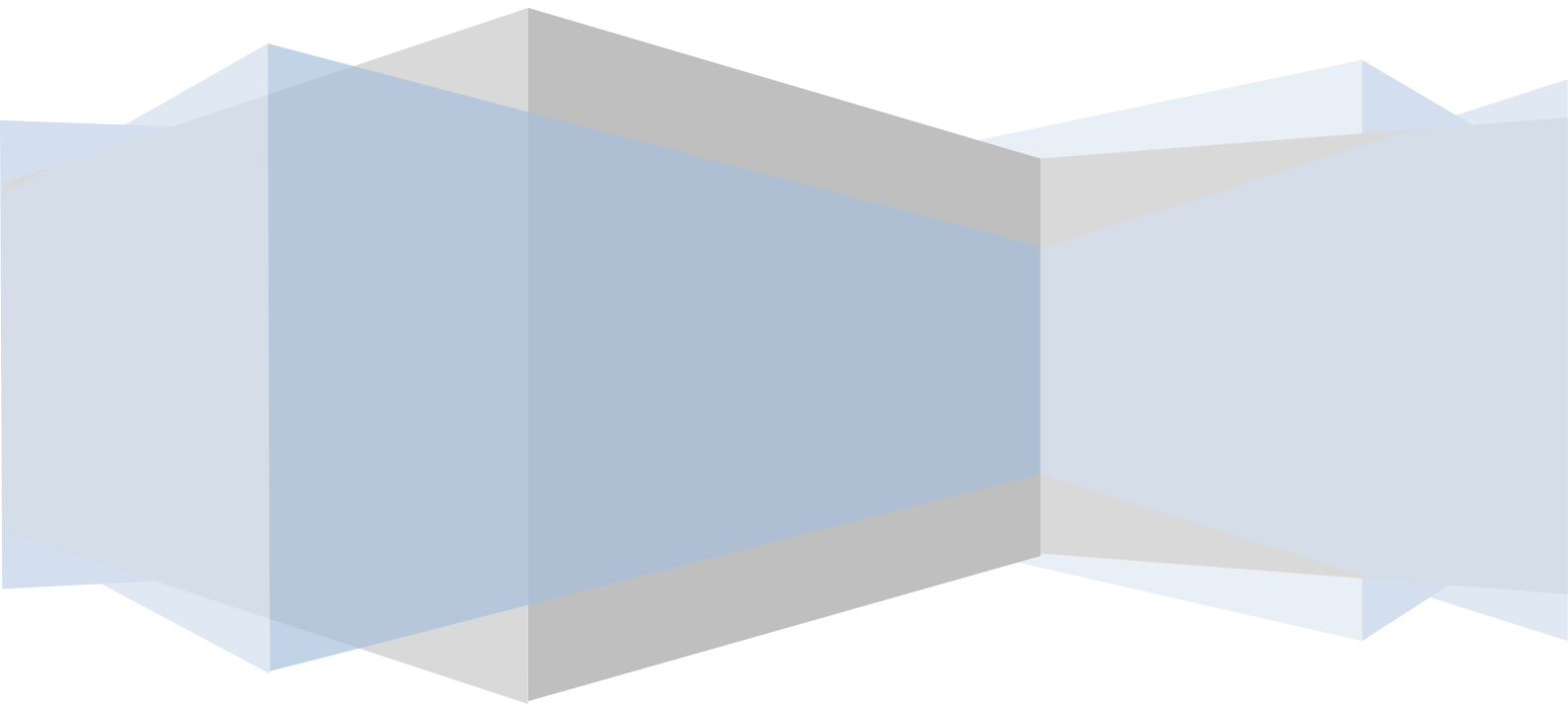


# Chapter 4: Formation of Congress

## Short Answers

### CSM 02: History of India and Indian National Movement

Compiled by Prof. Ashok Vishandass



**This chapter contains:**

- Bombay Presidency Association
- Indian National Congress
- First Session of INC
- Foundational Theories of INC
- Military Demands of Moderate Class
- Constitutional Methods
- Moderate Phase
- Early Nationalist Methodology
- Demand of Moderate Class

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# 1. Bombay Presidency Association (1885)

The **Bombay Presidency Association** was established by **Pherozshah Mehta, K.T Telang, and Badruddin Tyabji** in **1885**. It was founded in response to Lytton's reactionary policies and the Ilbert Bill controversy. The **Bombay Presidency or Bombay Province**, also known as **Bombay and Sind** (1843–1936), was an administrative subdivision (province) of British India, with its capital in Bombay, the first mainland territory acquired in the Konkan region with the **Treaty of Bassein (1802)**. The **summer capital was Mahabaleshwar**. In this article, we will learn about the **Bombay Presidency Association** which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

## 1.1 Background

- Following the establishment of the **British Indian Association in Calcutta**, a public meeting of Indian Citizens of Bombay was held at the **Elephantine Institute**, where the groundwork for the first political association in the Bombay Presidency was laid.
- People from all walks of life mingled freely and openly with Hindus, including Parsees, Jews, and Portuguese.
- The meeting was presided over by **Jagannath Shankar Sheth**, and it was decided that the Bombay Association would be the people's representative to the presidency, with an **annual fee of twenty-five rupees** set.
- Suddenly, a donation of thirty thousand rupees was received to launch the association.
- The first resolution stated that the association's goal was to "ascertain the wants of the natives of India in the Bombay Presidency."

