



UGFHS-1
Foundation Course in
Humanities and
Social Sciences

Block

1

MAN AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: AN APPROACH

UNIT 1

Scientific Approach to the Study of Man **7**

UNIT 2

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Social Change and Evolution **45**

iii) An interaction between the features of nature and culture is necessary to have a scientific study of human being.

2 Write about 50 words on the creative ability of human being.

1.4 RACIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND THE UNITY OF HUMAN BEINGS

Social anthropologists often face a paradoxical situation in their study and analysis of human reality. While they are willing, and indeed know that they must share the belief in the unity of human being, their own investigations show them that the subjects of their study (other human beings) are not always willing to do the same. If there is one overwhelming empirical generalisation in social anthropology it is that human beings spontaneously tend to differentiate themselves, from other human beings. For example such differentiation is made on the basis of caste, race, clan or kinship ties. Often this differentiation turns into a bias and this becomes a guiding factor of social behaviour. Regional bias also sometimes gives added support to such social behaviour. For example, in the region of Kachin, people believe that the surrounding folk be they Shans, Burmese, Thais or Ahoms—are not fully human. For a long time the Europeans regarded themselves superior to people from all other regions and they believed that it was the White man's burden to civilise other races and societies. This fallacy was used to justify imperialism and colonialism. Gradually the scientists (natural as well as social) of the "other regions", through their labour and research proved the White men's burden theory to be false and demonstrated that the other societies were in no way culturally inferior to the European societies.

We would like to familiarise you with the basis of racial division, misconceptions related to it, and how they were disapproved.

i) Division on the basis of Race

This refers merely to clusters of genetic distribution among human beings related to features such as colour of skin, eyes, form of nose, lips, hair and other physical attributes. These genetic properties show distribution along geographical lines, but there is no group of human kind which may qualify as a pure race.

What is called 'race' is a statistical property such as distribution and concentration of a pattern of genes in a certain population. Otherwise, all humans in all societies share gene properties from a common pool in varying degrees. Biologically, therefore, racial distinction is a matter of degree rather than of kind. Secondly, studies have proved amply that social and cultural attributes such as linguistic ability, intelligence, power of abstraction and logic and all other attributes of civilisation are equally present in all human groups. In this respect human kind shares common cultural, intellectual and human properties. The major racial types such as the Australoids (blacks) the Caucasoids (whites) and Mongoloids (yellows) share this human and cultural potential in common.

ii) Race and Racism

The internal genetic divisions of races are often given erroneous meanings. The colour of skin is often, though wrongly, attributed to cultural and intellectual capabilities, such as "whites are more intelligent than blacks." It is then loaded with notions of superiority and inferiority and breeds prejudice. Racial discrimination and exploitation follow from such prejudices. This is most commonly known as racism. For example, the Whites in South Africa staunchly, believe in racism and the blacks are denied rights and privileges. The regime there is looked down as a racist regime.

iii) Misconception about Racism

For many years the misconception of racism was strengthened by attempting to define cultural abilities of human beings by correlating them with physical features and I.Q. tests. Such social scientists who adopted these methods had their own racial bias. Further it were also the limitations of their methods of measurement of I.Q. which led them to conclude that the Blacks are inferior to Whites. It was overlooked that the methods of I.Q. tests were culturally loaded in favour of those racial groups which defined themselves as superior such as the Whites.

Most of these racists whether they were journalists, politicians or travellers shared this view and wrote essays to demonstrate the "law" that the sunnier the climate the weaker the intellect. For example, the advocates of this view believed that Italians, are known for their mandolinos, the Spanish for their beautiful music and dance. As you go further south into Africa, it is only the wild beat of the drums and the frenzied rhythms of tribal songs. So the warmer the location, the more removed the inhabitants are from rational pursuits. How difficult it is these authors would argue, to picture the Victorian gentleman in Bermuda shorts singing and swaying to the dream music in the Caribbean islands. Industry, Commerce Science etc., are A supposed to be the products of the superior white mind. But did the "others" accept it?

(iv) Misconceptions Disproved

Around the 1930s, physical anthropologists and archaeologists began a series of in Africa and came to very interesting conclusions. They found concrete evidence that over three thousand years ago Africa cradled a substantial part of human civilisation. And it is not as if we are looking at the first stirring of human evolution but in fact are witness to a civilisation so brilliant that it attracted people from other parts of the world. Its art and culture spoke of a level of intellectual attainment which was approximated much later by the northern people.

The remains of this early African civilisation have been found at several sites and also quite unexpectedly, in the Sahara desert. Who would have imagined this? For that matter who would have imagined that conditions can deteriorate, for climatic, social or other reasons, to the extent they have in Africa. From a continent studded with glittering seats of culture where musicians, artists, and thinkers flourished, Africa became a continent ravaged by wars, slave trade, poverty and disease.

Or let us consider Greece. The accomplishments of the Greek civilisation were not carded forward in an uninterrupted manner. It was enriched en route by non Greeks, even non Europeans viz., the Arabs. Where would Hippocratic medicine have been if the Arabs had, not translated and integrated Hippocratic knowledge with their own and thus enriched medical science. The Romans took it up from the Arabs but only after ancient medicine had already been significantly improved upon. It was systematic historical research which demonstrated that racist bigotry is built on shallow foundations.

(v) Pseudo-science and Race

But what about the supposed methods of science (or Pseudo-science) that reinforced racial prejudices? The I.Q. tests? The cranial or physical measurements? Have not the racists found confirmation for their views from such supposedly 'scientific' methods? It was again the social scientists with their reflective approach who first questioned the scientific validity of these tests which were culturally biased and suffered from poor logic.

In spite of overwhelming agreement among social scientists about the invalidity of racism, the deep irony is that racial divisions and racial beliefs are still popularly upheld. The root of these prejudices perhaps lies deeper in social, cultural and political divisions among human groups. Its basis are social, political and economic rather than biological.

1.5 SOCIAL ROOTS AND FORMS OF PREJUDICE

Racism is the most acute form of social. We hesitate to use the term racism when we encounter other kinds of prejudices. But perhaps a larger lesson can be learnt if we examine the bases of social prejudices where natural differences are imputed, though not observable, to justify social distance. After all, there are no observable racial differences between various castes, and yet each caste or jati pretends to be naturally different, if not also superior, from other jatis. Purificatory rites, food taboos, and caste rituals find their ultimate sanction in the belief that jatis are naturally different as their status is ascribed by birth.

Here too, the social scientist's job is not only to explain the existing social reality but to account for its historical background and the various stages before the present one. All social scientists will also probe why and how this happened.

The theory of jati differentiation does not unfortunately exhaust the unfounded prejudices that abound in India. Have we not heard the complaint from rich circles about how stupid and ignorant the poor people are? Have we not heard time and again that the poor irrationally and ceaselessly multiply? Or, have we not heard that the villager is naturally inclined towards irrational and superstitious medical practices? For example let us take up the social prejudice against the poor. A poor person is unable to lead a life of comfort and ease but this does not mean that he is stupid or ignorant. His children may not go to school due to economic hardships but this does not mean that they don't have the intellect to study. In fact ignoring social realities and generalising only reveals the magnitude of prejudice that underlies therein.

1.5.1 Prejudice in Science

As you will notice even sciences are not entirely free from prejudice. A reflective social scientist can overcome such tendencies in the established forms of arguments by granting the subject of his study their basin Humanity. For instance the social scientists who label the rural poor as prejudice ridden people fail to ask the right questions. It is because such social scientists find it difficult-to-go beyond their presuppositions.

A reflective social science attempts to be objective in terms of the known standards of science such as proof of validity and verifications. It also takes into account the varieties of human, social and economic conditions of its subjects of enquiry The ability of social scientists to combine the skills of an objective scientist with sensitivity to empathise with the needs and aspirations of the subjects of his enquiry is known as the power of "reflexivity" in social science theory. Let us take an example here:

It has been observed that the western trained doctors have more legitimacy and "charisma" for villagers than the Ayurvedic or Unani doctors. You might measure it not only from the long queue of people for the allopathic doctors in the rural health centres but also from a closer study of their health behaviour and practices. In cases of serious illness where a person is unable to perform even his daily routine he overwhelmingly prefers the allopath to indigenous forms of medicine. It is only when the allopath is either inaccessible, disinterested, or unsuccessful, that the villagers look for alternative systems of cure. In other words, traditional and modern systems of medicine coexist the dependence of the patients on one or on multiple systems of medicine depends upon the actual circumstances that surround them. This behaviour towards medicine dispels the myth about the psychological backwardness of rural people. The coexistence of multiple systems of medicine has been noticed in middle class urban India, as well as in advanced industrial societies.

1.5.2 Regional Prejudice

There exist in a country or a society certain regional prejudices. What do they indicate? They demonstrate the narrow thinking of the people belonging to a particular region regarding their own superiority or inferiority. Very often this gets reflected in the works of the social scientist. For example, the high rate of food production in Punjab, Haryana and western U.P. in comparison to the lower productivity in eastern U.P. and Bihar was explained in terms of the lethargic nature of the peasants in the latter regions and hardworking peasants in the former. But is this really true? No. In fact the lower and higher levels of food productivity are related to agrarian structures, irrigation facilities, fertility of the soil, variety of seeds and implements etc. This again was proved by the efforts of social as well as natural scientists. 'Re sociologists demonstrated after studying the habits, customs and culture of the people in the Eastern regions that there was no question of lethargy involved. Thus the regional prejudice which differentiated human beings on the basis of lethargy became redundant due to the efforts of scientists (natural and social).

Check Your Progress 2

1. What do you understand by racism and racial discrimination? Answer in about 50 words.

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2 How have the regional prejudices in relation to food production in India found to be baseless? Write in five lines.

3. Which of the following statements are correct (✓) or wrong (x)

- i) The government of South Africa follows a racist policy.
- ii) The nations of 'Whiteman's Burden' is a misconception.
- iii) The roots of racial prejudices lie in biological factors.
- iv) For a true study of society social realities have to be ignored.

1.6 KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIETY

Let us now apply what we have studied so far to analyse the relationship between knowledge and society. Some social scientists have suggested that human beings from the earliest times have used nature and natural model to understand and classify their social world. Unlike the social world there is a certain stability about nature. Trees have branches, crows are black, cows give milk, the beetle behaves like a beetle, the vultures seaven like a vulture, a stone is generally unmoved, and so on. But when the social world is observed there is the much fluidity and transition that it is difficult to be certain about anything at all. The social world has to be put into order, and what better way is there to do this than by borrowing the stability of the natural world to act as a model for the social universe. Hence, the tendency to input natural differences where there exist only social and cultural ones.

This understanding can be coupled with a point of view which first emerged in philosophy and was later introduced into psycho-analysis and anthropology. According to this view, human beings can never leave the world untheorised. Before Copernicus it was commonly believed that the sun moved around the earth. Some others held to the myth that Atlas was tricked into holding the world up on his shoulders. Even today, there might be some people who believe that the earth is delicately balanced on the horns of a mighty bull; and every time the bull hiccups we have earthquakes. There is no natural phenomenon, no universal mystery, whose theorising or solution has been kept on hold simply because of the absence of sufficient, authentic, or "scientific" evidence. Little wonder then that mankind should be classified and re-classified, and the universe should be theorised repeatedly.

If we proceed from this understanding then we cannot but humble ourselves with the realisation that some of the categories of social science regarding other human beings have their basis in a crude natural model, and that some of our contemporary scientific theories may well be whenever a social may well seem bizarre or even funny to future scientists. That is why whenever a social scientist sits on judgement on the knowledge systems, whether they are beliefs, values, theories, actions or prescriptions, he should always remember to look to himself and only then will he know the human context within which knowledge is produced. For it is this context which eventually ensures the acceptance or rejection of certain kinds of knowledge. What guarantee is there that our current notions of science will not appear childish in our children's life time?

While accepting this, one should not, however, conclude that knowledge moves in definitive blocks without active human intervention. It is the human agency which in small microscopic doses creates the ambience conducive to scientific development and change. The invention of the microscope, the discovery that blood circulates, the early toyings with antiseptics, all of this, and many other discoveries gave mankind greater potential. Social structure imposes a certain limit on the range of options that human beings can exercise but

they cannot foreclose many others. As a matter of fact, the only reason why it is possible for one to be different from his brother and yet be member of the same family is because of duality. We are constrained and yet are significantly free. This is also how received knowledge undergoes scrutiny from time to time. That human beings can produce knowledge is determined by two premises:

- i) to make knowledge is to disturb previous knowledge, and
- ii) to make knowledge is impossible if man does not have the capacity for freedom of thought.

Religious theocracies and dictatorships have tried unsuccessfully to muzzle this freedom in the mistaken belief that mankind had arrived at its final destination. It is the ceaseless restlessness of man that causes empires to fall, regimes to crumble, and grand theories to be replaced, so, nothing is absolute in this universe.

1.7 UNIVERSALITIES AND SPECIFICITIES OF CULTURE

An old anthropological maxim, which has done good service for several decades, tells us to search for universals and absolutes. To believe, for instance, that a family should only mean a nuclear family, or that legal systems must have specialised practitioners, courts, and written laws, or that all other religions but our own are a lot of mumbo jumbo, express the lust for absolutes and not the reflective humanitarian search for cultural universals.

It was quite common for travellers and anthropologists to make fun of the manner in which the Trobriand chief exulted over his vast store house of yams with his people. After all, there were far too many yams to be consumed and many perhaps could never be consumed. This behaviour was treated as exotic till it was demystified by Malinowski when he said that this store house of yams was not very different from the queen's crown jewels. So if it is proper for people in London to pay and see the crown jewels what was wrong with Trobriand chief gloating over his store house of yams with other Trobrianders.

We also know now, thanks to the tireless work of anthropologists, that every society has a set of strict rules and prohibitions regarding moral conduct and sexual behaviour. There are no absolute rules and no natural reasons why any one set of rules and prohibitions should be absolute. Matrilineal families, for instance, are quite different from patrilineal families and yet in both cases authority and affection are equally evident. It is not the father but the mother's brother who is the source of authority in matrilineal societies. The father, in these societies, is very often an intimate and comfortable figure with whom his son takes many liberties. But what is important is that there are many possible variations on the reality we know of and are familiar with, and there is no reason why one particular form would have precedence over the others.

In other words, there are universalities in the specificities of culture. A scientific approach to the study of human beings should reflect upon this universality which is hidden in the apparent diversity of appearances. This will tell us in actual human terms the variety of ways through which human society can be visualised. It is only after social science has searched the depths of this remarkable human diversity can the scientist offer a reflective yet scientific study of man. Through social science the scholar eventually studies himself.

Check Your Progress 3

1 Which of the following statements are correct (✓) or wrong (x)

- i) The earth is delicately balanced on the horns of a mighty bull.
- ii) Human beings can never leave the world untheorised.
- iii) Knowledge is closely linked with racial superiority.
- iv) Scientific development will cease in the 21st century.

2 What is the role of theorisation in the society. Write in about 50 words.

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1.8 LET US SUM UP

We hope that by studying this Unit you have learnt:

- that for a scientific approach to the Study of human beings, the human reality should be observed in a more reflective manner.
- that the study should go beyond treatment of human being as an object of nature which is implied when positivistic methods of natural sciences are used for the study of human beings.
- that human beings are the products of both nature and culture.
- that empathy is necessary in a scientific study of human kind.

We find that perception of social reality and human condition in everyday life does not harmonise with scientific attitude that one should have about them. Even the concepts and methods in social sciences and humanities do not always conform to standards of rational and human appreciation of social and cultural realities, around human beings. This breeds racial, regional and social prejudices. The evils of racism, caste prejudices and regional prejudices can be abolished only when social science recognises the need to study these phenomena from a model which recognises the centrality of human beings themselves.

The scientific approach to the study of human beings confirms that there is a bond of global unity, dignity and freedom among human kind. This is what a scientific study of man tends to affirm.

1.9 KEY WORDS

Conditioning : That part of man which has become second nature to him e.g. habits.

Empathy : To put oneself mentally, in the other persons position.

Exploitation : to deprive a group/person from his/her just rewards.

Fatalistic : The doctrine that individuals cannot change their destiny.

Hypothesis : A proposition or statement waiting for test or verification; unconfirmed theory.

Inferiority : A feeling of inadequacy relative to other people or other groups.

Irrational : That which is not logical.

Maxim : Consists of a rule or premise.

Paradoxical : That which is self contradictory.

Positivism : A system of philosophy and a method of social study that relies entirely on observable facts.

Prejudice : A bias against a group/persons regarding their habits and behaviours.

Pseudo-science : Fictitious or false science.

Racism : A doctrine presupposing the superiority of one race over the other, e.g. the Negroes were regarded as inferior to Whites in the USA.

Rites of Passage : Rituals-related to birth, marriage, death, representing major cycles or stages of life.

Specificities : That which deals with specific issues in Social Sciences.

Universalities : That which deals with wide scale generalisations in Social Sciences.

Validity : The truth being established by facts.

Value-judgement : A judgement based on one's personal liking.

Verification : Confirmation by experience or by facts.

1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1 (i) ✓ (ii) × (iii) ✓

2. See Sub-sec. 1.2.2

Check Your Progress 2

1 See Section 1.4

2. See Sub-sec. 1.5.2

3 (i) ✓ (ii) ✓ (iii) × (iv) ×

Check Your Progress 3

1 (i) × (ii) ✓ (iii) × (iv) ×

2 See Section 1.6

UNIT 2 MAN AS A TOOL MAKING/USING ANIMAL

Structure

2.0 Objectives

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Tool Making: An Evolutionary Perspective

2.2.1 The Old Stone Age

2.2.2 The New Stone Age

2.2.3 The Bronze Age

2.2.4 The Iron Age

2.3 Tool Making and March of Culture

2.3.1 Social Institutions and Interaction

2.3.2 Specialisation and Division of Labour

2.3.3 Urban Revolution

2.3.4 Rise of Great Religions

2.4 Man and Nature: Adaptation and Interaction

2.4.1 Patterns of Adaptation

2.4.2 Tribes and their Patterns of Adaptation

2.4.3 Food Habits and Taboos

2.5 Man and Nature: Dependence, Conquest and Harmony

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Key Words

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to learn:

- how tool making played a major role in the evolution of culture,
- how cultural evolution took place in stages with changes in tool making ability of human beings,
- how the processes of adaptation and interaction between human beings and nature strengthened the growth of culture, and
- the relationships of dependence, conquest and harmony between human beings and nature.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

You have learnt in Unit 1 why care is necessary in developing a scientific method for the study of human beings. They assimilate and represent both nature and culture. They share biological characteristics from nature and also overcome them through their superior intellectual, creative and cultural abilities. The history of the evolution of human beings is a long one from the Stone Age to the electronic and the nuclear age. In this Unit we offer you evidence of how this evolution took place. However, here we shall limit our discussion up to the Iron Age.

The specific natural abilities of human beings contributed to their cultural and technological success in forging tools, adapting to natural environments and making inventions. This march of mankind through the stages of cultural evolution from Old Stone Age culture to New Stone Age culture led to the growth of successive periods of social and cultural changes. With the coming of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, there emerged further developments in the cultural, social, economic and political fields.

We will also tell you how these stages of evolutionary transformation marked periods of great economic, social, cultural and political growth. It led to division of labour, agriculture and industry, urbanisation and revolutionary leaps in the field of knowledge. It also contributed to the growth of the various religious systems and their philosophy. Scientific knowledge too, grew together with this process.

The interaction between human endeavour and natural forces always creates problems of adaptation. Too much exploitation of nature alters the balance of relationship between nature and man. The adaptation of human beings to nature has therefore been always a matter of great social concern. In this Unit we introduce to you several aspects of the relationship between human beings and nature that contributed towards the march of human civilisation.

2.2 TOOL MAKING: AN EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE

It is often believed that some advanced primates may have used bones and stones as tools. But, with the coming of the *Homo Sapiens*, tool making and tool using began in the true sense. Only then tools, as we know them, emerged. The human being is an animal that not only uses tools but also constantly improves upon them. It is this tool making ability that has brought us to the present stage. Had it stopped at some stage, then perhaps the world would never have been what it is today.

The archaeologists have traced the early ancestors of human beings like the *Sinanthropus* (Peking Man) and others.

Traces of primitive human beings were discovered in Germany (Neanderthal Man), in Java (Java Man) and in Rhodesia (Rhodesia Man). But the discovery of the remains of Peking Man was unique in the sense that he was the first-human being to be found living in a complete domestic environment. He is supposed to have lived about 500,000 years ago.

They have constructed a historical progression in the development of human beings manual skill on the basis of unfinished and finished tools. You would like to know what are the different stages of development particularly on the basis of the tool making skills of human beings. The archaeologists have arranged human history into the following periods. The Stone ages (old and new), the Bronze age and the Iron age. However all these stages did not evolve simultaneously in all parts of the world. If one region witnessed the stone age in another region bronze age had started and in the third region iron had come.



No. 1. The Primate

2) What was "commutation fee"? Write in five lines.

3) Why did only rich peasants benefit from 'Agricultural Progress'?

7.6 DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

However, the rate of "agricultural progress" began to decline by about the second decade of the fourteenth century. This was to bear a major impact on subsequent history of the region.

The reason for this decline lay in the frantic land reclamation movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The fast growing population had cut down forests and done away with pastures at a pace that destroyed the delicate ecological balance between these on one hand and the arable land on the other. The cutting down of forests led, in the West European ecology, to continuous rain. In 1315 and 1316 the sun did not shine; consequently the crops failed and the ensuing famine wiped out a tenth of the population. The elimination of pastures on the other hand affected the health and numbers of cattle and that in turn reduced the animal manure, chief source of fertilizer for the field. The productivity of land was therefore affected, and as a consequence human beings' health suffered.

The fourteenth century as a whole was marked by numerous famines on one hand, which weakened human resistance to disease, and epidemics on the other which took a heavy toll of human lives. The Black Death of 1348-51 was only one, though the most disastrous in the series. It was caused by the plague and it brought death to anywhere between a fourth and a half of the population of Europe. Even if we accept the lower figure, the population of Europe had declined by 40 per cent at the end of the fourteenth century than at the beginning.

7.6.1 Shortage of Labour

Understandably, such massive deaths caused enormous convulsions on the continent. The immediate result was a great labour shortage, and consequent rise in wages. But the prices of agricultural products declined in correspondence with falling demand also owing to the massive deaths. This trend was reinforced by the abandoning of less fertile lands and cultivation of the more fertile ones again for the same reason and paradoxically this raised the production levels even as the demand was crashing. While the wage labourers gained double from this trend of rising wages and declining food prices, the lords were the chief losers. Their incomes from land declined even as the costs of production rose with rising wages. Moreover, the prices of luxury goods rose sharply because many of the artisans had died, and production levels therefore had fallen. Thus the lords were faced with the dilemma: should they do without the luxurious life style to which they had been accustomed for centuries because their incomes were declining and the prices of these goods were rising? Or should they squeeze the peasants instead and maintain their standards of luxury?

Inevitably they chose the latter alternative. But they sought to squeeze the peasants through the institutional effort of the state rather than through individual initiative. The state, never a strong entity under classic feudal conditions when its power was distributed amongst the lords, now rose as a powerful institution to intervene on behalf of the lords.

Everywhere it passed laws to restrict peasant mobility, thus depriving them of the advantage of maximizing their wages. It then fixed their wages at the pre-Black Death levels.

7.6.2 Peasant Rebellions

The peasantry responded by fleeing and rising in rebellions of truly continental dimensions. Massive peasant rebellions rocked France, and England in the fifteenth century, Spain and Germany. These rebellions were ultimately crushed, but the feudal reaction of the State which had triggered them off lay in a shambles by the end of the century. The state as a last resort tried to enforce feudal regulations on peasants. But the conditions were favourable for the peasants and the state power failed to achieve its aims.

The crisis of 14th-15th centuries or the crisis in the feudal economy of Europe contributed to the decline of feudalism and prepared the ground for the rise of capitalism. The European economy began to recover some of its lost strength from the fifteenth century onwards, but this recovery was made possible because the economy had turned its back on what was being increasingly rendered a backward looking system. The destruction of feudalism was the result of its own internal development over the centuries. The destruction did not come simultaneously in all regions of western Europe; in France the collapse of feudalism came much later than in England. In eastern Europe feudalism was still firmly established between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; while by that time in western Europe it had merely become a subject of the historian's quest.

7.7 FEUDALISM IN INDIAN CONTEXT

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the concept of feudalism was adopted by European historians and applied to the pre-modern history of different regions of the world, such as China, West Asia, Japan and India. In India Col. James Tod visualized the development of classic European feudalism in his own day, in the 1820's in Rajasthan. The application of this concept became possible partly because of the European conquest of or contact with these regions and therefore the analysis of their history and society in terms of European categories; and partly also because 'feudalism' was a convenient concept that could explain an entire range of situations. From European historians the concept was taken over by Indian historians, and its meaning somewhat enlarged.

