"CONTRIBUTION OF MODERATES TO THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF INDIA-A CRITICAL STUDY"

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Submitted by

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Under the Guidance of

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AUGUST - 2014

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled **"CONTRIBUTION OF MODERATES TO THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF INDIA A CRITICAL STUDY"** Completed and written by me has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree or Other similar title upon me of this or any other Vidyapeeth or examining body.

Place : Pune

Date : / / 20 **PRAKASH WAMANRAO SALVE**

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **"CONTRIBUTION OF MODERATES TO THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF INDIA A CRITICAL STUDY"** Which is being submitted herewith for the award of the Degree of Doctor Philosophy (Ph.D.) in HISTORY of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune is the result of original research work completed by **Shri. PRAKASH WAMANRAO SALVE** under my supervision and guidance. To the best of my knowledge and belief the work incorporated in this thesis has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree or similar title of this or any other University or examining body upon him.

Furthermore, in accordance with the UGC rules 2009 that governs the Ph. D. students, the student has completed the due process that includes entrance examination, interview and pre-submission viva.

Place : Pune

Date : / / 20 **Dr. (Mrs.) Swati Kalbhor**

Research Guide

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I am personally responsible for the opinion expressed and the errors, if any, in this thesis.

Place : Pune

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CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction :

Moderates were great national leaders of India. They dominated the political scene of India from 1885 to 1905. But at the same time they were social reformers too. Their social thoughts created a controversy during their time. They played a notable part in giving a fillip to the great reform movement for removing social conditions of the society. They really tried to bring the question of the improvement of the conditions of the depressed classes on congress platform. But they were an idealistic. They were strong believers of Hinduism and they believed that the evil aspects of castism can be eradicated. They always made an appeal to achieve self-government within the British Empire. They took efforts for the constructive programs for improving the conditions of the people. The moderates wrote and mentioned their history written in some legacy. However unfortunately a day at the record where in history began to be preserved in the form of folk. There are different perspectives on the moderates by outside and inside writers, but the works of pioneer authorities on the moderates have been acknowledged and appreciated regardless of their incomplete knowledge. As far as the history of moderates is concerned it begins with the constitutional means with the British in early 19th century. The British first came in contact with moderates during the strategic surveys. The present research is concerned with the history of moderates in second half of 19th century with establishment of foundation of Indian National Congress in December 1885 however the impact of moderate's period was up to 1905 and the transfer of power in 1947.

1.2 Reasons for study :

The aim of this study is to bring into limelight the last period (1885-1905) which is also known as the period of moderate's National awakening. The study hopes that besides throwing light on the early modern history of moderates it will help scholars to investigate further into the details of the legacy left by the British.

The main aims and objectives of this research work are.

1. To sensitize readers towards the history of moderates nationalism.
2. To study the nature and methods of British imperial rule in India during the moderates period.
3. To study the political interactions between the moderate representatives and the British Government.
4. To study British administrative policies and judicial procedures implemented during the period under study.
5. To study the roots of moderates nationalism and moderates rights to self determination.
6. To study the social, religious, economic and political impact of British regime.

1.3 Methodology and sources :

The present study has made use of extensive primary and secondary sources. The historical method of data collection analysis and research formulation with special emphasis on internal and external criticism and evaluation of data has been employed for the present research. As varied techniques of data collection and analysis were used no single method of research has been adhered to synthetic method of combining various sources and teaching has been used for the present day. Old records regarding the Moderates are available in the Andrews library in Surat (Gujarat) were of immense help. Rare copies of following sources published in the 19th century and early 20th century is used.

1.3.1 Books and Author Names :

1. Dadabhai Navroji, the European and Asiatic Races. Mumbai 1927.
2. Dadabhai Navroji, Poverty and Un-British Rule in India. Mumbai 1912.
3. Gopal Krishna Gokhale the Moderate leaders, Mumbai 1889.
4. Womesh Chunder Dutt, The Peasantry of Bengal, Calcutta 1835.
5. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Maker of modern India. Chennai 1960.
6. Madan Mohan Malaviya, A social political study. New Delhi. 1939.

7. R.C. Majumdar, The History and culture of the Indian people. New Delhi 1964.
8. M.K. Gandhi, India of my Dreams, Ahemdabad.1925.
9. Jawaharlal Nehru, Discovery of India, New Delhi 1948.
10. K.N. Pannikkar, Indian's struggle for Independence, New Delhi 1959.
11. Seal Anil, Emergence of Indian Nationalism. Chennai 1970.
12. Tara Chand, History of freedom Movement vol. I-IV New Delhi 1953.

These Books are available in the State libraries of Maharashtra and Gujarat and libraries of directorate of information and public relation Surat have immensely contributed in bringing about a comprehensive view towards this research work. The researcher has also visited historical places relevant to his work. Field visits undertaken by the researcher are as follows.

1. Field study to Mumbai visited in 2010, where early Moderates studied and worked in Elphinstone College.
2. Field study to Pune, Fergusson College where G. K. Gokhale and others worked.
3. Visited Navsari district in Gujarat where legend in belief whole Navroji family originated from there.
4. Visited Bardoli village in 2010 where some Indian revolutionaries restricted British rule.

In the course of my study of the moderates thought I feel tempted to go deeper and thus to acquire a thorough and firsthand knowledge of moderates philosophy it was to satisfy this urge that I decided to write a thesis on the different aspects of moderates philosophy. I am inclined to hold that there is a considerable research work is being carried out on moderates thoughts and facts concealed and unexposed are being brought to light and interpreted in new ways attempts have been made to arrange facts concerning moderates faithfully in the collected works of moderates published by the government of Maharashtra. There are also innumerable books by Indian as well as foreign writers which constitute a great source to the study of moderate thoughts. Here it will not be out of place to mention that moderate in order

to propagate their views among the masses, started publishing weekly journal India, Poverty and Un-British rule in India, The servants of Indian society and Bengali newspaper they tried to spread their ideas to masses. It is against the background of these documents and their public speeches delivered from time to time, and on the basis of the books written by Indian and foreign authors that we shall try to make an analytical attempt to present contribution of moderates to the National Movement for the freedom Struggle of India. We shall also take into account the different factors that shaped their views and ideas.

1.4 Scope and limitation of study :

The present study is limited to the relation between the Moderates Administration and the British empire during 1885-1905, Moderate history written during 19th century.

Establishment of report with the concerned individuals and agencies which possess data is a college, the research firsthand knowledge of the moderates way of life and contribution towards freedom has been of immense use in overcoming this hurdle. Problem of expression is another setback as data collection is linked with high cost.

1.5 Hypothesis :

The present study hopes to validate the following hypothesis.

1. The roots of moderates nationalism and political discontent as manifested today can be traced back to the high handed approach to the British administration that denied any agencies to the nationalism as they followed utterly as how methods for bringing the moderates leaders under administration and control.
2. The primary sources of moderate's history created by the British administration offer credible records of Indian nationalism traditional and cultural practices.
3. The British rule was responsible for a simultaneous process of preservation and destruction of the moderate's way of life.

4. Religious ideology along with modern education was responsible in bringing to an end the traditional belief of the moderates.
5. The exposure of moderate leaders to the world was resulted in a drastic modification of their world-views.
6. The rise of nationalism among the moderate leaders was a processor that ran parallel to the exposure of the moderates to the western culture.

1.6 Chapter plan :

Moderates have made Specific Contribution to the Social Religious and Political fields. The thesis is divided into six major chapters covering themes like the first chapter includes an over view of the present study second the background of the foundation of Indian National Congress and views of early nationalists the third chapter discuss the contribution of the some important moderates. The fourth chapter discusses their methods of political work. This chapter covers the period from 1885-1905. The fifth chapter throws light on the attitude of British government and the sixth chapter is based on the Epilogue. For a thorough discussion of each of these aspects of their philosophy. We may also state in this connection that is no doubt that all aspects of Moderate thoughts are so inextricably intertwined that we cannot do Justice to any one aspect in isolation from other aspects. They have presented a comprehensive view of life. However, here I have confined to freedom Struggle of India-A Critical Study.

1.7 Historical Background :

The first chapter is based on research work, its purpose, Methodology sources both Foreign and Indian Authors, scope and limitation of the research study and its hypothesis. The second chapter will cover the historical background of the foundation of Indian National Congress. It is mainly based on nationalism is a sense born out of sharing the same geographical territory the same culture and history and similar aspiration to be independent of foreign domination. Indians had suffered for a long time under the oppressive British rule in India was the economic exploitation of Indians. Many foreigner had taken away wealth from Indians prior to the British but

the British drained the resources of India in a most systematic and unjust way gradually the educated Indians realized that allowing them to settle in India had been detrimental to the interests of the Indians this economic exploitation was a major cause behind the rise of nationalism in India the rise of India press and literature as well as important in transport and communication also contributed to the emergence of nationalism. In the second half of the 19th century, there were many religious and social reformers in India. Such reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda and Mrs. Annie Besant prepared the ground National Movement. Raja Ram Mohan Roy is called the father of Indian nationalism. Swami Dayanand Saraswati raised the slogan India for the Indians. These reformers impressed upon the minds of the people greatness of India's ancient philosophy and culture. They inspired them to have self-confidence, self-respect and national regeneration. Great Indian leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made the people conscious of their rights and duties, and aroused in them an urge for freedom. Indian reformers not only fought against the social evils, but also instilled confidence and national pride in people. Reformers like Swami Vivekananda, Dayanand Saraswati and Mrs. Annie Besant aroused in people and urge for freedom. They held that Indian culture was superior to that of the west. Thus, they awakened the desire in people for national regeneration on the basis of the best in the past.

1.8 Reform Movements :

In the early nineteen century, many educated Indians began to feel that western culture and the rising tide of Christianity posed a challenge to their age old traditions and beliefs. In their attempt to remedy the situation, many reformers became critical of the past and began to look for ways to rid the society of its evils, such as caste distinction, purdha system and the custom of sati. Many others wanted a new social order in keeping with the traditional values and modern development. Many Indians were impressed by progress made by science as well as the doctrine of reason and humanism of the west. The social condition of the 19th century led to socio-religious reform movements. Some of such reform movements were the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Satyasodhak samaj, Prarthana samaj, and the theosophical society and Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

1.8.1 Social, religious reform movements :

1) Brahmo Samaj :

Brahmo Samaj is the societal component of Brahmanism, a monotheistic reformist and renaissance movement of Hindu religion. It is practiced today mainly as the Adi Dharm after its eclipse in Bengal consequent to the exit of the Tattwabodini Sabha from its ranks in 1859. After the publication of Hemendranath Tagore's Brahmo Anusthan in 1860 which formally divorced Brahmanism from Hinduism, the first Brahmo Samaj was founded in 1861 at Lahore by Pandit Nobin Chandra Roy. It was one of the most influential religious reformist movements responsible for the making of modern India. It was started at Calcutta on 20 August 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Debendranath Tagore as reformation of the prevailing Brahmanism of the time specifically Kulin practices and began the Bengal Renaissance of the 19th century pioneering all religious, social and educational advance of the Hindu community in the 19th century. Its Trust Deed was made in 1830 formalizing its inception and it was duly and publicly inaugurated in January 1830 by the consecration of the first house of prayer, now known as the Adi Brahmo Samaj. From the Brahmo Samaj springs Brahmanism, one of the recent sects or faiths of Hinduism. It is not recognized in India as a separate religion distinct from Hinduism despite its non-syncretism foundation of Ram Mohan Roy's reformed spiritual Hinduism contained in the 1830 Banian deed and inclusion of root Hebraic Islamic creed and practice though the position is different in Bangladesh.

Meaning of name The Brahmo Samaj literally denotes community of men who worship Brahma the Creator. In reality Brahmo Samaj does not discriminate between caste, creed or religion and is an assembly of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction, meeting publicly for the sober, orderly, religious and devout adoration of the unsearchable Eternal, Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe. In all fields of social reform, including abolition of the caste system and of the dowry system, emancipation of women, and improving the educational system, the Brahmo Samaj reflected the ideologies of the Bengal Renaissance. Brahmanism, as a means of discussing the dowry system, was a central theme of Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay's noted 1914 Bengali language novella, Parineeta. In 1866, Keshub Chunder Sen organized the more radical Brahmo Samaj of India with overtones of Christianity. He campaigned for the education of

women and against child marriages. But he nonetheless arranged a marriage for his own underage daughter. The Brahmo Samaj of India split after this act of underage marriage generated a controversy and his pro-British utterances and leaning towards Christian rites generated more controversies. A third group, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, was formed in 1878. It gradually reverted to the teaching of the Upanishads but continued the work of social reform. The movement, always an elite group without significant popular following, lost force in the 20th century.

After the controversy of underage marriage of Keshub Chunder Sen's daughter, the Special Marriages Act of 1872 was enacted to set the minimum age of 14 years for marriage of girls. All Brahmo marriages were thereafter solemnized under this law. Many Indians resented the requirement of the affirmation I am not Hindu, nor a Musalmans, nor a Christian for solemnizing a marriage under this Act. The requirement of this declaration was imposed by Henry James Sumner Maine, legal member of Governor General's Council appointed by Britain. The 1872 Act was repealed by the Special Marriage Act, 1954 under which any person of any religion could marry. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 applies to all Hindus including followers of the Brahmo Samaj. In India the statutory minimum age of marriage for followers of Brahmo Samaj is the same as for all Indians, viz, 21 years for males and 18 years for females. It is also the age marriage in Bangladesh.

2) Arya Samaj :

Arya Samaj is a Hindu reform movement founded by Swami Dayanand on 7 April 1875. He was a sannyasi who promoted the Vedas. Dayanand emphasized the ideals of brahmacharya.

Between 1869 and 1873, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, a native of Gujarat, made his first attempt at reform in India. This attempt took the form of the establishment of Vedic Schools or gurukuls which put an emphasis on Vedic values, culture and religion to its students. The Vedic Schools represented the first practical application of Swami Dayanand's vision of religious and social reform. They enjoyed a mixed reception. On the one hand, students were not allowed to perform traditional idol worship at the school, and were instead expected to perform sandhya and participate in agnihotra twice daily. Disciplinary action was swift and not infrequently

severe. On the other hand, all meals, lodging, clothing and books were given to the students free of charge, and the study of Sanskrit was opened to non Brahmins. The most noteworthy feature of the Schools was that only those texts which accepted the authority of the Vedas were to be taught. This was critical for the spiritual and social regeneration of Vedic culture in India.

It had become clear to Swami Dayanand that, without a wide and solid base of support among the public, setting up schools with the goal of imparting a Vedic education would prove to be an impossible task. He therefore decided to invest the greater part of his resources in the formulation and propagation of his ideology of reform. Deprived of the full attention of Swami Dayanand, the gurukul, Vedic School system collapsed and the last of the schools was closed down in 1876. While traveling, Swami Dayanand came to know of several of the pro-Western Indian intellectuals of the age, including Navin Chandra Roy, Rajnarayan Basu, Debendranath Tagore and Debendranath Tagore all of whom were actively involved in the Brahmo Samaj. This reform organization, founded in 1828, held many views similar to those of Swami Dayanand in matters both religious and social. Debendranath Tagore had written a book entitled Brahmo Dharma, which serves as a manual of religion and ethics to the members of that society, and Swami Dayanand had read it while in Calcutta. Although Swami Dayanand was persuaded on more than one occasion to join the Brahmo Samaj, there existed points of contention which the Swami could not overlook, the most important being the position of the Vedas. Swami Dayanand held the Vedas to be divine revelation, and refused to accept any suggestions to the contrary. Despite this difference of opinion, however, it seems that the members of the Brahmo Samaj parted with Swami Dayanand on good terms, the former having publicly praised the latter's visit to Calcutta in several journals. Swami Dayanand made several changes in his approach to the work of reforming Hindu society after having visited Calcutta. The most significant of these changes was that he began lecturing in Hindi. Prior to his tour of Bengal, the Swami had always held his discourses and debates in Sanskrit. While this gained him a certain degree of respect among both the learned and the common people, it prevented him from spreading his message to the broader masses. The change to Hindi allowed him to attract increasingly larger following, and as a result his ideas of reform began to circulate among the lower classes of society as well.

After hearing some of Swami Dayanand's speeches delivered in Hindi at Varanasi, Raj Jaikishen Das, a native government official there, suggested that the swami publish his ideas in a book so that they might be distributed among the public. Witnessing the slow collapse of the gurukuls/Vedic Schools due to a lack of a clear statement of purpose and the resultant flagging public support, Swami Dayanand recognized the potential contained in Das's suggestion and took immediate action.

From June to September 1874, Swami Dayanand dictated a comprehensive series of lectures to his scribe, Pundit Bhimsen Sharma, which dealt with his views and beliefs regarding a wide range of subjects including God, the Vedas, Dharma, the soul, science, philosophy, child rearing, education, government and the possible future of both India and the world. The resulting manuscript was published under the title Satyarth Prakash or The Light of Meaning of Truth in 1875 at Varanasi. This voluminous work would prove to play a central role in the establishment and later growth of the organization which would come to be known as the Arya Samaj. While the manuscript of the Satyarth Prakash was being edited at Varanasi, Swami Dayanand received an invitation to travel to Bombay in order to conduct a debate with some representatives of the Vallabhacharya sect. Dayanand arrived in Bombay on 20 October 1874. The debate, though greatly publicized, never materialized. Nonetheless, two members of the Prarthana Samaj approached Swami Dayanand and invited him to deliver a few lectures at one of their gatherings, which were received with appreciation by all those present. The members of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay recognized in Swami Dayanand an individual in possession of the knowledge and skills necessary for promoting their aims, the greatest and most comprehensive of which being the general uplift of Hindu society at large and its protection from what they perceived to be the advancing threat of Christian and Muslim efforts to convert Hindus. After his having spent over a month at Bombay, 60 new-found students of Swami Dayanand among them, prominent members of the Prarthana Samaj proposed the notion of founding a New Samaj with the Swami’s ideas serving as its spiritual and intellectual basis.

3) Prarthana Samaj :

Prarthana Samaj was a movement for religious and social reform in Bombay based on earlier reform movements. Prarthana Samaj is founded by Dr. Atmaram Pandurang in 1867 with an aim to make people believe in one God and worship only one God. The main reformers were the intellectuals who advocate reforms of the social system of the Hindus. The movement was started as a movement for religious and social reform in Maharashtra and can be seen much more alike Brahmo Samaj. The precursor of the Prarthana Samaj in Mumbai was the Paramahamsa Sabha, a secret society for the furtherance of liberal ideas by Ram Balkrishna Jaykar and others in Mumbai. It was secret in order to avoid the wrath of the powerful and orthodox elements of society. Meetings were for discussion, the singing of hymns, and the sharing of acommunal meal prepared by a low caste cook. Members ate bread baked by Christians and drank water brought by Muslims.

Contents Religious reform by comparison with the parallel Brahmo Samaj of Bengal, and the ideals of rational or theistic belief and social reform, the Prarthana Samaj were followers of the great religious tradition of the Maratha Sant Mat like Namdev, Tukaram. The Brahmo Samaj founders examined many world religions, including ancient Vedictexts, which subsequently were not accepted to be infallible or divine. Although the adherents of Prarthana Samaj were devoted theists, they also did not regard the Vedas as divine or infallible. They drew their nourishment from the Hindu scriptures and used the hymns of the old Marathi in their prayers. Their ideas trace back to the devotional poems of the Vitthalas as part of the Vaishnavabhakti devotional movements of the thirteenth century in southern Maharashtra. The Marathi poets had inspired a movement of resistance to the Mughals. But, beyond religious concerns, the primary focus of the Prarthana Samaj was on social and cultural reform. Prarthana Samaj critically examined the relations between contemporary social and cultural systems and religious beliefs and gave priority to social reform as compared with the political changes already initiated by the British government. Their comprehensive reform movement has led many impressive projects of cultural change and social reform in Western India, such as the improvement of the lot of women and depressed classes, an end to the caste system, abolition of child marriages and infanticide, educational opportunities for women, and remarriage of widows. Its success was guided by Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar,

a noted Sanskrit scholar, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, Narayan Chandavarkar, and Justice Mahadeo Govinda Ranade. Ranade emphasized that the reformer must attempt to deal with the whole man and not to carry out reform on one side only.

4) Satya Shodhak Samaj :

Satya Shodhak Samaj is a religion established by Mahatma Jyotirao Phule on September 24, 1873. This was started as a group whose main aim was to liberate the social Shudra and Untouchable castes from exploitation and oppression. Through his writings and activities Mahatma Phule always condemned caste hierarchy and the privileged status of priests in it. He openly condemned the inequality in the religious books, orthodox nature of religion, exploitation of masses by the means of it, blind and misleading rituals, and hypocrisy in the prevalent religion. While condemning the prevalent religion, Phule established Satya Shodhak Samaj with the ideals of human well being in broader aspects, human happiness, unity, equality, and easy religious principles and rituals.

5) Ramakrishna Mission :

Ramakrishna Mission is an organization which forms the core of a worldwide spiritual movement known as the Ramakrishna Movement or the Vedanta Movement. The mission is a philanthropic, volunteer organization founded by Ramakrishna's chief disciple Vivekananda on 1 May 1897. The mission conducts extensive work in health care, disaster relief, rural management, tribal welfare, elementary and higher education and culture. It uses the combined efforts of hundreds of ordered monks and thousands of householder disciples. The mission bases its work on the principles of karma yoga. The mission, which is headquartered near Kolkata at Belur Math in Howrah, West Bengal, subscribes to the ancient Hindu philosophy of Vedanta. It is affiliated with the monastic organization Ramakrishna Math, with whom it shares members. Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, regarded as a 19th century saint, was the founder of the Ramakrishna Order of monks and is regarded as the spiritual founder of the Ramakrishna Movement. Ramakrishna was a priest in the Dakshineswar Kali Temple and attracted several monastic and householder disciples. Narendranath Dutta, who later became Vivekananda, was one of the chief

monastic disciples. Shortly before his death in 1886, Ramakrishna gave the ochre cloths to his young disciples, who were planning to become renunciates. Ramakrishna entrusted the care of these young boys to Vivekananda. After Ramakrishna's death, the young disciples of Ramakrishna gathered and practiced spiritual disciplines. They took informal monastic vows on a night which to their pleasant surprise turned out to be the Christmas Eve in 1886.

After the death of Ramakrishna in 1886, the monastic disciples formed the first Math at Baranagore. Later Vivekananda became a wandering monk and in 1893 he was a delegate at the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions. His speech there, beginning with Sisters and brothers of America became famous and brought him widespread recognition. Vivekananda went on lecture tours and held private discourses on Hinduism and spirituality. He also founded the first Vedanta Society in the United States at New York. He returned to India in 1897 and founded the Ramakrishna Mission on 1 May 1897. Though he was a Hindu monk and was hailed as the first Hindu missionary in modern times, he exhorted his followers to be true to their faith but respect all religions of the world as his guru Ramakrishna had taught that all religions are pathways to God. One such example is his exhortation to become like Jesus Christ and that one can be born in a church but he or she should not die in a church meaning that one should realise the spiritual truths for themselves and not stop at blindly believing in doctrines taught to them. The same year, famine relief was started at Sargachi by Swami Akhandananda, a direct disciple of Ramakrishna. Swami Brahmananda, a direct disciple of Ramakrishna was appointed as the first president of the Order. After the death of Vivekananda in 1902, Sarada Devi, the spiritual counterpart of Ramakrishna, played an important role as the advisory head of a nascent monastic organization. Gayatri Spivak writes that Sarada Devi performed her role with tact and wisdom, always remaining in the background. The Mission, founded by Vivekananda in 1897, is an humanitarian organization which carries out medical, relief and educational programs. Both the organizations have headquarters at the Belur Math. The Mission acquired a legal status when it was registered in 1909 under Act XXI of 1860. Its management is vested in a Governing Body. Though the Mission with its branches is a distinct legal entity, it is closely related to the Math. The elected trustees of the Math also serve as Mission's Governing Body. Vedanta

Societies comprise the American arm of the Movement and work more in purely spiritual field rather than social welfare.

6) The Theosophical Society :

The Theosophical Society is an organization formed in 1875 to advance theosophy. The original organization, after splits and realignments has several successors. Notes of meeting proposing the formation of the Theosophical Society, New York City, 8 September 1875 The Theosophical Society was officially formed in New York City, United States, in November 1875 by Helena Blavatsky, Henry Steel Olcott, William Quan Judge and others. Its initial objective was the study and elucidation of Occultism, the Cabalaetc. After a few years Olcott and Blavatsky moved to India and established the International Headquarters at Adyar, in Madras. They were also interested in studying Eastern religions, and these were included in the Society's agenda. After several iterations the Society's objectives evolved to be to form a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste, or colour. To encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy, and science. To investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man. The Society was organized as a non sectarian entity. The Theosophical Society is absolutely unsectarian, and no assent to any formula of belief, faith or creed shall be required as a qualification of membership; but every applicant and member must lie in sympathy with the effort to create the nucleus of an Universal Brotherhood of Humanity.

7) Poona Sarvajanik Sabha :

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was a sociopolitical organization in British India which started with the aim of working as a mediating body between the government and people of India. It started as an elected body of 95 members elected by 6000 persons on April 2, 1870. The organization was a precursor to the Indian National Congress which started with its first session from Maharashtra itself. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha provided many of the prominent leaders of national stature to the Indian freedom struggle.

8) Early Political Association :

In 1866, Dadabhai Navroji started the India association in England to create Public opinion in favour of India. He wrote the book Poverty and Un British rule in India in which he criticized the suppression of civil liberties in India and the economic exploitation of India by the British. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (Sarvajanik means for public benefit) was established in 1870, by M.G. Ranade, G. K. Gokhale and others. In 1876, Surendra Nath Banerjee and others established the Indians association in Calcutta. When national consciousness awakened among Indians several associations were formed even prior to the founding of Indian National Congress to give way to the feeling of the Indians. The first political association to be formed was the landholder society at Calcutta in 1838. In 1843 the Bengal British India society was formed followed by the Madras native association and the Bombay association in 1852. Yet; there was no all India organization. With the established of the Indian national congress in 1885 a platform was prepared for an organized national movement.

9) Indian National Congress :

A new era in political life of the India began with the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The INC was founded by A O Hume, a retired Indian Civil Service officer. Its first session was held on December 28, 1885 and Womesh Chandra Banerjee was elected as president. The first phase of the freedom movement was confined only to the educated classes. The Indian National Congress submitted their grievances in the form of prayers and petitions. The early demands of the Indian National Congress were to achieve:

- Increased participation in legislative Assembly,
- Indianisation of the Civil service,
- Reduction of military expenditure and tax burden,

Providing more funds for educating Indians, etc. all these demands were very just. They did not demand for independence in the early stages of the freedom movement. Most of the early congressmen believed in constitutional method and were humble and mild in their criticism of British sense of justice and fair play, hence, they

continued with prayer and petitions. But the British turned a deaf ear to them. Then the Indian nationalists realized that the British Government was not sincere and just. So, they gradually lost faith, which ultimately resulted in the rise of Extremists within the congress.

The third chapter will be focused on Contribution of the Few Important Moderates. The Congress was divided, into two Sections like Moderates and the Extremists. The former dominated the congress from 1885 to 1905. Their main leaders were Dadabhai Navroji, Surendranath Banerjee, W.C Banerjee and Pherozeshah Mehta. They had faith in constitutional agitation and in public opinion in favour of their demands. They believed that the British Government could be persuaded by arguments and that it would respond to Indian public opinion. They even sent representations to the England to explain the India point of view to the British Parliamentarians and to set up a committee of the National Congress in England. They did not want to overthrow British rules by violence. Their chief demand was self government within the British regime. They believed in loyalty to the British Crown. They believed that the British Presence in India was a blessing to Indians and they relied on the British to guide the Politics in India. Some of them professed that the British rule has done much good in India by cleansing the Indian society of its ills like the customs of sati, untouchability, child marriage, etc. Moderates also praised the British for introducing in India contemporary development in science and technology. The Moderates had friendly relations with the British. They were influenced by the Western education, thought and culture. They relied on the pledges made by the British from time to time. They thought that once the British would understand the mind and heart of an Indian, they would do what was right in India. In this sense, they believed in the sense of justice, honesty and integrity of the British.

