

## CHAPTER 7

# The Beginning of National Movement in India

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the rise of Modern Nationalism in India. This led to the growth of an organised national movement in India. Under the leadership of Indian National Congress that was formed in December 1885, Indians waged a prolonged and courageous struggle for independence from foreign rule. Through this struggle India finally won independence on 15 August 1947.

### POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

- Pre-INC Political organisations were dominated by the educated middle class—lawyers, journalists, doctors, teachers, and so on—who had a broader perspective and a larger agenda.

Political Organisation	Major Facts
<b>Political Organizations in Bengal</b>	
<b>Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was founded in 1836 by Raja Rammohan Roy's associates and was the first organised political association that was formed in India.</li> <li>• It worked towards the reform of administrative association of Indians with the British, spread of education, pushing forward Indian demands to the British parliament.</li> <li>• This organization worked towards the promotion of vernacular literature of Bengal.</li> </ul>
<b>Zamindari Association</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Zamindari Association, also known as the 'Landholders' Society,' was established in 1838 to protect the landlords' interests.</li> <li>• It was founded by Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Radha Kanta Deb.</li> <li>• It marked the beginning of organised political activity and the use of constitutional agitation methods for the redressal of grievances.</li> <li>• Due to its efforts, it was able to secure various concessions from the British, for example allowing tax exemption status to temples and lands for Brahmans.</li> </ul>
<b>Bengal British India Society</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was established in 1843 with the combined efforts of George Thompson along with Dwarkanath Tagore, Chandra Mohan Chatterjee and Parmananda Maitra.</li> <li>• It primarily represented the aristocratic class.</li> <li>• Its main goals were to collect and disseminate information about people's health and well-being.</li> </ul>
<b>British Indian Association</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was established in 1851 through the merger of the Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society.</li> <li>• Raja Radhakant Dev and Debendranath Tagore acted as its President and Secretary respectively.</li> <li>• It petitioned the British Parliament to include some of its suggestions in the Company's renewed charter, such as:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishment of a separate popular legislature;</li> <li>Separation of executive and judicial powers;</li> <li>Salary cuts for senior officers; and</li> <li>Elimination of salt and stamp duties.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>The Indian League</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was started in 1875 by Sisir Kumar Ghosh.</li> <li>• Its objective was to stimulate the sense of nationalism amongst the people and encourage political education.</li> </ul>
<b>The Indian Association of Calcutta (also known as the Indian National Association)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was founded in 1876 by Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose.</li> <li>• It aimed to promote the political, intellectual and material advancement of the people by legitimate means.</li> <li>• It set out to unify Indian people in a common political programme and protested against the reduction of the age limit in 1877 for candidates of the Indian Civil Service examination.</li> <li>• It demanded simultaneous holding of civil service examinations in England and India and Indianisation of higher administrative posts and led a campaign against the repressive arms act and the vernacular press act.</li> <li>• Branches of the association were opened in other towns and cities of Bengal and even outside Bengal.</li> <li>• Its membership fee was kept low in order to attract the poorer sections to the association.</li> <li>• It later merged with the Indian National Congress in 1886.</li> </ul>

Political Organisation	Major Facts
<b>Political Associations in Bombay</b>	
<b>The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It was founded in 1870, in Poona by <b>Mahadeo Govind Ranade</b>.</li> <li>The other key members who helped in its formation were Bhawanrao Shrinivasrao Pant Pratinidhi, Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi and S H Chiplunkar.</li> <li>Its objective was <b>to serve as a bridge between the government and the people</b>.</li> <li>It resented peasant interests to the government, as well as opposition to forest laws, salt laws, and press laws.</li> <li>It published a quarterly journal under the leadership of Ranade.</li> <li>The journal became the intellectual guide of new India particularly on economic questions.</li> </ul>
<b>Deccan Association and Poona Association</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In 1850, the Deccan Association was founded and in 1867, the Poona Association was founded.</li> <li>Both failed within a few years, and the western educated residents of Poona saw the need for a modern socio-political organization.</li> </ul>
<b>The Bombay Presidency Association</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It was founded in 1885 by <b>Pheroza Shah Mehta, K.T. Telang, and Badurddin Tyabji</b>. The Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, and the Indian Association of Calcutta sent a joint deputation to England in September 1885 to present India's case to the British electorate. The first Congress was hosted three months later by the Bombay Presidency Association.</li> </ul>
<b>Political Association in Madras</b>	
<b>Madras Mahajan Sabha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It was founded in 1884 by <b>M. Viraraghavachari, B. Subramaniya Aiyer and P. Anandacharlu</b>.</li> <li>Its objective was <b>to establish an organization at the All India level to relieve and free the nation from the clutches of British rule and to solve Indian problems</b>.</li> <li>Its members met on a regular basis, debated public issues in closed sessions, held town hall meetings, and communicated their views to the government.</li> <li>Its demands included               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>simultaneous civil service examinations in England and India,</li> <li>the abolition of the Council of India in London,</li> <li>tax cuts, and</li> <li>cuts in civil and military spending.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Political Association in London</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>East India Association:</b> It was organised in 1886 by Dadabhai Naoroji in London.</li> <li>Its objective was to discuss Indian questions in London and to influence British public men to promote Indian welfare.</li> <li>Later, Dadabhai organised the branches of the association in Indian cities.</li> </ul>