## 1.2 Features

- The Bombay Presidency Association was founded in **January 1885** by three prominent Bombay leaders: **Pherozshah Mehta, K.T. Telang, and Badurddin Tyabji**.
- The association has always had cordial relations with the **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha**.
- 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 delegation was led by Bombay's **N. Chandavarkar**, Madras' **Ramaswami Mudaliar**, and Calcutta's **Manmohan Ghosh**.
- The first Congress was hosted three months later by the Bombay Presidency Association.
- **Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta, and Kashinath Telang** were known as 'The **Triumvirate**' or 'The **Three Stars**' of Bombay's public life.

## 1.3 Founders

**Pherozshah Mehta**

- **Sir Pherozeshah Merwanjee Mehta** (August 4, 1845 – November 5, 1915) was a Bombay-based Indian Parsi politician and lawyer. The British Government in India knighted him for his services to the law.
- In 1873, he was appointed **Municipal Commissioner of Bombay Municipality** and served as its **President four times**: in 1884, 1885, 1905, and 1911.
- Mehta was a founding member and President of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in 1890.
- When the Bombay Presidency Association was formed in 1885, Mehta was elected president and served in that capacity for the rest of his life.
- He urged Indians to pursue Western education and embrace Western culture in order to better India.
- He supported numerous social causes in the city and throughout India, including education, sanitation, and health care.

### **Badruddin Tyabji**

- On October 10, 1844, Badruddin Tyabji (Tyab Ali) was born in Bombay. His father descended from an old Cambay emigrant Arab family.
- He joined the Middle Temple after passing the London matriculation, became a Barrister in April 1867 - the first Indian Barrister in Bombay - and rose quickly in the profession.
- Tyabji made his public debut after three years at the Bar. In July 1871, he was a leading figure in the campaign for an elective Bombay Municipal Corporation, and he was at the top of the list of those subsequently elected to that body.
- From then on, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, and Kashinath Telang were known as 'The Triumvirate' or 'The Three Stars' of Bombay's public life (in that order).
- He was elected to the **Bombay Legislative Council in 1882** but resigned in 1886 due to health concerns.
- He helped found the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885 and ran it almost entirely on his own.
- Soon after, the Indian National Congress held its first session in Bombay under its auspices, with Tyabji and his brother, Camruddin Tyabji, among its delegates.
- Their attendance was hampered by urgent business in Cambay, which their opponents exploited by alleging that Muslims were boycotting the Congress.
- He vehemently denied this, claiming to have "denounced all communal and sectarian prejudices."

### **K.T Telang**

- **Kashinath Trimbak Telang** was born in **1850** to a Marathi Brahmin family. He received his primary and secondary education in a Marathi school. He earned his M.A. and L.L.B. from Elphinstone College.
- K.T. Telang rose to prominence as a lawyer in Bombay in a relatively short period of time. **In 1889**, he was appointed as a **judge in the Bombay High Court**.
- His extensive knowledge of ancient Hindu scriptures, as well as his command of Sanskrit and English, made him a household name in Hindu law.

- He was a member of the Indian National Congress from its inception. He was appointed as **INC's first secretary**.
- He was also a social reformer who **advocated for women's education and the upliftment of the lower classes**. He was a prominent leader of the INC's moderate faction.

## **1.4 Conclusion**

Political organizations emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were initially dominated by the wealthy and educated intelligentsia. The Bombay Presidency was established in 1885 as a result of the reactionary policies of Lytton and Ilbert Bill. The Association advocated for Indian interests and hosted the first meeting of the Indian National Congress in Bombay in late 1885.

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## 2. Indian National Congress

**Allan Octavian Hume (A.O Hume)**, a retired British civil servant, founded the **Indian National Congress (INC)** in **1885**. Dadabhai Naoroji and Dinshaw Wacha were also the founding members. **In 1885, the first session was held in Bombay** under the presidency of Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee. The first session drew **72 delegates** from across the country. **Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India** at the time, granted Hume permission for the first session. The Congress was formed with the **intention of discussing issues** that all citizens of the country face, regardless of caste, creed, religion, or language. In its moderate phase, it was primarily a movement of upper and middle-class, western-educated Indians. In this article, we will discuss the **foundation and moderate phase of the Indian National Congress** which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 2.1 Background

- **Allan Octavian Hume**, a retired British Indian Civil Service (ICS) officer, founded the Indian National Congress to create a forum for civil and political dialogue among educated Indians.
- Following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the East India Company relinquished control of India to the British Empire.
- The British Raj worked to support and justify its governance of India with the help of English-educated Indians, who were more familiar with and friendly to British culture and political thinking.
- Ironically, one of the ways the Congress grew and survived, particularly during the 19th-century era of undisputed British dominance or hegemony, was through the patronage of British authorities and the rising class of Indians and Anglo-Indians educated in the English-based British tradition.
- Hume obtained the viceroy's approval in May 1885 to establish an "**Indian National Union**," which would be affiliated with the government and serve as a forum for Indian public opinion.
- On October 12, Hume and a group of educated Indians published "An Appeal from the People of India to the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland," which asked British voters in the 1885 British general election to support candidates sympathetic to Indian positions.
- These included opposition to Indian taxation to fund British campaigns in Afghanistan, as well as support for legislative reform in India.
- The appeal, on the other hand, was a failure, and many Indians interpreted it as "a rude shock, but a true realization that they had to fight their battles alone."
- The **Indian National Congress was founded on December 28, 1885**, at **Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay**, with 72 delegates in attendance.
- Hume was appointed General Secretary, and Calcutta's Womesh Chandra Bannerjee was elected President.
- In addition to Hume, two other British members (both Scottish civil servants) were founding members: **William Wedderburn and Justice (later, Sir) John Jardine**.
- The remaining members were mostly Hindus from the Bombay and Madras Presidency.