In India the term 'Indian feudalism' portrayed the picture of an economy where trade had declined and thus a shortage of currency resulted. This obliged the State to give land to Brahmins in charity and to a lesser extent to officials. These land assignees subjected the peasants to their own control and thus established feudalism. By the eleventh century trade began to revive; the peasants labour was subjected to 'commutation' and feudalism declined.

Debate on Indian Feudalism

The concept of 'Indian feudalism' has been criticized in recent historiography. It has been argued that this concept implies a dichotomy between trade and feudalism; the concept also uses terms and categories of analysis derived from the European context, such as manor, serf, commutation etc. The criticism follows the argument that Indian ecology, technology and the social systems are fundamentally different from those of Europe and therefore the attempt to understand the pre-modern history of India as of other regions must be on its own terms rather than on terms derived from Europe.

However, the term feudalism continues to be used in popular as well as scholarly literature. This is partly due to its vague meaning so that it can be bent to cover many situations, as stated above. Some other variants of the term such as semi-feudalism, proto-feudalism or "feudalism" (within quotation marks) have also appeared.

motivated state to parcel out land to Brahmins to generate land revenue. These higher caste feudal lords engaged peasant-serf for cultivation. Thus feudalism emerged. But this theory is still being debated.

7.9 KEY WORDS

Black Death: a deadly epidemic of bubonic plague in England in 1348

Commutation: charges or fee for freeing the serfs from bondage

Demeane: a manor house with land adjacent to it (whose produce went to feudal lord)

'Feudum': land held in consideration of military service

Harness: tackle, equipment or gear for draught animals

Legume: pulses

Manor: a landed estate belonging to noble men

Tenement: a holding whose produce belonged to the serf

Wasteland: the landed estate of feudal lord that was not cultivated

Yoke: frame of wood joining oxen at the neck

Deforestation: the phenomenon of decline in total land under forests.

7.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Read section 7.2 and write your own answer.
- 2) Find out from sub-section 7.2.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) c
- 2) d
- 3) Read sub-section 7.4.2 and write in your own language.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Find out from sub-section 7.4.3.
- 2) Read sub-section 7.5.2
- 3) Read sub-section 7.5.3 and write your own answer.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) (iii)
- 2) Find out from sub-sections 7.6.1 and 7.6.2.
- 3) (iv)

UNIT 8 RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Social and Economic Background
- 8.3 Renaissance
 - 8.3.1 Humanism
 - 8.3.2 Secularism
- 8.4 Renaissance Literature
- 8.5 Art and Architecture
- 8.6 Philosophy
- 8.7 Beginning of the Scientific Revolution
- 8.8 Political Theory
- 8.9 Reformation
 - 8.9.1 Doctrinal Debates in the Church
 - 8.9.2 The Protestant Revolution
 - 8.9.3 Economic and Political Changes
- 8.10 Rise of Nation States
- 8.11 Geographical Discoveries and Colonisation
- 8.12 Let Us Sum Up
- 8.13 Key Words
- 8.14 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

8.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit deals with a very momentous period of European history which initiated major changes not only in economy, society and polity but in overall outlook towards human beings and nature. After reading this Unit you should be able to learn about:

- the economic and social factors which contributed to the processes of Renaissance and Reformation.
- the ideas, values and institutions associated with Renaissance and Reformation.
- the art and culture of this period.
- the process which led to the rise of modern-states in Europe, and
- the expansion of European powers to other regions of the world which led to colonisation.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Unit, we introduce the study of a very crucial period in human history in which the foundations of the modern world were laid. A number of inter-related developments took place in the period from about the fourteenth to the seventeenth century A.D. There were certain major developments in Europe which had their impact on the entire world. In certain aspects, the impact was felt more or less immediately, while in others it took a much longer time.

The terms 'Renaissance' and 'Reformation' are generally used to describe this period of transformation. The word 'Renaissance' means rebirth, and it was used to refer to the revival of interest in the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. But it was much more than the revival of ancient learning. It embraced ideas and achievements in philosophy, religion, art, literature, politics and science which had little in common with the ancient heritage. At

times they were also against the Catholic Church and the authority of the Pope which led to the rise of Protestantism in the early sixteenth century as well as to the Catholic Reformation known as Counter-Reformation in the later sixteenth century.

The Reformation had a profound impact on the history of Europe which extended beyond the sphere of religion. Both the Renaissance and the Reformation had common social and economic causes. In their impact, they coincided, and together, they brought about the collapse of the feudal order and laid the foundations of a new social order. A series of inter-related developments accompanied these changes in society and economy. There were fundamental changes in the thinking of human beings about the world and their place in it, and in the content and style of art and literature. There was a decisive shift away from divine matters to the study of human matters and an invincible faith in the tremendous creative potential of human beings. The foundations of modern science were laid in this period. The period also saw the emergence of nation-states with new forms of political system and new political theories. This period was also the age of discovery when the voyages of exploration brought for the first time in history, all parts of the world into contact with one another.



14. Ships of that age.

All these developments must be seen in their mutual inter-relationships. It may be useful to first have a look at the general and economic background of the period in which these changes and developments took place.

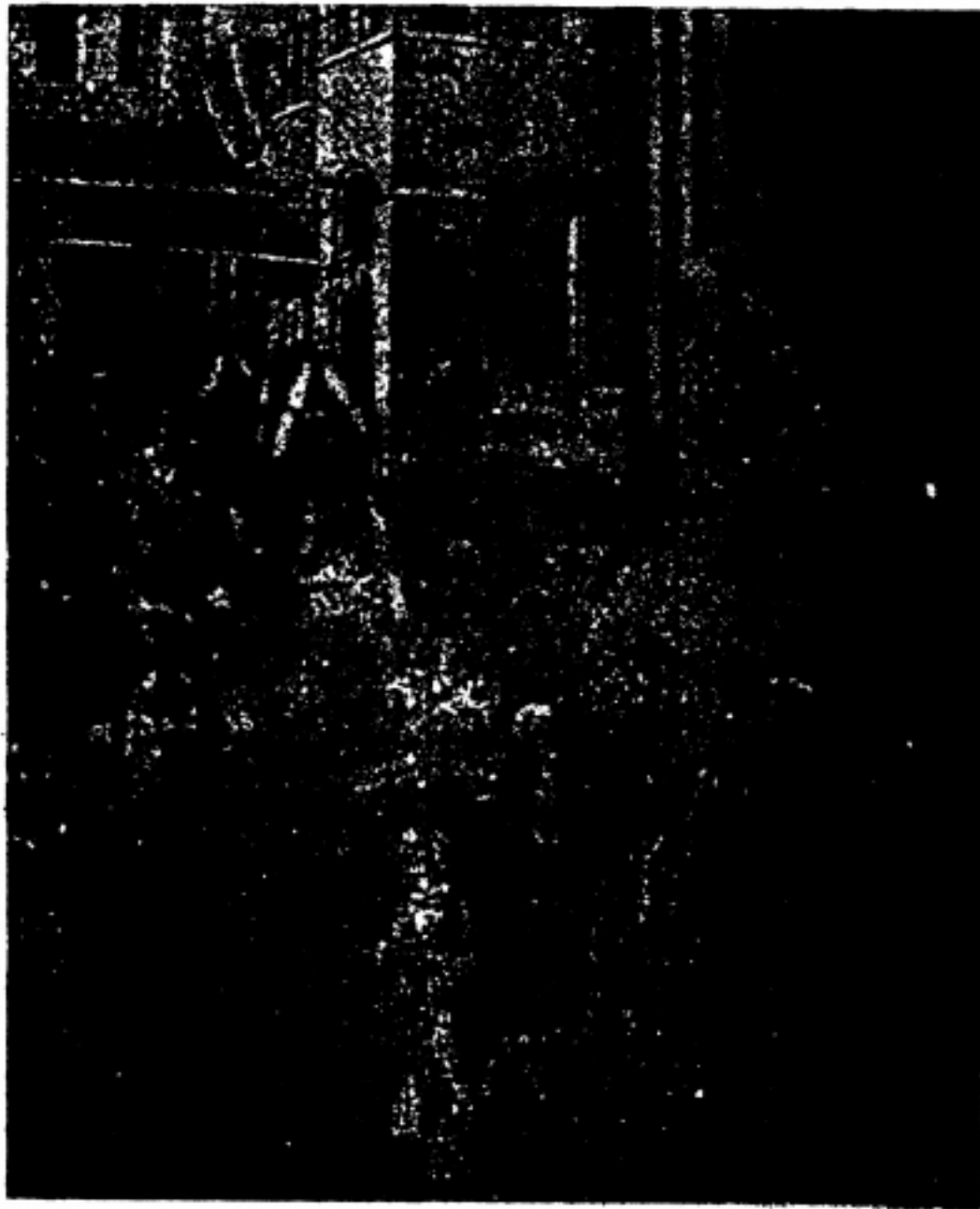
8.2 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

You have already studied about feudalism which characterised European societies in the Middle ages and the factors which caused their decline. The revival of trade was accompanied by the growth of towns. Old towns became larger and many new towns emerged, mainly as centres of manufacture and trade. Towns, often walled, gradually freed themselves from feudal control. They had their own governments and the townsmen elected their officials. They had their own militia and their own courts. Unlike the serfs in feudal estates there were no restrictions on the movements of citizens in the towns. They could come and go as they pleased and buy and sell property. "Town air makes a man free", is an old medieval proverb. Towns provided asylum to serfs who escaped from feudal oppression. The towns encouraged the cultivation of cash crops needed for manufactures, and peasants received their payments in money. The peasant could now pay his dues to the lord in cash rather than by labour. Money had little use in feudal societies. A feudal manor was more or less self-sufficient for its needs. There was very little of buying and selling and whatever

there was, was done through barter. With the growth of trade, there was increasing use of money. The use of money indicated far-reaching changes in economy.

The Capitalist Economy

The privileged people did have money, in the form of gold and silver, but it was idle money. It could not be used to make more money. With the growth of trade and manufacture, this changed, marking the beginning of the transition from a feudal economy to a capitalist economy in which wealth, generally in the form of money, could be used to make a profit. This was done by investing money in business, trade and industry. The profits made were reinvested to make further profits. Such wealth or money is called capital. Money increasingly became the measure of a man's wealth. In feudal societies, other than the feudal lords, there were three classes of people, the prayers — the clergy who prayed, the soldiers — the knights who fought: and workers — the peasants who worked for both the clergy and the soldiers. With the growth of trade, a new class emerged, the middle class comprising mainly the merchants. Even though small in number, they began to play an important role in society because of the wealth they possessed.



15. A Market Scene.

Initially, international trade was largely in luxury goods from the East and was controlled by merchants in the Italian cities of Venice, Genoa and Pisa, and towns in southern Germany. With the great geographical discoveries of the last decade of the fifteenth century — the discovery of a sea route to the East and the discovery of the Americas — the pattern of trade changed. It was dominated by Portugal and Spain and later by Holland and Britain.



16. Resistance of American Indians to Columbus.

Simultaneously, with these developments, changes took place in the system of manufacturing goods. In the early medieval period, most of the non-agricultural products required by the peasant were produced in the household of the peasant and, for the lords, by serfs who were skilled in particular crafts and had organised themselves into guilds. There were, for example, guilds of bakers, of weavers and of dyers. Each craft guild had a master of craftsmen, apprentices and journey-men. To learn a craft, a person joined a master as an apprentice or learner. After having learned the craft, he worked as a journey-man with the master on a wage or, if he had mastered the craft, would himself become a master craftsman.

The units of production were small, consisting of three or four people, and each unit had a shop to sell its produce. There were no inequalities within a unit or between units of the same guild. The guild prevented any competitors from practising the craft but it ensured the quality of the produce as well as fair business practices and stable prices.

The guild system was not suited to the requirements of large scale production necessitated by an expanding demand for goods, and the system began to decline giving place to a capitalist system. Inequities appeared within the system, with masters refusing to let

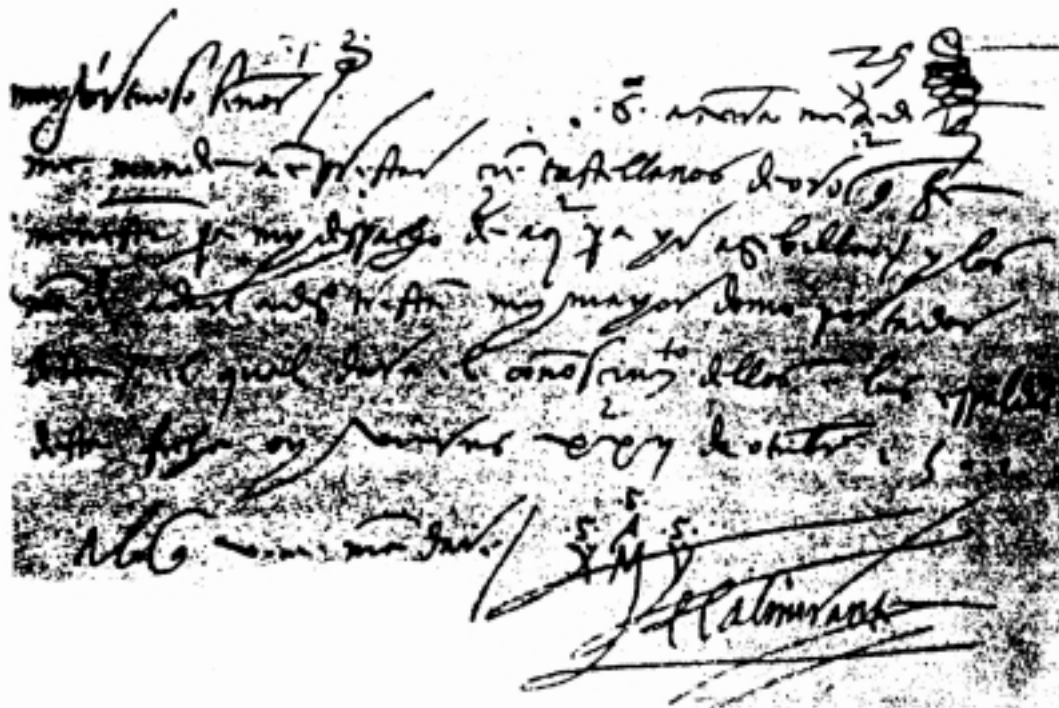
journey-men become masters and paying them low wages. With the introduction of the Putting Out system, their independence declined. The merchant, under this system, would bring the master craftsmen the raw materials, the craftsmen would work with their tools as before in their homes, and the produce would be taken away by the merchant who had supplied them with the raw materials. Thus, in effect, unlike before, the craftsmen did not own what they produced. They were increasingly reduced to the position of wage-earners, except that they still owned the tools used by them and worked at home.

Subsequently, this system gave way to the factory system under which production was carried out in buildings owned by the capitalist with the help of machines owned by the capitalist. The workers, owning nothing, worked only for wages. In industries which required large investments such as mining and metal-working, the capitalist system in which some people owned the raw materials, the tools and machines and the products and the workers worked only for a wage came into being early. This period saw a tremendous expansion of manufacturers. It was accompanied by a growing social differentiation in towns and the emergence of working class. Just as there were peasant revolts in different parts of Europe towards the decline of feudalism, there were also uprisings by the city poor in this age of rising capitalism.

8.3 RENAISSANCE

The term 'Renaissance' literally means rebirth, and is, in a narrow sense, used to describe the revival of interest in the classical civilisations of Greece and Rome. This deeply influenced Europeans. The Renaissance, however, was not a mere revival of ancient learning. It was marked by a series of new developments in the fields of art, literature, religion, philosophy, science and politics.

The intellectual and cultural life of Europe for centuries had been dominated by the Catholic Church. The Renaissance undermined this domination. The revival of, pre-Christian Classical learning and of interest in the cultural achievements of ancient Greece and Rome was, in itself, an important factor in undermining the domination of the Church. The Renaissance, of course, went beyond mere revival and gave rise to a new way of thinking.



17. A royal letter authorising Columbus to undertake voyage to India.

8.3.1 Humanism

The chief characteristic of the Renaissance way of thinking was humanism. Basically, it meant a decisive shift in concern for human interests distinct from divine matters. Humanism

controlled man, stressed his essential worth and dignity, expressed invincible faith in his tremendous creative potential, and proclaimed freedom of the individual and his inalienable rights. It was centred on a notion of man that did not reject earthly joys, recognised the beauty and dignity of the human body, opposed religious asceticism, and defended man's right to pleasure and satisfaction of earthly desires and requirements. It meant the glorification of the human and the natural disposition and rejected the other-worldliness of Catholic belief that human existence has its origin in sin, therefore, it is tainted. The humanists rejected or even ridiculed religious mortification of the flesh and withdrawal from the world. They urged man to seek joy on this earth rather than, an after-life which the church advocated. Their works were permeated with the faith that a man with an active mind and body was capable of knowing and controlling the world, and fashioning his own happiness. These ideas increasingly narrowed the domain of the divine and extended the 'domain of man'.

Pico della Mirandola, an Italian humanist of the fifteenth century who had travelled widely and had studied various systems of philosophy, published a list of nine hundred theses. The Renaissance belief in the limitless potentialities of man may be seen in the following excerpts from his writings:

"There is nothing more wonderful than man." This is what I have read in some record of the Arabians. A famous Greek said, "A great miracle a man is. What is the reason behind these sayings"? Human beings are Kings of all beings below God and the angels because of the ability of their reason and the light of their intelligence. But these reasons are not enough.

"Man is the most fortunate of creatures " Why? Because of all creatures, God did not limit the potential of man. Only humans have freedom of choice and can fashion themselves in whatever shape they prefer. They have the power to degenerate into a brutish form of life, like the animals. Secondly physical strength or instinct helps them to survive. Or, they have the power to use their intelligence to turn themselves into a higher form of life that is god-like.

"The ancient Babylonians said, 'Man is a being that has a varied nature'. Why do we stress this? Because we say that we human beings can become what we will."

" 'Know thyself'. By this rule we are encouraged to investigate all of nature. The person who knows himself or herself knows all things."

8.3.2 Secularism

If we compare the contemporary view of the world with the medieval view, we will recognize the great transformation of thought that had taken place from religious 'other-worldliness' to humanistic 'this-worldliness'. The humanist is more interested in the material world around, in the contents of the physical universe than in gods, angels or demons, whereas the medieval men of religion were more interested in gods, angels or demons. The humanist is concerned to make the most of his brief life, whereas the medieval men regarded life as a painful preparation for a happier life, which, they thought, would come after death. This transformation which the Renaissance inaugurated may be termed as marking the passage from religion to secularism. The new intellectual and cultural climate which the Renaissance created influenced even the Church hierarchy, particularly its upper levels, who were wealthy. For example Leo X who was the pope from 1513 to 1521 said on becoming the Pope, "Let us enjoy this Papacy which God has given us".

Check Your Progress 1

1) Discuss in-brief the factors which helped in the introduction of capitalist economy in Europe.

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2) Find out whether following statement are true or false. (Mark ✓ or ✗)

- i) Severe restrictions were imposed on the citizens in Europe during the Renaissance period.
- ii) The feudal society was a class less society.
- iii) 'Humanism' was a great contribution of Renaissance.

iv) Renaissance contributed to the development of secular ideas.

3) Write in about five lines what you understand by 'humanism'

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8.4 RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

The humanist ideas of the Renaissance found artistic expression in literature, painting, architecture, and sculpture. Some of the greatest writers, poets, and dramatists of the Renaissance were Petrarch and Boccaccio in Italy. Rabelais in France, Erasmus in Holland, Von Hutten in Germany, Cervantes in Spain and Shakespeare in England. The themes of their writings had little to do with religion or piety or asceticism and were often refulgent and anti-clerical.

The most significant feature of the literary output of the Renaissance, and since, has been the use of vernacular languages, or the languages spoken by the people of a region or country. Until about the fourteenth century, there were hardly any writings in any of the languages spoken by the people of different countries of Europe—the Italian, Spanish, French, German, English, etc. The language of scholarship and literature for centuries had been Latin which only the educated, who constituted a very small part of the population, could understand. The Renaissance marks the emergence of modern European languages as languages of literature and the beginning of the development of these languages. In a short period, these languages almost completely replaced Latin as the language of poetry, drama and fiction. Latin continued, however, to be the language of philosophy and science for some more time.



18. An early printing press.

It may also be remembered that the total number of books available in Europe till the late fifteenth century was very small. The first printed book, the Gutenberg's Bible, was brought out in 1456. Until the invention of printing, books were hand-written (manuscripts). They were copied in hand by scribes and were mostly available in libraries of the monasteries. Even people who could read had thus very little access to books. But most people could neither read nor write. It has been estimated that during the first half of the fifteenth century, there were only about 100,000 manuscripts in Europe. In fifty years' time, after the introduction of the printing press, there were nine million books. This was a significant development, but its impact took a long time to be felt. The printed books were also expensive and only the moneyed people could afford to buy them. Although the number of people who could read was limited yet printing opened up immense possibilities for the future. This inevitably had an impact on society.

The Renaissance literature in modern European languages was marked by significant changes in style and theme. Initially, the tendency was towards an imitation of the Latin literary style. Its first impact was felt in poetry where the imitation of court poets was given up and new rhymes were adopted with themes which were increasingly secular. There were significant developments in drama, and increasing use of satire. A major development was in the field of prose writings. Earlier prose was a medium only for scholarly writing. Stories were told through poems. Now, the prose-story emerged as an extremely important literary form. Boccaccio's Decameron, basically a collection of stories in Italian, was a pioneering work and influenced the Renaissance prose writings all over Europe.

8.5 ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Some of the greatest achievements of the Renaissance were made in the realm of painting, sculpture and architecture. The humanism of the Renaissance found brilliant expression in these art forms. The Renaissance artists made use of biblical subjects but the interpretation they gave of these subjects had little to do with the traditional religious attitude. Art as an independent activity assumed a status which was unknown in the medieval times. The purpose of medieval art was to express moral values and impart religious teachings. The people portrayed were not men and women of flesh and blood. The artists, mostly anonymous, had a low position in society. They worked in groups as craftsmen and had no individuality. The Renaissance marked the rise of artists, each with his unique individuality and style, who enjoyed great prestige in society. The wealthy merchants, the princes and the Church competed for their patronage. Art was freed from religious or ritualistic overtones. Now artistic creations were admitted for their intrinsic aesthetic value, and were seen as evidence of achievements of the individual artists.



19 (a) Mona Lisa by Leonardo da Vinci.



19 (b) Raphael's Madonna.



19 (c) Michelangelo's frescoes on the Sistine Chapel

Of all the art forms the Renaissance's supreme achievement was in painting. The Renaissance artists looked upon art as an imitation of life. This required close observation of nature and of man, of mountains, trees, and animals and of the anatomy of man. The artists studied optics and geometry and used their knowledge to develop perspectives, including serial perspectives. In their paintings they studied human anatomy to find the mechanism underlying gestures and expressions. Leonardo da Vinci, for example, studied not only the anatomical structure of the human body, but also in order to represent movement, the way different parts of the body shaped when in a state of movement. Leonardo considered painting a science.

For an appreciation of the significance of the Renaissance art and the departure it marked from the medieval art, it is necessary to see the reproductions of paintings of the two periods in illustrated volumes of art history. No detailed reference has been made to any particular artist or work of art of the period. The reader may try to know about and see the reproductions of some of the following paintings of the Renaissance: Botticelli's *Allegory of Spring and Birth of Venus*, Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin of the Rocks*, *Last Supper* and *Monalisa*, Raphael's *School of Athens* and *Madonna and Child* and Michelangelo's series of frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome.

The sculpture of the Renaissance period developed along the same lines as the painting. The medieval sculpture used images of saints and depicted religious themes as a part of



20 The Battle of the Centaur by Michelangelo, 1492, on Marble relief is an excellent expression of Humanism in Sculpture

architecture. One of the significant developments now was the emergence of the free-standing sculpture. Architecture emerged as an art itself and ceased to be a religious medium. As in the case of painting, the growing knowledge of anatomy and the new standards of beauty also influenced the developments of sculpture.

The Renaissance period thus, also marks the beginning of the decline of Gothic architecture which had dominated the architecture of cathedrals and churches from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The basic features of this architecture were rib-vaults, sharply pointed arches and buttresses. The Gothic structures had lofty spires. They had stained glass windows and carved facades and were decorated with representations of mythical creatures. The Renaissance architects considered Gothic architecture as ascetic and other worldly and used the word 'Gothic' to disparage it as barbarian. New styles of architecture began to be developed, first in Italy and later in other parts of Europe. These were based on the study of the ancient Roman architecture. The finest specimen of the new style was St. Peter's Church in Rome. The buildings in the new style, many of which were churches, have been described as expressing ideals which were purely secular, joy in this life and pride in human achievement.



21 (a) Cathedral Dome Florence (1428—36).