The fourth chapter discusses about methods of the Moderates political work. The moderate element in the congress was led by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, Dadabhai Navroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and others. The moderates adopted constitutional and peaceful methods to achieve the goal. The methods of the Congress were passing of resolutions, sending of deputations and presentation of petitions. The Congress held regular meetings fact and made every effort to focus public opinion on its activities not only in India but it adopted the methods of influencing the public

opinion in England as well. The early Congress did in those days a great amount of spadework in national awakening, political education and uniting Indians and in creating in them a common Indian nationality. The Parliamentary enquiry into the administrative problems and political rights conceded to India by the Indian Council Act. The Moderates sought only concessions but no rights and it is no dying the fact that the early congress represented only the upper strata of society. That is why the younger and more enthusiastic element in it could not be contained and ultimately, this element which was known to be extremist had to break away in order to find its expression outside.

The fifth chapter throws light on the Attitude of the Government towards the congress was friendly and sympathetic. Its first session was attended by certain distinguished British officials-Sir Henry Cotton, the Chief Secretary to the Government, and Sir William Wedderburn of the Civil Services. The second session of 1886 was held at Calcutta. Lord Dufferin received some of the delegates as "distinguished visitors to the capital."[1] The third session of the Congress held at Madras in 1887 was attended by about 600 delegates who were given a colorful reception by the governor of Madras. But this friendly attitude of the Government did not last long as Congress began demanding more and more of rights for the Indians, which the government was not prepared to grant. The growing strength and popularity of the national movement made it suspect in the eye of the foreign rulers and they began to decry it.

In 1887, Dufferin attacked the Congress in a public speech and ridiculed it as representing only "a microscopic minority of the people."[2] He called the demands of the Congress eminently unconstitutional and Congress a seditious body. Henceforth the British Government began to act in opposition to Congress and to create obstacles in its progress. Hamilton, Secretary of State for Indian, accused the Congress leaders of possessing seditious and double-sided character. He went to the extent of abusing Dadabhai Navroji and declared that Dadabhai's residence and association with radical and socialist British leaders had deteriorated whatever brains or presence of mind he may originally have possessed. The British officers publicly criticized and condemned the Indian National Congress and its leaders. The Congress was described as a "Factory of Seditation"[3] and the Congressmen as disappointed candidates for office and discontented lawyers who represented no one but themselves. Lord Curzon

declared in 1900, The Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise. He declared the Congress as an "Unclean thing".[4] Some Englishmen accused the Indian National Congress of receiving Russian gold. Lord Elgin II openly threatened the Indians in 1898 in these words, "India was conquered by the sword and by the sword it shall be held"[5]. The British officials relied upon the policy of "Divide and Rule to weaken the nationalist movement. They encouraged Sir Sayeed Ahmed Khan, Raja Shiv Prasad and other pro-British Indians to start an anti Congress movement."[6] They tried to drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims. They fanned communal rivalries among the educated Indians on the question of jobs in government service. Since the inauguration of the Indian National Congress, it represented the voice of the politically conscious India, and the British attitude towards it may be justly regarded as the touchstone of British liberalism and the key to the British policy towards India. The Indians were not left long in doubt as to what that attitude was likely to be. The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and school masters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. "If they were carried out,"[7] the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. "Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test."[8] Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all. The whole business of their lives has been training for such work as this. But that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the entire Mohammedan population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact. Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would certainly serve to weaken the vigor of the Executive and to make the good government of "the

country a more difficult business than it has ever been."[9] The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members. To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a suitable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will; the government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it. The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favor not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would, perhaps, "be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view."[10]

1.9 Epilogue :

This is a concluding part in which attempts have made to estimate the different aspects of Moderate thoughts, therefore the last topic will be discussed and summarized in the concluding part.

1.9.1 Objectives :

1. The Moderates did not want to over throw British rules by violence.
2. Their chief demand was self - government with in the British regime.
3. Moderates believed in loyalty to the British crown.
4. They believed that British presence in India was a blessing to Indians and they relied on the British to guide the politics in India.
5. Moderates professed that the British rule has done good in India by cleansing the Indian society of its ills like the customs of sati, Untouchability, child marriage.
6. They praised British for Introducing in India contemporary development in Science and Technology.

7. They believed in sense of Justice Honesty and Integrity of the British.
8. They wanted Indians to get recruit in higher civil service in the British Administration.
9. They united people for achieving a common goal.
10. Moderates gave Self- Confidence and leadership to the people to fulfill their aspirations to shun the yoke of foreign rule.
11. They launched the freedom movement against the British in India.

Indian people shed blood in the hope that after the cessation of hostilities, the British government would consider to give a generous measure of reforms, leading to self-government.

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CHAPTER - II

FOUNDATION OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND VIEWS OF EARLY NATIONALISTS

In the early nineteen century, many educated Indians began to feel that western culture and the rising tide of Christianity posed a challenge to their age old traditions and beliefs. "In their attempt to remedy the situation, many reformers became critical of the past and began to look for ways to rid the society of its evils, such as caste distinction, purdah system and the custom of sati."[1] They wanted a new social order in keeping with the traditional values and modern development. Many Indians were impressed by progress made by science as well as the doctrine of reason and humanism of the west. "The social condition of the 19th century led to socio-religious reform movements. Some of such reform movements were the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission."[2]

2.1 The Brahmo Samaj :

The Brahmo Samaj or the Society of God was founded in1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He was born in Radha nagar in Bengal. He was a scholar and was well versed in Sanskrit, Persian, English, Hindi and Bengali. He made an intensive study of Christianity and other religions. After that he came to the conclusion that the Hindu Society needed reform and India had to learn a lot from the west. Raja Ram Mohan Roy served the East India Company for a number of years. He was a critic of the unjust actions and policies of the British Government in India. He protested against the curbs on the freedom of the press. "His progressive views helped to change Hindu society but these views were bitterly opposed by the orthodox Hindus."[3] He was a social and religious reformer, an educationist and a political leader. He is remembered for his help in the abolition of sati and in modernization of educational practices. His ideas on social and religious reforms constitute the ideals of the Brahmo Samaj founded by him in 1828.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy inaugurated the modern age in India. He was the father of Indian Renaissance and the prophet of Indian nationalism."[4] One of his greatest achievements is the uplift of the position of women in India. First of all, he tried to give women proper education in order to give them better social status in society. His

effort in the abolition of sati made him immortal as a social reformer. Sati was an ancient Hindu custom, according to which a wife immolated herself at the funeral pyre of her husband. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Indian to protest against this custom. In spite of protests from orthodox Hindus, he carried on his propaganda against the custom. Finally, he won the cause when Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General of India passed a law in 1829 abolishing the custom of sati. According to this law the custom of sati became illegal and punishable as culpable homicide. "Raja Ram Mohan Roy also opposed child- marriage and supported widow remarriage."[5] Pioneering Western Education. Raja Ram Mohan Roy supported Western education, including learning of English and the knowledge of science and philosophy. He, along with David Hare, a missionary, founded schools to impart English education to Indian children. He founded the Hindu College which finally developed into the Presidency College in Calcutta. "Raja Ram Mohan Roy did not want the Indians to imitate the West."[6] He based his teachings on the philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads and tried to bring about a synthesis of the Vedic religion and the Christian humanism. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was also a social reformer. He focused the attention of the British Government to such demands as appointing to higher posts.

2.2 Ideals of Brahmo Samaj :

The ideals of the Brahmo Samaj have their origin in the synthesis of the Vedic religion and the Christian humanism. It advocated that there is one God, who is present everywhere, and is without shape and form. His worship lies in intense devotion. It believed in the brotherhood of man and treated all men as equal. Raja Ram Mohan Roy started a magazine entitled Samwad Kaumodi, to teach people love of mankind. "It supported the introduction of English in schools with belief that the study of English would open the door to modern sciences."[7] It condemned social evils such as casteism, untouchability, child marriage and the sati system. It was due to the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy that Lord William Bentinck abolished sati system in 1829 by declaring it an offence. It advocated freedom of the press and condemned any restriction imposed on it by the government. It supported widow-remarriage and the education of girls. "Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first to agitate for getting women their rightful place."[8] After the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the work of the

Brahmo Samaj was carried on by great men like Devender Nath Tagore (father of the Rabindra Nath Tagore) and Keshab Chandra Sen. The Brahmo Samaj, besides reforming the Hindu society, Heralded a new era of reform movements such as the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, and the Prarthana Samaj (in Maharashtra).

2.3 The Arya Samaj :

The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati who was a Hindu revivalist. He wanted to reform Hinduism on the basis of the Vedas. Born in an orthodox Brahmin family of Gujarat, "he became a sanyasi."[9] He was a scholar of Sanskrit and the Vedas. He believed that the Vedic religion was the only true religion in the world. He wanted to revive the old Vedic religion by removing from it all corrupt practices. His famous book Satyarth Prakash, which contains his teachings, is written in Hindi.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati was perhaps the first to preach about the spirit of Swadeshi and to claim the principle of India for the Indians. After his death in 1883, his work was carried on by such great men as Mahatma Hans Raj and Lala Lajpat Rai. This movement for instilling pride of their religion and self-confidence in themselves, paved way for the rise of a national movement against the British Rule in India. Mrs. Annie Besant of the Theosophical Society said, "it was Dayanand Saraswati who first proclaimed that India was for the Indians."[10] Both Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Dayanand Saraswati wanted to reform Hinduism removing its futile practices. They also wanted to adapt Hinduism to the needs of the times by incorporating in it the scientific approach and humanism of the West. But while Raja Ram Mohan Roy drew inspiration mainly from Christianity and modern European ideas of humanism, Swami Dayanand Saraswati drew inspiration from the Vedas. Raja Ram Mohan Roy held that all religions were basically the same. The Swami, on the other hand was of the firm belief that only the Vedic religion was true religion. "Both these reformers wanted to prevent the Hindus from being converted to other religions."[11]

2.4 Ramakrishna Mission :

Swami Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission in 1896 to spread the message of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, his teacher. Ramakrishna Paramahamsa

was the priest of the Kali temple at Dakshineswar near Calcutta. He was a Sanskrit scholar who interpreted the Hindu religion in the true Vedantic spirit. He preached that all religion were different paths leading to the same God. The aim of all religions was the realization of God. He wanted to bring about a synthesis of different faiths. He held that every men was an embodiment of God and, therefore the service to man was the service to God. Ramakrishna studied the ideals of other religion to understand them deeply. "He even practiced different religions to show that all religions equally lead to God."[12] He died in 1886. Swami Vivekananda was the greatest disciple of Ramakrishna. The real name of Swami Vivekananda was Narendra Nath Dutt. Born in 1863, he graduated from the Calcutta University. He was well-versed in Indian Western philosophies. Like his teacher, he believed in equality of all religions and that the massage of Vedanta was the essence of all religions. In 1894, Vivekananda attended the Parliament of World Religions in America to represent the Hindu religion. There he was acknowledged as an enlightened man after he presented the tenets of Hindu religion. Vivekananda held that the Hindu religion had a world-wide significance. This gave Indians self-confidence and encouragement. Thus, "Vivekananda revived the spiritual superiority of India not only among the Indians, but also in the whole world."[13] Progressive ideas of Ramakrishna Mission established by Vivekananda in 1896. In order to achieve these aims, Vivekananda organized his disciples into an order (Ramakrishna Mission). The Belur math, near Calcutta was then centre of the activities of the Mission. Later on it had branches in many countries such as Sri Lanka, Burma (Myanmar), Malaysia, America and different countries in Europe. Ramakrishna Mission is known for its social service schemes which include schools, colleges and hospitals. "It also organizes relief work when there are natural calamities like floods and famine."[14]

2.5 Impact of Vivekananda's Philosophy

Vivekananda held that the Hindu religion has a relevant message for the world. He declared the spiritual supremacy of Hindu religion and culture which is based on materialism. Thus, his teachings gave to the people of India self-confidence. They began to take pride in their glorious past. Through Vivekananda ridiculed the materialistic philosophy of the west, he attached importance to Western sciences and humanism. This helped the Ramakrishna Mission to work for the people with a

balanced view. Vivekananda condemned the prevent ills of the Hindu society like untouchability, caste system and meaningless rituals. This puts the Indian society in the right track in having "social equality and scientific temper."[15]

2.6 The Rise of Nationalism :

The Revolt of 1857 was an important landmark in India's struggle for freedom. The revolt was suppressed by the British but the spirit of freedom, which had animated the revolt, could not be suppressed. The memory of the Revolt inspired Indians to go ahead with their struggle for freedom as a result of which armed revolts began to break out in many parts of the country. Resentment of the people against the foreign rule was expressed through Indigo Disturbances of 1859-61 in Bengal, and the Santhal Outbreak of 1871-72 in Bihar. There were also movements of non-cooperation. The Kuka Movement was one of them. In this movement, the Kukas, that is, the religious leaders of the Sikh community in Punjab, boycotted railways, post officers and established a sort of parallel government. "All these movements were confined to small areas and involved only some sections of Indian society."[16] but towards the end of the 19th century, a systematically organized national struggle for freedom began to take shape.

2.7 Factors leading to the National Movement :

The most important event of the time of Lord Dufferin was the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. "The nationalism at the time of Mutiny of 1857 was not an organized force. But the year 1857 represent the watershed from where new forces were generated which culminated in the rise of organized national movement under the leadership of Congress."[17] A variety of factors contributed to this movement and eventually India attained independence.

2.8 Political Unification :

Contribution of British rule in India had negative and positive points. Among the positive contributions was the political unity which British imperialism and British Language gave. When the Britishers came, "India was a land of warring

factions. The Marathas, the Jats, the Sikhs and the Muslims had broken up the country in to categories of states, each having its own political and territorial exitence."[18] The British pressed them all together under the steamroller of their military might which brought about political unification. During the course of Indian national movement, the people of all sections of society were welded together due to this political unity and they offered a joint front on an all-India basis for pressing their demands. Under the British, a uniform system of administration was established. The local peculiarities and racial difference began to die slowly. The administration began to be conducted on the principle known as the rule of law. The uniform system of administration generated a feeling of oneness among the people. A regular hierarchy of courts was established in which the princes and paipers received equal treatment. Such a system was bound to generate deep underlying fundamental unity in diversity. A network of roads and railway lines laid down for economic exploitation and strategic purposes had also positive effects in as much as they facilitated contacts among the people in various fields. "Karl Marx had said that the railway system would become in India truly the forerunner of modern industry."[19] There was then the inter-mixing of population. In the railway compartments, all the low castes and high castes sat together. The people moved about and the distances were reduced. This made it possible for national figures to grow. The horizon of national leaders become wide and parochial considerations rank into insignificance.

2.9 Impact of western education :

Then, there was the western education which lifted India out of her stagnation of fanaticism, fantasies, superstition and other traditional outlook and thought. India had lost its prestigious glory as the time passed. The financial mental exercises were substituted by real understanding. There was a time when India was the glory of the world and a cradle of flourishing and advanced civilization. But in 19th century, India becomes a land of spiritual speculations and of the fantastic and capricious imagination. "Link with the glorious past was severed and during the British rule, darkness enveloped until education was introduced. In Europe, the people slowly emerged from darkness to the light of intellectual glory."[20] The Renaissance revolutionized European thought. The British came to India and brought their learning into this land. The English literary thought Byron's praise for liberty,

Wordsworth's upholding of the dignity of mankind, Shelley's exhortations to revolt against priest-craft, the spirit of nationalism, and love of democracy and self-government of England's great political writers such as Locke, Spencer, J. S. Mill, Macaulay and Burke, the "no taxation without represenation"[21] cry of the American War of Independence, the Equality, liberty and Fraternity of the French Revolution, the spirit of the Italy's struggle for independence all registered a decisive impact on the people of India. The new wine of Western learning went into India's head. Realism came into touch with conventionalism. The corrupted imaginations began to totter, founder and die. New light shone forth and India began slowly to rise from her lethargy of thought and action. A new age dawned. Great hopes and aspirations emerged. Ramsay Macdonald writes "Herbert Spencer's individualism and Lord Macualay's liberalism are the only battery of guns which India has captured from us and condescends to use against us."[22] Both Indian and European scholars began to dig into the mysteries of India's past. Ranade, Har Parsad Shastri, R. G. Bhandarkar and Rajendra Lal Mitra, Max Mucller, Sir William Jones, Colebrook and Roth slowly and laboriously removed the century's old deep layers of earth underneath which lay buried the gems of India's past glory. It was all brought to the surface slowly. India rediscovered herself and the people became proud of their glorious past and desired to retain their cultural identity despite westernization of society. Thus, Indians confidently carried on the national movement. They were only westernized in appearance but truly Indian at heart and in spirit. The revival of the glorious past of India eventually led to the happy synthesis between the East and the West.

2.10 Impact of religious and social reform movement :

Important reform movements emerged on Indian national scene. These reform movements were the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Satyasodhak Samaj, the theosophical society and the Ramakrishna Mission. K. T. Paul has aptly remarked: "India would not be India if her national movement did not begin in the place of religion. The Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Mohan Roy was an attempt to express religious life and thought afresh in the assimilation of some of the ideas and usages presented by the West."[23] It purged Indian society of its evils. This movement was the first in the response of India to the West.

The Arya samaj was a deliberate turned aside from western to re-order Hindu life and religion so as to save it from falling in to the hands of the Western influences. It was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in Bombay in 1875. "Dayanand Saraswati who proclaimed India for Indians."[24] His philosophy was to bring the people back to the vedas and create pride in their cultural heritage. The samaj worked for the Hindu orphans, for widow remarriage and against the evil customs of the Hindu society. The Theosophical society and the Ramakrishna mission also tried to awaken India and give an impetus to the National Movement.

The Indian press attained a high standard, despite the repressive policy of the British administration and published critical comments on Indian Government's policies and actions by the educated Indian public. Thus, the press united the policies of the government. Among the most eminent writers who were the product of the new age and who decisively influenced Indian's political thought were Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Keshav Chandra Sen, Hem Chandra, and Rabindra Nath Tagore. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's single song Bande Mataram which was sung by the people as a national anthem and for which they were kicked and imprisoned by the Britishers, played a great part in bringing the people together against British rule. Lord Lytton's misdeeds created a great stir in Indian. The Indian press launched a blistering attack on his costly first Afghan war. So he gagged the press by passing Vernacular press Act which imposed discriminatory restrictions on the vernacular newspapers. "His very costly Delhi durbar in the background of south Indian's acute famine, his abolition of import duties on cotton for the satisfaction of the Lancashire industry and his arms act which forbade Indians alone from carrying arms without a licenses all these outraged the public opinion."[25]

2.11 Ilbert Bill controversy :

Lord Ripon introduced the Ilbert Bills which permitted the Indian judges to try the Europeans. This sparked off the political agitation of the European community which hurled open abuses at the Governor-General, throwing all property and moderation to the winds. Ultimately, lord Ripon was constrained to withdraw the Ilbert Bill. Thus, the British were obsessed with the idea of racial superiority. The Ilbert Bill controversy constituted a serious affront to the Indian judges and it was a

clear violation of the principle of equality. There was a lot of unemployment of India's educated people. All the key posts were given to the Europeans while Indians were no better than the helots of the land, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. The government discriminated against educated Indians in very branch of Indian civil service In 1877 Sir Surendranath Banerjee launched an agitation against this step. He went on a grand lecture tour of northern India from Banaras to Rawalpindi to arouse public opinion in favour of raising the age limit for the Indian civil service examinations and for holding these examinations simultaneously in England and India. In 1878, he undertook a similar tour of south India. "An All India memorial to be presented on this issue to the British parliament was prepared and Lal Mohan Ghose, a brilliant orator, was sent to England to acquaint the British public and the members of British parliament with the grievances of India."[26]

The British policy of economic exploitation and administrative centralization resulted in the progressive decline of autonomous village communities. The oppression of landlords and a complicated administrative system made the life of the peasants more miserable than before. Added to this was the ever-increasing land revenue, its commutation in cash and its collection at harvest time, all of which told heavily on the precarious financial of the peasants.

On the other hand, there was the heavy drain of money from India. This drain can be well imagined from the parliamentary report of 1773 which said that, at that time, about one-third of the total revenue of Bengal was sent to England every year. This was in addition to the amount of one lakh pounds which every year went to subsidies the company's trade in china. The British were bleeding Indian while the Indians naturally harbored a deep resentment against the opulent English community and the appalling gap between affluence of the English community and the subject poverty of Indians which was so disquieting and glaring that the people rose above their petty differences and became involved in the exalted filed of freedom struggle.

Commenting on the miserable lot of Indians, Lal Murlidhar of Punjab had aptly remarked thus what fair play can there be between impoverished India and the bloated capitalist England? What are all these chandeliers and lamps and European-made chairs and tables, and samrat clothes and hats and English coats and bonnets and frocks and silver mounted canes all the luxurious fittings of your houses but the trophies of Indian misery, mementoes of India's starvation In the same vein, "Sir

William Hunter remarked thus in 1880 There remained forty million of Indians who go through life on insufficient food".[27]Lord Salisbury, secretary of state for India, admitted in 1875 that British rule was bleeding Indian white. The net result of all these factors was that there was great misery in India. The disquieting frequency in the occurrence of famines further aggravated the situation and the people grew restive. At this junction, the organization of Indian national congress was a godsend for the people who at least got a forum for the ventilation of their grievances and ultimately, under its leadership, Indians attend the long cherished goal of independence for India.

2.12 Associations prior to Indian National Congress :

The earliest political organization to be formed was **The Landholders' Society** founded in 1838. The Zamindari Association, which was later renamed Landholders' Society, was established in 1838 by Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Radhakanta Deb, Ramkamal Sen and Bhabani Charan Mitra. It has been described as the first organisation of Bengal with distinct political object. The society virtually became defunct after the death of Dwarkanath Tagore. Its aim was to safeguard the interest of the landlords of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Bengal British India Society was formed in 1843 to protest the interests of general public. Both these organizations merged in 1851 to form the British India Association of Bengal. These organizations were provincial in character and lacked national outlook.

Similar associations such as the **Bombay Association** and the **Madras Native Association** were formed in 1852. In Bombay and Madras, there were two important first political organizations. The first political organization of the Bombay Presidency was the Bombay Association which was started on 26 August 1852, to vent public grievances to the British. The first organization in the Madras Presidency to vent for the rights of Indians was the Madras Native Association which was established by Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty in 1849. However, both of them were essentially local in character and so got disbanded in a few years. The aim of these associations were to make reform in the administration and to encourage educational activities. All these associations were local in character. They were dominated by wealthy aristocratic In-

dians who co-operated with the British. Educated people and the Indian masses looked for some organization which would foster Indian interests.

Dadabhai Navroji, the Grand old man of India, made England the centre of his political activities. In 1866, he organized the East India Association in London. He thought that the British were basically just and fare. Through his association, he wanted to make them conscious of the grievances of Indian people so that they could find a remedy for their ills. Later he opened branches in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Dadabhai Navroji was one of the first popular leaders in India. He was an economic thinker. That is why he declared that the single cause for India's poverty was the faulty economic policies followed by the British in India.

In 1870, the **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha** was founded by the Nationalists of Poona under the leadership of Justice Ranade. Its objective was to arouse public opinion and focus the attention of the Government to economic hardships of the people. Sisir Kumar Ghose along with a group of progressive leaders, founded the India League in 1875 in Bengal. In 1875, the Indian League was founded because prominent political leaders felt that they needed an All India organization to promote a sense of nationalism among the people. It merged with the Indian association in 1876.

The **Indian Association of Calcutta** was founded in 1876 by Surendra Nath Banerjee. It was the first organized political party to express Indian disillusionment with British administration. Its main objectives were to create public opinion on political matters and to evolve a common political program. Among other things, its chief demands were: (a) reform of the Indian Civil Service examination; (b) repeal of the Arms Act; (c) repeal of the Vernacular Press Act and (d) protection of the rights of the tenants against landholders and British planters. Surendra Nath Banerjee made an extensive tour of the country. He received a tumultuous welcome wherever he went and his brilliant speeches criticizing the Government roused considerable political consciousness. Encouraged by the response he received in different parts of the country, Surendra Nath Banerjee conceived the idea of an All-India National Conference. This Conference met in Calcutta in December 1883, and it was attended by representatives from all parts of India. This was the first political organization of an All-India character.

"The Congress was founded by Indian and British members of the Theosophical Society movement, most notably A.O. Hume."[28] It has been suggested that the idea was originally conceived in a private meeting of seventeen men after a Theosophical Convention held at Madras in December 1884. "Hume took the initiative, and it was in March 1885 that the first notice was issued convening the first Indian National Union to meet at Poona the following December."[29] Founded in 1885 with the objective of obtaining a greater share in government for educated Indians, the Indian National Congress was initially not opposed to British rule.

The Congress met once a year during December. Indeed, it was a Scotsman, Allan Octavian Hume, who brought about its first meeting in Bombay, with the approval of Lord Dufferin, the then-Viceroy. Womesh Chandra Banerjee was the first President of the INC. The first meeting was scheduled to be held in Pune, but due to a plague outbreak there, the meeting was later shifted to Bombay. The first session of the INC was held from 28–31 December 1885, and was attended by 72 delegates. Within a few years, the demands of the INC became more radical in the face of constant opposition from the government, and the party became very active in the independence movement. By 1907 the party was split into two halves the Garam Dal (literally hot faction) of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and the Naram Dal (literally soft faction) of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, or Moderates distinguished by their attitude towards the British.

From its foundation on 28 December 1885 until the time of independence of India on August 15, 1947, the Indian National Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian public organization, and central and defining influence of the Indian Independence Movement. Although initially and primarily a political body, the Congress transformed itself into a national vehicle for social reform and human upliftment. "The Congress was the strongest foundation and defining influence of modern Indian nationalism."[30]

A.O. Hume embarked on an endeavor to get an organization started by reaching-out to selected alumni of the University of Calcutta, writing in his 1883 letter that, "Every nation secures precisely as good a Government as it merits."[31] If you picked men, the most highly educated of the nation cannot scorning personal ease and selfish objects, make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for yourselves and your country, a more impartial administration, a larger share in the management

of your own affairs, then we your friends, are wrong and our adversaries right, then Lord Ripon's noble aspirations for your good fruitless and visionary then at present at any rate all "hopes of progress are at an end and India truly neither desires nor deserves any better Government than she enjoys."[32]

In May 1885, Hume secured the Viceroy's approval to create an Indian National Union, which would be affiliated with the government and act as a platform to voice Indian public opinion. On 12 October 1885, Hume and a group of educated Indians also published an appeal from the People of India to the electors of Great Britain and Ireland to ask British voters in 1885 British general election to help support candidates sympathetic to Indian public opinion, which included opposition to the levying of taxes on India to finance the "British Indian campaigns in Afghanistan and support for legislative reform in India."[33] The appeal was a failure, and was interpreted by many Indians as "a rude shock, but a true realization that they had to fight their battles alone."[34] On 28 December 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay, with 72 delegates in attendance. "Hume assumed office as the General Secretary, and Womesh Chandra Banerjee of Calcutta was elected President."[35] Besides Hume, two additional British members both Scottish civil servants were members of the founding group, William Wedderburn and Justice later, Sir John Jardine. "The other members were mostly Hindus from the Bombay and Madras Presidencies."[36]

Though there has been discussion over the fact that the Congress was founded by a retired civil servant and not by Indians G.K. Gokhale with his characteristic modesty and political wisdom, stated this explicitly in 1913 "No Indian could have started the Indian National Congress if an Indian had come forward to start such a movement embracing all Indians, the officials in India would not have allowed the movement to come into existence. If the founder of the Congress had not been an Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or the other to suppress the movement"[37]

Muslim community leaders, like the prominent educationalist Sayeed Ahmed Khan viewed the Congress negatively, owing to its membership being dominated by Hindus. The Orthodox Hindu community and religious leaders were also averse, seeing the Congress as supportive of Western cultural invasion. The ordinary people

of India were not informed or concerned of its existence on the whole, for the Congress never attempted to address the issues of poverty, lack of health care, social oppression and the prejudiced negligence of the people's concerns by British authorities. The perception of bodies like the Congress was that of an belief, then educated and wealthy people's institution. This trend was personified by Dadabhai Navroji, considered by many as the eldest Indian statesman. Navroji went as far as contesting, successfully, an election to the British House of Commons, becoming its first Indian member. That he was aided in his campaign by young, aspiring Indian student activities like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, describes where the imagination of the new Indian generation lay. The Moderates, led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhai Navroji held firm to calls for negotiations and political dialogue Gokhale criticized Tilak for encouraging acts of violence and disorder. But the Congress of 1906 did not have public membership, and thus Tilak and his supporters were forced to leave the party.

