

***MODERN INDIAN HISTORY (1857 TO THE
PRESENT):
HIS2CO1 INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT -
FIRST PHASE
(1885- 1917)***

Complementary course of BA Economics /BA English/BA Sociology

II SEMESTER CUCBCSS – 2014 Admission onwards

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT



SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

Calicut university P.O, Malappuram Kerala, India 673 635.

945

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

STUDY MATERIAL

Complementary course of BA Economics /BA English/BA Sociology

MODERN INDIAN HISTORY (1857 TO THE PRESENT):
HIS2CO1 INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT - FIRST PHASE
(1885- 1917)

Prepared by:

Dr.N.PADMANABHAN
Associate Professor&Head
P.G.Department of History
C.A.S.College, Madayi
P.O.Payangadi-RS-670358
Dt.Kannur-Kerala.

Scrutinized by:

Sri. Ashraf Koyilothan Kandiyil,
Chairman, Board of Studies in History of (UG),
Govt. College Mokeri.

Layout: *Computer Section, SDE*

©
Reserved

CONTENTS	PAGE No
Module - I	5
Module - II	14
Module - III	21
Module - IV	35

MODULE-I

EMERGENCE OF EARLY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

India gained Independence from the British colonial power sixty four years ago. Her achievement of Independence was a result of about a century's struggle by the people. The struggle for freedom was not an involvement of few people but rather it was a people's movement where every section of people played their roles. The Indian national movement has a long history. As a matter of fact, it began with the Revolt of 1857. The Revolt had been called as Sepoy Mutiny, by the British people, but many Indians considered it as the first war of India's Independence. However, the actual struggle for freedom began with the formation of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885. The period between the Revolt of 1857 till the formation of the INC in 1885 was marked by a rapid growth of national consciousness for political freedom. With the formation of INC the nation struggle became an organized movement.

The second half of the 19th century witnessed rapid growth of organized National Movement in India. It arose to meet the challenge of foreign domination. The direct and indirect consequences of British rule provided the material, moral and intellectual conditions for the development of national movement in India. There were many predecessors of the Indian National Congress. Important political associations before 1885 were as follows.

Zamindari Association

Zamindari Association was the first political association of modern India. Formally launched in Calcutta in March 1838, it was renamed the Landholders' Society shortly afterwards. Landed magnates like Raja radhakant dev, dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Rajkamal Sen and Bhabani Charan Mitra were its leading spirits. The promotion of landholders' interests through petitions to government and discreet persuasion of the bureaucracy was its professed object. Among its aims were securing a halt to the resumption of rent-free tenures and an extension of the permanent settlement of land all over India, including the grant of lease of waste land to their occupants. The demand for reform of the judiciary, the police and the revenue departments was also on its agenda.

To attain its aims and objectives, the Society maintained close contact with the bureaucracy in Calcutta, established links with the British India Society of London and appointed its President, George Thompson, the Landholders' Society's agent in London.

With its distinctive mark of loyalism, the Landholders' Society was an exclusive aristocratic club of native zamindars and compradors. Membership of the club was also extended to non-official Britons engaged in trade and commerce in Bengal. It was beyond the means of ordinary raiyats to become its members. The Landholders' Society failed to take root in areas outside the Bengal Presidency, where the Permanent Settlement did not exist. With its limited field and range of activity, its only achievement was the concession it had extracted from government in the form of exemption of *Brahmottara* (land donated for the services of Brahmins and temples), to the extent of ten *bighas*, from rent. The

Landholders' Society may be said to have inaugurated the new course of modern institutional politics in India.

The Landholders' Society did not endure long. It became inactive around 1842, becoming almost moribund by 1843, although maintaining a precarious existence till 1850. It was superseded by the Bengal British India society.

Bengal British India Society

Bengal British India Society founded in Calcutta on 20 April 1843, was the second political public association to be formed in British India, the first being the zamindari association (1837). It was, like its predecessor, avowedly a loyalist body based on limited Indo-British collaboration. But unlike the introvert Zamindari Association, representing solely the interests of the landed aristocracy, the Bengal British India Society was an organisation dominated by a section of the Bengal intellectuals, particularly by the young Bengal group that boasted of their aristocracy of western education and intelligence.

