of the Crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ.

-BISHOP WHITEHEAD OF MADRAS

Thus Spake the Mahatma

(Selected Sayings of Mahatma Gandhi)

EVERYDAY RESOLUTION

"Let then our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day:

I shall not fear anyone on earth.

I shall fear only God.

I shall not bear ill-will towards any one.

I shall not submit to injustice from any one.

I shall conquer untruth by Truth.

And in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering."

- MAHATMA GANDHI

1. Strength comes from an indomitable will.
2. Hatred never kills, love never dies.
3. I cannot be happy without the humblest of us being happy.
4. Woman is the companion of man.
5. An eye for an eye ends up making the whole world blind.
6. There is no merit in loving an enemy when you forget, he is a friend.
7. My religion is based on truth and non-violence.
8. Non-violence is the means of realising God.
9. I lay no claim to super-human powers.
10. Intolerance betrays the want of faith in one's cause.
11. Intolerance is an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit.
12. I am a puritan myself, but I am catholic towards others.
13. There is no such thing as religion over-riding morality.
14. The spirit of Non-violence necessarily leads to humility.
15. Truth is my God.
16. Non-violence means reliance on God.
17. That service is the noblest which is rendered for its own sake.
18. A semi-starved nation can have neither religion nor art.

19. Love never claims, it ever gives.
20. Nature cure implies an ideal mode of life.
21. Justice that love gives is a surrender.
22. A pure fast, like duty, is its own reward.
23. Women is the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering.
24. I will not be a traitor to God to please the whole world.
25. Happiness depends on what you can give, not what you can get.
26. To enjoy life one should give up lure of life.
27. Man often becomes what he believes himself to be.
28. Non-violence alone can serve India and the world from self-extinction.
29. The caste system is an anachronism.
30. Man has reason, discrimination and free-will.
31. Perfection is the exclusive attribute of God.
32. Hate the sin and not the sinner.
33. Real suffering, bravely borne, melts even a heart of stone.
34. Discipline is learnt in the school of adversity.
35. There is an orderliness in the Universe.
36. Non-violence is the greatest virtue; cowardice is the greatest vice.
37. Perfect non-violence is the highest bravery.
38. Common sense is the realised sense of proportion.
39. Non-violence springs from love; cowardice from hate.
40. An ounce of practice is worth more than tonnes of preaching.
41. To me art, to be truly great, must be universal in appeal.
42. Golden fetters are no less galling to a self-respecting man than iron ones.
43. Every one, who wills, can hear the inner voice.
44. Restraint never ruins one's health.
45. Possession of arms implies an element of fear.
46. Rights accrue automatically to him who duly performs his duties.
47. Man's happiness lies in contentment.
48. Infinite striving after perfection is our human right.
- 49 I feel more in tune with infinite when I am silent.
50. Untouchability is not a sanction of religion, it is a device of Satan.
51. Personal hygiene and healthy living are of primary importance.
52. Capital has neither dignity nor strength compared to labour.
53. Brahmacharya signifies control of all senses.
54. Man as animal is violent, but spirit is non-violent.
55. God's existence cannot be, does not need to be, proved.

56. Disciplined agitation is the condition of national growth.
57. A religion worth the name does not admit of any coercion.
58. In nature there is fundamental unity running through all diversity.
59. The strength of the soul grows in proportion as you subdue the flesh.
60. It is healthy to be reminded that the strongest might weaken and the wisest might err.
61. All true art must help the soul to realise its inner- self.
62. Just as matter misplaced becomes dirt, reason misused becomes lunacy.
63. Marriage is a fence that protects religion.
64. Character is more eloquent than speech.
65. Contentment is the best of riches,
66. In politics also we have to establish the Kingdom of Heaven.
67. Peace and order are necessary to all gatherings.
68. National service means service to humanity.
69. Disbelief is a treacherous mate.
70. When a man works for an ideal, he becomes irresistible.
71. The greatest men of the world have always stood alone.
72. In true Satyagraha there is neither disappointment nor defeat.
73. In the attitude of silence, the soul finds the path in a clearer light.
74. Language at best, is but a poor vehicle for expressing one's thoughts in full.
75. To treat enemy as friend is called love.
76. Tolerance gives us spiritual insight.
77. I believe with my whole soul that the God of Quran is also the God of the Gita.
78. He who seeks peace must look for it within himself.
79. If untouchability stays, Hinduism goes.
80. Love is the strongest force the world possesses.
81. Nothing but ruin stares a nation in the face that is prey to drink habit.
82. Devotion is the talisman by which death itself becomes the portal of eternal life.
83. Confession of one's guilt purifies and uplifts.
84. Life is greater than all art.
85. Life without principles is like a ship without a rudder.
86. The brain must be educated through the hand.
87. What I have done will endure, not what I have said or written.
88. Peace will never come until Great Powers courageously decide to disarm themselves.

89. If a village perishes, India will perish too.
90. In its positive form, Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity.
91. Khaddar creates a moral and spiritual bond between the classes and the masses.
92. The golden rule is to dare to do the right at any cost.
93. History records that empires have been destroyed through drink habits.
94. Nirvana is the utter extinction of all that is based in us.
95. Non-cooperation with evil is a sacred duty.
96. A nation can do without its millionaires and capitalists but can never forego its labourers.
97. Progress is born lame. It limps, it cannot run.
98. To err is human. By confessing we convert our mistakes into stepping stones for success. On the contrary, a person who tries to hide his mistakes, is a living fraud.
99. If a man will only realise that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him.
100. A poet is one who can call forth the good latent in the human breast.
101. I claim no infallibility.
102. I have never made a fetish of consistency.
103. I decline to be a slave to precedents or practice, I cannot understand or defend on moral basis.
104. The loss of revenue by introducing prohibition is only apparent. It means a substantial economic gain to the Nations.

GANDHIJI'S TALISMAN

"I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test.

Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?

Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away."

"SEVEN SINS "

"Commerce without ethics;
Pleasure without conscience;
Politics without principle;
Knowledge without Character;
Science without humanity;
Wealth without work;
worship without sacrifice".

* * *

"I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. This is the India of my dreams".

"I am a man of peace, I believe in peace. But I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in stone. I do not want the peace that you find in the grave; but I do want that peace which you find embedded in the human breast which is exposed to the arrows of a whole world, but which is protected from all harm by the Power of the Almighty God.

THE PROLOGUE

"The Father of the Nation" the fond epithet conferred on Gandhi by modern India is a typical tribute paid to the memory of the chief architect of Indian Independence. For millions in India and to many people abroad, Gandhi's name epitomised the freedom struggle of India. However, the attribute, "Father of the Nation" is a misleading assessment of the personality of Gandhi. The freedom struggle is a significant facet of Gandhi's personality. But there are many more facets which are much more important. India may call him the "Father of the Nation", but the whole world will remember him as the prophet of Truth and Non-violence.

Romain Rolland, the illustrious Nobel Laureate in French Literature composed a short biography of the Mahatma more than two decades before the dawn of Indian Independence.

He said, "Mahatma Gandhi placed Truth and Non-violence first and "Indian Independence" next. It is one of the ironies of history that Mahatma Gandhi who was essentially a man of the minorities became the leader of the vast majority of the masses in India. The great writer has compared and contrasted Gandhi with Tilak. "Tilak, a born mathematician believed in numbers and was the natural leader of the masses. Tilak a leader of spotless character in private life placed his country first. Gandhi quite obviously placed, Truth and Non-violence first and "Indian Independence" next. Gandhi never wanted Indian Independence through violence. However, Tilak died on 1-8-1920, the very day when Gandhi became the Supreme Leader of his country.

On the memorable day when India became independent, on 15th August, 1947, when Jawaharlal Nehru was being anointed Prime Minister of India in New Delhi by Lord Mount Batton, Mahatma Gandhi was conspicuous by his absence in the capital city of India - Delhi.

The whole of India in its jubilation, celebrating the Indian Independence, might have forgotten the actual geocentric longitude and latitude where the Mahatma chose to stand and stare. He was in Nookhali (then in East Pakistan and now in Bangla Desh).

The greatest contribution of the Mahatma to world history is not Indian Independence. The message of the Mahatma that the end does not justify the means and his insistence that the means must be as pure as the ends will ever remain as his memorable contribution to international political

thought. Even while Gandhi was alive loud cries were heard that Gandhism had outlived its utility. In fact, non-violence was the creed of the Mahatma and the Indian National Congress accepted it only as a Policy. The portrayal of the personality of Mahatma Gandhi by Einstein, one of the greatest intellectuals the world has even known speaks for itself. "Gandhi has been a leader of millions of his Countrymen, who scorned the use of force a frail man who has conquered the brutality of Europe with the simple dignity of a human being; perhaps generations come will scarce believe that such a man ever walked, on this planet in to flesh and blood"

Gandhi was a real "Ajata Satrava" a man born without an enemy. He preached Universal love, and his dictum was "Hate the evil, but hate not the evil doer". He was non-violence in flesh and blood and discarded the offer of protection and security arrangements by the Government of Independent India and fell a martyr to the assassin's bullet, bearing no ill will against the culprit. Mahatma Gandhi symbolised "simple living and high thinking". With regard to many greatmen, world is familiar with and is quite often reminded that a great gulf exists between practice and precept but Gandhi practised what he preached in letter and spirit. Gandhi lived in a hut, slept on a mat, wore the meagre loins cloth, was spinning daily and ate the most frugal food. He was the living emblem of the dignity of labour; He cleaned the lavatories and nursed the lepers. Even when he went to the Buckingham Palace to meet the British Sovereign he was the half naked Fakir denounced by Churchill who proclaimed later that he did not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. While in England Gandhi preferred to dwell in the midst of the labour colony of London. In India he preferred to live in Bhangi Colony where the sweepers lived. Gandhi worked for Indian Independence because the world could not claim to be completely free while one sixth of its population was in bondage. Gandhi never claimed to have discovered a new theory. He proclaimed, "Non- violence is as old as the Hills".

The dictum of Jesus Christ "Resist not Evil", the Biblical injunction "love thy neighbour as thyself or the "Passive resistance" movement propounded by Tolstoy of Russia are kindred ideas. Gandhi first propounded the theory of Non-violence in South Africa, where Indians lived as drawers of water and hewers of wood, and were practically slaves. Hotels in South Africa carried the inscription.

"Indians and Dogs are not allowed".

Gandhi became the champion of the under dog quite naturally. Gandhi was imprisoned in South Africa where he first put his theory of Non-

violence to test. General Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa who carried the burden of the white man chose to pay a private visit to his prisoner, when Gandhi was in jail.

The prisoner Gandhi presented a pair of shoes to the Prime Minister, General Smuts who imprisoned him. After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, General Smuts came to India and returned the great gift to the Indian Nation saying that he never considered himself worthy of stepping into the shoes of such a great man as Mahatma Gandhi. Under the leadership of Gandhi millions in India, suffered lathi charges resigned the jobs; braved the bullets, boycotted the various institutions of the Government and underwent imprisonments. The movement of Gandhi ultimately transformed itself from the negative non-violent, non co-operation to positive Civil Disobedience.

The phrase "Civil disobedience" was coined by the Great American thinker Henry David Thoreau and there are striking similarities between Gandhi and Thoreau. Obviously Great brains think alike.

The spirit of man can never be imprisoned.

"Stone walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage".

In fact imprisonment was more coveted and honoured in Gandhian India than the knight hood of the British Empire, Non-violence is derided by critics as the Philosophy of the slave. Critics say that Gandhi made a virtue out of necessity. A slave India had no other alternative to fight the British. A similar charge is laid at the door of Christ. Jews of his time were slaves of the Roman Empire. Such criticism to say the least is most uncharitable. The Jew, Christ faced the toughest ordeal of the cross with super human bravery. Gandhi always cautioned that he wanted the non-violence of the strong and not the non-violence of the weak.

"I am a man of peace. I want peace. But I do not want peace of the Grave. I want peace which is embedded in the human heart exposed to the arrows of the Whole World'.

Literally he proved it by braving the assassin's bullet most fearlessly. Gandhi's conception of Non-violence was not narrow. The armed resistance of Poland which was invaded by Hitler was described by Gandhi as, "almost non-violence". Gandhi wanted the people to defend themselves

violently as in the case of Poland. Non-violence of course is better than violence. But violence is certainly better than cowardice. Non-violence of the weak was equated with cowardice by Gandhi. The struggle of Martin Luther King for the emancipation of the Negroes attests to the Universal relevance of Gandhi even after the advent of Indian Independence.

To cite only a latest instance, the students who have started a movement for Democracy in Communist China have embarked on relay fasts. An Indian observer at Beijing has remarked, "The students movement seems to herald the beginning of a Gandhian Long March' in the history of Modern China".

The influence of Gandhism is being felt in every nook and corner of the world. Surely Gandhism has not outlived its utility or lost its relevance. Gandhi has become an immortal like the Buddha, Socrates and Jesus Christ and will continue to exert an ennobling influence on mankind for ever.

"THE SOLILOQUY OF A FLOWER"

"I am a little Flower,

Quite satisfied with my ephemeral existence My longevity lasts just for a single day;

My mission is to scatter fragrance all around for what it is worth.

Mean while, let me proclaim my fervent wish.

I do not like to be offered as a gift at the feet of earthly tyrants who lord over their fellow human beings.

I abhor to hang my head in shame, forming part of the decorative panels in the morning at the threshold of majestic mansions after all to fade away into dust by the evening.

Nor do I wish to waste my precious time sitting and smiling over the braids of beautiful maidens, courted by the crazy youth.

Least of all, do I prefer to be an offering to the stony statue, the so called God, the prisoner of the predatory aristocrats who do not possess the milk of human kindness in their hearts, towards the poor down trodden people.

I do not wish to be woven into garlands which newly wedded couples exchange forgetting the sad plight of their mother land.

Let me express my last wish.

Please take me to a place where the ashes of a 'FREEDOM FIGHTER' were consecrated and place me there.

I should like to mingle my fragrance for a while with the sacred spirit that has dared to die, fighting against the tyranny which has enslaved the Mother Land".

- Free rendering into English of a Telugu poem belonging to the GANDHIAN ERA, Written by Late VedulaSatynarayana Sastry.

I

THE EUROPEAN EXPANSION

Modern History of the World can be termed as the Era of European Expansion. The Europeans, aided by the 'Industrial Revolution' had conquered or colonised the world. Their influence penetrated into almost every nook and corner of the globe.

The inventions of the industrial revolution led to increased production and large scale enterprises. The Spaniards and the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Danes, the English and the French and other Europeans embarked on a policy of imperialism, in quest of new colonies and wider markets all over the world.

Columbus discovered America in 1494 A.D. Vasco-da- Gama discovered in 1498 A.D. a new all sea route to India via the cape of Good Hope of Africa. Adam Smith, the classical Economist of England and the author of the "Wealth of Nations", remarked that "these two are the most important events recorded in the history of mankind". Eventually the European everywhere in the world soon emerged as a shrewd explorer and successful adventurer. In due course, the new lands of North America, South America and Africa, which was supposed to be a dark continent for centuries, and hundreds of islands throughout the world including Australia, or Mauritius fell under the pervading influence of European civilization.

China, with all the pride of her glorious civilization and superiority complex, together with many other countries of the east including the East Indies (now called Indonesia) succumbed to European power. Napoleon described China as a sleeping giant, but forgot to add that the sleeping giant was addicted to opium.

In the historic race of European expansion, England enjoyed two significant advantages. Firstly the industrial revolution started earlier in England. The English inventions the steam engine, the spring frame, the

Jenny, the mule, the power loom and the railway locomotive, boosted the English morale. Secondly, England steadily established her naval supremacy and soon came to be known as the 'Queen of the Seas'. Thus, the English eventually emerged as the architects of an empire over which the sun never set.

SLAVE TRADE

Another factor which contributed to European prosperity was the 'Slave Trade'. Ever since the discovery of Africa, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the native negroes were caught by force and sold as slaves in the Western hemisphere. The negroes were chained and crammed into the bottom of the ships and carried like luggage. Ten percent of them usually died due to suffocation on the way. In times of danger, they were mercilessly thrown into the sea. It is estimated that about 15 to 30 million negroes over many years were sold as slaves. There were some white landlords who commanded the services of 20,000 slaves. Obviously Europe could not supply cheap labour to exploit the colonies. The slaves were treated like two legged animals. They were sometimes flogged to death by their landlords. The sperity and the power of the whites, in a large measure, was due to the 'sweat blood and tears' of the black slaves."

Alongo Gongales of Portugal was a pioneer in slave trade in 1541. Slave trade was abolished in England on 25-3-1808 and in the British Empire on 28-8-1833, perhaps after it ceased to be economically profitable. U.S.A. during the time of Abraham Lincoln abolished slave trade on 1-1-1863, after a bitter civil war, and as a result four million slaves became independent.

The white man, wherever he went either tried to subdue the natives, or drive them to jungles. In Australia the natives were hunted like wild beasts. Eve in America, thousands of the natives were killed. The European demonstrated the popular social dictum "Migh. is Right" most ruthlessly. The East Indies were conquered by the Dutch. The French conquered IndoChina. The whole of Africa, North America and South America were divided among the European powers.

A pathetic joke narrated by a negro is significant.

"When the white men first came to Africa, all the land was in our hands, and the Bible was in their hands. Now the Bible is in our hands and all the land is in their hands". The subjugation of India by the British formed

a part of the global phenomenon of European expansionism, inaugurated by the Industrial Revolution.

MERCHANTS BECOME MASTERS.

India from times immemorial was known to the whole world as a land of plenty and prosperity, philosophy and poetry. From Alexander to Nadir Shah, many foreign invaders are well known to us.

Hordes of Sakas and Huens, Parthians and Phahlawas invaded India many a time. Mahammed of Ghazni plundered India, 17 times in the 11th century. Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739 and defeated the Moghal Emperor Mohammad Shah. He massacred the citizens of Delhi and took away the famous Kohinoor diamond and the peacock throne. The immense booty he carried away enabled him to exempt the people of his kingdom from taxes for three years. India was famous for her fabulous wealth and natural resources. Her artisans produced various items which commanded world wide markets. India was well known for her textiles. In the first century, A.D. the Roman Senator Pliny, bitterly complained that rivers of gold were flowing from Rome to India because the Roman ladies preferred to wear the Indian textiles, which were "made of webs of woven wind". Indian muslins, commanded a world wide market even after the advent of the Europeans in India. Even as late as the seventeenth century, England imposed heavy fines on English people wearing Indian cloth.

Trade with India was considered to be a very lucrative business by the Europeans. The Portugese were the pioneers in this field. Vasco da Gama who came to Calicut in 1498, sold the Indian cargo on his return at sixty times the purchase value. Albuquerque captured Goa in 1510, and established settlements at Diu, Daman and Cochin. The Portugese were not mere traders. They took active part in Indian politics. The Indian princes employed them as mercenary soldiers, especially as gunmen. The Portugese regarded trade as their chief occupation but they too like the English and the Dutch of the same period, never hesitated to plunder when it came in their way. The Dutch came to India in 1595. The Dutch parliament gave the Dutch East India Company (formed in 1602), a charter, empowering it to make war, acquire territories, conclude treaties etc. In addition to their factories in India, the Dutch conquered Ceylon from the Portugese in 1658.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The East India Company of England came into existence on 1-1-1600 under a charter of queen Elizabeth, who was enrolled as a member. Captain Hawkins of the East India Company landed at Surat on 24-8-1608. He resided at the court of Moghal emperor Jahangir. The emperor treated him with courtesy and gave a white Armenian girl of the royal harem in marriage to him in addition to an annual grant of £ 300. But he was expelled from the court owing to his drunken conduct and Portuguese intrigue. Sir Thomas Roe reached the Moghal court, as the accredited ambassador of king James of England in 1615. He obtained a royal FIRMAN for trade in all parts of the Moghal empire. In South India, outside the purview of the Moghal empire the English made good progress, establishing their first factory at Machilipatnam in 1611. Madras was acquired in 1639. The company agreed to pay an annual tribute of 1200 pagodas to the king of Golkonda. In 1640, owing to the skill of the Company's physician Dr. Boghton, who successfully treated the daughter of the Vazir of Shajahan, the Moghal emperor who succeeded Jahangir, the English obtained permission to start factories at Balasore, Kasim Bazar, Patna, Hoogly etc.

By 1647, the English had twenty three factories in India with Surat as their headquarters. Sir George Oxennder successfully defended the factory when Shivaji looted Surat in 1664 and then again in 1670. The English king Charles II, married a Portuguese princess and received the island of Bombay as dowry. He gave it to the English king Charles II, married a Portuguese princess company in 1668 and the company gave him a big loan. The Governor of Bombay wrote to the directors saying, "the time now requires you to manage your general commerce with the sword in your hands." In 1686, the English felt strong enough with considerable military power to defy the Moghal emperor, Aurangzeb. The English were defeated and took refuge in a small island at the estuary of the Ganges pleading, "The ill crimes we committed may be pardoned." Aurangzeb collected a "fine" of Rs.15,000 from the company and pardoned them. In 1698, Fort William was constructed at Calcutta. Portugal was a tiny country with a very small population and was gradually superseded by the Dutch and other European powers. The interest of the Dutch centered round the East Indies and they conceded India to the English.

The French East India Company was formed in 1664 and was reorganised in 1720. It gave stiff opposition to the English company.

INDIAN PRINCES

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Moghal empire steadily declined in power and prestige. The State of Hyderabad was founded by Nizam-ul-

Mulk Asaf Jah in 1724. His diwan was Puran Chand, a Hindu. But after the death of the Nizam in 1748, the Nawab of Carnatic asserted his independence. In Bengal Murshid Ali Khan became an independent ruler. In the same way Avadh proclaimed its independence.

The Marathas were involved in a civil war, some supporting Sahu the grandson of Shivaji and others supporting the son of Tara Bai. Balaji Viswanath, the Peshwa (Chief minister) of Sahu reorganised the Maratha armies into a well knit force, and succeeded in installing Sahu on the throne. Sahu died in 1749, conferring royal powers on the Peshwa. Gradually, the hereditary Peshwas became very powerful. Balaji Viswanath was succeeded by his son, Baji Rao in 1720.

Under the leadership of Baji Rao, the Marathas gained control over Marwa, Gujarat, Bundelkhand and Deccan. The Maratha families such as Gaekwad, Holkar, Sindhia and Bhonsle acquired prominence. At that time, the Marathas were a rising power asserting their supremacy over the Moghals whose power was gradually declining.

While independent principalities were raising their heads the English and the French East India companies were building factories and fortresses. The French built factories at Pondichery and Yanam, in the South, and Chandranagore on the north Bengal coast. The English and the French who were bitter rivals in Europe in pursuit of the policy of colonisation, often clashed in India for control over trade, wealth and territorial expansion. The conflict between the French and the English in India lasted for nearly twenty years from 1744 to 1763.

THE FRENCH

In 1742, war broke out between France and England in Europe and soon it spread to India. The English, with their naval supremacy captured the French ships and Pondichery was in danger. Dupleix, the French Governor-General at Pondichery occupied Madras in 1746. It was a daring feat on the part of Dupleix, who was a brave soldier and a brilliant diplomat. The English appealed to the Nawab of Carnatic, as Madras was situated in his territory. The Nawab wanted to assert his authority over the petty foreign traders and ordered immediate ceasefire. Dupleix, defied the orders of the Nawab. In the battle that ensued, the Nawab's army consisting of 10,000 soldiers was 700 Indian Sepoys trained on western lines, at St. Thome on the routed by the French forces comprising of 230 Europeans and banks of the Adyar river.

The European military superiority, first demonstrated by the French at St. Thome in South India in 1746, foreboded the beginning of the end of native independence in India. In 1748, the war between the French and the English ended. In accordance with the peace treaty, Madras was restored to the English. The Englishman emerged as an invincible sailor, and the French man proved his mettle as a formidable soldier. Both were ready to take sides in the mutual quarrels of the Indian princes. Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748. His son Nasir Jung and his grandson Muzaffer Jung began to fight for the throne. Dupleix seized this opportunity and entered into a secret pact with Muzaffar Jung. Nasir Jung was killed in the battle and Muzaffar Jung ascended the throne with the help of the French. The new Nizam rewarded the French company with Rs. 5,00,000. A sum of Rs.5,00,000 was given to the French troops. Dupleix was presented with a purse of Rs. 20,000 and a Jagir fetching Rs.1,00,000 per annum. In addition, the French were given the northern Circars consisting of the four districts, Mustafanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole. Later Dupleix was made the honorary governor of the Moghal Provinces from the Krishna to cape Kanya Kumari.

Bussey, the French general was stationed at Hyderabad with his troops. At the same time, Dupleix seized another such opportunity. Chanda Saheb sought the help of Dupleix against the Nawab of Carnatic, Anwaruddin. In 1749, a battle was fought at Ambur. Anwaruddin was killed. His son Muhammed Ali fled to Trichinopoly. Chanda Saheb who became the Nawab of Carnatic rewarded the French with eighty villages around Pondicherry.

With these splendid victories, the prestige of the French rose high. Dupleix attained the stature of a king maker. This has posed a great challenge and an immediate threat to the position of English in India. Of course, Chanda Saheb and the French were elated at their success and laid siege to Trichinopoly. Apparently, the fall of Trichinopoly was a foregone conclusion.

ROBERT CLIVE

At that crucial juncture, Robert Clive, a clerk working in the East India company at Madras, conceived a very simple solution. He proposed that the English should capture Arcot, the capital of the Nawab of Carnatic. Then Chanda Saheb and the French would be compelled by force of circumstances to leave Trichinopoly and rush to the rescue of Arcot. No spectacular military strategy was involved in the suggestion put forward by Clive. However, president Saunders of fort St. George, Madras appreciated the idea. He chose Clive to take charge of the English forces and lead the attack. Clive came forward bravely to pick up the gauntlet. Anybody could

have thought of the plan, proposed by Robert Clive. But none else did it. Few would have the courage to undertake it, but not many besides Clive could have carried it out.

Clive marched on Arcot with 200 English soldiers and 300 Indian sepoys from Madras on 26-8-1751. He took possession of the fort on 1-9-1751, without firing a shot. As anticipated, Chanda Saheb together with his French allies hurried to Arcot, leaving Trichinopoly. It was a protracted battle. The forces of Chanda Saheb numbered about 10,000. In addition, the English had to fight against the seasoned French troops and the Indian sepoys well trained by their French masters. Out of the eight officers who were with Clive, six were raw recruits quite new to active warfare. Clive refused to surrender and continued the fight against heavy odds. The governor encouraged Clive with all his heart and soul. Fresh reinforcements were rushed to Clive from Madras by sea. In the final encounter, Robert Clive defeated the armies of Chanda Saheb and his French allies. Chanda Saheb was killed in the battle. The French forces were pursued and were repeatedly defeated. Robert Clive emerged as the most conspicuous personality. The British statesman William Pitt exclaimed in admiration, "Clive, that man not born for a desk, the heaven born general".

THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

The French and the English did not cease their bickerings. The French were fortifying their positions at Chandranagore. The English were strengthening their fort at Calcutta. The Navab of Bengal Siraj-ud-Daula ordered both the parties to stop their war preparations. After all Calcutta and Chandranagore were territories lying in his kingdom. Any fortification without his permission, he construed as an affront to his sovereignty. The French complied with his orders but the English defied.

Siraj-ud-Daula promptly seized the English factories at Kasim bazar and marched on Calcutta and occupied Fort William. The English fled and took shelter in a small island protected by their naval power. Meanwhile Robert Clive rushed from Madras to reconquer Calcutta, on 20-6-1756 and compelled the Navab to concede all the demands of the English. Moreover, by subtle intrigue, the English won over Mirzafar and some other important officials of the Nawab.

The inevitable battle was fought on the plains of Plassey on 23-6-1757 near Murshidabad. Mirzafar did not fight and the Nawab's armies were defeated. The English army consisted of about 150 artillery, 950 English soldiers and 2100 Indian sepoys. Clive lost only 29 men, while the Nawab

lost about 500 out of his army of 24000. It was a walkover to victory for the English.

Robert Clive, emerged as an undisputed military General in the battle of Plassey which he fought from the rampart of Arcotfort. Mirzafar who was placed on the throne paid Rs.17,700,000 as compensation to the company, in addition to the 24 Paraganas. The employees of the company received innumerable gifts. Clive received Rs. 2 million and his colleague Watson Rs.1 million. Mirzafar was at the mercy of the English and he was compelled to follow the dictates of the company. There was diarchy in administration. Within a short time, Mirzafar was compelled by the company to abdicate the throne in favour of his son-in-law Mir Kasim who was in league with the English in 1760. A British historian described the period, as "a period of open and unashamed plunder". The directors of the East India Company stopped sending money for its purchases in India. Instead, they asked the employees to arrange payment from the revenues of Bengal. The amount was accounted as the capital investment of the share holders of the company.

Robert Clive himself wrote -" I shall only say that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption, and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal, nor so much fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner. The three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa producing a clear revenue of 3 million sterling have been under the absolute management of the servants of the company ever since Mirzafar's restoration to the subahship, and they have, both civil and military, exacted and levied contributions from every man of power and consequence from the Nawab down to the lowest Zamindar."

"Very soon after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 the plundered wealth of India began to arrive in London and the effect seemed to be instantaneous. In 1760, the flying shuttle was invented. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning Jenny; in 1779 Crompton contrived the mule. In 1785 Cartwright planted the power loom. In 1768 Watts matured the steam engine. Navigation was delinked from the winds and the waves. Had Watts lived fifty years carlier, his inventions would have perished". The immense wealth procured from India provided England with the the necessary capital to exploit those inventions on a large scale. Inflow of Indian treasure, according to Brooks Adams, the author of "The Laws of Civilization", gave a fillip to British prosperity.

^In the South, the English consolidated their position. But, the French made a desperate bid to oust the English from India. A large force was sent under the command of General Lally. The decisive battle was fought at Wandwash on 22-1-1760. The English general Eyre Coot defeated the French. The

French fleet was driven away. The Nizam came under the control of the English and he bestowed Machilipatnam and the Northern Circars to the English. Mir Khasim was not happy in Bengal and he did not like to be a mere puppet in the hands of the English.

THE THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT

In the north, the Marathas were making a determined bid for mastery trying to step into the shoes of the Moghal power which was on the decline. The ambitious king of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali entered into a treaty with Shuja-ud-daula of Avadh, and Nijab-ud-daula of Rohilkhand against the Marathas. The Peshwa despatched a powerful army to the north including a contingent, trained on European lines to counter the Afghan threat. But the other northern powers preferred to keep away from the Marathas, who had collected heavy dues from them by force, in the past. Thus Rajaputs, the Sikhs, the Jats did not support the Marathas. A fierce battle was fought on 14-1-1761, known to history as the third battle of Panipat. The Marathas were completely routed, and lost 28000 soldiers.

The third battle of Panipat was not only a great blow to the prestige and power of the Marathas but paved the way for English expansion. The English tried to depose Mir Khasim and he fled to Avadh, having been defeated by the English in 1763 in a series of battles. The English once again raised Mirzafar to the throne in 1763 and collected huge sums from him once more. Mir Khasim entered into an alliance with the Nawab of Avadh Suja-ud-Daula and Sha Alam, the Moghal emperor. The three armies clashed with the English at Buxer on 22-10-1764. In the fateful battle, the English defeated the allied armies. Thus the English became masters of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Avadh was at their mercy. The titular Moghal emperor became a pensioner and lived as a virtual prisoner of the British in the Fort of Allahabad.

After the battle of Buxer, the English considered themselves as the potential successors of the Moghul emperor and extended their territories at the expense of the Marathas and other Indian Princes, by waging war after war. There were some stray occasions when the Marathas inflicted defeats on the British. In a war against Tippu Sultan, the English bribed his officers and the British money achieved what their arms could not do.

By 1818, the whole of India was under the British political domination with the exception of the Punjab and Sind. The disunited Marathas were defeated and were forced to accept British supremacy. The Peshwa was dethroned and pensioned at Bethur near Cawnpur. To placate

the Maratha pride, a small state Satara was created and a meek descendent of Chatrapati Shivaji was installed on the throne, of course, as a vassal of the English.

THE PUNJAB

Guru Nanak born in 1469, was the founder of the Sikh religion. He was a contemporary of the first Moghal emperor Babar. Nanak proclaimed, "There is one God, His name is Truth, the all pervading Creator". He was an eye witness to the devastation wrought by Babar. Nanak lamented in one of his poems, "He, who ruled over Khurasan has terrified Hindustan. It was Death disguised as a Moghal who made war on us. If a tyrant slew a tyrant, one is not angry, but a ravening lion fell on a herd of cows". Nanak preached humanism, a rational synthesis of all religions, including Islam and Hinduism. Sikhs grew in number during the periods of successive Gurus. During the time of the tenth and last Guru Har Govind (1664-1708), a contemporary of emperor Aurangzeb, the mystic faith, 'Sikkism' was transformed into a militant Church. His successor Banda was put to death in 1715, but the Sikhs continued their military avocations. By the end of the 18th century, Ranjit Singh emerged as the Maha Raja with his capital at Lahore. Ranjit Singh's army comprised of Sikhs, Gurkhas, Biharis, Orias, Pathans and the Punjab Hindus and Muslims. His trusted minister was Fakir Azimuddin. His revenue minister was Diwan Din Nath. He signed a treaty of perpetual friendship with the English. Ranjit was a realist and never attacked the British. So were the British who bided their time till his death in 1839. Afterwards, the English started their game and tried to annex the Punjab.

The Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims fought with the British forging a united front on 8-3-1846, but they were vanquished. Later in 1848, the Sikhs rose in revolt. The rebellion was smashed and the Punjab was annexed. The successive Governors General by a series of diplomatic moves, entitled subsidiary treaties etc., more often by mere threats than use of force, extended their sway from Kashmir to Cape Kanyakumary before 1850.

THE ECONOMIC SCENARIO

Peter, the Great, of Russia, remarked at the beginning of the 18th Century, thus, "Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the Commerce of the world. He who can exclusively command it. is the dictator of Europe." An English observer wrote, "In ship building, the Indians probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them." India was a large scale manufacturer of cotton fabrics, sugar, jute, dye stuffs, saltpetre, and many oils. Defoe, author of "Robinson Crusoe" said, "Indian cloth has crept into our

houses, our closets and bed chambers; curtains, cushions; chairs at last beds themselves were nothing but calicos or India stuffs".

In 1760, an English woman was fined 200 pounds for possessing an Indian hand kerchief. By 18th century India lost the foreign markets due to heavy import duties imposed by European countries. After 1813, India lost the home market as well. Significantly, the Governor-General of India Bentick, reported to England, thus,

"The bones of the Cotton Weavers are bleaching the plains of India".

Adam Smith, the classical English economist has observed with reference to the East India Company,

"Such exclusive companies, therefore are nuisances in many respects; always more or less inconvenient to the countries in which they are established and destructive to those which have the misfortune to fall under their Government".

The imports of British Cotton Goods alone into India increased from pounds 110,000 in 1813 to pounds 6,300,000 in 1856.

The economic ruin of India was due to:-

- a. The industrial revolution of Europe.
- b. The policies of the English rulers of India.
- c. The import duties levied against the Indian goods by the European Governments in general and the Government of England in particular..

For Example, in 1824, a duty of 67 1/2% was levied on Indian calicos and 37 1/2% on Indian muslins. The observations of H.H. Wilson, seem to be conclusive,

"Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam". The crux of the matter was England could protect her economic interests; India, could not because she was ruled by England. In 1693, the East India Company paid pounds 80,000 to the English politicians

as bribes; Clive returned to England at the age of 36 carrying with him fabulous wealth and acquired property with an annual yield of pounds 40,000. There were innumerable miniature Clives, the officials of the East India Company who carried on private commerce for a long time and went home enriched beyond expectations.

FAMINES

The immense drain of wealth occasionally coupled with natural calamities like failure of rain resulted in a series of famines, during the British period in India.

Sir John Shore wrote about the famine of 1770, thus,

"In Wild confusion dead and dying lie
Hark to the Jackal's yell and vulture's cry
The dogs fell howl as in the glare of day
They riot unmolested on their prey".

During the famine, one out of every three in Bengal died. William Digby, a Britisher has calculated that from 1854 to 1901, a series of famines took the toll of about 28,825,000 lives.

Infantile mortality was very high. Charles Elliot, a member of the governor general's council said in the 19th century, "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population of India do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a full meal".

The situation turned from bad to worse during the 20th century. "The quantity of food available to an Indian declined by as much as 29% in the 30 years from 1911 to 1941.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

The foreign policy of India was obviously controlled by the British government at London during the British period. "The English conquered India, with Indian soldiers". Michal Edwards has pointed out, "In fact the English wanted to conquer Nepal, Burma, Afghanistan and Tibet with Indian soldiers". The Indian army was often used in Africa and Asia to fight for Britain. The expenditure incurred in all these military adventures was borne by the poor Indian taxpayer. Thus more than fifty percent of the Indian Budget was consumed by the Indian army, maintained to safeguard the interests of Great Britain."

WAR WITH NEPAL

In October 1814, a border skirmish with Nepal escalated into a war. The British expected an easy victory as their army attacked the six hundred mile frontier simultaneously, But the Gurkha rulers of Nepal defeated the British Indian armies repeatedly. Metcalfe, one of the distinguished officers of the Indian Civil Service thus wrote, " We have met with an enemy of decidedly greater bravery and greater steadiness than our troops possess. In some instances our troops, European and native have been repulsed by inferior numbers with sticks and stones".