21 (b) A diagram showing the construction of the Cathedral Dome, Florence

8.6 PHILOSOPHY

The dominant philosophical system of the pre-renaissance medieval Europe was scholasticism. It was an attempt to harmonize reason and faith, basically to serve the interests of theology. It was based on logic and rejected experimental science and experience. The sense perceptions, according to this philosophy, could lead to a knowledge of the appearance of things but not of the reality which could be discovered by reason alone without reference to sensory perceptions. Its purpose was to give a systematic account of the Christian doctrine and to free it of any internal contradictions. For this, reason alone was not enough. Another criterion was the authority of the scriptures. The acceptance of the doctrine was not based on its correspondence with facts but on its legitimation by the scriptures or by an authoritative person. Some scholastics of course, stressed the importance of doubt and ceaseless interrogation for perceiving the truth and laid emphasis on reason more than on faith, but their number was limited. The Renaissance thinkers attacked scholasticism saying that it fed on itself, with its circular reasoning within a close system in which the basic premises bore no relation to reality. They asserted that knowledge could be gained by going out and studying mentally and manually the Book of Nature. Leonardo da Vinci, to whom reference has already been made, condemned the reliance on authority as a source of knowledge and advocated the use of the inductive method.

Empiricism arose as a reaction to scholasticism and its speculative methods. Empiricism may be defined as an approach which holds that the sensory experience is the only source of knowledge. It affirms that all knowledge is founded on experience and is obtained through it. Francis Bacon, one of the pioneers of empiricism, emphasized the inductive method against the speculative method of scholastic. This method relied for knowledge on observation, experimentation, collection of data and their classification for discovery of general laws. For such purposes, preconceived notions, personal prejudices and rhetorical inaccuracies should be discarded and no ideas, however time-honoured they may be, held as eternal truths. The founding of the first effective scientific society, the Royal Society in England, was directly the result of his ideas. Empiricism, despite some limitations, marked a break with the past and paved the way for the advancement of modern science. It was held that the physical universe was subject to natural laws which could be discovered and used for the benefit of mankind. The empiricists also held that human affairs could be similarly understood.

Another system of philosophy which helped in ending the domination of scholasticism (and of the church) in intellectual life and aided the growth of science is associated with the name of Descartes. Descartes advocated that with clarity of thought it was possible to discover everything that was rationally knowable. He emphasized the importance of deductive thought and, experiment as an aid to it. Deductive method begins with logical formulation of premises, their internal rational connections, and then proceeds to observation and experiments with facts to establish the validity of those premises. Inductive method begins with observation of facts to arrive at such logical sets of premises as a final result of inquiry. The purpose of his philosophy was, however, similar to that of Bacon's. Referring to his conclusions, he wrote:

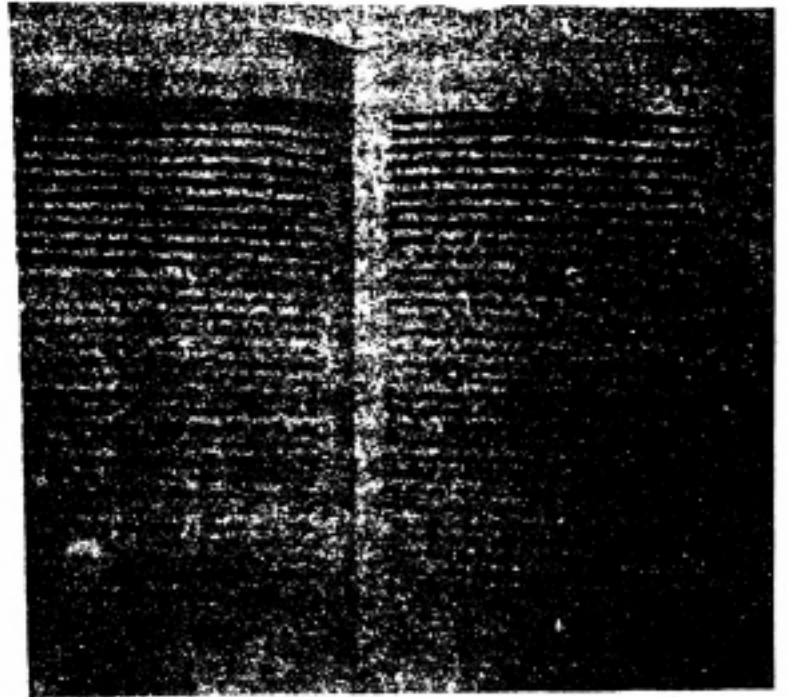
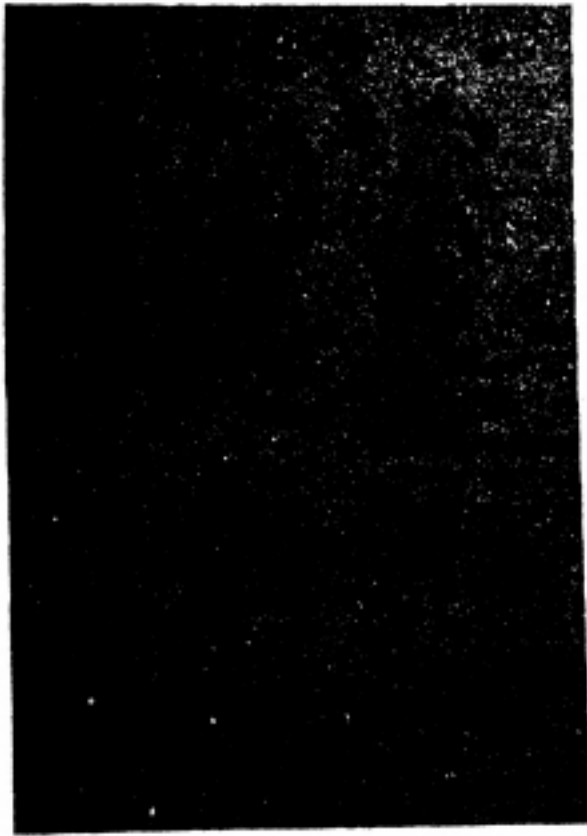
They showed me that it is possible to arrive at knowledge very useful to life: and that instead of this speculative philosophy that is taught in the schools one can find a practical philosophy by which knowing the force and action of fire; water, air, the stars, the heavens, and all other bodies that surround us as distinctly as we know the different trades of our craftsmen, we could employ them in the same way to all uses for which they are appropriate and thus become the masters and possessors of Nature."

8.7 BEGINNING OF THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

The Renaissance marked the beginning of modern science. One of the first achievement was in astronomy. This was an exposition by Copernicus of the rotation of the earth on its axis and its motion around the sun. This marked an important break with the ancient system of thought. For over a thousand years, it was believed that the earth was the centre of the universe. It was a cardinal dogma of scholastic philosophers, and its refutation meant an attack on the theological conception of the universe. It was therefore, to be condemned as a heresy and punished. Copernicus's book, *On the Revolution of the Celestial Orbs* was published in 1543, the year in which he died. He had hesitated from publishing it for fear of the hostility of the Church. While the theory awaited final confirmation by Galileo later, the very idea of an open universe of which the earth was but a small part was shattering to the theological view of a closed universe, created and maintained in motion by God. About half a century after the publication of Copernicus's book, in 1606, Giordano Bruno was burnt for heresy which the vision of an infinite universe had inspired.

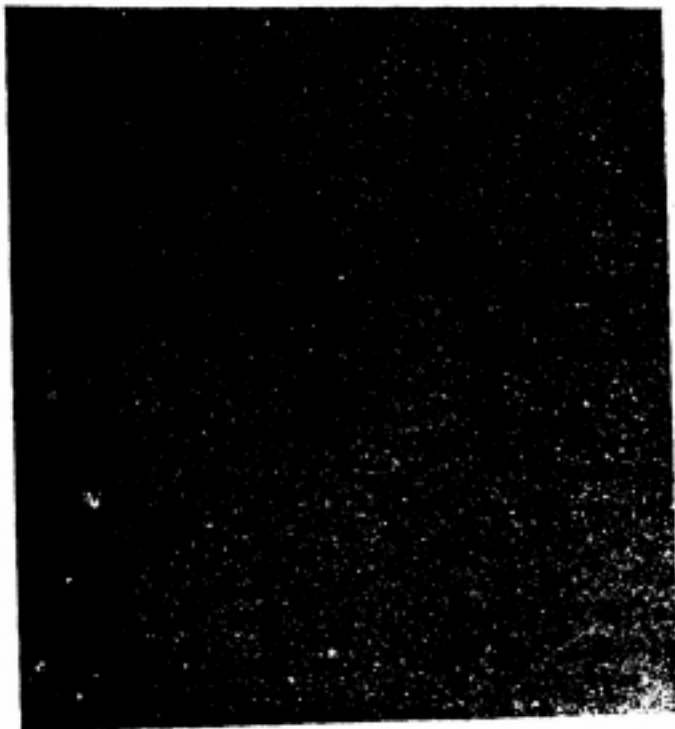
The decisive proof of the new conception of the universe was made possible by the invention of the telescope which has been called the greatest scientific instrument of the age. Galileo, born eleven years after the death of Copernicus, used this instrument in his study of the heavenly bodies and the Copernicus theory was confirmed by Galileo's observations. Galileo was tried in his old age and was condemned and forced to recant his views. He was awarded nominal imprisonment and allowed to carry on his scientific work which was not directly connected with astronomy. Galileo's trial marked the end of a period in the history of science. The condemnation of Galileo was not a popular one, and attempts to enforce the acceptance of the old conception of universe were quietly dropped.

Significant discoveries were made in the study of the human body and circulation of blood which helped to combat many superstitions. We have already referred to the work of the Renaissance artists relating to the study of anatomy. In 1543, the year in which Copernicus's book was published, Vesalius a Belgian, published his profusely illustrated *De Humani*



22(a) A group of Geographers from the school of Athens, 22(b) A group of Astronomers from the school of Athens 22 (c) A navigation book where Copernicus's views have been blackcord due to Church's censorship.

Corporis Fabrica Based on his study of the dissections of the human body, this book provided the first complete description of the anatomy of the anatomy of the human body Servents a



23 (a) Study of Bones & Tendons, a drawing by Leonardo Da Vinci.

23 (b) A study of Human Anatomy (1490-1500 AD).

Stages of Social Evolution strengthen the state. He was completely opposed to any limitations on the authority of the ruler. It was the supreme obligation of the ruler to maintain the power and safety of the state, and it was his duty to use all possible means to fulfil that obligation.

A Period of Growing Absolutism

It was a period of growing absolutism and there was much opposition to this trend from those who were affected. The middle class, while supporting the ruler against the feudal lords, also resisted the power of the ruler. Wherever parliamentary institutions existed, the upper classes represented in them, were able to claim and exert special rights. A theory of popular sovereignty was advocated by Marsilius of Padua in early fourteenth century. He contended that sovereignty extended from God to the people and from them to their government and therefore, the government should remain responsible to the people. By 'people' what was meant was the upper classes, and if at all any limitations were imposed on the authority of the ruler, they were for and by upper classes. 'Popular sovereignty' was rarely used to denote democracy and republicanism. There were a number of republican city-states in Italy, Germany, Holland and Switzerland, but none had a popularly elected government. Only in Bohemia (Czechoslovakia), for a short while, the followers of John Huss established a republic. The theory and practice of popular sovereignty belongs to a later period of history.

8.9 REFORMATION

The term Reformation implies two major developments in the history of Europe towards the latter part of the Renaissance. First, the Protestant Revolution which resulted in a split in Christianity and secondly, the secession of a large number of countries from the Roman Catholic Church by establishing separate Churches in those countries, generally along national lines. This triggered reforms within the Roman Catholic Church, generally referred to as the Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation. But Reformation was not merely a religious movement. It was intimately connected with, and was in fact a part of, the social and political movements of the period which brought about the end of the medieval period and the emergence of the modern world. As in the case of the Renaissance, the Reformation must be seen in the context of the social, economic and political changes in Europe.

The Catholic Church, during the early medieval period, had become a vast hierarchical organisation headed by the Pope in Rome. The Pope was the supreme authority over the entire hierarchy, and, he exercised this authority directly. The position of the Pope is often described as 'Papal Monarchy'. Systematic efforts were made to extend the authority of the Church over everyone, high or low. Making an oral confession of his sins to a priest at least once a year and suffer punishment imposed, was made obligatory for everyone. The recalcitrants were excommunicated. A person who was excommunicated was supposed to have been temporarily consigned to hell. If he died, his body could not be buried with the prescribed rituals. Other Christians were forbidden from associating with him.

8.9.1 Doctrinal Debates in the Church

Almost from the beginning of the establishment of the Church, there were differences among Christian scholars on questions of doctrine. These differences persisted over the centuries. By the thirteenth century, some of the questions of the Christian doctrine were taken out of the purview of philosophical discussions. They had to be accepted on faith. An important feature of the Catholic Church was the theory of sacraments. A sacrament was defined as an instrument by which divine grace is communicated to man. Seven sacraments were accepted — baptism, confirmation, penance, the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, marriage, ordination and extreme unction. These sacraments were regarded indispensable for securing God's grace and there was no salvation without them. Associated with the theory of sacraments was the theory of priesthood. It was held that the priest who was ordained by a bishop (who was confirmed by the Pope), was, the inheritor of a part of the authority conferred by Christian Saint Peter (Popes derived their authority from Saint Peter). For the laymen, the three most important sacraments were baptism, penance and the Eucharist. The priest, according to this theory, had the power to cooperate with God in performing certain miracles and in releasing sinners from the consequences of their sins. There were also the veneration of the relics of Christ and saints and these were often faked. The rule of celibacy of the priests and the belief in purgatory was also implemented.

By the thirteenth century, the Church, which had been founded for the purpose of saving souls, had become a vast and efficient engineer of control and exploitation. Protestant Revolution is often described as a revolt against abuses which had grown in the Catholic Church. Some of the priests and higher-ups in the Church hierarchy received their appointment through corrupt means. Many such appointees were utterly ignorant. They led lives of opulence and immorality, running gambling houses and keeping mistresses. Religious offices were sold to the highest bidder and those who bought positions after spending money made good by charging high fees for the services they performed. Dispensations which exempted people from certain laws of the Church such as with regard to marriage and imposition of penance were sold. The Popes and the higher clergy lived like princes. A relatively new abuse was the sale of indulgences which remitted punishments in this life and in purgatory for sins. The sale of indulgences which began to be considered as passports to heaven became one of the major immediate issues which provoked the Protestant Revolution.



No. 24 (a) Sale of Indulgences.



24 (b) Sale of Indulgences.

Any opinion or doctrine contrary to the Church dogma was considered heretical and was punished. The Church had established a vast machine to suppress heresy. Inquisition or a tribunal had been instituted for the discovery and punishment of heresy. All deviation and dissent from the dogma and protest against the abuses of the Church was sought to be suppressed and heretics began to be burnt at the stake. Two orders of nuns, the Franciscan and the Dominican, had been founded in the early thirteenth century. The wandering monks of these orders soon degenerated into a system of espionage and blackmail. The inquisitor, who wore black garments and a black cowl over the head, would enter a village or town with his staff and summon the inhabitants to report any heretics or any person they suspected of heresy. Some people settled old scores and made false accusations.

From the fourteenth century, opposition to some of the Church doctrines and protests against the abuses began to grow. There was also an advocacy of the return to the Scriptures and early Christianity instead of relying on the Catholic Church as an organization. John Wycliffe in England advocated the supreme authority of the Scriptures. The language of the Catholic Church was Latin, which, the common people did not understand. The Scriptures then were not available in any of the modern European languages. Latin, Hebrew and Greek were considered the three sacred languages. Translation of the Scriptures into other language was believed to destroy the sanctity of the sole repository of the faith; of the true Christianity, which offered the sole criterion of righteousness. Then the salvation of people lay in their knowing what the Scriptures said. For this it was necessary that the Scriptures were translated into the languages of the people. Wycliffe inspired the first English translation of the Bible. He condemned the Pope as the leader of the army of the devil. He denounced the clergy, condemned the indulgences and denied certain doctrines such as the Eucharist. He recruited what were known as poor Preachers to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among the common people. After his death in 1384, some of his followers went even beyond his ideas and condemned many doctrines and practices.

8.9.2 The Protestant Revolution

The Protestant Revolution can be said to have begun in 1517 when Martin Luther, a Monk of the Order of St. Augustine, nailed his ninety-five theses or statement, attacking the sale of the indulgences, on the door of Church in Wittenberg in Germany. He challenged people to come and hold disputations with his on his theses and sent copies of his theses to his friends in a number of cities. Among the theses were the following:

"Thus those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that, by the indulgences of the Pope, a man is loosened and saved from all punishment...

They Preach man, who say that the soul flies out of the purgatory as soon as the money thrown in the chest rattles.

It is certain that, when the money rattles in the chest, avarice and gain may be increased, but the suffrage of the Church depends on the will of God alone...

Christians should be taught that, as it would be the duty, so it would be the wish of the Pope, even to sell, if necessary the Basilica of St. Peter, and to give of his own money to very many of those from whom the preachers of pardons extract money"

During the next two years, Luther wrote a series of pamphlets expounding his doctrines and came to the conclusion that his doctrines could not be reconciled with those of the Catholic Church and that he had no alternative but to break with the Catholic Church. In 1520, the Pope ordered him to recant within sixty days or be condemned as a heretic. He burnt the proclamation of the Pope in public. During all this period, he was protected by the ruler of Saxony who was his friend. Many rulers in Germany were hostile to the Church and when Luther was excommunicated, he remained unharmed. During the next 25 years, he occupied himself with the talk of building an independent German Church — and in expounding his doctrine. He rejected the entire system of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, introduced German as the language of Church services, abolished monasticism and insisted on the right of priests to marry, abolished the special status of priests as representative of God on earth, eliminated most of the Sacraments except baptism and the Eucharist, and emphasized faith rather than good works including pilgrimages and veneration of relics. The highest priority was given to the doctrine of predestination and the supreme authority of the Scriptures. Another important change was to abandon the view that the Catholic Church was supreme over the state.

The break with the Catholic Church was soon followed by revolts, first by the knights and then by lower classes, mainly peasants. These revolts, on the one hand, helped in eliminating opposition to Luther; on the other, they showed the limitations of Luther's movement as a movement of radical, social and economic reform. Luther sided with the rulers and the lords in suppressing the peasants' revolt. He advocated the hunting down of rebels like "mad dogs". Among the rebels were people belonging to a sect called the Anabaptists who were considered the most radical reformers of the time. They advocated complete separation of Church and state, denied the necessity of the priests, denounced the accumulation of wealth and distinctions of rank, and considered it the duty of a Christian to share their things with each other. Luther, denouncing them, said:

"There are heretics who hold that one should tolerate no authority ... that one should own no possessions ... leave house and home or should hold and keep all things common.

Such are not only heretics but rebels, and therefore without doubt should be punished".

8.9.3 Economic and Political Changes

In addition to the doctrinal disputes and decadence of the Church, the Protestant Revolution was also influenced by economic and political changes in society. This was a period when, in different countries of Europe, there was a rise of national consciousness among the people, that they were one people distinct from the other nationalities, and, must not be ruled over by foreigners. They should have their own government and rulers, independent of any outside (church) control. Unlike the medieval period, nation-states were beginning to be formed in accordance with this consciousness.

The social and economic changes leading to the rise in importance of the merchants, had strengthened this process. The Roman Catholic Church asserted its supremacy over all nationalities in all matters, including in the matter of appointments and deposition of kings. There emerged thus, a basic antagonism between the growing national consciousness and the Church. There could be no growth in nationalism without diminishing the powers of the Church.

While discussing the political theories in the period of the Renaissance, we have referred to the rise of absolutism or despotism. The rulers of states claimed total supremacy within their realms. They even claimed that their right to rule was a divine right. These rulers wanted complete authority not only over temporal affairs (which right the Pope also claimed) but also control over the Churches and the priesthood within their kingdoms. Then there were various economic factors. The Church had a vast economic empire. The Churches and the monasteries under the control of the Pope had enormous wealth and owned vast lands. The Church imposed various kind of taxes, for example, the Peter's Pence and Tithe. Much of this wealth drained from different countries was sent to Rome. Similarly, the proceeds from the sales of indulgences were sent to Rome.

While the general population disliked a large portion of their wealth being sent to Rome, the rulers saw vast prospects of increasing their resources by confiscating Church properties. It offered the resources they needed for their standing armies and for other purposes. The Church properties were exempted from taxes and, therefore, the burden of taxation within a state fell on the merchants and the new class of rising capitalists. While religious differences perhaps could be sorted out, these fundamental antagonisms could not. The Protestant Revolution did not, nor was it meant to, lead to the establishment of a universal Protestant Church under a single authority like the Catholic Church was under the Pope. It led to the establishment of separate national Churches under the control of the state.

After the success of Luther in Germany, the Protestant Revolution spread to many other countries. The doctrines of the Protestants everywhere were not the same. In Switzerland, the Protestant Revolution was led by Zwingli and Calvin. In fact, Calvin's ideas gained much more support in different parts of Europe than those of Luther. In England, King Henry VIII was made the head of the Church of England which was declared to be an independent national unit subject only to the authority of the king.

The Protestant Revolution was followed by a realization by the Catholics, including the Popes, the clergy and Catholic rulers and scholars, that the spread of Protestantism could not be checked by persecution or by political and military means. What was needed was a moral regeneration of the Churches and Papacy. A series of measures were taken in the sixteenth century itself to introduce various reforms.

The Reformation brought about a split in Western Christendom and, along with it, for a long time an increase in religious conflicts and wars. In a period of about twenty-five years (from 1560's) eight religious wars ravaged France. The revival of evangelicalism, the religious crusading zeal of the rival Churches, led to the diminishing of some of the gains of the Renaissance, particularly in shifting the focus from religious affairs to human affairs. The period from 1560 to 1630 was the worst period in the history of witch-hunting. It assumed the proportion of a craze.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Which of the following statements are correct or wrong (Mark ✓ or ×).
 - i) Democracy was the leading political system of medieval times.
 - ii) Marsilius of Padua advocated a theory of popular sovereignty.
 - iii) Baptism, penance and the Eucharist were important sacraments.
 - iv) Luther supported the peasant revolt.
 - v) National churches emerged as a result of Reformation.
- 2) Write in about ten lines the methods adopted by the Church to dominate social and political life of the people in Europe.

3) What do you understand by the term "Protestant Revolution"?

Answer in about five lines.

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4) List in about five lines some major consequences of Reformation.

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8.10 RISE OF NATION STATES

If we look at the political map of the thirteenth century Europe, we will recognize few of the nations of modern Europe which was ruled by thousands of feudal lords, and the political entities that characterize modern Europe did not exist. We have read about the power and position of the feudal lords. There were Kings but they had little power. To fight wars against other Kings, they depended entirely on the levies provided by the feudal lords. The boundaries of the estates of the lords and of kingdoms had no rational basis and were fluctuating. There was nothing like a sense of common nationality which distinguished the people of one state from those of others.

In the twelfth century, there came into being the Holy Roman Empire. It claimed to be a universal empire (in the same way in which the Catholic Church claimed to be the universal Church). Though it included mainly Germany and Italy, but the Emperors' control even in these areas was limited. The process of political development, the culmination of which we see in the present day world in the form of independent and sovereign national states, started in the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation. This process started with the rise of national consciousness. It was the consciousness among people inhabiting a more or less defined territory that as people they were distinct. It began with the emergence of national monarchies, two of the earliest being England and France.

The Kings tried to establish their supremacy over the feudal lords and the conflicts between the two lasted over a long period of time. The Kings were helped in their designs by merchants and other urban population. The rise of trade and the middle class in cities had taken place already. To free themselves from interference by feudal lords and to further promote their interests, the cities needed a strong central authority which the Kings, by curbing the power of the feudal lords, were trying to establish. The interests of the merchants could be promoted by strong Kings who would put an end to the feudal anarchy and local disorders, remove restriction on trade which resulted from political fragmentation, build roads, and canals, and enforce law and order. They could, thus, facilitate trade by protecting traders in their countries from the competition of merchants from other countries, and support them with their armed power against their rivals. The Kings found in the merchants their allies who provided the money they needed for building their own independent armies totally under their command, for creating their administrative system i.e. the courts and other paraphernalia of the state. Earlier, as we discussed, the Kings were powerless against the feudal lords on whom they depended even for their soldiers. Now a process of the disintegration of the power of the feudal lords started. This process was aided by the introduction in Europe of gunpowder against which the feudal castles and fortresses provided no defence.

The rise of national languages also helped the process of the emergence of strong national states by strengthening national consciousness. The process of colonial expansion which

started with the discovery of new sea-routes and new lands was also connected with these developments.