Its protagonist was a Briton, George Thompson, who, with his love for the Whiggish ideal of progress and interest in Indian affairs, had already established in London a platform by the name of the British India Society (1839) with himself at its head. During his sojourn in India in the spring of 1843 he gathered a group of Bengalis in Calcutta to form a rival body to the Zamindari Association, presumably as an extension of his own organisation, the British India Society. But ultimately it made its appearance with the appellation of the Bengal British India Society, probably as an autonomous body. It, however, maintained close liaison with the British India Society and with the government in India. Its stated aims and objectives were, to foster good citizenry qualities among the Indian populace, create public awareness about the state of governance and about their 'just rights', and strive for their realisation through peaceful and lawful means consistent with 'loyalty to the person and the government of the reigning sovereign' in England.

Its membership was open to all adults not 'under instruction in any public institution', paying subscription or donating to the society fund and 'conscientiously subscribing' to its aims and objects. But the members of the landed aristocracy studiously kept themselves aloof from it because of its open anti-landlord stance. Its Secretary had launched a trenchant attack on the permanent settlement and the zamindars and indigo planters from its platform and in the press. Its first 15-member executive committee consisted of four Europeans and eleven Indians with George Thompson as President, GF Remfry and Ramgopal Ghosh as Vice-Presidents, Peary Chand Mitra as Secretary. The Bengali members on the committee were Tarachand Chakravarty, Dakshina Ranjan Mukhopadhyaya, Brojnath Dhar, Krishnamohan Banerjee, Hari Mohan, Govind Chandra Sen, Chandra Sekhar Deb, Shyama Charan Sen and Satkari Datta - all belonging to the Young Bengal group.

Lobbying the bureaucracy and petitioning the government comprised the principal modes of its activity. The Bengal British India Society sent petitions urging upon government for increasing employment of Indians in public offices and for judicial reforms. It is said that the appointment of Indians as Deputy Magistrates and reforms in the Registration Department were the results of these endeavours. But neither the Bengal British India Society nor the Zamindari Association could achieve much, although in the growth of political parties in India they played pioneering roles. Both languished by 1850.

Young Bengal

Young Bengal a socio-intellectual label that was given by the contemporary Calcutta society to the students of Hindu college who followed their teacher Henry Louis Vivian derozio, a free thinker and rationalist, when he was a teacher there from 1826 to 1831. Derozio taught his students to have critical outlook about life and societal processes. He taught them how social institutions take root and develops and how people become attached to dead and fossilised ideas and institutions. Drawing examples from world history and philosophy, Derozio tried to persuade his students to love knowledge and abandon the habit of believing groundlessly. To his students his repeated sermon was 'to live and die for truth'.

The most favourite students of Derozio were a band of brilliant students of the Hindu College like Krishnamohan Bndyopadhyay, Rashik Krishna Mallik, Dakhinaranjan Mukhopadhyay, Ramgopal Ghose, Madhab Chandra Mallik, ramtanu lahiri, Maheshchandra Ghose, Sibchandra Deb, Harachandra Ghose, Radhanath Sikder, Govindachandra Basak, Amritalal Mitra and others. They were inspired and excited by a spirit of free thought and revolt against the existing social and religious structure of the Hindu society.

As a mark of emancipation from old and decaying traditions they exulted in taking beef and drinking wine, which they regarded as a yardstick to measure their freedom from all religious superstition and prejudice and a notable effort to break social fetters. Many of Derozio's students found logic and substance in the arguments of the Christian missionaries against many superstitious and cruel beliefs of the Hindus. Quite a number of them like Dakhinaranjan Mukhopadhyay and Krishnamohan Bandyopadhyay even left Hinduism and embraced Christianity.

In 1828 Derozio founded with his students the 'Academic Association' which organised debates on various subjects. The meetings of the Academic Association were well attended and a number of distinguished men were often present. Derozio's students made an intense study of the writings of Voltaire, Hume, Locke, Tom Paine etc and quoted them freely in their debates. Another organisation of these students was the 'Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge' founded in 1838. Tarachand Chakravarty was the president of the society and secretaries were Pearychand Mitra and Ramtanu Lahiri.