However, the British won the war, after losing many battles. The peace treaty of 1816, gave important hill stations Simla, Mussoorie and Nainital to the British. But the best gain for the British was the opportunity to recruit the brave Gurkhas in to the army.

CONQUEST OF BURMA

In 1822, Burma developed a long common border with India. The Burmese held Arakan, Assam and Manipur. The Arakanese rebels often took refuge in Chittangong inside the Indian border. The Burmese troops chased them. The British declared war on Burma in 1824. The commercial greed of the British merchants who wanted to exploit the forest potential of Burma was the real cause of the war. It was a costly adventure. Though the British won, many soldiers died of dysentery and fever than in the military operations. The British lost 15,000 troops out of 40,000 that landed in Burma. Burma paid Rs. One crore as compensation, ceded Arakan and Assam and recognised Manipur as an independent state by a treaty with the British in 1826. The second Burmese war started rather abruptly in 1852. The British victory was easy. Pegu, the coastal province of Burma was annexed by the British. The third Burmese war was fought in 1885 and the British annexed the whole of Burma to British India. The people of lower Burma rose in rebellion but they were suppressed. A 40,000 strong army was kept there. The entire expenditure of all these operations was borne by the poor Indian taxpayer.

AFGHANISTHAN

The British invaded Afghanistan in 1839. It was an unprovoked attack. Dost Mohammad, the ruler of Afghanistan exclaimed. "I cannot understand why the rulers of so great an empire should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country". The barren country

occupied a position of strategic importance to the British as well as the Russians. The British wanted to forestall the Russians sooner than later. The fact was the Russians tried to win over Dost Mohammad who instead wooed the English. Lord Auckland, decided to invade Afghanistan while bitter famine was raging over India. An English writer has commented on the Afghan expedition thus, " It may be that the governor general was appalled by the horrors of the famine and dismayed at his impotence to take effective steps. Not so the Afghan War. We plunged Afghanistan, into four years of misery and saddled India with a bill of 15 millions of pounds. "The entry of Shah Shuja into Kabul was more like a funeral procession than the entry of a king into his restored kingdom".

Dost Mohommad was captured in November 1840. But the Afghans rebelled on 2-11-1841. The British were compelled to reinstate Dost Mohommad. The retreating British army was repeatedly attacked. Dr. Brydon, the sole survivor out of the army of about 16,000, reached Jalalabad in January 1842, quite exhausted from wounds and hunger.

SIND

The Ameers of Sind agreed to open roads and rivers to the English in 1832. In 1839, the Ameers were forced to sign the subsidiary treaty, accepting British Control. In 1843 Sind was annexed by an arbitrary invasion led by Sir Charles Napier. Napier wrote in his diary "We have no right to seize Sind; yet we shall do so and a very advantageous human piece of rascality it will be". He added, "Coming after the Afghan war, the battle for Sind is reminiscent of a bully who was kicked in the street and went home to beat his wife, in revenge".

Napier sent one word telegram to the Governor General after the conquest of Sind, in Latin "Peccavi" meaning I sinned with pun. The British committed calculated and conscious aggression, in extending their dominions in India. In the story of the cat versus the mice; the cat can indulge in hunt sportively while it is a tragedy for the mice.

THE SUBSEQUENT AFGHAN WARS

The second Afghan war was fought from 1870 to 1880. A treaty was signed by the English and Abdur Reheman, a grand son of Dost Mohammad, who accepted not to have political relations with any other foreign power. The third Afghan war was fought from 1919 to 1921. The British recognised full sovereignty of Afghanistan. The costly British military

adventures in Afghanistan in the end achieved nothing but imposed a stupendous burden on the Indian taxpayer.

SIKKIM

In 1835, the ruler of Sikkim ceded Darjeeling to the British in return for a Monetary Grant. In 1849, Dalhousie sent troops into Sikkim, which was forced to cede 1700 square miles. In 1890, Anglo Chinese agreement recognised Sikkim as a British protectorate.

BHUTAN

Bhutan, the Himalayan Kingdom permitted the English, to trade with Tibet through its territory in 1774. The British merchants cast their greedy eyes on the potential sites for Tea Plantations. In 1865, war broke out; a treaty was signed. Bhutan ceded all the Bengal & Assam duars in return for an annual grant of Rs.50,000/-. The Government of India promised not to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan while controlling the foreign affairs.

TIBET

In March, 1904, Lord Curzon despatched a military expedition to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet under Francis Young husband. It was an invasion against the innocents and the unarmed. In one encounter at Guru, 700 Tibetan soldiers were killed. In August 1904, a treaty was signed. Tibet agreed not to entertain political relations with any other foreign country. The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 reached an agreement that neither country should interfere in Tibet. Both accepted the suzerainty of China over Tibet.

Initially, the Tibetan soldiers attacked the British bravely. They had implicit faith in the 'Charms', which the Tibetan provests gave them saying that the lead Bullets of the British would be neutralised. Obviously the "Charms" failed. The priests explained later that the bullets contained nickel, and the 'Charms' were not antidotes to nickel. All the military adventures of British India were conducted at the expense of the 'Indian Tax Payer', spilling Indian blood.

NOTES

1. Rudyard Kipling - Nobel Laureate for literature has championed the "Burden of the White man".

He saw divine dispensation in the British. Conquest of India, through quite obviously it was due to political, social & economic factors.

"The responsibility for governing India has been placed by the inscrutable providence upon the shoulders of the British race".

Any way, the poet thought that a tiny nation England, conquering a vast country India was something like a miracle which could only be explained as divine dispensation.

Take up the white man's burden
Send forth the best ye breed
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve the captive's need.

-- RUDYARD KIPLING

2. Robert Ingersoll-American Agnostic Lectures page 51
3. James Stuart Mill - English historian of the 19th century..
4. The Gurkhas enlisted in the British Indian army in large numbers and fought many a battle for Great Britain along with the Indian Sepoys - including the first World War and the Second World War.

II

THE GREAT REVOLT

1857-1858

The flaming holocaust of 1857-58 was described by the British as the "Sepoy Mutiny". V.D.Savarkar termed it, as "The Indian war of Independence. '. No doubt the Revolt began with the mutiny of the Sepoys. But Nanasaheb, Tantia Tope, Jhansi Rani Lakshmi Bai, Kulvar Singh, Maulvi Ahmadulla, the Begum of Ayadh, and Bahadur Shah, who were the acknowledged leaders of the revolt were not sepoy. Moreover, innumerable volunteers. and members of the public took part in the uprising, with heroic dedication. It was a patriotic struggle which forms a glorious chapter in the history of India. It cannot be brushed aside as a mere mutiny, which implies a defiance of legally constituted authority and indiscipline, deserving due punishment. It was not a single battle but a series of battles ferociously fought at several places, extending over a period of more than a year. It was contended that Nanasaheb, his minister Azimulla Khan and Maulvi Ahamadulla and others planned secretly and the Revolt was scheduled to begin on 31-5-1857 simultaneously at several places in India.

"From the available evidence, I am quite convinced, that 31st May, 1857, had been decided as the date for simultaneous rising" Wilson maintained. No records are available from the side of the rebels. The British suppressed much of the information favourable to the sepoy. Rev. Duff has written, "From the available evidence, it is clear that, it was not a mutiny or revolt but a rebellion or revolution. Russel says, "Here we had a War of Religion, a war of race and a war of revenge, of hope, of national determination to shake off the yoke of the stranger.² Russel had no doubt that the sympathies of the public were with the rebels. He wrote in plain words, "In no instance is a friendly glance directed to the white man's

carriage. O' that language of the eye! It is by it alone that I have learnt that our race is not even feared at times by many, and that by all it is disliked."

THE PORTENTS

The Great Revolt was the result of innumerable causes. The people were subjected to political slavery and economic ruin. The police was most tyrannical. William Bentick, the Governor General wrote in 1832, that "the police were worse than the robbers, that is to say that the shepherd is a more ravenous beast of prey than the wolf".

Bishop Herber wrote in 1824, "Many of the adventurers who come thither from Europe are the greatest profligates the sun ever saw, men who would insult, beat, plunder the natives without shame or pity". The sepoy were labouring under many grouses.

There were no prospects of promotion. No Indian could rise to a higher position than a Subedar drawing 60 to 70 rupees per month.

The volcano did not burst without giving previous warnings. Some sepoy mutinied in Bengal in 1764. The mutiny was suppressed by blowing 30 sepoy from the mouth of the cannon. In 1806, sepoy rebelled at Vellore, but they were crushed with fierce vengeance. In 1824 the sepoy refused to go to Burma by the searoute. The regiment was disbanded and the leaders were hanged. In Afghanistan, two subedars a Hindu and a Muslim were executed for mutinous behaviour. Apart from the discontent of the sepoy, many uprisings by the people took place. The Kutch rebellion, lasted from 1816 to 1832. The Kol tribe of Chota Nagpur rebelled in 1831. The Santhal tribe rose in 1855 setting up a parallel government but they were ruthlessly suppressed in 1856.

The myth of British invincibility was exploded many a time in the Crimean War, (1854-56) in Nepal War, in the Afghan and Punjab Wars. Infact, the sepoy knew the important part played by them in victories secured by the British. Psychologically the strength of the sepoy, to a large extent, emanated from their despair. The revolt demonstrated an example of perfect Hindu Muslim brotherhood and unity. In 1857, R.D. Mangles proclaimed in the British Parliament, "Providence has entrusted the empire of Hindustan to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to another". So both the Hindus and Muslims feared that their religion was endangered.

The introduction of the Enfield rifle served as the immediate cause of the revolt. The sepoy were required to bite off the end of the cartridge which was greased with the fat of the cow and the pig. The Hindus and Muslims sentimentally and religiously were opposed to it. The times were ripe for revolt. The English at first denied that it was cow's or Pig's fat, but later researches confirmed that the apprehensions of the sepoy were justified. But, the sepoy, later used these cartridges against the British unhesitatingly. The cartridges, of course were not the sole reason for the great revolt. The powder was dry and the story of the greased cartridges provided the chance spark.

"On 26-2-1857, the 19th Native infantry at Berhampur in Bengal refused to use the cartridges. There were no British troops there; so its officers marched the regiment to the military station of Barrackpur, near Calcutta, to be disbanded under the eyes of the British regiment which was hastily brought back from Burma. Altogether, in an area as large as France and Germany combined, there were only four battalions and a few batteries of artillery totally manned by the Europeans. There were, in India, about 40,000 Europeans including the royal armies, and about 3,00,000 Indian soldiers at that time".

PANDEY

At Barrackpur, news of the imminent arrival of the 19th Native infantry had its effect on the sepoy stationed there. On 29-3-1857, a young sepoy Mangal Pandey, ordered the bugler to sound the call for 'assembly'. The bugler refused; the sepoy fired at an English Sergeant Major Hughson.

"The adjutant Lieutenant Baugh now appeared on the scene. Another shot was fired. It missed Baugh but it brought down his horse. The situation now developed into a tragic farce. Baugh fired at the mutineer and missed. He drew his sword, and rushed towards the sepoy aided by another European sergeant major. The sepoy seemed to have been a better swordsman for he wounded both the Europeans. He might have succeeded in killing them if another sepoy had not restrained him".

Then general Harsey appeared on the scene with a number of troops, Mangal Pandey raised his musket fire and then turned it on himself. But he succeeded in wounding himself slightly. He was arrested and tried. On 8-4-1857, Pandey was hanged. Mangal Pandey's martyrdom provided the spark for the imminent conflagration.

THE EXPLOSION

The actual explosion occurred at Meerut on 24-4-1857. The cavalry refused to accept the Cartridges. On 9th May, 85 of them were dismissed, sentenced to 10 years of rigorous imprisonment and were chained, on the parade ground by smiths, in the presence of other sepoys, who kept quiet fearing the artillery. But next day being Sunday, the sepoys broke open the jail, freed their compatriots, killed the English officers and their wives and marched to Delhi, 49 miles away. The local sepoys joined the mutineers, killed the white officers, seized the city and proclaimed the aged Bahadur Shah, as Emperor of India on 10th May.

The small English force at Delhi gave stiff resistance to the rebels and died martyrs to their cause. The arsenal at Delhi contained 900,000 cartridges, 8 to 10 rifles and guns etc., The sepoys were in desperate need of the ammunition and arms. But Lt. Willoughby did not surrender. The English numbered only nine. They fought with courage which despair and patriotism alone can give. They set fire to the arsenal and perished wantonly, 25 sepoys were blown to pieces along with 800 citizens residing in the nearby streets.

The other risings did not follow immediately. The English gained sufficient time to be alert. The sepoy served as a faithful servant and the Memsahab, the English lady "always felt safe and happy to travel long distance alone with the sepoy guard".

Some British Commanders developed genuine attachment to their subordinate sepoys whose loyalty they could not doubt. The sepoy was so docile, so faithful and so loyal that the mutiny was a surprise and a shock to many English officers.

Meanwhile, the British sent orders to various centres to disarm the sepoys with the help of the artillery. Many British commanders performed the unpleasant duty with tears in their eyes. In the North West region Colonel Spotwood received such orders on 24-5-1857. When the sepoys questioned him about the rumour, he gave an evasive reply, retired to his room and committed suicide. The important centres of the rebellion were Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow, Bareilly, Jhansi and Arrah. At Delhi, the court of soldiers was headed by General Bakhat Khan, who led the revolt of the sepoys at Bareilly.

Commander-in-Chief Anson was at Simla, when he got a telegram that Delhi had become free. The Governor-General, Canning ordered that Delhi should be taken. Anson began moving swiftly. But he died at Kamal

on 27-5-1857 attacked by cholera. On the same day Sir Henry Barnard took charge as the new Commander-in-Chief. That was the advantage of the British administration. Anybody could be replaced at once. The South was peaceful. General Neil was moved from Madras to Allahabad. On 31-5-1857, barracks at Benaras were set fire to. Azimgar rose on 3rd June, Benaras on 4th and Jananpur on 5th.

After the Benaras rising General Neil organised reprisals. Allahabad rose on the 6th. Most of the Talukdars in the province of Allahabad were Muslims and their tenants were Hindus. But, contrary to the expectations of the English, both joined hands, and fought against the English. Neil wrote, 'I acted with severity. But I have done this for the good of my country'.

KANPUR

Kanpur rose on 4th June. General Wheeler was in command of the troops at Kanpur. He appealed to Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the Peshawa for help. Nana Saheb, was in fact the leading brain behind the revolt and he proclaimed himself the Peshwa. The English were besieged. Wheeler shifted the British numbering about 900 including 400 soldiers and 376 women and children to a safe place.

On 25-6-1857 Wheeler surrendered. Nana accepted to provide safe passage to the English from Kanpur to Benaras. 40 boats were kept ready. On the morning of 27, Nana sent his elephant to carry General Wheeler as a mark of courtesy. But Wheeler refused the honour. All the English men women and children got into the boats. Everything was arranged for the passage.

Nana Saheb was not present on the spot. The sepoy clamoured for revenge. Amidst shouts of "Maro Ferangi" the English were massacred including General Wheeler. However, Nana Saheb sent a stern order to spare the lives of women and children. 124 women and children, who survived were put in prison.

(But they were killed later mercilessly. When sepoy refused to kill them, local butchers were hired to do the heinous job; Atrocities were committed by both the sides.)

On June 4th Jhansi also rose. The English surrendered. Hakim Salay Mohammad, a prominent citizen promised to spare their lives. On the 8th, a procession was arranged in which the English were paraded as prisoners of war. But afterwards, they (75 men, 12 women and 23 children)

were executed. Meanwhile many battalions of native sepoys were disarmed. In the Punjab,

282 disarmed sepoys took shelter in a small island near Anjala. They were arrested. Next morning, 216 were shot dead in batches of ten. 66 were confined in a room. When the door was opened, expecting some resistance 45 dead bodies were found. The doors were closed unknown to Cooper. The remaining 21 were executed. This happened on 1-8-1857.

Phillip Woodruff commented, "One must feel ashamed that an Englishman could have fallen to the depths of flippant brutality that Cooper displayed".

TURN OF THE TIDE

The British were able to arrange reinforcements from many other parts of their empire. In fact, arrangements on a very large scale were made according to some historians for an invasion of China. As the sepoy rebellion broke out at the nick of the moment, those troops were diverted to India. The British soldiers, began their reprisals, the minute they landed on the shores of India. To save time, expense and energy, branches of big trees were used to hang the Indians mostly innocent citizens to strike terror into the hearts of the populace. Perhaps, China was saved.

Soon the tide turned in favour of the English who were able to recapture Delhi on 15-9-1857. Bahadur was taken prisoner and sent to Burma. The Royal princes were killed on the spot. Reign of Terror followed. The journalist, Russel, narrated a story with which he was personally acquainted. A British merchant was appointed as Police Commissioner during the "Revolt". Already he was indebted to a number of wealthy Indian merchants for huge amounts. Immediately after assuming the office, the new white police commissioner got his black creditors arrested and hanged branding them as 'Rebels'.

At Lucknow, the revolt was led by the Begum of Avadh. The British were compelled to give up the city but entrenched themselves in the residency building. Eventually, the small garrison obtained reinforcements and fought back with exemplary bravery. Maulvi Ahamadulla of Faizabad was one of the illustrious leaders of the revolt. He was a native of Madras and he moved to the North. He fought many battles. But he was treacherously killed in May 1858 by the Raja of PUWAIN who was rewarded by the British with a prize of Rs. 50,000.

KULWAR SINGH

Another remarkable personality among the rebels was the old Rajput hero of Jagdishpur, Kulwar Singh about 80 years of age. Perhaps he was the greatest military genius on the side of the rebels. He fought the British in Bihar, Avadh and Central India. While crossing the Ganges, he received a bullet wound on his wrist. The brave warrior cut his wrist and offered it to the Ganges, saying, "Mother, this is my last offering to you". Before reaching home he defeated and routed the English in a pitched battle on 23-4-1858.

An English man who fled from the battle-field wrote:-

"The hordes of Kulwar Singh closed upon our rear. Every man ran, discipline and drill were dead. Some died then and there. Others were cut down by the enemy. The carriers dropped the holdies and fled. Sixteen elephants carried the burden of the wounded. General La Grand was shot dead. The Sikhs fled away ahead of all. In all directions nothing could be heard but sighs and curses. No sense of shame was left in any of us." Kulwar Singh died on 27-4-1858 in his village Jagadishpur.

JHANSI LAKSHMI BAI

Among the rebels "the illustrious and the heroic Maharani of Jhansi, 10, Lakshmi Bai was a born leader. The British annexed Jhansi when she was a widow of 19, and made her a pensioner without recognising her adopted child. she became a legendary figure in her own life time. She inspired the sepoys wearing the dress of a soldier and rode on a charger, carrying the child on her back. she was usually in the fore front of the battle and moved with lightning speed and unrivalled courage. She captured Gwalior with the help of Tantia Tope and her Afghan Guards. The sepoys of the Maratha prince, Scindia ", deserted him and voluntarily joined her swelling her ranks. "Let us not bury our independence with our own hands", was her battle cry. She preferred heroic death on the brave battle field. Mandar, the Muslin girl who was her close companion fell dead on the battle field. Fighting against heavy odds, Jhansi Lakshmi Bai died on 27-6-1858 at the young age of thirty.

After the death of the Rani, more than five thousand Indians including women and children were massacred at Jhansi. Some citizens after killing their women and children committed suicide. The English plundered the city, carrying away immense booty.

TANTIA TOPE

Among the rebels, the leader who extracted the admiration and awe of the British enemy was the brilliant Tantia Tope, a scintillating combination of bravery with brains. By sheer force of character and conduct, he rose from the position of a clerk to that of a commander of a huge volunteer army. He carried on the mission of his master, Nana Saheb with devotion. While other revolutionary leaders were heroes of brave battles, Tantia Tope was the lone warrior who survived the vicissitudes of a protracted war. He won many valiant victories and tasted several dismal defeats. Defeats never demoralized him; nor successes ever made him complacent. He fought on several fronts, helping Lakshmi Bai, Nana Saheb, Kulwar Singh, Begum of Avadh and Ahamedulla. After the defeat of the rebels at Kanpur on 16-7-1857, he assumed command of the rebel forces and conducted whirlwind campaigns against many English general like Wyndham and Sir Colin who were seasoned soldiers. They enjoyed the advantages of organisation, money, military training, discipline, and above all reinforcements from Europe. Tope decided to take Kalpi, a fort 49 miles from Kanpur, a place of strategic value, situated in the Ganga Jamna Doab. On 9th November, he crossed the Jamuna. Mallesan says, "The leader of the rebel army was no fool. Tantia Tope read then the necessities of Wyndham's position as he would have read an open book and with the instincts of a general, he resolved to take advantage of them".

The following is the vivid description of the battle ensued, by an Englishman.

"You will read the account of this day's fighting with astonishment; for it tells how the English Troops, with their trophies and mottos of far famed bravery, were repulsed and they lost their camp, their baggage and position to the scouted and despised natives of India. The beaten Feringhees, as the enemy has a right to call them, have retreated to their entrenchments amidst over turned tents, pillaged baggage, men's kits, fleeing camels, elephants, horses and servants. All this is most melancholy, and disgraceful"¹⁴. Tantia Tope achieved the splendid victory with the help of 'recently risen' sepoys who were recruited by his patriotic fervour.

Eventually, he was defeated by the combined forces of Hope Grant, Colin and Wyndham on 9th December at Shéorajpur. However, he escaped from the British military trap. Nana Saheb and Begum of Avadh escaped into Nepal. Tantia Tope crossed into the jungles of central provinces.

CONCLUSION

Queen Victoria's proclamation in November, 1858 announced the cessation of hostilities, though sporadic fighting continued just for vengeance and not for victory. Subsequently Tantia Tope was caught. He was ceremoniously hanged on 18-4- 1859.

The British were able to crush the revolt. The reasons were many. The rebels lacked a unified command. Among the rebels, Kulwar Singh was of course a born leader. Tantia Tope acquired leadership. But leadership was thrust on Bahadur Shah. In any war, there is no substitute for 'discipline'. The British cultivated discipline as a fine art, in their life and literature. The poems- "Casabianca" and "Charge of the Light Brigade" can be cited as typical examples. There were instances of English generals, who were bitter enemies, patching up their old differences consciously for the sake of their mother country.

Havelock and Neil, the two Britishers who were engaged in suppressing the revolt of the sepoys were not on good terms. Still Havelock sent reinforcements and help to Neil," in the interests of Great Britain". Havelock wrote to Neil," Understand this distinctly and that a consideration of the obstruction that would arise to the public service at this moment alone prevents me from taking the stronger step of keeping you under arrest". English commanders were experienced generals, some of them like Wyndham were veterans of the European battlefields.

All the native princes acknowledged the British suzerainty long before 1857. The Revolt was too late for the princes; it was too early for the sepoys as the people's patriotic national spirit was yet to be evolved. However, the great revolt, though it was a failure, taught a lesson which the British could never afford to forget, by vindicating the manhood of India.

Russel has summarised the movement. "Yet, it must be admitted that with all their courage, the British would have been quite exterminated if the natives had been all and together hostile to them. Our siege of Delhi would have been quite impossible if the Rajas of Patiala and Jhind had not been our friends and the Sikhs had not been recruited in our battalions.

Look at us all, here in the camp at this moment our outposts are native troops; natives are cutting grass for our horses and grooming them; feeding the elephants, managing the transport, supplying the commissariat which feeds us, cooking our food, clearing the camp, pitching and carrying the tents, waiting on our officers and even lending us their money".

NOTES

1. V.D. Savarkar wrote, "The Indian War of Independence" - a book dealing with the Great Revolt of the sepoys in Marati. It was translated into English, but the Marati original was lost.

The book, "The Indian War of Independence" was proscribed before its first publication in 1909 in England. Second Edition in Holland 1901. The third in U.S.A. (by the Ghaddar revolutionary party in 1912. fourth Edition in India in 1928. Fifth in Japan in 1944 by the I.N.A. (of Subhas Chandra Bose). Manuscript copies of the book were in secret circulation in India during the Freedom Movement.

2. Russel's diary 1858. He was the correspondent of the London Times. He created history by his despatches, from Crime earlier, resulting in the emergence of Florence Nightingale, and the reorganisation of military Hospitals.

Azimulla Khan - the minister of Nana Saheb was the guest of Russel and slept in his tent one night, in Crimea, presenting his best compliments to his host.

3. During the Second World War, the Germans propagated a joke that England was prepared to fight to the last Indian.

The pathetic joke was substantially true, during the Afghan and Burma Wars, Indian soldiers were used as cannon fodder.

4. Fighting continued even after queen Victoria's proclamation in November 1858 - in some places, for vengeance but not victory.

5. Banner of Chirst was a euphimism for white imperialism. Jesus Christ who preached "Love they neighbour as thyself" - and to "turn the other cheak when slapped" never authorised the white man to conquer and tyrannise the world with ruthless violence.

6. Michal Edwards - "Bound to exile"

7. Phillip Woodruff Makers of modern India Vol. I

8. General Bharkhat Khan

9. Quoted by Charles Bell in Indian Mutiny. Vol.II Page 288

10. A Phrase used by the British over her wooden memorial created at Gwalior, marking the place of her cremation.
11. Prince Scindia fled to Agra and took shelter under the English.
12. In memory of the immortal glory of this princess of heroines, names of thousands of girls are christened all over India after her.
13. Indian Mutiny Vol. IV Page 167.
14. Indian Mutiny Vol. II Page 190.
15. Russel's diary

Russel, realised long before GANDHI, that the British Govt. could not exist for a day without the co-operation of the Indians.

Russel himself wrote that the sympathies of the people were on the side of the sepoys.

Still a large number of natives served the British.

The British empire in India rested on the service rendered by the natives.

Significantly Gandhi declared that Swaraj could be attained within one year - "if" - the people fully non-cooperated with the British. In this respect, Russel was the forerunner of Gandhi.

The value of non cooperation was realised by Russel in 1858, by Gandhi in 1920, but it was never put into practice fully at any time by the Indians.

According to Karl Marx - the architect of the Economic interpretation of History - The Indian Mutiny was the result of the British rule that broke up the Indian handloom and destroyed 'the spinning wheel. Consequently, the Indian Economy was reduced to utter dependence on agriculture.

The choice of the CHARKHA - the spinning wheel later as the emblem of the Congress Flag and Khaddar as the livery of the patriots signifies the intuitive insight of Mahatma Gandhi into Indian History and Indian Economy.

III

THE CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

The most remarkable event in the history of the modern world according to Toynbee - is the meeting of the "East" and the "West".

The East and the West met on the hospitable soil of India during the British regime.

From times immemorial, India assimilated many cultures. The Greeks, Sakas, Kushans, Huens, Jews etc settled in India before the birth of Christ.

Chandragupta, the Mauryan emperor married the daughter of the Greek King Seleucus. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador was accredited to the Maurya Royal Court and he wrote a book entitled, "Indica". Emperor Asoka sent the Buddhist missionaries to many countries. The Greek ambassador at the court of King Bhagabhadra, named Haliodorus proclaimed himself as a Bhagavata in the inscription of the famous pillar near Bhilsa, in the second century B.C. Cross fertilisation has been the key note of Indian culture. Thus India has evolved a composite culture with a cosmopolitan outlook.

Saint Thomas came to India during the first century A.D. The Muslims reached India in the Seventh Century. They had limited contacts. With the Muslim Conquest of India, the confluence of Islam with Hinduism produced a remarkable synthesis. The Moghal emperor, Akbar was the author of Din-Ilahi, the nearest approximation to the concept of a universal religion and philosophy. Kabir, the commoner typified the synthesis.

Prophets of historiography have propounded four stages in cross-fertilisation of cultures, namely "Contact - Conflict - Coexistence and Concord".

In the South - King Abul Hassan of Golkonda, known as Ta-na-Shah or the Boy- Saint, typified the composite culture. Conventional history has a

tendency to deal with the conflict of armies, ignoring the confluence of ideas. Ideas, though coming from opposite ends of the earth, embrace one another. Armies fight and fight to the finish on the battle fields. Ideas prefer the armistice and love to fuse with one another. Countries can be conquered but ideas are invincible. When two great cultures meet, result may be apparent conflagration. But the underlying symphony and synthesis can be detected by the initiated. Thus the confluence of the Eastern and Western cultures at the altar of modern history is bound to influence all provinces of human thought and action all over the world. Perhaps it is too early to gauge the repercussions and pinpoint the results.

This historic contact, produced many personalities, British and Indian who have contributed much to the great cultural renaissance in India. Sir William Jones (28-8-1746 to 27-4-1794), known later as 'the father of Indology', came to India on 25-9-1783, to work as a judge. He was the founder president of the Asiatic Society, started on 24-1-1784.

He had the vision to propose to the British, to see that "the limits of our knowledge no less extended than the frontiers of our empire". The prime contribution of Jones to Indology was his translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala into English, published in 1789 in Calcutta. However, Indian culture was introduced into Europe prior to Jones. Wilkins the compatriot of Jones in the East India Company published the translations of Bhagavadgita and Hitopadesa in 1785 and 1787. Earlier Abraham Roger, the Dutch scholar merchant translated the maxims of Barthrihari.

Jones proclaimed, "I am no Hindu, but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning future state to be incomparably more rational than the hurried opinions inculcated by the Christians on punishment without end". "He showed that India had excelled in arithmetic, geometry and logic." He thought that Aristotle based his system of logic on Brahmanic syllogisms.*. After Jones, Indology made rapid strides. Distinguished European scholars, the English, the French and the German, made commendable contributions. It was a "Discovery of India". The dignity and pride this rediscovery of India gave to the Indians is an undeniable factor in the growth of Indian Nationalism.

RAM MOHAN ROY 1772-1833

The first and the foremost product of this cultural confluence in India was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). He was a scholar in a dozen languages, including Sanskrit, Persian, English, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He founded the Brahma- Sabha(Samaj) in 1828, a synthesis of

Islam, Hinduism and Christianity. As a social reformer, he is remembered for his tirade against "Sati", the abominable custom of burning the widow on the pyre of her dead husband. He bravely faced the social boycott organised against him in which his mother participated. He was a close associate of Alexander Duff, the Dutch watch maker, and David Hare, the Scottish missionary who founded the famous Hindu College in 1800.

"Cows may be of different colour but milk is the same. All religions teach the same Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man" said Ram Mohan Roy to convince his wife, Uma Devi. Monier Williams acclaimed Ram Mohan Roy, as the "first earnest minded investigator of the science of comparative religions". The Sanskrit ideal that, "Every honest man is verily a citizen of the world" applied literally to Ram Mohan Roy. He was a citizen of the world and he proposed the abolition of the "Passport" system. Dwarkanath Tagore, Chandrasekhar Dev, Tarachand Chakravarthy and a host of youngmen of succeeding generations were inspired by Ram Mohan Roy.

The young Anglo-Indian H.V. Derozio (1809-1831) worked in the Hindu College. He was dismissed for his radical views. He was a poet and prophet of Indian Nationalism. The cultural renaissance in British India was almost a historical miracle. At that time India typified a bottomless abyss of political depredation and reached the nadir of financial poverty. Great men like Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905), Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1833), Eswarachandra Vidya Sagar (1826-1891), Kesava Chandra Sen (1841-1884), Sayyed Ahmad Khan (1817-1891), Gopal Deshmukh (1823-1892), Rama Krishna Parama Hamsa (1836-1886), Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), were born when India was under the grip of abject political slavery.

Just like the luminous lotus that sprouts out of the muddy marshes, saintly souls and social reformers, emanated from the enslaved soil of misery and misfortune, despair and degradation of British India. "There is a richness in Indian poverty". The words of the well known civil servant, John Malcolm in 1821 who knew the people of India quite intimately were precious observations. "I do not know the example of any great population in similar circumstances, preserving through such a period of changes and tyrannical rule so much virtue and so many qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country". (India.)"

Devendranath Tagore and Kesavachandrasen propagated ideals of the Brahma Samaj. Dayananda Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj to restore to Hinduism, the pristine purity of the Vedas, rejecting age old

superstitions and ignorance and other social evils. His teachings paved the way for the enshrinement of true Vedic monotheism, moral purity, social equality and justice.

ENGLISH EDUCATION

The East India Company, a commercial concern did not evince any interest in education. But the Charter Act of 1813, stipulated that an amount of Rs. 1,00,000 per year should be spent on education in India. The amount sanctioned in 1813 remained unspent till 17-7-1823 when the general committee of Public Instruction, at Calcutta was formed. But the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists," did not agree on a common pattern. Macaulay, the president of the committee, in his famous minute on education supported the 'Anglicists' and suggested that English should be made the medium of instruction. He wrote, "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern - a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect".

The English Education in India made rapid strides. In this respect, Wood's Educational Despatch outlined a comprehensive plan in 1754 and it was regarded as the "Magna Carta" of English Education in India. Universities were set up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857. An Engineering College was first established at Roorkee in 1847 and then another at Calcutta in 1856. The university of Lahore was started in 1882. The Allahabad University was established in 1887.

Lord Ripon appointed an Education Commission in 1892 under the presidentship of Sir William Hunter. The Arya Samajists took special interest in the education of girls. The Mahakanya Vidyapeeth was established at Jullundhar in Punjab. On 27-1-1902, Lord Curzon appointed the university commission and the controversial universities Act was passed in 1904. People were not satisfied with the pace of educational policies of the Govt. A Hindi paper BUDH SAMACHAR, commented thus on 21-11-1901. "The Indian Government gives a purely literary education, of that too in such a manner that the recipients can do but clerical work".

During the last year, the Government of Japan spent, 36,000 yens on technical schools, 57,900 yens on Agricultural schools and 35,850 yens on mercantile schools.

What amount does the Government of India spend on these kinds of Schools?. Gopalkrishna Gokhale in 1905 said, "for a hundred years,

England had ruled India, but four villages out of every five were without a school house, and seven children out of eight grew up in ignorance." The 27th session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1911 passed a comprehensive resolution on Education and demanded that the government should allocate larger sums and start new technical and industrial schools. The Arya Samajists rendered dedicated service in the fields of social reform, education and emancipation of Women.

ESWARA CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR (1820-1891)

Eswarachandra Vidya Sagar was the principal of the Sanskrit college. He later founded the Bethune School in Calcutta in 1849. He was an ardent advocate of remarriage for the Hindu widow. He organised 35 girl schools. His personality represented the living golden mean between the East and the West. He was a humanist to the core. He contracted huge debts for helping others. Instances were recorded when he reached home late in the night without one of his upper garments which he invariably gave to the naked beggars he met casually in the streets.

RAMA KRISHNA PARAMA HANSA (1836-1888)

The phenomenon of Rama Krishna Parama Hansa, a poor illiterate priest of Bengal typifies, the immortal spirit of India. He embodied the concept of universal religion. Men of all faiths rallied round him. He is today known to the world because of his illustrious disciple - Vivekananda?.

SAYYAD AHMAD KHAN

Sayyad Ahmad Khan, wanted to reconcile modern scientific thought with Islam and the injunctions of Koran. He declared, "So long as freedom of thought is not developed, there can be no real life". He encouraged the Muslims to shake off their superstitions and founded the Mohammaden Anglo-Oriental College in 1875 which later developed into Aligarh Muslim University. He said "The student will learn to appreciate the temper with which great minds approach the consideration of great question; he will discover that Truth is many sided and the world is Wider than his own sect or society".

He made a fervent appeal to his countrymen, the Hindus and the Muslims in 1883, for unity. "Now both of us live in the air of India. We both feed upon the products of India. We are together, in life and death. The Mussalmans have adopted many Hindu customs, the Hindus have accepted many Muslim traits of conduct. We became so fused that we developed the

new language of Urdu; We are a nation, and the progress and welfare of the country and both of us depend upon our unity".

He condemned the customs of polygamy, parda and easy divorce. Evolution of Hindu Muslim unity was largely impaired by the policy of "Divide and Rule" followed by the British. The cultural renaissance in British India, which started long before the great upheaval of 1857-58 continued long after. The unsuccessful revolution in the opinion of some scholars was just an interlude and not an interruption. At the time of the great Revolt, Dayanand Saraswati was in the age range of 34, Rama Krishna Parama Hamsa 22, Devendranath Tagore 41, Kesava Chandra Sen 17, Sayyad Ahmad Khan 41, Eswara Chandra Vidya Sagar 37 and Gopala Hari Desh Mukh 35.

Wilson College, Bombay was started in 1832; Christian college Madras in 1837; Nobel college, Machilipatnam in 1841; Hislop college, Nagpur in 1844 and St. John's College, Agra in 1853. The East India Company was in dire need of clerks with knowledge of English language. The English after initial hesitation, decided to start English medium schools in 1835. Necessity of the company might be the mother of the new schools; but the desire of the Indian for a better social status was the father of the new educational policy. Mecauly fondly hoped that after 30 years of the introduction of English, there would be no idol worshipper in Bengal.

The English language provided the Indians with the master key to world knowledge and literature and helped them to discover wider horizons. Likewise, the whole world was able to understand Indian literature and philosophy through English translations. Indology became a favourite pursuit of many Englishmen and German scholars. Goethe (1749-1832) the great German poet composed a poem in appreciation of Kalidasa's Sakuntalam. The American thinkers were attracted by Indian culture. R.W. Emerson (1803 -1882) proclaimed, praising the Upanishads "They haunt me; I cannot put them away. In them I have found eternal compensation, unfathomable power, unbroken peace". H.D. Thoreau said in his monumental book, Walden, "In the morning I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonical philosophy of the Bhagavadgita, in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seems petty and trivial". Emerson described the famous poems, Leaves of Grass by Walt Whitman (1819-1892) as blending of the Gita and the New York Herald. T.S. Eliot (1888-1965), George Santayana (1863-1952) were other Americans, who were influenced by ancient Indian thought. Swamy Vivekananda was discovered by America in 1893. All these helped the Indian to shed his inferiority complex.