2.13 The National Congress and Early Political Literature :

Political activity in India has been marked a beginning and very rapid development. For the first thirty or forty years after the decision to base higher education on occidental rather than on oriental literature, educated Indians were engaged in absorbing the new ideas. The first effects of the impact were noticeable in the religious field, causing the formation and growth of new sects, accompanied by a revival of orthodoxy. Higher education was so largely in the hands of missionaries that the earliest activities were directed towards examination of faith and consequently led to movements for social reform. In Bengal the Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a theistic sect, the members of which supported the abolition of sati. While it was under the leadership of the Debendranath Tagore a schism occurred. A young minister of the sect, Keshub Chundra Sen was dismissed and founded new society, the main question dispute being the toleration of "Hindu usages and customs which appeared innocent."[38] Members of this pressed on radical social reforms in regard to marriage, female education and temperance. From ethics and social improvement the step of political activity was short. Works by the English liberals provided inspiration, and the affairs if Italy, and above all, the career and writings of Mazzini, quickened the imagination of young Bengalis, already

enlivened by religious and ethical excitement. At Calcutta there already existed a British Indian Association, chiefly supported by the landed proprietors to look after their interests. "Sir S.N. Banerjee, who joined the Indian Civil Service in I871 and was dismissed a year later"[39], took up educational work and devoted much time to his students outside the class-rooms.

In his own words his aim was " to kindle in the young the beginnings of public spirit and to inspire them with a patriotic ardour, fruitful of good to them and to the motherland"[40] and his method was to lecture on Indian unity, the study of history, "the lives of Mazzini and Chatianya,"[41] and higher education in English. Pursuing his desire to awaken in the middle classes a more lively interest in public affairs, he helped to found the Indian Association in 1876. Within a year an opportunity came for extending political agitation in other parts of India. The reduction of the age limit for entrance to the Indian Civil Service was regarded as injustice to Indian candidates and delegates were sent first to Northern India, and later to the west and south, to arouse interest in a memorial praying for the raising of the limit and for simultaneous examinations, and to establish branch associations. "Accompanying these legitimate movements was an undercurrent of dislike and antagonism which showed itself by scurrilous writings in the vernacular press charging the British government with injustice and tyranny."[42] In April, 1878, an act was passed for the better control of the vernacular press, and this measure and an act to limit the possession of arms led to further activity in criticism of the government and discontent with the opportunities available to Indians of controlling the direction of public affairs, as well as of obtaining posts in the public service.

A change in the government in England led to the resignation of Lord Lytton, who was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Ripon in 1880. His early announcement of projected advance in local self-government was welcomed by the Indian Association, and his repeal of the Press Act which had been condemned at the time of its passing by Mr. Gladstone, greatly increased his popularity. During his term of office racial conflict was embittered by a controversy over limits to the jurisdiction exercised by Indian magistrates in cases where a European was charged with an offence. "Lord Ripon's government introduced a bill"[43] to extend this jurisdiction and a strong agitation was raised by non-official Europeans, especially the indigo and tea planters,

who resided on estates often remote from the headquarters of police and magistrates and were particularly liable to be the subject of groundless or exaggerated charges.

A counter resentment was stirred up in the minds of the Indian middle classes, who felt that a racial privilege was being perpetuated, and that a slur was cast on Indian magistrates. Sir Henry Cotton, who at the time was an official in Bengal, and who after his retirement joined the Indian National Congress, was of opinion that this agitation and the protests by Europeans against the policy of Lord Ripon tended more strongly to unite Indian national opinions than legislation on "the lines of the original bill would have done."[44]

In I885 the national conference met again at Calcutta, with delegates from Northern India as well as from Bengal, and simultaneously the national union held a series of meeting at Poona which constituted the first Indian National Congress, and absorbed the earlier institution. The promoters of both these gathering made representative government their main objective, and announced their hopes that the conference would develop into India parliaments. A congress resolution asked for a considerable proportion of elected members in the existing councils, for the creation of new councils in the North- Western Province and Oudh in Punjab, for the right to discuss the budget and put interpellations on all branches of the administration, and for the formation of standing committee of the House of Commons to consider protests of by legislative councils if they were over ruled by the executive. The Congress also desired to abolish the council of the secretary of state to have simultaneous examinations in India and England to admit candidates for the Indian Civil Service, the age being raised, and to limit military expenditure. It deprecated the annexation of Upper Burma on the score of expense, and suggested that, if annexation took place, the whole of Burma should be administered separately from India, as a crown colony.

The Meeting stimulated further political activity and organization, and was repeated annually, An attempt was made to give it a representative character, but for some years the delegates could be chosen by any association of any kind or indeed at any public meeting convened by anybody. A few Europeans became members, but their examples as not had many followers. Muslims joined only in small numbers, and their sympathy as a community with the Congress weakened by a lecture delivered at Lucknow by the late Sir Sayeed Ahmad in December, I887, while "the Congress was

meeting in Madras."[48] Sir Sayeed, after a long career in the judicial service of the United Province, had devoted himself to promoting the study of English by Muslims, and had a nominated member of the imperial legislative council. He was entirely free from religious prejudice, and had indeed exerted himself to reduce it, but he mentioned that, in the conditions then existing in India, compliance with the demands made by the congress would injure the state. Competitive examinations, though suitable in English conditions, would in India lead to the selection of officials whose origin would make them in acceptable to the strongly conservative Indian with his pride in ancestry. Diversity of race and tradition created another problem, and domination by the Bengalis, who were likely to gain most of the posts, would not be submitted to Muslims and Rajputs with their more warlike traditions. The second Congress in 1886 had elaborated the previous scheme for representation in legislative Councils, asking that not less than half the members should be elected, and not more than a quarter nominated non-officials. Sir Sayyid pointed out that in any ordinary system the Muslims would be in a minority, and, even if special representation where given to them, their backwardness in education and there comparative poverty would place them at a disadvantage.

He asserted the loyalty of the Indian people and the comparative insignificance of those who wished the political power, and he questioned the authority of the Congress to criticize military expenditure. In a letter address he shrewdly doubted the willingness of Indian to tax them even if they had the power. Although the third congress elected a Muslim gentleman from Bombay as a president, Sir Sayyid's advice was followed by most Muslims for twenty years, and was not appreciably affected by a resolution of the fourth congress that resolution should not be introduced for discussion if one community strongly objected, or be passed if such objections became apparent during discussion.

A change in Viceroys, Lord Dufferin having succeeded Lord Ripon in 1885, meant no reversal of the generally policy of meeting reasonable demands with a liberality confined only by restriction which those best fitted to judge held necessary in the view of all interests. Lord Dufferin had previous experience in the near East of the ways of Eastern autocracy, and in Canada of the positive of a constitutional governor general in a dominion feeling its way to responsible government. His natural inclination to liberal measures was tempered by the dangers of academic idealism

impressed on him as an Irish land-Lord, who had managed his own estates. "Only a year before he went to India he had drawn up a scheme"[49] for associating the people more closely with the government in Egypt, which was in force for "twenty years"[50] and had been copied by several constitution makers for India. After two years' study of Indian conditions he recorded a minute which exhibits his insight into the real desires of the forward party, and his strategy regarding the method for meeting them. He desired to make a careful examination of the demands, to give quickly and with a gods grace whatever it may be possible or desirable to accord; to announce that the concessions must be accepted as a final settlement of the Indian system for the next ten to fifteen years; and to forbid "mass meetings and incendiary speech."[51]

Soon after his arrival he had felt the desirability of reform in the legislative councils, and he advocated change which would give the viceroy the advantage of relying more largely upon the experience and counsels of Indian coadjutors, while the possibility of their having a party behind them would relive the Government of India from its existing isolation. Another period of two years passed before definite proposals were sent home (November, 1888), in a dispatch accompanied by a minute of Lord Dufferin. He had described in I886 the risks to be incurred by introducing a representative element into the Government of Indian, but was prepared to liberalize at all events the provinces legislative councils, one of which, in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, was created in that year, supported by a committee of his executive council Lord Dufferin described his scheme as a plan for the enlargement of our provincial councils, for the enhancement of their status, the multiplication of their functions, the partial introduction into term of the elective principle, and "the liberalization of their general character as political institutions."[52] At the same time he deprecated the inference that the government of India were contemplating in the provinces, an approach to English parliamentary government and an English constitutional system. The Indian executive was directly responsible to the sovereign and to the British parliament and must remain so while Great Britain continued to be the paramount administrative power in India. Describing the British system of responsible government, he pointed out that it could not be introduced into an Indian province because the governor, if a vote was carried against him in his legislative council, could not call upon the dissentients to take the place of his own official advisers, who are nominated by the queen-empress on the advice of the secretary of

state. In proposing to liberalize the government therefore, he insisted the necessity of leaving in the hands of each provincial government the ultimate decision upon all important questions and the paramount control of its own policy, by arranging that nominated members of legislative councils should outnumber the elected members, and that the governor could over-rule his council when he felt it necessary to do so. He foresaw that even with these limited powers the elected members would be able to influence the policy of the government, and he felt that their presence in the council would be beneficial by enlarging the field of public discussion, while they would consider themselves responsible to enlightened and increasing sections of their own countrymen. The Conservation government in England declined to agree to any system of election on the ground that "it would be unwise to introduce a fundamental change of this description without much more evidence in its favour than was forthcoming"[53]. Lord Lansdowne, who had now succeeded Lord Dufferin, supported his recommendation, and asked that at least the Government of India might be empowered to make rules for the appointment of additional members by nomination or otherwise, to include election where conditions justified its use. A bill was prepared in 1889, but not introduced till February, 1890 House of Lords, "From the papers which were simultaneously presented"[54] all reference to a system of election was completely excluded, and the only portions of Lord Dufferin's minute, a state paper of the highest value, which appeared in them were "his recommendations that the annual budget should be presented and discussed,"[55] and that non-official members should be allowed to ask questions. Lord Cross accepted these and also prepared to increase considerably the number of nominated members in the councils, and "the bill provided for all these matters."[56]

While the proposals met with no opposition in the House of Lords, the government was strongly pressed to allow some method of election, and to publish in full the dispatches and minutes. Lord Ripon asserted that Lord Dufferin's minute had been surreptitiously printed in India, and it was known that he favoured election. Lord Northbrook spoke eloquently in favour of it, while at the same time deprecating any approach to the British system: "India is a long way from having what it called a responsible government, namely an administration composed of men who possess a majority in the representative assembly".[57] He was not opposed to a body like the Congress, though he admitted that certain Members were circulating papers which

might be dangerous, and he deprecated the scheme of election which it had advocated. All those who supported him were agreed that details must be worked out in India owing to the complexity and variety of Indian conditions, and there was a disposition to avoid motions on the budget as leading, to irresponsible discussion. Lord Salisbury laid stress on the deep responsibility on any government that introduced the elective principle as an effective agent in the government of India. He was a careful to make no rash prophecy about the future and said: "It may be I do not desire to question it that it is to be the ultimate destiny of India".[58] But he pointed out that the idea was foreign to the East and its adoption had so far produced no tangible results in Turkey or Egypt.

Representative government appeared to him admirable only when all those who were represented desired much the same thing and had interests which were tolerably analogous. Echoing perhaps the addresses of Sir Sayeed Ahmad, he laid stress on the radical and acrid difference between Hindu and Muhammad an, and he poured ridicule on the idea that a constituency for representing various communities like Panjabis and Rajputs or even the ryots could be found in a body elected for marking streets and drains. He held that the chief need was for a fuller representation of all interests. Though the bill quickly passed through the House of Lords, it was never taken up in the Commons. Irish affairs, while they had been an incentive to the Indian politicians and their supporters in England, proved a deterrent to the government. Mr Bradlaugh had already introduced one Home Rule bill for India, at the request of the Indian National Congress of 1889. It provided an elaborate scheme of electoral colleges, with proportional representation, and a large number of elected members. After the withdrawal (5 August, I890) of the government measure, he produced a modest bill, leaving details to be settled by rules. Mr. Balfour's Land Purchase Bill for Ireland was occupying public time, and, though the Indian Councils bill was revived early in 1891, the certainty of great pressure to make it more liberal deterred the government, and it was again dropped after several postponements, causing great disappointment in India. The president of the congress meeting of that year explained the dropping of the bill as due to the death of Mr. Bradlaugh.

By a strange coincidence it fell to Mr. G. N. Curzon to conduct this bill through the House of Commons, as under-secretary of state, and a quarter of a century later to draw up the final draft of a pronouncement which led to the tentative

introduction of responsible government in Indian province. "Like other spokesmen of the government he described the bill as in no sense creating a parliamentary system."[59] No objection was raised to the proposals for discussion of the budget, and the right to put questions. The chief controversy was on the matter of election, and an amendment was moved by "Mr. Schwann to declare that no system would be satisfactory which did not embody this."[60] In committee he elaborated details which would have had the effect of fixing the number of elected members at between one-third and a half of the total membership, with "election by ballot and not less than two percent of the population enfranchised."[61] Though the government was not prepared to bind itself to such a definite scheme, it was clearly understood that the rules to be framed would recognize the principle of election. Sir R. Temple, who had wide official experience in India and had been governor of Bombay, suggested that the sixteen additional members of the viceroy's council should be chosen by the towns in which an elective system was in force for "municipal purposes,"[62] and Mr. Curzon indicated as bodies which would be suitable as constituencies the British India Association (which Lord Ripon had already use to suggest addition members for the discussion on the Bengal Tenancy Act), the Chambers of commerce , the corporation of great cities universities and various great religious association, Mr. Gladstone was satisfy that it was intended to have selection after election and deprecated a division on Mr. Schwann's proposal to prescribe this in the bill has it was not the business of parliament to devise machinery for the purpose of Indian government thought it was right to give those who represented her Majesty in Indian ample information has to what "parliament believed to be the sound principles of government."[63] The premature claims of the congress to be accepted as representative were criticized by Mr. Curzon in picturesque and illuminating fashion you can as little judge of the feeling and inspiration of the people of India from the plans and proposals of the congress party as you can judge of the physical configuration of a country which is wrapped in the mists of early morning, but a few of whose topmost peaks have been touched by the rising sun. Sir Richard Temple, with a more intimate knowledge of individual members, gave a warning against entrusting more political powers to them until they showed "greater moderation, greater sobriety of thought, greater robustness of intelligence, greater self control all which qualities build up the national character"[64] The bill having been passed without amendment 26 May, I892, the Government of India were informed that parliament intended that: Where corporations have been

established with definite powers, upon a recognized administrative basis, or where associations have been formed upon a substantial community of legitimate interests, professional, commercial or territorial the governor-general and the local governors might find convenience and advantage in consulting from time to time such bodies, and in entertaining at their discretion an expression of their views and recommendations with regard to the selection of members in whose qualification they might be display to confide. The possible number of additional members was increased under the act from twelve to sixteen in the imperial council, was more than doubled in Bombay and Madras, and was raised by 70 percent. In Bengal and the North Western Province and Oudh. "By the regulations it was provided that some of these should be nominated after recommendation by certain bodies."[65] of the ten non-official members of the imperial council, four were to be chosen by the non-official additional members of the councils in Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the North-Western Province and Oudh, and one by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, the remaining seats being reserved for the appointment of experts on special subject of legislation and the proper representation by nomination of difference classes of the community. For the provincial councils the method of selection varied according to local conditions. Each of the three presidency cities (Madras, Bombay and Calcutta) nominated a member, and there were representatives of the trading associations and senates of universities. Representatives of the district boards and smaller municipal boards met in an electoral college to select other nominees. The scale of representatives of municipal boards was based on the income of the municipality in Bengal and on the population in Bombay, While in the North Western Province and Oudh each municipal board sent only one representative to the Electoral College. Thus in Bengal the influence of the towns outweighed that of the countryside. In Bombay the bigger landowners also had a right of nomination. Although the act was criticized by the Congress of 1892 for not containing an explicit recognition of the right to elect, the regulations made under it had the practical effect of instituting an elective system, and the other change it made indicated that the councils were no longer to remain, as they had been under the act of I861, bodies which met only when legislative business was no hand. In the thirty years which had elapsed since they were constituted it had been possible only on sixteen occasions to discuss financial matters, while now the budget was to be presented annually whether taxation was

being altered or not. And the right to put questions was a definite enlargement of the powers of members.

With the foundation of the Indian National Congress, the national movement grew slowly but steadily. In the words of Bipin Chandra, The year 1885 marked a turning point in this process, for that was the year the political Indians, the modern intellectual interested in politics, who no longer saw themselves of as spokesman a narrow group interests, but as representatives of national interest visa-a visa foreign rule, as a national party saw their efforts bear fruit. The all-India nationalist body that they brought into being was to be platform, the organizer, the headquarters, the symbol of the new national spirit and politics.

2.14 Views of Early Nationalists

Nationalist Sentiments were sown by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the early half of the 19th century. The Second half of the 19th century witnessed the formation of various political associations which were born out of nationalism and political consciousness. Such organizations emerged in different parts of the country but they had a common objective: that is, to unite the people for a Common cause and to make them conscious of the ills prevalent in the British rule. These organizations were local in character. However, they played an important role in the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Swami Dayanand Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj. He preached to the people of India the lesson of self-confidence and faith in their future. He reminded them of the glory and greatness of India's past and exhorted his audiences to leave no stone unturned to make India great. He raised the slogan of "Back to the Vedas."[66] He declared that good government was no substitute for self-government and the rule of India by the Indians was to be preferred in every way. It is well known that many leaders of the Arya Samaj like Lala Lajpat Rai played a glorious part in the nationalist movement of the country. "Olcott has rightly pointed out that Swami Dayanand exercised great nationalizing influence upon his followers".[67] The View of Annie Besant was "It was Dayanand Saraswati who proclaimed India for the Indians."[68]

Ramakrishna Paramhans exercised great influence on his followers. He has rightly been given the credit of assisting the growth of national consciousness among

the people. The Ramakrishna Math and Mission have in many ways helped the cause of self-consciousness among the people of India. Swami Vivekananda was the pupil of Ramakrishna Paramhans and he in his own way helped the future of the country. About Swami Vivekananda, Niveditta says: "The queen of his adoration was the motherland."[69] Like Swami Dayanand, Swami Vivekananda taught India self-confidence and self-reliance. The founders of the Theosophical Society of India and Mrs. Annie Besant made their own contribution towards the cause of the national awakening. They asked the people of Indian to realize that they were not so bad as the Christian missionaries painted them to be. They were as good as many advanced people of the world were. They asked the people of India to look to their glorious past and try to bring back the same.

They thought people to have faith in themselves. The Indian press and literature, both English and Vernacular, also aroused national consciousness. Great was the influence of newspapers like the Indian Mirror, the Bombay Samachar, the Hindu Patriot, The Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Hindu, The Kesari, The Bengalee, The Hurkura, The Bengal Public Opinion, The Sanjibam, The Sadharm, The Hitavadi, The Rast Goftar, The Indu Prakash, The Standard, The Swadeshmitran, The Herald of Bihar, The Advocate of Lucknow etc on the political life of the country. The growth of the Indian press was phenomenal and by 1875, there were no less than 478 newspapers in the country.

Without them, it would have been impossible to create an atmosphere in which the people of Indian could be made to think of their common problems and common grievance. Undoubtedly, The Indian Press played a meritorious role in not only creating a national awakening in the country but also guiding the people of India throughout their struggle for independence. It goes without saying that Indian Press also paid a part of the price for the freedom of the country. The Indian press was the target of the British Government from the very beginning but it boldly and fearlessly faced the challenge. The writing of Dinbandu Hemchandra Banerjee, Navin Chandra Sen, R.C Dutt, Rabindra Nath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee affected the minds of the people of India. Through his writing, Rabindra Nath Tagore appealed to the higher sentiments of the people of India to work for the glory of their country. He tried to raise the moral tone of his countrymen. The Anand Math of Bankim Chandra Chatterji Which embodied the patriotic song Bande Mataram (Hail to the Mother),

has rightly been called "The Bible of Modern Bengalee patriotism."[70] Aurobindo Ghose wrote in 1907. "As a poet and a stylist, Bankim did a work of supreme national importance, not for the whole of India but for Bengal which was destined to lead India and be in the Vanguard of national development."[71] Bankim's Bengalee nationalism gave to the rest of India the prototype of the state of mind which inspired many subsequent national endeavours. In the words of Aurobindo Ghose, "It is not till the Motherland reveals herself to the eye of the mind as something more than a stretch of earth or a mass of individuals, it is not till she takes shape as a great Divine and Maternal power in a form of beauty that can dominate the mind and seize the heart that these petty Fears and hopes vanish in the All-absorbing passion for the Mother and her service, and the patriotism that works miracles and saves a doomed nation is born."[72] A critical study of the writings of Bankim shows how, he wanted his countrymen to make supreme sacrifices for the nation could be served.There is one particular thing about Bankim Chandra Chatterji which must be noticed here. He did not believe that the message of nationalism could reach the masses through the English languages. He wanted the vernacular languages to be used to reach the people and this is exactly what was done later on under Mahatma Gandhi with great success. To quote Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, "We are strangely apt to forget that it is only through Bengali that the people can be moved. We preach in English and hear in English and write in English perfectly forgetful that the great masses whom it is absolutely necessary to move in order to carry out any great project of social reform, remain stone-deaf to all our eloquence."[73] Rabindra Nath Tagore and D.L Roy gave us a lot of national poetry, songs and music. The writing of the Indian patriots brought about a revolution in the minds of the Indian and those revolutionary minds were responsible for the growth of nationalism in the country. Rightly or wrongly, the Hindus had a very high opinion of themselves. There was a lot of discontentment in the country on account of many causes and that discontentment gave a stimulus to the growth of the nationalist movement in the country. The masses suffered from economic troubles. The middle classes suffered from the bugbear of unemployment. All the intelligent Indians felt and bewailed the economic exploitation of their country. The British officials working in India were a very heavy drain on the India resources. The economic system of India was adjusted to the needs of the people of England. The interests of the Indians were completely ignored. Blunt rightly points out that the voice of Indian finance was that the Finance Minister of India looked

more to the interests of Great Britain than to those of India. All tariff duties were abolished in 1879 with a view to benefit Lancashire. In 1895, an excise duty of 5 per cent was imposed on Indian cotton goods with a view to countervail similar tariff on Lancashire goods imposed in the interests of revenue. The value of the Indian rupee in terms of the English pound was fixed in such a way as to help imports from England and discourage exports from India. Sir Henry Cotton condemned the economic exploitation of India and the consequent miseries of the people of the country. The Indians resented the attitude of the Englishmen towards them. The Europeans in India were arrogant. They had a very low opinion of the India character.

They took pleasure in calling the Indians the ridiculed the Indian black heathens "worshipping stocks and stones and swinging themselves on bamboo trees like bees." [74]The European master regarded the Indians as "the helots of the land, the hewer of wood and the drawers of water."[75] The life of an India was estimated by most Europeans as no higher than that of a dog. In 1819, Sir Thomas Munro confessed that although the foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence and cruelty, but they had not treated them with so much scorn as the Englishmen had done. Setonkerr, a Secretary to the Government of India, spoke of the "cherished conviction which was shared by every Englishman in India, from the highest to the lowest the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race which God has destined to govern and subdue."[76] Field Marshall Lord Roberts, who at one time was the Commander-in-Chief of Indian, did not regard even the bravest of the Indian soldiers as equal to British officer. Traveling in the upper class railway compartments was not for the Indians. Even the ruling Chiefs while traveling in the upper classes were bullied into unlacing the books and shampooing the weary legs of the Sahibs just back from hunting excursions. Assaults on Indians by Europeans were frequent.

As the Europeans were tried by juries consisting of Europeans, They very often escaped scot free. The administration of criminal justice in such cases was "a judicial scandal."[77] There was the long succession of murders and brutalities perpetrated by Englishmen upon the Indians which either went unpunished or in which, at the demand of the whole European community, only a small penalty was exacted. "This scandal, of which there were many flagrant instances in the sixties, had continued till recent times."[78] .Sir Theodore Morrison, a member of the Indian Civil Service, wrote thus in 1890 "It is an ugly fact which it is no use to disguise that the

murder of the natives by Englishmen is no infrequent occurrence."[79]The Europeans have certain maxims about the Indians. "The first was that the life of one European was worth those of many Indians. The second was that only things that an oriental understood were fear. The third was that England had been forced to lose many lives and spend many millions to hold India and did she not meant some more substantial recompense that the privilege of governing India in a spirit of wisdom and unselfishness?"[80] Such an attitude was bound to create a lot of bitterness between the back of the ruled.

Edward Thompson observes: "Right at the back of the mind of many an Indian, the Mutiny fits as he talks with an Englishman-an unaveged, an unappeased ghost".[81]

The free trade policy of the Government of India stood in the way of the development of the country. Lala Murlidhar of the Punjab observed thus in 1891: "Free trade, fair-play between nations, how I hate the sham? What fair-play in trade can there be between impoverished India and the bloated capitalist England?"[82] Again, "What are all these chandeliers and lamps and European-made chairs and tables and smart clothes and hats, English coat and bonnets and frocks and silver-mounted canes and all the luxuries fittings of your house but trophies of India's misery, mementoes of India's starvation?"[83] D. E. Wacha points out that the economic condition of the people of India deteriorated under the British rule. 40 millions of Indians had to be contented with one meal a day. That was due to the tribute exacted by England from the starving peasantry and "exported to fructify there and swell still further the unparalleled wealth of these distant isles."[84]

Before the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, there were many Englishmen who honestly believed and worked for the good of India. However, during the Mutiny days a lot of blood was shed on both sides. The Europeans wreaked their vengeance on the helpless and innocent Indians after the Mutiny. It was this policy of oppression and repression which added to the discontent of the country. The Indians were completely excluded from the legislatures in the country and also from the key-posts in the administration. Zacharias says: "The light of distrust had begun to full upon England's relations with India; these people had mutinied once and committed dreadful atrocities-how could one trust them not to plan further sedition"[85] Another writer points out that "the old sympathy with India changed to a feeling of

repugnance the old spirit of content with life and work in India, the old inclination to regard things in an Indian rather than an English light, gave place to a reluctance to stay in Indian longer than needs must, and a disposition to judge things by an emphatically English standard."[86] The English killed their prisoners without trial and in a manner held by all Indians to be the height of barbarity. They massacred thousands of the civil population.

"General Neil gave orders to his lieutenants that certain villages were marked out for destruction and all the men inhabiting them were slaughtered and the indiscriminate burning of their inhabitants occurred wherever our English armies moved."[87]

The English language played a very important part in the growth of nationalism in the country. It acted as the lingua franca of the intelligentsia of India. Without the common medium of the English language, it would have been out of the question for the Madras is Bengalese and the Punjabis to sit at one table and discuss the common problems facing the country. The English language also made the Indians inheritors of a Great literature which was full of great ideas and ideals. "We had come to know England through her glorious literature, which had brought new inspiration into our young lives."[88] The English authors, whose books and poems we studied, were full of love for humanity, justice, and freedom. This great literary tradition had come down to us from the revolutionary period. We felt its power in Wordsworth's sonnets about human liberty. We glorified in it even in the immature production of Shelley written in the enthusiasm of his youth when he declared against the tyranny of priest craft and preached the overthrow of all despotism through the power of suffering bravely endured.