## 2.2 Objectives of INC

- To promote friendly relations between nationalist political workers from various parts of the country.
- To develop and consolidate a sense of national unity regardless of caste, religion, or province.
- To formulate popular demands and present them to the government.
- To train and organize public opinion in the country.
- To provide an outlet—"a **safety valve**"—for the growing popular discontent with British rule.
- Through a pan-India organization, establish a democratic, nationalist movement.
- To raise awareness about colonial exploitative policies and Indian political rights. To that end, Congress focused on increasing representation in councils, the Indianization of civil services, and other issues.

## 2.3 Foundation of INC

- The groundwork for the establishment of an all-India organization had been laid in the late 1870s and early 1880s.
- A retired English civil servant, **A.O. Hume** gave this idea a final shape by mobilizing leading intellectuals of the time.
- Hume obtained permission from the then-**Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin**, for the first session. It was supposed to be held in Poona, but it was moved to Bombay due to a cholera outbreak in Poona.
- Hume had written an open letter to Calcutta University graduates in 1883, expressing his desire to establish a body for educated Indians to demand greater participation in government and to provide a platform for dialogue.
- **In 1890, Kadambini Ganguly**, the first woman graduate of Calcutta University, addressed the Congress session, symbolizing the freedom struggle's commitment to granting women in India their due status in national life.

## 2.4 Foundation of INC - Features

- The INC was India's first national political movement, with the initial goal of involving more Indians in the country's governance.
- Its purpose was later upgraded to complete independence. After independence, it grew into a major political party in the country.
- The INC was a moderate organization in its early years, limiting its methods to constitutional methods and dialogue.
- Its demands were restricted to increasing the number of Indians in the civil service and armed forces. It never mentioned independence.
- After a few years, the party's demands and approach became more radical.
- By 1905, there was a clear schism in the party, which was now **split between old moderates and the newer group, the extremists** – so named because of their radical methods.



- The Nationalist activity was carried out through **provincial conferences and associations, newspapers, and literature** in addition to the Indian National Congress.

## 2.5 Role of A.O Hume

- The idea for an all-India Congress is said to have originated in a private meeting of seventeen men following the **Theosophical Convention** in Madras in December 1884.
- Hume's Indian union, which he founded after retiring from the Civil Service, is also said to have played a role in convening the Congress.
- Whatever the origin, and whoever the originator of the idea, we can conclude that there was a need for such an organization, and A.O Hume took the initiative.
- Hume was the son of Joseph Hume, a British radical leader. He inherited his father's political views and was initially interested in European revolutionary organizations.
- In 1849, he joined the **East India Company's civil service** and served in the Northwestern Provinces.
- He became involved in projects such as spreading education, combating social evils, and encouraging agricultural progress. Hume even started a newspaper in 1861 to educate the people of Etawah on political and social issues.
- Hume's pro-Indian stance and efforts to promote Indian welfare did not go down well with his fellow British officers.
- In 1870, Hume was appointed Secretary to the Government of India. Viceroy Northbrook threatened Hume with dismissal for his opinions.
- He also did not get along with Lord Lytton and was demoted in 1879 before retiring from the army in 1882. Hume settled in Shimla and became interested in Indian politics.
- He sympathized with the Bombay and Poona groups more than with Calcutta leaders such as Surendranath Banerjee and Narendra Nath Sen.
- Hume also met Viceroy Lord Ripon and became interested in the latter's scheme of local self-government.

## 2.6 Conclusion

With the establishment of the National Congress in 1885, the struggle for India's independence from foreign rule was launched in a small but organized way. The national movement would grow, and the country and its people would not be able to rest until freedom was achieved.

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### 3. First Session of INC

The **first session of the Indian National Congress (INC)** was planned for **Poona**, but due to a plague outbreak in Poona, the venue was changed to **Bombay**. With the cooperation of leading intellectuals of the time, **A.O. Hume** organized the first session of the Indian National Congress in **December 1885 in Bombay**. As a prelude to this, the **Indian National Conference** held two sessions in **1883 and 1885**, with representatives from all major towns in India. **W.C. Bonnerjee**, a prominent lawyer by profession, was the **first president of this session**. Sessions were held at the end of each year in various cities across India, and it was described as a "**memorandum**" to present the Indian political viewpoint to the British Government. As a result, the memorandum was presented at each session. In this article, we will discuss the **First Session Held in 1885 (Bombay)** which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

#### 3.1 Features

- Although several other conferences were held in various parts of India during the latter half of December 1885, the most important conference held during this fortnight was the First Indian National Congress, which met from **December 28 to 30, 1885**.
- The location of the Congress was changed from Poona to Bombay due to a cholera outbreak in Poona.
- The Indian National Congress held its first session in the hall of **Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay**. It was a vibrant gathering.
- The total number of delegates who attended the session was approximately 72, but they fairly represented India's various regions.
- **Dadabhai Naoroji (thrice president)**, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, P.Anandacharlu, Surendranath Banerjea, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Ananda Mohan Bose, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were some of the great Congress presidents during this early period.
- Mahadev Govind Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Motilal Ghosh, Madan Mohan Malaviya, G. Subramania Aiyar, C. Vijayaraghavachariar, and Dinshaw E. Wacha were among the other prominent leaders.