The cultural renaissance was the work of European and Indian scholars alike. Between 1830 and 1885 Roth published his Literature and history of the Vedas and Maxmuller the text of the Rig Veda and other books. Prinsep and Cunningham discovered ancient Indian art, epigraphy and archeology. The journals "Tatva Bodhini" and "Usha" published Vedic Hymns. Swamy Dayanand's Satya Prakash was published in 1874. The books by Bhandarker and Tilak revived the Vedic Glory.

India seemed to be awaking from a nightmare of humiliation. "Every oriental dawn appeared now to be a pictorial rapture out of the Vedas".

Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia helped many people all over the world including the Indians to appreciate Budhas's legacy to mankind and led to a rediscovery of India and her civilization and culture. All the countries of the East bear the impress of Indian culture. The researches conducted by European and Indian scholars during the British period boosted up the image of India whose cultural frontiers extended far beyond the geographical borders. The ruins of the hoary civilizations Harappa and Mohen- jodaro excavated by Cunningham and others pushed the historical chronology far backwards to a point when Europe was steeped in cultural darkness. Books like the Hindu Superiority written by people like Haravilasasarada fostered a pride in the past.

The cultural renaissance fostered a sense of intellectual superiority complex among the Indians and contributed to the freedom of the mind, a forerunner of political independence. The part played by Englishmen in the cultural renaissance in India is praiseworthy. Infact they were the pioneers in the field. Out of the many Englishmen who came to India as conquerors to scoff, some remained to praise. Col. Todd composed True Tales of Rajastan, stranger than fiction, reflecting the chivalrous heroism of medieval India, which evolved a magnanimous marshal code of conduct for the warriors. The educated Indians rediscovered India's glorious past and tried to discover their future.

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE
(27-6-1838 --- 8-4-1894)

Among the great writers of the times, Bankimchandra Chatterjee was the best creative genius. In the words of Arabindo Ghose, "He was a great poet, a master of beautiful language and a creator of fair and gracious dream figures in the world of imagination". He was the author of the novel, Anand Mutt and. the national anthem Vande Mataram formed part of it.

"Hail Mother India - I bow to thee
I bow to thee, Mother
richly watered richly fruited
Cool with the winds of the south
Green with the crops of the harvest
I bow to thee mother
Sweet of laughter, Sweet of Speech
The holder of Wealth, the lady of plenty " etc.

OTHER SCHOLARS

Kesava Chandra Sen said, "What we see around us today is a fallen nation, as we survey, the mournful and dismal scene of desolation, spiritual social and intellectual". The great social reformer Gopala Hari Deshmukh popularly known as 'Lokahi- twadi', writing in Marathi in 1840 declared, "all men are equal and everybody has a right to knowledge".

VIVEKANANDA (1863-1902)

Vivekananda once exclaimed in deep anguish, "O, Lord, when shall our land be free from their eternal dwelling upon the past". He attended the 'Parliament of religions' at Chicago as an uninvited delegate, but emerged as the most outstanding personality of the international meet. The historic speech he delivered on 11.9.1893 was acclaimed in the American press. "He is an orator by divine right" - "Why should we send missionaries to the land of Swami Vivekananda"2 "Instead, let us invite Indian Missionaries to our country" - "The Vedantist is verily the cultural conqueror of the world" were some of the typical remarks. It was America that discovered Swamy Vivekananda, who had shattered the chains of Indian inferiority complex.

Vivekananda was a great humanist.' He said, " The only God in whom I believe, the sum total of all souls and above all, my God is the poor of all races". He declared, "A living dog is better than a dead lion". Obviously the dead lion he referred to was India, politically, socially and economically dead for all intents and purposes. R.G. Bhandarkar, Ranade, Kandukuri Veeresalingam and others who were discreetly silent on political problems gave importance to social reform and educational progress. They were the prophets of humanism, who were recognised by the government and respected by the public.

THE PRESS

The early news papers during the company's rule were published in English and generally supported the Government. The Indian Gazette

(1780), Calcutta Gazette (1784), Madras Courier (1785), and Bombay Herald (1789), were some of the important papers published during that period. Periodicals and News Papers in Indian languages followed from 1818. Bengali Dig Darshan (1818), Samachar Darpana Sambanda Kaumudi (1821), Samachar Chandrika (1822), Jam-i-Jahan Numa (1822), Gujrati Bombay Samachar (1822), Bombay Times (1838), were later started. After 1857, many newspapers like "The Hindoo Patriot" "The Indian Mirror" were started. The Amrita Bazaar Patrika started in 1868, deserves particular mention. Soon, it became famous as The most popular and powerful organ on national opinion. Sardar Dayal Singh Majeetha started The Tribune at Lahore in 1881.

Patriotism and scholarship, poetry and philosophy flourished together. Tilak edited "Maratha" and "Kesari". When Tilak was arrested in 1897, it was regarded as a national catastrophe and many shed tears. The ideas of democracy, equality, liberty and fraternity were propagated by the press. Hindu Patriot, Amrita Bazaar Patrika, Rast Goftar, The Native Opinion, The Kesari, Andhra Patrika and an ever growing host of journals in English and regional languages contributed to the cultural renaissance which laid slow but sure foundations for political progress.

The press created and sustained the political forum for the Freedom Movement.

Perhaps, pride in the past was pardonable to some extent in a demoralised nation to revive its morale. For any country, future is more important than the past.

NOTES

1. Kabir- a commoner and a weaver by profession was the embodiment of the confluence of Islam and Hinduism. Akbar, the king evolved Din-in-Ilahi, the nearest approximation to the concept of Universal religion.
2. Symbolic of the confluence of the white Ganges and the black Yamuna.
3. Indians were admitted as members of the society from 1829.
4. Sir William Jones - by Dr. S.N. Mukherji.
5. Remark by Galbrith, American Ambassedor to India.

6. Great Britain suffered from scruples of conscience for her conduct in India and that was reflected in the impeachment of Clive and Warren Hastings (though acquitted) in her parliament.

7. India has been a land of saints. It is probable that there lived many Rama Krishna Parama Hansas, unknown to similar fame.

Romain Rolland has written an illuminating biography of Sri Rama Krishna in French. The same author - a European and a Nobel laureate for literature - has written the biographies of Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi.

Romain Rolland wrote these marvellous books at a time when the hotels in Europe carried the inscription - "Indians and dogs are not allowed", long before the dawn of Indian independence.

Equally noble Englishmen translated the books into English with a missionary zeal for truth.

Romain Rolland, the seer and sage of modern Europe, intuitively understood the invincible vigour of India and wrote inspired by the courage of his convictions.

IV

POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

The Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown in November 1858 after the great revolt. The secretary of state for India a member of the British Cabinet was assisted by a council of 15 members, 8 appointed by the crown and 7 by the directors. The Queen's Proclamation promised the Indian people generosity and benevolence, religious toleration, equality and fair play. The queen expressed noble sentiments,

"In their prosperity will be our strength;
in their contentment, our security;
and in their gratitude our best reward".

However, the distrust and social estrangement, the spirit of revenge, over Europeanization of services and the deliberate policy of divide and rule between the Hindus and Muslims pursued by the government, bureaucratic aloofness were some of the direct repercussions of the great revolt. In 1876, the queen was designated as the "Empress of India". Periodic famine - the sure index of economic ill-health of the country - took a heavy toll of life, in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Maharashtra, Western U.P. and the Punjab in 1876-78, 1896-97 and 1899 - 1900.

The racial arrogance of the Britisher in India knew no bounds. For example, a British planter of Assam shot dead the father of a girl whom he wanted to use for his lust. But the British jury acquitted him.

In spite of unnerving circumstances, educated people formed many associations in several parts of India to ventilate their views. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organised the East India Association in London, opening its branches in important cities in India'. Justice Ranade and others founded

the "Poona Sarvajanik Sabha" in 1870. "The Madras, Mahajan Sabha" was started in 1881 and The Bombay Presidency Association in 1885. The Indian Association of Calcutta was organised by Surendranath Benerjee (1848-1925) in July 1876. He was a brilliant orator and a good organiser.

The government passed the "Arms Act" in 1878 prohibiting the use of arms. Benerjee toured all parts of the country to mobilise public opinion for integrated nationalism. Agitation was carried on against,

- i. The arms act.
- ii. The restrictions imposed on the Vernacular press.
- iii. The reduction in the age limit for I.C.S.
- iv. The Oppressive laws imposed on cultivators of the land.
- V. The hard plight of plantation workers.

and these were the burning problems of the day.

In 1879, Vasudev Balwant Phadke, a clerk in the commissariat organised an armed rising of Rameshi peasants in Maharashtra. It was crushed with an iron hand. The Indian Association organised an all India National Conference at Calcutta in December, 1883. It vindicated, that the need of the hour was organisation of an all India nature dedicated to the propagation of Nationalism.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

A.O. Hume, a retired civil servant organised the first session of the Indian National Congress, at Bombay in December, 1885. Earlier he had done much spade work, behind the curtain. He was the son of a British radical, Joseph Hume. He resigned from the I.C.S. in 1883. He was able to go through seven volumes of secret police reports furnished by 30 thousand agents about the growing discontent among the people. Hume convinced the Viceroy at Simla that the Congress would serve as a "Safety Valve". He met Indian leaders who were already convinced about the need for an All India body by going to Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras. He went to London and canvassed support for his idea. All this was done without the knowledge of Surendranath Benerjee who was considered a revolutionary disciple of the Nationalist Italian leader Mazzini.

Indians, complained that the queen's proclamation was not being implemented in letter and spirit. Lord Lytton confessed that the bureaucracy was found, "breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear". Hume acted as a bridge between the rulers and the ruled. The Indian National Congress comprising of 72 delegates met in Bombay on 28-12-1885 in the premises of Gokul das Tejpal Sanskrit College under the presidency of W.C. Benerjee. Three were Muslim delegates.

Surendernath Benerjee and his Bengalee brothers did not attend the first session of the congress. But they merged their forces with the congress. It was a patriotic gesture on the part of Surendranath who opted for unity. The second session of the congress was held at Calcutta in December 1886 under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji. The Viceroy gave a garden party to 436 delegates of the congress.

The word congress was reminiscent of the American congress and the war of independence and the motto "No taxation without representation." Dadabhai Naoroji expressed the sentiments of the Indians. "The Indian starves in peace and perishes in peace with law and order." "The English rulers stand sentinel at the front door of India and carry away by the back door the very treasure they stand sentinel to protect". Naoroji 1 delivered a lecture in London. "It is not my opinion only that foreign rule is an evil". 120 years ago Sir John Shore said, "Whatever may be the benefit of British rule, the evil of foreign domination more than counter balances all those benefits".

Mecaulay said, "The heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of a stranger, and the worst of all tyrannies, the tyranny of a nation over another nation." Lord Salisbury said with brutal frankness that "India must be bled". Naoroji was elected to the British parliament, a rare honour for an Indian. Badruddin Tyabji, a Muslim was the next president of the Congress.

Pherozeshah Mehta, Anandacharya, Surendranath Benerjee, R.C.Dutt, Ananda Mohan Bose, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were elected afterwards. Ranade, B.G. Tilak, Sisir Kumar and Motilal Ghosh, Madan Mohan Malavya, Subrahmanya Iyer, Vijaya Raghavachary and D.E. Wacha were some of the important leaders of the National Congress.

Dadabhai Naoroji, enlisted the support of the Parliament members and a British Committee of the Congress was formed in London. A Journal - India - was run. Sir William Wedder Burn, and W.S. Carne set up an Indian Parliamentary Committee to support the Indian cause. In 1890, a deputation of the Congress, Hume, Mehta, and Man Mohan Ghosh visited England.

Surendernath Benerjee pleaded, "When Italy was struggling for liberty, England stretched forward the right hand of sympathy. Likewise England supported Greece. England the foster mother of freedom was responsive to their call. We are neither Italians nor Greeks. We are English subjects".

The Indian leaders invariably impressed upon the British audiences about the righteousness of their cause. Afterwards, many Indian leaders visited England. The early leaders of the Congress were moderate and appealed to the 'eternal principles of justice and liberty' to which the English were deeply committed.

However Sir Syed Ahmad Khan supported the British. He sincerely worked for the uplift of the Muslims. He was aged 40 years at the time of the great revolt. He preached Hindu Muslim brotherhood in his early days but gradually changed his views. During the Sepoy Rebellion, the British hanged 27,000 Muslims after the reconquest of Delhi. But later, following the policy of 'divide and rule', they tried to encourage Muslim separatism. Lord Salisbury declared, "It is impossible to handover the Indian Muslims to the tender mercies of the hostile Hindu numerical majority".

All that the congress could get from the British by all this agitation was the Indian councils Act of 1892. The British agreed to raise the age for the candidates for the I.C.S. The Welby Commission was appointed to enquire into the economic conditions.

THE ECONOMIC FACTORS

The economic spectrum of India after 1856, presented a more pathetic picture than the political scenario and revealed the real tragedy that was British India. From the year 1860, down to 1892, the Governor General submitted the budget entitled "Financial Statement" to the Secretary of State, who presented it to the British parliament, formally. "In 1891, when the Indian budget was presented to the Parliament, there were only three members present in the House of Commons.

The land assessment was excessive and coercive methods were used in collection. The pressure on land increased year by year due to the ruin of village handicrafts.³ Opium and alcohol yielded increasing returns in taxation. 256 missionaries petitioned to the parliament, thus, "Opium is a great evil to China. Next to China, India and Burma, suffered from this habit". Rev, W.B. Phillip, a missionary said that 90% of Muslims of Murshidabad

were opium addicts. Like wise sale of liquor increased 135 percent within 10 years.

Salt tax fetched enormous revenue. The tax levied was 500% to 2500% on the value of the article. In 1855, two large ships arrived at Bombay with English Salt. As there were no purchasers, it was offered free to Messrs. Bates & Co., for curing hides. They refused the gift, in view of transport expenses. The Salt was thrown into the sea. People from Bombay, Cuddapah, Bellary, North Arcot and other places submitted petitions saying that "Salt was beyond the reach of the poor ryot and his cattle". " Heavy stamp duties, and income tax etc., were imposed. The Government sometimes gathered more odium than revenue".

The report of the Indian famine commission of 1878 revealed the sorrowful state of affairs. "The famine of 1860 carried away nearly 5 lakhs of people; of 1866 (Orissa) 131 lakhs; of (1868-69)(Marwar) killed one third of the population. In Punjab it meant six lakhs deaths and in C.P. 2 1/2 lakhs. The Bombay famine caused one lakh deaths out of which 50,000 died in the relief camps".

Lord Curzon declared in London, "I can assure you that it is an experience that would bring the blood from stone". Reuter's special correspondent wrote, "In the case of these poor wretches, death had lost its sting". William Digby in his book "Prosperous British India, A revelation"- listed 18 famines which ravaged India from 1858 to 1909.

CIVIL AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE

The expenditure of the British Indian government on civil and military establishments was lavish. The Journal Bangabasi Commented, "The annual salary of prince Bismark, the chancellor of Germany is Rs.42,000 per year, that of the Prime Minister of England Rs. 50,000/- while the governor in India gets Rs.1,20,000. the Viceroy obtains Rs.3,700,000/- eight times the salary of the British Prime Minister. The British Officers enjoy, in addition, many more amenities, at state expense".

Gokhale gave the following information, giving evidence before the Royal commission of 1896. "The U.K. maintained 562,014 soldiers at a cost of Rs. 18 crores, while India spent 25 crores on half the number of troops. The annual cost of an Austrian Soldier was Rs.528, a French Rs.658, a German 720, Russian 800, a Japanese 648 and an Indian 343, and a British soldier in India Rs.891.

Gokhale added that if the deferred pay was included, the British soldier in India would cost Rs. 1430 per year. The Railway projects consumed heavy investments, Trevelyan narrated that a railway from Calcutta to Canning Town costed India Rs.,500,000 and "later on turned out to be a disgraceful failure." In a famine stricken country, irrigation should have been accorded priority. Expenditure on Railways upto 1880 came to pounds 125 millions and on irrigation, it was only pounds 12 millions.

Sir Arther Cotton 8, wrote in 1878, "I am afraid we must reckon that out of the 40 millions affected by the famines in Madras, Mysore,, Hyderabad and Bombay, four or five millions perished after spending pounds 125 millions on railways besides incurring a debt of pounds 50 millions". He added, quite sorrowfully, "India needed water for irrigation; but Great Britain gave her iron and railways".

MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE

A European kicked his Indian servant and shot him dead. The European judge gave the verdict that it was accidental and sentenced the accused to 18 months imprisonment. In Calcutta, a European murdered an Indian, Ashghar Ali by name. The Judge acquitted him. Mr. Waff raped an Indian girl. He was fined Rs. 100/-. An Englishman abducted a Muslim Woman, whipping her husband. He was let off with a fine of Rs.200.

INDIAN LABOUR ABROAD

Subjected to starvation and appalling poverty millions of Indians went out of India - not in quest of colonies or conquests but as mere "Coolies", just to fill their stomachs by working in the farms and industries managed by the white masters in far off lands. The whites needed cheap labour. The poor Indian was in dire need of food. Lord Salisbury encouraged "indented labour" from India.

He promised that the Indians would be "free members with rights and privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Mazesty's subjects resident in the Colonies".

As the proverb goes." Lovers oaths are brittle"; The promises of politicians are more brittle; and the promises of British Politicians in India were most brittle. The following points taken from an article in the Hindustan Times dated 27-9-1959 written by P.P. Balsara epitomises a long story, "The Kenya and the Uganda Railways owed their very existence to Indian labour.

The expansion of rice cultivation in British Guiana, Mauritius and Fiji was largely due to Indian skill in rice cultivation. But for Indian labour, Trinidad would have been blotted out of the map as a sugar producing colony. Natal was made prosperous by Indian labour. Durban was built absolutely by the Indians." Bala Guru Chetty addressing the 23rd session of the congress at Madras in 1908 pointed out the following, about the condition of Indians in South Africa.

"The Indians cannot purchase property. They cannot vote. They should give thumb impressions. They should carry identity cards and travel in separate third class carriages. They are driven out of trains and hotels. They must not enter parks and should walk on foot paths only, and live outside the towns set apart for them".

The Indians in South Africa resisted this ill-treatment under the leadership of Gandhi.

GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2-10-1869 at Porbandar in Gujarat. In 1888 he went to England and returned to India as a barrister. Engaged by an Indian merchant Abdulla Seth, Gandhi came to Natal in May 1893 to work as a lawyer.

The Indians there, were described in the statute book as "semi barbarous Asiatics". Once, Gandhi was forcibly evicted from a first class railway compartment while he was going to Pretoria, even though he possessed a valid ticket. Gandhi settled the law suit by means of compromise between the contesting parties, but continued his stay in South Africa upto 1914, requested by the Indians to be their leader. Gandhi evolved the weapon of Satyagraha, a combination of Truth and non-violence, in South Africa and tested it successfully against "Governmental power and brute force ". He organised the Natal Indian Congress and started the paper, "The Indian Opinion". The South African government passed the bill depriving the Indians of their right to vote in spite of the opposition led by Gandhi.

An Indian worker, Balasubrahmanyam who was kicked and beaten by his European master, approached Gandhi with bleeding teeth. Gandhi championed his cause, and a compromise was evolved. The European expressed regret to escape the consequences of the law and another European agreed to take the worker into his service. Gandhi emerged as a

leader of the oppressed and his reputation reached India as a legendary figure. Afterwards, Gandhi visited India. He came back to south Africa with his family in 1896. As soon as he landed, the Whites received him, with brickbats and rotten eggs. He was kicked and he fainted, but he was saved by the wife of the white police superintendent. Gandhi helped the British during the Boer War as a volunteer leader of an ambulance corps, in 1899.

But he was obliged to start "Satyagraha" soon against the new Act requiring all Indians to get themselves registered with their finger prints like criminals. The scope of Satyagraha was extended when the entry of Indians into Transwal was banned and Indian marriages were declared illegal. About 6000 Indian miners in New Castle went on strike. Men and women courted arrest. Gandhi was imprisoned thrice. The government resorted to firing and there were brutal reprisals. The Satyagraha, started in 1906 ended in 1914 with the passing of the Indian relief Act, in 1914. Romain Rolland wrote, "The man most bitterly opposed to the Indians, General Smutts, who in 1909 had said that he would never erase from the statutes a measure prejudicial to the Indians, confessed, five years later in 1914 that he was glad to do away with it. Force had to bow down before heroic gentleness:"

Gandhi's stay in South Africa was significant in many ways in his life. In fact, Gandhi began conquering the non-violent war of Indian Independence from the Satyagraha grounds of South Africa. The Phoenix settlement, Gandhi's first Ashram was started there. It was fourteen miles from Durban. It comprised of one hundred acres. The Indian opinion continued to be published from the Phoenix where a shed was erected for the printing press. It was a venture run on cooperative labour, everybody getting equal wages.

Gandhi propagated the dignity of labour by example, rather than precept. He wrote, "From Ruskin's unto this Last. I understood

- i. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
- ii. That the lawyer's work is of the the same value as the barber's.
- iii. That the life of labour that is the life of the tiller of the soil and handicraftsman is the life worth living".

Gandhi took his vow of celibacy in South Africa in 1906.

Later, the "Tolstoy farm" was started at Lawly, 21 miles from Johannesburg on the land presented to Gandhi by his German Jewish friend, Hermann Kellenbach. It consisted of 1000 acres with water facility. There Gandhi conducted his experiments in Education vocational training, diet, fasting for moral purification etc., His friends Kallen Back, Sonya, Schlesin and Henry Polak shared his penance.

Tolstoy in a letter to Gandhi dated 7-9-1910, congratulating the non-resisters wrote, 'Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Salvation Army, increasing crime, unemployment, the growing insane luxury of the rich and the misery of the poor, the alarming by increasing number of suicides - all these are the signs of that internal contradiction which must be solved in the sense of acknowledging the law of love and denying violence. Therefore, your activity at Transval - as it seems to us at this end of the world is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, wherein not only the nations of the Christian but all the world will unavoidably take part". The troubles and tribulations undergone by Gandhi in South Africa added the fourth dimension to his personality. As the Chinese proverb goes,

"The gem cannot be polished without great friction
Nor man can be perfected without trials."

What Ruskin and Tolstoy preached, Gandhi practised in South Africa. It was a sort of non-violent communism, plus liberty of the individual, and economics plus ethics. Gandhi was a Vegetarian tiger. Vincent Sheem, author of the book "Mahatma Gandhi - A great life in brief" opines that the appellation Mahatma was bestowed on Gandhi while he was in South Africa. He wrote, "I never find anybody who could fix a date for it. It unquestionably started in India among those who were watching the South African struggle from afar during the years before 1914", Some tried to trace it to Besant. Some others to poet Tagore. But Sarojini met Gandhi in 1914 in London for the first time and he was the Mahatma already by that time. In India, the term Mahatma was a word of affection mingled with adoration. It was long used to refer to any good person like the English term 'gentleman'. But after it got associated with Gandhi, it was exclusively reserved for him. The epithet Mahatma so fused with the proper noun Gandhi that it ceased to be used for anybody else afterwards. Gandhi left South Africa, as a well known personality with the character of a saint and the conduct of a statesman.

V THE VANDE MATARAM MOVEMENT

The proposal of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon to partition Bengal led to a mighty movement, known as the "Vandemataram Movement", from 1905. Lord Curzon who followed the so called forward policy was bitterly criticised by the Indian press. Reduction of Indian seats in the Calcutta corporation, in 1899, the Universities Act in 1904, conduct of punitive raids in the North West Frontier and the invasion of Tibet were bitterly attacked by the press and the public.

There were 713 news papers, 747 periodicals and 2192 printing presses in India in 1904. The Amrit Bazaar Patrika commented on 12-5-1904, "Every Englishman should be ashamed of the Tibetan invasion for three reasons. Firstly, it is an act of aggression, pure and simple. Secondly, India should never have been compelled to bear the cost of the expedition. Thirdly, the butchery of the ill-armed Tibetans is a great blot on the fair name of England. In 1904, Japan won a victory over Russia. Amrita Bazaar Patrika commented, "What is the difference between the Japanese and the Bengalees. The former have arms and thre latter have no arms". It was clear that the Viceroy proposed the partition of Bengal with ulterior motives, prompted by the policy of "Divide and Rule".

Lord Curzon in a speech at Decca in 1905 said that one of the reasons for the partition was 'to invest the Mohommadens in East Bengal with a unity they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and Kings. He asked the Muslims aloud, "Do you mean to be so blind as to repudiate this offer?"

However, a series of political hurricanes swept over Bengal engulfing the whole of India. It was a terrific agitation. "Vandemataram" became the battle cry. It was formally initiated at a public meeting on 7-8-1905 at Calcutta addressed by the Veteran leader Ananda Mohan Bose.

The government indulged in fierce reprisals. The following were the highlights of the movement.

- i. Boycott of foreign goods
- ii. Passive resistance to the government
- iii. Consolidation of Nationalism.
- iv. Revolutionary upsurge.

The government implemented the partition on 16-10- 1905 in the face of fierce agitation. The ideas of boycott of foreign goods and resistance to the foreign rule were not new. In 1726, a Bengali ascetic, Gurupada Swamy, had led a crusade at Nasik against the foreign goods. The import of salt from England in 1907 was 4,000 maunds as against the former average of 25,000 maunds. Like wise the import of cotton came down drastically.

Sister Nivedita, the English disciple of Swamy Vivekananda was one of the patrons of the "Dawn Society", started to encourage "Swadeshi " goods. The remarkable feature of this agitation was that women had taken part in it in large numbers. Many Muslims led by the famous barrister Abdul Rasul, the popular leader Liaquat Hussian and the businessman Guznari participated in the movement. But some Muslims led by the Nawab of Decca who was given a loan of Rs. 14 Lakhs by the government, remained neutral.

The Governor-General received a deputation of Muslims led by the Aga Khan. The Muslim League was formed in 1906 with the covert encouragement given by the government.

The students were in the fore front of the agitation. Bipinchandra said, exhorting the students at Rangapur, "If you put a fly into a glass and cover it with a lid, the fly tries its utmost to escape. If you throw an ant into water, it will try to save itself by catching at a straw. If you confine a bird in a cage, it tries to break the bars. Are men inferior to flies, ants or birds to remain in bondage?"

Aurobindo Ghosh, the editor of "Vande Mataram "proclaimed, "Political freedom is the life breath of a nation". A member of the Viceroy's council said," I would not hesitate to deport Aurobindo, if he could not be silenced in any other way".

THE SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS

The Vande Mataram movement was carried on independently by the people. The congress condemned the partition, but some moderates had their own reservations and liked to treat it as a provincial issue. In 1906, the staunch nationalist - Tilak - was expected to be elected president. But, Naoroji, was chosen for a third time. He became president first in 1886. He declared earlier in 1881, that, "The British rule was an ever lasting foreign invasion utterly destroying the country".

The extremists in the congress asked quite indignantly, "What is the position of India and what are the achievements of the congress during these 20 years from 1886 to 1906?" Extravagant military adventures the wars in Afghanistan, Burma, Bhutan and, Tibet, were undertaken at the expense of the Indian tax payer, spilling the blood of Indian sepoys. From 1884 many punitive raids were conducted against the Pathans of the North West Frontier, altogether 24, including the three by Lord Curzon. Thorburn said, "The frontier operations 1895-96 alone cost the Indian Exchequer Rs. 7,360,000 and the Pathans are nearly as free today as in the time of Alexander, 2300 years ago".

When Tilak asked the farmers of famine stricken Maharashtra to withhold payment of taxes, he was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment. The nation could do nothing except shedding tears silently. The so called 'Council' of the Governor General, established by the 1892 Act was not more than a debating society of a High School. The congress which was accepted by the British as a 'Safety Valve' was turned into a political drainage channel.. The trenchant criticism divided the congress into two groups, the moderates and the extremists. The president of the congress in 1906 Naoroji gave a call for Swaraj and Swadeshi.

In 1907, the congress at Surat broke into pandemonium. The moderates who were in a majority framed a constitution restricting it to people, wedded to constitutional agitation. Till, 1916 the congress was in the hands of the moderates. The two important phases of the Freedom Movement, "The Vandemataram" and the "Home Rule" agitations were conducted outside the auspices of the Congress.

Many leaders of the Arya Samaj were arrested in Punjab. In addition Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were arrested on 9-5- 1907 and deported to Mandalay in Burma. One of the elders remarked, "There had been nothing like it since the Mutiny". The Vandemataram Movement spread to the

Punjab, Maharastra and other parts of India, a remarkable off-shoot being the "Revolutionary upheaval".

In the wake of the Vande Mataram Movement many secret societies were formed by the Revolutionaries with the avowed object of throwing out the British government by violent means. They manufactured bombs and obtained arms. On 6-12- 1907, the train carrying Lt. Governor Fraser was derailed by a bomb, near Midnapore. On 30-4-1908 at Muzaffarpur in Bihar a bomb was thrown into a carriage, killing two European ladies, instead of the intended victim, Kingsford the unpopular judge. As a sequel, one of the accused Khudiram Bose, hardly 19, was arrested and later hanged, while another Chaki shot himself and committed suicide. Krishna Kumar Mitra and Aswin Kumar Dutt were deported.

Tilak acclaimed the movement saying, "It is a comer stone". I envy the people of Bengal for laying the "Comer Stone". He went further and proclaimed that the revolutionary bomb of Bengal was the political thermometer. He wrote "Muskets and guns may be taken away from the subjects by means of the "Arms Act". But is it possible to do away with the bomb which is a kind of political witchcraft; it is a charm; an amulet. What time it does take for charms and magical love of Bengal to spread through out India. There is an excess of patriotism in Bengal Bomb. Tilak was arrested on 24-6-1908 and sentenced to six years imprisonment and deported to Mandalay.

In 1908, the patriotic Marathi editors divided among themselves nearly 25 years of rigorous imprisonment. The agitation in Bombay and other places in protest of Tilak's arrest were ruthlessly suppressed by firing and large scale arrests. But the agitation and the revolutionary movement continued with unabated vigour.

MORELY MINTO REFORMS

The government in a bid to appease the nationalists announced some concessions called the "Morely Minto Reforms". The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial councils was enhanced. Muslims got separate seats. Even the moderates of the congress were dissatisfied.

REVOLUTIONARY FERVOUR

Among the many secret revolutionary societies, started in India, "Abhinava Bharat" organised by V.D.Savarkar in 1904 came into

prominence. Even in 1897 the Chapekar brothers assassinated two British officials in Poona. On 9-6-1909, G.D. Savarkar, (brother of V.D.Savarkar who went to London) was sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of properties. On 1-7-1909 Madan Lal Dhinga killed, W.C. Wyllie of Indian office London. Dhinga carried a paper in his pocket, "I attempted to shed English blood intentionally as a humble protest against the inhuman transportations and hangings of Indian youth". He died at the gallows bravely in Pentoville prison of London on 17-8-1909.

The Alipore conspiracy case attracted worldwide attention. In the searches made on 2-5-1908 in Mamiktala and Calcutta, bombs, dynamite cartridges etc., were seized. The bomb used by Khudiram Bose was made by this secret society headed by Barinder Kumar and Hem Chandra Das. Thirty four persons were charged and 15 were finally sentenced. Naren Goswami who tuned approver to escape punishment was shot dead in jail by Datta and Satyam Bose who were later hanged. The public prosecutor was shot dead on 10-2-1909. On 24-1-1910, the Dy. Police Superintendent was shot dead.

AUROBINDO GHOSH

Aurobindo Ghosh, one of the accused in the Alipore case was acquitted after he spent one year as a prisoner under trial. Afterwards, he settled in Pondicherry, a French enclave in South India and later rose to international eminence as a yogic sage. It was a safe sanctuary for Aurobindo as the Indian Police some times cooked up false cases. In the Midnapore bomb case in 1908, Jogjiban Ghosh and S.C.Das were sentenced to 10 years and Surendra Nath Mukherjee to 7 years transportation. They were however acquitted by the Calcutta High Court finding the whole case based on fabricated evidence. Pondicherry grew into a patriotic sanctuary.

France was recognised as the intellectual leader of Europe and the home of the concepts of "Equality -Liberty -Fraternity". The tiny French enclaves in India - Chandranagore Yanam and Pondicherry - gave shelter to Indian patriots. Later, many Indian patriots like the poet Bharati, Ranganayaki Rangacharya, Mahanta Aiyer, took shelter in Pondicherry.

Pondicherry soon acquired international reputation as the seat of Aurobindo's Asram. He attracted eminent disciples from all over the world. He was the author of many books including the Life divine and Savitri. The revolutionaries wondered that the fire vomiting lion of Bengal was metamorphosed into a meditating lamb of Pondicherry.

Aurobindo was the prophet who preached the integral vision in Philosophy. He pointed out that the 'State' every where in the world failed because the rulers did not represent, the best minds of the nation or its noblest aims or its highest instincts.

He stressed on man's striving to reach the supramental state, the adventure of consciousness, as the next step in human evolution. He said that the transformation of the human race would come about in an iridescent moment which may look like a miracle. Before the human race rises to the supramental level individuals have to be forerunners. Aurobindo postulated that the conscious energy of the individual contributed to the collective progress. The modern sage of Pondicherry like his counter parts of ancient India, conjured up vivid visions of the ages past, and the aeons of existence that lie ahead. Some revolutionaries went out of India and operated from other countries, with varying vicissitudes.

In June 1911, Ashe the district magistrate of Tinnevely was shot dead by Vance Aiyar. In 1912, Viceroy Hardinge was wounded when a bomb was hurled at him in Delhi. On 12-12- 1911, Emperor King George proclaimed new constitutional reforms at the historic Darbar held at Delhi annulling the partition of Bengal, shifting the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi, and creating the new province of Assam and Bihar.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT ABROAD

However, the revolutionary movement did not subside. V.D. Savarkar was in London, along with Krishnavarma and Har Dayal. 'Madam Came' was the rallying centre at Paris. The Indians who had migrated to U.S.A. and Canada received rough treatment. A united front was organised - known as the Ghadar Party in 1913 in Sanfransisco.

In 1914, the famous episode of Kamagata Maru attracted wide attention. Baba Gurjit Singh, a contractor at Singapore, chartered the Japanese ship Kamagata Maru and sailed to Canada, with about 400 passengers. The passengers with the exception of 24 were not allowed to land at Vancouver. Afterwards they returned to India, as they were not allowed to land at Hongkong or Singapore where most of them owned houses. The British did not permit them to land at Calcutta. In a clash with the police, 18 were killed, 24 wounded and about 200 interned.

As a result, the Ghadarites returned to India in batches. Millions of dollars were contributed towards their expenses. Many donated their life long savings, selling their lands and properties. They persuaded the Indian

regiments to rebel. The target date fixed was 21-2-1915. But the plan leaked out. 12 soldiers of the 23rd cavalry were executed. The leaders of the Ghadar party in the Punjab were arrested, 42 were hanged 114 transported and 93 sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Instigated by the Ghadar Party, 700 men of the Light infantry stationed at Singapore revolted under the leadership of Jamadar Chisti Khan. They were crushed in a fierce battle in which many died. Among the rest, 37 were publicly hanged and 41 were deported for life. In 1915, Baga Jatin died in a heroic encounter with the police at Balasore. Rash Behari Bose escaped to Japan. Raja Mahendra Pratap, Abdul Rahim, Maulanan Thaidulla Sindhi, Champak Rama Pillai, Sardar Singh Rana, were some of the Indian revolutionaries who worked outside India.

Tilak was released in 1914, and he received a welcome, worthy of a veteran warrior. He went to Mondaley Jail as a fragrant flower that blossomed out of the Freedom Movement in 1908 and returned home as the ripened fruit of Indian culture. To the Indian mind, the word jail had already lost the connotation as a place where criminals were lodged; it acquired sanctity as the place where Sri Krishna, the Author of the Bhagavad Gita was born and where Bala Gangadhar Tilak had written the commentary, the Gita Rahasya.

Tilak was acclaimed as the Lokamanya, worthy of the adoration of the whole world. He was the author of a number of modern classics, including the "Orion" and "The Arctic Home of the Vedas". By the time he was released, the first world war, known as the Great War had begun. The great war was the inexorable culmination of the conflicting Imperialisms pursued by the European powers for colonial conquests and world markets. The Lokamanya, a practical philosopher who could understand political realism offered responsive cooperation to the British.

The British and their allies during the World war proclaimed that " it was a war against war to end all wars". Their professed aim was to "make the world safe for democracy". These were the ideals very dear to the heart of Tilak. He declared, "Swaraj is my birth right". He was willing for independence of India as a member of the British Commonwealth of nations.

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

Annie Besant, an Irish lady who came to India, attracted by ancient Indian culture started a movement in 1915 for 'Home Rule', self-government to be granted to India after the War. Subrahmanya Iyer was her

collaborator. Besant was one of the founders of the Theosophical Society and it had branches all over the world. Theosophy spread all over the world, but it was not new to India. Mrs Besant was interested in the primeval question, "What is life after Death", a question answered by India three thousand years ago, proclaiming the immortality of the soul. she claimed that she was an Indian in her past birth. Though there could be no rational corroboration of her claim, India found in her a committed champion of her culture and an able advocate expecting no other fees than the courage of her convictions. Later, the Indians honoured her by electing her as the president of the Indian National Congress in 1917.