The ground was ready and the acts of omission and commission in the time of Lord Lytton accelerated the nationalist movement. The period from 1876 to 1884 has been called the seed time of Indian nationalism. Lord Lytton held his famous Delhi Durbar in 1877 at a time when the people of South India were suffering terribly from the callousness of Lytton. An appropriate comment was made in these words: "Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning."[89] The second afghan war cost the Indian treasury a lot. No wonder, the Indians criticized Lytton passed the notorious Vernacular Press Act in 1878. The discriminatory provision of this Act was universally condemned by the people belonging to all walks of life. Sir Erskine Perry

points out that the Act was "a retrograde and ill-conceived measure injurious to the future progress of Indian."[90] It was called the Gagging Act. Lytton passed the Arms Act in 1878 which made an invidious distinction between the Indians and the Europeans. While the Europeans were allowed to keep arms freely, the Indians could not do so without a license. In the words of Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Arms Act "imposed upon was a badge of racial inferiority."[91] Such a measure was derogatory to the self-respect of the people of India. Lord Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufactures with a view to help the British manufactures and thus was resented by the grievances of India, but before he could do so, the Ilbert controversy came to the fore.

The Ilbert Bill was a simple measure whose object was to put the Indian judges on the same footing as the European judges in dealing with all cases in Bengal Presidency. The necessity of this bill arose as the Indians who had joined the judicial service were rising in the ranks and that involved the possible trial of Europeans by an Indian judge without a jury. This was considered to be too much by the Europeans. A strong agitation was brought into existence by the Europeans who were not prepared to be tried by an Indian judge. Lord Ripon became the target of the agitation.

He was boycotted by the Europeans community. He was threatened to be kidnapped to England. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at which suited the Europeans. However, this set a wrong precedent. The flag of racialism was hoisted by the Europeans. The Indians realized that they could not expect any justice or fairplay from the Englishmen when their own interests were involved. Surendranath Banerjee observes: "No self-respecting Indian could sit idle under the fierce light of that revelation. It was a call to high patriotic duty to those who understood its significance."[92] Before the effect of the Ilbert bill controversy was over, the Indians had already organized themselves into the Indian National Congress founded in 1885.

On 26 August, 1852, the principal Hindus, Parsees, Mohammedans, Portuguese and Jews of Bombay met to consider "the desirableness of forming an association with a view to ascertaining the wants to the people of this country and the measures calculated to advance their welfare and of representing the same to the authorities in India or in England."[93] On that occasion, Dadabhai Navroji observed "Many ask what this Association means to do when it is well known that under our present government we enjoy an amount of liberty and prosperity rarely known to the

inhabitants of Indian under any native sovereign. In reply to this it is said we ought to demand redress for our grievances. But what are those grievances? There may be many or none, yet nobody here is at this moment prepared to give a decided replay; when we see that our Government is often ready to assist us in everything calculated to benefit us, we had better, than merely complain and grumble, point out in a becoming manner what our real wants are. We are subject to the English government, whose principal officers being drawn from England do not, except after a long residence and experience, become fully acquainted with our wants customs. Though they may always be anxious to do good to as, they are often led, by their imperfect acquaintance with the country, to adopt measures calculated to do more harm than good, while we, on the other hand, have no means preventing such occurrence. The most we can do is complain through the medium of the paper. In time all is hushed up and the people carry with them in not attending to their complaint. We have, therefore, to consider what we ought to do to secure our own good, and at the same time keep up a good understanding between us and Government."[94] On the same occasion, the Chairman of the Bombay Association, Mr. Juggonathjee Sincerest sated: "Now as the British Government acknowledge their duty to be to effect whatever good they can for the benefit of this country, it is clear that their object and our object are one and the same. We are not in opposition to Government nor can Government be opposed to our objects, if it be shown that the good of the country is what we seek. The Government has the power to do much good and we have many a proofs. Witness this noble Institution which they do generously support and in which so many, who are now present, have received a most excellent education I might also refer to the recent appointment of so many Natives to the highly responsible situations of Deputy Collectors and Magistrates. The Government is willing, I am sure, to do what good they can. When they are correctly informed they will always be ready to act to the advantage of the people over whom they rule; but they are not in possession of full and correct information on all subjects connected with the welfare of the people. Besides their official sources of information Government will be glad to have other channels of information on which they can rely. An Association like the one now established will doubtless be listened to with attention in respect to all matters which of course natives have better means of their official situations."[95] Within a few months if the formation of the Bombay Association, it submitted a petition to the British Parliament. Another petition was submitted a year later. In these petitions, the

Bombay Association criticized the existing machinery of the East India Company in India and asked for a system which was "less cumbersome, less exclusive, less secret, more directly responsible and infinitely more efficient and more acceptable to the governed."[96] The blessings of the British character rather than to the plan of government which is but little suited to the present state of India. The dual authority of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control was described as an anachronism. The authority exercised by the Calcutta authorities over the Governments of Bombay and Madras was criticized. The administration was condemned as being unduly expensive. The attitude of the English officials was described as despotic. It was contended that "the Europeans local officers scattered over the country at great distance from one another, and having large districts to attend to, far beyond their powers of supervision, and dependent to a very great degree on their subordinates, are compelled to dispose of the greater part of their business in a very imperfect manner; and their statements to Government-whether emanating from persons who it is known may be trusted or from those in whose accuracy Government are aware no confidence can be placed are on system accepted as equally trustworthy and the official vindication of the acts of government is one of first impressions."[97] It was alleged that as the work of the Government was done in secrecy, it tended "to engender and perpetuate amongst the young servants of Government an illiberal and despotic tone; to give full scope to the prejudices, the ignorance, and the self-sufficiency of all; to discourage progress; to discountenance all schemes of improvement emanating from independent and disinterested sources, and not within the views of the officers to whose department they are referred; and to cramp all agriculture or commercial energy all individual enterprise."[98] The Association protested against the "exorbitant salaries of many highly paid officers whose duties are so trifling or involve comparatively so little labour or responsibility that the advantage may be amalgamated with other offices or remunerated in a manner commensurate with the nature of the duties to be performed."[99] The foreign character of the administration was criticized and it was contended that "the time has arrived when the natives of Indian are entitle to a much larger share than the country and that the Councils of the Local Government should, in matters of general policy and legislation, be opened, so as to admit of respectable and intelligent natives taking a part in the discussion of maters of general interest to the country, as suggested by Lords Ellen borough, Elphinstone and others."[100] It was contended that there was absolutely no substance in

the contention that the Indians were not fit to hold positions of trust and responsibility. It was pointed out that "the decisions of the native judges were in every respect superior to those of the Europeans."[101] It was also pointed out that the declaration in the Charter Act of 1833 that no natives of Indian shall be disqualified from office by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour, had remained a dead letter and nothing had been done to put the same into practice. It was also urged that the executive Government should always include "some persons trained and experienced in public offices a more extended knowledge and wider view than are to be expected from those Europeans gentlemen who have passed all their days from boyhood in the bad systems of this country and know no other by which to compare and improve them."[102]. It is true that the petitions submitted by the Bombay Association did not have much effect immediately but they undoubtedly created a lot of stir in London. The result was that an India Re-from Society with John Bright as one of its associates, was set up to put forward the point of view of the Indians. During his visit to London, Dadabhai Navroji addressed many meeting of the newly formed East India Association. He was able to convince the English people that the educated Indians were not satisfied at all. He put a lot of emphasis on the exclusion of Indians from the higher services. To quote him, "Either the educated natives should have proper fields for their talents or education open to them in the rulers must make up their minds and candidly avow it, to rule the country with a rod of iron."[103] On his return to India in 1869, Dadabhai Navroji declared that the goal of all patriotic Indians was the attainment of a Parliament in Indian. He also urged the Indians to set up in England an organization to "fight the last and greatest battle of representations."[104]

2.15 Indian Press :

In 1868, Sir Kumar Ghosh started the Amrita Bazar Patrika. Through the instrument ability of this newspaper and even otherwise, he attacked all forms of government restrictions on civil liberties and the economic exploitation of Indian by Great Britain. He called upon the Government to solve the problem of unemployment among the educated classes. He demanded that the Indian Nation be given a democratic, representative government, specifically a Parliament on the lines of the British Parliament. In 1875, he founded the India League as a focal point for the district bodies after failing to persuade the British Indian Association to lower its

annual subscription from Rs.50. He fixed the annual subscription of the Indian League at Rs.5 which was well within the means of the educated middle classes of Bengal. The India League was the first political body in India which set up links with political groups outside Bengal. Sir Kumar Ghosh went to Bombay to create unity between the political organizations Vasudeo Joshi had already founded in 1870 the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha which counted among its members of this Sabha were elected by the caste groups and other interests. It is true that the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was a major centre of Western Indians political activity for a few decades but it never assumed an all-Indian role.

The congress had been formed as an organization of educated persons like teachers, professors, lawyers, medical men and businessmen. Its main aim in the beginning was to get the Indians recruited in higher civil services in the British administration. It was then, a non-political association of Indians who wanted to get some concessions from the British rules. "The congress soon attracted wide membership and held its sessions annually in different cities to rouse public opinion in favour of its aims."[105]

The congress was a national organization representing the interests of the Indians irrespective of their caste, creed and communities. It united all people for achieving a common goal. It gave self-confidence and leadership to the people to fulfill their aspirations to shun the yoke of foreign rule. "It launched the freedom movement against the British in India."[106] It achieved its objective when India became independent on 15th August, 1947.

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CHAPTER - III

CONTRIBUTION OF FEW IMPORTANT MODERATES

The Congress was divided, into two Sections like Moderates and the Activist. The former dominated the congress from 1885 to 1905. "Their main leaders were Dadabhai Navroji, Surendranath Banerjee, W.C. Banerjee, Pherozeshah Mehta and Madan Mohan Malaviya."[1] They had faith in constitutional agitation and in public opinion in favour of their demands. "They believed that the British Government could be persuaded by arguments and that it would respond to Indian public opinion."[2] They even sent representations to the England to explain the India point of view to the British Parliament – rains and to set up a committee of the National Congress in England. They did not want to overthrow British rules by violence. "Their chief demand was self government within the British regime."[3] They believed in loyalty to the British Crown. They believed that the British Presence in India was a blessing to Indians and they relied on the British to guide the Politics in India. Some of them professed that the British rule has done much good in India by cleansing the Indian society of its ills like the customs of sati, untouchability, child marriage, etc. Moderates also praised the British for introducing in India contemporary development in science and technology. "The Moderates had friendly relations with the British. They were influenced by the Western education, thought and culture. "[4] They relied on the pledges made by the British from time to time. They thought that once the British would understand the mind and heart of an Indian, they would do what was right in India. In this sense, they believed in the sense of justice, honesty and integrity of the British. The philosophy of the Moderates can be summarized in the words of Badruddin Tyabji, who said in 1887, "Be moderate in your demands, just in your criticism, correct in your facts and logical in your conclusion"[5] Between 1885 to 1905, the politics of the Indian national congress was characterized by political moderation. This political the period called the moderate leaders. The prominent leaders were Womesh Chandra Banerjee, Dadabhai Navroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Pherozeshah Mehta, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Badruddin Tyabji, Sir William Wedderburn. "The objectives of the Indian national congress at

the quotes were to bring people from various provinces together, "[6] to the government for appropriate measures. The moderate leaders addressed themselves to a time was that of a link between the government and the people what then were the demands of the congress during this period? "Even though the ultimate objective of the congress was swarajya yet its demands were moderate."[7] For example, increasing the number of the Indians in the administrative, holding civil services examinations simultaneously in India and England, age limit for the civil services, control of the parliament over bureaucracy, "increasing elected representative in the imperial and provinal legislature being, were some of the major demands of the during this period."[8]

3.1 Womesh Chandra Banerjee :

Womesh Chandra Banerjee was an Indian politician and the first president of Indian National Congress. "He presided over the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1885."[9] He proposed the formation of standing committees of the Congress in each province for the better Co-ordination of its work and it was on this occasion that he advocated that the Congress should confine its activities to political matters only, leaving the question of social reforms to other organizations. "He was the president of the Indian National Congress again in the 1892 session in Allahabad where he denounced the position that India had to prove her worthiness for political freedom."[10] W.C. Banerjee was a great political leader of our country. "He struggled to achieve freedom from the bondage of British regime."[11] He followed constitutional means always believed in loyalty to the British crown. "He believed that the British presence in India was a blessing to Indians and he relied on the British to guide the political in India."[12] He also believed that the British rule has done much good in India by cleansing the Indian society. "He also praised the British for introducing in India contemporary development in science and technology."[13] He was also influenced by the western education, thought and culture. He relied on the pledges made by the British from time to time. He also led the growth of national feeling and the unity of India. He also created a common political platform, aroused and consolidation of public opinion and the creation of an All-India national political leadership. "This aroused in the minds of the nationalist Indians."[14]

3.2 Dadabhai Navroji :

Dadabhai Navroji is one of those personalities of the nineteenth century, who were respected by the british and were also honored by Indians. "In fact, he was considered to be a father figure among the nationalist, being a founder-member of the Indian national congress(INC)."[15] Dadabhai not only worked towards attaining independence but also inspired many educated people to join hands with him. Dadabhai Navroji was born on 4 September 1825 in a Parsi family. "In 1845, he did his B.A. and ten years later went to London."[16] There he assisted Bhikhaji Cama, a leading businessman, in his business. "He organized the Indians living in London and formed the Indian society"[17]. He was known as the grand old man of India When Dadabhai joined congress, it was basically a society of government servants and its main function was to appraise the British government of the people's problems. Dadabhai was extremely popular and was elected as its President in 1896 and 1906. Dadabhai was not satisfied with merely petitioning the complaints to the government. "He sought Independence. He was summoned to the court for his activities and asked for sitting in the court."[18] Dadabhai Navroji is among those leaders who did not overlook the importance of keeping in touch with the British while demanding Independence. He also acclaimed as the "Father of Indian Politics and Economics."[19]

Dadabhai Navroji was popularly known as the "Grand Old Man of India,"[20] was on e of the first leaders of the national movement. He was born in a Parsee family of Bombay in 1825. After being a professor of Mathematics in Elphistone College for ten years in India, he went to England. In order to win the sympathies of British for Indians in England and in India, he started the East India Association in 1866. "The main aim of the Association was to foster closer relations between the Indians and the British on social level."[21] The East India Association defended equality of the Asians and Europeans. The East India Association became so popular that its branches were set up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Through this Association, he opposed the Vernacular Press Act. He also condemned atrocities committed by seminars on the poor peasants. "He took active part in the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, and guided its affairs till his death."[22] He commanded respect among Congressmen. He was elected President of the Congress thrice (1886,1893 and 1906). Dadabhai Navroji's work Poverty and Un-British Rule in India-exposed the economic exploitation of India by the British. "It explained the fact that India could not progress

because the British drained off its wealth."[23] Dadabhai Navroji was elected to the British House of Commons in 1892 on a Liberal Party ticket. He championed the cause of Indians in the British Parliament.

As a member of the Parliament, he brought to the notice of the House the problems affecting India and its people. "He pioneered the cause of appointing the educated Indians to high posts."[24] It was due to his efforts that the House of Commons passed a bill in 1903 to hold the Indian Civil Service Examination simultaneously in England and in India. The President ship of Dadabhai Navroji of the Indian National Congress in 1906, is most memorable. "The country was in turmoil over partition of Bengal."[25] The nationalists had strongly reacted to the partition of Bengal. The talk of the Swadeshi Movement as well as the boycott of British goods and the British Indian administration was was on in the country. The Extremists wing of the Indian National Congress appeared to be carrying the day. "The Moderates had no option but to fill the nomination of Dadabhai Navroji became the President of the Indian National congress in 1906."[26]

Very important decisions were taken under his President ship. The resolution of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education were passed in the annual session of the Congress in 1906. A split between the Moderates and Extremists was averted. The President in his address said, "We do not ask for favours."[27] We want only justice. Instead of going into further divisions of details of our rights as British citizen, the whole matter can be comprised in one word self–government' or Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies. "As an economic thinker, he said that the British rule and its administration was a drain on the resources of India."[28] The basic cause for the economic ills and poverty of India was the exploitation of the Indians by the British.

Dadabhai Navroji died in 1917 at the age of 92. "He is remembered today for his service in making the Indian National Congress a national movement."[29] Dadabhai Navroji was one of the first leaders of the national movement. He started the East India Association. The main aim of the association was to foster closer relations between the Indian and the British on social level. "He also started Rahnuma e Mazdayarban Sabha organization for young Parsis."[30] He also started Rashta Gofar and gave momentum to the movement for reforms in the Parsi community. He was a moderate and had faith in the constitutional agitation and in public opinion. "He

believed that the British Government could be persuaded by arguments and that it would respond to Indian Public opinion."[31] He was influenced by the western education, thought and culture. This chief demand was self-government within the British regime. His contribution in freedom struggle has made him so popularly that he is known as the Grand old man of India.

3.3 Gopal Krishna Gokhale :

Gokhale was one of the best workers and his patriotism was of the highest and noblest type, says Lala Lajpat Rai about Gokhale. "He was an educationist later turned into a politician."[32] He was a pioneer of the freedom movement and one of the few leaders who changed the destiny of India. Gokhale was born in Kolhapur in Maharashtra in 1866. After his graduation, he started his career as a teacher. "He joined the Deccan education society."[33] He became the principal of Fergusson college. Later on, he became the member of the governor-general's legislative council. Being a champion of the educational cause, he introduced a bill to make primary education compulsory. But he could not achieve much success. He was elected general secretary of the congress in 1897. " He was the president of the annual session of the congress at Banaras in 1905."[34]

In 1906, Gokhale founded the servants of India society. The aim of this society was to train national missionaries for the service of India, and to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people. "The members were to serve the country with sincere devotion in a religious spirit."[35] Many important personalities became members of this society who served the country in all sincerity. Gokhale was an idealist but his idealism was balanced with practical knowledge. On the one hand, he suggested that the Government should look into the problems of the people on priority basis. On the other hand, he requested his countrymen to be cautions and move slowly. " He favoured the use of constitutional means to achieve his aims."[36] He opposed the policies of the imperial regime whenever he found them to defective. He wanted the government to repeal the toll tax because it affected adversely the poor people. "He also criticized the British for adopting a policy of racial discrimination in appointments to higher administrative posts."[37] Having a sound knowledge of the country's economy, he blamed the British for India's poverty.

"He impressed upon the Government to reduce the land revenue and also repeal the production tax on cotton, as both of these affected the farming community."[38]

Gokhale played an important role in the passage of Minto-Morley Reforms. It was due to his untiring efforts that the toll tax was reduced and more Indians were appointed to high posts. "Gokhale opposed ruthlessly Lord Curzon for dividing Bengal and establishing Government control over universities."[39] All the reform activities of Gokhale highly speak of his sincere and untiring efforts for the welfare of his countrymen. Tilak, once a bitter critic of Gokhale, speaks thus of him: "He was a diamond of India, the jewel of Maharashtra and the Prince of workers."[40]

3.3.1 Gokhale's Political work :

"In 1899, Gokhale was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected to the Council of India of Governor-General of India on 22 May 1903 as non-officiating member representing Bombay Province"[41] Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of the noblest and the best worker of the moderate group. He was an idealist but his idealism was balanced with practical knowledge on the one hand he suggested that the Government should look into the problems of people on priority bases. On the other hand he requested his countrymen to be cautious and move slowly. "He favored the use of constitutional means to achieve his aims."[42] He opposed the policies of the imperial regime whenever he found them to be reflective. He wanted the government to repeal the toll tax because it affected adversely the poor people. He also criticized the British for adopting a policy of racial his crimination in appointments to higher administrative pasts. His chief demand was self-government within the British regime. He relied on British to guide the politics in India. He was informed by the western thought education and culture due to his contribution he was called a diamond of India, "the jewel of Maharashtra and the prince of workers."[43]

3.4 Romesh Chunder Dutt :

Romesh Chunder Dutt, was an Indian civil servant, economic historian, writer, and translator of Ramayana and Mahabharata. Dutt entered the Indian Civil Service, or ICS, as an Assistant Magistrate of Alipur in 1871. His official career was a test and a proof of the liberal promise of equality to all her Majesty's subjects "irrespective of

color and creed"[44] in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of November 1, 1858,. He was active in moderate Nationalist politics and was an active Congressman in that party's initial phase. He was twice the president of the Indian National Congress. He was president of the Indian national congress in 1899.

3.4.1 Romesh Chunder Dutt's Political Work :

He won high price for his administrative work, and the "Companionship of the Indian Empire was awarded him in 1892,"[45] He considered the land taxes to be ruinous, a block to savings, and the source of famines. He also felt the effectiveness of administrators was limited by the absence of representative channels for the concerns of the population being governed. Romesh Chunder Dutt was one of the most influenced leaders of Moderates. He believed in the promise of equality. He believed several posts in the congress. He wrote several books in Bengali and Sanskrit. He traced on decline in standards of living and deindustrialization. He also believed to achieve self-government within the British Empire. In order to achieve this aim, he made several demands for reform and indulged in criticizing the government policy. "He believed in patience and reconciliation rather than in violence and confrontation."[46] He relied on constitutional and peaceful Methods in order to achieve the aim. He was also influciced by the western education thought and culture. He thought that once the British would understand the mind and heart of the Indian they would do what was right in India. "He believed in the sense of justice honesty and integrity of the British."[47] Thus he scarified for the sake of India's freedom struggle.

3.5 Pherozeshah Mehta :

He was born in a Paris family of Bombay, Maharashtra on August 4, 1845. After graduating in 1864; he went to England to study law. "He returned home in 1868 after getting his Barat Law in 1867, but soon after joined the freedom struggle instead of continuing with Law."[48] A representative of the liberals, He was achieving freedom through constitutional means. He was foremost among those who formed the Indian National Congress and continued working to tidy it. He chaired the 6th session of the Congress in 1890. "He wanted radical changes in higher education."[49] He started propagating his views through The Bombay Chronicle, started in 1913. Dur-

ing those days, highly educated people tried to project their grievances through an organization which later the form of Congress. Even high-ranking British officers attended its sessions but later when he became its President, the government barred him from attending the session because it was felt the Congress was turning into a nationalist organization and demanding independence. "He continued his efforts for freedom through constitutional means."[50] His contribution to our freedom struggle is immeasurable. He died on November 5,1915.

3.5.1 Mehta's Political and social activities :

He encouraged Indians to obtain western education and embrace its culture to uplift India. He contributed too many social causes for education, sanitation and health care in the city and around India. "He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress"[51] and its President in 1890, as its president he presided over Indian National Congress session believed in Calcutta. He was nominated to the Mumbai Legislative Council in 1887 and in 1893 a member of the "Imperial Legislative Council."[52] In 1910, he started Bombay Chronicle, an English-language weekly newspaper, which became an important Nationalist voice of its time, and an "important chronicler of the political upheavals of a volatile pre-independent India."[53] He encouraged Indians to obtain western education and embrace its culture to uplift India. He contributed too many social causes for education, sanitation and health care in the city and around India. He was one of the founders of the Indians National Congress and its president he presided over Indian National Congress session believed in Calcutta. He too believed several posts in the Congress. He wrote number of books one of the most important was chronically of the political upheavals of a volatile pre-independent India. He led the foundations of Indian in evolvement in political activities and inspiring Indians to fight for more self-government. He believed in patience and reconciliation other than in violence and confrontation. "He gave the idea of full political independence from Britain."[54] Due to his involvement activity of Indians in politics he was called ferocious Mehta.

3.6 Madan Mohan Malaviya :

PT. Madan Mohan Malaviya was a staunch of Hindu Culture and civilization. His contribution to India's freedom struggle, as well as to education has been significant. The establishment of Banaras Hindu University is the result of his untiring efforts. It is interesting that while collecting funds for the university, he approached even Maharajas Rajas, rulers and landlords who did not subscribe to his views and yet, strangely, they all contributed open-heartedly and willingly for his cause. None dared refuse him, so appealing was his approach and so convincing were his reasons for a donation. Madan Mohan Malaviya belonged to a poor family. He was born on 25 December 1861. He was a bright student. After graduating in 1891, he joined law but later jumped into the arena of freedom struggle. It is ironic but true that he was loved by both Indian masses and British officers.

Mr. Malaviya was an Indian to the backbone. He subscribed to the Indian culture and kept his ideas intact all his life. He gained name and fame because of the work he did for social, ethical and educational upliftment. "He is called Mahamana and is loved by all."[55] For the poor, he had special feelings. Dressed in immaculate Khaddar Pyjama-Kurta and a headgear, his image remains ever in the hearts of the people. Unfortunately he died in 1946-a year before India got independence.

3.6.1 Madan Mohan Malaviya's political Work :

"Madan Mohan Malaviya was an Indian politician educationist social reformer and freedom fighter he struggled for Indian independence movement."[56] He had started different education institution in our country. He wrote numerous books and news papers to educate the Indians and influence them towards freedom struggle. "He was one of the great leaders of moderates."[57] He followed constitutional means to achieve freedom from Britishers. He believed that the British presence in India was a blessing to Indians and we relied on the British to guide the politics in India. "He said British rule has done much good in India by cleansing the Indian society of its ill like the customs of sati, untouchability and child marriage."[58] He was influenced by the western education thought and culture. "He believed in the sense of justice honesty and integrity of the British."[59] Due to his contribution towards freedom struggle and National movement. He was called as "Mahamana."[60]

3.7 Sir Surendranath Banerjee :

Surendranath Banerjee has been called the 'father of the nationalist movement in India '. He was born in 1848. After completing his education, he appeared in the Indian civil service examination. he was the editor of the newspaper called the Bengali. He also set up the Ripon college. He was the member of Bengal legislative council. He was elected president of the Indian national congress twice 1898 and 1902. He was a patriot and an educationist. He was very much influenced by western literature and culture. "He was a leader who believed in co-operation with the British rather than In an attitude of confrontation."[61] He advocated constitutional means for attaining his political goals. He too believed in the basic goodness of the British he thought that if the British were to understand the difficult faced by Indians, they would try to solve them.

"Surendranath Banerjee was the first Indian to pass the Indian civil service examination, but his appointment in the civil service was held up on flimsy grounds.[62] In order to fight against injustices, he founded the Indian association which demanded equal treatment of the Indians with the Europeans while making recruitment to the Indian civil service. "His association protested against the repressive measures of the british rule like the vernacular press act, the arms act, and the inhuman treatment given to the Indian workers in tea and indigo plantations owned by the british."[63] Surendra Nath Banerjee was a great leader of the Moderates. He criticized the wrong policies of the British but he was grateful to them for the modern outlook that they had brought to India. Regarding the British rule in India, he said: "Opposition where necessary, co-operation where possible."[64] He aimed at the establishment of self-government in India. He was one of the proponents of the idea of boycotting foreign goods and of using Swadeshi. This idea was endorsed b y the Congress and later on popularized by Mahatma Gandhi. Surendra Nath Banerjee died on 6th August, 1925.