#### 3.2 Aims and Objectives of the Congress

- The first major goal of the Indian national movement's founders was to promote the process, **to weld Indians into a nation**, to create an Indian people.
  - It was common for colonial administrators and ideologues to claim that Indians could not be untied or freed because they were not a nation, but rather a geographical expression.
- To reach out to people of all faiths and **alleviate the fears of minorities**, a rule was established at the **1888 session** that no resolution could be passed to which an overwhelming majority of Hindu or Muslim delegates objected.
  - In 1889, a minority clause was included in a resolution calling for legislative council reform.

- The Congress's subsequent major goal was to **create a standard platform** around which political workers from various parts of the country could gather and conduct their political activities, educating and mobilizing people on an all-India basis.
  - This was to be accomplished by taking over the grievances and fighting for the rights that all Indians shared in relation to the rulers.
- The president of the Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji, established a rule in its second session, stating that the **National Congress must limit itself to issues in which the entire nation has direct participation.**
  - For the same reason, Congress was not to consider social reform issues.
- It was necessary to build a **common all-India national-political leadership** as part of the basic goal of giving birth to a national movement. Nations and other groups can only take meaningful and effective political action if they are organized.
- As the first Congress President, W.C. Bannerji stated that one of the Congress's goals was to **"eradicate all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices among all lovers of our country."**
- The primary goals of the first nationalist leaders were to lay the groundwork for a secular and democratic national movement, politicize and politically educate the people, to establish the movement's headquarters, form an all-India leadership group, and develop and spread an anti-colonial nationalist ideology.

### 3.3 Resolutions Passed in the First Session

The first session of Congress debated and approved nine resolutions.

- The **establishment of a Royal Commission** to investigate the functioning of the Indian administration.
- To **abolish the Indian Council** of Secretary of State for India.
- Expansion and reform of the Imperial and local Legislative Councils created by the Indian Councils Act of 1861.
- **Establishing Legislative Councils** for the Northwest Province, Oudh, and Punjab, as well as establishing a Standing Committee in the House of Commons to consider formal protests.
- Implementation of simultaneous **Public Service Examinations** in England and India, as well as an increase in the minimum age for candidates.
- Military spending should be reduced.
- Protest against the annexation of Upper Burma and its proposed merger with India.
- All resolutions were to be distributed to political organizations across the country for discussion and formulation of views.
- The **Congress's next session** was scheduled for **December 28, 1886**, in **Calcutta**.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Despite the fact that the Indian leaders were meeting for the first time on a political platform, their knowledge of public problems of the day appeared to be broad enough in many dimensions. In their speeches, they demonstrated exceptional knowledge of the administration. Though Muslims did not constitute a sizable proportion of the Congress, the Congress did not discriminate against adherents of any religion or sect. The Congress's

second annual session was presided over by a Parsi, the third by a Muslim, and the fourth by a Christian. In its first session in 1885, the leaders of the Indian National Congress firmly believed in the British sense of justice and demanded political reforms.

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## 4. Foundational Theories of INC

If an Indian had founded a body like the **Indian National Congress**, it would have been accepted as normal and logical. However, the fact that an Englishman - **A.O. Hume** - **gave concrete and final shape** to the idea of an all-India political organization has given rise to many speculations and **various foundational theories of the Indian National Congress have been created. INC was formed by A.O Hume** in the year **1885**. It was originally known as the **Indian Nation Union**. A.O Hume was appointed General Secretary, and Calcutta's **Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee** was elected President. In this article, we will discuss the **Foundational Theories of the Indian National Congress** which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 4.1 Background

- The Indian National Congress was founded as a result of a series of unfortunate events that began in the 1860s.
- During the 1860s and 1870s, the Indian Subcontinent was subjected to recurrent famines, which resulted in large-scale deaths from starvation as well as wreaking havoc on the local population's purchasing power.
- Colonial legislation also played a significant role in widening the chasm between the people of India and the British Colonial Government in the post-Revolt era.
- The defeat of the Ilbert Bill, among other things, made Indians realize for the first time that sporadic efforts of individuals were useless and fruitless; thus, they learned the importance and value of the organization.
- This was a significant factor in the formation of the first organized national political party speaking with one voice and representing the entire population of India.

### 4.2 Foundation of INC

- By 1880, India had developed a new middle class that was dispersed throughout the country.
- This class's encouragement stemmed from its educational success and ability to reap the benefits of that education, such as employment in the Indian Civil Service.
- They were especially encouraged when Canada was granted dominion status and established a self-governing democratic constitution in 1867.
- A solid foundation had been laid for the formation of an all-India organization. A retired English civil servant, **A.O. Hume** gave this idea a final shape by mobilizing leading intellectuals of the time.
- With the cooperation of these leaders, he organized the **first session** of the Indian National Congress in **December 1885** at **Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay** with permission from the then viceroy **Lord Dufferin**.
- The membership was made up of the westernized elite, and no effort was made to broaden the base at the time.
- Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee presided over the first session of the Indian National Congress, which was attended by 72 delegates.
- Following that, the Congress met in December every year, in a different part of the country each time.