She established many educational institutions in India. The British government in India, once thought of deporting her to England but kept quiet. Great as an orator, greater as a theosophist and greatest as a political organiser, she carved out a coveted place in the history of India, the country of her adoption. Both Tilak and Besant used the phrase, "Home Rule" borrowed from the Irish Freedom struggle which had struck a responsive chord in the British heart. In September 1914, the "Irish Home Rule Act" received the Royal Assent. Thus "Home Rule" acquired respectable glamour. Tilak organised the Home Rule league at Belgaum in 1916. The two Home Rule leagues later provided the important grid for relaying Gandhi's message to the people of India.

NOTES

1. Vande Mataram Movement - please see -Tibetan war - Chapter I of this book
2. 'The disciples of Aurobindo view the declaration of Indian independence on 15-8-1947, on the birth day of the sage, not as a fortuitous coincidence, but hold that it has momentous significance representing the sanction and seal of Providence.
3. Ram Mohan Roy wrote in 1822 an article, "Ireland, the causes of its Discontent and Distress".

VI THE HOME COMING

Mahatma Gandhi reached India from South Africa on 9-1-1915 at the age of 45. His fame as the saintly statesman who used the weapon of Satyagraha successfully had reached India earlier. He was greeted by huge crowds in the streets of Bombay. That was the beginning of the living legend of Gandhi. He symbolised simple living and high thinking. He was the embodiment of selfless renunciation. "A small frail man, thin face, dark eyes, barefooted, ate just to live. He slept on the floor - slept very little but worked incessantly. W.W. Pearson who met him in South Africa instinctively thought of St. Francis.

Ancient Indian culture developed the concept of Ajata Satru, a person born without an enemy. Gandhi typified the very personification of that ideal. Joeseeph J. Doke said, "Few can resist the charm of his personality. His bitterest enemies become courteous when confronted with his courtesy". "Every departure from truth, no matter however trifling, is intolerable to him", proclaimed Andrews.

Romain Rolland wrote, "He is modest and unassuming to the point of some times seeming almost timid, hesitant in making an assertion. Yet you feel his indomitable spirit. He never hides a mistake. Diplomacy is unknown to him. He feels at ease only in a minority. This is the man who has stirred three hundred million people to revolt, and shook the foundations of the British Empire. Non-violence was a creed with Mahatma Gandhi. He declared humbly, "Non-violence is as old as the hills". He advocated the non-violence of the strong. Non-violence does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil doer- it is meaningless when it proceeds from a helpless creature".

Gandhi added, "My religion knows no geographical limits. I am a man of peace. I love peace but I do not want the peace of the grave. I want the peace which is embedded in the human heart, though exposed to the arrows of the whole world but protected by the Almighty God." For many, "The end justifies the means". But Gandhi stressed. "The means must be as pure as the ends".

"Sermon on the Mount" inspired Gandhi very much. To the precept of the gospel, "Love thy neighbour as thyself" Gandhi added, "Every living being is thy neighbour". He liked Ruskin, admired Mazzini, read Plato, Edward Carpenter and Thoreau and was quite familiar with the best that Europe and America had produced. Discerning Westerners, looked at Gandhi in wonder and admiration, for he practised what he preached.

SHANTINIKETAN

Soon after coming to India, Gandhi went to Shantiniketan where he met the Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore. Poetess Sarojini describing the memorable scene wrote, "Truth" embraced "Beauty". Conventional Universities are criticised as places where pebbles are polished and diamonds are dimmed. But Shanti Niketan founded by Rabindranath Tagore was conceived as an international University with a difference. The pupils and professors were expected to be "Citizens of the world". Scholars culled from all corners of the world were appointed as teachers. Students gathered under the sylvan shades. The atmosphere of the ancient Indian "Gurukul" was fostered with no need for gilded lillies or prattling parrots, congestion of the class room or the compound walls. Education of ever widening horizons was sought to be inculcated.

Gandhi founded the Satyagraha Ashram near Ahmedabad on 25.5.1915. All work including scavenging was done by the inmates. An untouchable family Dadabhai, his wife Danibehn and daughter Lakshmi were among the inmates.

LUCKNOW CONGRESS

The Lucknow Congress of 1916 was the first united Congress session since 1907, when it had split into two sections, moderates and the extremists. By 1916, most of the moderates were disillusioned with the government. Extremists like Tilak realised the importance of organised effort. The moderates were willing to admit the nationalists. Tilak told his realistic colleagues, "Let us join the Congress taking advantage of the partial opening made for us and then strive to open the door full and wide." However, it was reunification without reconciliation. Moreover, the course of the world war effected a change in the attitude of the Muslims towards the British. The government suppressed the Journals Al-Hilal run by the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Comrade run by Maulana Mohamed Ali.

Azad was educated at the Azhar University of Cairo and was born of an Indian father and an Arab mother at Mecca. He was a rationalist and saw no conflict between nationalism and Islam. But the Ali Brothers, Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali were staunch Muslims who proclaimed that they were Muslims first and Indians next.

The Muslim holy places were situated in the Turkish empire. Turkey joined the war against Britain. The Indian Muslim sympathies were with Turkey and the result was the congress - league combination known as the Lucknow pact. A medical mission headed by Dr. Ansari was sent to help Turkey. Thus the Hindu Muslim unity generated great enthusiasm in the country. Mahatma Gandhi attended the congress session at Lucknow. A peasant named Sukla met Mahatma Gandhi at the session and prevailed upon him to come to Champaran to help the indigo cultivators. Sukla followed Gandhi to Sabarmati Ashram.

CHAMPARAN SATYAGRAHA

Champaran provided Gandhi with an opportunity in 1917 to introduce the weapon of Satyagraha in India. Gandhi accompanied by Rajendra Prasad, Mazhar-ul-Huq, J.B. Kriplani and Mahadev Desai conducted a detailed survey into the conditions of the indigo peasants. A disciplined movement followed in which many educated volunteers took part, observing scrupulous discipline, with special emphasis on sanitation. Schools were started in the villages.

The European planters compelled the poor peasants to grow indigo on at least 3/20 of their land and sell it at prices fixed by them. The district officer ordered Gandhi to leave the district. Gandhi disobeyed the order and he was arrested.

However, the government moved and constituted a committee of inquiry. Gandhi was nominated as a member. The findings of the committee were implemented. Thus, the Satyagraha of Gandhi won the first victory in Champaran.

KHAIRA

In 1918, crops failed in Khaira district of Gujarat. Due to war, prices shot up. Peasants appealed to the government for remission of taxes in vain. Gandhi supported the peasants after conducting a detailed survey. Satyagraha was started, under the leadership of Vallabhai Patel. The Government relented and announced concessions. Once again,

Satyagraha was victorious. Barrister Vallabhai Patel, who had given up his lucrative practice acquired the epithet "Sardar" and became a close associate of Gandhi.

AHMEDABAD MILL WORKERS' STRIKE

Gandhi supported the Ahmedabad Mill Workers in their strike against the mill owners, in 1918. He obtained a solemn pledge of non-violence from the workers. Some mills declared lockout. After some time, the workers wavered when the lockouts were lifted. Gandhi realised that "God dare not appear before a hungry man except in the form of food". He sympathised with the starving workers and started the fast, supporting the demand of the workers for a hike of 35% in their wages. The mill owners relented. A compromise was struck. A professor of the local college was elected as an arbitrator. Work was resumed and the arbitrator gave his verdict in favour of 35% increase which was accepted by the management. After 21 days, the Gandhian Satyagraha scored another historic victory at Ahmedabad.

The reputation acquired by Gandhi as the champion of the oppressed poor in South Africa was soon reinforced in India, by the successful Satyagrahas at Champaran, Khaira and Ahmedabad.

JALIANWALA BAGH

In July, 1918, the British government announced the Montague Chelmsford Reforms, which did not satisfy the nationalists. At the special session of the congress at Bombay in 1918, delegates from Punjab, said, "we are living over a volcano and any untoward act might cause a burst"

The year 1919 is very important in the history of the Freedom Movement. It marks:

- i. The reform bill of the Government of India Act.
- ii. Rowlath Act
- iii. Hindu Muslim Unity
- iv. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
- v. The Khilafat Movement
- vi. Emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as the supreme leader of the congress and the country.

On 24-2-1919 Gandhi convened a conference attended by among others, Vallabhai Patel and Sarojini. They protested against the Rowlat Acts, destructive of the elementary rights of the citizens. But the laws were passed on 18-3-1919. A nation wide hartal was proclaimed to be observed on 6-4-1919. The whole country observed the hartal with enthusiasm.

Gandhi was arrested on his way to Delhi and was deported to Bombay where he was released on 10-4-1919. He felt sorry for the out-break of violence at many places. He observed a penitential fast for three days.

The government was determined to crush the agitation. On 10-4-1919 Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew were arrested at Amritsar. Police fired on the crowd. There after followed a series of brutal acts of violence by the mob. Five Europeans were murdered and government buildings were destroyed. Miss. Sherwood, a lady doctor was beaten. The police again fired on the crowd resulting in 20 to 30 casualties.

General Dyer arrived on 11-4-1919 with his troops and introduced a reign of terror. On 13-4-1919 people assembled at Jallianwala Bagh estimated at 6000, unarmed and quite defenceless. "It was an empty space, a park only in name, surrounded by close-knit houses on sides. General Dyer came by the only narrow opening lane with about 50 rifles. Without a word of warning he opened fire on the dense crowd from a range of about 100 yards. He kept up a merciless fusillate and in all 1500 rounds were fired till his ammunition was exhausted on seething mass of humanity caught like rats in a trap." The above estimate was written by Valentine Chirol. Lala Girdhar Lal, an eye witness said, "I think there must have been 1000 dead bodies apart from the wounded". C.F. Andrews said that it was, "a cold calculated massacre and unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable".

Martial Law was proclaimed formally on 15th April and withdrawn on 11th June. Meanwhile people were flogged for several days. People passing through the street in which Miss Sherwood lived were ordered to crawl with belly. The Martial Law authorities convicted 218 people, 51 were sentenced to death, 46 to transportation for life and others for long terms of imprisonment. The civil magistrates convicted in addition 165 people. The government appointed an enquiry committee headed by Hunter, and Dyer was asked to retire, with all benefits of retirement. But he was acclaimed as a hero by the British. The English ladies presented Dyer with a purse of Pounds 20,000 in addition to a sword.

The Congress constituted an enquiry committee, consisting of Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, C.R.Das, Fazl-ul-Huq, Abbas Tyabji which presented a comprehensive report on the atrocities. Apart from the Indian reaction, there were some Englishmen who condemned the atrocities. Hyndman wrote "Our atrocities stand almost on a level with the outrages, committed by Germany in Belgium, France and Poland. Worst of all, we bombed unarmed crowds from aeroplanes".

THE KHILAFT AGITATION

During the first world war, the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George declared, "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race". After the war the Turkish emperor, whom the Muslims regarded as the Caliph, was humbled in every way. Thrace was taken away. This led to the Khilafat Agitation in India. The Khilafat Committee consisted of the Ali brothers, Azad, Hakim Azmal Khan, Hazrat Mohani. They approached Gandhi and he promised complete support to the Khilafat.

Hindu-Muslims unity was a factor, very dear to the heart of the Mahatma and he looked upon the Khilafat movement as "an opportunity as would not arise in a hundred years". However, some Indians were unhappy that the Khilafat gave indirect encouragement to the extra-territorial loyalty of the Muslims. For Gandhi it was an opportunity to demonstrate the Hindu-Muslim solidarity. The Khilafat committee authorised Gandhi to launch the non-cooperation movement. Tilak who played a constructive role in formulating the Lucknow pact in 1916 between the congress and the Muslim League promised his support to the Muslims but expressed genuine doubts regarding the non-cooperation movement which expected too much self-denial from human nature. He pleaded for responsive cooperation with the government.

THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The non-cooperation movement prescribed the following measures.

- i. Surrender of titles and resignations to elected or nominated positions.
- ii. Boycott of schools etc., and official or semi-official functions.
- iii. Boycott of Law Courts
- iv. Encouragement of Swadeshi goods
- v. Prohibition of liquor
- vi. Boycott of British goods.

The Muslims supported the movement with great enthusiasm. The Hindus like Surendranath Benerjee opined that the Rowlat Act was the father of the non-cooperation movement. The Jallianwalla Bagh added fuel to the fire. Gandhi fixed August 1, 1920 as the day for nationwide inauguration of the non-violent non-cooperation movement.

EXIT OF TILAK

Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak died in the morning of 1-8-1920. Tilak had formed the Democratic congress party after the Amritsar congress in 1919 and issued a manifesto in April 1920 which proposed to work the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Act for all it is worth and for accelerating the grant of full responsible government offering cooperation or resorting to constitutional opposition which ever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will."

Romain Rolland wrote, "Lokamanya Tilak united in himself a great mind, a strong will and high character. His intelligence was perhaps even keener than Gandhi's. Like Gandhi, he sought no personal recognition. As long as he lived, he was the undisputed leader of India. Who can say what would have happened if he had not met with an untimely death in 1920 ? Gandhi would have been happy to let Tilak rule the majority, as Gandhi was essentially a man of the minority. Gandhi placed truth first and liberty next. Tilak, whose personal life was one of spotless purity set his country first, above everything".

Some people even construed "Divine Dispensation" in the coincidence of the date of Tilak's death with the scheduled date fixed already for the non-cooperation movement. Any way, the death of Tilak at the momentous juncture, gave a twist to the history of India. Gandhi emerged as the supreme leader of India with a supernatural charisma associated with his personality.

The special session of the congress was held in Calcutta on 4-9-1920. It was presided over by Lala Lajpat Roy who was permitted to return to India after a long exile in U.S.A. The non-cooperation resolution was moved by Gandhi and was carried. The annual congress was held at Nagpur in December, 1920. There was great enthusiasm and 14000 delegates attended the session. C.R.Das and his followers mustered strong backing hoping to cross swords with Gandhi. But C.R. Das himself moved the resolution on non-cooperation to be ratified by the regular congress session. Lajpat Roy and others supported it. "People who came to scoff remained to praise". That was the charisma of the Mahatma.

The non-cooperation movement was a tremendous upheaval. The Hindus and Muslims marched shoulder to shoulder. Hartals, strikes, satyagrahas, boycotts, resignations, were the order of the day. Many lawyers including C.R.Das, Rajendra Prasad and Motilal Nehru gave up

their lucrative legal practice. Subhas Chandra Bose resigned from the I.C.S. Jails were filled to the brim. Orders were issued not to make fresh arrests but to wield the merciless lathi. In October 1921, a manifesto signed by 48 Indian Leaders was issued condemning "the use of Indian soldiers for crushing the liberty of Arabs, the Egyptians, the Turks and other nations, who have done no harm to India". The life-line to India from Britain passed through the Suez Canal and Gibraltar. So it was part of the imperialist game to subdue the countries on the way.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Mahatma Gandhi chalked out a constructive programme based on Khaddar. "India is a land of six lakhs of villages", he declared, "Go back to the villages" was the new slogan he coined. The Congress met at Bezwada on 31-3-1921 and resolved to collect a crore of Rupees for Tilak Fund, enlist a crore of members and introduce 20 lakhs of Charakas (Spinning Wheels) before 30-6-1921. The fund was over subscribed; membership reached 50 lakhs and the Charakas were distributed. Khaddar became the livery of the patriots. Picketing of liquor shops, burning of foreign cloth, starting of national schools, volunteer organisations, boycott of government schools, courts and councils reached a high pitch.

KHADDAR

The story that the East India Company got the thumbs of the expert weavers cut to prevent them from producing superfine was widely yarn gained currency. Whether it was true or not, believed. The weaver in India had a glorious tradition. A weaver of Decca as the story goes once presented a saree of eight yards to the Moghal Empress Nurzahan, packed in a small matchbox.

But unexpected misfortune had overtaken the weaver in British India. The weaver typified the living tragedy that was British India. The spinning wheel - the Charaka - possessed historic and political and economic connotations, and it found the most prominent place in the Congress flag. Mahatma Gandhi, no doubt possessed the knack of catching the popular imagination. "Khaddar supports to day those who are starving" wrote Mahatma Gandhi in "Young India" dated 28-4-1920.

The choice of Khaddar for the patriot's livery was not merely a testimony to Mahatma Gandhi's practical idealism and philosophy but also to his insight into Indian history and economics. It was a part of the process of economic emancipation of India. It symbolised the impoverished.

Thousands of educated volunteers, hawked Khaddar not merely in the metropolitan towns but in the bylanes of backward villages of India with missionary zeal, not for profit but for patriotism, not for commerce but for cultural renaissance.

Arrests repression by the Government mounted day by day. The Ali Brothers were arrested. Above all, the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales evoked a tremendous response. Lajpat Roy, Motilal Nehru and C.R.Das along with thousands courted jail. In the words of Raja Ali, a member of the Viceroy's council, "the only place for an honest Indian was jail".

The annual congress met at Ahmedabad in 1921. Nearly 40,000 congress men were in Jail and yet over 4,726 delegates attended. C.R.Das, the president elect was in jail. Hakim Azman Khan presided, instead. The printed address of Das declared, "We break in order to build, we destroy in order to construct". Gandhi was declared as the sole executive authority of the power to nominate his successor in an emergency. congress with

On 1-2-1922, Gandhi announced that he would start, civil, disobedience including a no tax campaign. But, on 5-2-1922, a congress procession in Chaueri Chaura was fired upon by the police. The enraged crowd, burnt the police station, killing 22 policemen. Gandhi decided to suspend the movement. On 12-2-1922 the congress working committee, met at Bardoli and ratified Gandhi's decision.¹ Suspension of Satyagraha stunned the congressmen and the country. Subhas Bose wrote, "To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a National Calamity".

Jawaharlal Nehru, Desabandhu Das, Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Roy shared the popular resentment. At last the government arrested Gandhi, on 10-3-1922. He asked for the highest penalty proclaiming, "Non-Cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is cooperation with good".

The British Judge showed very great respect to him saying, "It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of noble ideals and even saintly life". Gandhi was sentenced for six years, in the words of the judge Bromsfield, on a par with Tilak.

On 10-4-1922 Reverend J.H.Holmes of U.S.A. gave a sermon posing the question, "who is the greatest man in the world today?" and

answered, "Mahatma Gandhi another Christ". Rolland wrote "Peace, non-violence and suffering was the only message that came out from the prison. The magical message was heard. The Sikhs were looked upon as a martial race. The Akalis wanted to purify the sanctuaries fallen into undesirable hands.

"For legal reasons the government took their defence. In Akalis adopted the doctrine of non-violence. With a wreath of August 1922, began the daily martyrdom of Guru-ka-Bagh. The white flowers around their black turbans, the Akalis arrived silently before the constables, stopped and prayed motionlessly. The constables in order to drive them away, prodded them with iron tipped rods till blood began to flow and the Sikhs fell unconscious. Andrews, Tagore's friend did not hear a single cry nor saw a defiant glance. He exclaimed, "I could not help thinking of the shadow of the Cross".

Andrews, whose generous spirit and idealism enabled him to penetrate the soul of India said that there he saw like Goethe at Valna, the dawn of a new era". In spite of the disappointment experienced by many Indians, Desabandhu Das, President of the congress session at Gaya in 1922 said, in his address, "was the non-cooperation movement in India a success? Yes mighty success, when we think of the desire for Swaraj which it awoke throughout the length and breadth of this vast country". The Congress enquiry committee added "We have found the general population permeated with the indomitable spirit of a great national awakening unprecedented in the history of the human race". An article by Balanche Watson in "Unity" (November 16, 1922) claimed that the internal revenues of India had decreased by 70 million dollars, the boycott of foreign goods had caused England to lose in one year, some 20 million dollars.

From a purely political angle, the non-cooperation was a failure as it was meekly withdrawn. The Khilafat Movement too became quite irrelevant. The people of Turkey rose up under the leadership of Kamalpasha in November 1924 and abolished the caliphate, and modernised it into a secular state. Education was nationalised, women were emancipated, and industries were introduced. In India the Hindu Muslim unity forged on religious basis could not put an end to communalism as evidenced by the Mopla riots in Malabar.

THE MOPLA RIOTS

The Moplas of Malabar are a sect of Muslims, descendants of Arabs who came to India about the eighth or ninth century A.D. numbering about a million. In August 1921, they rose in rebellion killed a few Britishers who

could not escape. Afterwards they turned their fury on the Hindus and perpetrated inhuman atrocities. A wave of horror rocked the whole of India. The Congress, perhaps in the interests of the non-cooperation movement and Hindu Muslim unity tried their best to minimise its effects on the rest of the country. The British suppressed the rebellion ruthlessly using the Gurkha troops, killing more than three thousand Moplas. the Mopla outrages, however caused considerable damage to Hindu Muslim Unity.

ALLURI SEETARAMA RAJU

Alluri Seetarama Raju born in Mogallu in a Kshatriya family of West Godavary was a Sanyasi who led a revolt of the Tribals of the Godavary and Visakhapatnam regions. He established panchayat courts and successfully conducted the boycott of British Courts. He propagated prohibition. He proclaimed that his motto was more a regeneration of the people and he would go to the Himalayas in Nepal for penance in due course.

He conducted premeditated raids on police stations in August, 1922 to procure arms, giving prior intimation. In a daring raid, he was able to overpower the police and he succeeded in Mallu Dora and extricating Venkayya from their clutches. Ganta Dora were his lieutenants. On September 3, 1922 he routed a police party sent against him. Several times he foiled the attempts made by the police to capture him. However the armed revolt led by Seetaramaraju was crushed by superior armed forces of the British. On 6-5-1924. Seetaramaraju died in an encounter with the police.

Seetarama Raju's revolt was a unique phenomenon of armed struggle against the British in India conducted by a Saint, with epic courage and candour, meteoric swiftness and melodramatic effect.

THE SWARAJ PARTY

The Indian National Congress resolved to boycott the elections and was against 'council entry'. The Nationalists feared that "Power would corrupt". But some moderates entered the legislative councils organised under the 1919 Act. They could achieve very little progress towards self-government. The press Act was abolished due to their efforts. However Jawaharlal Nehru described it as "a demoralising dribble". The non-cooperation movement slackened and did not yield tangible results. C.R.Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party in 1923, with a view to carry on the struggle for freedom from within the councils. Thus the congress was split into two groups - the 'No changers' led by Rajendra

Prasad, Rajaji, and Vallabhai Patel and 'Pro-changers' led by Das and Motilal Nehru.

The pro-changers formed the Swaraj Party as a wing of the Congress. P.C. Ray enunciated their case thus: "If a successful revolution was unthinkable, if physical resistance did not enter into practical politics, if the voluntary abandonment or withdrawal of the British was moonshine, if a consistent life of detachment and renunciation could not get us a place in the Sun, then the only possible way in which India could be put on the road to Swaraj was by pursuing a policy of consistent and persistent obstruction of all measures initiated by the existing bureaucracy.

The Swaraj party won 47 seats in the Imperial Assembly out of the 105 elected seats. Independents like Jinnah and Nationalists led by Malaviya were there. When all of them joined together, they formed the majority.

The leader of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly was Motilal Nehru, supported by members like Vithalbai Patel, Bipin Chandrapal, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ramaswami Ayyangar and others. An important measure of success achieved by the Swaraj party was the appointment of the Tariff Commission. The commission advised the government in its report to afford protection to the steel industry and to regulate tariff duties to support Indian trade and industry.

The report stipulated that Indians should have 50% representation in civil service. The Swarajists fought many historic battles inside the Assembly and put forward the Indian patriotic view before the government. The following typical extract from the speech of C.R. Das illustrates how powerful was the constructive criticism. "Spend one crore for technical education in Bengal, spend one crore for primary education, spend 30 lakhs for special Mohammadan educational institutions (hear, hear) spend 30 lakhs for those who are called the depressed classes - I do not believe that they are depressed classes - they are oppressed class (hear, hear) - oppressed by the government and the higher classes alike; spend one crore for the development of cottage industries, spend one crore for weeding out malaria and Kala- Azar, and spend 40 lakhs for the development of agriculture; you can do all this with five crores without any special efforts, if you borrow it at 6 per cent.. (The Bengal Legislature Council Proceedings - A official Report Fourteenth Session, Vol-XIV-No.3 - 26th to 29th February, 1924 - p.179)

The Swaraj Party bitterly attacked the government. They were able parliamentarians and exposed the government, sometimes inflicting humiliating defeats. Subhas Bose summarised aptly the work done by the Swaraj Party thus:

"Considering the influence of Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 and 1922 the rise of the Swaraj party must be regarded as something unaccountable and remarkable. Though the leaders and the rank and file of the party had the highest respect for the personality of the Mahatma, the party was frankly an anti Gandhi party and it was strong enough to force the Mahatma to voluntary retirement from politics for some years".

C. R. DAS

The biggest blow to the Swaraj Party was the death of C. R. Das on 16-6-1925. He was a unique personality among the towering leaders of the Freedom Movement. He justified the title - "Desa Bandhu" which his grateful countrymen bestowed on him.

He combined in himself the saintly character and moral grandeur of Gandhi, the exemplary self sacrifice of Motilal Nehru, the dynamic zeal of Lajpat Rai, the dedicated service of Rajendra Prasad and the practical intellect of Rajaji, in addition to his unrivalled organising abilities. He inspired the people by example rather than precept. He was the first in a letter to Lajpat Rai to caution against pan Islamism and the outcome of the non-cooperation movement in 1920. But after the congress passed the resolution, he was one of the first to give up his legal practice and to plunge into the movement with patriotic fervour.

He hawked Khaddar in the streets of Calcutta and arranged a confidential meeting of the revolutionaries with Gandhi and members of the congress working committee who were his guests, in his own house. The revolutionaries, under the influence of Das accepted to give a chance to Gandhism, giving up terrorism.

People held the Desabandhu in high esteem. He conscripted the services of his wife Basanti Devi and son Chiranjani to the waning cause of the congress at a critical juncture of the non-cooperation movement. When Basanti Devi was arrested, the whole Calcutta was moved to spontaneous agitation. The two police constables who arrested her resigned their posts in repentance. The government was forced to release her within 12 hours at midnight. C.R.Das differed with Gandhi when the non-cooperation movement was suspended abruptly. He was elected president of the Swaraj

party in January 1923 with Motilal Nehru as one of the secretaries. With regard to Hindu Muslim unity, the Desabandhu succeeded where even the Mahatma failed. He was the architect of the Bengal pact which was accepted by the Bang al Congress. He did not succumb to the temptation of office offered by the British government.

History would have taken a right angled twist had the British grasped the hand of cooperation extended by Das in his Faridpur proposal or had the congress accepted the Bengal pact as a basis for Hindu Muslim Unity in India. The contribution of C.R.Das did not end with his premature death. His patriotic fervour found reincarnation in his disciple Subhas Bose who dominated the Indian Political scene with the glory of his political Guru trailing behind him for a pretty long time.

After Das, the Swaraj Party split into three groups, one led by Motilal, the second led by the responsive cooperators Jayakar, Kelkar, and Moonze and the third led by Malaviya and Lajpat Rai. Some members like Tanbe and Raghavendra Rao accepted high positions offered by the British. Ultimately the Swarajists realised the futility of non-cooperation inside the councils in 1930 and merged into the congress as it accepted complete independence as its goal.

Gandhi was released on 5-2-1924. In september, 1924, he fasted for 21 days at Delhi in Mohammad Ali's house against the commmunal riots. M.N.Roy was elected to the communist international. Muzafar Ahamad and Dange were arrested for spreading communist ideology. In 1925, the communist party of India, was formed. However, the revolutionary movement once again erupted. In the Kakori conspiracy case of 1925, seventeen were sentenced to long terms, 4 for transportation for life and four for hanging including Bismil and Asfaquilla.

The annual session of the Congress was held on 26-12- 1925 at Kanpore. Sarojini Naidu presided. Gandhi took the vow of political silence. Hindustani was adopted for recording the proceedings of the A.I.C.C. Gandhi criticised the despatch of Indian troops to China in 1926. He wanted to go to China but work in India prevented him. Gandhi in an article in Young India commended the killing of rabid dogs.

The Congress met at Gauhati on 26-12-1926. Condolence resolution on the assassination of Swami Shradhanand by a muslim was moved by Gandhi and was seconded by Mohamad Ali. Gandhi visited Cylon in 1927. The annual session of the Congress was held at Madras on 26-12-1927 presided over by Dr. Ansari. He proclaimed, "Non-cooperation did not

fail us. We failed Non-cooperation". Under the influence of Jawaharlal, "Complete National Independence" - Pooma Swaraj - was pro- claimed as the goal of the Indian National Congress.

MOTHER INDIA

On 16-1-1928, "Mother India" written by Miss Mayo, an American woman was published. The book gave a distorted and derogatory account of India, wounding the feelings of Indians. Kanyalal Gauba in a bid of retaliation wrote, "Uncle Sam" voicing vehement criticism against America.

Lala Lajpat Rai composed a dignified rejoinder, "Unhappy India" a voluminous treatise which became very popular in India and abroad. Many people appreciated the perspectives presented by a patriot who played a prominent part in the freedom struggle. The book very soon assumed the stature of a patriotic scripture, inspiring thousands of budding freedom fighters, including Bhagat Singh. However, the one person who successfully counteracted the calumnies and concoctions of Miss Mayo was the poetess Sarojini Naidu who went on a lecture tour of the U.S.A. on 12-9-1928.

Freedom Movement produced many speakers. They were living mikes. In fact it was the "Age of orators" who used to address mammoth political meetings out of sheer necessity. But Sarojini was a born orator. When she spoke, the halls were packed with admiring audience in New York or London. She left New York for London on 25-4-1929. Sarojini wrote poetry in English. When she spoke, her prose contained prosody and was mingled with the melody of music.

Her scintillating sentences were punctuated with applause; she paused in her speech only when over whelmed by ovation from the audience. At times, she narrated parables and fables like Rajaji, spoke in simple soft and short syllables like Mahatma Gandhi, poured forth torrential eloquence like Satyamurthy, used self-luminous words and phrases with deliberate precision like Jawaharlal Nehru, burst into emotional heights like Subhas Bose, presented her view point with biting sarcasm like Kripalani, argued her case disarming the opponents like Bhulbai Desai, advocated her cause with candour and confidence like Lajpat Rai. As a speaker Sarojini was a human orchestra, not a solo.

On 12-8-1929, Ramananda Chatterjee, the celebrated editor of Modern Review was fined Rs.1000/- for publishing the book "India in Bondage" written by the American professor Dr. J.J.Saunders. The book was proscribed by the British Government of India.

Apart from the congressmen, there were many Indians who symbolised the freedom of the mind. C.V. Raman secured the Nobel prize for Physics on 14-11-1931. Philosopher S. Radha Krishna played the part of a cultural ambassador between the East and West and his command over the English language captivated the British intellectuals. Rabindranath Tagore impressed international audience with his poetry and personality. In prophetic words, he warned Japan against the dangers of narrow nationalism and imperialism. Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Sastry, Sapru, Jayakar, Jiddu Krishnamurthy among others projected a high image of India, impressing the English audiences.

THE SIMON COMMISSION

The Viceroy announced the formation of a parliamentary commission headed by Sir John Simon to formulate constitutional reforms for future government of India on 8-11-1927. The following were the other members. Burnhan and Strathcona from the house of Lords, Lane Fox and Cadogan conservative members. Atlee and Vernon Hartsholn labour members from the House of Commons. The Congress of 1927 presided over by Dr. Ansari at Madras resolved to boycott the Simon Commission. Ironically no Indian found a place on the commission. Lajpatrai moved a resolution in the Indian Assembly expressing lack of confidence in the all-white-commission on 26-2-1928. The whole of India boycotted the commission and when they first arrived at Bombay on 3-2-1928, tumultuous cries of "Simon, Go Back" greeted them. After examining files, records and individual officers, the commission went back to England on 31-3-1928.

The commission returned to India on 11-10-1928 and undertook an extensive tour, undeterred by black- flag demonstrations, hartals and agitations. Their tour started from Poona on 21-3-1929 and they reached Delhi on 4-4-1929 covering nearly 14,000 miles passing through Madras, Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Patna, Calcutta, Shillong, Rangoon and Nagpur. The political awakening caused by the Simon commission in the history of India could be compared with that of the Vandemataram Movement. Economic distress and administrative abuses contributed to the volcanic unrest. In the year 1925 the exports were valued at 385 crores; in 1927 Rs. 309 crores. The decline in earnings of agricultural products like Cotton, Jute, Seeds, Cereals hit the villagers. About 74% lived on agriculture in 1927, and peasants were poor, suffering from chronic indebtedness.

The call to boycott the Simon Commission provided the opportunity to the oppressed people to give vent to their patriotic feelings. The police as usual indulged in indiscriminate lathi charges. In a demonstration, against the Simon Commission Lala Lajpat Rai received grievous wounds in a lathi charge by the police on 30-10-1928 and died on 17-11-1928. Aimed as a reprisal, Saunders, the police official was shot dead. "The murder of a leader respected by millions of people is an insult to the nation; it is the duty of the youngmen to efface it", was the contention of the revolutionaries.

A bomb thrown on 8-4-1929 in the Assembly hall at Delhi was a protest against the public safety bill. Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutta deliberately chose to be arrested though they could have escaped. The revolutionaries issued a manifesto proclaiming their belief in socialism, and said that India must be emancipated not only from British imperialism but also from Indian capitalist exploitation. Jawaharlal attended the "Congress Against Imperialism" at Brussels in 1927, toured Europe and Russia. Nehru moved a resolution at the Madras congress session in 1927 greeting the Chinese people in their joint struggle against imperialism and condemning the British government for sending Indian troops to China.

It then naturally dawned on the minds of Indian leaders to produce a constitution agreeable to all parties. A committee headed by Motilal, and consisting of Ali Imam Saprú and Subhas Bose submitted a report, framing a draft of a Federal Structure with linguistic provinces. But the all party convention held at Calcutta in 1928 did not endorse it. Jinnah put forth his fourteen points at this juncture. "In any democratic set up the Muslims would be at the mercy of the Hindu Majority" was the burden of the political song of the Muslims. Maulana Azad's comment was, "The Muslims are fools to demand safe guards and the Hindus are greater fools to refuse them." Unfortunately, Muslim separatism began to grow steadily. In Gujarat, under the leadership of Sardar Patel, the Bardoli peasants organised a "No Tax" campaign; and after a heroic struggle they won their demand in 1928.

At Kharagpur, the railway workers organised a strike for two months in 1928. Another strike was organised in 1928, by the workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur. The communists organised a strike in 1928 for nearly 5 months in Bombay Textile Mills involving nearly 1,50,000 workers.

Motilal Nehru was elected as the president of the Indian National Congress in 1928. On 31-12-1928, Gandhi said, "If you will help me to follow

the programme honestly and intelligently, Swaraj will come within one year".

2-THE GREAT REVOLT

1857-1858

The flaming holocaust of 1857-58 was described by the British as the "Sepoy Mutiny". V.D.Savarkar termed it, as "The Indian war of Independence. '. No doubt the Revolt began with the mutiny of the Sepoys. But Nanasaheb, Tantia Tope, Jhansi Rani Lakshmi Bai, Kulvar Singh, Maulvi Ahmadulla, the Begum of Ayadh, and Bahadur Shah, who were the acknowledged leaders of the revolt were not sepoy. Moreover, innumerable volunteers. and members of the public took part in the uprising, with heroic dedication. It was a patriotic struggle which forms a glorious chapter in the history of India. It cannot be brushed aside as a mere mutiny, which implies a defiance of legally constituted authority

VII

SALT SATYAGRAHA

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru, the youthful leader of the left wing socialists was elected president of the congress of the Lahore session in 1929. He succeeded his father Motilal Nehru who was the president of the congress session of Calcutta in 1928.

Jawaharlal's presidentship had many distinctions. "Poorna Swaraj" was declared by the president as the goal of the congress. The newly adopted Tricolour flag was hoisted on 30-12-1929, with enthusiasm. 26-1-1930 was fixed as the first Independence

Day to take the famous pledge, that it was a crime against man and God to submit any longer to the British rule. Civil disobedience was proclaimed and Mahatma Gandhi was chosen once again to lead the movement. The whole country was excited, and could not visualise the next step of the Mahatma. Perhaps Gandhi himself was engaged in silent prayer so that he could listen to his inner voice to chalk out his programme. Like Newman he prayed, "Lead kindly Light. Keep Thou my feet. I do not ask to see the distant scene; One step is enough for me".

In the past, Gandhi was bitterly criticised by friends and foes alike for withdrawing the first non-cooperation movement. The congress president Jawaharlal who endeared himself to the masses as well as the classes, was criticised for blindly following Gandhi, by the revolutionary youth and the rationalists. But Pattabhi, author of the history of the congress, wrote, "Motilal's gift of Swaraj Bhavan, in brick and mortar to the congress is by no means equal to his other gift, in flesh and blood, his worthy son Jawaharlal to the country. If there was anything greater in Jawaharlal, the princely revolutionary than his rationalism, it was his passionate patriotism and pristine respect for his political preceptor Mahatma Gandhi, with whom he had the privilege to differ many a time. Now he waited for Gandhi's guidance like a disciplined soldier

Gandhi chose 'Salt' as the symbol of the second Satyagraha. Jawaharlal initially could not comprehend the implication or the importance of the choice, but he followed the master with unflinching loyalty. Michael Becker has portrayed the personality of Nehru vividly thus:

"Nehru is a convinced socialist, but he is not a communist. The record of word and deed is clear on this point. He drank deeply of Marxist literature in the thirties, but he never became intoxicated. Indeed, at the very height of his attraction to communism, he remained the sceptic, impressed by certain social achievements but repelled by their method, influenced by the Marxist interpretation of history but unalterably opposed to its dogma, enamoured of communist ideals but distressed by communist practice".