The rise of nation-states which started in this period brought about the end of the political system of the middle ages which was characterized by decentralization of political power. In its place, emerged the nation-states which were characterized by despotic governments. In the following centuries, while the emergence of cohesive states on the basis of nationalism and strong government was to continue, the new feature in political development was the struggle against the absolutism of the rulers and the growth of political democracy.

To comprehend the nature of the political developments in this period, we should study the political developments in a few selected countries, e.g. in England and France. We must remember that the process of the formation of nation-states took a long time to complete and some European nations became independent states only in the twentieth century.

3.11 GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND COLONISATION

We have mentioned earlier that the growth of trade and of cities helped undermine the feudal order and provided the background for new intellectual, artistic, religious and political developments. The lucrative trade with the East was controlled by the Italians, mainly the Venetians. The desire to have a share in this trade, first in Portugal and Spain, and later in England, France and Holland, led from the late fifteenth century onwards to great geographical discoveries, important changes within Europe, and the establishment of new patterns of international relationships.

Until the later part of the fifteenth century, a large part of the world was unknown to the people living in any area of the world. The existence of the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and large parts of Africa and Asia was unknown to people living outside these areas. The vast Atlantic Ocean had remained uncharted and the possibility of the existence of a vast land-mass on the other side of the Atlantic was rarely imagined. It was not known that one could circumnavigate or sail around Africa. Though many people had come to believe that the earth was a sphere, still most people did not rule out the possibility that the sailors who went far into the ocean might sail on for ever in an endless ocean or might fall down from the earth when they reached its end.



25 (a) Columbus leaving for his voyage.



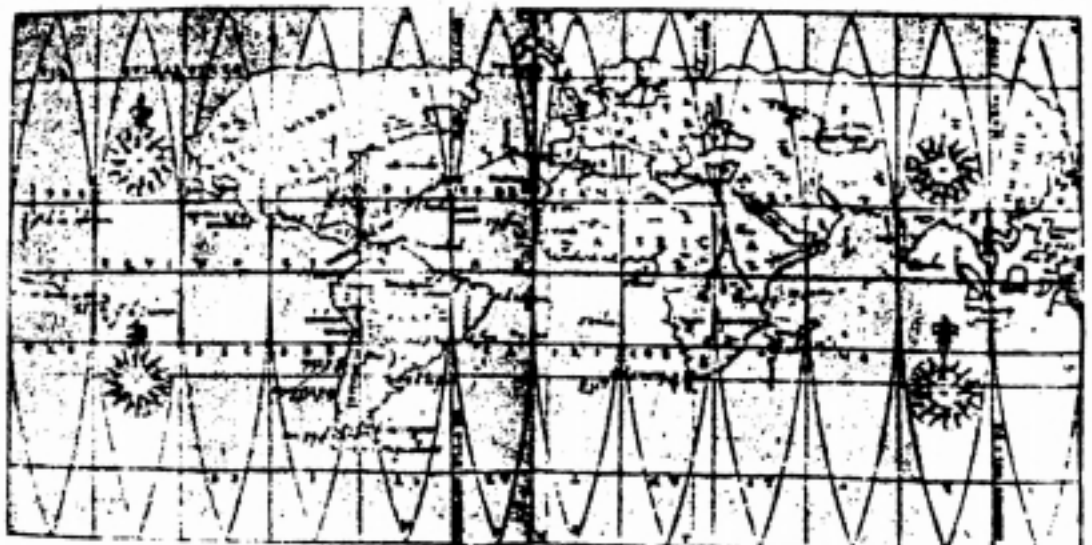
25 (b) Adventurous fleet that Columbus assembled.

The first great steps in the exploration of the earth were taken by the sailors under the patronage of the Portuguese and the Spanish rulers. The initial motive was to find a sea-route to the East and to have a share in the lucrative trade which was monopolised by the traders from Venice. The compass and the astrolab, essential navigational instruments for long journeys across the oceans, had become known, and astronomical tables and the art of mapping, essential for sailors, had been developing fast.

Bartholomew Diaz sailed, in 1487-88 across west Africa, crossed the Cape of Good Hope and reached the eastern coast of Africa. In 1492, Columbus, sailing west to find a new route to the East reached the Americas, though he himself, even after three more successful voyages, died ignorant of his great discovery. In 1497-98 Vasco da Gama finally discovered the sea-route to India.

Magellan (1519-22) was the first to successfully circumnavigate the world. His ships crossed the Atlantic Ocean, sailed across the Pacific Ocean and the survivors reached Spain after crossing the Indian Ocean. Though much of the world still remained unexplored, including large parts of Africa and Australia, these voyages laid the foundations for almost the complete geographical knowledge of the world. Following these discoveries, almost all areas of the world were for the first time brought into regular physical contact with one another

The new geographical discoveries had far-reaching consequences for the entire world. The discovery of the sea-route to India led to the end of Venetian control and, the establishment of the Portuguese monopoly over European trade with Asia. The Portuguese were, however, subsequently supplanted by the British, the Dutch and the French. There was a tremendous increase in the volume of trade as well as in the articles of trade. It marked also the beginning of the colonisation of Asia, which in the following centuries was almost entirely



26. An Old Map.

subjugated by the European countries. The colonisation of Africa also began, though it was confined to the coastal areas. The large-scale conquest of Africa by the imperialist countries of Europe took place only in the nineteenth century. In the Americas, the geographical discoveries were followed in a period of few decades with the destruction of the civilizations of the Incas and the Aztecs and the subjugation of the large indigenous population by a small number of Europeans. The Europeans plundered the gold and silver of the Incas and the Aztecs and exploited the mines in Peru, Mexico and Bolivia for precious metals. Vast supplies of gold and silver reached Europe.

Commodities, totally unknown or unavailable in Europe such as potatoes, tobacco and maize became available there, and vast resources of the Americas for the production of sugar, coffee, rice and cotton began to be exploited for the benefit of the Europeans. One of the significant developments following the conquest of the Americas by the Europeans was the introduction of the plantation system in North America, West Indies and Brazil, mainly for the production of sugar cane, tobacco and cotton. These plantations were worked by slave labour drawn from Africa. The continents of Africa and the Americas were brought together by a brutal system of exploitation. While the indigenous population of the Americas (the American Indians as they are called) were reduced to the status of serfs who worked on the estates of the European colonists, the plantations were worked by slaves.



27. Merchants at a harbour in America.

Slave trade was started in the late fifteenth century by individual merchants, sailors and pirates but by the end of the sixteenth century it passed into the hands of regular slave-trading companies officially approved by the governments of the European countries. For about 300 years, people of Africa were hunted, first in the coastal areas and then further in the interior, by slave traders and their agents, captured, transported across the Atlantic Ocean and sold to work in the plantations. Millions of Africans were captured and exported.

Hundreds of thousands died during the journey because of the extremely unhygienic conditions in the ships. It is estimated that in the British colonies in the West Indies alone, more than two million slaves were imported in a period of about a hundred years. The prosperity of the European colonizers in the Americas was based on the serf and slave labour of the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas and African slaves respectively.

This had a great impact on the development of Europe, particularly of those countries which were in the forefront in establishing their colonies and control over other parts of the world and in international trade. These developments furthered the process of the growth of capitalism.

We have said before that as a result of the geographical discoveries, the entire world, for the first time became known and, also, that for the first time all areas of the world were brought into regular physical contact with one another. However, as we have seen, this regular physical contact was accompanied by brutal exploitation of the people of some parts of the world.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Which of the following statements are correct or wrong (Mark ✓ or ✗)
 - i) Nation-states emerged in a very short time in Europe.
 - ii) Bartholomew Diaz sailed to America in 1492.
 - iii) People from Africa were sold as slaves in America.
 - iv) Compass is used to measure distance.

- 2) Discuss in about ten lines some of the major consequences of geographical discoveries.

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8.12 LET US SUM UP

Renaissance and Reformation set into motion a process that revolutionised the outlook of human beings on religion, society, political systems and culture. This process was the product of several socio-economic changes, such as the emergence of civic freedom in towns and cities; formation of occupational guilds; development of sea borne trade; geographical discoveries, etc. The Renaissance marked the rise of humanism which shifted the focus from divine principles to human beings. The human body was no more treated as a symbol of sin. It was now considered as a thing of beauty, dignity and pleasure. This outlook generated new writings and literature, art and architecture where the emphasis was on beauty and aesthetic standards in relation to human conditions.

With the promotion of secular ideas and rational thinking the doors for the development of modern science were thrown open. The conflict between Church and science ultimately resulted in favour of science. The sanction of the Church was no more required for the promotion and recognition of scientific discoveries. The forces of Reformation challenged the abuse of authority by the Church. This not only resulted in the emergence of national churches but also compelled the Church hierarchy to introduce reforms, i.e. the Counter Reformation.

This was also a period which marked the emergence of nation-states in Europe along with new political theories. Merchants and other professional groups supported political consolidation under monarchies. They played a vital role in colonisation and ultimately in the establishment of colonial regimes.

8.13 KEY WORDS

Absolutism: despotism, a government in which the ruler has absolute power.

Anabaptist: a 16th century Swiss Sect of reformation.

Baptism: rite for admitting a person into Christian faith (by dipping him into water or sprinkling sacred water over him).

Capitalism: an economic system of production of commodities for profit.

Deductive: to infer by logical reasoning.

Empiricism: method of proof based on observations.

Fresco: a method of painting in water-colour on wall before plaster is dry.

Gothic: a style of architecture of flying buttresses and pointed arches, etc.

Guild: union of craftsmen in medieval times.

Heretic: holding belief opposed to the church, especially by its members.

Humanism: a system of thought holding man to be ethical, giving dignity to man.

Journey-men: skilled workers qualified by apprentices to work in his trade.

Sacrament: a set of rites observed by Christians as ordained by Jesus.

Scholasticism: a system of thought based on Aristotelian logic.

Tithe: one-tenth of annual produce from land paid as contribution to Church.

8.14 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sec. 8.2
- 2) i) × ii) × iii) ✓ iv) ✓
- 3) See Sub-sec. 8.3.1

Check Your progress 2

- 1) See Sec. 8.5
- 2) i) ✓ ii) ✓ iii) ✓ iv) ×
- 3) See Sec. 8.7

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) i) × ii) ✓ iii) ✓ iv) × v) ✓
- 2) See Sub-sec. 8.9.1
- 3) See Sub-sec. 8.9.2
- 4) See Sub-sec. 8.9.3

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) i) × ii) × iii) ✓ iv) ×
- 2) See Sec. 8.11

UNIT 9 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Industrial Revolution
 - 9.2.1 Merchant Capitalism
 - 9.2.2 Emergence of Wage Labour
 - 9.2.3 Putting-Out System
 - 9.2.4 The Enclosure Movement
- 9.3 Market and Commodity Production in Agriculture
 - 9.3.1 Agricultural Revolution
 - 9.3.2 Capitalist Relations in Agriculture
- 9.4 Factory and Machine
 - 9.4.1 The New Technology
 - 9.4.2 Factory System, Labour and Legislation
- 9.5 Capital Accumulation and Profit Motive
 - 9.5.1 Changes in the Composition of Capital
 - 9.5.2 Cyclical Patterns of Growth
- 9.6 Expansion of Capitalism
- 9.7 Rise in Individualism
- 9.8 Division of the World and the Colonies
- 9.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.10 Key Words
- 9.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises.

9.0 OBJECTIVES

Industrial revolution played a very important role in shaping the political, economic and social conditions in the modern world. After reading this unit you should be able to:

- explain how the foundation for industrial revolution was being laid,
- explain how increase and expansion of agricultural production contributed to the emergence of industrial revolution,
- describe the role of new technology and labour in industrial revolution,
- analyse how it affected the political structure, and
- analyse how industrial revolution sowed the seeds of colonialism.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

If we travel in India the contrast between the regions which have factories and mills and mines located in them and other parts which have remained agricultural will be obvious to us. Likewise, if we travel abroad, we will see the difference between the advanced industrial countries and countries where industries remain backward and contribute only a small portion of the nation's income. The countries of the first kind are mostly located around the Atlantic in the northern parts of Europe and America; the USSR and Japan are latecomers who have also joined this group of industrially developed countries in course of the 20th century.

On the other hand, we have in Asia, Africa and Latin America a large number of countries which belong to the second group that are industrially backward, primarily agricultural, dependent in various degrees for technological knowledge on the first group of countries. Many of these industrially backward countries were in the recent past colonies or semi-

colonies of Britain, France, Holland or other European powers. Some of these ex-colonies are still in a state of economic dependence and all of them are relatively poor which is why they are often known as underdeveloped countries.

9.2 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

This present day contrast between the developed and the underdeveloped countries, or the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries, has been the outcome of the processes that began with the Industrial Revolution. In the modern world the first industrial nation that emerged was England and the process was called a Revolution because of several reasons. Slow changes in the technique of making things or the method of organising business happen almost all the time. But in 19th century the pace of change was so rapid that the term revolution seems more appropriate, so as to distinguish it from the normal course of change through evolution.

Moreover, this form of industrial growth represented the climax of the transition from medieval Feudalism to modern Capitalism. Here we can list some prominent features related to the industrial revolution. Industrial capitalism meant:

- a revolutionary change in class relations, the growth of a class of capitalists and a class of wage labourers,
- the increased productivity of the new machines and factories,
- the growth of a domestic and foreign market towards which production was now directed,
- the culture of a new bourgeoisie that developed in Europe,
- the marriage of science with technology the impact of a new class structure on political ideology, and
- the emergence of a bourgeois democratic order.

All these aspects brought about a tremendous change in England and that is why the term Industrial Revolution was coined. These impulses towards change slowly spread, in various degrees, to other European countries in course of the 19th century. However, England was the model and in discussing the Industrial Revolution we shall pay special attention to the history of England.

9.2.1 Merchant Capitalism

In the couple of centuries preceding the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England, under Merchant Capitalism, primary accumulation of capital had begun. The trade opened up with countries such as India and other Asian countries and sheer plunder from some of these non-European countries also brought wealth into Europe. The classic instance of this plunder is the hoard of gold and silver brought into Europe from the country of the Aztecs and Incas in central and southern America. The inflow of these precious metals played a part in the accumulation of mercantile wealth. Moreover, the new trade oriented economy (Economics of Mercantilism), inspired the rulers of new nation-states like the Tudors in England, and the Bourbons in France, to encourage the flow of precious metals into their own country and to discourage the outflow of bullion. Perhaps, Protestant Reformation also helped create a mental make up or world view that was appropriate to the acquisition of capital by the rising middle class burgher in towns. In some small countries this class acquired a dominating position and even in England where the landed aristocracy continued to be fairly important politically, side by side the merchants and other middle order people also began to acquire a say in political affairs.

9.2.2 Emergence of Wage Labour

The traditional artisan in feudal times was no doubt also an industrial worker, but he was not a wage labourer. The medieval artisan usually owned the tools with which he used to produce industrial goods. He did not go to a factory but worked in his own house or in a workshop with some other artisans of his guild, and he was, as a rule, paid a price for goods or a piece rate payment according to what he produced. He was not paid wages according to the number of hours or days he worked but the situation gradually changed. In the 16th and 17th centuries a transition is noticeable from this type of independent artisanal production to a new system.

9.2.3 Putting-Out System

In the putting-out system an intermediary merchant acted as a link man between various artisans supplying raw materials and passing on the material worked upon by one artisan to another artisan, who took care of the next stage of the industrial processing. Thus, for example, a putting-out merchant became a link between the spinner, the weaver, the dyer etc. in textile production. This made sense in terms of economic efficiency: the artisan now had a ready supplier of raw material and a ready buyer; division of labour or specialisation in a particular process or stage of production was more feasible and thus greater skills developed. Specialisation and better organisation also brought about economics of large scale of production and advantages of localisation in regions specially suited for a particular line of manufacture. In some respects the artisan's produce did not go to a factory, he did not receive wages but got only a piece rate. But in one way the difference was great: under the putting-out system the artisan's independence was reduced since he relied for the supply of inputs and marketing of output on the putting-out merchant, and the scope of profit-making by this essential middleman was much greater now. This middleman could be a merchant or a master artisan who had the resources to set up as a putting-out merchant; some people believe that the latter phenomenon had a greater potential for pushing the system towards Industrial Revolution.

Some of these artisans under the putting-out system flourished in special trades as small industrial units even during the Industrial Revolution while many others suffered a transition to being more and more dependent on a capitalist who extended control from marketing of commodities to the production of the commodities. From the mid-18th century the introduction of new machines often made it easier for the capitalist to sub-ordinate the erstwhile artisan, for only someone with enough capital could own the new expensive machines that replaced medieval tools. However, in the recruitment of workers to man the new machines the capitalist did not have to depend on the skilled artisans. The industrialist could create a new work-force and for this there were many reasons, like the Enclosure Movement in England.

9.2.4 The Enclosure Movement

The Enclosure Movement in England created a class of ready recruits for industrial wage work. In the enclosure movement peasants were evicted from the fields and land was enclosed. Now a group of people were crowding into the towns seeking work — they were from the lower strata of peasantry who were being pushed out of agricultural employment due to enclosure process. The Enclosure Movement came in two waves:

- i) The first wave came in the 16th and 17th centuries, when small peasants and tenants were evicted from land by landlords, who enclosed or fenced in large plots of land for breeding sheep to get wool for the expanding woollen textiles market.
- ii) The second wave came in the 18th and 19th centuries, when enclosures began to be made for a different purpose, to improve and cultivate land as a business proposition.

In the latter development, peasants were evicted by special license from the king or the private Acts of Parliament (there were 2700 such Acts in 1700-1844) and other methods. By 1883, land distribution in England and Wales became highly concentrated in a few hands: 1.4 per cent of private landowners owned 73.9 per cent of land. This helped growth of technically advanced and more productive capitalist farming. At the same time, it created a landless proletariat, a class of people who could get a living by selling the only thing they possessed, labour power.

Till recently it was believed that a large number of such people moved to towns to become industrial wage workers. Recently, doubt has been cast on such a theory. It has been argued that the Agricultural Revolution on capitalist lines itself required the services of this proletariat. It is probable that both farming and factory work employed this new class as wage labourers.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Discuss in brief some of the prominent features of Industrial Revolution.

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2) Which were the two waves of Enclosure Movement?

- i)
- ii)

3) Mark the right answer in the following questions:

- i) In the 16th and 17th centuries in England landlords enclosed large plots of land
 - a) to cultivate corn.
 - b) to build factories.
 - c) to breed sheep.
 - d) to grow forest.
- ii) During 1700-1844 in England large numbers of people from rural areas migrated to towns because
 - a) life was more comfortable there.
 - b) there were droughts in England.
 - c) there were constant wars.
 - d) they were dispossessed from land.

9.3 MARKET AND COMMODITY PRODUCTION IN AGRICULTURE

Before we go further into the question of wage work and what is called capitalist relations (between the worker who contributes labour and the capitalist who owns the means of production) we should pay attention to what we have just mentioned: the Agricultural Revolution preceding and accompanying the Industrial Revolution. It meant a qualitative change in the technology and productivity of agriculture on the one hand and on the other a change in the production relations bringing agriculture within the ambit of capitalism.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Industrial Revolution could not have come about without

an Agricultural Revolution. Why? Industrialisation meant a massive shift of manpower from the agricultural to the industrial sector. We find a typical pre-industrial distribution of manpower in England in 1688 when Geogory King made an estimate that about 80 per cent people were in agriculture and only 20 per cent in non-agricultural sector. In 1800 the share of agricultural sector was probably about 40 per cent and in 1901 it was 8.5 per cent of the labour force. That shows how big was the shift from agricultural occupations and, therefore, only a much higher per capita rate of productivity in agriculture could avert serious shortfall in agricultural commodities production.

Until 1850's Britain was, we may note, almost self-sufficient in terms of foodgrains. Also industrial growth meant urbanisation. The growth of the city's demand on the country side, especially for corn increased. Shortage of corn would cause problem in the city, especially with its unstable proletariat and the population that was employed occasionally or at regular intervals. What is more important, in the development of the home market an interdependence between agriculture and industry emerged: some of the capital invested in industry came from rural or country banks (district from what the English called 'City banks' which serviced foreign trade, bill of exchange transactions, etc.) Excess of agricultural labour was absorbed by industry. They were also in demand in technically advanced capitalist farms, and of course farm products had an ever expanding demand in the burgeoning industrial towns.

9.3.1 Agricultural Revolution

Let us analyse the changes brought about in agriculture that could be termed as revolutionary. They included a series of changes in the technology of production in agriculture and in the relations of people involved in production processes. These two sets of changes were closely interrelated, and only for purpose of our discussion we could treat them separately. For example, the use of large machines or industrially produced fertilisers on a large scale involved high investments. Only large plots of farms could make the use of big machines economical, and the technique of cultivation demanded larger units of land under cultivation to make them viable. Therefore, small peasants, each owning small plots, gave way to capitalist farmers who were able to make investments in the new techniques on their large-size farms.

The technological changes in agriculture were wide-ranging. The following changes were more important:

- i) Land reclamation expanded the area under cultivation. By draining swamps and marshes with modern pumps. England added 750,000 acres to farming land between 1800-1900.
- ii) Intensive farming and new methods of crop rotation improved per acre productivity.
- iii) There was some degree of modernisation, e.g. in 1870 a small country like England had 40,000 reaping machines which was more than what France and Germany possessed jointly.

The overall result was a striking increase in agricultural production in England. If we take 1700 as the base year (=100), the index number stood at 111 in 1750 and 143 in 1800; from then on to 1850's production increased at an annual compound rate of 1.5 per cent.

9.3.2 Capitalist Relations in Agriculture

The other aspect of change in this agricultural revolution was the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture. This trend was general in Europe but took different forms in different countries. One pattern led to the eviction of small peasants and consolidation of holdings of land by bigger landowners often with the help of state power. We have already seen that the Enclosure Movement in England in the 18th and 19th centuries was precisely of this kind. It also involved appropriation of common lands which were used by all villagers for grazing farm animals, exchange of small strips of land towards consolidation, and takeover of wasteland. In Scandinavia, similar consolidation took place through voluntary exchange (Act of 1749) and later through a sort of compulsory redistribution (Acts of 1783, 1807, 1827). A different pattern emerged in France where there was, after the Revolution of 1789, the predominance of small peasant landowners and share-croppers under the metayage system. The western part of Germany was also the land of small landed peasantry, though in the eastern part big landlords known as Junkers dominated the rural scene.

In Russia, since the Emancipation of Serfs (by laws made in 1861 and 1863), there developed a highly stratified peasantry. Lenin in his book on the development of capitalism in Russia identified three such strata. These were; i) the Kulaks, with large farms directed towards commercial agriculture of which some of the profit went into usury or money lending business; ii) the middle peasants, who could not make a success of commercialised agriculture on their small farms and depended heavily on loans from moneylenders and kulaks; and, iii) the rural proletariat, who constituted at least half of the peasant households at the beginning of the 20th century. They were the people with no land at all or very small plots of land which forced them to depend on income from the sale of labour, i.e. various forms of wage labour.

In the kind of situation described above the crucial thing was the amassing of resources in the hands of the rich peasantry which led to "de-peasanting" or the erstwhile land-owning peasants becoming wage workers. Thus the final outcome was again, as in the first pattern typified by England, the growth of capitalistic relations in commercialised agriculture producing commodities for the market.

9.4 FACTORY AND MACHINE

Just as there emerged in agriculture a capitalistic relationship between two classes, the owners of means of agricultural production, primarily land, and also agricultural capital like ploughs, machines and livestock and, the workers who had little or no means of production and depended mainly on selling their labour, in industry too there developed a similar capitalistic relationship. Here, it was the relation between the owners of factories, its tools and machines on the one hand and the totally dependent working class or the proletariat on the other. But it should be noted here that simply owning these means of production is of no use to the capitalist; he needs workers to work upon them to produce commodities or goods for the market.

The means of production, we can say, become capital by virtue of the role it plays in the social relationship that develops between the owners and the workers, in the process of production. For example a machine if lying idle is just an asset but when workers with the help of machine produce goods, it becomes capital. In the process of creation of the surplus value of commodities owners appropriate profit leaving to the worker their wages. Thus, the new factory system was not merely a place for bigger and better machines representing a certain amount of investment. It must be understood in context of the historically conditioned system of social relationships in which two classes, the capitalist and the industrial workers came into existence.

9.4.1 The New Technology

The new factories certainly had bigger and better machines: this was the achievement of science applied to technology from the middle of the 18th century. Some of these achievements were:

- the invention of the rolling machine in iron and steel industry (1754) and Hargrave's "Spinning Jenny" which spun 8 to 120 yarn simultaneously (1769)
- the application of steam power in cotton mills (1785)
- Cartwright's power loom (1787)
- the collaborative work of Boulton and Watts that produced the first steam Locomotive and the steam paddle ship (1800-2) and
- more generally a cluster of inventions that revolutionised the textiles, iron and steel and engineering industries which lay at the basis of England's early industrialisation.