Surendra Nath Banerjee was a great nationalist. He believed that all economic problem of India emanated from the faulty policies of the imperial regime. They crippled our Industries, deprived livelihood of our artisans, and impoverished our peasants. Besides, the sale of the foreign goods was harmful to our trade and commerce. This made him to preach the use of Swadeshi and boycott of imported goods. He was one of the earliest Indian political leaders during "the British Raj."[65] He founded the Indian National Association, one of the earliest Indian political

organizations, and later became a senior leader of the Indian National Congress. He was also known by the sobriquet, "Rashtraguru (the teacher of the nation)."[66]

3.7.1 Surendranath Banerjee's Political Work :

He is remembered and widely respected today as a pioneer leader of Indian politics first treading the path for Indian political empowerment. He published an important work, A Nation in making which was widely acclaimed. The British respected him and referred to him during his later years as Surendranath Banerjee. But nationalist politics in India meant opposition, and increasingly there were others whose opposition was more vigorous and who came to center stage. He could accept neither the extremist view of political action nor the noncooperation of Gandhi, then emerging as a major factor in the nationalist movement. He saw the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 as substantially fulfilling Congress's demands, a position which further isolated him. He was elected to the reformed Legislative Council of Bengal in 1921, knighted in the same year, and believed office as minister for local self-government from 1921 to 1924. "He was defeated at the polls in 1923. He died at Barrack pore on August 6, 1925."[67] But nationalist politics in India meant opposition, and increasingly there were others whose opposition was "more vigorous and who came to center stage."[68] He could accept neither the extremist view of political action nor the noncooperation of Gandhi, then emerging as a major factor in the nationalist movement. He saw the Montagu- Chelmsford reforms of 1919 as substantially fulfilling Congress's demands, "a position which further isolated him."[69] He was elected to the reformed Legislative Council of Bengal in 1921, knighted in the same year, and believed office as minister for local self-government from 1921 to 1924. He was defeated at the polls in 1923. He died at Barrack pore on Aug. 6, 1925. The Moderates, who had been pleading with the Government for reform, became less popular and there arose a number of new leaders who were more radical in their demands and "who believed in a more militant form of nationalism."[70]

He was the first Indian to pass the Indian civil services examination. He was the editor of the news paper called the Bengali. He also set up the Ripon College. He was the Member of Bengal legislative council. He was elected president of the Indian National Congress twice. He was educationalist and was very much influenced by

western literature and culture. "He was a leader who believed in co-operation with the British rather in an attitude of confrontation."[71] He advocated constitution means for at taming his political goals. He too believed in the basic goodness of the British were to understand the difficulties faced by Indians they would try to solve them. He was a great leader of the Moderates, he criticized the wrong polices of the British but he was grateful to them for the modern outlook that they had brought to India. Regarding the British rule in India, he said opposition when necessary, co-operation where possible. "He aimed at the establishment of self-government in India."[72] He was one of the proponents of the idea of boycotting foreign goods and of using Swadeshi due to his hard work and contribution towards National movement he was called the father of the nationalist movement in India.

3.8 Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha :

Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha was a Parsi Indian politician from Bombay. He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, and its "President in 1901."[73] He was President of the Indian "Merchants' Chamber in 1915."[74] He was knighted in 1917. He worked in close association with Dadabhai Navroji and Pherozeshah Mehta in the Congress and was active in both social reform and educational fields and in political activities. He took a keen and active interest in the Bombay Municipality, being its member for forty years. He was a founder - member of the Indian National Congress, functioned as its Secretary for several years and was "elected its President in 1901."[75] He was the Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association for thirty years (1885-1915) before "he became its President (1915-18)."[76]

3.8.1 Dinshaw Wacha's Political Work :

The positions he believed were many and various. He was knighted in 1917. "He was a prolific writer and was foremost educating the people and creating an enlightened public opinion on the political and economic issues that faced the country."[77] Dinshaw Edulji Wacha was a great leader of Moderates. He worked in close association with Dadabhai Navroji and "Pherozeshah Mehta in the congress and was active in both social reform and educational fields and in political activities."[78] He ranks with Gopal Krishna Gokhale as the custodian and sat dog of the country's

finance. He was the founder member of the Indian National Congress and was also president. "He had faith in constitutional means and in public opinion in favour of their demands."[79] He believed that the British government could be persuaded by arguments and that it would respond to Indian public opinion. He did not want to over throw British rule by violence. "His chief demand was self-government within the British regime."[80] He had friendly relations with the British. He was influenced by the western education, thought and culture. He believed many positions in various fields. He was a prolific writer due to his hard work and contribution towards National movement and freedom struggle he was knighted.

3.9 Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade :

M G Ranade was born in an orthodox Brahman family of Maharashtra. He married Ramabai who was provided an education by him. Ranade was a social reformer who emphasized widow remarriage and girl's education. "He wanted to abolish purdah system."[81] He founded the Prarthana samaj in 1868. Ramabai Ranade founded the Poona Sewa Sadan, which worked for the welfare of windows and orphans. Here girls were trained as nurses. Mahadeo Govind Ranade was a distinguished Indian scholar, social reformer and author. "He was a founding member of the Indian National Congress."[82] and owned several designations as member of the Bombay legislative council, member of the finance committee at the centre, and the "judge of Bombay High Court."[83] A well known public figure, his personality as a calm and patient optimist would influence his attitude towards dealings with Britain as well as reform in India. During his life he helped establish the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Prarthana Samaj, and would edit a Bombay Anglo-Marathi daily paper, the Induprakash, founded on his ideology of social and religious reform. He was appointed Presidency magistrate, fourth judge of the Bombay Small Causes Court in 1871

3.9.1 Mahadeo Govind Ranade's Political work :

Ranade founded the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and later was one of the originators of the Indian National Congress. "He has been portrayed as an early

adversary of the politics of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and a mentor to Gopal Krishna Gokhale."[84]

3.9.2 Mahadeo Govind Ranade's Social Work :

Ranade was a founder of the Social Conference movement, which he supported till his death, directing his social reform efforts against child marriage, the shaving of widows' heads, the heavy cost of marriages and other social functions, and the caste restrictions on traveling abroad, and he strenuously advocated widow remarriage and female education. "He was one of the founders of the Widow Marriage Association in 1861."[85] Ranade attempted to work with the structure of weakened traditions, reforming, but not destroying the social atmosphere that was India's heritage. Ranade valued India's history, having had a great interest in Shivaji and the Bhakti movement, but he also recognized the influence that British rule over India had on its development. Ranade encouraged the acceptance of change, believing traditional social structures, like the caste system, should accommodate change, thereby preserving India's ancient heritage.

Mahadeo Ranade's wife Ramabai Ranade has written a book (in Marathi) called "Amchya ayushyatil kahi athvani."[86] which is entirely devoted to Mahadeo Ranade's life, his work and the elite Maharastrian Brahmin culture. Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade was a great Indian scholar social reformer and author. Prarthana samaj for the welfare of the Indian people. He also started Anglo-Marathi daily news paper called the Induprakash. He worked for Indian economic growth. He was one of the originators of the Indian National Congress. He worked for reform of Indian culture and use of an adoption of western culture. He criticized superstitions and blind faith. He was conservative in his own life. He also gave important to education and window remarriages. He had faith in constitutional means and in public opinion. He believed in loyalty to the British crown. He believed that the British presence in India was a blessing to Indians and he relied on the British to guide the politics in India. He professed that the British rule has done much good in India by cleansing the Indian society of its ills like the customs of sati, untouchability and child marriages. He always believed in the sense of justice honesty and integrity of the British. Then he sacrificed his life for the sake of National movement and freedom struggle.

3.10 Badruddin Tyabji :

Badruddin Tyabji was the President of the third Indian National Congress. He was succeeded by George Yule. He was the First Muslim & Indian to become the "President of Indian National Congress".[87] Badruddin entered public life after three years at the Bar. In July 1871, he was prominent in the agitation for an elective Bombay Municipal Corporation, and topped the list of those subsequently elected on that body. From then on, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Kashinath Telang were popularly known (in that order) as The Triumvirate, "The Three Stars,"[88] of Bombay's public life. In 1882 he became a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, but resigned in 1886 for reasons of health. In 1885 he helped to found the Bombay Presidency Association and virtually ran it all by himself. Soon afterwards, the Indian National Congress believed its first session in Bombay under its auspices; and Badruddin and Camruddin (his brother) were among its delegates.

He campaigned against Purdah all his life, holding that it went far beyond the Quranic injunctions. His was the first Muslim family to discard it; his daughters were the first to be sent abroad for education. He supported the Age of Consent Bill (1891), despite Hindu and Muslim opposition On Badruddin fell the main burden of counteracting the Two-Nation theory. Among Muslims, Badruddin was the first to create a secular political consciousness; and nationally he was a pioneer in making it the Indian ideal.

3.11 Sir William Wedderburn :

William Wedderburn was a Scottish civil servant and politician. He entered the Indian Civil Service in Bombay in 1860, served as District Judge and Judicial Commissioner in Sind; acted as secretary to Bombay Government, Judicial and Political Departments; and from 1885 acted as Judge of the High Court, Bombay. He retired when acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay in 1887. Along with Allan Octavian Hume he was a founder of the "Indian National Congress and served as its president in 1889 and 1910."[89] He was an unsuccessful parliamentary candidate in North Ayrshire in 1892 and served as "Liberal Member of Parliament for Banffshire from 1893 to 1900."[90] He was a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1895 and chairman of Indian Parliamentary Committee. He was

considered a great friend of the Indian Progressive Movement and presided at the Indian National Congress, 1889, later Chairman, "British Committee of the Indian National Congress."[91] William, Wedderburn's attention was focused on famine, the poverty of the Indian peasantry, the problem of agricultural indebtedness and the question of reviving the ancient village system. His concern with these problems brought him in touch with the Indian National Congress. William. Wedderburn believed in the principle of self-government. Along with the founders of the Indian National Congress, he believed in the future of India in partnership with the British Commonwealth and welcomed the formal proclamation made by the British Government on August 20, 1917, that the goal of British policy in India was the progressive establishment of self-government. Some members of the old order condemned him as a disloyal officer, for his continual tirades against the bureaucracy, his incessant pleading for the Indian peasant and for his stand on "constitutional reforms for India."[92] William Wedderburn's main contribution to the promotion of national consciousness was his life-long labour on behalf of the Indian Reform Movement. Sir William Wedderburn was one of the great leader of Moderates. "He was an educationalist social reformer too. He believed the position in different regions."[93] He served as District judge in Bombay. He was considered a great friend of the Indian progressive movement and president at the Indian National Congress. "His service in Indian has helped for the progress of the nation, he focused on famine poverty and the problem of agriculture."[94] He believed in the principal of self-government. He believed in the future of India in partnership with the British common wealth. "His main contribution to the promotion of national consciousness was his life-long labour on behalf of the Indian reform movement."[95]

The method of functioning of the Indian national congress: The functioning of the leaders of the early congress was moderate. During the early period the demands of the congress were placed before the government through petitions." Because of that government was not disturbed."[96] After the second session, the viceroy hosted a party to the representatives of the congress. But later the popularity of the congress increased. "The number of members also increased."[97] At the same time the congress undertook the movements for political awakening of the masses. Therefore, the government became cautious and imposed restrictions on the congress. "The congress workers had to give a guarantee of good conduct."[98] But, these oppressive policies

could not suppress the movement. On the contrary, its popularity increased. The atmosphere became charged. The British government imposed a ban on government servants attending the sessions of the congress. "On account of this, government servants like justice Ranade faced problems."[99] However, justice Ranade indirectly supported the congress and continued to provide guidance. The sessions of the Indian social conference were held at the same place as that of the congress.

During this period Dadabhai Navroji and Womesh Chandra Banerjee tried to create a favourable atmosphere in England for the work of Indian national congress. Because of that, many English stood by the Indian cause in the British parliament. "The government had to acknowledge the efforts of the Indian leaders and the support extended to them by the English parliamentarians."[100] By the Indian Council Act of 1892, the government tried to pacify the moderates. By this Act, the Governor General's Council was expanded to include more members for legislative purposes. Some of the members were to be nominated from the local bodies, universities, chambers of commerce and land holders associations. "The power of the legislature was increased and now it was empowered to discuss budged and ask question."[101] Really speaking, the 1892 act did not satisfy the moderates. But the moderate's leadership followed a policy of accepting whatever reforms the government offered. "The leaders of the younger generation of Indian national Congress did not approve of this. Their dissatisfaction increased."[102] The British government introduced reforms on the one hand and applied the policy of divide and rule on the other. The misunderstanding that the Congress could not represent the Muslims was instilled into the minds of the Muslim leadership by the British government. By separating the Muslims from other Indians, the government tried to dissipate the strength of the National movement. The loyalty and the moderation of the moderates came to be criticized later. "The moderates leaders believed in the English sense of the justice."[103] In spite of the limitations of the moderates, the work done by them was significant. "They laid the foundations of Indian's struggle for independence by way of representation and petitions."[104] Later on, leaders like G.K. Gokhale entered the legislature and put forth the demands of the people before the government. Similarly they brought the shortcomings of the government into the open. "It is true that the criticism had very little effect on the government."[105] Yet in other respects their politics of petitions was very significant. This moderate movement sowed the seeds of

constitutional politics in the minds of people. "The opinion of Justice Ranade on this clearly explains the role of the moderates."[106] As he said, though these petitions and memoranda were technically addressed to the government, in reality they were addressed to the people. He believed that these petitions would teach the people how to think constitutionally. "He urged the leaders to continue this work without accepting any glaring results, because this kind of politics was to India."[107] In short, the moderate leaders prepared the base for democracy in India.

In one sense, the moderate period laid the foundations for the extremist period. In the context of social reforms, the British government was called the providential gift, but by criticizing the British government on economic issues the moderates contributed to the discontent. Dadabhai Navroji held the British took away raw material required by by the british industries from India and made all efforts to sell the british finished goods in India. "As a result the traditional India indigenous industries received a blow."[108] Dadabhai Navroji threw light on the economic exploitation of India by the british. Dadabhai postulated that the expenditure on the railways and telegraphs; the expenses incurred on the officers for India in England; all these expenses were made for the benefit of England, though the expenses were made from the India treasury. Thus, India's wealth went to England and India suffered a great economic drain.

"Justice Ranade accepted this thought change in attitude of Dadabhai's. This resulted in the growing consciousness in Indian society about the evil effects of the british economic policies."[109] Dadabhai Navroji, the author of the economic drain theory became almost an extremist towards the end of his career. "Agitate and continue to agitate was his message to the Indian people."[110] Swaraj, swadeshi, national education and boycott was the four fold programme of the congress that was announced in 1906 by Dadabhai Navroji. "From here, the impact of extremist opinion in the national movement increased and the second phase of Indian national movement began."[111] The moderates believed in constitutional methods and in constitutional methods and in methods of persuasion. "They regularly sent petitions and resolutions to the government for change."[112] some of the important demands raised by the congress during this period can be summarized as under:

- Better representation of Indians in the legislative council.
- Introduction of legislative council in those states where it did not exist.
- Holding the civil services examinations in India so that more Indians could copy occupy high positions.
- Change in the economic policies of the government so as to benefit Indians industries.
- A cut in military expenditure, and
- Stopping the drain of India's wealth to Britain.

The contribution of moderates gave a non-violent fight for the Indians against the violent government. Though it was a political fight its base was social that is the discriminatory practices. Here for the first time moderates realized a social problem. In their struggle they were successful at the same time a social base for their political leadership was also created.

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CHAPTER- IV

MODERATES METHODS OF POLITICAL WORK

The three-fold Objectives of the early nationalists were to educate people in modern politics, to arouse national and political consciousness and to create a united public opinion on political questions. They adopted constitutional means for the attainment of those objectives. They had full faith in the liberalism and sense of justice of British rulers. "It was because of their demands as well as their methods that they earned the title of moderate nationalists of Moderates".[1]

4.1 Methods of the Moderates :

The main objective of the Moderates was to achieve self-government within the British Empire In order to achieve this aim; they made several demands for reform and indulged in criticizing the Government policies. "They believed in patience and reconciliation rather than in violence and confrontation."[2] They relied on constitutional and peaceful methods in order to achieve their aim.

As the Congress then was in its infancy, they had to educate people, arouse their political consciousness and create public opinion, which, in time, could change the destiny of the Indians. For this they held meeting and held discussions concerning social, economic and cultural matters. They also organized annual sessions with delegates participating from all parts of the country. After the discussions, resolutions were adopted. "The views of the Congress in the form of resolutions were then forwarded to the Government for its information and appropriate action."[3]

1. Lectures :

Some of the important examples of the lectures held by moderates were based on self government, to reform the government policies, to educate the Indians, regarding Indian culture, tradition, religion, language and economy. Thus In order to create public opinion in England, the Moderates arranged lectures in different parts of England. A weekly journal called India was published in England for circulation among the British population. A British Member of Parliament attended the Congress session in 1889. "He drafted a bill in consultation with

Indian leaders for reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils."[4] The British Government passed the Indian council Act 1892. The passing of this bill was one of the achievements of the Moderates.

2. **Press :**

Moderates used different types of newspaper and chronicles to criticizes the government policies through newspaper like Bengali newspaper, Bombay chronicle an English language weekly newspaper, Hindustan Times, Nationalist weekly, Induprakash, Bombay Anglo Marathi daily paper, Rast Goftar and a weekly journal India. They also asked the Government to conduct an enquiry and find ways and means to solve the problems faced by people. The British Government was not opposed to the Congress. Officials of the Government attended some of its meetings. In the beginning, Lord Dufferin encouraged Mr. Hume to form this national organization. "In 1886, he invited the Congress members to a garden party in Calcutta."[5] The British thought the Congress would confine itself to academic discussion of their demands. But the increased criticism of the British policies, made "the government to change their attitude to the Congress from indifference to open hostility."[6] They even ridiculed the Congress saying that it was an organization of self-appointed people, who did not represent the views of the Indian people.

"The Congressmen held that they being educated represented the brain and conscience of the country and were legitimate spokesmen of the Indian masses."[7] The Government refused to accept this explanation and paid no attention to the "recommendations submitted by the Congress."[8]

3. **Meetings and Speeches :**

The moderates organized meetings at various places like England, Mumbai, Allahabad, Pune, Ahmadabad, Chennai, Delhi, and Calcutta. Their speeches were based on desired reforms and they believed in loyalty to the British crown. They held that the British presence in India was a blessing to Indians and they relied on the British to guide the politics in India. Their speeches were based on the sense justice, honesty and integrity the British. Thus moderates organized meetings and speeches of a very high caliber were made and resolutions containing popular demands passed. They submitted memorandums and petitions to the government

for the introduction of desired reforms. They also adopted measures to influence British public opinion in England. "They criticized the policies of the government through the press. Meetings, sessions and lectures."[9]

The Congressmen who dominated the affairs of the Congress from 1885 to 1905 were known as the Moderates. They belonged to a class which was Indian in blood and colour but British in tastes, opinions, morals and intellect. "They were the supporters of British institutions."[10] They believed that what India needed was a balanced and lucid presentation of her needs before the Englishmen and their Parliament and their demands were bound to be satisfied. They had faith in the British sense of justice and fair-play. India's connection with the West through England was considered to be a boon and not a curse. "The Moderates believed in loyalty to the British crown."[11] This fact is clearly brought out by the statements made from time to time by the Moderate leaders. Dadabhai is said to have observed, Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the back bone that we understand the benefits of the English rule has conferred upon us. Surendranath Banerjee, described his attitude towards England in these words Let us work with unwavering loyalty to the British connection. "Then will the Congress have fulfilled its mission-justified the hopes of those who founded it,"[12] who worked for it not by the supersession of British rule in India but by broadening its basis, liberalizing its spirit, ennobling its character and placing it upon the unchangeable foundations of a nation's affection. It is not reverence that we look forward but unification, permanent embodiment, as an integral part of that great empire which has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions covered the world with free states. Again, To England we look for guidance. To England we look for sympathy in the struggle. From England must come the crowning mandate which will enfranchise our people? England is our political guide and our moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political duty. English history has taught those principles of freedom which we cherish with our life-blood. We have fed upon the strong food of English constitutional freedom.

"The Moderates relied upon the solemn pledges given by the British Government to the people of India from time to time and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 was one of them."[13] Surendranath Banerjee called this Proclamation as The Magna Carta of our rights and liberties. He went to the extent of saying that the

Proclamation, the whole Proclamation and nothing but the proclamation is our watchword, our battle-cry and ensign of victory. It is the gospel of our political redemption. The Moderates believed in orderly progress and constitutional agitation. They believed in patience, steadiness, conciliation and union. To quote Surendranath Banerjee, "The Triumphs of liberty are not to be won in a day. Liberty is jealous goddess, exacting in her worship and claiming from her votaries prolonged and assiduous devotion".[14] In 1887, Badruddin Tyabji, the Congress President, observed: "Be moderate in your demands, just in your criticism, correct in your facts and logical in your conclusions".[15] Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh is said to have remarked; "You must have patience, you must learn to wait and everything will come to you in time".[16]

The Moderates believed in constitutional agitation within the four corners of law. They believed that their main task was to educate the people, to arouse national political consciousness and to create a united public opinion on political questions. For that purpose they held meetings. They criticized the government through the press. They drafted and submitted memorandum and petitions to the government, to the officials of the Government of India and also to the British Parliament. They also worked to influence the British Parliament and British public opinion and a lot of money was spent for years for that purpose. The object of the memorandum and petitions was to enlighten the British public and political leaders about the conditions prevailing in India. Deputations of leading Indian leaders were sent to Britain in 1889. Dadabhai spent a major part of his life and income in Britain doing propaganda among its people and politicians. The object before the Moderates was the wider employment of Indians in high office in the public service and the establishment of representative institutions. Surendranath Banerjee pointed out that they lay at the root of all other Indian problems. If power was vested in us to legislate and to control the finances and to carry on the administration through and by our men, in accordance with the principles laid down by our representatives "we should have self-government in the true sense".[17] This could be accomplished by the goodwill and cooperation of the British people. With their firm faith in the values of Western culture and the sense of justice of the Englishmen, no other attitude was possible. They believed in slow progress towards democracy which according to many of them was an exotic plant

that would take time to get acclimatized to the Indian soil and involve long training for the people to get used to it.

The Moderates were fully aware of the fact that India was a nation in the making. Indian nationhood was gradually coming into being and could not be taken for granted as an accomplished fact. They worked constantly for the development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity irrespective of region, caste or religion. "They hoped to make a humble beginning in this direction by promoting close contacts and friendly relations among the people from different parts of the country."[18] The economic and political demands of the Moderates were formulated with a view to unify the Indian people on the basis of a common political programme. They organized a powerful all-India agitation against the abandonment of tariff-duties on imports and against the imposition of cotton exercises duties. The agitation aroused the feelings of the people and helped them to realize the real aims and purpose of British rule in India.

4.2 Political Propaganda in England :

The agitation for the introduction of reforms in Indian administration was not confined to India or to the Indians. From very early times the work in India was supplemented by work in England, both by the Indians and Englishmen. The first Indian to realize the importance of such work was Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The memorandum which he submitted to the Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs was the first authentic statement of Indian views placed before the British authorities by an eminent Indian. "It is generally agreed that this and other activities of the Raja during his visit to England produced some good effect and influenced the Charter Act."[19]

Dwaraka-Nath Tagore, the grandfather of poet Rabindra-Nath, was the next prominent Indian political leader to visit England. The honour and cordiality with which he was received in Britain offers a striking and refreshing contrast to the general attitude of the British towards the Indians in later times. During his first visit to Britain in 1842, he was given a public reception by the notabilities of England, and even "her Majesty Queen Victoria invited him to lunch and dinner."[20] Special importance's attached to a function at Edinburgh where a public address was given to

Dwaraka-nath Tagore in which a hope was expressed that in India "the rod of oppression may be forever broken and that the yoke of an unwilling subjection may be everywhere exchanged for a voluntary allegiance."[21]

"Both Rammohan, and Dwaraka-nath felt the need of carrying on propaganda in England on behalf of India, and made permanent arrangements for this work, as mentioned above."[22] This was further facilitated by the fact that throughout the nineteenth century a band of noble-minded Englishmen, inspired by the liberal and democratic views of their country, felt real sympathy for India and exerted themselves on her behalf. Of the many Englishmen of this type special reference should be made to Fawcett, John Bright, Charles Bradlaugh, and Digby who were public men in England, and Allan Octavian Hume, William Wedderburn, and Henry Cotton, who were members of the Indian Civil Service.

Henry Fawcett has justly been described as one of the greatest and truest friends of India in England. He entered the House of Commons in 1865. His close vigilance and unremitting attention to the Indian finance earned for him the sobriquet of Member for India He openly and repeatedly advocated the appointment of able Indians in increasing number of the higher branches of administration in their own country, and, in 1868, moved a resolution in the House of Commons for holding the competitive examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service, not only in London, but also simultaneously in "Calcutta, Bombay and Madras."[23]

Fawcett deplored the lack of interest in Indian affairs even among the members of the House of Commons. Addressing his constituency at Brighton in 1872, he said: "The most worthless question ever brought before Parliament, a wrangle over the purchase of a picture, excited more interest than the welfare of one hundred and eighty millions of our Indian fellow-subjects. The people of India have no votes, they cannot bring even so much pressure to bear upon Parliament as can be brought by one of our railway Companies; but with some confidence I believe that I shall not be misinterpreting your wishes if, as your representative, I do whatever can be done by one humble individual to render justice to the defenseless and powerless."[24]

Nearly three-fourths of the army that took part in the Abyssinian expedition of 1868 were drawn from India and the entire cost was thrown upon "the Indian exchequer."[25] Fawcett protested against this in the House of Commons, but found

himself in the minority of 23 to 198, though later, on account of his repeated protests, the cost was shared between England and India. "Fawcett also protested against the cost of the ball dance given to the Sultan of Turkey at the India Office being charged to India."[26]

Fawcett was never tired of drawing attention to the dire poverty of India and the dangerously narrow margin upon which the mass of the Indian population lived on the verge of starvation. It was at his instance that in 1871 the British Parliament appointed a committee, with Fawcett himself as Chairman, to inquire into the financial administration of India. Fawcett was also unsparing in his criticism of the autocratic regime of Lord Lytton. He attacked the policy leading to war with Afghanistan, and vigorously denounced the remission of cotton import duties for the sake of party interest in England, as well as the extravagant expenditure incurred for the Delhi Durbar, particularly at a time when India was in the grip of a terrible famine. "India fully appreciated the services of Fawcett who had been fighting, almost single-handed, her cause against tremendous odds against his own countrymen."[27] He was so loved and admired by the Indians that when, at the General Election of 1875, he lost his seat for Brighton, a sum of £ 750 was raised by public subscription in India to enable him to contest another seat. "The pious wishes of India were fulfilled, for Fawcett was shortly after returned to the House of Commons from Hackney."[28]

There is no evidence to show that the sympathy and activities of Fawcett and other British friends of India, to whom reference has been made elsewhere, really exercised any appreciable influence on British policy towards India. But it had a great effect upon "Indian politics."[29] Throughout the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century their examples kept up the faith of the largest and most influential section of Indian political leaders in the sense of justice and fair play of the British, and sustained their hope that the "Indians would attain their political goal with the help and co-operation of the British."[30]

One of the oldest and most well-known representatives of this class of Indian politicians was Dadabhai Navroji to whom reference has already been made above. He was also one of the small band of Indian who made England Imperialism was slowly creeping over Indo-British relations. "The East India Association continued-it continues even today-but it lacked the old sympathy for India and consequently lost its old vigorous activity, beneficial of India."[31] Another association, with a view to

carrying on both social and political work for India in London, was founded in 1867 by Mary Carpenter, the famous biographer of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who visited India four times during the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. The National Indian Association, as it was called, had its branches in different parts of India. "It did not, how-ever, acquire much importance."[32]

It may be made to a few Indians who distinguished themselves by propagating Indian views during short residence in England. Ananda-Mohan Bose, a young student of Cambridge, established 'Indian Society' in London in 1872 in order to foster "the spirit of nationalism among the Indian residents in Britain."[33] About his speech at Brighton in 1873 Mr. White, M.P., remarked that never in his life had he listened to a more eloquent description of the wrongs of India. Bose's speech was mainly instrumental in carrying by 74 votes against 26 a motion in the Cambridge University Union, "that in the opinion of this House England has failed in her duties to India" [34], moved by sayyed Mahmud.