Quite a few journals were run by the Derozians between 1828 and 1843 to give wider currency to their views and principles. Among these were the *Parthenon*, *Hesperus*, *Jnananvesan*, *Enquirer*, *Hindu Pioneer*, *Quill* and the *Bengal Spectator*. Only one issue of the *Parthenon* came out in 1830 and then it discontinued. Encouraged by the missionaries, the Young Bengal group published the *Jnananvesan* (Quest for Knowledge) for propagating their views. It had a longer life; starting in 1831, it continued up to 1844. Organised by Rashik Krishna Mallik, it was a bilingual journal aimed at educating the people in the science of government and jurisprudence. Krishnamohan started the *Enquirer* in 1831 and vehemently criticised the orthodox community that had mobilised its forces against the young redicals. Many of the groups were faced with social excommunication and all

kinds of pressure were brought to compel them give up radical trend. The articles written by members of Young Bengal group and published in the *Hindu Pioneer* (started in 1838) clearly showed the growth of political consciousness among them. The *Quill*, run by Tarachand Chakravarty, also was critical of the government. In their writings the Young Bengal expressed frustration about the unequal political status of the natives and Europeans. The *Bengal Spectator*, a progressive publication, was perhaps the last of the Young Bengal journals. Starting in 1842, this monthly published articles on social, political and economic problems of the period and discussed such subjects as female education and remarriage of Hindu widows. It ultimately became a daily.

Besides their attacks on Hinduism, the Young Bengal supported most vocally the westernisation processes initiated by the colonial state. The Young Bengal movement is one of the most controversial phases of the Bengal renaissance in the 19th century. They earned both unstinted praise and outright condemnation. They were connected with the efforts made for the introduction of western medical education in the country, which ultimately led to the foundation of the Calcutta medical college in 1835. They also encouraged the students of the Medical College to overcome the prevailing prejudice against dissecting dead bodies and thus removed an obstacle. Some scholars assert that the Young Bengal activists were the pioneers of the Bengal Renaissance. There is no doubt that they contributed much to the awakening of Bengal in the early nineteenth century and appreciated the introduction of English as official language of the state and establishment of several public libraries in Calcutta.

The greatest folly on the part of the Young Bengal, however, was that they found perfection in everything western. Oriental ways of life appeared to them superstitious. Their aversion to native practices led them to adopt western habits and manners, though unsuccessfully, which made them hateful in the eyes of the natives in general and their guardians in particular.

The Young Bengals were too immature to grasp and evaluate the significance of freethinking and disinterested questioning. Their half-baked knowledge about western civilization and their ignorance of the oriental culture made them highly audacious to the extent of downgrading Bengal culture and tradition as a whole. Consequently, in spite of their eloquent arguments against many aspects of contemporary life and institutions, they failed to enlist support from the Bengal literati and sustain their ideology. The Young Bengal spirit proved to be ephemeral and shallow and faded away as quickly as it appeared. In the later part of the nineteenth century Young Bengal turned into a social gossip.

British Indian Association

British Indian Association was founded on October 29, 1851 at Calcutta with Raja radhakanta dev and debendranath Tagore as its President and Secretary respectively. Other members of the Association included Ramgopal Ghosh, Peary chand mitra and Krishnadas Pal. Its membership was kept exclusive to Indians.

The object of the Association was 'to secure improvements in the local administration of the country and in the system of government laid down by Parliament'. The Association gave leadership to remove the existing defects in the laws and civil administration of the country and to promote greater welfare of the Indians. In 1852 the

Association sent a petition to Parliament 'relative to the East India Company's charter' fallen due to be renewed in 1853. The Association informed parliament that Indians were not benefited by their connection with Great Britain 'to the extent they expected'.

It submitted a list of grievances, which afterwards became a part of the Congress demand. These were the relaxation of the pressure of the revenue systems, the improvement of judicial administration, the protection of the life and property of the people from molestation, relief from monopolies of the East India Company, encouragement of indigenous manufacture, education of the people and the admission of the Indians to the higher administrative services. The Association demanded that in the future Indian Legislative Council two-thirds of its representatives should be Indians.