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC)

- The Indian National Congress was formed on **December 28, 1885**, by British civil servant **Allan Octavian Hume**.
- Objectives at the time of formation:**
  - To obtain a greater participation for educated Indians in the government
  - To create a forum where political dialogues among educated Indians and the British Raj could be arranged.
- Aims and objectives of INC in Later Phase:**
  - To promote the nation-building process in India.
  - To provide for an all India political platform and to educate and mobilize masses under a common all India political organization.
  - To promote political consciousness and political awakening among the educated citizens and then to all the sections of the society.

### First meeting of the Indian National Congress (December, 1885)

- The first meeting of the Congress was scheduled to take place at Poona (now Pune) but later on the event was shifted to Bombay **due to a cholera outbreak**.
- Hume had to get the approval of the then Viceroy Lord Dufferin to hold the meeting.
- First President of the Indian National Congress: **Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee** presided over the first meeting of the Congress that included **72 other delegates**.
- Some of the **great Presidents of the Congress during this early phase** were-Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji; Pherozeshah Mehta; P. Anandacharlu; Surendranath Banerjee; Romesh Chandra Dutt; Ananda Mohan Bose, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

#### Britishers who were Presidents of Indian National Congress:

1. George Yule- 1888 Allahabad Session
2. William Wedderburn- 1889 Bombay Session
3. Alfred Webb- 1894 Madras Session
4. Henry Cotton- 1904 Bombay Session

### PHASES OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The National Movement during 1885-1947 can be divided into the following three phases on the basis of period, leadership, goals, methods adopted and social base.

Phase	Period	Leadership	Goal	Methods Adopted	Social Base
<b>Moderate Phase</b>	1885-1905	Moderates/ Early Nationalists	Dominion Status	Constitutional Methods- Prayer, Petition, Propaganda, Plead	Educated and Urban Upper Classes
<b>Extremists/Militant Nationalist Phase</b>	1905-1920	Extremists/Militant Nationalist Phase	Swaraj and Self Government	Passive Resistance and Swadeshi	All Urban Classes
<b>Gandhian Phase</b>	1920- 1947	Mahatma Gandhi	Complete Independence	Satyagraha	All Urban and Rural Classes (he focused on Masses)

### MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS

The early leadership of the Congress wanted reforms while remaining under the colonial rule. They believed in constitutional methods like **public meetings, petitions and press coverage** for achieving their demands. They came to be known as the '**moderates**' within the Congress. They were termed as 'Moderates' as they believed in moderate politics and liberalism.

- Moderates dominated the policies of congress from 1885-1905.
- Prominent Moderate Leaders**-Dadabhai Naoroji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha, W.C. Bonnerjee and S.N. Banerjee.

Gradually a section emerged which did not agree with the moderate policies and believed in aggressive action. Due to their aggressive posture this group was called the '**extremists**'.

- Prominent Extremist Leaders**- Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai.
- Note:**The Partition of Bengal in 1905 became the reason for the rise of extremists in the Indian National Movement.

### IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS

Parameters	Moderates	Extremists 1905-1909
<b>Time Period</b>	1885- 1905	They believed in the masses.
<b>Belief on masses</b>	They had limited faith in the masses. As per them, masses were not ready for any big movement and political work.	They thought that participation and sacrifices of the masses can create a big difference to win any battle.