4.3 Criticism of the Methods of Moderates :

The Moderates criticized the individual administrative measures and worked hard to reform the administrative system, which was ridden with corruption, inefficiency and oppression. They demanded the Indianisation of the higher grades of the administrative services. The demand was put forward on economic, political and moral grounds. Economically, the high salaries paid to the Europeans put a heavy burden on Indian finance and contributed to the economic drain. The Europeans sent out of India a large part of their salaries and also got their pensions in England. That added to the drain of wealth from India. Politically, the European civil servant ignored the needs of the Indians and favoured the European capitalists at the cost of their Indian counter parts. "It was hoped that the Indianisation of the services would make the administration more responsive to Indian needs."[35]

Morally, the existing system divided the Indian character reducing the tallest Indian to permanent inferiority in his own country. The Moderates opposed tooth and nail the restrictions imposed by the government on the freedom of speech and the press. In 1897, Tilak and many other leaders were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for spreading disaffection against the government through

their speeches and writings. The Natu brothers of Poona were deported without trial. The arrest of Tilak marked the beginning of new phase in the nationalist movement. The Amrit Bazar Patrika wrote, "There is scarcely a home in the vast country where Tilak is not now the subject of melancholy talk and where his imprisonment is not considered as a domestic calamity".[36]

The basic weakness of the Moderates lay in their narrow social base their movement did not have a wide appeal. The area of their influence was limited to the urban community. As they did not have the support of the masses, they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a challenge to the foreign rulers. That was likely to invite pre-mature repression. The Moderate leaders did not realize the enormous reserve of power behind the government. If the Congress were to do anything as you suggest, the government would have no difficulty in throttling it in five minutes. However, it must not be presumed that the Moderate leaders fought for their narrow interests. Their programmes and policies championed the cause of all sections of the Indian people and represented nation-wide interests against colonial exploitation.

In 1887 the Moderate leaders attacked the Congress and ridiculed it as representing "a microscopic minority of the people".[37] Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, accused the Congress leaders of possessing seditious and double-sided character. He went to the extent of abusing Dadabhai Navroji and declared that Dadabhai's residence and association with radical and socialist British leaders had deteriorated whatever brains or presence of mind he may originally have possessed. The British officers publicly criticized and condemned the Indian National Congress and its leaders. The Congress was described as a Factory of Sedetation and the Congressmen as disappointed candidates for office and discontented lawyers who represented no one but themselves. Lord Curzon declared in 1900, The Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise. He declared the Congress as an unclean thing. Some Englishmen accused the Indian National Congress of receiving Russian gold. Lord Elgin II openly threatened the Indians in 1898 in these words; India was conquered by the sword and by the sword it shall be held. The British officials relied upon the policy of Divide and Rule to weaken the nationalist movement. They encouraged Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Raja Shiv Prasad and other pro-British Indians to start an anti-Congress movement.

"They tried to drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims."[38] They fanned communal rivalries among the educated Indians on the question of jobs in government service. Since the inauguration of the Indian National Congress it represented the voice of the politically conscious India, and the British attitude towards it may be justly regarded as the touchstone of British liberalism and the key to the British policy towards India. "The Indians were not left long in doubt as to what that attitude was likely to be."[39]

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and school masters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. If they were carried out, the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. "Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test."[40] Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all. The whole business of their lives has been a training for such work as this. But that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the entire Mahomedan population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact. Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make the good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been. The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members. To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a satiable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will, the government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither "England nor India can have

any reason to be dissatisfied with it."[41] The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. "Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them."[42] But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. "It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view."[43]

Its fundamental assumptions were that the Congress demands for the political reforms were tantamount to Home Rule, and that the Indians were by no means fit for it. As was pointed out at the time in the "Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha,"[44] the people of the neighboring island of Ceylon enjoyed far greater political rights and privileges than the Indians, though both were under the British Crown. In Ceylon there was no such racial discrimination in the eye of the law as was sought to be prevented by the Ilbert Bill. The maximum age for candidates at the competitive examination for Civil Service was 24 instead of 19 as in India. Ceylon had already effected the disestablishment of the English Church which received no grant from the public exchequer. The most important point in the present context was the character of the Legislative Council in Ceylon as compared with that in India. The Ceylon Council was more representative in character as the non-official members were elected, not nominated. It possessed the right of interpellation on executive matters, and complete control over finances, as the annual budget required the sanction of the legislature. The result was that Ceylon, unlike India, had not to bear the cost of Abyssinian War and Egyptian expedition, or the expenses for the entertainment of the Sultan of Turkey in London. After pointing out all these differences the Journal pertinently asked the question whether the preferential treatment of the Ceylonese is justified by their superiority to the Indian in any respect.

It would be difficult to mention that the Ceylonese have ever been more distinguished than the Indians, either in regard to political ability or in cultural progress. As a matter of fact, Ceylon is contiguous to India and may be regarded, for all practical purposes, as part and parcel of India. Its population always contained a very strong element of Indians as it does today. To denounce as preposterous the general political demands of the Indians formulated by the Congress, which did not

substantially exceed what was already enjoyed by the Ceylonese, betokened a deep-seated policy of never relinquishing the hold on India. "This alone satisfactorily explains the attitude maintained by the British Government towards India."[45] A British Member of Parliament attended the Congress session in 1889. He drafted a bill in consultation with Indian leaders for reform and expansion of the legislative Councils. The British Government passed the Indian Council Act of 1892. The passing of this bill was one of the achievements of the Moderates.

The British Government was not opposed to the Congress. Officials of the government attended some of its meeting. In the beginning, Lord Dufferin encouraged Mr. Hume to form this national organization. In 1886, he invited the Congress members to a garden party in Calcutta. The British thought the Congress would confine itself to academic discussion of their demands. But the increased criticism of the British policies, made the Government to change their attitude to the Congress from indifference to open hostility. They even ridiculed the Congress saying that it was an organization of self-appointed people, who did not represent the views of the Indian people.

The Congress held that they being educated represent the brain and conscience of the country and was legitimate spokesmen of the Indian masses. "The Government refused to accept this explanation and paid no attention to the recommendations submitted by the Congress."[46] The critics of the Moderates accuse them that they used half-hearted measures and they were treated with contempt by the British. In this regard, Lala Lajpat Rai said, "After more than 20 years of more or less futile agitation for concessions and redress of grievances, they had received stones in place of bread."[47] "The Moderates were accused of failing in their mission of acquiring roots among the masses."[48] It is said that they moved with intellectuals who represented a small section of people. But they were not the leaders who could mobilize the Indian masses. The basic weakness of the Moderates lay in their narrow social base.

Their movement did not have wide appeal. The area of their influence was limited to urban community. "As they did not have the support of the masses, they did not have the support of the masses; they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a challenge to the foreign rules. That was likely to invite premature repression."[49]

4.4 Demands of the Moderates :

The programmes of the Moderates from 1885 to 1905 were rather modest and mainly confined to the following demands;

"The early Congress leaders blamed the Imperial Government for all the economic ills of India. The main points for reformations of the economic backwardness and stagnation of agriculture industry were:"[50] Eradication of poverty by increasing industrial production, and by giving protection and encouragement to Indian industries. The Indian leaders protested against the exemption of duty for British goods. A reduction in land revenue and protection of the rights of the peasants against the high-handedness of the landlords. Abolition of salt tax because it hit the poor and the lower middle classes hard. A reduction in expenditure on the army and on the British civil servants. (All the savings of the British personnel were transferred to England and large amounts of money were thus lost to India.) Utilization of the money thus saved (by reducing expenditure on the army) for the welfare projects in India. Protection against exploitation of Indian labour in British colonies abroad. Some radical and extremist members even advocated the boycott of foreign cloth and made a bonfire of it in Poona in 1896 to express their disillusionment over the inadequacy of the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

The Moderates opposed the curbs imposed on freedom of speech, press and association. "Obtaining these rights had been one of the main tents of the Indian National Congress right from the beginning."[51] When in 1897, Bal Gangadhar Tilak as well as other leaders were arrested for making offensive speeches, the whole Congress stood by them. The Moderates sought that the administration of the country should have more representation and co-operation of the people. "The Moderates did not ask for self-government."[52] Their main demands were: They demanded the expansion and reform of the Legislative Council. There should be an increase in membership and powers of these Councils. Members of the Legislative Councils should be directly elected by the people. The Indian Council Act, passed in 1892, failed to satisfy the Indians, as the majority of the members and the real powers was not given to the Indians. There should be complete separation between the executive and judicial branches of administration. In the beginning of the 20th century, the nationalists demands full self-government on the model of self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada.

"The Congress leaders worked hard to reform the administrative System which was oppressive, inefficient and corrupt."[53] They favored Idealization of civil services. They recommended that educated Indians should be appointed to higher posts then occupied by the British. There should be simultaneous examinations in England and in India for recruitment to the India Civil Service. They demanded the repeal of the Arms Act. They urged the development of banking, medical and health facilities as well as educational facilities for people. They favoured Indianisation of civil services. The Moderates demanded the separation of the judiciary from executive. They were opposed to the policy of disarming the people of India by the government. They wanted the government to spend more money on the spread of education in the country.

They took up the cause of the Indians who had migrated to the British colonies. The Moderates demanded the expansion and reform of the existing Legislative Council. They demanded the introduction of the system of direct elections and an increase in the number of members and powers of the Legislative Council. It is true that their agitation forced the government to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892 but the Moderates were not satisfied with what was given to the people of India. They declared the Act of 1891 as a hoax. They demanded a larger share for the Indians in the Legislative Councils. Later on, the "Moderates put forward the claim for Swarajya of self-government within the British Empire on the model of the self-governing colonies."[54] In response to the demands for the expansion of legislatures, India was given the Indian Councils Act in 1892, and later the Morley-Minto Reforms. "The army was restructured to reduce the expenditure and to accommodate more Indians according to an earlier demand of the Congress."[55] In the interest of economic development, the Congress made a demand for reducing taxes, encouraging Indian industries, providing relief to the farmers in repayment of debts and reviving cottage industries. "It also recommended to the government to develop professional and technical education and to plan for relief during droughts."[56]

4.5 Achievements of Moderates Political Work in England :

"It has been made above to the political propaganda carried on in England, both by liberal Englishmen as well as by Indians, on behalf of India."[57] Hume, who

conceived the idea of Indian National Congress, was also "firmly convinced that the British people desired fair play for India, and would see that justice was done, provided only they understood the merits of the case."[58] As soon as the idea of the congress took a definite shape, Hume proceeded to England and consulted many liberal Englishmen and faithful friends of India, including Lord Ripon, as to the best means of getting hearing for Indian political aspirations from the British Parliament and public. The general consensus of opinion was that "a vigorous and sustained propaganda must be kept up throughout the country (Britain). by means of public meeting, lectures, pamphlets, articles, and correspondence in the press, and by securing the sympathy of local associations and of influential public men."[59] After the Indian National Congress had consolidated public opinion in India, Hume was more and more convinced that the future political work lay more in Britain than in India.

He pointed out that the European officials in India must necessarily be antagonistic to the congress programme whose tendency was to curtail the virtually autocratic powers exercised by them, and as they are all-powerful, it is not possible to secure any reforms. "Our only hope lies in awakening the British public to a sense of the wrongs of the Indian people."[60] As Wedderburn put it, "a frontal attack on bureaucratic power, firmly entrenched at Simla- with all the armoury of repression at its command-was hopeless. But success was within reach, by means of a flanking movement, that his, by an appeal to the British elector."[61] Inspired by this idea Hume, in a letter dated 10 February, 1889, pressed upon Congress workers the vital need carrying on a full-fledged political propaganda in Britain. The least that we could do, said he, "would be to provide ample funds-for sending and keeping constantly in England deputations of our ablest speakers to plead their country's cause-to enable our British Committee to keep up an unbroken series of public meetings, whereat the true state of affairs in India might be expounded-to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, and magazine articles-in a word to carry on agitation there, on the lines and scale of that in virtue of which the Anti-Corn-Law League triumphed".[62]

In accordance with this scheme, a paid Agency was established in 1888 under William Dig by with a regular office, and a vigorous campaign was carried on in Great Britain. Then thousand copies of the report of the third Congress, and many thousand copies of speeches and pamphlets were printed and circulated, while Messrs.

W. C. Banerjee and Eardley Norton, in connection with the Agency, addressed a number of public meetings, and Mr. Bradlaugh delivered many lectures on Indian questions in different parts of England. A permanent committee, under the title (finally adopted) of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, was started in July, 1889, with Sir W. Wedderburn as Chairman, Mr. Digby as Secretary, and a number of distinguished Englishmen and two Indians (W. C. Banerjee and Dadabhai Navroji) as members. "The Indian National Congress of 1889 confirmed its constitution and voted Rs. 45,000 for its maintenance, the amount to be raised by a proportional contribution from each of the Provincial Congress Committees."[63]

The Committee decided to wage war against the hostile official propaganda, particularly of the India Office, on three fronts; in Parliament, by organizing an Indian Parliamentary Committee; on the platform, by arranging public meetings throughout the country; and in the Press, by founding the journal India as an organ of Congress views. The Indian Parliamentary Committee gained great strength in 1893 when it comprised 154 members of the House of Commons. Their activities led to the appointment of the "Welby Royal Commission on Indian expenditure and the apportionment of charge between India and the United Kingdom."[64] "It is also probably due to their efforts that the House of Commons adopted in 1893 a resolution in favour of holding simultaneous examinations for the I.C.S."[65]

A number of public meetings and lectures were addressed, not only by liberal Englishmen but also by eminent Indians like Surendra-Nath Banerjee and G. K. Gokhale. Gokhale made a very good impression by his political speeches at Manchester and other places. He spoke at a meeting of the Undergraduates' Union at Cambridge, where "his motion in favour of more popular institutions for India was carried." [66] In addition to public meetings and lectures, the interest in India was kept alive through addresses to associations and other select audiences, social entertainments, and interviews with ministers, members of Parliament, editors, and other public men.

The main function of the journal, India, was to supply reliable information to the British public about the actual state of affairs in India, in order to counteract the influence of the London Press whose articles on Indian subjects were mainly supplied by Anglo-Indians unfavorable to Indian aspirations. The India supplied true record of current facts, events and opinions in India and thus furnished arms and materials to

those who were willing to fight for the cause of India. Its circulation was not very large, but it was recognized as the chief purveyor of Indian news to a large part of the Liberal Press.

It may be noted in conclusion that political propaganda by the Indians was also carried on in Europe outside Britain. To cite an example, the veteran Indian politician Dadabhai Navroji placed the Indian question before international opinion at the Congress of Socialists at Amsterdam, on 17 August, 1904. "At today's sitting a speech has been delivered which has caused a profound sensation and has marked, at the same time, the entry into the International party of Socialists of a representative of the Indian race."[67]

This delegate is called Dadabhai Navroji. He is an old man. He has been fighting for fifty years for the amelioration of the lot of his countrymen. "He recalled that the Indian Empire has been founded by the English solely by the co-operation of the Indians, who fought for them and paid for their wars. To recompense the Indians, the English have subjected them to an execrable rule. A permanent drain impoverishes India. Two hundred millions of rupees are paid every year by the country to the officials who are Englishmen."[68] One hundred million alone remains in the country. On the other hand, every year commerce takes out of India two hundred millions of rupees. It is an impoverishment of 300 millions of rupees or 480 million francs. This accounts for the frightful misery amongst the people. When the harvest is good a large portion of the people have scarcely the where with to appease their hunger. When the harvest fails, there is famine and millions die of starvation. It is not that the produce is insufficient for the requirements of the country, but it is "too poor to buy back the produce of its labour."[69] Huge exportations of rice given have taken place at a time when the cultivators were dying in a nation. After this discourse the president had recorded that: "This Congress unanimously stigmatizes the Colonial policy of England."[70]

The Moderates carried on an agitation for the reduction of heavy land revenue assessments. They urged the government to provide cheap credit to the peasantry through agricultural banks and to make available irrigation facilities on a large scale. They asked for improvements in the conditions of work of the plantation laborers. They demanded a radical change in the existing pattern of taxation and expenditure which put a heavy burden on the poor while leaving the rich, especially the foreigners,

with a very light load. "They demanded the abolition of salt tax which hit the poor and lower middle classes hard."[71]

The Moderates complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness and put all the blame on the policies of the British Government. "They blamed the government for the destruction of the indigenous industries in the country."[72] They demanded the rapid development of modern industries and wanted the government to give tariff protection to the Indian industries. They advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of British goods. They demanded that the economic drain of India by England must stop.

As an inevitable consequence of the growth of nationalism, described in the preceding chapter, "there was a forward movement in political ideas and organizations in the latter half of the nineteenth century."[73] "The political aspirations of the Indians did not go much beyond administrative reforms with a view to giving more powers to the Indians,"[74] but gradually they were inspired by higher ambitions to which expression has been given by Surendra-Nath Banerjee in the following passage: It was not enough that we should have our full share of the higher offices, but we aspired to have a voice in the councils of the nation. There was the bureaucracy. For good or evil, it was there. We not only wanted to be members of the bureaucracy and to leave it with the Indian element, but we looked forward to controlling it, and shaping and guiding its measures and eventually bringing the entire administration under complete popular domination. It was a new departure hardly noticed at the time, but fought with immense potentialities. Along with the development of struggle for place and power to be secured to our countrymen, there came gradually but steadily to the forefront the idea that this was not enough, that is was part, but not even the most vital part, of the programme for political elevation of our people. "The demand for representative government was now definitely formulated, and it was but the natural and legitimate product of the public activities that had preceded it."[75]

The idea of a representative government was not, however, a new thing in Bengal politics. On July 25, 1867, W.C. Banerjee, who afterwards became the President of the first Indian National Congress (1885), delivered in England a long speech on "representative and responsible Government of India" [76]. He made the concrete suggestion of setting up a representative Assembly and a Senate in India

with the power to veto their decisions given to both the Governor-General and the Crown.

4.6 Achievement of the Moderates :

The achievement of the Moderates is disputed. Some are of the opinion that they failed to achieve their objective. "Others defend them saying that they established the Indian National Congress and brought all the enlightened Indians in its fold."[77]

In a correct historical perspective, the achievements of the Moderates were quite significant. First of all, they were not blind supporters of the British, and exercising patience was not necessarily a sign of weakness. "They were the early nationalism well."[78] They developed and consolidate the feelings for a national unity among Indians. Credit goes to them for educating Indians for a common national struggle and for arousing in them political consciousness. In short, "they popularized the ideals of democracy and civil liberties among the people."[79]

The Moderates dealt with the imperial regime with gentleness and patience. The British refused to yield to their pleas. Thus, the British exposed the true nature of their imperial plans in India. The belief in the benevolent rule of the British eroded from the minds of the people. The Imperial Government showed that they were interested only in the exploitation of the Indian people. The Moderates were prudent in handling the British rules. They used the constitutional and peaceful methods. Their critics accuse them for using methods of beggary through prayers and petitions. If they had adopted revolutionary or violent methods, they would have been crushed right in the infancy of the Congress. The movement had not become popular to use violent methods. A handful of nationalists could have been crushed easily by the rules without too much of an embarrassment to themselves. The Moderates worked effectively on two fronts. First of all, they criticized the bad policies of the British through their speeches and writings. Then they requested the British to make reforms which could benefit Indians. They also exposed the British hypocrisy to all people. The Moderates instilled self-confidence among their countrymen and laid down the foundation for a national movement through which finally India could achieve freedom.

If we critically evaluate the work of the Moderates, it appears that they did not achieve much success. Very few of the reforms advocated by them were carried out. The foreign rulers treated them with contempt- To quote Lala Lajpat Rai, after more than 20 years of more or less futile agitation for concessions and redress of grievances, they had received stones in place of bread. The Moderates failed to acquire any roots among the common people and even those who joined the Congress with high hopes, were feeling more and more disillusioned. "The politics of the Moderates were described as hating and half-hearted".[80] their methods were described as those of mendicancy or beggary through prayers and petitions.

The Moderates failed to keep pace with the earnings and aspirations of the people. They failed to understand and appreciate the impatience of the people who were suffering under the foreign yoke. They did not realize that the political and economic interests of the Indians and the British clashed and consequently the British people could not be expected to give up their rights and privileges in India without a fight. Moreover, it was during this period that a movement started among the Muslims to keep away from the Congress and that ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. In spite of their best efforts, the Moderates were not able to win over the Muslims.

It is wrong to say that the political record of the Moderates was a barren one. Taking into consideration the difficulties they had to confront with that time, the Moderates achieved a lot. It is their achievements in the wider sense that led later on to the most advanced stages of the nationalist movement. The Moderates represented the most aggressive forces of the time. They made possible a decisive shift in Indian politics. They succeeded in creating a wide political awakening and in arousing among the among the middle and lower class Indians and the intelligentsia the feeling that they belong to one common nation. They made the people of India conscious of the bonds of common political, economic and cultural interests and the existence of a common enemy and thus helped to weld them into a common nationality. "They popularized among the people the ideas of democracy and civil liberty."[81] They did pioneering work in mercilessly exposing the true character of British imperialism in India. Even though they were moderate in politics and political methods, they successfully brought to light the most important political and economic aspects of the Indian reality that India was being ruled by a foreign power for economic

exploitation. The agitation of the Moderates in the economic field completely undermined the moral foundations of British rule in India. The period of the Moderates was the seed-time of Indian Nationalism. The Moderates sowed the seeds well and deep. They evolved a common political and economic programme which united the different sections of the people. In spite of their many failures, they laid strong foundations for the national movement to grow upon and they deserve a high place among the makers of modern India. Let us not forget that we are at a stage of the country's progress when our achievements are bound to be small and our disappointments frequent and trying. That is the place which it has pleased Providence to assign to us in this struggle, and our responsibility is ended when we have done the work which belongs to that place. It will, no doubt, be given to our countrymen of future generations to serve India by their successes; we of the present generation must be content to serve her mainly by our failures. "For, hard though it is out of those failures the strength will come which in the end will accomplish great tasks."[82] Again, The minds of the people have been familiarized with the idea of a united India working for her salvation a national public opinion has been created close bonds of sympathy now knit together the different provinces castes and creeds hamper less and less the pursuit of common aims, the dignity of a consciousness of national existence has spread over the whole land. Above all, "there is a general perception now of the goal towards which we have to strive and a wide recognition of the ideal character of the struggle and the immense sacrifices it requires".[83]

Then they requested the British to make reforms which could benefit Indians. They also exposed the British hypocrisy to all people. "The Moderates instilled self-confidence among their countrymen and laid down the foundation for a national movement through which finally India could achieve freedom."[84] Certain international events also had their repressions on India. In the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Japan defeated Russia. This was interpreted as a symbol of the rise of the East, the Indians could not take inspiration from that event it was felt that if a European nation could be defeated by an Asiatic power, it was also possible for the Indians to drive away the Englishmen from their country. A similar inference was drawn from defeat of Italy by Abyssinia in the battle of Adowa in 1896.

It is true that when Gokhale Started negotiations with Tilak for a compromise, Pherozeshah Mehta disapproved of them and the result was that the negotiations

broke down. "Pherozeshah Mehta decided to have the next session the Congress at Bombay so that he may be able to maintain his hold over the congress."[85] Sir Satyendra Sinha who later on became Lord Sinha, was selected as President of the Bombay Session but unfortunately Pherozeshah Mehta died a few weeks before the congress session, Gokahle also died. On account of their old age, Dinshaw Wacha and Chanpanvarkar were not active. S.N. Banerjee was not in tune with the new surroundings. "Madan Mohan Malaviya was not in a position to lead the Congress on the Moderate lines."[86]

Their movement did not have wide appeal. The area of their influence was limited to urban community. "As they did not have the support of the masses, they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a challenge to the foreign rules. That was likely to invite premature repression."[87] A British member of parliament attended the Congress session in 1889. Lord Ray drafted a bill in consultation with Indian leaders for reform and expression of the Legislative councils. The British Government passed the Indian council Act of 1892. The passing of this bill was one of the achievements of moderates.

In a correct historical perspective, the achievements of the Moderates were quite significant. "They were the early nationalism well."[88] They developed and consolidate the feelings for a national unity among Indians. Credit goes to them for educating Indians for a common national struggle and for arousing in them political consciousness. In short, they popularized the ideals of democracy and civil liberties among the people. The treatment of the Indians in British colonies was another source of discontentment. Particularly in South Africa, The Indians would regard as pariahs. Meaningless restrictions were imposed on their movement. "They could not walk on footpaths, or travel in first class railway carriages, or travel without passes or go out after 9 pm. it was felt that the humiliating treatment of the Indians was due to the slavery of the India and the only way to end that tyranny was the in dependence of the India."[89] In politics Dadabhai was conscious of the numerous benefits that India derived from the British Rule. He believed in the British sense of fair play and justice. Dadabhai believed in complete loyalty to the British Empire and once remarked "let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone."[90] The Congress passed resolution to eradicate or bring under control, social injustices, discrimination based on castes, consumption of alcohol and intoxicating drugs,

bonded labour, prostitution, etc. The government responded by enacting some prohibitory laws.

The British people were as usual apathetic to the demands of the Congress. Lord Ripon wrote to Sir Henry Cotton from England to this effect in 1887 as follows: "I fully share your opinion as to the importance of the reorganization of the Legislative Councils. But to obtain any attention to that or any other Indian question from the people of this country at the present time is simply impossible. Men's thoughts, so much at least of them as they are able to give to politics, are totally absorbed now upon Irish affairs, and they have not five minutes to give to any other matter whatsoever, let alone the affairs of India".[91] This was distinctly to the advantage of the officials both in India and England. "Not only was the India office opposed to Indian reforms, but many of its operations were conducted under cover of secrecy."[92] As Florence Nightingale wrote to Wedderburn (referring to Randolph Churchill, who was Secretary of State of India in 1885), 'Lord Randolph, the 'Boy with the drum', is doing untold harm-literally untold, because the India Office is a "secret society."[93] Lord Salisbury (who had been Secretary of State for India from 1874, during the period of the passage of the Vernacular Press Act, and Prime Minister from 1886 to 1892) expressed his opposition to the Congress in a memorandum in "1888 regarding the granting of legislative powers to elected councilors."[94] I think I am not wrong in assuming that the men who will be brought to the fore by this plan will be (in Bengal) Bengali lawyers, agents, newspaper writer in Indian they are the class among whom disaffection is the strongest, and they are most competent to use the weapon which "membership of a legislative Council would place in their hands to embarrass and damage the Government."[95] I cannot conceive the object of introducing this dangerous principle into the constitution of the proposed Councils. "We shall in no way please the class on whose goodwill the submission of India depends: we shall not reconcile our only enemies, but we shall give those arms against ourselves".[96] At the time of the introduction of Lord Cross's Councils Bill into the House of Lords in 1890, "Lord Salisbury (Prime Minister of Britain at the time) was still in opposition to the principle of election."[97] He commented on its application to India: The principle of election or Government by representation is not an Eastern idea; it does not fit Eastern minds, and further, "Do not imagine that you can introduce it in small does and that it will be satisfied by that concession".[98] The view

that the Anglo-Indian Press was merely the mouthpiece of official policy is supported by such articles as "India for the Indians or India for England?"[99] in which a member of the Civil Service asks: "Is the peace of India to be sacrificed to the ambition of Babudom? Is the stability of the empire to be endangered for a set of Parliamentary Peck sniffs? Are we to forget the triple strife between French, Dutch and English for Hindustan? Is Plessey to go for nothing?"[100] An editorial on the Congress in the Calcutta Review called upon all Government servants who are committed to an open programme of sedition against the power on which they depend for their daily bread to first resign their government posts."[101]

On account of the efforts made by the Congress, the government removed the restrictions on newspapers and enacted laws granting individual freedom and freedom of speech. It also took steps for the spread and growth of education to satisfy the demand for educational advancement. "They believed that the British are generally believers in the truth and justice."[102] They believed in opposing the unjust policies of the British government through strictly constitutional and democratic means. In the annual sessions of the congress, demands were discussed and resolutions were passed and the demands were send to the Viceroy in the form of requests and petitions. Because of such a style of functioning, they were called moderates. By organizing the urban educated middle class, they prepared the background for the nationalists' movement. "They performed the important function of sowing in the minds of Indians, the ideas of self rule, equality, democracy and freedom."[103] These activities arouse among Indians the feelings of patriotism and sacrifice.

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CHAPTER - V

ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT

British officers wanted the congress to be a supplement to the government and not criticize the British government. The Congress was becoming popular in the entire nation. Educated people also joined it. National and secular, so they adopted the policy of division. The Moderates appealed to the Muslim leaders to speak against the congress to separate the Muslim from the congress. The Congress did not give up because of such activities. The representative of all the religions met in the meeting at Allahabad. This meeting nourished the nationalistic thought, we are Indian first. In a very short period the congress, become strength of the Country.