- The Congress held its **second session in Calcutta in 1886**, and its **third in Madras in 1887**.

### 4.3 Foundational Theories of INC

#### Safety Valve Theory (Lala Lajpat Rai)

- According to this theory, Hume founded the Congress with the hope that it would serve as a "**safety valve**" for the Indians' growing discontent.
- Extremist leaders, such as **Lala Lajpat Rai**, believed in the safety valve theory.

#### Conspiracy Theory (R.P Dutt)

- **Rajani Palme Dutt** was the founder of Conspiracy Theory.
- Conspiracy theory arose from the 'safety valve' concept.
- According to R.P. Dutt, the Indian National Congress arose from a conspiracy to suppress a popular uprising in India, and the bourgeois (middle-class) leaders were complicit in it.

#### Lightning Conductor Theory (G.K Gokhale)

- The lightning conductor theory was given by **Gopal Krishna Gokhale**.
- According to modern Indian historians, the Indian National Congress represented the desire of politically conscious Indians to establish a national body to express the Indians' political and economic demands.
- The early Congress leaders used Hume as a '**lightning conductor,**' i.e., a **catalyst** to bring together nationalistic forces, even if under the guise of a 'safety valve.'

### 4.4 Conclusion

Because the Indian National Congress played such an important role in Indian history, it was natural for a contemporary opinion as well as subsequent historians to speculate on the reasons for its formation. In fact, this issue has been debated since the establishment of Congress. Many scholars have worked hard to identify the efforts of an individual or individuals or the specific circumstances that can be considered the primary immediate factors behind the event. However, the evidence is contradictory. A hundred years after the event, historians are still debating the issue.

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## 5. Military Demands of Moderate Class

The **military policies** followed by the British were unjust, undemocratic and draconian in nature which the **moderates opposed and demanded changes in the policy**. The moderates worked with the long-term objective of a democratic self-government. They followed the **pray-petition-protest method** to persuade the British to bring in necessary constitutional reforms. After the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there were **increased demands for reforms in the British Indian administration**. This article will deal exclusively with the **military demands made by the moderates** which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 5.1 Military Demands of Moderates

- It was pointed out that the Indian army was utilized in imperial wars all over the world, with India bearing the brunt of the costs. **The moderates urged that the British government split the military costs equally.**
- They objected to the government's **disarmament strategy**. The **Arms Act** passed in 1878 was demanded to be **repealed**.
- The Act prohibited Indians from carrying weapons of any kind without licenses.
- They urged the government to place faith in the people and **grant them the right to bear arms**, allowing them to defend themselves and their country in times of crisis.
- **Aggressive foreign interventions** made by the British that led to the acquisition of Burma, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the repression of tribals in the northwestern United States, etc. were criticized.

### 5.2 Conclusion

The British conceded to the nationalist leaders' persuasion against military spending. The government agreed to contribute a portion of their military spending worth 1 million pounds. These demands made by the moderates had a crucial role in harnessing the anti-British sentiments among the masses.

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## 6. Constitutional Methods

The **early nationalists** used **constitutional methods** to put forward their demands. The Early Nationalists used the **three P's – Petitions, Prayers, and Protest** – to achieve their goals while relying on constitutional and peaceful methods and avoiding violence and confrontation. Early nationalists instilled a sense of belonging to a single nation, and they educated people in politics by popularizing ideas such as **democracy, civil liberties, secularism, and nationalism**, among others. The moderate political action involved constitutional agitation within the bounds of the law, and it demonstrated slow but orderly political growth. The British, according to the Moderates, genuinely wished to be fair to the Indians but were unaware of the true situation. In this article, we will detail the **constitutional methods adopted by early nationalists** which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 6.1 Objectives of Early nationalists

- The early nationalists believed that if public opinion could be developed in the country, and popular demands brought to the government through resolutions, petitions, meetings, and other means, the authorities would gradually give in to these requests.
- The early nationalists resorted to a **two-tiered methodology**:
  - create a **strong public opinion** to arouse consciousness and national spirit and then educate and unite people on common political questions;
  - **persuade the British Government and British public opinion** to introduce reforms in India on the lines laid out by the nationalists.

### 6.2 Constitutional Methods Adopted by Early Nationalists

- They provided education to the masses in India.
- They held meetings and **delivered speeches** in order to press their demands.
- They used the **press to criticize** the government's policies.
- They sent **memorandums and petitions** to government officials and the British Parliament.
- Rather than violence and hostility, they believed in patience and reconciliation. They adhered to the **three P's: Petition, Prayer, and Protest**.
  - This was accomplished through the distribution of petitions and request letters in protest of the government's unjust policies.
  - These methods could be categorized as constitutional and nonviolent.
- In 1889, the Indian National Congress established a **British Committee** in London, which **published a weekly journal, India**, to present India's case to the British public.
- They concentrate on **teaching people, raising their political awareness**, and forming public opinion.
- They also requested that the government conduct an investigation and provide solutions to the people's concerns.
- They met and **discussed issues of social, economic, and cultural importance**.