From its inception the Association had an all-India outlook and maintained close contacts with associations of similar character, which were established in Poone, Madras and Bombay. For about quarter of a century, the Association was the spokesman of India. When the Government of India put restriction on higher education (1879), the Association vehemently protested. Being predominantly an organisation of the landlords and of the upper class, it was obviously concerned with those measures of the administration that affected their class interests.

The exclusive character of the Association and its high rate of annual subscription came under public criticism. The Muslims of Bengal who were largely raiyats and peasants had little interest and connection with this Association. So in order to protect their own interest the Mohamedan Association was founded in Calcutta in 1856. The British Indian Association, however, welcomed it. The leaders of this Association gave their co-operation during the Indian National Conference (1883 & 1885) and the Conference of the Indian National Congress (1886) held in Calcutta.

In 1859, despite its pro-zamindari and landed aristocracy interest the Association refused to join the indigo planters in their efforts to get Act X of 1859 repealed and supported the cause of the raiyats. In 1860 also it urged the Government to set up a Commission of Enquiry for solving the question of indigo cultivation. The Indian Association ceased to operate after the abolition of the zamindari system in West Bengal in 1954.

The East India Association

The East India Association was founded by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866, in collaboration with Indians and retired British officials in London. It superseded the London Indian Society and was a platform for discussing matters and ideas about India, and to provide representation for Indians to the Government. Naoroji delivered the first lecture to the Association on 2 May 1867. The Association's first President was Lord Lyveden.

In 1868, the East India Association had nearly 600 members. This had increased to 1,000 in 1878. Female members were admitted from 1912. The Association produced a journal (*Journal of the East India Association*) from its inception which included the papers that were delivered before their meetings. Papers and proceedings of these meetings were then produced in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which eventually superseded the *Journal of the East India Association*. These lectures were usually delivered in the Association's regular meeting place - Caxton Hall, Westminster (i.e., Westminster Town Hall). Over the course of its existence, the Association would listen to lectures from a

wide range of Indian and British men and women on matters ranging from the economic development of India to literature to suffrage. In March 1940, after a lecture delivered by Michael O'Dwyer at Caxton Hall, the former Governor of Punjab at the time of the Amritsar Massacre was shot dead by Udham Singh.

The East India Association incorporated the National Indian Association in 1949 and became the Britain, India and Pakistan Association. In 1966 it amalgamated with the former India Society, now Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, to become the Royal Society for India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

One of the chief objects Mr Naoroji had in view in founding the Association was the awakening of the British people to a due sense of their responsibilities as rulers of India, and his first endeavours were therefore directed to the dissipation of that 'colossal ignorance' of India which had so impressed him on his first arrival in England in 1855. Later on he saw how desirable it was that the Chiefs and Princes of India should be represented in this country, and that all possible assistance should be afforded them in laying their claims and views before Government for the protection of their interests and the redress of their grievances. So 'all persons interested in India' (whether Indians or Britons) were welcomed as Members of the East India Association.

Madras Mahajana Sabha

Madras Mahajana Sabha was an Indian nationalist organisation based in the Madras Presidency. Along with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association, it is considered to be a predecessor of the Indian National Congress. The first organisation in the Madras Presidency to agitate for the rights of Indians was the Madras Native Association which was established by publicist Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty in 1849. This organisation did not survive for long and was eventually disbanded.

In May 1884, S. Ramaswami Mudaliar and P. Anandacharlu established the Madras Mahajana Sabha. The office of the Sabha functioned in the beginning at the office of *The Hindu*, Ellis Road Junction, Mount Road. P. Rangaiah Naidu was elected President of the Sabha with R. Balaji Rao as its Secretary. In September 1885, the Sabha in collaboration with the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association sent a delegation to England.

The Mahajana Sabha held its first conference between December 29, 1884 and January 2, 1885. The Sabha adopted a moderate policy in its early days. However, still, its aims and objectives were considered seditious. In December 1895, on his visit to Madras, the Viceroy of India, Lord Elgin refused to receive the welcome address from the Madras Mahajana Sabha.