SALT SATYAGRAHA

The Mahatma knew the pulse of the masses and could comprehend the impulses of the common people. Salt was an indispensable daily necessity of everybody. Moreover the Salt laws of the British administration were most notorious in the past.

The choice of salt, by Mahatma Gandhi, as the symbol of the second Satyagraha was a supreme "stroke of superb state-craft". As per the India Salt Act of 1882, the Government possessed the monopoly on the collection and manufacture of salt. Mahatma Gandhi's personality was a curious blend of a pure philosopher and a pragmatic politician. "The Government," proclaimed Gandhi, "has no right to levy tax on salt, a free gift of natural geography and England was not expected to collect tax from the poor peasant of India, who earned seven paise per day". He gave a clarion call to his countrymen to break the salt laws.

He proclaimed that, "The British rule in India has brought about moral, material, cultural and spiritual ruination of this country. I regard this rule as a curse. I am out to destroy this system of government". Mahatma Gandhi started from the Sabarmati Ashram on 12-3-1930 and the destination was Dandi, a small village on the seashore of Gujarat, 241 miles away. The historic Dandi March which became a legend during the life-time of the Mahatma had all the thrilling ingredients of a melodramatic performance, eagerly watched by the whole world.

The initial suspense with regard to the actual shape of the Satyagraha culminated into a prior intimation to the Viceroy given by Gandhi about his intentions. Gandhi of course entertained no illusions about his mission. He wrote to the Viceroy, that "The English nation responds only to force".³ The whole march was planned with meticulous care and was

executed with mathematical precision. The villages on the way were already surveyed by the students of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, a national university founded by the patriotic Indians under the guidance of Gandhi. The distance of 241 miles from Sabarmati to the seashore was planned to be covered in 24 days. The band of 78 followers were carefully picked out of the disciplined disciples of the Ashram.

The mass media, involving Indian and foreign correspondents from dozens of domestic, European and American Newspapers, along with at least three film companies recognised the importance of the event and actively covered the incidents. A biographer of Gandhi describing the Dandi march, remarked, "Gandhi entered the world of news real and documentary with his Dandi March".

It was a pilgrim's progress which not merely rallied the villagers on the way, but turned out to be a unique national event with international impact. The following statements of Gandhi exemplify his conviction and ultimate hope: "This is a battle to the finish. I will not go back to Sabarmati without Swaraj". "We shall face the bullets with our backs to the wall". "We are entering upon a life and death struggle, a holy War" were the utterances of a sombre and sincere saint. Mahatma Gandhi cultivated subtler shades of traditional sentiments and semantics, translating them into his daily behaviour with ascetic consistency. The Dandi march was rich in metaphor and imagery, symbolism and allegory. There was a harmonious blend of tradition with innovation.

Pandit Khare was chosen as the minstrel for the March and he led the people in devotional songs and bhajans. The favourite songs of the Mahatma "Ragupati Raghava Raja Ram... "Eswar Alla Tere nam", the popular anthem of universal religion and "Vaishnava Janato" which postulates that the ideal person is one who sheds tears for other's woes, were sung with utmost devotion and enthusiasm. Kasturba, wife of the Mahatma applied the beneficent "Tilak" on his forehead and garlanded him with the khaddar yarn. Handing over his walking stick, the well known symbol of simplicity and strength, dedication and devotion she wished her husband a successful march. From that moment, Khaddar yarn garland replaced the floral offering at public meetings. Speech or silence, dress or diet, fasting or festivity set simple but sublime standards for Satyagrahis. Gandhi and his party reached the sea-shore on 6-4-1930, and they defied the mighty British Government by picking up natural salt and thus breaking the Salt laws.

The government did not arrest Gandhi, and he said, "So great is the power of non-violence that the government has no courage to arrest me". Janma Bhoomi, a journal edited by Dr. Pattabhi described the dilemma in which the Viceroy was placed: "To arrest Gandhi is to set fire to the whole of India; and not to arrest him is to allow him to set the prairie on fire. To arrest Gandhi is to court war, not to arrest him is to confess defeat before the war has begun". The Dandi drama demonstrated to the whole world, that the pious prophet was no less than a political propagandist and the sincere saint was more than a shrewd strategist. Gandhi proclaimed through the media from the sands of Dandi, "I want world sympathy in this battle of right against might". The whole world listened to his sublime sentiments with rapt attention and admiration.

The Salt Satyagraha turned out to be a veritable volcanic eruption. Thousands gave up their jobs and studies and consequently 60, 000 political prisoners were put behind the bars. Indians remained non-violent despite physical assault and inhuman behaviour of the police. At first the Government and their henchmen ridiculed Gandhi and scoffed at the nonviolent Satyagrahis. An Anglo Indian Paper, Statesman, tauntingly remarked that "The Mahatma can boil sea water till Dominion Status is attained". Soon the scorn turned into surprise at the sufferings of the Satyagrahis and very soon, surprise gave way to serious-nervousness. Gandhi, who announced a raid on the salt works at Dharsana was arrested. Abbas Tyabji took his place and he was arrested. Sarojini rushed to Dharsana to lead the Satyagraha. The American correspondent Webb Miller who was on the scene described the epic role played by the poetess. 2,500 volunteers advanced on the salt works, in waves after waves. From where I stood, I heard the sickening whack of clubs on unprotected skulls. Those struck fell down sprawling, unconscious or writhing with fractured skulls or broken shoulders. The survivors silently marched on until struck down. Indian women gallantly participated in the movement, gave away their jewellery and came out of hibernation. Brailsford and Slacombe, the foreign tourists of those times observed: "If the Civil disobedience movement had accomplished nothing else but the emancipation of the women of India, it would have fully justified itself". Sarojini was arrested. The jails were packed with patriots; Motilal was arrested in June 1930. Violence was entirely on the side of the police who became weary. In the North West Frontier, the fierce Pathans under the leadership of Abdul Gaffar Khan offered non-violent Satyagraha to the surprise of the whole world.

ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN

Among the stalwarts of the freedom movement, Abdul Gaffar Khan was head and shoulders above his colleagues in the Congress in letter as well as in spirit. He was known as the Frontier Gandhi and he started a volunteer corps, known as the "Khudai Khidmatgars" (Servants of God) or "Red Shirts" numbering about one lakh. The red shirts formed a well knit non-violent army and was affiliated to the Congress. When the government ordered Gaffar Khan to be arrested, soldiers of the Royal Garhwal rifles refused, and they were court martialled. The volunteers rose in revolt. In the firing that ensued, hundreds of people died and Peshwar was in the hands of the people for ten days from 25-4-1930 to 4-5-1930. Many tribes in N.W.F. Province rebelled on the instigation of mullas like Haji, Tunayazai and Tochi Valley. Waziristan and some other places were bombed from air to suppress the movement.

The savagery committed by the police during the period was beyond description. Miss Slide wrote a vivid account of it. An old woman who greeted the police with 'Vande Mataram' from her hut, was bayoneted. A political prisoner was punished with cuffs tied to his hands and feet in a vertical posture and he was compelled to answer calls of nature, standing for four days. Escaping the vigilant censorship in India, the story of the atrocities written by Miller appeared in 1,350 Newspapers served by the united press throughout the world. In U.S.A. the report was reprinted by the Gandhi movement and 25 lakhs of copies were distributed.

THE GANDHI CAP

The 'Gandhi Cap' became extremely popular, throughout India. The cheapest item of the dress, very soon evolved into a proudest possession. It was more than a crown to a commoner. Even a poor penniless peasant donning the Gandhi cap inspired instantaneous respect among the people. It was a sign of defiance against an empire over which the sun never set. The Gandhi Cap was capable of delivering seditious soliloquies silently.

On June 21, 1930 the Guntur Magistrate ordered that people should not wear Gandhi caps in any place frequented by the public within the limits of Guntur municipality and a radius of five miles there from, for a period of two months.

GANDHI IRWIN PACT

On the Independence day 26-1-1931, the government released the Congress leaders unconditionally, resulting in the historic Gandhi Irwin Pact, signed on 5-3-1931. The pact restored peace in India. All political prisoners

were released. The congress was invited to the second Round Table Conference at London.

The achievement of Gandhi Irwin pact was the psycho- logical emancipation of India from the British bondage. Churchill, the typical representative of British Imperialism, voiced this truth in his thunderous uproar, "it is a nauseating and humiliating spectacle to see the one time Inner Temple Lawyer, now the seditious Fakir, striding half naked up the steps of the Viceroy's palace, to negotiate on equal terms with the representative of the King-emperor". In the eyes of the world it was a moral victory for the congress. Gandhi knew no victory or defeat. In the eyes of Mahatma Gandhi duty was a dynamic direction and not a predetermined destination. The younger elements in India were deeply disappointed. They felt strongly that the immense sacrifices and sufferings of the second Satyagraha campaign did not bring commensurate gains.

CHANDRASEKHAR AZAD

A peculiar feature of the history of the freedom movement in India was the spontaneous patriotic fervour generated in the minds of the people who cherished the dream of Independent India. Inspired by Gandhiji's leadership people cultivated the noble ideal of serving the country assiduously applying themselves to the task of attaining freedom even at the cost of sacrificing their lives at the altar of their mother land. Chandrasekhar Azad who was involved in the Kakori- mail dacoity case carried a reward of Rs 30,000 over his head. Betrayed by a companion, he fought a heroic battle against the police in the Alfred Municipal Park at Allahabad, with revolvers in both of his hands, injuring the police superintendent in the shoot out. He died as a martyr on 27-2-1931 after his arms and legs had been riddled with bullets.⁵ The Chittagong armoury in Bengal was raided on 18-4-1930 by Suryasen who escaped with ammunition and arms. He evaded arrest many a time and twice escaped narrowly. Eventually he was captured by the British soldiers after a pitched battle and he was hanged on the gallows on 11-1-1934.

Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhadev were sentenced to death in the Lahore conspiracy case, by the time of Gandhi Irwin pact. Popular pressure was brought upon Gandhi to intercede with the Viceroy on behalf of the three youths. Gandhi probably did his best and the Viceroy gave an assurance to him that the execution would be postponed. This led the public, including Gandhi, to the belief that the execution would be finally cancelled. But on March 23, 1931 only six days before the congress session of Karachi, Bhagat Singh and his two comrades were hanged.

The revolutionaries were obviously not realists. They were extraordinary patriots though not practical politicians. Perhaps they were ahead of their times. The revolutionaries were foredoomed to failure, as they were fighting an unequal battle. They were prepared to die on their feet rather than live on bended knees. Chains of slavery in their opinion were worse than bayonets and bullets. Revolutionaries of the Freedom Movement in India like Bhagat Singh consciously kicked the crown and kissed the cross, investing their sacrifice with a sense of transcendental sublimity.

The executions led to hostile demonstrations against Gandhi and the Congress-president-elect Vallabhai Patel on the eve of the Congress session. The Congress passed a resolution admiring the bravery and sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, while disassociating itself from the cult of violence.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Gandhi went to England to attend the, Second Round Table Conference in September 1931, as a deck passenger. In India he travelled in third class railway carriages. When asked why he travelled third class the famous repartee was, "because there is no fourth class". Gandhi identified himself with the poor. In London he stayed at Miss. Murrier Lester's settlement house in the slums of the East End. When Gandhi was questioned about the loin clothing he wore, his humorous reply was, "You wear plus fours and I wear minus fours". The conference, as expected ended in failure on 1-12-1931. Many people, including the cine come- dian Charlie Chaplin and George Barnard Shaw met Mahatma Gandhi in London.

Rev. John Hayms Holmes, the American, who visualised the personality of Jesus Christ in Gandhi came to London to have the Darshan of the Mahatma on 13-9-1931. Gandhi broadcast his message to America for half an hour. On 5-11-1931, his Imperial Majesty King George the Fifth, met "His Moral Majesty" Mahatma Gandhi, at the Buckingham palace. Gandhi wearing his usual loin cloth dress met the King Emperor. When questioned later he joked, "The King had dress more than sufficient for both of us".

The Mahatma on his way back stopped at Lausanne and met Romain Rolland, the Nobel laureate for literature who had written the biography of Gandhi seven years before. Rolland who never visited India, nor met Gandhi before penned his biography with the prophetic precision of a seer endowed with transcendental vision with arithmetical accuracy. "There is neither East nor West, when two great brains meet, though they

come from the two ends of the earth". Gandhi was arrested after he reached India on 1-4-1932.

THE COMMUNAL AWARD

Mahatma Gandhi commenced fast unto death on September 20, 1932 to arouse the Hindu conscience with regard to the depressed classes. The immediate cause was the communal award announced by the British Prime Minister Macdonald, postulating separate electorates for the depressed classes. Hitherto government followed the policy of "divide and rule" between the Hindus and the Muslims. Now, it is "subdivide and rule" between the Hindus and the depressed classes.

A concerted attempt to save the life of the Mahatma was made. The depressed classes were eagerly fraternised by the caste Hindus. Many temples were thrown open to them. Gandhi wanted Hindus to throw open their hearts as well. The imperative was to save the life of the Mahatma. Such a symbol of pristine purity did not emanate in the human world for a long time. The words of Gokhale uttered in 1909-"I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit than Gandhi has never moved on earth"- echoed in the hearts of the people.

Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes, it was feared, would be a hard nut to crack. He met Gandhi in Jail, to work out a compromise, along with other leaders. The quota of seats reserved for depressed classes was increased. Ambedkar agreed for joint electorates. It was a generous gesture from every side. The British government accepted the compromise and Gandhi broke the fast. Ambedkar came forward readily to save the life of Gandhi, and won the admiration of many for his timely intervention.

The fast served, to advance the cause of the depressed classes in four days, what could not be done in four decades. In February 1933, Gandhi started Harijan, a weekly he edited, and inculcated the uplift of the depressed classes, whom he called Harijans, the children of God. Some people criticised Gandhi for undertaking a fast unto death for a side cause forsaking the prime issue of swaraj. But Gandhi founded Harijan Sevak Sangh and collected donations big or small, regularly for the Harijan fund, levying a fee for his autograph. Madan Mohan Malavya who collected huge donations from princes for the Banaras Hindu University once remarked, "I am a royal beggar, where as Mahatma Gandhi is a beggar of beggars"

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The civil disobedience movement was formally withdrawn by the Congress in May 1934. Gandhi withdrew from active politics and exhorted the people to devote themselves to the task of national reconstruction. C.R. Das who never hesitated to criticise Gandhi, appreciated the importance of the constructive programme chalked out by Gandhi. He said, "But what is necessary is not mere independence, but the establishment of Swaraj. This work of consolidation is a long process, may be a weary process; but without this no Swaraj is possible. Herein lies the great wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme. With that programme, I entirely agree and I can not but too strongly urge upon my countrymen to give it not merely an intellectual assent, but also practical support to the fullest extent."

The constructive programme may otherwise and more fittingly be called construction of Poorna Swaraj or complete independence by truthful and non-violent means. Let us now examine the items which constitute the constructive programme.

1. *COMMUNAL UNITY:* Unity does not mean political unity alone. It means an unbreakable unity of the heart. The first Unity does not mean political essential thing for cherishing such unity is for every Congress- man, whatever his religion may be, to represent in his own person Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Jew etc.

2. *REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY:* So far as Harijans are concerned, every Hindu should make a common cause with them and befriend them in their awful isolation.

3. *PROHIBITION:* We may not leave to the future government the fate of lakhs of men and women, who are labouring under the curse of intoxicants and narcotics. We have to discuss ways of weaning the drunkard and the opium addict from this curse.

4. *KHADI:* Khadi connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality for all in the country. It must be taken with all the implications. It means a wholesale swadeshi mentality, a determination to find all the necessities of life in India, and that too, through the labour and intellect of villages.

5. *VILLAGE INDUSTRIES:* Village economy cannot be complete without the essential village industries such as handgrinding, handpounding, soap-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing etc.

6. *VILLAGE SANITATION:* Instead of having graceful hamlets dotting the land, we have villages looking like dung-heaps. It is the duty of everyone to make our villages, models of cleanliness in every sense of the word.

7. *BASIC EDUCATION:* Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages, to all that is best and lasting in India. It develops both, the body and mind of the child.

8. *ADULT EDUCATION:* Adult education means, first, true political education of the adult by word of mouth.

9. *WOMEN:* Men have considered themselves to be lords and masters of women, instead of considering them as their friends and co-workers. It is the privilege of congressmen to give the women of India a lifting hand.

10. *EDUCATION, HEALTH AND HYGIENE:* The very high death rate among us is, no doubt, due largely to our growing poverty, but it could be mitigated if the people were properly educated about health and hygiene. Observance of the fundamental laws of health and hygiene is necessary to cure illness. Resort to nature cure according to your resources.

11. *PROVINCIAL LANGUAGES:* The neglect of our mother tongue has led to disastrous results. The disservice caused to India The neglect of our mother by this neglect of its great languages cannot be measured. How can the masses make their contribution to the independence movement, unless they are explained every step in all its implications in their own language?

12. *NATIONAL LANGUAGE:* For all-India intercourse we need from the Indian stock, a language which the largest number of people already know and which the others can easily pick up. This language is indisputably Hindi(Hindustani).

13. *ECONOMIC EQUALITY:* Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary

abdication by the rich of riches, and the power that riches give, and sharing them for the common good.

14. *KISAN* : Swaraj is a mighty structure: Eighty crores of hands have to work at building it. Of these kisans, ie. The peasantry are the largest part. In fact, being the bulk of them (probably over 80%) the kisans should be the congress.

15. *LABOUR*: Ahmedabad Labour Union is a model for all of India. Its basis is non-violence, pure and simple. If I had my way, I would regulate all the labour organisations of India after the Ahmedabad model.

16. *ADIVASIS*: Service of Adivasis (tribals) is also a part of the constructive programme. The Adivasis are over two crores in the whole of India. There are several workers involved in this much-needed service, and yet their number is too few.

17. *LEPERS*: Leper is a word of bad odour. Yet they are as much a part of our society as the tallest among us. Lepers are much in need of attention, but their lot is studied neglect.

18. *STUDENTS*: Students are the hope of the future. It is from these young men and women that the future leaders of the nation are to rise. Students must not take part in party politics. They may not resort to political strikes. They must do all sacrificial spinning in a scientific manner. They should be Khadi users all through and use village products.

19. *GO-SEVA*: Cow-service is very dear to me. To my mind, Go-seva is the biggest manifestation of Hindu religion. For years I have been feeling that we have forgotten this part of the religion. Perhaps in no other country is the cow so neglected and uncared for as in India.

THE PRISON

"Stone walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage
Minds that are innocent

May take it a hermitage".
Sang a poet.

Mahatma Gandhi's life was a living testimony to the poem. Thousands of Satyagrahis realised this truth.

In popular parlance, prison was a place where criminals were lodged and pity had no place in it. In medieval times, throughout the world, persecution, physical torture, inhuman punishments were the accepted common features of the prisons. The concept of the political prisoner was of a very recent origin. In India, jails were designed for criminals only. British Imperialists realised the need for more prisons after 1858. A net work of jails were constructed throughout the country. Among the jails constructed, the pride of place may be accorded to the "Cellular Jail" Port Blair, Andaman Islands, later well known as the Indian Bastille. It was designed with demonic intelligence and constructed with calculated cruelty, begun in 1896 and completed in 1906 with 698 cells. It was provided with gallows, and the flogging stand etc.

During the Gandhian era, the prison acquired a patriotic halo together with the mythological veneration due to the birth place of Bhagwan Sri Krishna. Hume, a sincere friend of India and the founder of the Indian National Congress asked the Indians with fervent frankness, "You have indeed clamoured for and vainly tried to clutch the crown; how many of you will touch the cross with even your finger tips?" The satisfactory answer was furnished afterwards by the Gandhian Congressite. The Satyagrahi combined in himself something of the meekness of the Biblical Lamb with the spiritual chip of the block, that composed the cross. In fact, the vision which Hume longed to see was later perceived by Rev. C.F. Andrews, who recollected the shadow of the cross in the mute suffering of the Satyagrahis.

Einstein denounced the conventional soldier in scathing words, "The man who marches in line and file to the tunes of martial strains, falls below my contempt. He received his great brains by mistake; the spinal cord would have been amply sufficient."

"One murder makes the villain, thousands a hero" was the sneer of a saint. A Chinese proverb avers, "Good iron is not used as coffin nails, good men are not used as soldiers". The theorem that war is a biological necessity begets the corollary, "Might is Right" and only two legged animals can accept the two concepts. The Satyagrahi - the soldier of the spirit - was made up of a different stuff. He was not only a moving poem of pity but a living shadow of the cross. Theoretically, the Satyagrahi who has renounced

the right of self-defence and retaliation, is expected to be more courageous than the conventional soldier who can exercise the prerogative of killing the opponent.

Louis Fischer, the American Columnist exclaimed in admiration, "The British beat Indians with batons and rifle butts. The Indians neither cringed nor retreated. That made England powerless and India invincible".

In the early days of the Gandhian era, political prisoners were not differentiated from criminals: rigorous imprisonment involved all the horrors of flogging and hard labour. Prisoners were chained, the food provided was sometimes not edible. After the martyrdom of Jatindas who fasted for 63 days during the second Satyagraha movement, fresh rules and regulations were framed for political prisoners. The most important feature of jail life of the Gandhian Era was that it turned out "prison graduates" in large numbers. The prison was a real residential university while unpaid professors like Pattabhi - Kripalani - N.G. Ranga-Moulana Azad gave lectures on a variety of subjects, framing a most dynamic curriculum. It was a congregation of worthy professors and worthy pupils. Gandhian prison was a place where precious stones - not pebbles - were polished.

Those who entered the prison as human carbon, emerged out of it converted by the colossal pressure which pristine patriotic fervour alone could produce - as dazzling diamonds. Political prisoners were patriots and the noblest specimen of human nature. Some of them were reputed scholars. The prison, in a way, proved to be a blessing in disguise for them and provided compulsory leisure. Thus outstanding books were produced in the enforced solitude with a concentration, of mind which confinement alone, could provide. Such books were valued above the post-graduate or post-doctoral thesis. Tilak's Geeta Rahasya, Jawaharlal Nehru's Discovery of India were a few of the thousands of titles produced in the prisons.

But the obverse of the same coin depicts a tragic legend.

'The clarion calls of patriotism,
Bolo Bharat Mataki Jay'
Bolo Swtantra Bharat Ki Jay"
Bolo Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jay"
"Inquilab Zindabad"

reverberated across the ever expanding horizons of the freedom movement and inspired the youth to leave their happy hearths and homes and court imprisonment.

Some people gave up government jobs; many pupils discontinued their studies. Lawyers left the courts. Doctors, nurses, press-workers and many people belonging to several walks of life participated in the Freedom Struggle. There were instances of youngmen leaving their aged parents, or recently wedded-wives or new born babies and going to jails.

The social consequences of the singular sacrifice of the Satyagrahis should better be understood than described. When the Satyagrahis returned home after being released from prison, he invariably found the roof of his old house in ruins, parents dead, the whereabouts of the mentally deranged wife unknown, movable property alienated, children taken away by their poor maternal uncle to his house which was worse than an orphanage and the sky seemed to be the only limit to his sacrifice. Why all this suicidal sacrifice? It was a sacrifice for the sake of sacrifice because Swaraj was beyond the realm of possibility at that time.

Still, the Satyagrahis suffered so that India might be happy at some future date. Patriots died so that India might live.

- " REBELLION TO TYRANNY IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD "-

Those who loved freedom believed that selfless sacrifice seldom goes unrecognised. Their dream later materialised when India became Independent on 15th August 1947, by their selfless sacrifices during the Gandhian era. Real history of the Freedom Movement in India is a tragic tale which can be told only by tears. of blood. It cannot be written by a mere fountain pen.

NOTES

Gandhi was always against mobocracy and stressed the importance of discipline to the point of severity.

"undisciplined agitation which is a preface of violence of speech or deed can only retard national growth and bring about even unmerited retribution.

Disciplined agitation is the condition of national growth"

- Gandhi - YOUNG INDIA 26-5-1920.

"there is no deliverance and no hope without sacrifice discipline and self-control,

Mere sacrifice without discipline will be unavailing "

Gandhi-YOUNG INDIA 20-10-1920

2. Salt laws - please refer to pages 58 of this book.
3. Dadabhai Nauroji remarked, "John Bull does not understand the bark, he only understands the bite. And we cannot do this."
4. "Harifan was a word used by the great saint Narasimha Mehta who by the by belonged to the Nagar Brahmin Community and who defied the whole community by claiming the untouchables as his own. I am delighted to adopt the word which is sanctified having been used by such a great saint."

- Gandhi - YOUNG INDIA 6-8-1931

5. The Alfred Park at Allahabad was subsequently renamed as Chandra Sekhara Azad Park.
6. Please refer to Appendix No. 1, entitled the cellular Jail for further details.

VIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

In spite of the civil disobedience movement in India, the round table conference met in London in November, 1932. The Congress did not take part in it. The Government of India Act was passed in 1935. The act provided for a central federation and provincial autonomy. Only 14% of the population in British India were given the right to vote. The Governor-General and the Governors were given overriding powers.

Churchill called it, "a gigantic quilt of jumbled crotchet work" and questioned, "who in India wants it?" The Muslim League derided it. The Congress leaders dubbed it, as a "slave constitution" and "a new chapter of bondage". The only salient feature was that the Congress and the League were willing to take part in the elections. They were prepared to "Work the constitution in order to wreck it".

The federal part of the constitution could never be introduced, but elections were held in 1937, to the provincial legislatures. The Congress gained thumping victory in the general seats. The Congress had 58 candidates for the 482 Muslim seats, and won 26. By contrast, the performance of the Muslim League was dismal. It won 109 of the 482 Muslim seats. In Bihar, Orissa and C.O. not a single candidate was elected. In Assam, U.P., Bombay and Madras the League was in a negligible minority. The performance of the Congress in Bengal and N.W.F. province was not bad but it cut a sorry figure in Punjab and Sind.

The Congress working committee met at Wardha on 18-3-1937, near Sevagram and decided to form provincial ministries where they enjoyed a clear cut majority; provided the Governor General gave an assurance that the Governor would not use his special power to interfere in routine administration. As a sequel to the assurance given by the Governor-General Lord Linlithgow, on 21-6-1937, Congress ministries were formed in Bihar,

Orissa, UP., C.P., Bombay, Madras and later in N.W.F. Province and Assam. Muslims were included in all the Congress ministries.

The differences between the Congress and the Muslim League began to widen day by day. The governors were criticised by the League for not using their special powers to induct those Muslims, who really enjoyed the Muslim support into the cabinets. The Congress ministers created a very good impression. They voluntarily reduced their salaries to Rs. 500/- a month. Legislation was passed favouring the peasants and workers. The biggest gain was the psychological satisfaction of having self-government even in a limited sphere. The Congress demonstrated to the whole world that Indians were capable of giving efficient and honest administration to the country.

The Congress governments released many political prisoners serving long terms of imprisonment in various jails especially in the Cellular jail in Andaman islands. Many measures like the "Debt Relief Act" helped the poor peasants and middle class people. The people had a fore-taste of 'Swaraj' even in the limited provincial autonomy during the Congress rule.

People of the Indian states realised their predicament. The chamber of princes consisted of 562 members of whom there were many pigmies and a few giants. The pigmies were all toys and the giants had feet of clay. The 1935 act gave them abnormal weightage in the federal structure and the people of the states were excluded from the benefits of provincial autonomy. The Congress supported the people. Jawaharlal was elected president of the All India State Peoples Conference in 1939.

In the Congress, the left wing mustered strength. Nehru was elected president in 1936 and 1937 and Subhas Bose in 1938 and 39. Jawaharlal realised that an antidote to religious communalism was the economic emancipation of socialism. He said, "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the World's problems and India's problems lies in Socialism.. I use this word, not in the humanitarian way, but in the scientific, economic sense. This means ending of private property, except in a restricted sense and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperative service".

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In the international sphere, the Congress was opposed to colonialism and imperialism. When Italy invaded Ethiopia, the Congress condemned the aggression in 1936. When Japan attacked China in 1937, Congress expressed its sympathy and sent a medical mission to China in 1938: When

it was known that the Indian troops were sent to Egypt and Singapore, the congress protested. When the German Dictator, Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, Jawaharlal commented, "Czechoslovakia had been raped by Hitler while England and France held out her hands." When Britain declared War on Germany on 3-9-1939, the viceroy announced that India also was at war automatically. The congress strongly objected to this unilateral decision. The Congress ministries resigned in protest. However, the sympathies of the congress leaders were with the victims of Nazi aggression. Mahatma Gandhi said, "Poland's armed defence against Nazi Germany is almost non-violence".

Gandhi maintained, "Non-violence is greater than violence; but violence is better than cowardice". The Congress was willing to cooperate with Great Britain in its heroic struggle against Fascism as free people. M.N.Roy advocated unconditional support to the war being fought against Fascism. Gandhi proclaimed "The Congress is as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any British citizen can be. The people of India make no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that rules India". Gandhi gave call to a token Satyagraha, and selected some individuals. Vinobha Bhave was chosen as the first "Satyagrahi" and Jawaharlal as the second, and selected congressmen went to jail in 1940, asking the people not to participate in the war effort.

THE PAKISTAN RESOLUTION

The Muslim League under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah passed a resolution at Lahore in 1940 demanding Pakistan. Soon after the congress ministries resigned, Fazlul Huq issued a pamphlet entitled, "Muslim sufferings under congress rule". The Congress president Rajendra Prasad suggested to Jinnah that the charges might be investigated by an impartial authority and suggested the name of Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice. Jinnah did not agree.

Sir Harry Haug, the governor of U.P. wrote as follows in 1939, "In dealing with communal issues, the ministers in my judgement, normally acted with impartiality". Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad characterised the charges as 'absolutely false'.

But Jinnah played on the emotions of the Muslims. The basic idea of Pakistan was not new. Iqbal, presiding over the Muslim League session at Allahabad in 1930 proposed a 'Muslim India within India consisting of N.W.F. Province, Sind, and Beluchistan. Rahmat Ali, a student of Cambridge gave a more concrete shape to Pakistan, embracing Punjab (P) Afghan province N.W.F. (A), Kashmir (K), Sindh (S) and Baluchistan

(sthan) in 1933. The origin of the idea of Pakistan was traced from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, (19th Century) to Shah Walulla and Shah Abdul Aziz (18th) and even to Mahamod Bin Qasim (8th Century)

However, there were many nationalist Muslims, like Abul Kalam Azad. He clarified the pious muslim stand on this issue. On 29-2-1920, he had given an authoritative opinion based on the religious texts that it was the duty of the Indian Muslims to defend their country from the agressors although the latter might be muslims or even the army of the Caliph himself. Abdul Gafar Khan was a staunch lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi and was a champion of the Congress cause till the end. Like wise, the Jaimuti Ulma, Ahrars, Shias, Momins, and Ittihad-i-Millat op- posed the concept of Pakistan.

The congress refused to give up its national character. Rajendra Prasad said that accepting Jinnah's proposition would be denying its past, falsifying its history and betraying its future' S.R. Mehrotra has written, "The cry of Pakistan swept the Muslims off their feet. That it should have been popular with the Muslims of the Muslim majority provinces is easily understand- able, but the extent to which the Muslim Leaguers were able to delude themselves and their co-religionists in the Hindu-majority provinces into believing that Pakistan was good for them, is one of the most astonishing phenomena - a phenomenon which students of mass psychology might study with benefit¹. In August, 1920, Muslims in Sind started a planned movement, known as Hijrat and it spread to wider areas. Hijrat envisaged a mass migration of Muslims to Afghanistan. Nearly 18,000 Muslims started with the belief that the Muslim brotherhood of Afghanistan would welcome them. The Afghan Government prevented the Indian Muhajirins from crossing the borders. The Hijrat ended in a fiasco. It was however not until the elections of 1945-46 that Jinnah could effectively establish his claim that the vast majority of Muslims supported Pakistan. Then the league won 456 out of 482 seats reserved for Muslims. Jinnah wanted Pakistan to com- prise of Bengal - Assam - Punjab-N.W.F.P. Beluchistan and Sind with a 800 mile corridor from Punjab to Bengal. The congress leaders considered that Pakistan of Jinnah to be an impractical proposition, rather a bluff and a bargaining counter.

The British Government adopted an attitude of giving its ears to everybody and its mind to none. The situation was not a tug of war between the British and the Indians. A political triangle emerged with the British, the congress and the Muslim League forming the three sides. In Indian politics as well Euclid's dictum - "Two sides of a triangle are always greater than the third side" proved valid. A staunch nationalist like Lajpatrai once said "My

suggestion is that Punjab should be partitioned into two provinces, the western Punjab with a large Muslim majority and the Eastern Punjab with a large Hindu Sikh majority. Under my scheme, the Muslims will have four Muslim states (1) The Pathan province (2) Western Punjab (3) Sind and (4) Eastern Bengal". Prof. Laski, the labour leader wrote in a letter Dt. 30-10-1931, addressed to Justice Holmes of USA on the round table conference. "Sankey made me try to bring the Mohammedans to reason. But it was like talking to a wall. His religion was ultimate truth. It is impossible to talk to men who believe themselves to have the ultimate truth in their position. I guess that Pan Islamic hopes are a huge force today in the East and their impossible demands are vague and terrible dreams." Sir Abdul Rahim, President of the Muslim League session at Aligarh on 31-12-1925, complained, "Some Hindu leaders had spoken publicly of driving out Muslims from India, as Spaniards expelled Moors from Spain".

Ironically there were times when Jinnah pleaded for Hindu Muslim unity. The party led by Jinnah held the annual session of the League at Calcutta on 30-12-1927 under the chairmanship of Muhammad Yaqub, who was prepared to accept joint electorates on certain conditions. The other party held the session of the Punjab Muslim League at Lahore on the same date with Mohammad Sherif in the chair, reiterating the demand for separate electorates.

But the statesman Jinnah slowly transformed himself into a politician, and advocated Pakistan. Jinnah finally proclaimed, "The Hindu and Muslims are two nations". However, forces of integration were always evolving a composite culture in Indian history. Mahatma Gandhi borrowed the famous dictum, "Eswara Allah Tere nam" from Kabir, who proclaimed, "God is neither in Kasi nor at Kaba. He is in every human heart". Kabir was a commoner; a weaver by profession. The Sufis transcended the differences of dogma and doctrine to discover a common denominator of the spirit.

A great galaxy of saintly commoners evolved a composite culture. Nanak Bedi, Dharmidas, the Cobbler Raidais, the Jat Dharna, the barber Sene, the blind bania Surdas, Khe, Khatias Melukdas, Birbhana, Barbalar, Premnath, all preached brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God, transcending caste or colour, creed or community. Nam Dev was a tailor, Jnaneswar an out-caste Brahmin, Choka Mala a Mahar, Tukaram a Sudra. Tiruvalluvar a peraya, Vemana a peasant, all preached the universal brotherhood of man.

Nizam-ud-din, a disciple of Muin-ud-Din Chisti preached: "Every nation has its own path, its own origin and its own Mecca" and advised his disciples to live among the people, submitting to their cruelties and responding to them with humility, generosity and kindness. Shah waliulla proclaimed, "Religion of all is one."

In spite of an enlightened heritage of harmony, politicians, propelled by the British policy of "Divide and rule", paved the way for partition of India.

CHURCHILL

Having occupied, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Norway and France, Nazi Germany attacked Russia on 22-6-1941. The communists regarded the war from that moment as 'People's war'. They were released from prisons and they extended their full support to the British war effort.

In August, 1941, the United Kingdom and the United States of America issued a joint statement of war aims, called the 'Atlantic Charter', among other things, they declared that, "they respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see that sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". The Indians hailed the declaration. But Churchill, the British Prime Minister nipped the Indian enthusiasm in the bud, declaring in parliament on 9-9-1941 that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India. India was shocked. During the first world war, the British acknowledged the assistance rendered by India in sugar coated words. The valiant part played by the Indian sepoy was declared an important ingredient of their victory by the British but the bondage of India continued. The political prospects of India after the second world war seemed to be no better. On 7-12-1941, Japan joined the war on the side of Axis powers, Germany and Italy, and launched a surprise attack on Pearl harbour, causing considerable damage to the American fleet.

CRIPP'S MISSION

Japan's entry into the war brought the battle - field to the gates of India. Japan, 'the land of the Rising Sun' conducted her military adventures with amazing speed and success, despatching troops to Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and the Philippines, countries which were struggling hard from a long time to shake off the yoke of western imperialism with epic endurance and heroic sacrifices.

Japan, tried to harness the whirl - wind in those subject countries in her favour and clothed her conquests in sugar coated slogans like the - "co-prosperity and Asia for Asians". Then those countries were obliged to

suffer from double domination, the long standing imperialism of the western masters coupled with the neocolonialism of the Eastern upstart pretender Japan which was eager to occupy the decadent thrones, by force or fraud. Japan domesticated the war hounds imitating the western methods and tried to outwit West in the game. The British navy lost the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse". China's routes by sea were blocked. France was already defeated by Germany in June 1941 and the position of the French in Indo-China was precarious. The Government in France instructed the hapless French in Indo-China to accommodate the Japanese. Japan stationed her armies in Vietnam and from 9-12-1941, controlled its commerce and obtained all facilities for conducting the war.

Singapore was occupied by on 15-2-1942. Rangoon was conquered on 7-3-1942. Indonesia was brought under the control of Japan on 8-3-1942, and the Dutch power collapsed like a house built with a pack of cards. The natives offered collaboration to the Japanese. Japan invaded the Philippines in Dec, 1941. The American general Mac Arthur was obliged to prepare a planned withdrawal extending a solemn promise to the people of the Philippines, "I shall return".