- **Indian leaders were sent to Britain** on deputation to achieve their goals.
  - For example, Dadabhai Naoroji dedicated a significant portion of his life to raising awareness of the plight of Indians among British citizens and parliamentarians.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

The constitutional methods adopted had a huge impact on creating an anti-British sentiment across the country. However, the efforts were not sufficient, as they failed to ensure the participation of the masses. The relative inaction by the moderates gave way to the rise of the extremists towards leading the Congress policies and national politics after 1905.

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## 7. Moderate Phase

The period from **1885 to 1905** is known as the **Moderate Phase** and moderates were the leaders of this phase. The national leaders who dominated the Congress policies during this period, such as **Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha, W.C. Bonnerjea, and S.N. Banerjea**, were staunch believers in 'liberalism' and moderate politics and came to be referred to as **Moderates** to distinguish them from the **neo-nationalists** of the early twentieth century who were called **extremists**. Indian nationalism emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a result of a variety of factors such as western education, socio-religious reforms, British policies, and so on. In this article, we will discuss the **Moderate Phase** which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 7.1 Features

- Between 1885 and 1905, the **Early Nationalists**, also known as the **Moderates**, were a group of political leaders in India whose appearance signaled the beginning of India's organized national movement.
- **Pherozshah Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji** were two important moderate leaders.
- Members of the group were drawn from educated middle-class professionals such as lawyers, teachers, and government officials, with many of them having received their education in England.
- The moderate political activity involved constitutional agitation within the bounds of the law and demonstrated a slow but orderly political progression.
- The moderates believed that the British essentially wanted to be fair to the Indians but were unaware of the actual circumstances.
- As a result, if public opinion could be formed in the country and public demands presented to the government through resolutions, petitions, meetings, and so on, the authorities would gradually concede these demands.
- To accomplish these goals, they used a **two-pronged strategy**:
  - First, they **created a strong public opinion** to arouse consciousness and national spirit, and then they educated and united people on common political issues;
  - Second, they **persuaded the British Government and British public opinion to implement reforms** in India along the lines laid out by the nationalists.
- In order to accomplish this, a **British committee of the Indian National Congress** was formed in **London in 1899**, with India serving as its organ.
- Dadabhai Naoroji devoted a significant portion of his life and fortune to advocating for India's cause abroad.
- It was decided in 1890 to hold a session of the Indian National Congress in London in 1892, but due to the British elections in 1891, the proposal was postponed and never revived.

### 7.2 Objectives

- To establish a democratic, nationalist movement.
- Politicize and politically educate people.
- Establish a movement's headquarters.

- To promote friendly relations among nationalist political workers from various parts of the country.
- To create and spread an anti-colonial nationalist ideology.
- Formulate and present popular demands to the government in order to unite the people around a common economic and political program.
- Develop and consolidate a sense of national unity among people of all religions, castes, and provinces.
- To promote and cultivate Indian nationhood with care.

### 7.3 Important Leaders

#### Dadabhai Naoroji

- He was dubbed the "**Grand Old Man of India.**"
- He was the first Indian to be elected to the British House of Commons.
- Authored the book '**Poverty and Un-British Rule in India,**' which focused on India's economic drain as a result of British policies.

#### Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee

- The **first president of the Indian National Congress (INC).**
- Lawyer by profession and the first Indian to serve as Standing Counsel.

#### G.Subramania Aiyer

- He founded the newspaper '**The Hindu,**' in which he criticized British imperialism.
- In addition, he founded the Tamil newspaper '**Swadesamitran.**'
- **Madras Mahajana Sabha** was co-founded by him.

#### Gopal Krishna Gokhale

- He was known as **Mahatma Gandhi's political mentor.**
- The **Servants of India Society** was founded by him.

#### Surendranath Banerjee

- Also known as '**Rashtraguru**' and '**Indian Burke.**'
- The **Indian National Association** was founded by him and it later merged with the INC.
- Banerjee was cleared for the Indian Civil Service but was fired due to racial discrimination.
- The **Bengalee newspaper** was founded by him.

**Rash Behari Ghosh, R C Dutt, M G Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta, P R Naidu, Madan Mohan Malaviya, P. Ananda Charlu, and William Wedderburn were among the other moderate leaders.**

## 7.4 Method used by the Moderates

- In order to achieve their goal, they made a number of reform demands and criticized government policies.
- They valued patience and reconciliation over violence and confrontation.
- They relied on constitutional and peaceful means to achieve their goal.
- They **concentrate on educating people**, raising their political consciousness, and forming public opinion.
- The Moderates **organized lectures** in various parts of England in order to create public opinion. In England, a weekly journal called India was published for distribution among the British people.
- Moderates **used various types of newspapers and chronicles** to criticize government policies, including the Bengali newspaper, the Bombay Chronicle, the Hindustan Times, Induprakash, Rast Goftar, and the weekly journal India.
- They also asked the government to **conduct an investigation** and find ways and means to solve the problems that people were experiencing.
- They got together and talked about social, economic, and cultural issues.
- Meetings were held in England, Mumbai, Allahabad, Pune, and Calcutta, among other places.

## 7.5 Contributions of Moderate Nationalists

### Economic Critique of British Imperialism

- Early nationalists such as Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Dinshaw Wacha, and others carefully examined the political economy of British rule in India and proposed the "**drain theory**" to explain British exploitation of India.
- They were opposed to the conversion of a largely self-sufficient Indian economy into a colonial economy.
- As a result, the Moderates were able to create an all-India public opinion that British rule was the primary cause of India's poverty and economic backwardness.
- To alleviate the deprivation that pervades Indian life, early nationalists advocated for the end of India's economic dependence on Britain and the development of an independent economy through the involvement of Indian capital and enterprise.
- The early nationalists demanded a reduction in inland revenue, the abolition of the salt tax, better working conditions for plantation laborers, a reduction in military spending, and so on.

