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.


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 Brahmao 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 Sarawati, 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 Brahma 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 Brahma 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 Brahma 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 a communal 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 Vedic texts, 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 Cabala etc. 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 Pheroze J. 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.” 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.” 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” 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 Sayeed 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. 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 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.” 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.”

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 overthrow British rules by violence.

2. Their chief demand was self-government within 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.

• Notes and reference:
1. B.B. Majumdar, Political Thought from Ram Mohan to Dayanand, (Dudma Publication, New Delhi 1953), P.35.


7. B. Desai, National Movement In India (Hind Kitabs Mumbai 1948), P.96.