Chiang Kai Shek, President of China came to India on 8-2-1942, to meet Nehru, Azad and Gandhi. He could visualise the danger and sent messages to Churchill and Roosevelt, stressing the urgent need for Indian cooperation. The congress in Jan, 1942, reiterated its opposition to fascism and resolved to cooperate with the government on honourable terms. President Roosevelt of America wanted the British to enlist the cooperation of India and later sent Col. Luis Johnson to India on a watching brief.

The myth of the superiority of the white man was exploded by the military might of Japan, which superseded the British from Malaya, the French from Indo-China, the Dutch from Indonesia and the Americans from the Philippines. The conquests of Japan created consternation in U.K., U.S.A., China and Holland and there was widespread expectation that the British would make a move to enlist the whole hearted cooperation of India. That was the political and military background of Cripps' mission to India.

The British Government at London, sent one of its cabinet ministers Sir Stafford Cripps to India in March, 1942. He was a labour leader and a known supporter of the Indian freedom movement. His proposals embodied self-government to India after the war, with implicit recognition of the claims of the Muslim League. Gandhi termed it a 'post-dated cheque'.

Cripps undertook a delicate and a difficult diplomatic assignment, perhaps out of sincere sympathy towards the Indian ideals and pristine patriotism towards the allied cause, even though he knew the conservative mentality of his boss, Churchill. It was a life and death struggle for democracy against fascism.

In his eagerness for a rapprochement, Cripps promised Indian independence after the war and an interim government before, adding that the Viceroy would be a constitutional figure- head like the king of England. The Viceroy, who resented that he was overlooked during the talks, complained to Churchill against Cripps who was promptly recalled. Cripps beat a hasty retreat and blamed the congress for failure of his mission using the usual British jargon which he borrowed from his conservative comrades. With deep anguish, distinct from anger, Jawaharlal re- marked, "It is sad that a person like Cripps allowed himself to be the devil's advocate".

Churchill's reaction was quite different. It was reported that he danced with joy immediately after he heard about the failure of Cripps' mission. His deep diplomacy was aimed at killing 'three birds at one shot' - firstly the over-enthusiasm of Cripps and his labour party colleagues in championing the con- gress cause, secondly the political sentimentality of the Ameri- cans who preached idealism at the expense of the British, and thirdly the presumptuous patriotism of the congress people who wanted immediate transfer of power. The Viceroy Jubilently claimed, "India cannot hope for fredom for another 50 years." The British officials never liked the idea of Indian independence and negotiations with the Congress leaders. They often bemoaned, "The jackals have been left to scream perpetually without a single bark from the Watch Dog". The British officials need not complain that their watch dog never barked.

In Indian Politics, the Viceroy never barked. He always played the part of a biting lion. Some of the questions remain enigmatic and unanswered. Who was mainly responsible for failure of the Cripps' mission? It was of course Churchill. But Cripps

THE GANDHIAN ERA

blamed the Congress: why? It has been an enigmatic proposition for many observers. Jawaharlal said, "The more you see Sir Staf- ford Cripps, the less you know him". Churchill, rather uncharita- bly once remarked that the chest of Cripps was a cage for two warring squirrels, his conscience and his career. In this case, Cripps' conscience, by implication was with the Congress and his career with Churchill. Cripps, as a staunch socialist,

expected that the congressmen would become the bed fellows of the British owing to the Japanese threat.

The Congressmen thought that Cripps was expecting them to pull out the British chestnuts from the Japanese fire. The viceroy Linlithgow said that Cripps was trying to use his cheese to bait the Congress by promising them "National Government" by "convention and not by constitution". Ultimately it was failure for Cripps and success for Churchill. Anti-British feeling grew stronger in India. People lost faith in endless negotiations; Sardar Patel had remarked, "one cannot get butter by churning water".

NOTES

1. Mass psychology is a subject, which deserves intensive study. Shakespeare's delineation of mob mentality in Julius Cesaer is well known.

'Crusades in medieval Eruope' - is an allied study. Hypnotism of Religion is known to History and Sociology.

IX

THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

The all India Congress committee met at Bombay on 8-8-1942 and passed the "Quit India" resolution", declaring that the immediate ending of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity. Gandhi declared on the night of 8th August, "I therefore, want freedom, this moment, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had". He ended his speech with the exhortation, "Do or Die". The Government declared the Congress illegal and arrested all the congress leaders. The country was plunged in chaos. All over the country, there were hartals, strikes; telegraph and telephone wires were cut. Repression by Government knew no bounds. in India.

The following is the table which specifies damages done in india.

Railway stations damaged	..	250
Post offices attacked	..	550
Post offices burnt	..	50
Post offices damaged	..	200

Telegraph and telephone wires cut at 3500 places. Other government buildings damaged. Firing was resorted on 538 times, 940 were killed, and 1890 injured. More than 60,000 were arrested. Jayaprakash Narayan escaped from prison and remained underground directing the movement to some extent. Infact, it was a leaderless movement and it directed itself. Valour, courage and heroic sacrifice could not make up for the lack of leadership. Still, the "Quit India movement" demonstrated to the world popular revulsion towards the British rule in India. Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, thundered on 10-10-1942, "I have not become the king's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire".

The Muslim League viewed the 'Quit India Movement' as "a calculated move on the part of the Congress to compel the British government as well as the Muslims to submit to the Congress rule which means establishment of Hindu Raj". At the Karachi session of the Muslim League in 1943, was heard the new slogan, "Divide and Quit".

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND THE AZAD HIND FOUZ

"Do you want the fragrance of a full-blown rose. If so, you must accept thorns. Do you want the sweetness of a smiling dawn? If so, you must wait through the dark hours of the night. Do you want the solace of liberty and the joy of freedom? If so, you must pay the price, the price is suffering and sacrifice", said Subhas Chandra Bose.

He resigned from the presidentship of the Congress in 1939 due to differences with Gandhi and founded the "Forward

THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

Block". His attitude was - "England's difficulty is India's opportunity". He was sure that Britain would never leave India unless compelled. He quoted the well-known dictum of diplomacy - "Enemy's enemy is a friend". Bose escaped from India in disguise at 1.25 AM on 17.1.1941 though his house at Elg Road in Calcutta which was vigilantly guarded by the Police. He

reached Berlin on 28-3-1941, via Kabul and Moscow. Bose's escape, full of thrilling details was typical of his adventurous spirit.

The Japanese took Singapore on 15.2.1942 and Rangoon on 7.3.1942. Rash Bihari Bose, the famous Indian revolutionary involved in the bomb blast against Hardinge in 1912, had settled in Japan, married a Japanese girl and became a Japanese citizen. The historic conference of the "Indian Independence League" held at Bangkok from 15th to 23rd June under the chairmanship of Rash Behari Bose invited Subhas Bose to come to South East Asia. Delegates from Malaya, Burma, Thailand Indo-china, Borneo, Jawa, Sumitra, Philippines, Hongkong, Andamans and Indian soldiers captured by Japan, attended the conference.

Subhas sent a radio message from Berlin to Bangkok accepting the invitation; but it involved a risky submarine journey across the seas guarded by the British Navy. He started from Kiel on 8-2-1942 together with Abid Hasan, the founder of the Indian Legion at Frankenburg and reached Tokyo on 16-5-1943 via Penang, Sigon. The Japanese Premier Tojo declared in the Diet, "Japan is firmly resolved to extend all means of help to India to eliminate the Anglo-Saxon influences which are the enemy of the Indian people, and enable India to achieve full independence in the true sense of the term".

Subhas Bose spoke from Radio Tokyo. When Bose went to Singapore on 2-7-1943, he was accorded a hero's welcome. On 4th Rash Behari Bose handed over the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia to Netaji Subhas Bose, who was proclaimed as the Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fouz, the Indian National Army. On 21-10-1943, the provisional Government of Free India was proclaimed at Singapore. Netaji summed up his message in two phrases, "Chalo Delhi" and "Jai Hind", and declared war against England and U.S.A. San Francisco Radio communicated it to the world. In a few days, Japan, Germany, Italy, Burma, Croatia, Thailand, Nationalist China, the Phillipines and Manchuria recognised the Azad Hind government headed by Netaji.

On 28th October, Netaji was received by the Japanese Emperor Hirohito with all the State honours. On 6-11-1943, Japan handed over the Andaman and Nicobar islands to the Azad Hind government. The Azad Hind Fouz consisted of more than 40,000 sepoys, mostly volunteers culled out of the prisoners of war. Indian youth, residents of South East Asia joined the Fouz, some as regulars after intensive training and some as auxilliary cadets in the various sub-branches. Women volunteers were enlisted in the

Rani of Jhansi regiment. Gandhi, Azad, Nehru, Subhas regiments were formed.

Rash Behari Bose died on 21-1-1945 due to protracted illness. The I.N.A. passed through many hazards. The Japanese assistance to the I.N.A. was due to enlightened self interest. The Commander-in-Chief in S.E. Asia wanted to use the Azad Hind Fouz sepoy's primarily for espionage and propaganda. Netaji thundered, "Any liberation of India secured through Japanese sacrifices is worse than slavery".

The Japanese placated Netaji. The main body of the Subhas brigade arrived in Rangoon in January 1944. The soldiers in their eagerness to reach the frontier marched on an average of 25 miles a day and covered in two days, the distance usually covered by the Japanese soldiers in 5 days. Netaji arrived in Rangoon on 4-1-1944 in a Japanese Plane and established his advance head quarters there.

Thivy, a member of the provisional government described the joy of the INA soldiers when they captured Mowdok within the Indian frontiers, "The uncontrolled urge to press forward and plant the Tri-colour flag of Free India on the soil of India was so great that by the morning of 19th March our valiant troops rushed forward racing one another to be the first to cross the border and kiss the soil of Mother India. Who can describe the joy with which that band of India's Freedom Fighters hoisted the National Flag to the strains of the National Anthem?". The plan to bomb Calcutta and other Indian cities was withdrawn by the Japanese at the instance of Netaji.

An important attempt connecting Calcutta with the operations of the Azad Hind Fouz ended in a failure. Mohinder Singh, Amar Singh Gill, Pabitra Rao, and Tubir Mukherjee trained at Penang were sent to the Konark coast in Orissa, through the Malaka straits. They reached the shore in a rubber boat and went to Calcutta. The transmitter was set up on the house-top of Jyoti Bose, a friend of Haridas Mitra, a son-in-law of the family of Subhas Bose, near Desapriya park. Thus wireless communication was established between India and Subhas Bose. The plot was ultimately discovered by the Government. Mohinder Singh, Pabitra Roy, Amer Singh Gill, Haridas Mitra and Jyoti Bose were arrested and sentenced to death. Tubir Mukherjee turned approver. The father of Haridas Mitra and other Indians appealed to the government for mercy and approached Gandhi, who wrote to the viceroy. The viceroy commuted the death sentences to transportation for life. There were many heroic episodes of battles connected with the Azad Hind Fouz.

Japan surrendered in mid August 1945. Netaji died - according to the Japanese - due to a plane crash on 18-8-1945 at Taihoku in a hospital between 8 P.M. and 9 P.M. Leaders of the I.N.A. were tried for treason in the Red Fort at Delhi. But the country rallied round them regarding them as patriotic heroes. Jawaharlal Nehru, Bulbhai Desai and others advocated their cause. Even though the court-martial held them guilty, the government set them free. In 1943 there was lull in political activity due to government repression, famine and war situation.

Among the congress leaders, Raja Gopalachary - known as C.R. or Rajaji - was the first to think of a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Gandhi once remarked that, "Rajaji sees ahead of me by at least six months". He wore dark glasses and his face could never be the index of his mind. He went out of the congress for a short while. When questioned afterwards he explained, "The Congress cart was entangled in the muddy road. I got down, pushed it out of the mire and then got into it. During the war he pleaded for responsive cooperation with Britain and was the architect of the Poona offer. The cartoonist's version of Rajaji's offer was this. In the cartoon, Rajaji put a mouse - trap in the forest, hiding behind a tree and expecting the British Lion to be entrapped. Of course, the British did not respond to the offer.

He attained great reputation for his practical philosophy as distinct from the visionary idealism of his congress comrades and was known as an able administrator. Rajaji conducted prolonged negotiations with Jinnah but failed. Gandhi himself carried on detailed talks with Jinnah in January 1944. Gandhi sincerely tried to appease Jinnah and reach an agreement preserving at least a semblance of the unity of India. But Jinnah turned down the proposals and said that he would not accept, "a shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth eaten Pakistan".

THE BENGAL FAMINE

In 1943, Bengal was struck by famine. In 1919 India was exporting food grains but the output of food grains gradually fell. In the first decade of the 20th century, the per capital output of food grains was 560 lbs and in 1943 it came down to 399 lbs. In 1942, the Japanese occupied Burma and the rice imports stopped. In 1943 the rains failed. Apart from the natural calamity, the war added fuel to the fire. Government purchased large quantities of rice at fixed prices for military consumption. Rice prices rose higher and higher. There was influx of refugees from Burma. In March 1943, Fazlul Huq ministry was dismissed by the Governor and the Muslim league formed the new ministry. But, the Muslim League ministry supported Muslim traders to make huge profits. Sayeed Khalid Bin wrote, in his book, -

'Pakistan, the formative phase' - "The Government not only supplied the capital but also met the losses incurred by the traders in the initial stages."

Millions of people died due to famine. The official estimate put the death at 1.5 million. Prof. Chattopadhyaya's estimate was 9.5 million deaths. In rural areas people starved silently and died without a groan or growl. Many peasants, who were known for their hospitality, and who gave free food and shelter to the guests in the past, died in secret shame and sorrow. Thousands perished in the streets of Calcutta. Nobody ever tried to snatch a parcel of food from any hotel by force or begged for bread. The famished were ashamed to beg but were not afraid to die. The government was not ashamed of the gruesome scourge for which they could never disown their responsibility. The war effort was their foremost priority. The victims of Bengal famine during the year 1943, out numbered the total casualties suffered by all the warring nations put together from 1939 to 45 in the Second World War.

X

DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE

LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN

The allies registered significant victories over the axis powers by 1945. "England may lose every battle but will win every war" - the proverbial sentiment - was proved correct once more. The German war machine collapsed. Japan was on the retreat. During the war period, there were about two million soldiers in the Indian army, eight million people were working in defence tasks and five million in war industries. India produced aircraft, mine-sweepers, parachutes, garments and boots, for the war effort.

At the outbreak of the war, Indian troops enabled Wavell to hold Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Somaliland Aden and Palestine. The German threat to Iraq and Persia was thwarted from India and the Persian Gulf oil, so essential to the Middle East battle-fields was secured. Operations for the recovery of Burma were launched and American supplies to China were sent from India. Indian troops were engaged in the recapture of Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia. The war demonstrated the crucial importance of India for the allied victory.

General elections were held in Britain. Churchill's prestige as the architect of British victory rose very high. He roared with apparent humility but with unrivalled superiority complex saying, "I have never accepted what people have kindly said, namely that I inspired the British Nation. The British race all round the globe had the lion's heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar". Attlee, the leader of the labour party who lacked the oratorical brilliance of Churchill put a pragmatic manifesto including the independence of India before the British electorate in his own modest way. The labour party was returned to power with a thumping majority. Pethick Lawrence became the Secretary of State for India on 26-7-1945.

The British electorate gave a mandate to the labour government to set India free in spite of the warning of Churchill, - "Loss of India would be final and fatal to us. It could not fail to be part of a process that would reduce

us to the scale of a minor power". In the words of James Stuart Mill, "India was a vast system of outdoor relief for Britain's upper classes. Of course the viceroy was an uncrowned king of kings. Perhaps no king on earth ever enjoyed such power and pomp. The Prince of Wales once remarked in amazement, "I never understood how a king should live until I saw the Viceroy of India". In addition some high officials like the Governor enjoyed immense benefits.

That was why the conservatives wanted to hold India under the British grip. However, the vast bulk of British personnel like the soldiers and officials working in the lower cadres, regarded India as a land of exile infested with hostile climate and contagious diseases. British imperialism in India provided a paradise for the few but proved to be a mundane misery for many more Britons. Besides it was a hell for India. That was why the labour party was prepared to quit India. 2 Attlee wisely declared, "Let Britain leave India in good time, rather than be driven out by forces of history and armed rebellion".

R.J. More in his book, *Escape from Empir*, has pointed out that the British abdication of the Government of India in 1947 was a great escape. He adds, "By the end of the war, British lacked the military and administrative resources for a long extension of the Raj whose strategic and economic objects now be better achieved through cooperative Indian authorities". In the long run, Imperialism could never be an unmixed blessing to anyone. Infact it was twice cursed, ruining the rulers as well as the ruled. During the revolt of 1857-58, Britons as well as Indians passed through infernal fire. History might repeat itself.

On 24-11-1945, the commander-in-chief Auchinlek reported to the British Government that "there must be doubt as to the continued loyalty of the Armed Forces". The revolt of the Indian naval ratings at Bombay in February 1946, widespread strikes in the Indian Air Force, and Indian Signal Corps at Jabalpur pointed out the direction in which way the wind was blowing. On 22-2-1946, over 250 people were shot dead on the streets of Bombay within 48 hours, by the army. It was clear that "imperialism" outlived its capacity in India.

THE CABINET MISSION

The British Government sent in March 1946 a Cabinet mission to India consisting of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and V.Alexander. Protracted negotiations took place. The cabinet mission proposed a federal plan to maintain national unity while stipulating considerable provincial autonomy. The Musslim League and the congress

accepted the plan with their own mental reservations and interpretations but could not agree to the composition of the interim government and the convening of the Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution.

On 30th July, the Muslim League called upon the Muslims throughout India to observe 16th August as the "Direct Action Day". Jinnah declared, "This day we bid good by to constitutional methods we followed till now. The British and the Congress, each held a pistol, the one of authority and arms, the other of mass non-cooperation. Today we have also forged a pistol". According to Mosley, "Between dawn on the morning of 16th August 1946 and dusk three days later, the people of Calcutta hacked, battered, burned stabbed or shot 6000 of each other to death and raped and maimed another 20,000". The "Statesman" the pro-British Paper wrote, "This is not a riot, we squarely put the blame upon the provincial Muslim League cabinet and particularly the Chief Minister". The Chief Minister of Bengal was Shurawardy at that time.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

The Viceroy invited Jawaharlal to form the interim government requesting Jinnah to extend his cooperation, and the interim government announced on 24-8-1946, with the following, Vallabhai Patel, Baladev Singh, Rajaji, Jagjivan Ram, Asaf Ali, Syed Ali Zaheer, Sarat Chandra Bose, C.H. Bhaba, with provision for two more members. The names of the five nominees of the Muslim League were announced on 14-10-1946. They were Liaquat Ali Khan, Chandrigar, A.R. Nistar, Ghyamfar Ali Khan, Jogendra Nath Mandal. Sarat Chandra Bose, Ahmed Khan and Ali Zaheer resigned to make room for the league nominees.

On 10-10-1946 organised violence brokeout in Noakali against the Hindus. Reprisals broke out in Bihar. The prophet of peace, Mahatma Gandhi undertook a mission of mercy in Noakali for four months. "It was a sight for Angels to see; it was the episode which has exalted the saintly character of Gandhi to such a high degree and stamped his personality with those qualities which found expression in the epithet Mahatma, instinctively bestowed upon him by the populace". Communal riots in Naokali, which found ready reflex in Bihar later, epitomised the brutality to which man could debase himself. Unabashed murder and loot, arson and rape forsaking all human values formed the most indelible blot on the history of India. The Mahatma left the politics of Indian Independence in October, 1946, traversed the interior villages of Naokhali barefooted comforting the frightened men and women who had lost all sense of security. It exhibited the real personality of Gandhi to the whole world; the prophetic delienation of the personality of Gandhi by the seer, Romain Rolland has been

vindicated. Gandhi inevitably driven to loneliness, at the age of seventy seven, went from village to village singing Rabindra Nath Tagore's song of poignant isolation.

"If they answer not thy call
Then walk alone
If they do not hold up their lamps
when the night is troubled with raging storm,
then with the thunder flame of thy pain
ignite thine own heart and let it burn alone".

Sri Sudhir, who worked as an emissary of Gandhi at London during the time of Cripp's mission met the Mahatma when he was in Naokali. Sri Sudhir has described this meeting vividly in his book "Gandhi's Emissary". "So I decided to go to the depth of Naokali to discuss it with him. The memory of that journey to me in the Naokali villages was the memory of a man who was very far from everybody and everywhere. I flew from Delhi to Calcutta and then sat in a railway train for several hours to reach Goalundo, the railhead on the great Padma river; then I went down the river the whole day in a steamer and arrived at the little river- port of Chandpur, then I borrowed a jeep from the local Sub- Divisional Officer and travelled thirty miles in it; then there was another river which I crossed in a country boat to reach Ramganj and from there walked seven miles, with my suitcase on my shoulders, and late in the evening I arrived at a village called Chandipur where, according to the information given to me by the villagers, Gandhiji was staying in a village dhobi's house. It was not easy to discover the washerman's house in the deep darkness of the Naokali village in the midst of a forest of 'supari' trees; but a village boy guided me ultimately to the right place.

I presented myself to the temporary host of Gandhiji and asked him if I might see his guest. He pointed to the little hut in which a lamp was burning and gave me permission to walk in. I peeped in and there he was, all alone, working away in the light of kerosene lamp, a hurricane lantern with a broken chimney. My footsteps disturbed him and he looked up and there the familiar smile of greeting. 'Ah, there you are', he said, 'I was wondering when you would arrive.' So I dumped my suitcase and sat down on a corner of his hard wooden board ('Taktaposh', as they call it in Bengali)". Gandhi, the pious prophet preferred to give his message by example rather than precept. Gandhi undertook a similar tour in Bihar too.

While introducing Gandhi to the Congress in 1909 Gokhale said, "I can tell you that a purer, nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never

moved on this earth". Gandhi, as the pilgrim of peace in Noakali justified the words of Gokhale, uttered more than three decades ago. The Constituent Assembly met on 9-2-1946 but the Muslim League members did not attend. Rajendra Prasad was elected president. Nehru moved the 'objec- tives resolution'. It envisaged the Indian Union as an independent Sovereign Republic where in the ideals of social, political and economic democracy would be guaranteed to all sections of people, with adequate safe-guards to minorities and the backward communities.

The Congress demanded that the Muslim League should come into the Constituent Assembly or quit the government. On 20-2-1947, Attlee made a bold statement in the Parliament about India, "The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be prolonged indefinitely" and declared that the British would quit India by a date, "not later than June 1948". The bonafides of the British Government were thus placed beyond suspicion for the first time.

MOUNTBATTEN

Lord Wavell resigned. Attlee chose Lord Mountbatten to be the last viceroy of India, and the choice was widely welcomed. He took charge on 26-3-1947. Mountbatten was not a stranger to India. He first visited India in 1921, along with the Prince of Wales and courted his wife there. He had made many visits to India during the second world war. In 1946, he received Jawaharlal Nehru as his guest at Singapur.

Mountbatten had blue blood in his veins. With his royal pedigree, he was expected to deal with the large number of problems India faces effectively. The assignment of the last Viceroy was more a diplomatic mission rather than a mere administrative job. A resourceful wife is supposed to be an additional qualification for a diplomat. Mrs. Edwina Mountbatten was well known for her humanitarian work and aptitude for social service. Above all, Mountbatten possessed a lively personality and reputation for dedication and dynamism in the discharge of his duties.

Violent Communal riots broke out all over the Punjab. Nehru who visited Rawalpindi reported, "I have seen ghastly sights and I have heard of behaviour by human beings which would degrade brutes". Fortunately Bengal was quiet, due to the presence of the pilgrim of peace - Mahatma Gandhi. The new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten later wrote to Gandhi, "In Bengal, our force consists of one man and there is no rioting. As a military leader, the last Viceroy humbly pays tribute, to my One Man Boundary force". What an unarmed non-violent man was accom- plishing in Bengal,

55, 000 armed professional soldiers were not able to do in Punjab. The "Newyork Times" described it as the Wonder of India.

Mountbatten moved swiftly and evolved a compromise plan to which the Congress and the Muslim League leaders signified their assent on 3-6-1947.

The following were some of the important provisions.

- i. Two independent dominions Pakistan and India are to be carved out.
- ii. Pakistan will comprise of Sindh - Baluchistan, East Bengal and West Punjab. A British jurist would pre side over the boundary commisssion to fix the frontiers.
- iii. Referendum would be conducted in N.W.P.F., and Sylhet. West Bengal and East Punjab. Legislators would exercise their option for joining either India or Pakistan, on behalf of their territories.
- iv. The princely states can join either Pakistan or India.

The Congress was unhappy at the partition. Jinnah was sore at losing East Punjab, West Bengal and Assam and that the two wings of Pakistan would be seperated by more than 700 miles. Lord Mountbatten instinctively chose 15th of August 1947 as the date of Independence, because it synchronised with the second an- niversary of Japan's surrender. Mountbatten cleverly presented the partition plan to Gandhi on 4-6-1947 saying that it combined all possible elements of the Mahatma's approach to the tangle. There was grudging admiration as well as admonition in Gandhi's chiding words of reply, "You and your magic tricks".

The All India Congress committee met at Delhi on 14th and 15th June 1947 to ratify the decision of the working committee accepting the Mountbatten plan. Govind Vallabh Pant moved the resolution and Azad seconded it. Tandon opposed the resolution saying, "The partition would not benefit either community, the Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims in India would both live in fear. Patel, supported the resolution, saying "Now the Congress can develop seventy five percent of the country unhampered. The Muslim League can develop Pakistan. Nehru supporting the reso- lution pleaded, "The most urgent task at present is to arrest the drift towards anarchy and chaos by the establiment of a strong central government".

The speech of Acharya Kripalani, the Congress president was revealing. He concluded saying, "The Hindu and Muslim communities have vied with each other in the worst orgies of violence. I have seen a well where women with their children, 107 in all threw themselves to save their honour. In another place, a place of worship, fifty young women were killed by their menfolk for the same reason. I have seen heaps of bones in a house where 307 persons, mainly women and children, were driven, locked up and then burnt alive by invading mob. These ghastly experiences have no doubt affected my approach to the question".

Gandhi who had proclaimed earlier, "Vivisect me before you vivisect India", advised the house to accept the resolution. In the later years Gandhi was not even a primary four anna member of the Congress. But he was - in the words of Jawaharlal Nehru- "the permanent super president of the Congress". In fact Gandhi was the apotheosis of the Congress and his acceptance was the absolute prerequisite for taking the most momentous decision. The consent of Gandhi was a mystery which baffled his contemporaries and it will continue to baffle future historians. The resolution was carried, 157 voted for it, 29 voted against and 32 remained neutral.

The Muslim League council met at Delhi on 10-6-1947 and accorded approval to the partition. Pakistan comprised of East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., Sylhet opted to join East Bengal. The Indian Independence bill was passed by the British Parliament and received the Royal assent on 18-7- 1947.

Radcliffe, the British Jurist was chosen to preside over the boundary commission, consisting of two representatives each nominated by the Congress and the League. The decision of the commission was binding on both India and Pakistan. In effect, it was Radcliffe's judgement that mattered.

THE PRINCELY STATES

The Princely states were given option either to join India or Pakistan. K.M. Panickar remarked, "Hindustan is an elephant and Pakistan are its two ears. The elephant can live without the ears" But the princely states formed part of its belly and trunk. The Congress was not in favour of giving power of option to the princes. But Jinnah in a statement on 18-6-1947 said that the princes could join either dominion, or become independent or wait for some time to make up their minds. He expected that Kashmir with its Muslim majority was bound to join Pakistan. He had his eyes on Hyderabad, Junagad, Rampur and Bhopal whose rulers were Muslims. So he ran after the birds in the bush leaving the bird in the hand.

All the states joined India by 15-8-1947 with the exception of Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagad.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

Meanwhile communal riots broke out and almost assumed the proportions of a civil war, between the Sikhs and Muslims, in Punjab. Azad drew the attention of Mountbatten to the possibility of rivers of blood flowing in different parts of the country. The Viceroy proudly replied, "At least on this question I can give you a complete assurance. I shall see to it that there is no bloodshed or riots. I am a soldier not a civilján. I shall use sternest measures, I shall not use even the armed police; I will order the army and the airforce to act and I shall use tanks and aeroplanes to suppress anybody who wants to create trouble".

Mosley has remarked, "From this moment, history of the transfer of power to India is one of over-confidence, half-thought-out enthusiasm, blunders, stupidities, carelessness and mistake after mistake". Perhaps the unexpected magnitude of the upheaval overwhelmed everybody including the Viceroy Mountbatten. The bloodshed and carnage was staggering, about 6,00,000 dead, 1,40,00,000 driven from their houses, 10,000 young girls abducted - totalling both sides. Mosley added, "It need not have happened; it would not have happened had independence not been rushed through at such a desperate haste". Perhaps it is easy to be wise after the event.

The congress requested Mountbatten to be the first Governor General of Independent India. Jawaharlal conveyed the request to him. Later the Mahatma met Mountbatten and advised him to accept the post. It was a personal tribute to Mountbatten, and a historic honour to the British race he represented and a gesture of generosity, typifying India. Mountbatten it seemed, wondered, "The British have jailed the Indians, humiliated them scorched them and exploited them. Still Indian possess the greatness of spirit, to forgive and forget and request a Britisher to be the first Governor-General or free India'. An overwhelmed Mountbatteen accepted the honour with tears of joy. Gandhi departed advising the Governor-General designate to set an example, by moving out of the Viceroy's Mansions to a small building, without servants; Gandhi wanted the Viceregal palace to be converted into a hospital and left the Viceroy to muse in a state of baffled amazement.

The Indians wanted only the British imperialism to quit. India - but not the English language which has enriched Indian life and literature, not the violin which has formed an integral part of Indian orchestra and music; not the parliamentary democracy, love of liberty, discipline, law and order-

not even the British capitalists or officials; not Mountbatten; that was the hall mark of Indian character and culture, reflected in the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru. Beatrice Webb has aptly pointed out, "What is outstanding in the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru is the keenness and subtility of intellect, the depth and refinement of the emotional life of these two men, compared not only to the brutality and ultra-coarseness of Mussolini and Hitler, but even to the conventional outfit, in thought and feeling, of Churchill and Roosevelt".

THE PARTITION

Jinnah chose to be the Governor-General of Pakistan. Mountbatten and Jinnah drove in state through the streets of Karachi on 13-8-1947. Jinnah was sworn in as the Governor-General. Jinnah was acclaimed as the father of Pakistan. It was reported that he said to Syed Ashan, his new aide just after the swearing, "Do you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my life time". At first he dubbed the idea of Pakistan as an impossible dream. He was a shrewd strategist. As an uncompromising champion of Pakistan, he won his way with an iron will. How he became the supreme leader of the Muslim masses was one of the wonders of Indian history. Jinnah rarely entered a mosque, ignored the Koran, drank, ate pork, and never grew a beard. All Muslims, even the Muslims living in the Hindu majority-provinces who had nothing to gain and everything to lose on account of Pakistan-rallied round him. In fact Jinnah did not get the Pakistan he demanded or dreamed.

He only got, the mutilated - maimed and the moth eaten Pakistan" he never had wanted. How he was reconciled to it was a riddle wrapped up in an enigma. Perhaps Pakistan was considered by the Muslims as the preliminary base for the eventual conquest of Hindustan. The burden of the song of the Pakistanis on 13th of August in Karachi was "Laughing we have got Pakistan, Fighting we will conquer Hindustan". "Actually at the back of their minds was the intention of making an easy meal of the other part of India". Fazlul Huq was cheered when he said, "If Mohamudbin Qasim an eight year old lad could conquer Sind with 18 soldiers, then surely nine crores of Muslims can conquer the whole of India". The Muslim League always flattered the ego of the average Muslim saying that he was the erstwhile ruler of India. In his bid to divide India, Jinnah was obliged unwittingly not only to divide Pakistan into two bits but also to divide the Muslims into Pakistani Muslims and Indian Muslims and to divide his family, perhaps a curious poetic justice in practical politics.

After the announcement of partition, all the Muslim members elected on the Muslim League ticket belonging to West Bengal and East

Punjab joined the Constituent Assembly of India, swearing allegiance to India. The Partition had its own dramatic ironies. Jinnah's only daughter preferred to stay in Bombay. The citizen of Bombay, Jinnah became the head of Pakistan while Liakat Ali Khan of U.P. became its Prime Minister. Many Muslims who voted for Pakistan with emotional frenzy, automatically became citizens of independent India. The patriotic Pathans of N.W.F. province - the heroic Khudai Kidmatgars were obliged to under the leadership of the Frontier Gandhi reconcile to their fate and join Pakistan. Some congressmen who could not reconcile themselves to Partition hung their heads in shame.

THE NATIONAL FLAG

The Tri-colour-Scarlet, White and Green - with 'Dharma- chakra' inscribed in the middle in Blue, was adopted as the National Flag of Free India. Colours have poetic connotations full of imaginative concepts. Significantly Flag represents the ideal-ism of the country. The French conjured up the ideals of "Equality, Fraternity and Liberty" with their tricolour banner.

Of course, colours are amiable to any number of interpretations. In India and perhaps every where in the world, the white colour is associated with purity, knowledge and light. The Green connotes prosperity and plenty. The red signifies smartness and sacrifice, blood and brotherhood. Some view the Indian tricolour as symbolic of the three universal concepts of

"SATYAM - SUNDRAM - SIVAM
Truth Beauty and Goodness".

The flag flutters in the limitless sky and the sky seems to be the only limit to the iridescent elucidations and explanations. However the discipline of the national flag is easy of comprehension though it defies definition or description. The spinning wheel Chakra in the Congress flag-was replaced by the Dharma Chakra in the country's flag.

The National Flag is expected to be all comprehensive and distinct from any party banner. SATYAMEVA JAYATE (Truth Alone Triumphs") was chosen as the motto of free India. In Buddhist Sculpture, Dharmachakra symbolised the message of the Buddha, first delivered at Sarnath. It was later incorporated by Asoka in his lion capitol. From times immemorial, the "Wheel" acquired a mystic, mythological and metaphorical significance in India and was associated with the NAIMISA forest, the famous nursery of successive cultural renaissances in the history of ancient India. All the people of the East and most of the West are familiar with the imagery of

Dharmachakra The wheel is used in Indian literatures as a significant suffix to denote the concepts of DESTINY EXISTENCE and Righteousness and TIME Rectitude. The wheel is comprehensive of movement and progress, spiritual as well as secular. Thus, Dharmachakra is a symbolic epitome of Indian aspirations and ideals.

Elaborate preparations were made throughout the country to celebrate the first independence day. Many political prisoners were still surprisingly rotting in jails, some undergoing life-sentence. Rani Gaidunulae, the heroine who led the epic struggle at Manipur was one of them. She was captured and jailed in 1932, at the tender age of 13. Writing about her in 1937, Jawaharlal said, "One day India will cherish her", and that day arrived only in 1947. Then she was released. In all such cases, people extended historic and hearty welcome to the patriots.

THE FIRST INDEPENDENCE DAY

In the earliest hours of 15th of August 1947 immediately after the midnight of the 14th, Mountbatten was sworn in as the first Governor General of Independent India. Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister. On such a historic movement, Mahatma Gandhi was conspicuous by his absence at Delhi. All the while he was at Noakhali as the solitary pilgrim of peace going on foot from village to village, while hectic preparations were being made at Delhi, for transfer of power. For a pretty long time, the name Gandhi and the word Swaraj were synonyms and the identification of the Mahatma with the Freedom Movement was proverbial. But Gandhi, the father of the nation venerated as Bapuji by the populace was absent at the inaugural ceremony of Indian Independence at Delhi, as he was immersed in the convocation of peace at Naokhali, till the 14th of August. On 15-8-1947, Gandhi spent his time in spinning and prayer in the Muslim slum locality of Baghaghat in Calcutta.

The first independence day was celebrated throughout India on 15-08-1947 with spontaneous enthusiasm. For many people it was the pleasantest surprise of their lives. A new festival emerged out of history. As it was the month of August, it was the rainy season. The tri-colour flag was hoisted in every nook and corner of the vast country, in the morning. There were drizzles in many places. The skies were overcast with hovering clouds. Invariably at many places, the rainbow appeared across the skies forming a beautiful backdrop to the tri-colour fluttering proudly over the free flag mast. In addition, a rainbow was formed in the heart of every Indian who stood in attention to salute the national flag to the tunes of the national anthems, Vandemataram and Janaganamana.

The people recollected the heroic sacrifices of the freedom fighters and offered homage to the martyrs. Their portraits and photos were taken in procession by the local people to the place of flag-hoisting with patriotic fanfare. Fortunately there were many freedom fighters who were alive to see the dawn of independence and every one of them was the special guest of honour greeted and garlanded with spontaneous veneration by the grateful populace, on the morning of 15-8-1947. Already many patriots were elected as members of the legislatures and some of them occupied high places. They took part in the celebration with a sense of pride and fulfilment.

For the congressmen, Indian Independence was the crowning glory of their careers. Partition to some extent diminished their glory and glamour but not their greatness. It was evident that the Congress accepted partition as a lesser evil and with a genuine desire to build a new and prosperous India. The consolation of the Congressman after the partition was, "Now only, a part of India is Pakistan. Hitherto, the whole of India was Pakistan, backed by British imperialism". What were the alternatives of partition,? Continued slavery, civil war, chaos and fragmentation of India with a weak centre. The unity of at least two thirds of India was preserved by partition together with the ideals of democracy, secularism and common Indian nationality. Life, literature and legend abound in "Parting kisses" passionately described by famous poets. But politics knows only parting kicks. 'Partition' was the parting kick of Britain to Indians and Pakistanis. Muslims in divided India received a double kick, right and left, from Great Britain as well as Pakistan.