### Constitutional Reforms

- Until 1920, India's legislative councils had no real official power. Nonetheless, the work done in them by nationalists aided the growth of the national movement.
- The **Imperial Legislative Council**, established by the **Indian Councils Act (1861)**, was an impotent body created to pass official measures as if they had been passed by a representative body.
- From 1862 to 1892, only forty-five Indians were nominated to it, with the majority of them "being wealthy, landed, and with loyalist interests."

- Only a few political figures and independent intellectuals were nominated, including Syed Ahmed Khan, Kristodas Pal, V.N. Mandlik, K.L. Nulkar, and Rashbehari Ghosh.
- From 1885 to 1892, nationalist demands for constitutional reform centered on:
  - **council expansion**—that is, greater participation of Indians in councils; and
  - **council reform**—that is, more powers to councils, particularly greater control over finances.

### **Campaign for General Administrative Reform**

The moderates campaigned on the following grounds:

- Indianisation of government service on :
  - **on economic grounds**, because British civil servants received very high emoluments while including Indians would be more economical;
  - **on political grounds**, because salaries of British bureaucrats were remitted back home and pensions paid in England (all drawn from Indian revenue), this amounted to an economic drain of national resources; and
  - **on moral grounds**, because Indians were being discriminated against by being kept away from positions of power.
- Separation of judicial and executive powers.
- An oppressive and tyrannical bureaucracy, as well as an expensive and time-consuming judicial system, have been criticized.
- Criticism of an aggressive foreign policy that resulted in the annexation of Burma, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the suppression of tribals in the North West.
- Increased spending on welfare (i.e., health, sanitation), education (especially elementary and technical), irrigation works and agricultural improvement, agricultural banks for cultivators, and so on.
- Better treatment for Indian laborers in other British colonies, where they faced oppression and racial discrimination.

### **Protection of Civil Rights**

- These rights included the freedom of expression, thought, association, and the press.
- The nationalists were able to spread modern democratic ideas through an unending campaign, and soon the defense of civil rights became an integral part of the freedom struggle.
- The arrest of Tilak and several other leaders and journalists in 1897, as well as the arrest and deportation of the Natu brothers without a trial, sparked widespread public outrage.

## **7.6 Achievements of the Moderates**

- Their demands for constitutional reform were supposed to be met by the Indian Councils Act of 1892.
- The **Indian Councils Act of 1892** increased the number of members in the Imperial Legislative Councils and Provincial Legislative Councils.

- **Legislative Councils** were given additional responsibilities, such as budget debate and questioning the executive.
- In the central and provincial legislative councils, indirect elections (nominations) were implemented.
- During Congress sessions, these reforms were harshly criticized. They now demanded a majority of elected Indians, as well as control over the budget, i.e. the ability to vote on and amend the budget.
- They coined the phrase "**No taxation without representation.**"

## 7.7 Limitations of the Moderates

- The educated elites dominated this stage of the national movement.
- They never sought or felt compelled to involve the masses in the way Gandhi did.
- Their attachment to Western political thought further distanced them from the people.
- They never sought complete independence from the British and were content with dominion status with increased autonomy and self-rule.

## 7.8 Evaluation of Early Nationalist

- They represented the most progressive forces in the country at the time.
- They were able to create a widespread national awakening of all Indians who shared common interests and the need to unite behind a common cause against a common foe, and above all, a sense of belonging to one nation.
- They educated people about politics and popularized modern ideas.
- They exposed colonial rule's fundamentally exploitative nature, undermining its moral foundations.
- Their political work was founded on hard realities rather than shallow sentiments, religion, and so on.
- They were successful in establishing the fundamental political truth that India should be governed in the interests of Indians.
- They laid the groundwork for a more vigorous, militant, mass-based national movement in the years that followed.
- They did not, however, broaden their democratic base or the scope of their demands.

## 7.9 Conclusion

The Moderate leaders believed that political ties with Britain were in India's best interests at the time and that the time had not come for a direct challenge to British rule. As a result, it was thought appropriate to attempt to transform colonial rule into something resembling national rule. The Moderates were unable to take significant political positions against the authorities due to a lack of mass participation. On this point, the later nationalists differed from the Moderates. Nonetheless, early nationalists fought for the emerging Indian nation against colonial interests.

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## 8. Early Nationalist Methodology

The **early nationalists** or **moderates** used **constitutional agitational methods** to put forward their demands. The leaders of the Early Nationalists believed in **moderate politics and loyalty to the British crown**. They requested constitutional and other reforms within the framework of British rule because they trusted the British sense of justice and fair play. Their requirements were reasonable. They believed that Englishmen were eager to put India on the **path of democracy and self-government**. They praised the **English language** as well as modern modes of communication and transportation. This article will discuss the **early nationalists and their methodologies** toward the national movement which will be helpful for the preparation for the UPSC exam.