Parameters	Moderates	Extremists
<b>Loyalty towards British</b>	They showed loyalty.	They thought Britishers are not worthy of respect and loyalty from Indians.
<b>Social Base</b>	Zamindars and upper middle class were their supporters.	Educated and middle lower class were their followers.
<b>Inspiration</b>	Western liberal thought	Indian history and cultural, Hindu traditional symbols
<b>Forms of protest</b>	Constitutional agitation, prayer, petition and propaganda	Swaraj and boycott, passive resistance

## CONTRIBUTIONS OF MODERATES

- **Critique of British Colonialism:** The early nationalists, led by Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Dinshaw Wacha and others put forward the “**drain theory**” to explain British exploitation of India. They opposed the transformation of a basically self-sufficient Indian economy into a colonial economy.
- **Demands of Moderates:** The moderates demanded to end the export of Indian raw materials and stop importing from England. They tried persuading Britishers to develop the Indian economy by establishing Indian enterprises.
- **Constitutional Reforms and propaganda in Legislature:** There were a total 45 representatives of India in the councils through which they demanded legislative expansion and reforms.
- **Campaign for general administrative reforms:**
  - **Better treatment to Indian Labour abroad:** Moderates demanded that better treatment should be given to labours working in British colonies, as they were facing racial discrimination and oppression.
  - **Condemning the Foreign Policy of war:** Moderates condemned the frequent wars (annexation of Burma, Suppression of tribals in North west, and attack on Afghanistan) the British government was getting into, as it was decreasing the Indian revenues.
  - **Demand for increasing welfare expenditure:** Moderates demanded the British government to increase expenditure on Health, Education, Agricultural Practices, Irrigation purposes and Sanitation.
  - **Separation of Judiciary and executive:** Moderates demanded in separating the functioning of both organs of the government.
  - **Representation of Indians in Bureaucracy:** Moderates believed that more Indians should be represented in civil services of India.
- **Protection of Civil Rights:** The moderates demanded basic civil rights for the Indians. They demanded freedom of thought, speech, freedom of free press and association.

## MILITANT NATIONALISM

There was a spark of militant nationalist ideology which was emerging in the late 1890s. Slowly and gradually with circumstances it took a concrete shape by 1905. The leadership of the Anti-Partition Movement soon passed to extremists like **Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose**.

### Reasons Behind the Growth of Militant Nationalism (Extreme Ideology)

- **Lack of solid results with moderate methodology:** There was a dissatisfaction regarding ideology and methods used by moderates. Moderates had a policy of peaceful and constitutional agitation, of which the younger generation was critical. The famous ‘political mendicancy’ of 3 Ps which were Prayer, Petition and Protests, found to be ineffective in serving the purpose of Congress.
- **Administration of Lord Curzon:** The administration of Lord Curzon proved to be the proverbial last nail in the coffin. His costly Durbars amidst divesting famines, Indian Universities Act of 1904, attack on the elected members of the Calcutta Corporation, expanding to Tibet at the cost of Indian revenue etc. sent a wave of indignation throughout the length and breadth of the country.

- **Impact of Westernization:** In reaction to the spread of westernization, various leaders emerged B D Chatterjee, Swami Vivekananda, Dayanand Saraswati etc who realized the loss of Indian culture and national identity which was submerging into the colonial pattern.
- **Emergence of trained leadership:** The untapped energy of masses was channelized by the experienced leaders on the right track. The partition of Bengal was an opportunity to release the energy of masses through a proper, planned and channelized agitation. This resulted in the Swadeshi Movement.
- **Impact of International events:** Various events broke the myth of western superiority and its invincibility like:
  - Japan-** became industrial power and defeated Russia in Russo-Japanese war in 1905
  - Ethiopia-** defeated Italy (another European country)
  - Boer war-** Europeans again suffered defeat; (**Note:** During this war, Gandhiji got the **Kaiser-i-Hind** title).
- **Growth of Education:** The educated Indians became the best propagators and followers of militant nationalism because they were low-paid or unemployed and because they were educated in modern thought and politics.
- **Existence of a Militant School of thought:** By the beginning of the twentieth century, a group of nationalist thinkers had emerged who advocated a more militant approach to political work. This militant approach was represented by leaders like
  - Raj Narain Bose, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal;
  - Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra; and
  - Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab.
- Tilak** emerged as the most outstanding representative of this school of thought.
- **Intentions of Britishers were recognized:** The demands of congress were not fulfilled by the British and the lack of faith developed among Indians with an idea that only Indians can better govern the country.
- **Disappointment caused by various Acts:** The political events of the years 1892 to 1905 also disappointed the nationalists and made them think of more radical politics. The nationalists realised the fact that instead of giving more rights to the Indians, the government was taking away even the existing ones. For Example:
  - 1904: Official Secrets Act curbed freedom of press. (**Enacted during the time of Lord Curzon**)

**Key Points:**

- Bal Gangadhar Tilak helped to found during 1880s **The New English School**, which later was called as Fergusson College.
- In 1893, Tilak started using the traditional religious **Ganapati festival** to propagate nationalist ideas through songs and speeches.
- In 1895, Tilak started the **Shivaji festival** to stimulate nationalism among young Maharthashtrians by holding up the examples of Shivaji for emulation.