The attitude of the Government of India towards the Indian National Congress has been "one of steady and increasing hostility."[1] Many persons hold that it was at Lord Dufferin's suggestion that the Indian National Congress as a political organization came into being. But after the first two sessions were over, the demands of the Congress, though extremely moderate in the eyes of the Indians, upset Lord Dufferin. Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, would enable anyone to understand the real attitude of both to the Congress. Dufferin to cross from 1887-88. "The Indian Congress of Calcutta had an excellent effect."[2] It has given intellectual measure to those gentlemen. It was enabled to gauge the political capacity. They were responsible in their individual capacity then the members of assembly. Their extravagant prelusions as embodied their resolutions. The mates of the people do not want to be ruled by the baboons and it is our duty as well as our interest of the people that is English rule. "The Congress movement has developed certain number of government servants in various provinces."[3] They hold official positions and collected money. It was instructed and prohibited to stop. "Lord Dufferin was afraid to the opinion about the congress will grow or lesion."[4] Lord Dufferin felt that people of England will not readily accept this programme or allow such assembly. In the beginning the constitutional government and their ideas were different in the council. "Thus the conditions under which the British administration in India discharges its duties."[5] On 3rd March 1888 there was a progress of home rule movement in the country.

Sir Auckland Colvin in his letter to Lord Dufferin, dated 10th June, 1888, takes a more moderate view,"[6] but deprecates Congress being invited at Government House as it gives them prestige, and advises the Government not to yield to popular demand. In a memorable speech at St. Andrews Day Dinner, Calcutta, on 30th November, 1888, Lord Dufferin said without much exaggeration that they represented "the settled policy which Britain pursued ever since with remarkable tenacity."[7] Though occasionally forced to yield and make concessions to the strong current of Indian opinion, "the principles laid down by Dufferin formed the basic policy of the British Cabinet and the Government of India."[8] Lord Dufferin observed the effect of Lord Dufferin's hostile attitude was almost immediately felt. After the fourth session the Government servants were forbidden to take any part in the proceedings of the Congress. It has been made to Colvin's inveterate hostility to the Congress and his correspondence with Hume. "In this exchange it becomes apparent that the difference of opinion between Hume, who had identified himself with the Indian subjects, and Colvin, who represented the British ruling class, was a fundamental one, and one which at this time became more crystallized as the Congress was formulating its demands."[9]Lord Lansdowne took a more liberal view of the Congress. "He said in December, 1890, that the Congress dates from this statement."[10] Lansdowne is further reported to have referred to the Congress as 'the advanced Liberal Party in India. But Lansdowne was cautious as to the extent to which the reform of the Councils should be carried out, particularly with regard to the expansion of their functions. "In a dispatch to Cross (Secretary of State for India) on May 25, 1889."[11] Lansdowne and his Council supported Cross' proposals to allow the Councils the right of interpellation, and added, "In our opinion the Budget should be submitted to the Legislative Council for discussion and criticism only, and that no power should be given to make a motion regarding it."[12] Also it was under Lansdowne's administration that in January, 1891, censorship by a government political agent of all newspapers was imposed. Therefore it cannot be maintained that the policy of Lansdowne was basically more favorable to the Congress than that of Dufferin, "even though his public utterances were somewhat less vituperative."[13] The next Viceroys and the Secretaries of State continued the traditional hostile policy against the Congress. "Lord George Hamilton wrote to Lord Elgin on 11 December, 1896."[14] It is gratifying to note that Congress, as a political power, has steadily gone down during the last few years, and this is, I think, largely due to the indifference and unconcern with which

the Indian Government has tolerated its proceedings. "On 24 June, 1897, Hamilton again wrote to Elgin The more I see and hear of the National Congress Party."[15] Curiously enough, though Hamilton spoke of the decline in the power of the Congress, he was very anxious to curb its influence. "On 1st May, 1899, he wrote to Lord Curzon suggesting three measures to counteract Congress activities."[16] These were to ascertain who, amongst princes and noblemen, subscribed to the Congress fund and to let them know that the Government was aware of the fact to prefer for honors and distinctions those who were not Congressmen. "To exercise a greater control over education, its organization and text books."[17] How Lord Curzon followed his chief's instructions may be easily gathered from his activities. There can be hardly any doubt that the Universities Act of 1904 was inspired by the item No. 3, which also accounts for the fact that Curzon forced Lee-Warner's Citizen of "India as a text-book upon unwilling universities."[18] He wrote to Hamilton on 7 June, 1899. "I gather that you want me to ascertain what native princes or noblemen contribute to Congress funds and I will Endeavour to discover this."[19] But Curzon hardly required any inspiration. On November 18, 1900, he wrote to Hamilton. "My own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise."[20]

It is interesting to note how Hamilton followed up his general instructions by concrete illustrations. He recommended that Mr. Bhown should be included in the Honors' list, for "he has fought the violent portion of the Congress with courage and ability and seems to me an able and thoroughly loyal man."[21] Hamilton also asked Lord Curzon to grant the request of Mrs. Besant as she "had been very useful in Madras in combating the Congress leaders, and denouncing Western methods of agitation as wholly unsuited to India, and endeavoring to establish a system of modern education associated with definite religious and moral training. It seems to me that this college might be a useful antidote, and if so, it would be worth our while to try and smooth down the difficulties which have occurred between the Committee of this college and Sir Anthony macdonell."[22] In other words, "the Government adopted the policy of favoring the anti-Congress elements and putting pressure upon the rich and the aristocracy,"[23] who were enable to Government control, to withdraw their patronage from the Congress. This was done with remarkable success, and few would have dared openly to support the Congress, and thereby provoke the wrath of the

British Government. "Unfortunately, this unholy conspiracy between the British and Indian authorities against the Congress could not achieve its object, owing to one miscalculation."[24] They did not perceive that the Indian National Congress derived its real strength and support from the middle class and not from the wealthy and the aristocracy. But Hamilton had other weapons in his armory to destroy the influence of the Congress. In his letter to Lord Curzon, dated 20 September, 1899, he writes "I think the real danger to our rule in India, not now but 50 years hence, is the gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation and organization, and, if we could break the educated Hindu party into two sections holding widely different views, are should, by such a division, strengthen our position against the subtle and continuous attack which the spread of education must make upon our present system of Government."[25] It is hardly necessary to add that the British, both at home and in India, were very glad that important communities had not joined the Congress. Lord Cross wrote to Lord Ray, Governor of Bombay, on 23 January, 1890: "It is, however, very satisfactory to find that the Mohammedans and the Parsees have as a body separated from the Congress."[26] It would appear from what has been said above that the British came to look upon the Congress as a great menace to the security of their Indian Empire. Hence "The Indian National Congress became almost a nightmare with the British politicians."[27] It is interesting to note that in some quarters, Dufferin was held mainly responsible for this evil.

"Dufferin is a thorough Irishman, and I do not believe he has been in any single place of responsibility and authority in which he did not more or less purchase popularity by leaving to his successors unpleasant legacies. I attribute largely to his mismanagement and want of judgment the origin and development of the Congress Party; and he could, as you say, at that time have effected restrictions in the admission of natives to the higher ranks of the service at present are quite impossible."[28] In spite of the moderation and loyalty of the Congress, the English public opinion looked upon the emergence of the Congress as a potential danger to the British power in India.

"Bombay correspondent drew pointed attention to the fact not a single Muslim member joined in the Congress."[29] K. T. Telang, on behalf of the Congress, pointed out that the statement was inaccurate, as two leading Muslim gentlemen R. M. Sayani and A. M. Dharamsi did attend the Congress. But this reputation was hardly less

damaging than the original accusation. Its Congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations. Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence, the Mohammedans of India were not there. "They remained steadfast in their habitual separation."[30] They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refused to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools and almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race, "while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax-paying units who contributed each to swell their glory of Islam."[31]

The Indian National Congress passed a number of resolutions in each session, but the Government of India paid no heed to them. "There was no doubt that the official attitude towards the congress had undergone a change."[32] Some officials attended the first session, but when, in the second session at Calcutta, invitation cards were sent to the Government house, they were returned on the ground that the officials could not attend the meetings of a political body. "Lord Dufferin, however, explained away this action and even invited the delegates of the congress, not as such but as distinguished visitors, to a garden party."[33] The Governor of madras also did the same. This chilled the enthusiasm of some and caused irritation to others. Among the latter group was Hume himself. He was shocked and pained by the solid indifference displayed by the Government, and no less by the undisguised hostility shown towards the congress by the official circles and the minority communities in India, "who represented the congress movement as an attempt Government and establish a Hindu Raj."[34]

To the ardent mind of Mr. Hume platonic expressions of sympathy by the authorities were a mockery while nothing practical was being done to relieve the misery of the masses. "The sufferings of the Indian masses from famine and disease arose from poverty and its poverty was preventable, if the Government would take into their counsels experienced representative of the people."[35] But the Government refused to do this, while deaths by famine and pestilence were counted, not by tens of thousands, or by hundreds of thousands, but by millions. "In this great predicament Hume rose to the height of his stature as a political leader."[36] He decided that, in order to constrain the government to move, the leaders of the Indian people must follow

"the drastic methods pursued in England by bright and Cobden in their great campaign on behalf of the people's food."[37]

The educated men, the Press, and the Congress, said Hume, "have endeavored to instruct the Government, but the Government, like all autocratic Governments, has refused to be instructed, and it will now be for us to instruct the nations, the great English nation in the island home, and the far greater nation of this vast continent, so that every Indian that breathes upon the sacred soil of this our motherland may become our comrade and coadjutor, our supporter, and if needs be our soldier, in the great war that we, like Cobden and his noble band, will wage for justice, for our liberties and rights."[38]

In pursuance of such propaganda Mr. Hume, according to his biographer, set to work with his wanted energy, appealing for funds to all classes of Indian community, distributing tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets, sending out lecturers and calling meetings both in large towns and in country districts. "Throughout the country over thousand meetings were held, many of which were attended by more than five thousand persons."[39] Of the numerous pamphlets attention may be drawn to which were widely distributed and created considerable stir at the time. These were entitled a Congress Catechism and a Conversation between Maulvi Furreduddin and one Ram Buksh of Kambakhtpur. "They vividly depicted the evils of absentee landlordism and despotic Government"[40] and pointed out that the only remedy of these evils was the representative Government for which the Congress was fighting. "These pamphlets contained bitter attacks against Government and were not as harmless as some have represented them to be."[41]

The mass movement inaugurated by Hume made the official attitude towards the Congress definitely antagonistic. Hume defended his action in a speech at a meeting at Allahabad on 30 April, 1888, which was published under the title, "A Speech on the Indian National Congress, its Origin, Aims, ad Objects."[42] This only added fuel to the flame, and excitement ran very high among the reactionary class of officials who desired to suppress the Congress and even recommended that Mr. Hume should be deported. Even Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who was distinctly friendly to the Congress movement, was very much perturbed by this active political propaganda among the masses. It gives rise to the historic correspondence between Colvin and Hume in October, 1888, later

published as a pamphlet under "the title of Audi Alteram Partem."[43] Colvin's criticisms were directed against the methods and not against the principles or objects of the Congress, which he generally approved. He considered the mass propaganda premature and mischievous, but Hume considered it necessary for the safety of the State. As the biographer of Hume has pointed out, the difference was irreconcilable. For while Hume looked at the whole question from the point of view of the Indians, with whom he identified himself after his retirement from the service, Colvin's outlook was that of a British administrator. Hume wrote to Colvin: You still look through the rose-tinted official spectacles that so long obscured my sight. But leave the service, mix freely with the people, and you would wholly change your views.

"In fairness to Colvin it must be mentioned here that even a class of Indian leaders, including Bipin Chandra Pal, who was destined to be a leader of the Extremist party in Indian politics, shared his views at the time."[44] The price of allegiance to the ideals of social reform such as the Brahmo Samaj had to pay, B. C. Pal continues: The principle of complete religious freedom inculcated by the British Government in India secured to the Brahmo Samaj this right, and the general body of the Brahmos, therefore, were grateful to Providence for the establishment of the new political power in the country, which was regarded by them, in those days, as a great moral influence. This was really the psychology of the Brahmo leader, Keshub Chandra Sen, "when he proclaimed loyalty to the Government as one of the fundamental articles of the creed of his new church."[45] Though not openly subscribing to it or incorporating it as an article of their religious faith the general body of the Brahmos of those days were frankly afraid of a return to Hindu or Moslem rule in India. "This is why I joined in the protest raised by Sir Auckland Colvin against the kind of mass political propaganda that had been started by the Congress in 1887."[46] The Congress leaders in those days had little or no sensing of the danger of exciting the masses against the existing British rule. On the eve of the Congress at Allahabad I was promoted to sound this note of warning and, therefore, organized an address to be delivered at the Kayastha Pathsala Hall with Babu Kali Charan Banerjee in the chair. I went to the fundamental question whether India could reasonably expect to build up a real modern democracy by enlisting the masses to the service of the Congress before they were sufficiently advanced in social ideas and had been properly educated. The continuance of British authority was necessary for building up a real freedom

movement in the country with a view to establishing a Government which would be government of the people, "by the people and for the people."[47]

It would be interesting to note the reaction of Lord Dufferin to the unexpected vigor shown by his owns his pet child. "He was sympathetic to the main objective of the Congress and actually recommended to the Home authorities a liberal reconstitution of the Legislative Council on the line recommended by the Congress."[48] The only means by which it could broad base the movement on the wishes of the people. Yet this was precisely what Dufferin did. The remarks of Dufferin on the Congress were especially unfortunate, coming, as it did, from one who had sponsored the movement only four years ago. His apologists have argued that his words did not convey his real views but were only meant for consumption at home, "where the new constitution was then in the offing."[49] But whatever that may be, the unfortunate speech of Dufferin set the tone which was henceforth to be adopted by the Indian Government towards the Indian National Congress. He asked the Muslims not to join the Congress, and the local officials not only held out the threat that anybody joining the Congress would come to grief, but also openly lent their help for the organization of anti-Congress meetings. But in spite of, or perhaps due to, this opposition, the fourth session of the Indian National Congress at Allahabad was a great success. Over 200 Muslims and more than one thousand other delegates attended. "The President of the session was George Yule, a British merchant of Calcutta."[50] In his Presidential address he observed that every big movement like the Congress had to pass through three stages: the first is one of ridicule, the second, of partial concession with misrepresentation of aim, and the third is a substantial adoption of the movement with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. He then pointed out that the Congress had passed the first stage and was now in the second, when reforms were accompanied by warnings against taking big jumps into the unknown. The fifth session which met at Bombay in December, 1889, was attended by exactly 1889 delegates (a curious coincidence) and presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, "the friend and biographer of Hume."[51] This session was rendered memorable by the presence of Charles Brad laugh, M. P. "whose genuine pro-Indian attitude in the House of Commons."[52] He told the delegates that they constituted a living reputation of the charge often heard within the walls of Parliament that there are no Indian people there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds. A

scheme of representative government was drafted in this session, but it raised the ugly head of communalism. A demand was made by a Muslim delegate that there should be an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members in the Imperial and Provincial Councils. "It did not get much support, and even the majority of Muslim members voted against it."[53] But it was a bad omen for the future.

The Congress also resolved to send a deputation to England to place before the British public the views of the Congress about political reforms in India which were then being considered by the British Government. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, "who presided over the sixth session at Calcutta (1890),"[54] put the case of the Congress in a nutshell when he said that it had survived the ridicule, abuse, misrepresentation and charges of sedition and disloyalty. We have, he continued, also survived the charge of being a microscopic minority. "We have survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated, and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise."[55] The chairman of the Reception Committee, "Manmohan Ghose, condemned the British policy of Divide and Rule as unworthy of the British people."[56] It was also during this session that the Government of India, in order to remove misunderstanding of the official circle, publicly declared the Indian National Congress to be perfectly legitimate, representing, in terms of European politics, the more advance liberal party. It was also made clear that the Government servants could attend the Congress session, but not takes any part in its deliberations; even this restriction was not applicable to the pension-holders.

Indifference of the Government to "the Congress demands disheartened Hume, and in his despair he even thought of suspending the Congress."[57] This idea was supported by a few on the ground that while the Congress had achieved no good results, it had irritated the Government and increased the tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. But the educated community in India repudiated the idea in no uncertain voice. "Surendra Nath Banerjee truly echoed their sentiments when he declared that we should never abandon the Congress, the standard round which we have fought for the last eight years, the standard which we trust one day to carry proudly before us to victory."[58]

The situation was somewhat improved by the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Disappointing though it was, it was regarded as the first victory of the Congress and its method of constitutional agitation. The hope of the Congress was

further raised by the success of its efforts in Britain, to which reference will be made later. "It was also heartened by the message of the Irish Home Rulers conveyed through Dadabhai Navroji, the President of the Lahore Session."[59] Do not forget to tell your colleagues that the Ireland Home Rule members in Parliament are at your back in the cause of the Indian people. Henceforth the Congress did never falter in its onward march from year to year, buoyed up with courage and hope for ultimate success. Though there was no essential change either in its ideal and outlook, or in its method of agitation, it came to be gradually recognized both by friends and foes, in India and in Britain, to be a potent force in the public life of India. It is not necessary to describe the sessions of the Congress year after year, or to give an account of the various resolutions passed in them."[60] A general account of the more important reforms demanded by the Congress during the first twenty years.

The character of the Indian National Congress has also been a subject of debate among scholars. "Broadly speaking two views have been expressed."[61] According to one view the Indian National Congress was merely a sectional body, which represented a small section of the Indian society viz. those who had acquired western education, and did not in any way represent the aspirations of the general people. Further even the landed classes, ruling chiefs and the Muslims were not associated with this body. "The second view holds that the Congress from its very inception was a national body and contained representatives of all the classes and communities. While its founder was a Christian, two of its most prominent supporters Dadabhai Navroji and Pherozeshah Mehta were Parsis. Enlightened Muslim like Badruddin Tyabji was also associated with it."[62]

The national character of the Indian National Congress has been challenged by scholars on the pea that majority of its members were Hindus. This was inevitable in a country with a preponderance of Hindu population. It is true that Muslim like Sir Sayeed Ahmad Khan did not join the Congress, but the blame for this rests with concerned persons rather than the Congress. The Congress at no stage shut its door to any section of the Indian society. Again, "the critics have challenged the national character of Congress of the ground that it did not associate the princes of the Indian State and the landed classes with it."[63] In fact the members of these two classes shun the membership of the Congress due to the unsympathetic attitude of the Government towards the new organization. But Congress certainly tried to project the interests of

the Indian princes and passed a resolution in 1896 "demanding that no prince should be deposed on the ground of mal-administration"[64] or misconduct unless the charge was fully established through public tribunals consisting of persons enjoying confidence of the government as well as the princes. On 25th June, 1891, "the Government of India issued a notification restricting the rights of the Press in the native states."[65] In order to arm the Government with sufficient power to deal with seditious speeches and activities the Indian Penal code was suitably amended in 1987. A thinly-veiled censorship was put on the Press through the Secret Press Committees in 1898. Lord Curzon in 1900 declared "the Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions, while in India, would be to assist it to a peaceful demise."[66] The five years of Lord Curzon's rule (1900-1905) were full of reactionary measures that shocked the entire country and marked the beginning of a new phase in the nationalist movement. "The Moderates dealt with the imperial regime with gentleness and patience."[67] The British refused to yield to their pleas. Thus, the British exposed the true nature of their imperial plans in India. The belief in the benevolent rule of the British eroded from the minds of the people. "The imperial Government showed that they were interested only in the exploitation of the Indian people."[68] The Moderates were prudent in handling the British rulers. They used the Constitutional and peaceful methods. Their critics accuse them for using methods of beggary through prayers and petitions. "If they had adopted revolutionary or violent methods, they would have been crushed right in the infancy of the Congress. The Congress had not become popular to use violent methods."[69]

A handful of nationalists could have been crushed easily by the rulers without too much of an embarrassment to themselves the moderates worked effectively on two fronts. First on all they criticized the bad policies of the British through their speeches and writings. Then they requested the British to make reforms which could benefit Indians. They also exposed the British Indians. They also exposed the British hypocrisy to all people. "The moderates instilled self-confidence among their countrymen and laid down the foundation for a national movement through which finally India could achieve freedom"[70]

Shift in Government's attitude and freeze in relations between the Congress and the British When the real aims of the founders of the Congress came to the surface, the government assumed a hostile stance towards it. Lord Dufferin tried to

woo the Muslims by posing as their benevolent protector. Muslims began to be weaned away from the Congress which was dubbed as a Hindu organization. Sir Sayeed Ahmed Khan, the prominent Muslim leader who once regarded Hindus and Muslims as "two eyes of the beautiful bride that was India,"[71] was so much in doctrinated by the British that he took a strong exception to the words "National - Congress, in 1888. Lord Dufferin who blessed the foundation of the Congress in 1885 grew sharply critical. He declared that out of a total Indian population of 200 million, not more than eight thousand had received a university education."[72] He said: "I would ask them how any reasonable man could imagine that the British Government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control the administration of that majestic and multi form empire for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God and before the face of civilization?"[73]

British officers wanted the congress to be a supplement to the government and not criticize the British government. After the meeting at Chennai the conference had criticized the British Government in a book. The congress was becoming popular in the entire nation. Educated people also joined it. National and secular, so he adopted the policy of division. He appealed to the Muslim leaders to speak against the congress to separate the Muslim from the congress. The congress did not give up because of such activities. "The representative of all the religions met in the meeting at Allahabad."[74] This meeting nourished the nationalistic thought, we are Indian first that our slogan. In a very short period the congress become strength of the country.

Indian nationalists who lived in England made sustained efforts to free Indian from the foreign yoke. "Dadabhai Navroji founded the East India Association in London."[75] I earnestly press upon the Indian people to claim increasingly their birth-right of self-government. "He also took up the matter of racial persecution of Indians in South Africa and helped Gandhi in his connection."[76]

S. k. Verma, a great Sanskrit scholar, was a staunch nationalist. He was suspected by the police for his complicity in the murder of Rand, the plague commissioner of Poona in 1899. "Unable to bear police harassment, S. K. verma went to England where he impressed learned Englishmen like Mainer Williams by his lectures at the Oxford University."[77] He carried on business in England. A large part of his savings from business was used for the freedom movement of India in England. The credit for laying the foundation stone of the India House goes to S. K. verma.

Indian revolutionaries in England Who were members of the Abhinava Bharat had their rendezvous at the India House.

Commenting on the miserable lot of Indians, Lala Murlidhar of Punjab had aptly remarked thus. "What fair play can there be between impoverished India and the bloated capitalist England?"[78] What are all these chandeliers and lamps and European- made chair and tables, and smart clothes and hats and English coats and bonnets and frocks and silver mounted canes all the luxurious fittings of your houses but the trophies of India's misery, "mementoes of India's starvation."[79] In the same vein, Sir William Hunter remarked thus in 1880 "There remained forty millions of Indians who go through life on insufficient food."[80] Lord Salisbury, Secretary of state for India, admitted in 1875 that British rule was bleeding India white. The net result of all these factors was that there was great misery in India. The disquieting frequency in the occurrence of famines further aggravated the situation and the people grew restive. At this juncture, the organization of Indian National Congress was a godsend for the people who at least got a forum for the ventilation of their grievances and ultimately, under its leadership, Indian attained the long-cherished goal of independence for India. The Indian National Congress was founded during the days of Lord Dufferin in December 1885, as the result of the efforts of Allen Octavian Hume, a retired English official. "Hume was Secretary to the Government of India."[81] After his retirement in 1880, he was offered the Lieutenant Governorship of Punjab which he decline and he settled in Simla where he started his activities for the Establishment of the congress. He had realized with increasing anxiety that the existing government by foreign officials on autocratic lines was dangerously out of touch with the people. He met the Viceroy Lord Dufferin who was convinced that there was a need at that time of some political organization which would serve the purpose as "Her Majesty's opposition"[82] did in England. The Viceroy told him that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved. The first meeting of the Congress was held in Bombay in 1885 under the president ship of W. C. Banerjee a leading bar-rioter of Calcutta.

5.1 Aims and Objectives of Congress during 1885-1905

Among the objectives for which the Indian National Congress during this period Worker, were the extension of irrigation, moderate assessment of land revenue, stoppage of the export of food grains from India, protection of farmers against exploitation at the hands of moneylenders, Development of indigenous industries, reduction of direct taxes on the common people, reduction of foreign element in the government in order to introduce economy in administrative expenditure, development of education, separation of the executive from the judiciary, police reforms, protection of the interests of Indians abroad, and protection of civil liberties of the people. The moderate elements in the Congress were led by Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Dadabhai Navroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and others. The moderates adopted constitutional and peaceful of the Congress were passing of resolutions, sending of deputations and presentation of petitions. "The Congress held regular meetings, and made every effort to focus public opinion on the important national problems."[83] The most noteworthy of the facts is that it carried on its activities not only in India but it adopted "the Methods of influencing the public opinion in England as well."[84] In 1887, thus, the Indian reform association was founded in England as a result of the efforts of "Dadabhai Navroji who took up a permanent abode there to work for India."[85] The labour leader, Charles Brad laugh, supported this association and assumed in the British parliament rather the title of member for India.

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Session	Year	Place	Presided by
1.	1885	Bombay	W.C. Banerjee
2.	1886	Calcutta	Dadabhai Navroji
3.	1887	Madras	Badruddin Tyabji
4.	1888	Allahabad	Geroge Yule
5.	1889	Bombay	William Wedderburn
6.	1890	Calcutta	Pherozeshah Mehta
7.	1891	Nagpur	P. Ananda Charlu
8.	1892	Allahabad	W.C. Banerjee
9.	1893	Lahore	Dadabhai Navroji
10.	1894	Madras	Alfrad Webb
11.	1895	Poona	Surendra Nath Banerjee
12.	1896	Calcutta	Rahimtullha
13.	1897	Amravati	Shankaran Nair
14.	1898	Madras	Anand Mohan Bose
15.	1899	Lucknow	Romesh Dutt
16.	1900	Lahore	Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar
17.	1901	Calcutta	Dinshah Dutt
18.	1902	Ahmedabad	Surendranath Edalji
19.	1903	Madras	Lal Mohan Ghos
20.	1904	Bombay	Sir Henry Cotton
21.	1905	Benares	Gopal Krishna Gokhale

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CHAPTER - VI

EPILOGUE

Moderates were great national leaders of India. They dominated the political scene of India from 1885 to 1905. But at the same time they were social reformers too. Their social thoughts created a controversy during their time. They played a notable part in giving a fillip to the great reform movement for removing social conditions of the society. They really tried to bring the question of the improvement of the conditions of the depressed classes on congress platform. But they were an idealistic. They were strong believers of Hinduism and they also believed that the evil aspects of critics can be eradicated. They always made an appeal to achieve self –government with in the British Empire. They took efforts for the constructive programs for improving the conditions of the people.

In the course of my study of the moderates thought I feel tempted to go deeper and thus to acquire a thorough and firsthand knowledge of moderates philosophy it was to satisfy this urge that I decided to write a thesis on the different aspects of moderates philosophy. I am inclined to hold that there is a considerable research work is being carried out on moderates thoughts and facts concealed and unexposed are being brought to light and interpreted in new ways attempts have been made to arrange facts concerning moderates faithfully in the collected works of moderates published by the government of Maharashtra. There are also innumerable books by Indian as well as foreign writers, which constitute a great source to the study of moderate thoughts. Here it will not be out of place to mention that moderate in order to propagate their views among the masses, started publishing weekly journal India, poverty and un- British rule in India, the servants of India society and Bengali newspaper they tried to spread their ideas to masses. It is against the background of these documents and their public speeches delivered from time to time, and on the basis of the books written by Indian and foreign authors that we shall try to make an analytical attempt to present contribution of moderates to the National Movement for the freedom Struggle of India. We shall also take into account the different factors that Shaped their views and ideas.