However, the point to bear in mind is that an invention or a discovery by itself may not historically be as significant as its application in production, which is why the socio-economic milieu we mentioned earlier was so important for the 'industrial revolution'. One aspect of this milieu was the ethos or mental make-up appropriate for the development and application of science, an ethos that can be traced in Europe back to the Renaissance.

9.4.2 Factory System, Labour and Legislation

What did the Factory system in the new machine age mean to the working class or the wage

- ii)
-
-
-
-
-
- 2) Identify from the following the three categories which Lenin identified as the social strata in Russia in the course of development of capitalism
- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| i) merchants | ii) Kulaks |
| iii) artisans | iv) middle peasants |
| v) share croppers | vi) proletariat |
| vii) intellectuals | viii) rich peasants |
- 3) List three main technological inventions in industry in the 18th century England.
- i)
- ii)
- iii)
- 4) List two main areas where the factory acts helped to improve the working conditions in factories in 19th century England.
- i)
- ii)

9.5 CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND PROFIT MOTIVE

We have already mentioned about the primary accumulation of capital and how a surplus or profit in industrial production augments the stock of capital. The rate at which capital is formed is an index of the growth potential of the economy. In the 17th century the rate of capital formation as a proportion of national income in England is estimated to be only about 3 to 4 per cent and rose to about 10 per cent in the 1860's and veered around 7 to 8 per cent in the last half of the 19th century. Other countries which industrialised, such as Germany and the U.S.A., show an even higher rate of capital formation in the initial period of growth (usually of about 12 to 15 per cent). Perhaps, England actually was able to industrialise with a rather low rate compared to other countries which joined the race to industrialise later.

9.5.1 Changes in the Composition of Capital

The important thing to notice is, not just that capital was formed at such and such a rate, but the change that took place in the composition of capital. With the kind of technological change that the new machine age witnessed, the share of 'fixed' capital (e.g. machines and the factory) increased in relation to the variable capital (other investments including the man power needed to keep the factory running). This was a feature of industrial capitalism. At the same time as capital shifted to manufactures, labour shifted in the same direction. This explains the reduction of the working force in agriculture from a share of about 80 per cent at the end of the 17th century in England, to about 40 per cent at the beginning of the 19th century to 8.5 per cent in 1901.

During this period of the English industrialisation, the decreasing importance of agriculture is also reflected in the contribution of agricultural sector to the national income. It was about 40 to 45 per cent in 1750, about 20 per cent in 1851, and declined to about 10 per cent in 1881. Yet, another feature of the growth of industrial capitalism was the closer integration of the industrialising countries with the international economy through foreign trade. During the 1680's in England the value of English exports was 5 to 6 per cent of the national income. According to rough estimates this ratio stood at 14 per cent in 1790 and 36 per cent in 1880. This income was a major means of capital accumulation. When the Industrial Revolution approached its climax in England the rate of growth became spectacular. This is reflected in the Net National Income per capita (at constant prices: 1900) rising from 18.3 in 1855 to 27.8 in 1890, and 41.9 in 1910.

9.5.2 Cyclical Patterns of Growth

However, an important historical feature of the growth of capitalism in England and elsewhere is that it happened in spurts punctuated by depressions or periods of stagnation. The periods of high demand for industrial commodities, high investment in commodity production and high project profits (industrial boom) was followed by periods of low demands, decline in investment and project profits (depression). This happened in recurrent periodic cycles of varying durations. This cyclical pattern has been studied by many historians and economists who have identified short-term cycles, medium-term (8 to 10 years) cycles, and long-term (50 years) cycles.

In western European industrialisation the three periods of growth were, i) 1789-1815, the years dominated by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, ii) 1845-1873, when Germany and France joined the race to industrialise and, iii) 1895-1919, the years dominated by preparations for and the occurrence of the World War I. The periods of acute depression were the years of 1873-1895, known as the Great Depression, and the years 1929-35, which saw a bigger depression involving almost the entire world economy.

9.6 EXPANSION OF CAPITALISM

We may note that the form of industrial capitalism that originated in England in the late 18th century, began to spread out to other European countries only from the middle of the 19th century. Why did the industrial revolution fail to spread to the neighbouring countries such as France or Germany immediately? Various reasons have been suggested for this. One factor was the fragmentation of the internal market of these countries. For example in Germany due to lack of political unity till 1871, and in France due to the existence of the trade zones and various internal customs duties. Also due to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars during 1789-1815, the continental Europe was by and large cut off from England where new inventions of machines and technology were transforming industry. The social and economic status and strength of the bourgeoisie in the continent since 1789 was perhaps also lower than that of the English bourgeois class.

From 1789, and particularly during Napoleon's regime, better prospects for the continental bourgeoisie opened up. Many feudal restrictions on capital and labour mobility were abolished, first in France and then like wise in other European countries. The internal market of the Germans was united in a spectacular fashion first, through customs agreements (the Zollverein, 1834), and later through political unification (an achievement of Bismarck in 1871). The French Revolution brought in the spirit of Ecole Polytechnique to promote technical excellence. The commercial and corporate laws were revised on the new French and English models to provide a legal institutional structure suitable for capitalist enterprises. Two other developments during the 1850-70 period aided the process:

- i) the growth of railway lines from about 15 thousand miles to 50 thousand miles in 1870, and
- ii) the mild inflationary conditions and expansion of credit due to the gold rush of California and Australia in the 1850

Consequently, Germany and France began to catch up with England in the industrialisation race. Products from these countries reached the world markets. At the turn of the century the English were beginning to feel threatened.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Write your answers in the space provided below each question.

- 1) From 17th century to 1901 in England the work force in Agriculture declined from 60 per cent to 8.5 per cent of the population. Why?

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and constitutional form of government for England. It extended the franchise and reformed the representation system in such a manner that terminated once for all the rule of the oligarchy, of landed aristocracy and a small section of commercial magnates. The pressure for parliamentary reform by the new industrialists and middle class was reinforced by the intellectual support of scholars like Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. The outcome was the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867 which gradually extended franchise from the property owners to the majority of workingmen. This gave more political importance to the new industrial cities in England.

At the same time, trade unionism of socialistic leanings among workingmen was firmly discouraged by English public men liberal or conservative. Great care was taken to expel the influence of French revolutionary ideas. A famous instance of suppression of workers' protest was the "Peterloo massacre", the result of police attack on a workers meeting in 1819. About this time the Combination Act was used to prosecute trade unionists on the charge of conspiracy. The movement of lower orders during 1830-39, to obtain franchise called the Chartist Movement, met with strong resistance from the government. Not until 1859 was the right of peaceful picketing legally established, and full legal recognition of trade unions came as late as 1875 (although the history of trade unionism in various forms goes back to the early 19th century). From the middle of the 19th century the need to institutionalise trade union activity and to bring the working classes within the ambit of parliamentary representative system were recognised in England. However, the failure to recognise this need in the continental Europe might have caused the kind of revolutionary upsurge witnessed there in 1848 (in 1848 a large number of European countries witnessed revolutions).

9.8 DIVISION OF THE WORLD AND THE COLONIES

As we have seen earlier, in the process of the first stage (primary) of the accumulation of capital in Europe, the plunder of Asia and America and trading profits of merchant capitalism played a major role. With the growth of industrial capitalism, the advanced European countries began to look for, (a) cheap raw materials (b) markets for the industrial consumer products and, (c) suitable avenues of investment of surplus capital in the Asian, South American and African continents.

V.I. Lenin has regarded this new exploitative relationship as an inevitable outcome of capitalism. The unequal distribution of wealth and income meant that "under-consumption" by the poorly paid lower orders of society decreased the demand for goods, and forced industrialists to look abroad for markets for commodities. As capitalism reached an advanced stage monopolistic control over industries acquired by its finance capital, represented by big banks, pushed it towards more profitable investments abroad preferably in the colonies. As industrial capitalism spread in other countries like France, Germany and USA, they began to protect their own home industries with tariff walls. The best places where surplus capital could be invested and industrial commodities sold and high profits made were the colonies belonging to each industrial power. Generally, as the European countries advanced industrially, the capitalist class and the government over which that class acquired hegemony, developed intense competition with other nations. Thus, the European Powers divided the world into colonies, semi-colonies and spheres of influence. The last continent to be subjected to this process was Africa, from the 1870 onwards.

We can use Britain again as a typical example. She imported raw materials from her colonies, like cotton from India, Egypt etc., sugar from the West Indies, tin and rubber from Malaya, palm oil from Nigeria, diamond and gold from South Africa, etc. It also imported from the semi-colonised countries, e.g. wheat and beef from Argentina, tea from China, nitrates and copper from Chile, coffee from Brazil, and so on. The colonies were vitally important as markets for industrial produce. To give one example, in 1840 China and India but together bought 22 per cent of British textiles exported, and by 1893 India alone purchased 40 per cent of these exports. As regards the British investments abroad, about 39 per cent of it was in the colonies; the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia accounted for 14 per cent of these investments and Africa's share was 11 per cent (1870-1914). On the whole, the colonies were less important to Britain than to the other European countries as areas of capital investment, they were much more important as sources of raw material and markets for the processed industrial commodities.

While Lenin analysed this economic imperialism as an outcome of the capitalist system in general, scholars in India such as Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt and M.G. Ranade analysed the impact of this process on the indigenous economy of the colonies. These nationalist scholars pointed out that colonialism meant destruction of local artisan industries in the colonies, handicap to develop modern industry, foreign exploitation of raw material and mineral resources, and a drain of the wealth from the colony to the imperialist countries. This penetrating criticism of the nature of the imperialism practised by the industrially advanced European Power in course of time promoted the Nationalist Movement in India

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) It is said that rise of industrial capitalism promoted the growth of Individualism and Liberalism. Illustrate this point on the basis of your study of the text.

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- 2) Write three advantages derived by industrialised countries from colonies.

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ii)

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iii)

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- 3) Write four main consequences of colonialism described by early nationalist thinkers in India.

i)

ii)

9.9 LET US SUM UP

The twin processes of agricultural and industrial revolutions can be justifiably credited with having shaped the nature of modern world.

With the decline of feudalism some important developments like merchant capital, emergence of wage labour, putting-out system and enclosure movement set the stage for industrial revolution. Increased agricultural production and new technology further contributed to its growth. With the industrial development the composition of capital also underwent changes. A new cyclical pattern of growth took place. Though industrial development was marked by periods of depression but gradually this problem was overcome. Soon the increased industrial production gave rise to capitalism and new social classes. New political structures also emerged in a number of countries. The increase in production led to the need for new markets. This resulted in a rivalry between industrialised countries to capture more markets and encouraged colonialism and imperialism.

9.10 KEY WORDS

Aztecs: a nomadic tribe of Mexico which had settled in Central Mexico.

Bourgeoisie: the modern capitalist class, owners of the means of production.

Bullion: gold or silver considered in mass rather than in value.

Burgeoning: something that develops rapidly

Burgher: an inhabitant of a borough, citizen, middle class

Guild: a medieval association of merchants or tradesmen organised to protect the interests of its members.

Hegemony: exercise of domination or control.

Incas: a tribe of Indian origin in South America. They established a militaristic empire which included Peru, Ecuador and Chile.

Kulaks: wealthy peasant who employed hired labour.

Metayage System: a type of serfdom prevalent in France in which peasants (metayers) having sold their holding were bound to the land by new proprietors (merchants) to cultivate it on half shares.

Ostentation: unnecessary show of wealth, knowledge etc.

Paddle wheel: an engine driven wheel for propelling a vessel having a number of horizontal paddle entering the water more or less perpendicularly.

Proletariat: the industrial working class.

Share Cropper: a tenant farmer who pays as rent a share of the crop.

Spinning Jenny: an early spinning machine having more than one spindle and enabling a person to make a number of yarns simultaneously.

9.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sec. 9.2

- 2) See Sub-sec. 9.2.4
- 3) i) c, ii) d

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub-sec. 9.3.1
- 2) ii), iv), vi)
- 3) See Sub-sec. 9.4.1
- 4) See Sub-sec. 9.4.2

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-sec. 9.5.1
- 2) See Sub-sec. 9.5.2
- 3) See Sec. 9.6

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Sec. 9.7
- 2) See Sec. 9.8
- 3) See Sec. 9.8

Some Useful Books

Shapiro, *Man, Culture and Society* (for Unit 5)

F. Korovkin 1981, *The History of the Ancient World*, Progress Publishers, Moscow (for Unit 5 & 7)

Arjun Dev, 1986, *The Story of Civilisation* (Vol. I & II) N.C.E.R.T. New Delhi (for Units 6, 7, 8, 9)

R.E.M. Wheeler, 1968, *The Indus Civilisation*, Cambridge (for Unit 6)

D.D. Kosambi, 1987, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in it's Historical Outline*, Vikas, New Delhi (for Units 6 and 7)

V. Gordon Childe, 1981, *Man Makes Himself* London, (for Units 5 and 6)

D.P. Agarwal, 1988, *The Archaeology of India*, Select, New Delhi (for Unit 6)

Perry Anderson, 1974, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, London (for Unit 7)

Andre Chastel, 1982, *The Renaissance*, Methuen, London (for Unit 8)

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Christopher Hill, 1967, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution*, Penguin, Middlesex (for Units 8 and 9)

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Notes



UGFHS-1

Foundation Course in Humanities and Social Sciences

Block

3

EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT INDIA

UNIT 10

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Values of the Indian National Movement **55**

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BLOCK 3 EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT INDIA

In the earlier blocks you have been introduced to the various aspects of the evolution of human society. We have also seen how the process of human development passed through various stages and brought about the industrial revolution. This period also led to the establishment of colonies in various parts of the world dominated by European powers. Ruthless exploitation by the colonial masters led to a general dissatisfaction and gave rise to national movements opposing the foreign rule. The Indian National Movement is of great significance in this regard. It was a unique fight for freedom and was a forerunner for other anti-colonial movements the world over. In this Block our emphasis is on making you familiar with the various phases of the Indian National Movement. It is very difficult to comprehend all the glorious features of this heroic struggle in one Block. However, we have tried our best to introduce you in general to its basic features.

In Unit 10 the attempt is to familiarise you with the nature and characteristics of the Indian economy on the eve of the establishment of the British rule in India. This Unit also deals with the impact that colonialism had on the Indian economy and how colonial rule hampered the economic development of India.

Resistance to colonial rule emerged right from the moment the British attempted to establish their supremacy in India. Princes, zamindars and peasants offered resistance to the British but this resistance remained a localised phenomenon. It was only in 1857 that a great national uprising challenged the British rule. Though this uprising failed there was no going back. Starting with the first war of independence (1857) Unit 11 deals with the early phase of the Indian National Movement and various cultural and social reform movements related to it.

At the initial stage, the National Movement was based on a moderate and constitutionalist approach to politics. However, this movement soon lost its constitutionalist character, and aimed at mobilizing the masses into the struggle. The credit for converting it into a mass movement goes to Mahatma Gandhi..Unit 12 deals with this phase of the movement and its culmination in achieving independence. An effort has also been made to familiarise you with related aspects of the National Movement, such as revolutionary terrorism, Congress Socialist Party, peasants and working class movements, Indian National Army, etc.

Unit 13, the last Unit of the Block discusses the generation and propagation of new ideas and values within the National Movement. During the course of its struggle, the movement practised and upheld values of democracy, civil-liberties and secularism. These values were gradually learnt and internalised by the people of India, as participants in the National Movement. This Unit explains how this process came about.

Besides this print material there are some audio programmes made for History Elective Course-1 on Modern India. These programmes will be available at the various Study Centres of the University and will be useful for you in relation to this Block of FHS-1.

Acknowledgements

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UNIT 10 CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN ECONOMY: PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Characteristics of Pre-Colonial Economy
 - 10.2.1 Agriculture
 - 10.2.2 Trade
 - 10.2.3 Handicraft Industries
- 10.3 Aspects of Colonial Rule
- 10.4 Evolution of Colonial Rule
- 10.5 Impact of the Colonial Rule: Western View-point
- 10.6 Impact of the Colonial Rule: Indian View-point
 - 10.6.1 The Drain Theory
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 - 10.8.1 The New Land Settlements
 - 10.8.2 Commercialisation of Agriculture
 - 10.8.3 Impact on Agriculture
- 10.9 Role of the Colonial State
- 10.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 10.11 Key Words
- 10.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

10.0 OBJECTIVES

The British rule in India did not mean political control only. It extended to every sphere of Indian life – social, economic and cultural. In the economic field the British rule brought about fundamental changes and transformed the Indian economy. This Unit attempts to deal with the economic changes brought about by the British rule. After reading this Unit you will:

- have an idea about the nature of Indian economy just before the British conquest,
- know the ideas of the Western Scholars about the impact of the British rule over the Indian economy,
- learn about the processes of drain of wealth and de-industrialisation, and
- be able to assess the role that the colonial state played in the impoverishment of India.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

India was a direct colony of the British and the impact of this colonial rule over the economy, society and polity of India has been quite deep. Many serious consequences of the British Colonial Rule are still persisting and this makes the study of colonial phase of India very relevant for understanding many contemporary aspects of the Indian society. It must be stated at the outset that direct colonial rule leaves a total impact on the colonised society because every aspect of social life is influenced by the policies of the colonisers. A direct colony is under the complete control of the colonisers and colonial policies and interests penetrate every aspect of social life of a colony.

Another important fact about India is that the colonial rule lasted for a very long time and this longevity of the colonial rule over India affected the vitals of the Indian

society. The long period of British rule over India provided enough time to the British to establish strong and stable institutions for the governance of India. The journey of British occupation of India was slow and steady and it passed through various stages. This evolutionary process provided the British an opportunity to evolve their policies and change their policies on the basis of experience gained through practice. But before we go into that, we should have a look at the nature of Indian economy prior to British rule.

10.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMY

India in the pre-colonial period had a stable economy. Self-sufficient agriculture, flourishing trade and rich handicraft industries — these were some of the features of the Indian economy. Let us look at them separately.

10.2.1 Agriculture

Agricultural operations were carried on in India by subsistence farmers, organised in small village communities. Village was more or less a self-sufficient economic unit and its business contacts with the outside world were limited to payment of land revenue (generally in kind) and the purchase of a few necessary things from the town nearby. The farmer raised only those crops which he needed for his own use and shared the same with the village artisan who supplied him with simple manufacture that he needed for his domestic consumption.

Means of communication were of a primitive type. Therefore trade in agricultural produce, was somewhat limited. The farmer usually raised enough produce to feed himself and the non-agricultural members of the village community. If his crop yielded more than the consumption needs, due to favourable climatic conditions, he stored that surplus for use in the lean years. Storage of food grains was a common practice among the pre-colonial agriculturists and constituted, under these conditions, the only remedy against famines.

This pattern of agriculture continued throughout the medieval times. However, towards the end of the 18th century the village communities began to break up, under pressure from new forces which imparted dynamism to the Indian rural economy. This happened mainly because of two factors. (1) The changes in the property relations brought by the introduction of new forms of land tenure which you will study a little later in this unit (2) the development of an active export trade in agricultural produce of India. The contact with the west through the establishment of the British rule was responsible for both these developments.

10.2.2 Trade

In spite of the fact that the Indian villages were largely self-sufficient units and the means of communication were primitive, India enjoyed extensive trade both within the country and with other countries of Asia and Europe. A balance of the imports and exports was maintained. The items imported into India were pearls, wool, dates, dried fruits and rosewater from the Persian gulf; coffee, gold, drugs and honey from Arabia; tea, sugar and silk from China; gold, musk and woollen cloth; metals like copper, iron and lead, and paper from Europe. The main items exported from India were cotton textiles. Besides cotton textiles which were famous the world over, India also exported raw silk, indigo, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper and other spices, precious stones and drugs.

The major features of Indian trade in pre-colonial times were (i) a favourable balance of trade and (ii) a foreign trade most suitable to the level of manufacturing in India. A favourable balance of trade meant an excess of exports over imports i.e. India exported more than it needed to import. Since the economy was on the whole self-sufficient in handicrafts and agricultural products, India did not need foreign imports on a large scale and continued to enjoy a healthy trade. Secondly, India's foreign trade suited its requirements very well. In other words, the commodity

pattern, so important to any country's foreign trade, was in India's favour. India exported the items it specialised in; and imported the ones it needed.

One major change that occurred in India's foreign trade from pre-colonial to colonial times was in its commodity pattern. Although India continued to have an export surplus the pattern of foreign trade turned up side down. For instance, from the exporter of cotton textiles India was converted into an importer of cotton textiles, thereby ruining India's rich traditional handicrafts.

10.2.3 Handicraft Industries

As discussed above India was a land of extensive manufactures. Indian artisans were famous for their skills the world over. In fact the reason for India's favourable foreign trade was its excellence in indigenous production. India indulged in a large scale manufacture of cotton and silk fabrics, sugar, jute, dyestuffs, mineral and metallic products like arms, metalwares and oil. Towns like Dacca and Murshidabad in Bengal; Patna in Bihar; Surat and Ahmedabad in Gujarat; Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow and Agra in U.P.; Multan and Lahore in the Punjab; Masulipatnam and Visakhapatnam in Andhra; Bangalore in Mysore and Coimbatore and Madurai in Madras were flourishing centres of textile industry. Kashmir specialised in woolen manufactures. Maharashtra, Andhra and Bengal were prominent centres of ship building industry. India's ships were bought by many European companies for their use.

India towards the end of the 18th century was, undoubtedly one of the main centres of world trade and industry. This status of India was completely destroyed under colonial times. Its beginnings can be traced to the after-math of the industrial Revolution in England. The machine made cloth of England began to replace the indigenous manufactures. India's artisans were forced out of production. It was this pressure from the British goods which led to the decline of India's traditional centres of economic activity listed above. The number of weavers also declined.

10.3 ASPECTS OF COLONIAL RULE

Two aspects of the gradual expansion of British occupation of India deserve attention. The experiences gained by the British in one region of India were either extended or modified in other regions and this learning through practice made them quite powerful in dealing with the problems of a large colony like India. The changes in British society demanded different approach to satisfy the interests of emerging social groups in Britain. The essence of British colonial policies in India was determined by the dynamics of society which witnessed many changes in Britain. The modern British society progressed through stages like mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism and from competitive industrial capitalism to monopoly industrial capitalism. The interests of mercantile British capitalism lay in trade with India, the interests of industrial capitalism were on the other hand, market oriented in which, the Indian colony was to provide raw material and buy manufactured goods from Britain. Thus social and economic changes in Britain directly influenced British colonial policies in India.

10.4 EVOLUTION OF COLONIAL RULE

The British East India Company got a legal charter for trade from the British crown in 1600, and shortly thereafter this trading company started conquering India. The conquests began in 1757 with the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal by Robert Clive. The East India Company ruled India for a century i.e. from the decisive Battle of Plassey in 1757 to 1857 when Indians fought a war of Independence. The British defeated the Indians in this war and in 1858 Queen Victoria assumed the responsibility of direct rule over India. The rule of East India Company ended and the British Parliament directly became responsible for the governance of India and this continued till 1947.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1 Read the following statements and mark right (✓) or wrong (×).
 - i) British colonial policies made an impact on every aspect of the Indian society.
 - ii) British policies in India were influenced by the social and economic changes in Britain.
 - iii) The performance of indigenous industries improved after the colonial conquest.
 - iv) Indian agriculture remained unchanged from the pre-colonial to colonial period.
- 2 Write five lines each on the state of agriculture, trade and industries in the pre-colonial period.

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Trade

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Industries

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10.5 IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL RULE: WESTERN VIEW-POINT

What has been the impact of British rule over India? It must be clearly stated that sharp differences have always existed, and continue to persist, among the Indian nationalists and the Western Scholars in their evaluation of the impact of British colonial rule over the economy, society and polity of India.

According to many western writers, the British rule provided political unity and stability of governance to India. It has been maintained by the Western scholars that the British rescued India from chaos and provided political stability. As Morris D. Morris, an American Scholar observes:

“Despite a Hindu tradition of imperial expansion, at no time in Indian history over any large region did a stable political unit survive for more than a century or a century-and-a-half. There was nothing that compares with the imperial chronologies of Rome, Egypt, or China. A crucial consequence is that no tradition of continuous administrative institutions and no persistent bureaucracy ever developed.”

Indian political unity was a myth, an abstract concept which was concretised into a reality by the British rulers. In the absence of political unity, the eighteenth century India had very low levels of "commerce and capital accumulation" and its implication was that the British rule in India had to deal with very low level of economy. This argument of the western writers challenges the nationalist argument that India was economically very attractive and profitable for the British.

Second, the western writers have suggested that the history of India revealed a very low level of agricultural productivity because it was based on a 'non-animal powered agriculture'. According to many western historians, the absence of any worthwhile technology kept a large portion of India 'virgin land as late as 1800'. Tobacco, potato and peanut cultivation was introduced by the British in India.