NOTES

1. All English men in British India did not live in the Vice-Regal palaces nor did they enjoy the comforts of governors and civilian and military officers. There were many Britishers in the lower ranks who considered that the conquest of India by Britain was a blunder and India was a land of regrets and exile. A vast and moving literature composed by these people attests to the deep suffering to which they were subjected. India was regarded as a grave of England's strength and beauty and a "Land of regrets" and exile.

He has found what blunder youth is
His prime what a struggle yet
Has to learn of old age what truth is

In the land of regret

- Alfred Lyall (1889)

The epitaphs reveal a poignant story. Lt. Col. John Shawere died on 12-5-1866 of wounds received from a panther. Another was gored by a bison. One was trampled by an elephant. One was eaten by a tiger, another bitten by a cobra. Innumerable deaths of children were recorded.

2. "Imperialism is based on advantage, profit and exploitation. European powers began their activities in Asia as traders. Though they transformed themselves into rulers, in the 18th and nineteenth centuries and talked much of whiteman's burden (not to mention white woman's honours) profit remained the dominant motive of the majority.

France and Netherlands leaned heavily on the colonies.

The Dutch plaintively argued that they were running a vast tropical estate for the benefit of the world. Of imports into Indonesia in 1939, only about a quarter came from Netherlands and only about a seventh of exports went there. But out of the (U.S.) 2000 million dollars invested in Indonesia, 73% was the Dutch capital. About 20% of the Dutch directly depended on Indonesia for their livelihood.

Similarly by 1939, Bank of Indo-China was one of the richest enterprises in France, owning 110 undertakings throughout the world.

XI

THE MARTYRDOM OF MAHATMA

THE MIRACLE OF CALCUTTA

Gandhi did not participate in the independence celebration of 15-8-1947. He reached Calcutta from Noakhali(now Bangla Desh) on the night of 14-8-1947. After the announcement of partition, all the Muslim members elected on the Muslims League ticket belonging to West Bengal and East Punjab joined the Constituent Assembly of India, swearing allegiance to India.

The Punjab was enveloped in communal flames. Cruel Irony of partition started on the faces of Muslims in India and Hindus in Pakistan. The greatest migration of population in the history of the world took place mercilessly uprooting thousands of families. Future historians will be baffled at the dismal failure of Lord Mountbatten, Jinnah, Nehru and other leaders who were bewildered and helpless spectators of the most violent turmoil, the inevitable consequence of partition. While the Punjab was in flames, fortunately Calcutta remained peaceful and calm owing to Mahatma Gandhi. The miracle of Calcutta was due to the fast undertaken by Gandhi on 1-9-1947.

Rajaji, the old compatriot of Gandhi and others dissuaded Gandhi. They said it was a fast against the goondas. Gandhi's reply was crisp "I do not want to be a living spectator of goondaism. Either there will be peace in Calcutta or I will gladly die". Soon Calcutta was electrified with the moral fervour generated by Gandhi's fast. Mixed processions of Hindus and Muslims invaded Calcutta. Rajaji announced, "complete calm prevails in Calcutta". Gandhi broke his fast at 9-15 P.M. on the evening of 4-9-1947.

Rajaji said, "Gandhi has achieved many things, but there has been nothing, not even independence which is truly wonderful as his victory over evil in Calcutta. The "One Man Boundary Force" - Mahatma Gandhi, in the

words of Mountbatten, wrought a miracle of modern history and brought peace to Calcutta which had the vilest past record.

MIRACLE OF DELHI

Gandhi, still convalescing from the fast left for Delhi on 7- 9-1947, At the instigation of Pakistan, the tribals of N.W.F. Province invaded Kashmir on 22-10-1947. India went to the rescue of Kashmir obtaining the instrument of accession from the Maharaja of Kashmir. India was able to push back the invaders to safe lines.

Delhi over -flowed with Hindu refugees from Pakistan. The relations between the two new States - India and Pakistan were embittered. Deepest darkness and disappointment pervaded the whole atmosphere.

Gandhi began a fast unto death at 11-55 AM on 13-1-1948 for bringing sanity to India. He wanted the Government of India not to withhold the payment of Rs. 55 crores promised to Pakistan. He stipulated that Hindu refugees should vacate the mosques and homes of the Muslims. This time Gandhi is fasting to protect the interests of Muslims. The hopes of Indian Muslims were centered not on Pakistan or Jinnah who en-cashed the votes and sacrifices of Indian minority Muslims to achieve Pakistan, but on the idealism of Mahatma Gandhi.

The fast began ceremoniously, though only a few close friends and followers of Gandhi were there in the Birla House where he stayed. Abha, his great niece whom Gandhi used to call his walking stick, his secretary Pyarelal, Sushila Nayar, Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr.Sushila sang - "When I survey the wondrous cross". The Gujarati hymn "Vaishnava Janato" also was sung. A few verses from the Quran and other scriptures including the Gita were sung.

"Even if all the Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan were to be killed, the life of even a puny Muslim child in India must be safe" that was the stipulation of Gandhi. After two days, the govern- ment of India accepted to pay the promised amount of Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan and requested Gandhi to give up the fast. The Mahatma wanted something more and substantial. Gandhi was pleading for unilateral sanity. This time, Gandhi's fast evoked mixed response in India.

Gandhi's health began deteriorating very fast. All India Radio began broadcasting hourly bulletins. The whole country was aroused. Citizens of Delhi numbering over 1,00,000 came to Gandhi, including the leaders of the

Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. and promised to keep communal peace. Gandhi broke his fast on 17-5-1948.

The Miracle of Delhi was acclaimed by the whole world. "There is something great and vital in the soil of our country which could produce Gandhi." -- JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

The mystery and power of a frail 78 year old man shakes the world and inspires with new hope. Gandhi had demonstrated a power which may prove greater than the atom bomb and which the West should watch with envy and hope". -- NEWS CHRONICLE.

"Mr.Gandhi's, courageous idealism has never been more plainly vindicated." -- THE TIMES

"Gandhi is a politician among saints. He is no less a saint among politicians". -- MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

"The wave of relief sweeping the world is a measure of his sainthood". WASHINGTON POST

Congratulatory messages flowed to Delhi from all over the world. On the evening of 20-1-1948, a bomb exploded at the prayer meeting of Gandhi. But Gandhi coolly remarked to Dr.Sushila Nayar, "What better death could you ask than to die in the act of prayer?". He declined police protection.

Gandhi proclaimed, "If someone fired at me point blank and I faced his bullet with a smile, repeating the name of Rama, then, I should deserve congratulations".

THE SECOND CRUCIFIXION

On the evening of 30-1-1948, Gandhi started from the Birla House for the evening prayer meeting.

Nathuram Vinayak Godse, accosted the Mahatma with a bowing "Namaste" and shot him thrice with his pistol. Bleeding Gandhi fell down uttering -

"H E I R A M"

Gandhi died.
But Gandhism shall live for ever.

The whole world mourned the death of the Mahatma on 31-1-1948, no flag in the world flew full mast. Since the birth of Jesus Christ, human history has not offered such a symbol of pristine purity and incontrovertible sincerity across the centuries. The martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi has been described as the Second Crucifixion, in the history of the world. Indeed, Martyrdom is the only meaningful end to the life of the Mahatma.

The biography of a great man does not end with his death. In fact, it begins with his death. The biography of Gandhi, who evolved as the visible and audible conscience of all mankind does not end abruptly with his martyrdom. The emergence of Martin Luther King in America is a typical example.

Gandhi inspired millions by example rather than precept. With regard to non-violence, some critics maintain that Gandhi made virtue out of necessity. Then it is a tribute to the practical idealism of the Mahatma. Non-violence was a creed of the Mahatma but a policy of the Congress. History - It seems - often repeats itself. History of the world will produce many "Abridged editions" or "revised and enlarged editions" of Gandhi. In fact, even while Gandhi was alive, many mini-Gandhis who were the epitomes of Gandhism like the Frontier Gandhi - some anonymous - local Congress leaders - lived and died incognito.

The sparks of Gandhism will illumine many hearths and homes and inspire many hearts in the world for generations to come.

GANDHISM

Thinkers of the modern world like Romain Rolland, Einstein and Toynbee realised that the horizons of Gandhism were wider than Indian Independence. Bernard Shaw who proclaimed that his way of joking was to tell the naked truth and who was known for his biting sarcasm replied when asked to give his opinion about Gandhi with humility quite uncommon with him, "You may as well ask me about what I think of the Himalayas". Of course, the Himalayas in India reflect the most majestic geographical grandeur of the globe, while Mahatma Gandhi symbolised the immortal moral majesty of the human race.

Khaddar, the patriotic livery of the freedom movement popularised by Gandhi with a missionary zeal has a deeper significance. The mills and the industrial revolution are making the rich, richer and the poor, poorer. To understand Gandhism in its correct perspective, a hypothetical question

may be put. Suppose, Gandhi was presented with two garments, a Khadi garment made in England, hand spun and hand woven by an English labourer and a garment of mill cloth made in India; which of those two would have been preferred by Gandhi? The answer is simple, British Khaddar and not the mill cloth made in India. Gandhism always transcended the geographical frontiers of India.

The machine according to the Mahatma was a good servant of man but a very bad master. The ancient Greek civilization foreboded a message too deep for tears for the future of mankind. The great Greek civilization perished because the Greeks became slaves to their slaves. Modern civilization is machine ridden. Already the machine, the initial slave of man is becoming his ultimate master. If another war is to be fought with super Hydrogen Bombs manufactured by the machine civilization, mankind may be wiped out of this planet altogether. Perhaps ants would compose elegies in their language that "once upon a time, a wonderful creature called man inhabited this planet; he could fly in the air like a bird, swim under water like a fish, but unfortunately could not live like a man on earth.. He tamed the elements and conquered space; but could not control his passions. Thus, man alas perished inspite of the marvellous and mighty civilization he had built, caught in the vicious whirlpool of his own creation".

Moral bankruptcy of the machine-ridden modern civilizations has brought man to the brink of a bottomless abyss, threatening the very existence of the homo-sapiens on this planet. The greatest problem which India and perhaps the whole world today is facing is the crisis of human character.

"Might is right" - is a barbaric concept whether held by disciplined military violence or by desperate terrorism in the context of momentous inventions of modern science. In fact, human history, inspite of many hurdles is moving towards the concept "Right is might". Violence is an anachronism condemned by history as sheer lunacy and law of the Jungle.

Milton, the epic author of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, sang,

"But dream not helm and harness
The sign of valour true;
Peace hath higher tests of manhood
No less renowned than war".

The passions of man have brought modern civilization into this perilous situation. But our passions are not immutable. Less skill is required to alter them than has been expended on the transmutation of elements.

"Modern science" bemoaned Gandhi" is able to make all men neighbours but could not make them brothers." 5. It is increasingly becoming clear, day by day, in the age of star warfare that India, the land of Buddha, Ashoka and Gandhi, has a historic role to play in shaping a new world order.

Even in the West, prior to Gandhi, there were some thinkers like Emerson, Thoreau, Walt Whitman and Eliot of America, Kingsley, Carlyle and Ruskin of England and Tolstoy of Russia who condemned the inner contradictions of the incongruous materialism, engulfing the whole world. These apostles of humanism were pondering over, each from his angle in his own country and circumstances, the decline and decay of a decadent civilization, built on money and machine and supported by a "Political economy" which assumed selfish interest to be the only motive power in human society. Tolstoy's book - "The Kingdom of God is within you" published in 1891 contains a most powerful indictment not only of war but all forms of violence and terrorism and declares that governments which employ force are fundamentally immoral and exist for the advantage of the rich and powerful to the detriment of the poor and the needy.

They were all theoreticians and visionaries. But Gandhi tried to translate his principles into practice on a practical plane of politics. Gandhi's influence was greater over a large number of human beings as held by John Heyns Holmes of America - than that of any other man who has ever lived. Gandhi, a symbol of perfect purity and utter dedication was a saint worshipped while living as some few others have been worshipped when dead by millions.

Gandhi's life has been the story of his experiments with Truth and for Gandhi Truth was God and God was a mystery and majesty beyond the compass of human comprehension. Gandhi frankly admitted that he could not account for the existence of evil and sin in this world. In the wake of partition of India, Gandhi found evil and sin every where. In a sublime sense, Gandhi by his martyrdom, atoned for the sin of man kind with his warm blood. In this sense, the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi ranks as the second crucifixion in the history of mankind.

In the atomic age, Gandhism alone provides the only surest safeguard against the imminent danger of human life becoming a meaningless parenthesis in the process of cosmic creation.

INDEPENDENCE DAY PLEDGE (First taken on January 26th, 1930)

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their oil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income in seven paise (less than two pence) per day, and the heavy taxes we pay, 20 percent are raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry and 3 per cent from the salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor. Village industries, such as hand spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufacturers, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of the exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

Politically, India's status had never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us has to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us, and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot

return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed, and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings, and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us. Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers, and miscreants.

We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this four fold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will, therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore, hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instruction issue from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swaraj.

LITERATURE OF THE GANDHIAN ERA

Barthrihari, the famous author of the Sanskrit Maxims proclaimed. "Su Davita Yadyasti Rajyena Kim"? "If you possess the poetic prowess, where is the need to have political power?" Shelly said, "Poets are the unrecognised legislators of the world" During the Freedom Movement, the Indian poets were the forerunners of the freedom - fighters. In fact, India had obtained intellectual liberty long before she secured political freedom.

During the 18th and the 19th centuries, the Indian literature passed through the stage of decadence. Most of the writers. "imitated the past" and their compositions were feeble echoes of the distant antiquity. But by the close of the 19th century due to the contact with western civilization and culture, Indian literature began to break the chains of bondage, imposed by traditional taboos, doctrines and dogmas.

Poets are credited with prophetic perspectives. Goethe, the great German poet had detected the potentialities of the French Revolution on the battle field of Valmy (on 20-9-1792) with a precision that later astounded the world. Likewise, it was again Goethe who had lavished great praise on the Indian poet Kalidasa, who was introduced to the west by Sir William Jones. Soon Indology, made rapid strides, shattering the inferiority complex of the Indians. The English language provided India with the master key to the literary treasures of the west. The novel, the short-story, the essay, the drama the one-act play, the minor poem, the blank verse, the literary criticism, the parody, the travelogue, the biography, the auto- biography, the history and prose were cultivated by all the regional languages of India.

Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Swift, Johnson, Burke, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelly and many English writer inspired the budding poets of India. English translations of the works of Tolstoy, Victor Hugo, Chekov, Gorki, Goethe, Ibsen and many other foreign writers were read by Indians. Ideas of democracy, equality, liberty and fraternity flooded the fertile soil of India.

The most important gain for India due to the British contact was that it has fostered Indian nationalism. The English language, as the Lingua-Franca of India generated mutual cooperation among the linguistic groups in India. Bengal, which came into close contact with Great Britain was in the

forefront of literary renaissance. "What Bengal thinks to-day, the rest of India will think tomorrow" was not an empty boast.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy set the model for Bengali prose style, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, who mastered many European languages composed verses in English and made a mark in Bengali literature. In 1913, Rabindranath Tagore got the Nobel Prize for literature for his Gitanjali. Dwijendralal Roy wrote many dramas, modelled on the Shakespearean plays. An upsurge of romantic lyricism and waves of passionate patriotism engulfed all the regional languages.

Niral, Sumitranandan Pant, Jaya Sanker Prasad, Mahadev Varma of the Hindi literature were the exponents of the "Chayavada" the Indian Romanticism. Later "Pragativada" on progressivism emerged as a reaction to Chayavada. H.S.Vatsayana says, "To put it tersely, Chayavada was a cross between early Romanticism and Vedantic synthesis, Pragativada was a cross between romanticism and Marxian dialectic".

Bendri of Kannada, Devulaopalli Krishnasastry of Telugu, Vallathol and Sanker Kurup of Malayalam, Tagore of Bengali, Bharati of Tamil cultivated the ethereal ardour of Shelly, the Voluptuous opulence of Keats and the passionate nature-worship of Wordsworth.

Labels are sometimes misleading. Premchand, who was acclaimed as Gorki of Hindi Literature wrote many novels and short stories, holding mirror upto contemporary Indian Society. Though literary critics, regard romanticism and progressivism as two poles apart, both are the offspring of the same mother, "the freedom of thought" generated by the freedom movement. "Man is born free but every where he is in chains" proclaimed Rousseau. "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose except your chains" exhorted Marx. "Shaking off the chains" was the common denominator of both the schools.

The centre of gravity in all the regional literatures shifted from the prince to the peasant. The toiling worker became the 'hero' of modern Indian literature, Sri Sri, posed a pertinent question in Telugu, referring to Tajmahal, acclaimed 'as an eligy composed in lime stone'. "What about the coolies who cut and carried the stone for the construction of Tajmahal? What about the poor palanquin bearers of her Majesty, the Moghul Queen Mumtaj Mahal? Poets contribute to the changing values.

The Freedom Fighters were not mere politicians. Invariably they were philosophers and poets, pandits and patriots. They were gifted writers

by choice and politicians by force of circumstances. "The style is the man" is a statement pregnant with meaning, Mahatma Gandhi's English prose was a confluence of Biblical brevity and Upanashadic cadence, at once simple but sublime. Aurobindo the author of Life Divine and other works was 'a flame from earth and yet the heavenly messenger of the immortals'. Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, Sarojinidevi, Humayun, Kabir, Rajaji - Patabhi - the list is long and cannot be exhaustive - have enriched the English language and literature.

Prof. Radha Krishnan's monumental work, "History of Indian Philosophy" carved out a place for him as the master of English prose, 'Torrential in Speech, as he is facile in writing, Prof. Radha Krishnan's is an integrated personality of the pundit and the prophet and his prose style, rich, colourful interspersed with choice quotations from the literatures of the East and West carried all before it". Jawaharlal Nehru was another master of English prose, who chose his words with deliberate precision. He wrote many books in English - Glimpses of World History. Discovery of India, Autobiography etc.

Many Indian composed original poetry in English language. Sarojini Naidu who earned the title - "The Nightingale of India" composed many poems in English is ranked as a Poetess of a very high order. The medium of instruction in the Indian Universities is English to a large extent, even after four decades of Independence. Many Indian intellectuals attained a high degree of proficiency in the English language. To cite an example, Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry corrected an expression used by the British Prime Minister, Churchill. Churchill proclaimed during the war that England had put into operation amphibious air-craft and would try to invent 'triphibious' planes soon.

Rt. Hon'ble Sastry said that the expression "triphibious" was grammatically wrong and that it should be "tribious" only. The Times of London, in its literary supplement upheld the contention of Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry. "History and Philosophy can claim savants and thinkers of the eminence of M.G. Ranade, Tilak, Jadunath Sincar, O.C.Majumdar, P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar, Barrister Savarkar, M.N.Roy, Asutosh Mukkerji, Srinivasa Sastry, K.M.Panikar - and other writers and their name is legion and they can stand comparison with the best English or American masters of prose in the respective fields.

Indian contribution to English literature proves that the Indian patriotism was not a geographic idolatry or narrow nationalism but a noble passion for universal humanism.

THE CELLULAR JAIL

PORTBLAIR - ANDAMAN ISLANDS

The ingenious British brain chose the Andaman island more than 900 K.M away from the Indian main land as a safe and strategic place to incarcerate the dangerous political prisoners, where nobody could entertain any hope of escape.

In 1858 - many prisoners - the so called 'mutineers' were transported to Andamans. Their exact number was not known. They exceeded 200. Among them two leaders who were widely respected for their scholarship and moral character Allama Fazali Haq and Moulana Liakat Ali died in the Andamans. Mir Jafar Ali underwent 20 years penal servitude there.

The Freedom Fighters who were convicted in Chitagong Armory Raid, Meerat Conspiracy case, Labour commissioners case etc., were sent to these islands.

Barindranath Kumar Ghosh, Vaman Joshi, Sambhunath Azad, Jay Dev Kapoor, Battukeswar Dutta, Sachindranath Sanyal, Pandit Paramanand, Loknath Bal, Ganesh Chandra Ghosh and Tralokynath Chakravorthy were some of the well-known revolutionaries transported to Port Blair.

The construction of the famous cellular-jail which began in 1896, was completed in 1906. It was a Triple jail. The Andaman island was a prison, the jail compound inside was a vast prison. The cellular jail was the actual prison, "devised with demonic intelligence, and constructed with claculated cruelty". It was a three storeyed edifice divided into 7 wings. It had 698 cells, one for each prisoner measuring 13.5 feet by 7 feet., and 3 ft. by 1 foot ventilator nearly 10 feet high from the door was provided. The jailer Barie was a typical character. "Listen prisoners" he used to say proudly, "There are two Gods, one God of the Heaven and the other God on earth who is myself. The God of Heaven will reward you after your death. I will reward you here and now on earth. So, you must behave well". The prisoners were locked up every night in the cell with only a small earthen ware tumbler for urination. Patriots from all parts of India were lodged in the cellular jail. Bhayankaracharya (Prati- vadi Bhayankara Venkatacharya), who was lodged in the jail wrote Matru Sandesh on the lines of Kalidasa's

Megha San- desam outpouring his heart to his mother in the Mandakrant meter in Sanskrit slokas. The prisoners were patriotic and noblest specimens of human nature who were victims of a vicious fate. Most of them languished in jail. Some died famished and heart broken. Life in the cellular jail was worse than death. A convict remarked, "Hanging is better, it is instant death. Life in the cellular jail is slow death, death every day, every hour, nay every second".

One of the outstanding results of the congress assuming office in 1937 in provinces was the release of political prisoners from the cellular jail, or transfer to their provinces. The earth quake of 1941 followed by the Japanese occupation of these islands (23-3-1942 to 7-10-1945) caused substantial damage to the building, four wings were demolished out of the seven.

The Japanese resorted to barbarious methods and shot dead many citizens on mere suspicion. These atrocities were stopped after Netaji visited the islands on 29-12-1943 as head of the provisional Government of free India. Srimati Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister, when she paid a visit to the islands in 1960 said, "These islands were the nursery of some of our great revolutionaries; it was here appropriately that an Indian Government hoisted the national flag before the rest of the country became free." The cellular jail has been converted into a National Memorial on 11-2-1979.

THE CELLULAR JAIL: PORT BLAIR

(Chronological chart)

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 10.3.1858 | Convict Mutineers
Frigate - "Semiramis" reached Port Blair. The Andaman islands were infested with Cannibal tribe - The Great Andaman's.
A total of 773 prisoners were sent in 1858. Out of them, 64 died in hospitals; 140 escaped and uncaptured and suicided and 87 executed. |
| 8-2-1882 | Visit of Lord Mayo
Assassination of Lord Mayo by Wahabi Convict Sher Ali. |
| 1908 | Ram Hari, Nanda Gopal of SWARAJ NEWS PAPERS; Lodha Ram Ramchander of YUGANTOR Newspaper were transported to the Cellular Jail in 1908. |
| 1911 | Alipore Bomb case convict.
Brinda Kumar Gosh, Upendra Nath Benerjee. Ulaskar Dutta, and Indu Bhushan Roy. |

- 4-7-1911 Vinayk Damodar Savarkar and his brother Ganesh Savarkar were in cell No. 123 of the wing.
- 12-4-1912 Indu Bhushan Roy committed suicide by hanging.
- 1916 Trailokya Nath Chakravorthy and Pandit Paramanand, Bhai Paramanand and Prithvi Singh - Lahore Conspiracy case.
Bhim Singh died of flogging ordered by Jailor Berry.
Pandit Ram Raksha - died - Hunger strike for the sacred thread.
- 1921-23 About 1400 Mopla rebels of Malabar.
- 1925 Followers of Alluri Seetha Rama Raju - Sri Bongari Pondu Padal was one among them Pandu of Bisch Gang settled in South Andaman Permanently.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Estate	In 1910-20	1932-38
Bengal	38	332
U.P.	11	9
Punjab	81	3
Bihar	---	18
Delhi	---	1
Madras	---	3
Maharastra	3	---
	----- 133 -----	----- 366 -----

- 17-5-1933 Mahavir Singh (Lahore Conspiracy case) died of hunger strike.
- 26-5-1933 Mankrishna Nam Desai.
- 28-5-1933 Mohir Mohan Moitra
- 13-10-1936 Deligation appointed by the East India visited Port Blair. Raizada Hans Raj (Congress) and Mohd. Yami (Muslim League).
- 8-7-1940 Court Martial of prisoners.
Royal Indian Army Security Corps (RIASC) and C.I.H. Central India Horse.
- 23-3-1942 Japanese Conquest of Andaman & Nicobar islands
- 22-1-1943 Spy cases.
- 26-1-1943 Muthuswamy Naidu died of torture by the Japanese.
- 30-3-1943 Seven executed by the Japanese firing squad.

18-10-1943 Second Spy case. Dr. Dewan Singh principal accused. 30-
30-12-1943 Visit of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Hoisting of
Tricolour flag.
13-1-1944 Death of Dewan Singh due to torture.
30-1-1944 Mass execution of 44 members by the Japanese.

GANDHISM AT A GLANCE

(MAHATMA GANDHI 2-10-1869 to 30-1-1948)

- i. Truth and Non-violence;
Civil-Disobedience
"Satyagraha" Initial success in South Africa.
- ii. Dignity of Labour - "Work is Worship" Ashram without servants.
Work is worship (including scavenging). Nursed lepers.
- iii. "End do not justify the means"
"Means must be as pure as the end".
- iv. Man should not be a slave to the machine.
- v. Industrialisation is bad as it makes "the Rich richer" and the "Poor poorer",
- vi. Untouchability is a blot on Hinduism. Harijan uplift is a sacred duty.
- vii. "No rights" please, only responsibilities. If duties are done, rights will automatically accrue as the day follows the night.
- viii. The spinning wheel and the Khaddar will lead not only to political independence, but also economic emancipation and spiritual self-realisation.
- ix. Violence breeds counter violence and it solves no problem. Non
But violence is better than violence, But violence is better than
cowardice.
- x. Hate the evil but hate not the evil doer. Non-violence is love in
thought, word and deed and it implies love towards the enemy.

- xi. God dare not appear before a hungry man except in the shape of food.
- xii. Imperialism and exploitation will lead to world wars.
- xiii. Duty is a direction and not a destination and hence Satyagraha is above success or failure.
- xiv. Basic education:
Basic Education comprises of the principles of play and activity resulting in joy and creativity. Earning while learning.
- xv. Bramacharya :
Bramacharya is the conquest of the spirit over the flesh, control of thought, word and all the senses.
- xvi. Fast:
Fasting is prayer, cleans the body and the mind.
- xvii. Universal Brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God." Eswar Alla Tere nam".
- xviii. The Three chinese Monkeys :
See no evil - Speak no evil - Hear no evil.

RESOLUTION ON FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC POLICY

(All India Congress Committee, Bombay, Aug, 1931)

This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what Swaraj as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The Congress, therefore, declares that any constitution which may be agreed to on its behalf should provide or enable the Swaraj government to provide for the following;

- I. Fundamental rights of the people, including;
 - i Freedom of association and combination;
 - ii Freedom of speech and of the press;
 - iii Freedom of conscience and free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality;

- iv Protection of the culture, language, and scripts of the minorities;
- v Equal rights and obligations of the citizens, without any bar on account of sex;
- vi No disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his religion, caste or creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling;
- vii Equal rights to all citizen in regard to public roads, wells, schools and other places of public resort;
- viii Rights to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf;
- ix No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law;

2. Religious neutrality on the part of the State;
3. Adult suffrage;
4. Free primary education;
5. A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment;
6. Labour to be freed from serfdom or the conditions bordering on serfdom;
7. Protection of women workers, and adequate provisions for leave during maternity period;
8. Prohibition against employment of children of school going age in the factories;
9. Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration;
10. Substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenues paid by the peasantry, and in case of uneconomic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary by reason of such reduction;
11. Imposition of progressive tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum ;
12. A graduated inheritance tax;
13. Military expenditure to be reduced by atleast one half of the present scale;
14. Expenditure and salaries in civil department to be largely reduced. And no servant of the state other than specially employed experts and the hike, to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month;

15. Protection of indigenous cloth exclusion of all foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country;
16. Prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs;
17. No duty on salt manufactured in India;
18. Control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses;
19. Control by the State of key-industries and ownership of mineral resources;
20. Control of usury.

It shall be open to the A.I.C.C. to revise amend or add to the foregoing so far as such revision, amendment or addition is not inconsistent with the policy and principles thereof.

CHRONOLOGY

-PEARL BUCK

- 1498 Columbus discovered America
- 1494 Vasco da Gama's arrival at Good Hope
- 1510 Albuquerque of Portugal at Gova
- 1579 Drake sails round the world
- 1595 Dutch sail to India
- Queen Elizabeth's Charter to the company called
The Merchant Adventurers (East India Company)
- 1602 Dutch East India Company
- 1603 Death of Queen Elizabeth
- 1607 William Hawkins sails to India
- 24-8-1608 Hawkins reached the mouth of Tapti after 16 months-
Mughal Viceroy Mukarrab Khan confiscated the
presents brought by Hawkins to Jahangir
- 15-2-1609 Hawkins starts Agra
- 16-4-1609 Hawkins Agra
- 19-9-1615 Arrival of Sir Thomas Roe at Surat
- 31-10-1615 Roe starts for Agra
- 1623 English defeated the Dutch in East Indies
- 1631 Portuguese clash with Moghuls
- 1658 British conquer Ceylon from the Portuguese
- 1662 The British secure Bombay
- 1664 French came to India
- 1686 British clash with Aurangzeb
- 1724 Departure of Nizam-ul-Mulk to Hyderabad
- 1726 Gurupada Swamy led a crusade against foreign goods at
Nasik
- 1739 Nadir Shah's Invasion
- 1746 French occupied Madras
- 1748 Death of Nizam-ul-Mulk
- 1748 Death of Mohammad Shah
- 1749 Death of Shahu
- 26-6-1751 Clive marched on Arcot
- 1-9-1751 Clive occupied Arcot
- 20-6-1756 Siraj Ud Daula occupied Calcutta
- 23-6-1757 Battle of Plassey
- 1759 Shah Alem ascended the Delhi throne
- 22-1-1760 Battle of Wandwash

14-1-1761	III Battle of Panipat
1764	Invention of the spinning jenny
22-10-1764	Battle of Buxor
23-3-1775	Capture of Chandranagur
4-5-1799	Death of Tippu
25-3-1808	England abolished slavery
1813	Charter Act - allocating Rs. One lakh per year for Education in India
17-7-1823	Committee of Public Instruction formed
1824	First Anglo-Burma war
1831	Macaulay's Minute on Education
1839	Death of Ranjit Singh
1843	Invasion of Sind by Napier
1852	Second Anglo-Burma war
1854	Education Despatch by wood
26-2-1857	Berhampur sepoys refused to use the cartridges
29-3-1857	Mangal Pandey fired at the English Major Hudson
24-4-1857	The revolt of Meerut
3--6-1857	The revolt of Azimgar
4-6-1857	The revolt of Jhansi, Kanpur and Banaras
5-6-1857	The revolt of Jananpur
25-6-1857	Surrender of Wheeler
16-7-1857	The defeat of rebels at Kanpur
1857	Engineering College, Rourkela
1857	University of Bombay
1857	University of Madras
1857	University of Calcutta
27-4-1858	The death of Kulwar Singh
17-6-1858	The death of Jhansi Lakshmi Bai
Nov. 1858	Transfer of power from company to queen
18-11-1858	Queen Victoria's proclamation
7-4-1859	Arrest of Tantia Tope
18-7-1859	The execution of Tope
1866	East India Association organised by Naoroji in London with branches in India
1868	Starting of Amrita Bazar Patrika
2-10-1869	Birth of Gandhi
1870	Poona Sarvajanika Sabha
1874	Dayananda Saraswathi's "Satya Prakash" - published
1876	Indian Association, Calcutta
1876	Queen Victoria designated the Empress of India
1878	The report of the India Famine Commission
1879	Revolt of Vasudeva Balavanth Phadke

1881	Starting of TRIBUNE
1881	Madras Mahajana Sabha
1882	Engineering College, Calcutta University of Lahore started.
1882	Appointment of Education Commission by Lord Ripon President - Hunter.
1883	Hume's resignation from I.C.S.
31-3-1883	15004 inhabitants of Madras were arrested for breaking the salt laws.
1883	University of Allahabad started
1885	Bombay Presidency Association
27 to 30	First Indian National Congress met, only three
Dec. 1885	Muslim delegates attended
Dec. 1885	Matholkar pointed out that India enjoyed local self government long before Europe dreamed of it.
1888	Gandhi's arrival at London
1888	Gladstone said - "It will not do for us to treat with contempt or indifference the rising aspirations of the great Indian People"
1890-91	15000 Indian emigrants in South Africa
11-9-1893	Vivekananda at Chicago world Parliament of religions
1893-94	Gandhi in south Africa
1895-96	Frontier operations cost Indian exchequer Rs.7,36,000.
1896	Gokhale's evidence before Royal Commission regarding the expenditure of Indian Government.
28 to 31	
Dec. 1896	Calcutta Congress
1896	Construction of Cellular jail at Port Blair began
1897	Arrest of Balagangadhara Tilak
1897	Chapekar brothers killed two British officials
1898	Appointment of Plague Commission
1899	Boer war
1899	Gandhiji works as a volunteer in Indian ambulance corps.
1899	Reduction of seats in Calcutta corporation
29-12-1900	Kadambini Ganguli first woman graduate of Calcutta University proposes vote of thanks at the Congress Session
1901	Gandhi attended the annual meeting of the A.I.C.C. as the guest of Gokhale. Met Mrs. Annie Beasant
1904	Indian University Act
1904	Plauge broke out in Jehanesburg
1904	Anglo-Tibetan treaty
April, 1904	Gandhi started "Indian Opinion" paying 2000 pounds

from his pocket in South Africa
 1905 Proposal of partition of Bengal
 7-8-1905 Vendemataram movement formally started by Ananda Mohan Bose
 7-8-1905 Partition of Bengal implemented
 1905 Sister Nivedita joins "The Dawn Society" as a patron
 1906 Cellular jail's construction completed at Port Blair
 1906 Gandhi's Satyagraha in South Africa
 31-7-1907 Registration of Indians - Law passed in South Africa
 1907 Lala Lajpat Roy & Ajit Singh deported
 1907 Split in Congress at Surat
 10-1-1908 Gandhi imprisoned in South Africa
 1908 Gandhi read "Civil Disobedience" written by Henry David Thoreau
 1908 Balaguru Chetti of South Africa addressed the Congress at Madrass
 2-5-1908 Alipore conspiracy case involving Khudiram Bose, Aurobinda Ghose etc.
 30-4-1908 Midnapore bomb incident
 24-6-1908 Tilak arrested and sent to Mandalay in Burma
 1909 Minto Marley reforms
 June 23 to
 Nov. 13, 1909 Gandhi in London
 10-6-1909 Public prosecutor shot dead
 9-6-1909 G.D. Savarkar deported for life
 1-7-1909 Madanlal Dhingra Killed W.C.Wyllic at London
 17-8-1909 Madanlal Dhingra Hanged
 1909 Gandhi attends Congress session
 24-1-1910 Police Superintendent shot dead
 1910 Tolstoy's letter to Gandhi
 1910 Aurobindo Ghose went to Pandicherry
 6-9-1910 Tolstoy note in his dairy about the passive resistance movement in Transwal
 29-12-1910 Jinnah condemned communal representation
 1911 Capital transfered from Calcutta to Delhi
 June, 1911 Ashe District Magistrate shot dead by Vance Aiyar
 12-12-1911 King George V Darbar at Delhi
 1912 Bomb thrown at Viceroy Hordinge
 1912 Gandhi Presents a pair of sandels to Gen. Smuts
 1912 Gandhi vows not to take cow's milk
 1913 Rabindra Nath Tagore awarded Nobel Prize for literature
 18-12-1913 Gandhi, Kellenboch & Polak released from prison in South Africa

1914	Indian relief 'act
1914	Gandhi Smuts pact
1914	Gandhi sailed to London
1914	Episode of Kamagatha maru
1914	First world war starts
1914	Congress deputation to London, Bhupendranath Bose, Jinnah, Major Ullhoq, N.Somnath Sinha, B.N.Sarma, Lajpat Roy
9-1-1915	Arrival of Gandhi to India from South Africa
25-1-1915	Sabarmathi Asram started by Gandhi
1915	Gandhiji's visit to Santhiniketan
1915	Leaders of Ghadar party in Punjab arrested, 42 hanged, 114 deported
1915	Revolt of jamedar Chisti Khan at Singapore
1915	Boya Jatin died in encounter with police
1915	Rash Bihari Bose escaped to Japan
4-2-1916	Gandhi's speech at the Benaras Hindu University
1916	United Congress at Lucknow
1916	Lucknow pact
1916	Home rule movement of Besent
1916	Home rule movement of Tilak
1917	Russian revolution
1917	Champaran Satyagraha
28-2-1917	Mantegu's speech at Cambridge praising India
7-4-1917	Deputation to England R.B.Shok Malaviya, Sapru
15-6-1917	Besent interned
16-9-1917	Besent released
1918	Khaira Satyagraha
1918	Ahmedabad mill workers strike
12-3-1918	Gandhi accepted to take Goat's milk on the persuasion of Kasturba and the doctor
31-3-1918	All India Hindi Sammelan
1918	Congress asked Indians to quit the Army and other Government jobs
18-2-1919	Mopla revolt in Malabar
24-2-1919	Gandhiji's protest against Rowlat Bill
18-3-1919	Rowlat Act passed
18-3-1919	B.N. Sarma resigned from Viceroy's Council
31-3-1919	Swamy Sraddhananda's statement on Delhi
6-4-1919	First nation-wide civil disobedience movement started
11-4-1919	General Dyer's arrival
12-4-1919	Gandhi's penitent fast
13-4-1919	Jallianwala Bagh tragedy

1-6-1919	Ravindranath Tagore renounced knighthood
1919	Mantague Chemsford reforms
18-1-1920	Gandhi met Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad as a co-delegate of the Khilafat delegation to the Viceroy
21-5-1920	Nizam's prohibition of Khilafat movement
1-8-1920	Non-co-operation movement started and death of Tilak
Aug. 1920	Hijrat Mass migration of 13,000 Muslims to Afghanistan ended as a fiasco
30-10-1920	Muslim conference ratified non-co-operation
Dec. 1920	Homage paid to Mac Swinney, Mayor of Cork who died after 65 days Fast for Irish Independence by the A.I.C.C.
1-1-1921	Jamanlal Bajaj donated Rs. One lakh to the Congress
19-1-1921	C.R.Das gave up legal practice
28-1-1921	Calcutta hartal against the Duke of Cannaght
5-3-1921	Swamy Govindananda sentenced to 5 years
31-3-1921	Congress met at Bezwada
23-4-1921	Besent condemned non-co-operation movement
29-4-1921	Swamy Satyananda sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment
12-6-1921	Makhanlal Chaturvedi editor 'Karmaveer' of Jabalpur arrested
30-6-1921	Distribution of 20 lakh charakas
8-7-1921	All India Khilafat Conference met at Karachi
Aug. 1921	Tagore & Andrews opposed Burning of foreign cloth
Sep. 1921	Ali brothers arrested
Nov. 1921	Gandhi wore the loin khaddar cloth
17-11-1921	Arrival of Prince of Wales, Rioting & bloodshed
Dec. 1921	C.R.Dass, Motilal and Jawaharlal in Jail
16-12-1921	1826 Moplas killed, 1,500 wounded 15,300 captured, 1,40,000 surrendered
26-12-1921	Viswa Bharathi University of Rabindranath Tagore opened at Bholpore at Santiniketan
29-12-1922	Bardoli no-tax campaign
5-12-1922	21 Constables and a Sub-inspector burnt to death at

Chauri Chaira in U.P.