Moderates have made Specific Contribution to the Social Religious and Political fields. The thesis is divided into five Major Chapters Covering themes like for a thorough discussion of each of these aspects of their Philosophy .We may also state in this connection that in is no doubt there that all aspects of Moderates thought are so inextricably intertwined that we cannot do Justice to any one aspect in isolation from other aspects. They have presented a comprehensive view of life. However, here I have confined to the study of contribution of moderates to the national movement for the freedom Struggle of India a Critical Study.

I have tried to present a brief sketch of INC and its activities in India. I have also made a critical discussion of the various factors, which influenced its thoughts and ideas. Moderate were great thinkers. Their thoughts were not confirmed to one aspect of life, but society includes political life, religious life, political life and certain other aspect. There is no aspect of human life which moderates have not touched. Moderate philosophy covers almost all the aspects of human and social life. It would therefore be wrong to say that moderate were not a social thinkers. They were great social thinkers and their social thoughts from the treasure which even future generation shall continue to draw upon. In the early nineteen century, many educated Indians began to feel that western culture and the rising tide of Christianity posed a challenge to their age old traditions and beliefs. In their attempt to remedy the situation, many reformers become critical of the past and began to look for ways to rid the society of its evils, such as caste distinction. Purdah system and the custom of sati. They wanted a new social order in keeping with the traditional values and modern development. Many Indians were impressed by progress made by science as well as the doctrine of reason and humanism of the west. The social condition of the 19th century led to socio-religious reform movement. Some of such reform movements were the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission. Nationalist sentiments were sown by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the early half of the 19th century. The second half of the 19th century witnessed the formation of various political associations which were born of nationalism and political consciousness. Such organizations emerged in different parts of the century but they had a common objective. That is, to unite the people for a common cause and to make them conscious of the ills prevalent the British rule. These organizations were local in character. However, they played an important role in the foundation of the Indian

National congress in 1885. Therefore, they are called the forerunners of the Indian National congress. Educated Indians all over the country felt the need for an All India political party to fight for the rights of the Indians. Even liberal British officers sympathized with their aspirations and demands. One of them, A.O. Hume (Allan Octavian Hume), a retired civil servant, floated the idea of organizing an All India party supported by the Indian Nationalists. He circulated a letter addressed to the graduates of Calcutta University on 1st March, 1883 regarding the formation of an organization that would work for the material, moral and political advancement of the people in India. Hume even asked the support of the Government and of Lord Dufferin, who was then the Viceroy of India. They encouraged Hume to from such an organization. Prominent Indian Leaders like Dadabhai Navroji, Badruddin Tyabji, and Pherozeshah Mehta too agreed to the proposed idea of forming such an organization. In 1884, Hume laid the foundation of the Indian National Union. A conference of this Union was to be held in Poona on 25th December, 1885. This conference was to be attended by the representatives of different regions in India. However, a plague broke out in Poona and the meeting of this Union was held at Bombay from December 28 to 31, 1985. The meeting was presided over by W.C. Banerjee who was a prominent barrister from Bengal. Seventy two delegates attended this meeting. At the suggestion made by Dadabhai Navroji, the name of the union was changed to Indian National Congress. While the Congress was holding its meeting in Bombay ALL-India National Conference too held its meeting in Calcutta. Both these organizations had the same objective. Therefore, the All-India National Conference was merged with the Indian National Congress in 1886. The Congress was a national organization representing the interests of the Indians irrespective of their caste, creed and communities. It united all people for achieving a common goal.

- **Aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress**
  1. The Main objectives of the moderates ware to achieve self-government within the British Empire.
  2. They believed in Patience and reconciliation rather than in violence and confrontation.
  3. They relied on contribution and peaceful method in order to achieve their aim.

4. They educate people arouse their political consciousness and created public opinion which in time could change the destiny of the Indians.
5. They held meetings and held discussions concerning social economic and cultural matters.
6. Promotion of close relations between nationalistic workers from different parts of the country.
7. Development and consolidation of the feeling of nationality, irrespective of caste, religion and province.
8. Formulation of popular demands and their presentation before the government.
9. Tanning and organization of public opinion in the country.
10. Simultaneous examination in India and England for the Indian civil services.
11. The right to carry arms.
12. Provision of more facilities for education.
13. Employment of more Indians to higher posts.
14. Appointment of Indians to the Execution council.
15. Reduction of military expenditure.
16. Expansion of the provincial and central Legislation assemblies.

The thesis is dwelt upon the contribution of the few important moderates. In this connection, I have tried to show that moderates were very accommodating. They showed equal reverence for all the great religious of the world. They advocated the unity of all religion. They were social reformers too simultaneously with their political movement they tried to fight against social evils. For a better understanding of their social thoughts it is necessary to understand the background in which they have developed. They had deep impact of western education thoughts and culture. The moderates had friendly relations with the British. They were influence by the Western education, thoughts and culture. They relied on the pledges made by the British from time to time. They thought that once the British would understand the mind and heart of an Indian, they would do what was right In India. In this sense, they believed in the sense of justice, honesty and integrity of the British. They had faith in constitutional agitation and in public opinion in favour of their demands. They

believed that the British Government could be persuaded by arguments and that it would respond to Indian public opinion. They even spent representation to England to explain the Indian point of view to the British Parliamentarians and to set up a committee of the National Congress in England. They did not want to overthrow British rule by violence. Their chief demand was self-government within the British regime. They believed in loyalty to the British Crown. They believed that the British presence in India was a blessing to Indians and they relied on the-British to guide the politics in India. Some of them professed that the British rule has done much good in India by cleansing the Indian society of its ills like the customs of sati, child marriage, etc. Moderates also praised the British for introducing in India contemporary development in science and technology.

An attempt has been made to understand various experience moderates came across during their tenure. The three-fold Objectives of the early nationalists were to educate people in modern politics, to arouse national and political consciousness and to create a united public opinion on political questions. They adopted constitutional means for the attainment of those objectives. They had full faith in the liberalism and sense of justice of British rulers. It was because of their demands as well as their methods that they earned the title of moderate nationalists of Moderates. The main objective of the Moderates was to achieve self-government within the British Empire In order to achieve this aim; they made several demands for reform and indulged in criticizing the Government policies. They believed in patience and reconciliation rather than in violence and confrontation. They relied on constitutional and peaceful methods in order to achieve their aim. As the Congress then was in its infancy, they had to educate people, arouse their political consciousness and create public opinion, which, in time, could change the destiny of the Indians. For this they held meeting and held discussions concerning social, economic and cultural matters. They also organized annual sessions with delegates participating from all parts of the country. After the discussions, resolutions were adopted. The views of the Congress in the form of resolutions were then forwarded to the Government for its information and appropriate action.

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steps for the spread and growth of education to satisfy the demand for educational advancement. They believed that the British are generally believers in the truth and justice. They believed in opposing the unjust policies of the British government through strictly constitutional and democratic means. In the annual sessions of the congress, demands were discussed and resolutions were passed and the demands were send to the Viceroy in the form of requests and petitions. Because of such a style of functioning, they were called moderates. By organizing the urban educated middle class, they prepared the background for the nationalists' movement. They performed the important function of sowing in the minds of Indians, the ideas of self rule, equality, democracy and freedom.

An attempt has been made to discuss attitude of the Government of India. In the beginning, Britishers wanted the congress to be a supplement to the government and not criticize the British government. After the meeting at Chennai, the conference had criticized the British Government in a book. The Congress was becoming popular in the entire nation. Educated people also joined it. National and secular, so they adopted the policy of division. The Moderates appealed to the Muslim leaders to speak against the congress to separate the Muslim from the congress. The Congress did not give up because of such activities. The representative of all the religions met in the meeting at Allahabad. This meeting nourished the nationalistic thought, we are Indian first. In a very short period the congress, become strength of the Country. The attitude of the Government of India towards the Indian National Congress has been one of steady and increasing hostility. Many persons hold that it was at Lord Dufferin suggestion that the Indian National Congress as a political organization came into being. But after the first two sessions were over, the demands of the Congress, though extremely moderate in the eyes of the Indians, upset Lord Dufferin. Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, would enable anyone to gauge the real attitude of both to the Congress. Dufferin to cross from 1887-88. The Indian Congress of Calcutta had an excellent effect. It has given intellectual measure to those gentlemen. It was enabled to gauge the political capacity. They were responsible in their individual capacity then the members of assembly. Their extravagant prelusions as embodied their resolutions. The mates of the people do not want to be ruled by the baboons and it is our duty as well as our interest of the people that is English rule. The Congress movement has developed certain number of government servants in various

provinces. They hold official positions and collected money. It was instructed and prohibited to stop. Lord Dufferin was afraid to the opinion about the congress will grow or lesion. Lord Dufferin fell that people of England will not readily accept this programme or allow such assembly. In the beginning the constitutional government and their ideas were different in the council. Thus the conditions under which the British administration in India discharges its duties. On 3rd March 1888 there was a progress of home rule movement in the country. The attitude of the British Government towards the congress was friendly and sympathetic. Its first session was attended by certain distinguished British officials-Sir Henry Cotton, the Chief Secretary to the Government, and Sir William Wedderburn of the Civil Services. The second session of 1886 was held at Calcutta. Some of the delegates were received by Lord Dufferin as distinguished visitors to the capital. The third session if the Congress held at Madras in 1887 was attended by about 600 delegates who were given a colorful reception by the governor of Madras. But this friendly attitude of the Government did not last long as Congress began demanding more and more of rights for the Indians, which the government was not prepared to grant. The growing strength and popularity of the nation movement made it suspect in the eye of the foreign rulers and they began to decry it.

In 1887, Dufferin attacked the Congress in a public speech and ridiculed it as representing only a microscopic minority of the people He called the demands of the Congress eminently unconstitutional and Congress a seditious body. Henceforth the British Government began to act in opposition to Congress and to create obstacles in its progress. Hamilton Secretary of State for India accused the Congress leaders of possessing seditious and double-sided character. He went to the extent of abusing Dadabhai Navroji and declared that Dadabhai residence and association with radical and socialist British leaders had deteriorated whatever brains or presence of mind he may originally have possessed. The British officers publicly criticized and condemned the Indian National Congress and its leaders. They were branded as Disloyal Babus, Seditious Brahmins and violent villains. The Congress was described as a Factory of Sedition and the Congressmen as disappointed candidates for office and discontented lawyers who represented no one but themselves. Lord Curzon declared in 1900, The Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise. He declared the Congress as an unclean thing. Some

Englishmen accused the Indian National Congress of receiving Russian gold. Lord Elgin II openly threatened the Indians in 1898 in these words; India was conquered by the sword and by the sword it shall be held. The British officials relied upon the policy of Divide and Rule to weaken the nationalist movement.

They encouraged Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Raja Shiv Prasad and other pro-British Indians to start an anti-Congress movement. They tried to drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims. They fanned communal rivalries among the educated Indians on the question of jobs in government service. Since the inauguration of the Indian National Congress it represented the voice of the politically conscious India, and the British attitude towards it may be justly regarded as the touchstone of British liberalism and the key to the British policy towards India. The Indians were not left long in doubt as to what that attitude was likely to be. Almost immediately after the first session of the Congress was over.

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and school masters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. If they were carried out, the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test. Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all.

The moderates acclaimed the British rule as most advantageous in comparison to India's position prior to the appearance of the British. The moderates ideology was established on obedience to the empire up to the time of 1905 Bengal partition that had exhibited marks of splits in the consequences of heinous acts, dealt with those resisting Curzon's authoritative layout of maneuvering a divisions among the Indians by projecting their religious schism. On the one hand the moderates upheld the

achievement of self government by way of progressive reforms. The moderates were in favour of championing constitutional and peaceful measures as most desirable to prevent immediate conflict with the ruler. The moderates seemed to be complacent under the British may be because of their conviction that Indians were deficient of self rule. The moderate's arrangement of political struggle, this notion was ignored. Finally on the one hand the moderates were inspired by the British diversity of liberalism. Moderates adopted the course of conciliation instead of open rivalry. The moderates were animated by doctrines of Gladstone, Disraeli, and Burke to readjust their political policy.

The attitude towards the moderates was not hostile in the early stage of the Congress. At the second session the Congress in 1886 Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India, displayed his cordiality by giving a garden party to the delegates at Calcutta. However the official attitude differed soon after 1887. Dufferin had suggested to Mr. Hume that the Congress should devote itself to social rather than political affairs. But the Congress leader differences not accept it. The Government became gradually hostile to the development of the nationalist forces among the moderates. British officials began to criticize and condemn the National Congress publicly by branding the nationalists. Dufferin himself attacked the National Congress in 1887 by calling it an organization representing only a microscopic minority of the people. On the one hand the Government granted some concessions to appease the moderates and on the other it followed the policy of repression to put down the growth of nationalism. After the fourth session of the congress in 1890 the Government issued a circular forbidding the Government servant to attend the meeting of the National Congress. During the first twenty years of its inception the Congress was completely controlled by the liberal leaders known as the Moderates. Every community of the country was represented in the organization and it was truly a national body. Most of the leaders came from the upper strata of the society and were the product of western education. Some of the notable leaders of the early congress were Dadabhai Navroji, Pherozshah Mehta, M.G. Ranade, Badruddin Tyabji, G.K. Gokhale, S.N. Banerjee, W.C. Banerjee, Subramanian Iyer etc. The early congress enjoyed the good will and sympathy of the British authority. But this attitude lasted hardly for three to four years giving place to an attitude of suspicion, intolerance and even of positive hostility. In the first two years of its existence, the congress merely

passed paper resolutions. But after being dissatisfied with the attitude of the government by 1887, the congress started a campaign of agitation against the various acts, omissions and commissions of the government by means of public meetings, pamphlets and leaflets. This is a concluding part in which attempts have made to estimate the different aspects of moderate thoughts. I have tried to show that Moderates did not invent any new ideas. They in fact borrowed their ideas from many sources. But their greatness and originality lay in their clear grasp of those ideas and their cultivation in the most comprehensive manner. Indian people shed blood in the hope that after the cessation of hostilities, the British government would consider to give a generous measure of reforms, leading to self-government. It gave self confidence and leadership to the people to fulfill their aspirations to shun the yoke of foreign rule. It launched the freedom movement against the British in India. It achieved its objective when Indian became independent on 15th August, 1947.

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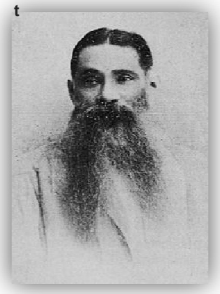
Founder of Indian National Congress

Allan Octavian Hume

(1829-1912)

Moderate Leaders



Womesh Chandra Banarjee
(1844-1906)

Dadabhai Naoroji
(1825-1957)

Gopal Krishna Gokhale
(1866-1915)

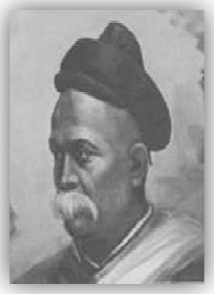
Ramesh Chandra Dutt
(1848-1909)

Pherozshah Mehta
(1845-1915)

Madan Mohan Malaviya
(1861-1946)

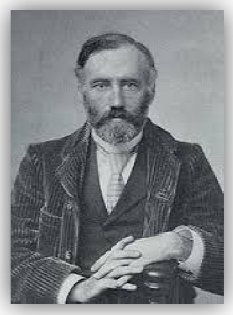
Surendranath Banerjee
(1848-1925)

Sir Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha
(1844-1936)



Mahadev Govind Ranade
(1842-1901)

Badruddin Tyabji
(1844-1906)



Sir William Wedderburn
(1838-1918)

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Rajneeti.org

DECODING THE TRUTH OF INDIAN POLITICS

TODAY IN HISTORY.

Here are the major events that have taken place,today in history:-

1892-07-06 - Dadabhai Naoroji was elected as first Indian Member of Parliament in Britain.He was a Member of Parliament (MP) in the United Kingdom House of Commonsbetween 1892 and 1895, and the first Asian to be a British MP.Elected for the Liberal Party in Finsbury Central at the1892 general election,he refused to take the oath on the Bible as he was not a Christian, but was allowed to take the oath of office in the name of God on his copy of Khordeh Avesta. In Parliament, he spoke on Irish Home Rule and the condition of the Indian people

INSURANCE

The Bombay Chronicle

INSURANCE

VOL. XIX NO 21— BOMBAY: MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1931. PRICE ONE ANNA

RELEASE OF MAHATMA & CONGRESS LEADERS ORDERED

ON THE MARCH TO FREEDOM

The March Of Events

SOME IMPORTANT LANDMARKS IN INDIA'S HISTORY SINCE LAHORE CONGRESS LAST YEAR

OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Ban Of Illegality On Working Committee Removed

VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

SOME EVENTS OF EVENTFUL YEAR RECALLED

Viceroy's Announcement

"INDEPENDENCE DAY" MANIFESTO

India's Chapter Of Freedom Read All Over The Country A Year Ago

INDIA'S ROLE TO FREEDOM

Some Essential Dates In A Year Crowded With Memorable Incidents

TILL INDIA IS FREE

World Peace Impossible

Bombay Workers Demand

Dominion Status For Indian Conditions?

Working Committee Appointed By Lahore Congress

NON-VIOLENCE IS OUR SHEET ANCHOR

সমাচার দর্পণ

(৮ সংখ্যা) শনিবার। ১৭ ডিসেম্বর সন ১৮১৮। ৫ আগ্রহায়ণ সন ১২২৫।

দর্পণে মুখ সৌন্দর্য্যের কার্য্যবিতরণ। বৃত্তান্তানিহ আনন্দ সমাচারস্য দর্পণে॥

সমাচার দর্পণ।

কোম্পানির কাগজ।—

৯ ডিসেম্বর বুধবার সন ১৮১৮ সালে কোম্পানির শতকরা ছয় টাকার সুদের কাগজ ছয় করিতে হইলে শতকরা সাড়ে টাকা ডিসকৌণ্ট। বিক্রয় করিতে হইলে শতকরা আট টাকা আট আনা ডিসকৌণ্ট।

নক্তাহের পঞ্জিকা।

১৭	ডিসেম্বর	শনিবার	১৮	অনুরাধা
১৮	ঐ	রবিবার	১৯	ঐ
১৯	ঐ	সোমবার	১	জ্যেষ্ঠা
২০	ঐ	মঙ্গলবার	২	ঐ
২১	ঐ	বুধবার	৩	ঐ
২২	ঐ	বৃহস্পতিবার	৪	ঐ
২৩	ঐ	শুক্রবার	৫	ঐ

ওলাউঠা।—

মান্দ্রাজের ১৭ নবেম্বরের পত্রে সমাচার আসা গেল যে মহিশুরে ওলাউঠা রোগের অতিশয় বৃদ্ধি হইতেছে এবং মুহূর্ত্তেক মধ্যে অনেক লোক ঐ রোগে মরিতেছে ও মরিতেছে।

যুদ্ধ।

লণ্ডন শহরের পত্রদ্বারা সমাচার আসা গেল যে ঐ শহরের নিকটে ডাকাতিয়া অনেক রাজপথাতি লুকা লোকেরদিগকে যুদ্ধ দিতেছিল যে কেবল মহারাজ শ্রীযুত জৌর্জ্জরাও সিন্ধিয়ার দেশে কিন্তু ২ নবেম্বরে তাহারা আমারদের দেশে আসিয়া ডাকাতি করিয়াছিল এবং কতক লুমহইতে গোলেমালি হরণ করিয়াছিল। ইহা শুনিয়া শ্রীযুত লেফেনন্ট কিংস্লুন সাহেব আশী জন যোদ্ধা লইয়া তাহারদের পশ্চাতে এমত বেগে দৌড়িল যে তাহারা তাহার কিছু অনুসন্ধান পাইল না ও ঐ লেফেনন্ট সাহেব তাহারদের আড়ানিতে পঁহুছিল। তাহারা আমারদের সৈন্য দেখিয়া এক জন ও ধরা হইল না ও তৎক্ষণাৎ পলায়ন করিল। তাহারা এমত শীঘ্র পলাইল যে তাহারদের মধ্যে অস্ত্র লোকমাত্র মারা গেল তাহারদের মধ্যে পদাতিক সৈন্য পাঁচ শত ও ঘোড়সওয়ার আট শত ছিল তাহারদের অধ্যক্ষ জাজুর্নিতের শ্রীযুত অভিষিংহ।

হস্তকলম।

কয়েক দিন হইল বাঙ্গাল বাঙ্কে হস্তকলম কৃত এক নোট এই বলে পাওয়া গেল। বনিয়াড়ার মধ্যে এক বানিয়ার কুটিয়ালবাড়ীতে হিন্দুস্থান বাঙ্কে টাকা রাখিল করিবার প্রয়োজন ছিল এবং তাহার মধ্যে কতক সাড়ে টাকা ও হিন্দু নোট রাখিল হইলে তাহার মধ্যে এই জাল নোট ছিল। হিন্দু দিন পরে ঐ নোট টাকার কারণ হিন্দুস্থান বাঙ্কিংহাউসে বাঙ্গাল বাঙ্কে গেল। পরে তথাকার এক জন কেরানী ঐ নোট দেখিয়া কহিল যে এই সমুদয়ের একখান নোট আমারদের বাঙ্গে আছে এই বলে ঐ জাল নোট টাকা লইলে পুলিসহইতে লোক আসিয়া হিন্দুস্থান বাঙ্কে এই বিষয় তজবীজ করিল যে এই নোট কোথাহইতে আইল। যে ব্যক্তি ঐ নোট দাখিল করিয়াছিল হিন্দুস্থান বাঙ্কের সরকার তাহার নাম লিখিয়া লয় নাই। কিন্তু ঐ সরকার কিছু২ কাগজ ভরিয়া অনুমানের দ্বারা সে ব্যক্তির নাম মনে করিয়া কহিলে পরে সে ব্যক্তিকে পুলিসে লইয়া গিয়া তাহার তজবীজ হইল কিন্তু যে ব্যক্তি এই কর্ম্ম করিয়াছে তাহার নিশ্চয় অদ্যাপি হয় নাই। অথবা কোন জন জাল জনহইতে নোট লয় তখন তাহার নাম ঐ নোটের পৃষ্ঠে লিখিয়া লইতে হয় যেহেতুক যদি কোন প্রকারে উপস্থিত হয় তবে হস্তকলম লোক ধরা পড়ে।

মহারাজ কৃষ্ণচন্দ্রের।—

ভট্টপাড়ানিবাসী বাবুপর বিদ্যালঙ্কার অধ্যাপক শ্রীযুত কৃষ্ণনগরে হাতবাইতে নিমন্ত্রণ গিয়াছিলেন তথাকার এই রীতি ছিল যে ব্রাহ্মণ পণ্ডিতেরা নিমন্ত্রণে আসিলে তাহারা গমনকালে নিমন্ত্রণের বিদায়ি টাকা ও গাড়ু-ও শালপ্রভৃতি ও খাইবার কারণ লৌকাও পাইতেন তাহাতে এবং তাহার বাবুপর বিদ্যালঙ্কার বিদায়ি পাইতে বিলম্ব হইলে মহারাজ কৃষ্ণচন্দ্রের নিকটে সংবাদ দিতা এই কহিয়া পাঠাইলেন যে মহারাজ আমি বিদায়ি পাইলেও যাই না পাইলেও যাই। মহারাজও তাহার সমুদয় কহিলেন যে অত্যন্তর্থক কহ যে বিদায়ি না দেওয়া উচিত নয়। ইহাতে ঐ বিদ্যালঙ্কার ব্যবহার উপযুক্ত হওয়া

સ્થાયી અને વિપુલ

નવજીવન

[illegible]

પુસ્તક ૧૧] તંત્રી: મોહનદાસ કરમચંદ ગાંધી [અંક ૧૨મો

વિષયાનુક્રમ

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MAHATMA ARRESTED.

MR. MONTAGU EXPLAINS.

WHY MONTAGU RESIGNED.

ON CHARGE OF SEDITION.

HIS APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

KEEP PERFECT PEACE

HAVE NO HARTALS AND NO DEMONSTRATIONS.

CONCENTRATE ON CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

MR. EDWIN MONTAGU.

LALAJI SENTENCED

My Mouth is Gagged

Reg. No. B 3832

HARIJAN

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. [illegible] No. [illegible] | AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST [illegible], 1942 | [Five Pice

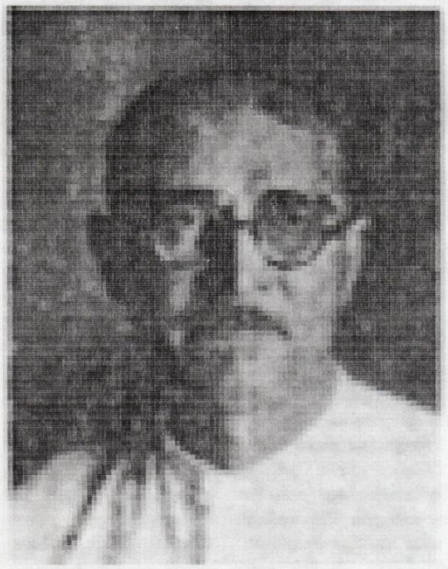
MAHADEV DESAI

On the 15th of August at about 8-30 a. m., Sevagram was informed over the phone by our Wardha friends that they heard over the radio the following communique of the Government of Bombay:

"The Government of Bombay regret to report the death, about 8 to a. m., on Saturday, of Mr. Mahadev Desai, who was recently detained under the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Desai was engaged in conversation with Col. Bhandari, I. M. S., Inspector-General of Prisons, and two of his fellow prisoners when he complained of giddiness. Col. Bhandari advised him to lie down and he found that his pulse was low and that he sweated cold. Dr. Sushila Nair who is detained in the same building was sent for and she arrived at once. As the Civil Surgeon could not immediately be found, another I. M. S. officer was summoned.

Injections were given to stimulate the action of the heart and everything that possible was done to keep up Mr. Desai's strength, but he died from heart failure only ten minutes from the time when he first complained of feeling unwell."



Late Shri Mahadev Desai

Though the information was fairly detailed, the three or four persons who first got it were altogether unwilling to believe it, and pressed me not to break it immediately to Durgaben and Narayan's Mahadevbhai's wife and son respectively. Telephone attempts were made to replace trunk calls, and at last it was decided that while telegraphic confirmation should be sought from the Prison authorities, the news should be communicated to the family as it was. For a long time they refused to believe it. Both of them urged, "We are unable to feel the shock, which such news might to give us. Hence, we feel that it must be false." Others concurred. I was alone in a [illegible] objective. It was a difficult situation. Let me. Within a short time they were found to be distressed. But should I say that this was wishful thinking? I kept silent and allowed them to express themselves.

At about 10-30 p. m. a confirmatory telegram was received from Bombay, followed shortly after by another from the Inspector General of Prisons, giving the lessons over "Regret Mr. Mahadev Desai died suddenly this morning of heart failure — Prisons."

The telegram was despatched at 10-15 a. m., and yet it does not say whether and how his body was disposed of subsequently. To the time of writing this, there is no further information, or indeed there is none about Gandhiji himself. But even before this confirmation had come, the usual mental process had gone on, and within a few minutes were gathered out of their own involuntarily, and the mother and the son began to assure and comfort one another that though the information must be false, even if it were true, they should live in heavily. — Narayan writing, "Father has died at a time and in a manner which are most enviable, and which we shall always remain proud of."

He Did It

At the time when Mahadevbhai was taken from us, expiring at Poona, some of us at Wardha were considering the local and general situation, and contemplating to take some steps involving risk to our own lives. But not being used to take quick decisions, and still less to take action, we thought and continued our daily conversations methods of ensuring the force which will make India free. We thought and discussed not knowing that at the other end, Mahadevbhai had already done it and finished his part of the programme. A spirit emerges, as wonderful fact—Invariably that it was not done to compete to the Gandhiji.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1922

MAHATMA—THE DICTATOR.

VESTED WITH ALL CONGRESS AUTHORITY.

HAKIM AJMAL KHAN ON BRITAIN'S DUTY

BOYCOTT—NO AFFRONT TO PRINCE

ESSENTIALS OF SUCCESS.

NON-VIOLENCE AND CAPACITY FOR SUFFERING

CONFERENCES AT AHMADABAD.