Third, according to them, India could not claim any great achievements in manufacturing because it lacked technology. Although India had some excellent craftsmen and produced textiles and a few other manufactured goods but they were the result of hard work and not of any developed technology. The evidence for this view-point is gathered from the seventeenth century records of the English which point out the inelasticity of textile productivity in India. W.H. Moreland and many other scholars have used the evidence of early European travellers to prove that Indian technology was poor. On the basis of such evidence, Morris D. Morris observes that:

".... the Indian subcontinent was a region in which per capita income, was relatively low in the centuries before 1800. Given the lack of political stability, low agricultural and non-agricultural productivity, and insignificant commerce no other conclusion is supportable."

If the opinions of Morris D. Morris, W.H. Moreland, or European travellers or British factory records are accepted that India was underdeveloped when the British gradually conquered it, then the implication is that the British conquest of India was beneficial for the economy, society and polity of this country. In history whenever two societies interact, the advanced and well organized society succeeds in establishing its control over the less advanced society and at the same time the less advanced society gains from the technology and organization of the advanced society. This is the basic premise of the western writers who view the British colonial rule as a rule of advanced society over an underdeveloped society. In the process, the underdeveloped society like India achieved benefits from the British rule and they are enumerated by the Western scholars:

- The British provided political unity and stability to India.
- The British developed a system of roads and rail transport which had a positive impact on the economic development of India.
- The British developed irrigation and other public works which facilitated the growth of agriculture, commerce and manufacturing activities in India.

To sum up, the Western writers have made two points regarding the impact of British rule over India. First, on the eve of colonial expansion, the British found a highly underdeveloped India with low productivity in agriculture, very low per capita income and absence of any developed technology or tools for manufacturing. Second, the benevolent policies of the British helped in the establishment of political unity, a system of governance and it laid the foundations of economic development in India.

10.6 IMPACT OF THE BRITISH RULE: INDIAN VIEW-POINT

As against this, the Indian nationalist scholars put forward a different hypothesis. Dadabhai Naoroji, Romesh Chandra Dutt in the 19th century and Rajni Palme Dutt in the 20th century represented the Indian nationalist perspective. The question they raised was that why did the British East India Company gradually get involved in local wars of conquest? Why did the British Queen in 1858 take up the direct

responsibility of ruling over India till 1947? How was it that the East India Company which came to India with a trading capital of £ 68,000, went on to make fortunes? If the Indian economy was really stagnant, how did it sustain the East India Company and its expenditure?

Two important aspects of British colonial rule over India highlighted by the nationalists were the 'drain theory' and the theory of 'de-industrialisation'.

10.6.1 The Drain Theory

The drain theory as formulated by the nationalists, referred to the process by which, a significant part of India's national wealth, was being exported to England for which India got no economic returns. In other words, India was made to pay an indirect tribute to the English nation. Needless to say, this drain of India's wealth to England, in the form of salaries to British officers posted in India, home-charges and the profits made on the British capital invested in India, benefited England and diminished the sources for investment in India. Amiya Bagchi observes:

"Since after acquiring dominion over India, the East India Company and private traders could appropriate Indian goods or tribute or profits without really paying for them. Britain did not any longer have to send bullion to India to balance her accounts. Instead bullion was now sent out from India either to China or to Britain."

Bagchi's estimate is that 'external drain' from Bengal constituted about 3 to 4 per cent of the gross domestic material product. If expenditure on wars of the East India Company is added in this period, Bagchi maintains "that at least 5 to 6 per cent of resources of the ruled land were siphoned off from any possibility of investment."

An elementary principle of economic development is that surplus is generated for investment but if the surplus is siphoned off from a colony to the colonisers, the colony gets underdeveloped. This was the impact of external drain on the economy of India under British colonial rule starting with Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757

External drain however was only one element of British exploitation of India, linked with other sources of exploitation like heavy taxation and an unfavourable trade. The British benefited immensely from the plunder and exploitation of India. Lord Curzon wrote:

"India is the pivot of our Empire If the Empire loses any other part of its Dominion we can survive, but if we lose India the sun of our Empire will have set."

The Company obtained **Dewani** or civil administration rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765 and this opened new opportunities for plunder by the Company. The land revenue because of Dewani rights were remitted by the Company to England. This monopoly of plunder and exploitation by the Company continued till the end eighteenth century when England moved from mercantile capitalism to industrial revolution and the emerging industrial capitalists in Britain started demanding the end of Company rule in India.

10.6.2 De-industrialization

Besides the external drain theory, the nationalists argued that British rule led to the **de-industrialization** of India. India was an exporter of cotton manufacture and this was how the Company started its trade but gradually India became an importer of cotton manufacture and thus Indian artisans, craftsmen and important trading centres collapsed and whatever manufacturing activity existed was destroyed under the impact of imports of cotton manufacture almost exclusively from Britain. Amiya Bagchi observed that: "for more than seventy-five years up to 1913, India remained the major importer of cotton goods from Britain, often taking more than forty per cent of the British exports

Thus the industrialization of England was accompanied by the decline and destruction of Indian cotton manufacturer. As a result, India witnessed, from the early 19th century onwards, a steady decline in population dependent on indigenous industries and a consequent over burdening of agriculture. This proved

injurious to both. Its political ramifications have been summed up by Sumit Sarkar:

“The sufferings of artisans have to be kept in mind as a significant factor in the understanding of many movements of our period: both in the way in which de-industrialization stimulated patriotic sentiments among intellectuals alike in the Moderate, Extremist and Gandhian eras, as well as more directly, in occasional urban and rural explosions of various types.”

The decay of Dacca, Surat, Murshidabad and many other flourishing towns bears testimony to de-industrialization of India. Sir Charles Trevelyan observed in 1840:

“The population of the town of Dacca has fallen from 1,50,000 to 30,000 or 40,000 and the jungle and malaria are fast encroaching upon the town... Dacca, which was the Manchester of India, has fallen off from a very flourishing town to a very poor and small one; the distress there has been very great indeed.”

10.7 PHASES OF COLONIAL RULE

The twin processes of the drain and the de-industrialization were carried out extensively through the various stages of colonial rule. The process itself started from 1757 when with the battle of Plassey, the East India Company, representing the British mercantile class, took over the Indian control. During the same period a fundamental change was taking place in Britain by a series of inventions leading to the Industrial Revolution. For example spinning-Jenny of Hargreaves in 1764; Watt's steam engine in 1765; water-frame of Arkwright in 1769; Crompton's mule in 1779; Cartwright's power-loom in 1785; and the steam-engine applied to blast furnaces in 1788. Before these inventions, the Bank of England was established in 1694 and plunder of India helped capital accumulation and inventions helped in generating Industrial Revolution. The transformation in England created new interests and East India Company became the target of attacks in England and finally its fate was sealed by the War of Indian Independence in 1857.

The impact of the British rule, in the initial stages has been summed up by R.P. Dutt:

“While machine-made cotton goods from England ruined the weavers, machine-made twist ruined the spinners. Between 1818 and 1836, the export of cotton twist from England to India rose 5,200 times.

The same process could be traced in respect of silk goods, woollen goods, iron, pottery, glass and paper.

The effects of this wholesale destruction of the Indian manufacturing industries on the economy of the country can be imagined. In England the ruin of the old handloom weavers was accompanied by the growth of the new machine industry. But in India, the ruin of the millions of artisans and craftsmen was not accompanied by any alternative growth of new forms of industry The old populous manufacturing towns, Dacca, Murshidabad, Surat and the like, were in a few years rendered desolate under the ‘Pan-Britannica’ with a completeness which no ravages of the most destructive war or foreign conquest could have accomplished.

The merchant capital of the British, found new opportunities in India, when, Company started its conquests, in which monopolistic buying of Indian material was undertaken by the revenue earned from India, and they were exported to foreign markets with maximum profits. The pre-industrial British capital, instead of making so-called “investments” were buying Indian commodities for profitable exports on the basis of money earned from revenue in India. Thus, the conquest of India by the British East India Company gave it the ‘Power to levy and collect land revenue and other taxes’, and, on the basis of the gross profits the Company exploited Indian commodities. This ‘semi-bondage’ situation of India made the British mercantile capitalism earn “tribute from conquest”. According to Professor Habib, during the later half of eighteenth century the total British imports from India increased from 12 per cent to 24 per cent, and the British exports to India increased from 6.4 per cent to only 9 per cent of the total British exports.

The phase of merchant capitalism gave way to the phase of Industrial Capitalism.

towards the beginning of the 19th century. Now the emphasis shifted from revenue collection and trade to new forms of surplus appropriation. Indian economy was now geared to serve the interests of industrial England. India was now used to provide raw material to the industries of England and a market for the readymade British manufactured industrial goods. Indian resources continued to be drained out to England, although in different forms. Similarly, the process of de-industrialisation also got accelerated.

After 1857, when the British Government took on direct control of India, some British capital also started pouring into the Indian market, along with the manufactured goods. This was the result of the accumulation of capital at an unprecedented level in the leading industrial countries. Now England needed India, not only as a market for their goods, but also as a favourable ground for the investment of their capital. As a result India started getting industrialised, but only on foreign capital. All the major industries like Railways, Jute, Iron and Steel (with the exception of cotton textiles) were being run by British capital. Its result was a further drain of wealth, as all the profits made on British capital were going back to England.

Thus up to the end of nineteenth century India was sucked by the British during both phases of colonialism i.e. during mercantile capitalism and industrial revolution in England.

Check Your Progress 2

1 Read the following statements and mark right (✓) or wrong (×).

- i) There was a basic agreement between the Indian and Western Scholars regarding the role of British policy towards Indian economy.
- ii) The nationalist Scholars felt that the British rule had provided unity and stability to India.
- iii) The drain theory was put forward by the Western Scholars.
- iv) The industrialisation of England was largely responsible for the de-industrialisation of India.

2 Write fifty words each on the following themes:

Drain of wealth

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De-industrialisation

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3 Write 10 lines on the phases of the colonial rule.

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10.8 AGRICULTURE UNDER THE COLONIAL RULE

Various aspects of a country's economy are interconnected. Agriculture supports industry and industry develops agriculture. The British agrarian policies in India destroyed prosperous agricultural economy and brought unparalleled human misery on the people living in the countryside. Even the plantation development policy of the British in the field of tea, tobacco, jute and indigo did not benefit the Indian people.

What was the basic agrarian policy of the British which led to the destruction of the Indian agricultural economy?

10.8.1 The New Land Settlement

The disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the gradual conquests of the East India Company and the desire of the British to extract maximum land revenue in cash made the British evolve a land system in India which would ensure payment of land revenue and also establish a collaborating class in rural India.

The infamous Permanent land settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793 for Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and later extended to parts of North Madras created a class of zamindars who became "landlords in perpetuity". The land revenue was fixed on permanent basis, and the zamindars were intermediaries between the rulers and the peasantry. The amount fixed broke the back of the peasantry. While under this system the peasantry suffered enormously the landlords and the British rulers benefited. Lord William Bentinck himself observed:

"If security was wanting against extensive popular tumult or revolution, I should say that the Permanent Settlement, though a failure in many other respects and most important essentials, has this great advantage at least, of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in the continuance of the British Dominion and having complete command over the mass of the people."

Besides the Permanent Settlement, the British evolved the Ryotwari System implemented in Madras Presidency in 1820 by Sir Thomas Munro. The Ryotwari system had two features. First, the government and the cultivators would have direct relationship and land revenue will be settled directly between the two without any intermediary. Second, unlike the system of Lord Cornwallis, Munro's system was based on periodical re-assessment of land revenue.

Whether the system in some parts of India was Permanent Zamindari settlement, or its minor variant Temporary Zamindari settlements, or the Ryotwari settlements, landlordism became the system under the British. It dispossessed the cultivators, moneylenders entered rural India, the tenants were unprotected and the majority of real cultivators became landless labourers. When real cultivators are dispossessed and intermediaries and non-cultivating interests emerge powerful, agricultural development suffers and the majority becomes poor. This happened in India as a result of the policies of the British. The beneficiaries were landlords and the government and victims were the peasants. In the words of Daniel Thorner:

"In no other period of Indian history can we find so large, so well-established, and so secure a group of landholders as that which grew up and flourished between the 1790s and the 1940s."

The agrarian system as evolved by the British had built-in system of destruction of agriculture which is proved by the famines of 1870s and late 1890s and epidemics and slow growth of population.

Agriculture could develop if investments were made in public works either by the

government or by the efforts of the peasants. Naturally poor peasantry could not do it. The British did it in a very limited manner. Wherever government took initiative in public works, results were encouraging as in the case of the canal system in Punjab. Since the government and the landlords showed very little interest in public works, agriculture remained backward. The impoverishment of the peasantry was a glaring fact during the British rule over India. The agrarian policies pursued by the British increased the number of landless labourers, the pressure of population on backward village economy and the profitable plantation economy filled the pockets of the British. The magnitude of rural poverty was graphically described by the saying that the Indian is born in debt, he lives in debt and he dies in debt. "The vast majority of peasants live in debt-to the moneylender" was stated by the Simon Commission. Even for paying land revenue to the government, the peasants were obliged to borrow and how could an indebted peasantry develop agriculture?

10.8.2 Commercialisation of Agriculture

The new land settlements, discussed above, brought about a revolution in the property relations. Along with this, a commercial revolution, also known as the commercialization of agriculture, began to take shape in Indian agriculture around 1860s. Simply put, commercialisation of agriculture meant that the agricultural produce was oriented toward a market i.e. agriculture became a marketable commodity. Many factors were responsible for it:

- A rapid development of railway occurred in this period. The length of the railway tracks increased from 288 miles in 1857 to 30576 in 1908. This expansion of the railway facilitated the commercialisation of agriculture.
- The opening of Suez canal in 1869 shortened the sea route between England and India by about 3000 miles and brought the two countries closer to each other for purpose of trade.
- Certain technological innovations in England between 1873 and 1886 replaced sailing vessels with modern steam ships. This brought down the freight rates by half and had a stimulating effect on the export of agricultural produce from India which grew rapidly both in volume and value.
- The Civil war in North America diverted, for the time being, the British demand for raw cotton from the United States to India. Consequently there was a sudden increase in the export of raw cotton from India after 1862. From 5.6 crore in 1859-60, it rose to 37.5 crore in 1864-65.

The result of all this was a phenomenal increase in the export of agricultural goods from India. The total value of export went up by more than five hundred per cent from 1859-60 to 1906-07.

Paradoxically, this increase in foreign demand for Indian agricultural produce did not lead to the development of Indian agriculture. There were many reasons for this:

- the backward agricultural organisation in the country,
- lack of resources with the farmer for technological improvement,
- his unpreparedness for the commercialisation and therefore inability to take full advantage of the opportunities offered,
- absence of any increase in the productivity of land, and
- the role of colonialism which super-imposed the commercialisation process from the top. It was precisely because of colonialism that the commercialisation of agriculture emerged as an artificial, forced process which could not lead to a genuine growth in agriculture. The objective conditions for such a growth had already been destroyed by colonialism.

However, the impact of the commercialisation was quite far reaching. To begin with, it led to a scarcity of food. This happened because the increasing demand for cash crops like raw cotton, jute, indigo and opium etc. was met by substitution of commercial crops for traditional food crops. This was done by the farmers to increase their profits, as the commercial crops were more paying. But its impact on the food supply of the country was disastrous. It was reported that one major cause of the famine of 1866 in Bengal and Orissa was that the best land was cultivating indigo instead of rice.

Yet another impact was a differentiation among the farmers. Although a small section of the farmers, who had the resources, prospered by shifting completely to the cultivation of commercial crops, the poor farmer suffered great losses as he had to now depend on a market for his own food requirements.

However, there were some positive aspects also. Regional specialisation grew and the village lost its isolation and got linked with the world market. The farmer, in his choice of crops, came to attach greater importance to market demands and prices than to his own immediate needs.

But on the whole, Indian agriculture failed to take advantages of the opportunities offered by the commercialisation of agriculture, largely because of the constraint imposed by colonialism. In other countries commercialisation was accompanied by an increase in the cultivable land as well as in the productivity of land. Commercial crops did not replace food crops, but added to them. But nothing of that sort happened in India.

10.8.3 Impact on Agriculture

To sum up agrarian system and policies pursued by the British created stagnant agriculture, indebted peasantry, galloping landless labouring class, deaths through malnutrition, famines and epidemics. The basic policy of the British was to extract land revenue whether peasantry could pay it or not. The distress sale of land to pay land revenue was not discouraged as it was a direct consequence of British land revenue policies. Professor Irfan Habib aptly describes the situation. He observes:

“The land revenue under the preceding Indian regimes was fixed as a share of the crop, and varied according to the crop cultivated. The land revenue under the British, whether directly imposed on the ryots or assessed on the zamindars, was a true tax on land.”

Thus revenue collections went up, the prices of foodgrain declined, the rural indebtedness increased and the rural economy was depressed. The direct appropriation of the agricultural surplus was the sole goal of the British rule and its direct consequence was impoverishment of the peasantry and stagnation of the rural economy.

10.9 ROLE OF THE COLONIAL STATE

After 1857 when the British Government directly became responsible for the governance of India, the foundation of Colonial State was firmly established. The British Colonial state has been characterized as ‘benevolent despotism’ or a liberal *laissez faire* state which performed the role of night watchman with minimal interference in the Indian affairs. This is historical falsehood spread by the western historians. The powerful colonial state was pro-landlord, pro-moneylender, pro-princes and pro-British economic interests in India.

The Queen Victoria’s Proclamation of 1858 stated:

“We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of the Native Princes as our own.”

Further, the Queen assured:

“We know, and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the land inherited from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State.”

While the above promises of the Queen were only to seek social support and collaboration of the native princes and landlords, the essence of the abolition of the Company’s rule in 1858 was to serve the interests of the British industrial classes in exploiting Indian market. The main goal of the colonial state established in 1858 was to protect and promote the interests of the British industrial capitalists who were occupying a leading position in the British Parliament.

The British colonial state completely integrated India with the world capitalist economy and as a colony, India was subjected to exploitation.

The role of colonial state in the economic development of India as a colony cannot be understood by emphasising the establishment of railways by the British or other modernising activities like the spread of English language and education. These are peripheral facts in evaluating the role of colonial state in India. The basic goal of colonial state was to promote British capital and its investment in India for profit and to achieve this goal, India under the colonial state was made a market for raw material for the British industry and investment of British capital in sectors of Indian economy which brought profits to the British investors.

The promotion of plantation and m jute mills, banking, insurance, shipping, export-import concerns, railways were all under British who were favoured and patronised by the colonial state. If on the one hand, colonial bureaucracy extended facilities and concessions to the British in India, on the other, it discriminated against the locals through highly biased and discriminatory tariff and excise policies.

Professor Sumit Sarkar observes:

“Behind a facade of *laissez faire*, government policies often actively promoted European enterprise (railways under the guarantee system, and the allotment of vast tracts of land to Assam tea planters at nominal prices, would be two obvious examples) while discriminating against Indians. The railway network and freight-rates encouraged traffic with ports as against that between inland centres. The organised money-market was largely under white control,.....Most significant of all perhaps was the fact that nineteenth century Indian economic growth was largely geared to export needs, and the British controlled the bulk of the external trade of the country through Exchange Banks, export-import firms and shipping concerns.”

The main features of colonial state and its economic policies were geared towards ruthless exploitation of India. The mechanisms of this exploitation were clear. India was structurally integrated with the world capitalist economy. India was made an export oriented economy. India was to supply raw material to the British industry, the British in India worked under the protective umbrella of the colonial state which protected and safeguarded the interests of British investors. Indian capitalists were obstructed by discriminatory policies of the British colonial bureaucracy. This colonial state was racial and exploitative and India as a colony was sucked for British interests.

The beginning of twentieth century and specially two World Wars saw a change in this trend and provided an opportunity for the development of the Indian capitalist class in the fields of textile, sugar, jute, some chemical factories and steel plant. The World Wars had an impact on the British economy and the pre-war situation, in which India was profitable for export of British manufacturers and a secure market for profitable investment, was changing, and, the economy and requirements of second world war, compelled the British to induce development of indigenous industries under the indigenous capitalists in India.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1 Write about the various land settlements introduced by the British, and their characteristics.

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2 Read the following statements and mark right (✓) or wrong (×).

- i) The British colonial state has been rightly characterised as a *laissez faire* state.
- ii) The British colonial state, integrated Indian economy with the world capitalist economy.
- iii) Indian capitalists were protected by the colonial policies,
- iv) The two world wars brought about constraints on colonialism.

10.10 LET US SUM UP

While summing up two facts need an emphasis. First, the colonial state was a powerful system of exploitation of India for the British industrial capital. Second, the pressures of the two world wars and the situations created by it helped the development of Indian capitalist class and industries in the fields of sugar, jute, textile, iron and steel and chemicals.

When the British left India, they left a stagnant economy. The development of industries as mentioned above does not mean that India was an industrial nation on the eve of independence in 1947. An industrial nation can develop if a proper infrastructure is developed along with basic industries like heavy machine tools, steel and capital goods industries are established to support industrialisation. The result of British economic policies was that India had industries without industrialisation, because the colonial state was not interested in this aspect of economy. Further, Indian agriculture was stagnant. In terms of raw material for industry, the situation was pretty bad. The direct consequence of British rule over India was low per capita income, low agricultural output, low level of savings, underdeveloped infrastructure and low level of human skills. Thus the claim that the British modernized Indian economy is quite hollow in the light of the above description.

10.11 KEY WORDS

Capital Accumulation: The process by which resources of land, labour and entrepreneurship are put together for industrial development.

De-industrialisation: The phenomenon under the Colonial rule under whose impact a large number of traditional industries declined.

Foreign Capital: Money or resources acquired from outside a nation either from another nation or a trans-national firm.

Gross Profits: Total profits before deductions are made for taxes, depreciation etc.

Laissez Faire: The philosophy in 19th century British which said free trade or trade without restriction was solution to all economic problems.

Monopolistic: A tendency of capital, resources or industries to come under individual control.

Per Capita Income: Money earned per head.

Productivity of Land: Producing capacity of land.

Underdeveloped Society: A society in which development is retarded because of factors like colonial rule or colonial pressures. This is different from a non-developed or developing societies, where the colonial factor does not play a strictly significant role, since a direct colonial rule is not there.

10.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1 i) ✓ ii) ✓ iii) × iv) ×

2 Read Section 10.2 and write your own answers.

Check Your Progress 2

1 i) × ii) × iii) × iv) ✓

Read section 10.6

Read section 10.7

Check Your Progress 3

1 Read section 10.8

2 i) × ii) ✓ iii) × iv) ✓

UNIT 11 NATIONAL MOVEMENT-1

Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 1857: The First War of Independence
 - 11.2.1 Causes
 - 11.2.2 Extent and Intensity
 - 11.2.3 Defeat
- 11.3 Early Phase of Nationalism
 - 11.3.1 Role of the Intellectuals,
 - 11.3.2 Role of the Colonial State
 - 11.3.3 Emergence of the Indian National Congress
- 11.4 Moderate and Militant Nationalists
 - 11.4.1 Moderates: Aims and Methods
 - 11.4.2 Militants: Aims and Methods
- 11.5 Swadeshi Movement
- 11.6 Socio-Religious Reform and Cultural Renaissance
 - 11.6.1 Prominent Reformers: Issues and Views
 - 11.6.2 Their Approach
 - 11.6.3 Methods
- 11.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 11.8 Key Words
- 11.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

11.0 OBJECTIVES

No major development of modern India can be explained and understood without a reference to the Indian National Movement. The Indian National Movement represented the Indian peoples' urge to be free from the foreign yoke. After reading this Unit you will:

- understand the upsurge of 1857 in all its dimensions,
- be aware of the factors which contributed to the emergence of Indian Nationalism,
- be able to explain the political objectives and the strategies of the early nationalist leadership,
- understand the differences of approach between the moderate and militant nationalists,
- understand the Swadeshi Movement and its implications for the Indian National Movement,
- be able to identify the process of cultural renaissance, and
- know about the various social reform movements during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Unit we introduce you to the various aspects of the Indian National Movement during its earlier phase. Resistance to British rule had always been there but it was in 1857 that large sections of Indian people in various regions made a combined effort to overthrow the British. That is why it is often termed as the first war of Independence. Due to certain weaknesses the uprising was crushed by the British but as far as the struggle was concerned there was no going back. This inspired a new kind of struggle. The intelligentsia, which earlier believed in the benevolence of British rule now came forward to expose its brutality. Political associations were formed and the Indian National Congress played a vital role in directing the freedom struggle. We discuss in this Unit the role of moderates and

militant nationalists and the efforts made during the Swadeshi Movement to involve the masses into the freedom struggle.

This was also a period of cultural renaissance as far as Indian society was concerned. Many social and religious reformers took up the battle against the social and religious evils that existed in our society. This contributed immensely towards the making of a new India.