12-2-1922 Gandhiji's penitent fast for 5 days for Chauri Chaira and Barelly

10-3-1922 Arest of Gandhi

10-4-1922 J.H.Holness of American on Gandhi

1922 "The Story of My Experiments with Truth" by Gandhi published in Gujarati. Later translated into English by Mahadeva Desai and Pyarelal assisted by Miraben and Miss Slade

Nov 1922 Unexpected end of the Khilafat Agitation. Kamal Pasha became the Head of Turkey caliphate and Sultan fled to Malta in an British ship.

26-12-1922 C.R.Dass presided over Gaya Congress

26-12-1922 First Khadi exhibition

1923 Advent of Swaraj Party

9-2-1923 Hindu Muslim riots in Ahmedabad

15-1-1923 200 Akalis taken into custody

7-5-1923 Hindu Muslim riots in Amritasar

6-11-1923 Malaviya, Motilal elected to the Legislative Assembly

30-12-1923 Hindu-Muslim riots in Calcutta

1924 Turks abolished califat

2-1-1924 Congress at Kakinada

7-1-1924 Savarkar released from jail

12-1-1924 Gandhi operated by Col.Madhok in Poona Hospital

5-2-1924 Gandhi released and he went to Juhu beach, Bombay

Feb. 1924 C.R.Dass speech in Bengal Legislative Council

6-5-1924 Death of Alluri Sita Rama Raju

27-7-1924 Communal riots in Delhi

16-8-1924 C.R.Dass presided over Swaraj Party at Calcutta

18-9-1924 Gandhiji's fast for Hindu-Muslim unity for 21 days

27-9-1924 Hindu Muslim Unity Conference at Delhi

27-9-1924 National Panchayat board to resolve communal differences, **Gandhi ended fast.**

8-10-1924 Gandhi ended fast

1924 M.N.Roy elected to the Communist International

Dec. 1924 Council Entry: allowed by Congress, C.R. Dass donated his property to the Nation

1925 Advent of the Communist Party of India

22-1-1925 Gandhi presided over all party conference at Delhi

29-5-1925 Gandhi visited Shantiniketan

16-6-1925 Death of C.R.Das

6-8-1925 Death of Surendranath Benerji

22-9-1925 Meeting of the All India Spinners Association

8-12-1925 Lajpat Rai elected to the Assembly
 30-12-1925 Muslim League session held at Aligarh
 8-3-1926 Walkout by Swarajists from the Assembly
 23-4-1926 Hindu Muslim riots - Calcutta
 15-7-1926 Gandhi shocked at the assassination of Swamy
 Sraddhananda
 1927 Boycott of the Simon commission
 1927 Congress greeted China for the struggle against
 imperialism
 5-1-1927 First All India Women Conference
 14-3-1927 Abdul Rasheed murderer of Sraddhananda sentenced to
 death
 30-12-1927 Muslim League session held at Calcutta presided over by
 Mahammad Yakub
 1928 All party convention at Calcutta did not approve Motilal
 Nehru's report
 2-5-1928
 to 6-5-1928 Bardoli Satyagraha
 1928 Railway workers strike at Calcutta
 1928 Tata Iron and Steel workers strike
 16-1-1928 Miss Mayo's Mother India published
 3-2-1928 Simon Commission arrived at Bombay
 2-3-1928 Trial of Kanpur bomb case
 12-9-1928 Sarojini left for U.S.A.
 All India Hartal in favour of Bardoli
 30-10-1928 Lala Lajpat Roy lathicharged
 17-11-1928 Death of Lala Lajpat Roy
 30-12-1928 "Swaraj within one year" -- Gandhi
 21-3-1929
 to 4-4-1929 Simon Commission tour India
 3-4-1929 Gandhi and others arrested for burning foreign cloth
 8-4-1929 Bomb thrown into Assembly
 23-4-1929 Hindu Muslim riots in Bombay
 25-4-1929 Sarojini left New York for London
 27-7-1929 Azad preside over National Muslim convention
 12-8-1929 Ramanand Chatterji, Editor of Modern Review fined
 Rs. 1000/-
 30-8-1929 Tyabji appealed to Muslims to work for Swaraj
 30-12-1929 Tri-colour flag hoisted
 1930 Muslim League session at Allahabad presided over by
 Iqbal
 7-1-1930 Senator Baliney of Wisconsin proposes recognition of
 Indian Independence by U.S.A.

2-2-1930 Philosophy of the Bomb by Hindustan Republican party
 2-6-1930 Independence pledge taken
 12-3-1930 Dandi March by Gandhi
 11-4-1930 Motilal donated Swaraj Bhavan to Congress
 16-4-1930 Martial Law proclaimed in Peshawar
 18-4-1930 Chittagang army raid by Surya Sen
 24-4-1930
 to 4-5-1930 Peshawar in rebel's hand
 May, 1930 Imam Saheb aged 63 raided Dharsana Salt Depot followed by 25,000 Satyagrahis. One killed and 290 injured

 1-6-1930 Raid at WALDALA by 15,000 Satyagrahis
 June, 1930 Guntur Magistrate's ban on Gandhi Cap
 12-11-1930 George V inaugurated the I Round Table Conference
 12-12-1930 Mother of Jawaharlal arrested
 14-11-1930 Nobel Prize in Physics for C.V.Raman
 18-12-1930 Jawaharlal's fast against flogging
 22-12-1930 Kamala Nehru (Wife of Jawaharlal) arrested
 11-1-1931 Mohammad Ali died in London
 24-1-1931 Ramakrishna Biswas sentenced to death and Kalipada Chakravarty to transportation for life in Chandrapur Inspector murder case

 12-11-1930
 to 10-1-1931 First Round Table Conference ended in failure
 6-2-1931 Death of Motilal Nehru
 27-2-1931 Chandrasekhar Azad shot dead
 5-3-1931 Gandhi-Irwin pact
 23-3-1931 Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhadev hanged
 6-5-1931 Moulana Mohammad Sadir held a meeting in Karachi against separate electorates

 1-8-1931 Tricolour adopted by the Congress officially
 7-9-1931 Second Round Table Conference began
 13-9-1931 Gandhiji's broadcast to America for half an hour from London

 30-10-1931 Prof. Laskii's letter addressed to Justice Holmes about Round Table Conference

 6-12-1931
 to 18-12-1931 Gandhi met Romain Rolland at Villence in Switzerland
 12-12-1931 Gandhi met Mossolini in Rome
 25-12-1931 Arrest of Abdul Gaffar Khan
 1932 Rani Gaidunulae who lead struggle at Manipura captured
 Jan. 1932 Several Congress leaders arrested
 4-1-1932 Arrest of Gandhi

17-4-1932 Pethick Lawrence supported Indian Independence
 30-4-1932 Robert Douglas District Magistrate shot dead
 26-5-1932 Socialists Brokway and Wedwood support Indian Independence
 20-9-1932 Gandhiji's fast
 23-9-1932 Shaukat Ali demanded Gandhi's release
 Sept. 1932 Poona pact
 1-1-1933 Gandhijis fast averted, Harijans allowed into Guruvayur Temple of Kerala
 Feb. 1933 Harijan weekly "Harijan Seva Sangh" started by Gandhi
 20-4-1933 M.N.Roy sentenced - 6 years
 16-7-1933 Sabarmati ashram disbanded
 20-9-1933 Death of Annie Besent
 11-1-1934 Surya Sen hanged
 24-1-1934 Gandhijis appeal for help to Bihar earthquake victims
 17-5-1934 First Conference of Congress Socialist Party Narendra Dev presided
 May, 1934 Civil disobedience movement withdrawn
 1935 Government of India Act
 1-2-1935 All India village Industries Association at Wardha
 April, 1935 Gandhi presided over Hindi literary conference
 6-6-1935 Visweswarayya left for Europe to start automobile Industry in India
 1-9-1935 Abyssinia Day
 22-10-1935 Little Hut at Seogaon (Near Wardha)
 28-12-1935 History of the Congress - Dr. Pattabhi published by the A.I.C.C.
 Jan. 1936 Japanese poet Yone Noguchi met Gandhi
 March, 1936 Gandhi Seva Sangh Met - Gandhi said, "there is no such thing as GANDHISM. I do not want to leave any SECT after me".
 30-4-1936 Sevagram Ashram started
 1-5-1936 Ambedkar met Gandhi
 10-5-1936 Death of Dr. Ansari
 June, 1936 Death of Abbas Tyabji
 Oct. 1936 Gandhi presided over National Educational Conference
 April, 1937 Gandhi addressed Hindi Sahitya Sammelan
 Mar/Apr 1937 Elections held in India according to the 1935 Act
 1937 Formation of Congress ministries
 5-9-1937 Congress ministry formed in North West province
 1-10-1937 Prohibition introduced in Bombay province
 Oct. 1937 Gandhi stayed with Subhas Bose in Calcutta
 17-10-1937 Muslim League declared independence as its goal

22-10-1937	Gandhi criticised Congress ministers for using force in communal riots
8-1-1938	Gandhi took up the problem of Andaman prisoners
Feb. 1938	Haripura Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose
May, 1938	Gandhi's tour of N.W.F. Province
6-7-1938	Jawaharlal criticised Chamberlin
26-11-1938	Gandhi expressed sympathy towards German Jews
Dec. 1938	Takaka Japanese Parliament Member met Gandhi
4-1-1939	Death of Shoukat Ali
1939	Nehru elected as President of All India State People's Conference
3 to 7	
Mar. 1939	Gandhi's fast at Rajakota
1939	Gen. Smuts returns the sandals presented to him by Gandhi to India
30-4-1939	Rajendra Prasad elected Congress President
3-5-1939	Subhash Chandra Bose started Forward Block
7-5-1939	Gandhi Seva Sangh meets at Brindavan
July, 1939	Open letter to HITLER by Gandhi
1-8-1939	Total prohibition in Bombay Province
20-8-1939	Defence of India Act
20-8-1939	Jawaharlal's visit to China
3-9-1939	Great Britain declared war against Germany
5-2-1940	Gandhi's interview with Viceroy
17-2-1940	Vinoba Bhave selected as first Satyagrahi
17-2-1940	Gandhiji's visit to Santiniketan
5-3-1940	Sagaon renamed as SEVAGRAM
5-4-1940	Death of C.F. Andrews
2-7-1940	Gandhiji's appeal to every Britain
1940	Pakistan resolution passed by Muslim League
17-1-1941	Bose escaped from India
28-3-1941	Bose reached Berlin
22-6-1941	German attack of Russia
7-8-1941	Death of Tagore
9-9-1941	"Atlantic Charter does not apply to India" Churchill in British Parliament
3-12-1941	Release of about 2,500 Satyagrahis
7-12-1941	Japan joined the war on the side of the Axis powers
8-2-1942	Bose started from Kiel to Tokyo
15-2-1942	Japan occupied Singapore
7-3-1942	Japan occupied Rangoon
11-3-1942	Cripps mission
27-3-1942	Gandhi's interview with Cripps

23-6-1942 Indian independence league held at Bangkok
 15-8-1942 Quit India Movement
 3-8-1942 Gandhi arrived at Bombay for A.I.C.C. meeting
 8-8-1942 A.I.C.C. at Bombay passed "Quit India" resolution
 9-8-1942 Gandhi and other Congress leaders arrested
 1-11-1942 Churchill declared that he would not liquidate the British empire

 13-11-1942 General Smuts tribute to Gandhiji at London
 1943 Famine in Bengal
 10-2-1943 All party leaders conference at Delhi
 17-2-1943 Modi, Sarkar, Aney resigned from Viceroy's council
 Mar. 1943 Fazul Huq ministry dismissed
 26-4-1943 Pro. Lasky's appeal for Gandhi's release
 16-5-1943 Bose reached Tokyo
 2-7-1943 Bose at Singapore
 4-7-1943 Rash Behari Bose handed over the leadership of the Indian Independence league to Netaji Bose.

 21-10-1943 The provisional Government of India headed by Netaji at Singapore gave slogans of Jai Hind and Chalo Delhi and declared war against England.

 28-10-1943 Netaji received state honours from the Japanese Emperor
 6-11-1943 Japan handed over the Andaman and Nicobar islands to the Azad Hind Government.

 18-12-1943 Chiang Kai Shek's appeal to Congress and British Government for ending the dead-lock.

 4-1-1944 Netaji Bose arrived at Rangoon
 29-2-1944 Kasturba's death
 6-5-1944 Release of Gandhi
 30-6-1944 Jinnah insists on Pakistan
 9-9-1944 Talks between Gandhi and Jinnah
 21-1-1945 Death of Rash Behari Bose
 Feb, 1945 Netaji Bose died due to plane crash at Tailoku
 1945 Second World War ends
 18-7-1945 Louis Fisher met Gandhi at Panchanghani
 26-7-1945 Pethick Lawrence became the Secretary of State for India
 15-8-1945 Japan's surrender; Second World War ended
 25-1-1946 Gandhi addressed Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha at Madras.

 Feb. 1946 The revolt of the Indian naval ratings at Bombay
 23-3-1946 Cabinet mission
 30-7-1946 Call for Direct action on 16th August 1946 by Muslim League

 16-8-1946 Direct action day by Muslim League

24-8-1946	Interim Government
14-10-1946	Muslim League joined the interim Government
14-10-1946	Noakhali violence
25-10-1946	
to 2-3-1947	Gandhi in Noakhali on his "Mission of Mercy".
9-12-1946	The Constituent Assembly met
20-2-1947	Attlee declared that British would quit India by a date not later than June, 1948.
4-3-1947	Gandhi's visit to Bihar
26-3-1947	Lord Mount Batten – Viceroy of India
31-3-1947	Gandhi met Mount Batten
5-4-1947	Appeal to Hindus by Gandhi
6-4-1947	Joint appeal of Gandhi and Jinnah for Hindu Muslim unity
3-6-1947	Mount Batten Plan
10-6-1947	Muslim League approved partition
14th, 15th	
June, 1947	Congress approved partition
15-6-1947	Tandon opposed partition
18-6-1947	Jinnah's statement on Princes
June, 1947	Tricolor flag chosen with Dharma Chakra Satyamevjayate
18-7-1947	Indian Independence Bill passed by British Parliament.
13-8-1947	Jinnah - Mount Batten state drive in Karachi
14-8-1947	Gandhi's arrival at Calcutta from Noakhali
15-8-1947	Lord Mount Batten sworn in as the First Governor-General of Independent India
15-8-1947	India's First Independence day
1-9-1947	Gandhi's Fast in Calcutta
4-9-1947	Gandhi ended the fast
4-9-1947	Violence in Punjab. The greatest migration in World History
9-9-1947	Gandhi's arrival in Delhi
2-10-1947	Gandhi Jayanthi
24-10-1947	Invasion of Kashmir by N.W.F. Tribes aided by Pakistan, Indian troops sent to Kashmir.
13-1-1948	Gandhi's Fast at Delhi
20-1-1948	Bomb thrown by Madanlal - Gandhi's prayer meeting
30-1-1948	The Martyrdom of the Mahatma

SUPPLEMENTARY CHRONOLOGY

1494	Columbus discovered America
1498	Vascodagama's arrival at Good Hope
1510	Albuquerque of ortuges at Gova
1579	Drake sails round the world
1595	Dutch sail to India
1-1-1600	Queen Elizabeth's Charter to the company called The Merchant Adventurers (East India Company)
1602	Dutch East India Company
1603	Death of Queen Elizabeth
1607	William Hawkins sails to India
24-8-1608	Hawkins reached the mouth of Tapti after 16 months-Moghal Viceroy Mukarrab Khan confis cated the presents brought by Hawkins to Jahangir
15-2-1609	Hawkins starts for Agra
16-4-1609	Hawkins reaches for Agra
19-9-1615	Arrival of Sir Thomas Roe at Surat.
31-10-1615	Roe starts for Agra
1623	English defeated the Dutch in East Indies
1631	Portugese clash with Moghuls
1658	British conquere Ceylon from the Portugese
1662	The British secure Bombay
1664	French came to India
1686	British clash with Aurangazeb
1724	Departure of Nizam-UI-Mulk to Hyderabad
1726	Gurupada Swamy led a Crusade against foreign goods at Nasik
1739	Nadir Shah's Invasion
1746	French occupied Madras
1748	Death of Nizam-UI-Mulk
1748	Death of Mohammad Shah
1749	Death of Shahu
26-6-1751	Clive marched on Arcot
1-9-1751	Clive occupied Arcot
20-6-1756	Siraj Ud Daula occupied Calcutta
23-6-1757	Battle of Plassey

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (12-2-1809 TO 15-4-1865) :

President of U.S.A. Slavery was abolished during his tenure after a civil war.

AKBAR (15-10-1542 TO 1605):

Moghul Emperor and architect of Din-Ilahi - a Universal religion without scriptures and priests.

ALEXANDER, The Great (356 B.C. to 13-6-232 B.C.):

King of Macedonia 336 - 323 B.C. - embarked on the conquest of the world.

ALI RAHMAT (1897-1951) :

Author and Politician. Coined the word Pakistan while he was a student at Cambridge. (Note: East Bengal was not included.)

AMBEDKAR, B.R. (14-4-1893 to 6-12-1956):

Harijan leader, signatory to Poona pact.
Chief architect of the Indian Constitution.

ALI, SHAUKAT (1873 - 1940):

Prominent Muslim League and Khilafat leader.

ANDREWS, C.F.(1871 - 1940):

Joined Cambridge brotherhood in Delhi - 1904; teacher, author and social reformer

ARNOLD, SIR EDWIN (10-6-1832 to 24-3-1904):

Author The light of Asia (1879)

ATLEE CLEMENT (3-1-1883 to 8-10-1967):

Labour leader from 1934 to 45. Prime Minister of England from 26-7-1945 to 26-10-1951. Gave Independence to Burma, Ceylon, and India, Relinquished control over Egypt and Palestina.

AURANGAZEB (1618-1707) :

Moghul Emperor

AUROBINDO GHOSE (1872 - 1950) :

One of the most remarkable personalities of Indian National movement. Moved to Pondicherry in 1910. Prophet of spiritual evolution, developed a comprehensive system of thought, integral yoga and superman.

AZAD, MAULANA ABUL KALAM (1888-1958):

President of Indian National Congress 1923, 1939-46; A great scholar in Arabic and Persian with his deep knowledge of Islam, he was able to develop an integral view of Indian and World culture.

BANERJEE, SURENDRANATH (1848 - 1925):

Entered Indian civil service 1871; dismissed from Indian civil service 1874; teacher and journalist at Calcutta; president of Indian National Congress 1895, 1902; Minister in Bengal government 1921 - 23.

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATERJEE (27-6-1838 to 8-4-1894):

Worked as Deputy Magistrate from 1858 to 1891. Edited "Banga Darshan". Author of Ananda Mutt, the novel, incorporating the song Vande Mataram 1882.

BASU, BHUPENDRANATH (1859-1924) :

Lawyer and politician at Calcutta; President of Indian National Congress 1914; member of Secretary of State's Council 1917-24.

BESANT, ANNIE (1847 - 1933):

Theosophist, educationist and politician; came to India 1893; President of Theosophical Society 1907 - 33; President of Indian National Congress 1917.

BENERJEE, W.C. (1844 - 1906) :Lawyer at Calcutta; First President of the Indian National Congress 1885, 1892; Member of Bengal legislative council 1893; later settled in England.

BOSE, SUBHAS CHANDRA (1897 - 1945) :

President of the Indian National Congress 1938, 1939; escaped to Germany - 1942; formed Indian National Army - 1943.

CHIROL, VALENTINE (1852 - 1929):

Traveller, Journalist and author; in-charge of The Times foreign department 1896-1912; visited India seventeen times; member of commission on Indian Public Services 1912-14.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON SPENCER (1874-1965):

Under - Secretary for colonies 1906-08; President of Board of Trade 1908-10; Home Secretary 1910-11; First Lord of admiralty 1911-15; Minister of munitions 1917; Secretary of State for war 1919-21; Colonial Secretary 1921-22; Chancellor of Exchequer 1924-29, First Lord of admiralty 1939-40; Prime Minister of Britain 1940-45, 1951-55.

CLIVE, ROBERT (29-9-1725 to 22-11-1774)

Went to India 1743. Regarded as the Founder of the British Empire in India. Won battle of Plassey in 1757. His reply to impeachment that he had acquired a sum of - 2,34,000/- illegally was - "By God at this moment, do I stand astonished at my own moderation". He was accused of deceiving Omichand and forging the signature of Watson. he was acquitted and the Parliament praised his services to his country (1772). On 22-11-1774, Clive in severe pain and black depression committed suicide in the water closet by thrusting a pen-knife into his throat.

CRIPPS, SIR STAFFORD (1889 - 1952)

Solicitor-General in Labour Government 1930-33; British ambassador at Moscow 1940-45; President of Board of Trade 1945-47; Chancellor of Exchequer 1947-50.

CURZON, GEORGE NATHANIEL, MARQUESS CURZON OF KELESTORN (1859-1925):

Under - secretary for India 1891-92; Governor General of India 1898-1905; Lord President of Council and member of war cabinet 1916-18; Foreign Secretary 1919-24.

DALHOUSIE, TENTHEARL AND FIRST MARQUESS OF JAMES ANDREW BROWN RAMSAY (1812-60):

Governor General of India 1848-56.

DAS, C.R. (1870-1925):

Lawyer and politician, Calcutta; President of Indian National Congress 1921; With Motilal Nehru formed Swaraj Party 1923.

DARASHUKO PRINCE (1615 - 1651):

Translated the Upanishads into Persian Language; Son of Shah Jehan, the Moghul Emperor.

DAYANAND SARASWATI (1824 - 84) :

Founder of Arya Samaj (1875)

DEFOR, DANIEL (24-4-1660 to 24-4-1731):

Author of Robinson Crusoe 1719

DEROZIO (1807 - 1831) :

Budding Bard of Indian National Renaissance. Born of Portugese father and Indian mother. But for his premature death due to cholera, he would have blossomed into a National Poet.

DYER, REGINALD EDWARD HARRY (1864 - 1927)

Brigadier-General; responsible for Amritsar massacre on 13 April 1919.

DUPLEXIE (1696 - 1763) :

French Governor General in India.

EINSTEIN, ALBERT (14-3-1879 to 4-8-1955):

Nobel Laureate in Physics 1921; One of the most creative intellectuals in the history of the world.

GANDHI, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND (MAHATMA) (1869-1948):

Called to bar 1889; went to South Africa 1893; returned to India 1915; leading figure of the Indian National Congress. Prophet of Truth and Non-violence. His ideal was "to wipe out every tear from every eye" and to raise the quality of human beings for freedom and fellowship, for spiritual depth and social harmony. Politics divorced from ethics, was for him "a corpse fit only to be burned". In the nuclear age Gandhi's message assumes added significance.

GHOSE, RASH BEHARI (1845 - 1921):

Lawyer and Scholar; President of Indian National Congress 1907-1908.

GOKHALE, G.K. (1866 - 1915) :

Teacher and Journalist, Poona; member Bombay Legislative Council 1899-1901; Imperial Legislative Council 1901-15; President of Indian National Congress 1905. Rabindranath Tagore wrote to him in Dec, 1913 "You must remember that for a man like you, to live in itself is a service to your country", Gokhale said, "The system of British Indian administration is unworthy of free England".

HASTINGS, FIRST MARQUESS OF (FRANCIS RAWDON) (1754-1826):
Governor General of India 1773-85.

HUME, ALLAN OCTAVIAN (1829 - 1912):

Joined East India Company 1849; Secretary to Government of India 1870-79; General Secretary of Indian National Congress 1885-1906; returned to Britain 1892; Visted India last time 1893-34.

HUME, JOSEPH (1777 - 1855) :

In East India Company's Medical and Political Service 1797-1807; M.P.1812-55; leader of radical party.

HUQ, A.K.FAZLUL (1873 - 1962) :

Lawyer and Politician; Member of Bengal Legislative Council 1913-35 founded Krishak Praja Party 1927; Chief Minister of Bengal 1937-43; migrated to Pakistan 1947.

HYNDMAN, H.M.(1842 - 1921)

British Socialist leader.

IQBAL, MUHAMMAD (1876-1921):

Poet Philosopher and Politician, President, Muslim League 1930. Author of the idea of Pakistan.

JINNA, M.A. (1876-1948):

Lawyer, Politician, President Muslim League 1916, 1920 and from 1934 till his death. Governor-General of Pakistan 1947. As a Muslim Leader, he demanded separate electorates in 1916, fourteen points in 1929, composite ministries in 1937, fifty percent of the seats in Viceroy's council in 1939 and finally Pakistan in 1940.

KABIR (1414-1518):

Author of "Eswar Alla Tere Nam". " I belong to no religion, every religion belongs to me".

KHAN, SYED AHMED (1817 - 98) :

Joined East India Company as a clerk 1837; retired as subordinate judge 1876; founded Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh 1877; member of Indian Legislative Council 1878-80; 1881 - 83, Knighted 1888.

KIPLING JESEPH RUDYARD:

Bom in 30-12-1865 in Bombay, Died on 18-1-1936 in London, Awarded Noble Prize for Literature in 1907.

LINLITHGOW, SECOND MARQUESS OF (VICTOR ALEXANDER JOHN HOPE) (1887 - 1952):

Chairman of Royal Commission of Indian agriculture 1926 - 28; Chairman of Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional reform 1933-34, Governor-General of India 1936-43.

MACAULAY, THOMAS BABINGTON, FIRST BARON (1800-59):

Historian and jurist; secretary to Board of Control 1833-34; Member of Governor-General's Council 1834-38; Responsible for the introduction of English education in India, " Minute on Education".

MOHAMMED OF GHAZNI (971 - 1030)

Mohammed of Ghazni was far more a warrior than a man of faith, like many other conquerors, he exploited the name of religion for his conquests. India was to him just a place from which he could carry off treasure and material to his homeland. He enrolled an army in India and placed it under one of his noted generals Tilak by name who was an Indian and Hindu. This army he used against his own co-religionists, the Muslims in Central Asia".

MALAVIYA, MADAN MOHAN (1861 - 1946):

Lawyer and educationist; President of Indian National Congress 1909, 1918; founder and Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University 1919-1940.

MAX MULLER (6-12-1823 to 28-10-1900)

Orientalist author "Sacred Books of the East" series begun in 1875.

MEHTA, PHEROZESHAM (1845-1915)

Lawyer and politician; member of Bombay legislative council 1887-89, 1893-94 and of Indian legislative council 1894-96, 1898-1901.

MENON, V.P. (1894 - 1966):

Indian Civil Servant.

MINTO, FOURTH EARL OF (GILBERT JOHN MURRAY) KYNLYN
ELLIOTT (1845 - 1914)

Governor - General of Canada 1898 - 1904; Governor - General of India 1905 - 10.

MONTAGU, EDWIN SAMUEL (1879 - 1924):

Liberal M.P. 1906 - 22; Under - Secretary for India 1910 - 14; Financial Secretary to treasury 1914 - 16; Chancellor of Duch of Lancaster 1915; Minister of Munitions 1916; resigned December 1916; Secretary of State for India 1917 - 22.

MORLEY, JOHN, VISCOUNT (1838 - 1923):

Author and statesman; Chief Secretary for Ireland 1886, 1892-95; Secretary of State for India 1905-10; created Viscount 1908.

NADER SHAH (22-10-1688 to June 1747):

A ruthless conqueror. Battle of Karnal 1739 near Delhi, plundered Delhi. Assassinated by his own troops.

NAIR, C. SANKARAN (1857 - 1934):

Lawyer; President of the Indian National Congress 1837; Judge of Madras high court 1908 - 15; member of Governor General's Council 1915-19 and of Secretary to State's Council 1920-21.

NAOROJI, DADABHI (1828 - 1917):

Business man, Journalist and politician; first Indian member of British Parliament 1892 - 95; President of Indian National Congress 1886, 1893, 1906.

NEPOLEAN (1769 - 1821):

A great military genius who became the emperor of France rising from the position of the little corporal.

NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL (1889 - 1932):

Man of letters and statesman; President of Indian National Congress 1929, 1936, 1937, 1946, 1951 - 54; Prime Minister of India 1947-64.

PAL, BIPIN CHANDRA (1852 - 1963)

Author and Journalist

PANIKKAR, K.M.(1895 - 1963):

Author, administrator and diplomat

PATEL, SARDAR VALLABHBHAI (1875-1950):

Lawyer and politician at Ahmedabad; President of Indian National Congress 1931; Deputy Prime Minister of India 1947-50.

PRASAD, RAJENDRA (1884 - 1963) :

Lawyer and Politician; President of Indian National Congress 1934, 1939, 1947-48; President of Indian Constituent Assembly 1946-50; President of India 1952 - 62.

Dr. RADHA KRISHNAN, SARVEPALLI (1888 - 1975):

A philosopher of international repute, whose works have become contemporary classics, in clarity of expression and profundity of thought. President of India 1960 - 65.

RAI LALA LAJPAT (1865-1928):

Lawyer, Social reformer; President Indian National Congress 1920 (Spl.Session), Author "Unhappy India".

RANADE, M.G. (1842 - 1901) :

Entered Bombay judicial service 1871; author and social reformer; member of Bombay legislative council 1885 - 87, 1891-92; judge of Bombay High Court from 1893 until his death.

ROMAIN ROLLAND (1866-1844):

Noble laureate for literature (French); Author of the biographies Mahatma Gandhi, Rama Krishna & Vivekananda; A true citizen of the world.

ROOSEVELT (3011882 to 12-4-1945):

President of U.S.A. Co-author of Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms.

ROY, RAM MOHAN (1772 - 1833):

Author, Journalist and social reformer; in East India Company's service 1803-13; founded Brahma Samaj 1828; sailed for England November 1830; died at Bristol 1833.

RUSKIN (1819 - 1900) :

English Author. His book *Unto This Last* inspired Mahatma Gandhi.

SELEUCUS NICETOR (358-to 354 B.C.):

Greek King, who gave his daughter in marriage to Chandra Gupta. His envoy Megasthenes at the court of Pataliputra.

SHAKESPEARE (23-4-1564 to 23-4-1616) :

English Dramatist and one of the greatest poets of the world.

SHAH WALIULLAH (1703 - 1763):

Scholar "God is the all knower Alim and all wise Hakim, translated the Quran into Persian. Quran has no desire to convince anybody except through reason.

SHIVAJI (Born 19-2-1630 or April 1627, Died 3-4-1680):

Maratha warrior

SMUTS, JAN CHRISTIAN (1870 - 1950):

Statesman; Prime Minister of South Africa 1919 - 24.

TAGORE, RABINDRANATH (1861 - 1941)

Poet and Philosopher, awarded Nobel Prize for literature 1913, Shantiniketan in 1901; Viswabharati 1924.

TILAK, BALGANGADHAR (1856 - 1920) :

Teacher and Journalist at Poona; Jailed for sedition 1897-78; 1908-14.

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD (14-4-1889 to 22-10-1975):

Delegate to Paris peace conference in 1919; Author of many books on world history; A great thinker; Modern prophet of Philosophy of History.

VICTORIA (24-5-1819 to 22-1-1901) :

Queen of England, Queen's proclamation November 1858.

VIDYA SAGAR, ISHWARCHANDRA (1820 - 1891):
Educationist and social reformer.

VIVEKANAND (NARENDRANATH) (1820 - 91) :
Hindu missionary; disciple of Ramakrishna and founder of
Ramakrishna order.

WAVELL, ARCHIBALD PERCIVAL, FIRST EARL (1883 - 1950) :
Commander - in - Chief. Middle East 1939 - 41; Commander -in -
Chief, India 1941-43; Governor - General of India 1943 - 47.

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Fischer, Louis:

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FUELLOP-MILLER, FENE :

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GOVERNORS-GENERAL

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF BENGAL

1774	Warren Hastings
1785	Sir John Macpherson
1786	Marques Cornwallis
1793	Sir John Shore
1798	Sir A. Clarke
1798	Marques Wellesley
1805	Marques Corwaillis
1805	Sir George Barlow
1807	Earl of Minto
1813	Marques of Hastings
1823	John Adam
1823	Earl Amherst
1828	William Butterworth Bayley
1828	Lord William Gaven-dish-Bentick

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA

1833	Lord William Cavendish-Bentick
1835	Sir Charles Metcalfe
1836	Earl of Auckland
1842	Earl of Ellenborough
1844	W.W.Bird
1844	Sir Henry Hardinge
1848	Lord Dalhousie
1856	Earl Canning

GLOSSARY

Ahimsa - The creed of Non-violence.

Ashram - The sacred abode surrounded usually by a garden.

Bai - A suffix to feminine names, Viz: Kastur Bai.

Bartrihari - Name of the poet, who composed Maxims in Sanskrit.

Bhai - Brother; Brothorn.

Bharet - India

Brahmacharya - Vow of celibacy observed by dedicated people.

Charaka - The Spinning Wheel.

Coolie - A hired servant.

Darshan - Interview with a celebrated personage

Desh Bandhu - Well wisher of the country.

Fhrangi - foreigner.

Firmen - Royal Edict.

Go-sava - Cow protection.

Guru - preceptor

Hartal - strike

Hitopadesh - Salutary advice. The famous treatise of ancient Indian Fables.

Inquilab - Revolution.

Khaddar - Hand spun and hand made cloth.

Lakshmi - Goddess of wealth.

Lokahitavadi - A votory of the welfare of the world.

Loka Many - A person, worth of venaration of the whole world.

Maha Kamna Vidya Peeth - An educational center for girls.

Maro - Kill

Mata - Mother

Mem Saheb - An European Lady

Nawab - A Muslim ruler.

Netaji - The venerable leader.

Parda - A veil worn by muslim ladies.

Raja - King

Rani - Queen.

Sabha Association.

Saheb - Sir.

Santi Niktan - peaceful abode.

Sari - Feminine apparel, usually measring 5 or 6 meters.

Satyagrahi - A volunteer upholding truth and non violence.

Suba - A regional revenue division.

Subedar - A military officer.

Swatantra, Swaraj - Independence.

Taluk - A small regional revenue division.

Talukdar - Revenue officer of a Taluk.

Vandemataram - Salutation to the Mother.

Vishva Kavi - World poet.

Zamindar - A rich land lord.

Zindabad - Long live.

Eswar Alla Tera Nam - A song by Kabir signifying synonyms of God.

Satyam Jnanam Anantam Brahme - God is the embodiment of Truth and infinite knowledge.

POEMS BY HUME

(Founder of the Indian National Congress)

AWAKE

Sons of Ind, why sit ye idle
Wait ya for some Deva's aid
Buskle to, be up and doing
Nations by themselves are made.

You are taxed, what voice in spending
Have ye when the tax is paid
Up! protest! Right trimphs ever!
Nations by themselves are made.

Robed in mourning, brownd with ashes
Night - enshrouded, India weeps
Rolls the storm, the Lighting flashes
Still the nation heedless sleeps.

Once I reigned the Orient's Empress
Ah! The glory! of that past!
Crowned with learning, science gladness
Wee to me? too bright to last.

Sons of Ind, be up and doing
Let your course by none stayed
Ask no help from Heaven or Hell!
In yours alone seek aid.

CALCUTTA - 1886