### 8.1 Background

- The early nationalists **dominated the Indian National Congress** from its inception in 1885 to 1905. These early nationalists were well-known figures.
- They worked as lawyers, barristers, teachers, and government officials.
- They believed in the British **sense of justice and fair play** because many of them were educated in England. They were, however, unaware of the actual conditions of Indians.
- W. C. Bonnerjee, Rashbehari Ghosh, Surendranath Banerjee, R. C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Justice Ranade, P. R. Naidu, Ananda Charlu, Madan Mohan Malviya, and A. O. Hume were among the early nationalists.

### 8.2 Methodologies Followed by Early Nationalists

- They provided education to the masses in India.
- They held meetings and **delivered speeches** in order to press their demands.
- They used the **press to criticize** the government's policies.
- They sent **memorandums and petitions** to government officials and the British Parliament.
- Rather than violence and hostility, they believed in patience and reconciliation. They adhered to the **three P's: Petition, Prayer, and Protest**.
  - This was accomplished through the distribution of petitions and request letters in protest of the government's unjust policies.
  - These methods could be categorized as constitutional and nonviolent.
- In 1889, the Indian National Congress established a **British Committee** in London, which **published a weekly journal, India**, to present India's case to the British public.
- They concentrate on **teaching people, raising their political awareness**, and forming public opinion.
- They also requested that the government conduct an investigation and provide solutions to the people's concerns.
- They met and **discussed issues of social, economic, and cultural importance**.
- **Indian leaders were sent to Britain** on deputation to achieve their goals.

- For example, Dadabhai Naoroji dedicated a significant portion of his life to raising awareness of the plight of Indians among British citizens and parliamentarians.

### 8.3 Creation of Public Opinion

- The moderate leaders and other early nationalists **organized talks in various locations of England** in an attempt to build public opinion.
- In England, a **weekly periodical titled 'India'** was established for distribution among the British populace.
- Moderates utilized a variety of newspapers and chronicles to criticize government policies, including the Bengali Daily, the Bombay Chronicle, the Hindustan Times, Induprakash, Rast Goftar, and the like.

### 8.4 Demands of Early Nationalists

- Legislative councils should be expanded and reformed.
- Conducting the ICS examination in both England and India at the same time, in order to give Indians more prospects in higher positions in the administration.
- Separation of powers between the executive and the judiciary.
- More authority for local governments.
- Land revenue reduction and peasant protection from unscrupulous landlords.
- Salt and sugar taxes are being abolished.
- The right to free speech and expression, as well as the right to create associations
- The Arms Act is being repealed.
- Reduced spending on the army.
- Permanent Settlement was introduced to various parts of India.

### 8.5 Conclusion

The early nationalists were thus able to develop a national movement while undermining the political and moral impact of the imperial regime. This contributed to the public's anti-imperialist views. At the same time, the nationalists failed to broaden the democratic foundation of the movement by failing to include the masses, particularly women, and by failing to seek universal voting rights.

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## 9. Demand of Moderate Class

The 'moderates' dominated the **Congress (or national movement)** during its **moderate phase**. The **Congress made moderate demands** during its first twenty years. The members always presented their demands to the government in the form of petitions and worked within the confines of the law. During the first phase (1885-1905), the Congress programme was very limited. It called for moderate constitutional reforms, economic relief, administrative reorganization, and civil rights protection. The Congress incessantly raised several demands which could not be left unnoticed by the British. There were economic, constitutional, administrative, and military demands. This article will discuss in detail all the demands made by the moderates.

### 9.1 Demands of the Moderates

#### 1. Constitutional Demands

- One of the major **constitutional demands of the moderate class** was the **expansion of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assemblies** at the national and provincial levels.
- The Moderates desired a larger share of their country's government.
- They believed that, in the long run, India should move closer to **democratic self-government**.
- Their demands for constitutional reforms were conceded in 1892 in the form of the Indian Councils Act.
- The **Indian Councils Act of 1892** was the first step towards a representative form of government in modern India although there was nothing in it for the common man.

#### 2. Economic Demands

- The Moderates also desired a **reduction in land revenue** and the protection of peasants from the zamindars' unjust demands.
- They demanded the development of banking industrial growth through trade protection.
- The moderate leaders of Congress severely criticized the partial and **unjust economic policies adopted by the British** which imposed a brutal tax burden on the peasants and drained India's wealth to Britain.

#### 3. Administrative Demands

- The Moderates advocated for **Indianisation services** to be provided through simultaneous Indian Civil Services Examinations in both England and India.
- They wished to **repeal the Arms Act and the Licensing Act**, as well as to provide primary education to the majority of India's population.
- They demanded complete **separation of the Executive and the Judiciary**, greater employment of Indians in higher ranks, and a gradual transition to democratic self-government in India.

#### 4. Military Demands

- It was pointed out that the Indian army was utilized in imperial wars all over the world, with **India bearing the brunt of the costs**. The moderates urged that the **British government split the military costs equally**.
- The **moderates objected** to the government's **disarmament strategy**.
- The **Arms Act** passed in **1878** was demanded to be **repealed**.
- The Act prohibited Indians from carrying weapons of any kind without licenses.

#### 9.2 Conclusion

Though the demands made were not effective in the short run, what mattered is how the people of India responded to these demands raised. The moderates were able to boost the developing anti British sentiment among the masses, which strengthened the national movement. Contents like the drain theory and the consequent economic demands attracted the attention of the peasants and the working class who were in deep despair due to heavy taxation and a stagnant market.

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