This Unit attempts to give you a glimpse of the issues that were undertaken by the Indian social reformers. The scope of this Unit is however confined to the period just before the emergence of Gandhi on the Indian political scene.

11.2 1857 : THE FIRST WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In 1857 ~~occurred a~~ **Revolt** known as India's First War of Independence when millions of soldiers, artisans and peasants made a combined effort to overthrow foreign rule. The Revolt was, however, no sudden occurrence. It was the culmination of nearly a century-old discontent with British policies and imperialist exploitation. The British conquered India and colonised its economy and society through a prolonged process. This process led to continuous resistance by the people through a series of civil rebellions led by deposed rulers, impoverished **zamindars** and **poligars** (landed military magnates in South India) and ex-officials of the conquered Indian states. The mass base of these rebellions came from the ruined peasants and artisans and demobilized soldiers. Starting with the Sanyasi rebellion and Chuar uprising in Bengal and Bihar in the 1760s, there was hardly a year without armed opposition or a decade without a major armed rebellion in one part of the country or the other. From 1763 to 1856 there were more than 40 major rebellions apart from hundreds of minor ones. Though massive in their totality, these rebellions were, however, wholly local in character and effects and were isolated from each other.

The revolt of 1857 was, however, to involve millions in large parts of the country and to shake the British rule to its very roots.



1 Soldiers of 11th Irregular cavalry being disarmed (1 August 1857).

11.2.1 Causes

The Revolt of 1857 started on 10 May when the Company's Indian soldiers (sepoys) at Meerut rebelled, killed their European officers, marched to Delhi, entered the Red Fort and proclaimed the aged and powerless Bahadur Shah II (who still bore the prestigious name of the Mughals) as the Emperor of India:

The Company's sepoy had many grievances against their employers, ranging from declining material and other service conditions to religious interference and racial arrogance. But basically they reflected the general discontent with British rule. They were after all a part of Indian society — they were 'peasants in uniform'. The hopes, desires, despair and discontent of other sections of Indian society were reflected in them. The sepoy's rebellion was a product of the accumulated grievances of the Indian people. The most important underlying cause of the Revolt was the disruption of the traditional Indian economy and its subordination to British economy and the intense economic exploitation of the country. Above all, the colonial policy of intensifying land revenue demand led to a large number of peasants losing their land to revenue farmers, traders and moneylenders. Destruction of traditional handicrafts ruined and impoverished millions of artisans. The economic decline of the peasantry and artisans was reflected in 12 major and numerous minor famines from 1770 to 1857

Thousands of zamindars and poligars lost control over their land and its revenues. Hundred of chieftains lost their principalities. The interference by the East India Company was disliked by many Indian rulers. The traditional scholarly and priestly classes lost their patronage from the traditional rulers, chieftains, nobles and zamindars, and were impoverished.

A major cause of the Revolt was the very foreign character of British rule. The British remained perpetual foreigners in the land. The Indian people felt humiliated in having to obey the orders of 'foreign trespassers'.



2 People and Soldiers in the Battle at Bareilly (5 May 1858).

11.2.2 Extent and Intensity

The Revolt of 1857 swept Northern India like a hurricane. Nearly half of East India Company's Indian soldiers rebelled. Everywhere in Northern India, the soldiers' rebellion was followed by popular revolts of the civilian population. According to one estimate, of the total number of about 1,50,000 men who died fighting the

English in Avadh, over 1,00,000 were civilians. The Revolt soon embraced a wide area engulfing Avadh, Rohilkhand, the Duab, the Bundelkhand, Central India, large parts of Bihar, and East Punjab. There were uprising in Rajasthan at Nasirabad, Nimach and Kota. In Kolhapur also the sepoys rose in arms. In many of the princely states of these regions, the rulers remained loyal to the British but the soldiers and people joined the rebels or refused to fight against them. W.H. Russel, who toured India in 1858 as the correspondent of the *London Times*, wrote that:

In no instance is a friendly glance directed to the white man's carriage Oh! that language of the eye! Who can doubt? Who can misinterpret it? It is by it alone that I have learnt our race is not even feared at times by many and that by all it is disliked.



3 Times correspondent viewing the sacking of Kaiserbagh at Lucknow.

Great strength to the Revolt was imparted by Hindu-Muslim unity. Both at the level of sepoys and the people as well as at the level of leaders there was full cooperation between Hindus and Muslims. The Revolt also threw up some courageous and brilliant leaders. Rani Lakshmbai of Jhansi, Tantya Tope, Begum Hazrat Mahal of Avadh, Kunwar Singh, Khan Bahadur of Bareilly, Mauiavi Ahmadullah of Faizabad, and Bakht Khan, the petty officer in the British army who rose to become a General of the rebel army, are some of the famous names of the Revolt. Above all, the ordinary sepoys and common people fought with exemplary courage and unselfish devotion.

11.2.3 Defeat

In the end, British imperialism, at the height of its power the world over, succeeded in ruthlessly suppressing the Revolt. The reason were many. Despite its wide reach, the Revolt could not embrace the entire country or all sections of Indian society. Bengal, South India and large parts of Punjab remained outside its reach since these areas had already exhausted themselves through prolonged rebellions and struggle against the British. Most rulers of Indian states and the big zamindars remained loyal to the foreign rulers. Thus, Scindhia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Rajput rulers of Jodhpur and many other Rajputana states, the Nawab of Bhopal, the rulers of Patiala and Kashmir, the Ranas of Nepal, and many other rulers and chieftains gave active support to the British in suppressing the Revolt.



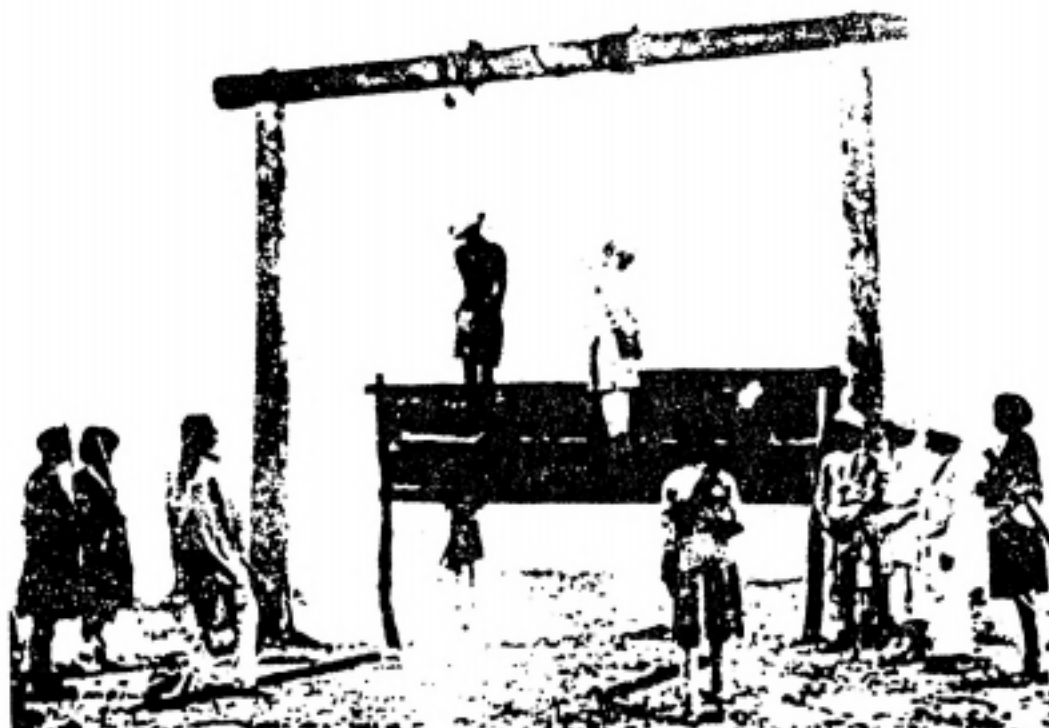
4 Begum Hazrat Mahal.

In general, merchants and moneylenders either supported the British or refused to help the rebels. The modern educated Indians also did not support the Revolt. The leaders of the Revolt fought with courage, but could not coordinate their struggles nor evolve a unified high command. Instead, they indulged in constant petty quarrels. The rebels were short of modern weapons and often had to fight with primitive weapons such as swords and pikes. They were very poorly organized. The sepoys were brave but at times there was lack of discipline which affected their military efficiency.



5 Rani Jhansi in battle field.

Above all the rebels lacked a modern understanding of British colonialism or the nature of the state and society which was to replace it. They were united by their hatred of the British rule and the desire to restore pre-British economic, political and social relations, but shared no conception of the political or socio-economic structure of free India. This was perhaps inevitable. Common all-India feeling and interests were yet to evolve. Perhaps if the Revolt had lasted a few years, a common modern understanding and national consciousness would have evolved in the course of the struggle, as it did later; but the rebels were given no such time — their revolt was crushed by the end of 1858.



6 Execution of "Rebels" by the British.

This first great struggle of the Indian people to win freedom from British domination was not in vain. It left an indelible mark on the consciousness of the Indian people and served as a permanent source of inspiration to the later struggle for freedom.

Check Your Progress 1

1 Write in about 100 words the main causes behind the Revolt of 1857.

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2. Which of the following statements are right or wrong? Mark (✓) or (×).

- i) The revolt of 1857 was the first effort at a national level to overthrow British rule.
- ii) The revolt of 1857 was only a sepoy mutiny.
- iii) All the merchants and moneylenders supported the revolt of 1857.
- iv) Hindu-Muslim unity gave added strength to the revolt of 1857.

3 i) Give the names of three Indian rulers who supported the British in 1857.

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ii) Give the names of three Indian leaders who opposed the British in 1857.

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11.3 EARLY PHASE OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The defeat of the Revolt of 1857 made it clear that uprisings based on old outlooks and social forces could not defeat modern imperialism. For that, new social forces, new ideologies, a modern political movement based on an understanding of modern imperialism and capable of mobilising the masses for nationwide political activity were needed. Such a movement was initiated during the second half of the 19th century by modern nationalist intelligentsia. The new movement had a much narrower social base, but was inspired by new political ideas, new intellectual perception of reality and new social, economic and political objectives. It also represented new forces and forms of struggle, new leading classes and new techniques of political organisation.

Many factors were responsible for the rise of this powerful movement. But the decisive factor was the gradual emergence of the contradiction between the interests of the Indian people as a whole and the interests of the British rule, which was leading to the increasing underdevelopment of the Indian economy and society. It

was also hampering India's further economic, social, cultural, intellectual and political development. Let us briefly have a look at the factors that contributed towards the emergence of organised nationalism.

11.3.1 Role of Intellectuals

Initially this process was grasped only by the modern Indian intellectuals.

Paradoxically, during the first half of the 19th century, they had adopted a very positive approach towards colonial rule:

- They had believed that the restructuring of Indian society could occur under British rule because Britain was the most advanced country of the time.
- They hoped that the British would help India get rid of its past backwardness.
- The intellectuals, attracted by modern industry and the prospects of modern economic development, hoped that, Britain would industrialise India and introduce modern capitalism.
- They believed that Britain, guided by the doctrine of democracy, civil liberties, and sovereignty of the people; would introduce modern science and technology and modern knowledge in India; leading to the cultural and social regeneration of its people.

The emerging unification of the Indian people was an added attraction. Consequently, they supported British rule even during the Revolt of 1857 and described it as 'providential' or "ordained by Gods that be"

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the gradual disillusionment of the intellectuals, for experience increasingly showed that their expectations were misplaced and based on a wrong understanding of the nature and character of British rule. The intellectuals realised that:

- In practice, British colonialism was disrupting Indian economy and preventing the rise of modern industry and agriculture.
- Instead of promoting democracy and self-government, British administrators were arguing for the imposition of permanent benevolent despotism in India.
- They neglected the education of the masses, curbed civil liberties and pursued a policy of divide and rule.

Thus, in such a situation what were the intellectuals supposed to do? Gradually, the intelligentsia created political associations to spread political education and to initiate political work in the country. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start an agitation for political reforms in India. The Bengal British Indian Society and other associations were founded in 1840s and 1850s to promote general public interests. But these associations were local in character and were dominated by wealthy and aristocratic elements. However in 1870s and 1880s more modern, explicitly political, and middle class based organisations like Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in Maharashtra, the Indian Association in Bengal, Madras Mahajan Sabha, and Bombay Presidency Association came up all over the country.

11.3.2 Role of Colonial State

The open reactionary character of Lytton's Viceroyalty from 1876 to 1880 quickened the pace of Indian nationalism. We list some of the reactionary methods adopted by Lytton:

- The Arms Act of 1878 disarmed the entire Indian people at one stroke.
- The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 sought to suppress the growing Indian criticism of British rule.
- The reduction of the maximum age for sitting in the Indian Civil Service Examination from 21 years to 19 further reduced the chances of Indians entering the Civil Service.
- The holding of a lavish Imperial Durbar (in 1877) at a time when millions of Indians were dying of famine and the waging of a costly war against Afghanistan at the cost of the Indian economy.
- The removal of import duties on British textile imports threatened the existence of the newly rising Indian textile industry.

All these were clear manifestations of the colonial character of British rule in India. In 1883, the new Viceroy, Lord Ripon, tried to assuage Indian feelings by removing a glaring instance of racial discrimination by passing the Ilbert Bill which would

enable Indian district and session judges to try Europeans in criminal cases. The Government was compelled to amend the Bill by a vehement, racialist agitation led by the Europeans in India. These factors created a congenial environment for the growth of Indian nationalism.

11.3.3 Emergence of the Indian National Congress

The time was now ripe for the formation of an all-India organization which could organize and coordinate the political activities of Indians all over the country against foreign rule and exploitation. Various attempts were made in this direction for several years. Surendra Nath Banerjee took the lead by forming the Indian Association. The idea finally got a concrete shape when a large group of political workers such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice M.G. Ranade, K.T. Telang and Badruddin Tyabji cooperated with A.O. Hume, a retired English Civil servant, in holding the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December 1885. The struggle for India's independence was thus launched though on a rather small scale



7 The First Indian National Congress 1885.

The early nationalist leaders believed that a direct struggle for freedom was not yet on the agenda of history. Instead, they had first to lay the foundations of such struggle. You would like to know what were then the basic objectives of the early Indian nationalists?:

- i) One of the basic objectives of the early nationalists was to promote the feeling of national unity, to weld India into a nation, to help create an Indian people, to meet the imperialist charge that Indians were not a people or nation but a mere grouping of hundreds of diverse races, languages, castes and religions.
- ii) The second basic objective was to create a national political platform or programme on which all Indians could agree and which could serve as the basis for all-India political activity.
- iii) The third objective was the politicisation of the people and the creation of public interest in political questions and the training and organization of public opinion in the country.
- iv) Another important aim of the time was the creation of an all-India political leadership. No movement can grow without a headquarters, that is, a united leadership. Such a leadership on a country-wide level did not exist in the 1880s. Allied to this was the need to train a common band of political workers or cadre to carry on political work.

Thus, the basic objectives of the early nationalists can best be summed up as the creation of a broad-based anti-colonial, nationalist movement on an all-India basis.

Check Your Progress 2

Which of the following statements are right or wrong. Mark? (✓) or (×).

- i) After 1857 it became clear that new methods were needed to defeat imperialism.
- ii) The Indian intellectuals always remained loyal to the British.
- iii) The British encouraged civil liberties.
- iv) Indian economy flourished under British rule.

2. What were the basic objectives of the early nationalists? Answer in about 10 lines.

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11.4 MODERATE AND MILITANT NATIONALISTS

The most important contribution of the early nationalists, known as Moderate nationalists, was their economic critique of imperialism and their persistent agitation on economic questions. They analysed all the three forms of colonial economic exploitation, that is, exploitation through trade, industry and finance. They clearly grasped that the essence of British colonialism lay in the subordination of the Indian economy to the British economy. They vehemently opposed the British attempt to develop in India the basic characteristics of a colonial economy, namely, the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufacturers, and a field of investment for foreign capital.

11.4.1 Moderates: Aims and Methods

The early nationalists constantly agitated for democratic civil-rights, a free press, and a democratic and non-racialist administration. In fact, it was during this period and as a result of political work by the nationalists that democratic ideas began to take root among the Indian people in general, and the intelligentsia in particular. The Moderates also agitated for the spread of modern education, science and technology. In the political field, they demanded reforms that would lead to greater share for Indians in the administration and the legislative machinery.

The weakness of the early nationalists lay in the narrow social base of the movement. The movement did not, as yet, have a wide appeal. It did not penetrate down to the masses. The Moderates' political work was confined to the urban educated middle classes. Their programme and policies however, were not confined to the interests of the middle classes. They took up the causes of all sections of the Indian people and represented the interests of the emerging Indian nation against colonial domination.

The Moderates believed in the methods of constitutional agitation within the four walls of law. Thus, they relied on agitation through public meetings and newspapers. They also sent numerous carefully prepared and argued memorials and petitions to the Government. Though on the surface these memorials, etc., were addressed to the Government, their real objective was to educate and politicise the Indian people. For example, Justice Ranade explained to the young G.K. Gokhale in 1891:

“You don't realise our place in the history of our country. These memorials are nominally addressed to Government, in reality they are addressed to the people, so that they may learn how to think in these matters... because politics of this kind is altogether new in this land”

in spite of their political mildness, they aroused intense hostility from the officials. British officials and statesmen condemned them as disloyal and seditious elements. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, declared in 1900 that it was his ambition to contribute to the death of the Congress. This was because the Moderate had, on however small a scale, generated an anti-imperialist awakening in the country. Their powerful economic critique of imperialism was to serve as the main plank of nationalist agitation in the later years of active mass struggle against British colonialism. They had, by their economic agitation, undermined the moral foundations of British rule by exposing its cruel, exploitative character. Moreover, the political work of the Moderates was based on a concrete study and analysis of the hard reality of the life of the people rather than on shallow and narrow appeals to religion and mere emotion. Once a sound basis for a national movement was laid, mass struggles could come, and did come, in time.

11.4.2 Militant Nationalists: Aims and Methods

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the development of the Indian National Movement to a new, higher stage under a new militant nationalist leadership. This was in part the fruition of the earlier nationalist agitation, and in part the consequence of the reassertion of imperialism at the end of the 19th century. The symbol of the new imperial assertion, of despotism and 'efficiency', was Lord Curzon, the Viceroy since 1899. Political Indians now despaired of getting political concessions from the rulers through political argument and methods of polite agitation. Indians must, they realised, depend on themselves and take recourse to mass politics and mass agitation around the goal of independence from Britain.

The social and economic conditions of the country also pointed in the same direction. Economic decay and stagnation, the fruits of colonial underdevelopment, were beginning to surface by the end of the 19th century. Symbolic in this respect were the famines that devastated the country from 1897 to 1900, and killed millions.

Several international events at this time contributed to the growth of militant nationalism. The defeat of the Italian army by the Ethiopians in 1896 and Russia by Japan in 1905 exploded the myth of European superiority. Similar was the impact of the revolutionary movements in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey and China: a united people, who were willing to make sacrifices, were surely capable of overthrowing foreign despotic rule even if it appeared powerful on the surface.

A new political leadership now emerged on the scene. The most prominent in it were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, known as the Lokmanya, Aurobindo Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. The new leadership believed and preached that Indians must rely on their own efforts, on their own political activity and on their own sacrifices. Their political work and outlook encouraged self-reliance and self-confidence. Moreover, they possessed deep faith in the strength of the Indian people and mass action. Once the masses took up politics, they asserted, it would be impossible for the British to suppress the national movement. They therefore pressed for political work among the masses. They also denied that British rule could be reformed from within. **Swaraj** or independence was to be the goal of the resurgent national movement.

11.5 SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Thus, conditions were ready for the national movement to advance to a higher stage. The spark was provided when the Government announced its decision to partition the province of Bengal on 20 July 1905. The decision, as the Government claimed, was allegedly based on administrative grounds. But the people of Bengal saw it as an effort to divide the nationalistically inclined Bengali people. And thus stem the rising tide of militant nationalism in Bengal and India.

Political agitation was inaugurated by a general hartal and a day of fasting on 16 October in Calcutta. Huge crowds paraded in the streets of Calcutta and a mammoth meeting of 50,000 was held in the evening. Entire Bengal, from cities to villages, was reverberating with meetings, processions and demonstrations.

Soon a new form of political action was added. All foreign goods were to be boycotted and **Swadeshi** or Indian-made goods alone were to be used. In many places public burnings of foreign cloth were organized and shops selling foreign cloth were picketed. The new leadership also gave a call for passive resistance to the authorities. This was to take the form of non-cooperation with the Government by boycotting schools and colleges, the courts, and government services. This part of the programme could not however be put into practice on a significant scale. The new leadership also raised the slogan of independence from foreign rule. One result was that Dadabhai Naoroji declared in his presidential address to the Congress in December 1906 that the goal of the Congress was "self-government or Swaraj".

The militant leadership succeeded in involving large sections of the rural and urban people in the movement. In particular, students, women and urban workers participated enthusiastically in the movement. The slogans of **Swadeshi** and **Swaraj** were soon taken up by other provinces. Boycott of foreign cloth was organized on an all-India scale. The entire country began to be united in a bond of common sympathy and common politics.

The Government responded with quick repression. Meetings were banned, newspapers suppressed, political workers jailed, several leaders deported, and students beaten up. Efforts were made to divide the Moderates from Militants and Hindus from Muslims. At the same time, the new leadership failed to discover or implement new forms of organization and struggle which would correspond to their new and advanced political understanding. For example, it failed to put passive resistance into practice. Consequently the Government succeeded to a large extent in suppressing the movement which did not survive because of the imprisonment and deportation of Tilak for 6 years, the retirement from active politics of Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose and departure from India of Lala Lajpat Rai.

The youth finding no effective outlet in mass political activity and responding emotionally and heroically to government repression, increasingly adopted revolutionary terrorism and assassination of hated officials as a style of politics. Anushilan and Jugantar were the two important revolutionary groups of this period. However, revolutionary terrorists lacked a mass base and could not continue for long. But they too made a valuable contribution to the growth of the national movement. As a historian has put it "they gave us back the pride of our manhood"

The national movement was in a rather dormant state from 1909 to 1916. But it revived during the First World War when Annie Besant, an English admirer of Indian culture, and the newly released Lokmanya Tilak started a popular, all-India constitutional agitation under the auspices of the two Indian Home Rule Leagues. Indian revolutionaries abroad were also very active during the War. Of special importance was the establishment of a mass Ghadar (Rebellion) Party in U.S.A. and Canada which had branches in East Asia and South-East Asia and which tried to organize armed uprisings in India.

Check Your Progress 3

Differentiate between the methods adopted by moderates and militant nationalists.
Answer in about 10 lines.

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Even though the forces of religious and social reform and cultural renewal arose at different times and in different forms and with differing content in different parts of the country, their general perspective was very similar and they represented more or less a common consciousness and understanding of the ills of Indian society and their remedies.

11.6.1 Prominent Reformers: Issues and Views

The person who initiated the process of intellectual and cultural awakening was Raja Rammohan Roy. Even though possessing a great regard for, and learning in, the traditional philosophic systems of the East, he believed that modern culture, a rational and scientific approach to society and religion based on the principles of human dignity and equality alone could regenerate Indian society. Rammohan was followed by a galaxy of intellectuals and religious and social reformers. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Gopal Hari Deshmukh, Jotiba Phule, Swami Dayanand, Justice Ranade, Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Viresalingam, Narayana Guru, Vivekananda, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker are some of the names that readily come to mind.

The religious reformers vigorously opposed religious dogmatism and blind faith, rigidity of caste, and prevalence of meaningless religious rituals, ceremonies and superstitions. Some of them also opposed the priesthood where it had become too rigid or corrupted. They stood for the reform of existing Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. The social reformers attacked the caste system, especially inequality and oppression based on the caste system. In particular, they condemned the degraded and unequal position of women in Indian society and argued that women and men were equal in intellect and moral sense. They fought for the abolition of the practice of **Sati**; they attacked polygamy or the system of men having more than one wife; they advocated widow remarriage and education of women; some of them, like Rammohan, argued that women should have the right of inheritance and property.

The battle against the caste system was also in time taken up by intellectuals and reformers belonging to the so called "lower castes". Jotiba Phule, Narayana Guru and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar were three of the most outstanding fighters against the inequities of the caste system. Gandhi linked the struggle against colonialism with the struggle against untouchability. He made it mandatory for a member of the Congress to refuse to practise untouchability and to oppose its practice by others. He founded the All India Harijan Seva Sangh to work for the social, cultural, economic and educational uplift of the Harijans.

While the women's cause was taken up mainly by male social reformers in the 19th century, in the 20th century the women themselves came forward to fight for their own social liberation. A number of women's magazines, many of them edited by women appeared and, in the 1930s the women's movement took an organised form when the All-India Women's Conference was formed. The national movement, trade unions and Kisan Sabhas too took up the cause of women's rights.

It was a result of these reformist efforts and social struggles that complete equality of sexes and a ban on any discrimination on the basis of sex or caste were enshrined in the Constitution of free India.

All the reformers tried to apply the rational approach to religion and society. They wanted religious and social thought and practices to be based not on faith but on human reason and the good of humanity. Opposing blind adherence to authority, they were willing to modify and even abandon religious principles and inherited social traditions if they contradicted reason or logic or were harmful to society. Swami Vivekananda, for example, said:

"Is religion to justify itself by the discoveries of reason through which every science justifies itself? Are the same methods of investigation which apply to the sciences and knowledge outside, to be applied to the science of religion? In my opinion, this must be so, and I am also of opinion that the sooner this is done the better."

Similarly, Sayyid Ahmed Khan all his life opposed blind obedience to tradition and dependence on irrationalism and advocated adoption of a critical approach: "So long as freedom of thought is not developed, there can be no civilized life". Even Swami Dayanand the most conservative of religious reformers, while holding that



9 Raja Rammohan Roy.

the Vedas were infallible, said that they were to be interpreted by normal human beings and not by a priestly class. In other words, the Vedas meant what individual reason accepted and indicated. Swami Dayanand, consequently, led a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy.

11.6.2 Approach Towards Social Reform

The religious and social reformers were willing to appeal to tradition in support of their reforms, and often claimed that they were reviving pure beliefs and practices of the past. Many appealed to the ancient scriptures. But, interestingly, the past was evoked essentially to support the new outlook, tradition was used as an instrument to make reform more palatable. And whenever and wherever tradition conflicted with the suggested reforms, it was declared to be false or even frontally opposed. As pointed out earlier, the ultimate appeal was not to the past, but to human reason and social good. Justice Ranade, for example, wrote: "The dead and the buried or burnt are dead, buried and burnt once for all, and the dead past cannot, therefore, be revived."

Similarly, Gandhiji's entire campaign for the "root and branch removal of untouchability" was based on humanism and reason. While arguing that untouchability had no sanctions in the Hindu shastras, he declared that shastras should be ignored if they went against human dignity. Truth, he said, could not be confined within the covers of a book.

Apart from gains in the field of religious and social welfare, the reformers' work contributed to the growth of patriotism. It enhanced their self-confidence and confidence in their own culture. Even while contributing to the opening of their minds to the winds of change and modern ideas, it prevented blind copying of the West. It was a part of what Prof. K.N. Panikkar has described as cultural defence against the colonialization of the culture and ideology of the Indian people. As Jawaharlal Nehru was to put it:

"The rising middle classes were politically inclined and were not so much in search of a religion; but they wanted some cultural roots to cling on to, something that gave them assurance of their own worth, something that would reduce the sense of frustration and humiliation that foreign conquest and rule had produced

After 1920, many nationalists and reformers applied the techniques of Satyagraha and mass agitation and mobilization to fight for democratization of society and religious reform. This often brought them into conflict with the colonial authorities thus directly linking and even merging the reform movements with the anti-imperialist struggle. Two prime examples of this were the Akali movement for the reform of Gurudwaras or Sikh temples in Punjab during the early 1920s and Gandhi's struggle against untouchability during the 1920s and early 1930s.

11.6.3 Methods

Nationalist intellectuals and leaders saw that not only Indian culture has to be renovated and modernized but has to be made popular. For this purpose they advocated, on the one hand, the spread of modern education and, on the other, the development of modern Indian languages.

Though the colonial authorities initially, from 1830s to 1860s, encouraged modern education, they soon began to drag their feet when they found that many among the newly educated Indians were taking to nationalism. Indians now took to promoting schools and colleges on their own. During the Swadeshi agitation and the Non-cooperation Movement (1920-22), the nationalists gave a call for a system of National Education outside the colonial framework. Hundreds of National School and Colleges and several National Universities came up at that time.

But it was, in the main, through the Indian languages press and literature that cultural renaissance and cultural struggle was carried on:

- i) From the beginning of the 19th century nationalist and modern Indians, made Indian languages the vehicle for the popularization of their reformist and nationalist ideas. To enable Indian languages to play this role successfully, the undertook such humdrum tasks as preparation of primers, etc. For example, both Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Rabindranath Tagore wrote Bengali

primers which are being used till this day. From the 1860s, nationalist leaders agitated for inclusion of Indian languages in the college curriculum and for a bigger role for them in the educational system. In fact, the spread of modern ideas among the mass of people occurred primarily through Indian languages. The most important role in this respect was that of the press; and once again pioneering work was done by Rammohan Roy who brought out journals in Bengali, Persian and Hindi to spread scientific, literary and political knowledge among the people. In Maharashtra, a similar role was played by Gopal Hari Deshmukh, popularly known as Lokhitavadi. Hundreds of Indian language newspapers and journals made their appearance during the 19th century. They were started not as profit-making business enterprises, but as labour of love and social commitment with a view to disseminate nationalist and reformist ideas among the people.

There is hardly a major modern Indian political or social figure who did not edit or write for the popular Indian language press. The **Amrita Bazar Patrika**, **Som Prakash**, and **Sanjivani** in Bengali; **Rast Goftar** and **Gujarat Samachar** in Gujarati; **Indu Prakash**, **Dhyan Prakash**, **Kesari** and **Sudharak** in Marathi; **Swadesmitran** in Tamil; **Andhra Prakashika**, **Andhra Patrika** in Telugu; **Matrubhoomi** in Malayalam; the **Hindi Pradeep**, **Hindustani**, **Aj** and **Pratap** in Hindi; **Azad**, **Akhbar-i-Am** and **Koh-i-Noor** in Urdu; and **Utkal Dipika** in Oriya were some of the major newspapers of the time.

- i) Modern literature in Indian languages in the form of poetry, drama, novels and short stories, and essays was the second form through which cultural renaissance and patriotic sentiments were manifested as well as promoted. From about the middle of the 19th century, powerful literary trends emerged in nearly all the Indian languages. Already by 1860s, patriotic poems and songs in Bengali and other languages had made their appearance. These two genre of literature were to become major instruments of mass political agitation and mobilization in the 20th century. Almost every Indian language was to throw up major poets during the 19th and 20th centuries. Rabindranath Tagore and Kazi Nazrul Islam in Bengali, Bhartendu Harishchandra, and Maithili Sharan Gupta in Hindi, Muhammad Iqbal, Altaf Husain Hali and Josh Malihabadi in Urdu, Subramaniya Bharati in Tamil, Kumaran Asan, and Vallathol in Malayalam, Lakshminath Bezbaruwa in Assamese, were some of the major poets of 19th and 20th centuries.

Nationalist drama had its beginnings in 1860 with Dinabandhu Mitra's play **Nil Darpan** which dealt with the British indigo planters' oppression of the peasants. India also produced powerful novelists and short story writers who took up nationalist and reformist themes, often dealing with class and caste oppression and the sorry plight of women in Indian society. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Sarat Chandra, Rabindranath Tagore, Prem Chand were some of the major writers whose novels and short stories were translated and published in nearly all the Indian languages. Essays were another genre through which Indian nationalists and reformers spread their ideas. Some of the major essayists of the 19th century were Gopal Hari Deshmukh, Vishnushastri Chiplunkar and Viresalingam. Cultural renaissance was also manifested in music, painting and other arts and later in films.

The person who strode the cultural scene for over 60 years was Rabindranath Tagore who left his mark on almost every aspect of literature — poetry, novel, short story, drama and essays. In his old age he also took to painting. He was a major inspiring figure of the Swadeshi Movement. In 1919, he renounced the title of a Knight (sir) in protest against the Jallianwalla massacre. In 1913 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. He also founded the Vishwabharati University at Shantiniketan to promote Indian culture and to impart national education.

Check Your Progress 4

- Which of the following statements are right or wrong. (Mark ✓ or ✗).
 - Religious reformers supported dogmatism and blind faiths.
 - Sati and polygamy were attacked by reformers.
 - Struggle against untouchability was a matter of great importance for Gandhi.
 - The Indian language newspapers contributed in the growth of nationalist feelings.
 - The play **Nil Darpan** dealt with the condition of emigrant Indians.

2 Discuss in about five lines the issues taken up by reformers in relation to upliftment of women.

11.7 LET US SUM UP

The first war of independence demonstrated that the Indians were no longer prepared to accept servitude. However, the failure of the movement demonstrated the weaknesses of the struggle. The Indian middle class came forward to initiate a new form of struggle based on creating an anti-colonial awareness at an all India level. The repressive policies of the colonial administration helped the task of the early nationalists. They carried out a campaign through press and petitions. Soon there emerged a section among the nationalist leaders who wanted to shed away the constitutionalist approach and adopt other methods of struggle. They came to be known as militant nationalists.

The British continued with their repressive policies, and the partition of Bengal gave a new turn to the national movement. The Swadeshi Movement, though still not fully a mass movement, was a major step towards mass mobilisation. Another new trend was the emergence of revolutionary terrorism.

There was yet another aspect to the national movement. Many social and religious reformers, guided by rationalism and humanism fought against the evils that existed in Indian society. The press and literature contributed immensely towards a new awakening in India.

11.8 KEY WORDS

Dogmatism: Uncritical acceptance of any belief or ideology.

Mass Mobilisation: Process of bringing mass of people together for a definite political objective.

National Consciousness: Awareness of belonging to a nation
a) through a process of struggle and self-realisation, and
b) through education and mobilisation by the nationalist leaders.

Nationalism: An ideology which emerged in opposition to colonial domination, secondly it offers itself as a social, political, economic alternative to colonialism. In contrast to Europe where it arose due to the need of a united market it arose as a specific need of Indian people to find an alternative to colonial rule.

Patriotism: Feeling of loyalty towards one's own nation.

Revolt: A phenomenon of opposition to any kind of domination.

Superstition: Irrational behaviour, thinking pattern.

Zamindars: Permanent holders of land in the countryside whose share of revenue was fixed by the British Government.

11.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1 See Sub-sec. 11.2.1

2 i) ✓ ii) × iii) × iv) ✓

- 3 i) For example Scindhia of Gwalior
 Holkar of Indore
 Nizam of Hyderabad
- ii) Rani Lakshmbai of Jhansi
 Kunwar Singh
 Tantya Tope

Check Your Progress 2

i) ✓ ii) × iii) × iv) ×

! See Sub-sec. 11.3.3

Check Your Progress 3

See Sub-secs. 11.4.1 & 11.4.2

! See Sub-sec. 11.4.1

! See Section 11.5

Check Your Progress 4

i) × ii) ✓ iii) ✓ iv) ✓ v) ×

! See Sub-sec. 11.6.1

UNIT 12 NATIONAL MOVEMENT-2

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 The Emergence of Gandhi
 - 12.2.1 The Official Response
 - 12.2.2 Non-Cooperation and Khilafat
 - 12.2.3 Aftermath
- 12.3 Civil Disobedience Movement
- 12.4 The Revolutionary Movement
- 12.5 The Socio-Economic Content of Swaraj
 - 12.5.1 Emergence of Communist and Socialist Groups
 - 12.5.2 Role of Nehru
 - 12.5.3 Impact on Congress
- 12.6 The Peasants, Working Class and State People's Movements
 - 12.6.1 Peasant Movements
 - 12.6.2 Working Class Struggles
 - 12.6.3 Movement in Princely States
 - 12.6.4 Other Movements
- 12.7 Towards Freedom
 - 12.7.1 Congress Ministries
 - 12.7.2 Second World War and India
 - 12.7.3 Quit India Movement
 - 12.7.4 Independence
- 12.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 12.9 Key Words
- 12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

12.0 OBJECTIVES

The Indian National Movement was gradually developing into a mass movement. After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- understand the significance of the emergence of Mahatama Gandhi on the Indian political scene,
- know about the characteristics of the Non-Cooperation, Khilafat and Civil Disobedience Movements,
- grasp the socio-economic content of Swaraj and know about the part played by the leadership and various peasants and working class movements for achieving it, and
- know about the development of Indian National Movement during the Second World War and finally how independence was achieved.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

After the First World War the Indian National Movement entered into a new phase. With the emergence of Gandhi, the element of mass mobilisation was introduced. Till the coming of independence three major mass movements were launched; Non-Cooperation (1920-22), Civil Disobedience (1930-34) and Quit India (1942). Besides these mass movements the revolutionary movement, peasants and working class movements and state people's movements also played a vital role in the struggle for freedom.

In this period sufficient emphasis was laid on the socio-economic content of Swaraj. The Communist Party of India and the Socialist Groups within the Congress pointed out towards economic emancipation of the masses along with the importance of the struggle for independence.

This unit in dealing with the various above mentioned aspects ultimately introduces you to the various events which brought about independence.

12.2 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI

The third and the last phase of the national movement began in 1919 when the era of popular mass movements was initiated.

During the First World War the Allies — Britain, France and the U.S.A. — had declared that the World War was being fought in defence of democracy and the right of nations to self-determination. But after their victory they showed little willingness to end the colonial rule. The Indians had not only cooperated with the war effort but had considerably suffered also. They hoped of getting due returns. But they were very soon disenchanted. While the British Government made a half-hearted attempt at constitutional reform, it also made it clear that it had no intention to part with political power; and a new leader, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, took command. The new leader kept in mind the basic weaknesses of the previous leadership and sought to remove them. He had evolved a new form of struggle — non-cooperation — and a new technique of struggle — Satyagraha — which would not remain a mere programme but were capable of being put into practice. He had already put them to test in South Africa while fighting for the rights of immigrant Indians. Gandhi also took up the cause of peasants in Champaran (Bihar) and the working class in Ahmedabad (Gujarat).

This was also a period of rising prices and epidemics in various parts of the country. In many regions the peasants had been subjected to extortions in the name of war effort. Gandhi responded to the growing anger and militancy of the Indian people after the end of the World War and created the organisation and techniques that would give the movement a mass base.

12.2.1 Official Response

Throughout the War, the Government had carried on repression of militant nationalists. It now decided to acquire further powers to meet the nationalist

“BLACK SUNDAY”

GREAT POPULAR DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE
BLACK ACT.

The following is the Programme of the demonstrations which have been arranged for SUNDAY NEXT:

SUNDAY, 6th APRIL, 1919:

SEA BATH 6 a.m. — 8 a.m. CHOWPATTY

Meeting at Chowpatty Sands 8 a.m.

Mahatma Gandhi and others will speak and a resolution will be put to the Meeting regarding the Tragedy of Delhi.

PROCESSION 8-30-10 a.m. :—

Chowpatty Sea Face	Girgaum Back Road
Sandhurst Bridge	C. P. Tank Road
Sandhurst Road	Madhav Baug.

3-30-LADIES' MEETING. CHINA BAUG.

Mrs. Jayakar presiding.

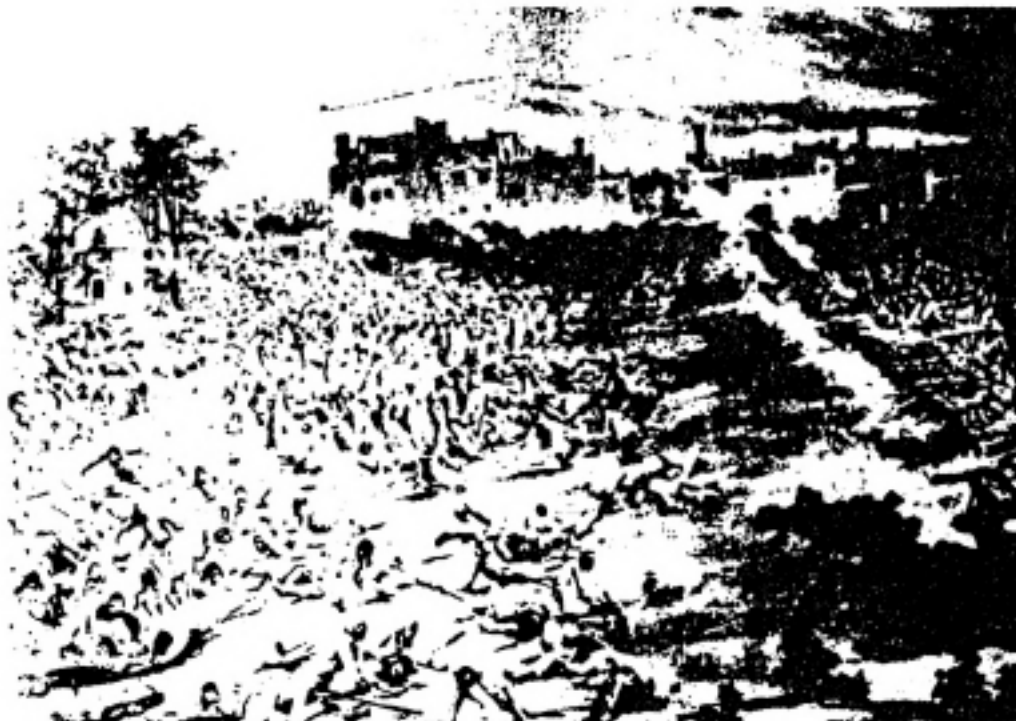
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu; Mahatma. Gandhi.— Speakers.

6-30-MASS MEETING—FRENCH BRIDGE.

If you value your freedom

challenge. In March 1919 it passed the Rowlatt Act (the Indians called it a Black Act) which authorised the Government to imprison any person without trial. The Indian sentiment was outraged. In February 1919, Gandhi started a Satyagraha Sabha whose members were committed to disobeying the Act and thus to court arrest. Thus Gandhi took the first step towards making the national movement a movement of mass political action, rather than of mere agitation. Simultaneously he urged the Congress to increasingly rely on the peasants and artisans. Symbolic of the new emphasis was to be the use of **Khadi** or hand-spun, hand-woven cloth.

Almost the entire country came to life in the next two months. Strikes, **hartals**, processions and demonstrations became the order of the day. At this time occurred the notorious Jallianwala Bagh incident in Amritsar when, on 13 April 1919, a peaceful crowd was trapped in an enclosed garden by a unit of the British army and fired upon with rifles and machine-guns. Thousands were killed and wounded. A wave of horror ran through the country. The brutality of colonial rule was exposed once again. Simultaneously, the British Government broke its war-time pledge of treating Turkey generously after the war and put into jeopardy the control of the Sultan of Turkey, who was also regarded by many as the Caliph or religious head of the Muslims thus producing deep resentment among Indian Muslims.



11 Jallianwala Tragedy

12.2.2 Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements

Gandhi and the National Congress decided in September 1920 to launch a non-violent non-cooperation movement and continue it till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were removed and **Swaraj** established. Gandhi gave the slogan "Swaraj in a year". The people were asked to boycott government affiliated schools and colleges, law courts and legislatures and foreign cloth and to surrender officially-conferred titles and honours. Later the programme would be extended to include resignation from government service and mass civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes. National schools and colleges were to be set up. People were asked to practice hand-spinning and produce **khadi**, to give up untouchability and promote and maintain Hindu-Muslim unity. Provincial Congress Committees were now to be organized on a linguistic basis. The Congress organization was to reach down to the village level and its membership fee was to be reduced to 4 annas (25 paise of today) per year to enable the rural and urban poor to become members.

This first mass movement assumed during 1920-22 unprecedented proportions.

Lakhs of students left schools and colleges. Hundreds of lawyers gave up their practice. Majority of voters refused to participate in elections to the legislatures. The boycott of foreign cloth became a mass movement, with thousands of bonfires of foreign cloth lighting the Indian sky. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth and of liquor shops was also very successful. In many regions the factory workers and peasants were at the forefront.

Gandhi was however not satisfied. On 5 February occurred the Chauri Chaura incident when a Congress procession of 3,000 peasants was fired upon by the police and in retaliation the angry crowd burnt the police station causing the death of 22 policemen. Gandhi took a very serious view of the incident. Feeling that the people were not yet properly trained in non-violence, he called off the entire movement on 12 February 1922.

The movement had, however, far-reaching consequences :

i) It had for the first time brought millions of peasants and urban poor within the sphere of nationalism. In fact, all sections of Indian society had been politicised: peasants, workers, artisans, shopkeepers, traders, lawyers, doctors, other professionals and white-collar employees. Women had been drawn into the movement. The movement had reached the remotest corners of the land. In fact, Gandhi based his entire politics on the militancy and self-sacrificing spirit of the masses. He brought them to the forefront of the national struggle. He transformed it into a mass movement.

ii) The people of India were imbued with fearlessness. They were no longer afraid of the might of British imperialism. As Nehru was to put it later, "Gandhi made a man of him". This was true of the entire nation.

It must be understood in this respect that, for Gandhi, non-violence was not a weapon of the weak and the cowardly. Only the strong could practise it. Gandhi repeatedly said that he preferred even violence to cowardice. He wrote in 1920:

Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour, than that she should, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

The most important consequence of the Non-Cooperation Movement was the tremendous self-confidence and self-esteem which Indian people gained. Indian people had begun a war against colonial rule. No temporary retreat in a battle could deflect the people from their march towards the goal. As Gandhi wrote on 23 February 1922, after the withdrawal of the movement:

It is high time that the British people were made to realize that the fight that was commenced in 1920 is a fight to the finish, whether it lasts one month or one year or many months or many years and whether the representatives of Britain re-enact all the indescribable orgies of the Mutiny days with redoubled force or whether they do not.

12.2.3 Aftermath

After the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement leaders like C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swarajist Party. The Swarajists believed that they will fight the British in legislatures. The Swarajists fought elections, gained considerable victories and successfully obstructed work in many provincial legislatures.

In November, 1927 the British declared the formation of Simon Commission to look into the constitutional aspects. This Commission had exclusively Englishmen as members. The Indians regarded it as a great insult. The Commission was boycotted when it landed in India. All over the country there were demonstrations with the slogan "Simon go back".

The scenes of Non-Cooperation days reappeared. The demonstrators were dealt with bullets and batons by the Government. Lala Lajpat Rai succumbed to the injuries which he received in the police lathi charge at Lahore.

POONA AVENGES INSULT TO INDIA

HOT "RECEPTION" OF SIMON SEVEN.

COMPLETE HARTAL IN THE CITY.

Miles of Black Flags Greet Unwelcome Guests.

YOUTHS' SPLENDID RALLY

Maharashtra Upholds Lokmanya's tradition



12 Protest Against Simon Commission.

Check Your Progress 1

1 Which of the following statements are right (✓) or wrong (×)?

- Gandhi kept in mind the basic weaknesses of the earlier leadership and tried to remove them.
- Indian masses welcomed the Rowlatt Act.
- Khilafat was aimed at removing the wrongs done by the British in Turkey.
- The Congress did not accept a linguistic basis for organising its provincial committees.

2 What were the far reaching consequences of the Non-Cooperation Movement?

Answer in about ten lines.

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12.3 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

A new wave of political enthusiasm arose in 1928 and 1929. The youthful Jawaharlal Nehru became the president of the National Congress at its historic Lahore session

of 1929 (December). The Congress passed at this session a resolution declaring **Poorna Swaraj** (full independence) to be its goal. 26th January, 1930 was fixed as the first Independence Day on which tricolour flag would be hoisted and the people would take the pledge that it was "a crime against man and God to submit any longer" to foreign rule. On 12th March, 1930, the Congress started the second Civil Disobedience Movement with the famous Dandi March by Gandhi. Consequently, lakhs of Indians broke the salt law by manufacturing and selling illegal salt. Lakhs offered Satyagraha or non-violent resistance. Millions participated in **hartals**, demonstrations and boycott of foreign goods and liquor. In many parts of the country, the peasants refused to pay land revenue and rent and had their land confiscated. A notable feature was the wide participation of women. Another was the extension of the movement to the Pathans of North-Western Frontier Province and Nagaland and Manipur in North-Eastern India. The British Government ceased to exist in Peshawar from 24th April to 4th May.

A temporary truce was signed through Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 1931; but the struggle was resumed in the beginning of 1932. No mass movement could, however, last for ever and the struggle gradually waned and had to be withdrawn in mid-1934. In the mean time the Round Table Conferences which were called by the British in London failed to evolve any formula regarding the political position in India.



13 Batch of Satyagrahis (Pratapgarh June 1930).

12.4 THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Revolutionary terrorism as a form of political activity emerged in the 20th century in spurts—first after the petering out of the Swadeshi Movement and then again after the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement. It was pursued by a generation of highly motivated nationalist youth who found themselves disillusioned with the activities of the dominant political groups. Fired with enthusiasm and devoted to the cause of Independence for India, these young people increasingly took to violent action against the Government offices, property and officials.

One major cause of the emergence of revolutionary terrorism was the creation of political vacuum every time any major political movement was either exhausted or withdrawn. An organised form was given to the revolutionary movement with the formation of the Hindustan Republican Association in 1924. The Government responded with immediate repression. Consequently a number of Hindustan Republican Army (HRA) activists were arrested and tried in the famous Kakori Conspiracy case in 1925. In 1928 owing largely to the influence of socialism