The members of the Sabha felt the necessity of creating an organization at All India level to relieve and free the nation from the clutches of British rule and solve the problems of Indians. The members of the Sabha expressed the idea very strongly in the conference held at Adayar Theosophical Society which was attended by many patriots and leaders, who materialized it later by forming The Indian National Congress later. Madras Mahajana Sabha was considered to be a unique and holy organization which has paved the way for our national freedom by the South Indians. Thus the Sabha has voiced

out the fundamental rights of our countrymen such as national freedom and other common social issues for the welfare of our fellowmen since 1884.

Surendranath Banerjea(1848-1925)

Surendranath Banerjea was born in November 10, 1848, Calcutta – died in August 6, 1925, Barrackpore, near Calcutta. He one of the founders of modern India and a proponent of autonomy within the British Commonwealth.

Banerjea was born into a distinguished family of Brahmans. After graduation from college, he applied in England for admission to the Indian Civil Service, which at that time had only one Hindu. Banerjea was rejected on the grounds that he had misrepresented his age. Charging racial discrimination, he won his appeal by arguing that he calculated his age according to the Hindu custom of reckoning age from the date of conception rather than from birth. He was appointed to Sylhet (now in Bangladesh) but was dismissed in 1874, in the midst of controversy and protests, following charges of procedural irregularities.

In a teaching career for the next 37 years, Banerjea founded Ripon College, later renamed for him, in Calcutta (Kolkata), and developed his ideas on nationalism. In 1876 he helped found the Indian Association to bring Hindus and Muslims together for political action. Three years later he purchased *The Bengalee*, a newspaper he edited for 40 years from his nationalist viewpoint.

An effective speaker at the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress, which first met in 1885, he was twice elected its president in the years before the moderate-extremist split of 1917.

In London in 1909 Banerjea appealed to the British to modify the 1905 partition of Bengal, reinstitute habeas corpus, and grant India a constitution on the Canadian model. He believed firmly in representative government and constitutional progress by constitutional means. He advised Indians to “agitate, agitate, agitate—you have yet to learn the great art of grumbling,” but he opposed the extreme methods advocated by the political leader B.G. Tilak and some of the noncooperation tactics that were practiced by Mahatma Gandhi.

Elected in 1913 to both the Bengal and imperial legislative councils, Banerjea welcomed the principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford report of 1918, which recognized self-government as the goal of British policy in India. In 1921 he was knighted and accepted office as minister of local self-government in Bengal. Attacked by extreme nationalists as a turncoat, he was defeated in the 1924 diarchy elections by a Swaraj (independence) candidate, whereupon he retired to write his autobiography, *A Nation in Making* (1925).

Indian Association

Indian Association, nationalist political group in India that favoured local self-government and served as a preparatory agent for the more truly national Indian National Congress. The association was founded in Bengal in 1876 by Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose; it soon displaced the Indian League, which had been founded the year before, and rivaled the long-standing British Indian Association, which it regarded as a reactionary body of landlords and industrialists. The association was supported mainly by younger professional men among the Bengali

intelligentsia. It spread beyond Bengal to other parts of India but remained Bengali in character, using expatriate Bengali communities as centers for its provincial branches.

The association found an issue in opposing the lowering of the age limit for civil service examinations (1877), which was disadvantageous to Indian candidates; and in 1878 it objected to the Vernacular Press Act, which stifled the Indian press. It advocated local self-government and tenant rights, and, when the Bengal Tenancy Act was finally passed in 1885, it demanded representative government. After the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, the association gradually lost ground; it was not heard of after 1888.

The Birth of Indian National Congress, 1885.

The Indian National Congress was founded in December 1885 at Bombay. It marked a new beginning in the history of Indian nationalism. It was the first organized expression of Indian nationalism on an all India Scale. A.O.Hume, a retired English LC.S officer played an important role in its formation.

In 1884 Hume founded the Indian National Union. Its objectives were to promote Indian nationalism and establish a close relation between India and England, by securing the removal of unjust and harmful laws. Towards the end of 1884 he came to Bombay and discussed with the local leaders regarding a comprehensive programme including the summoning of an annual conference and the formation of a central National Association. A.O. Hume came into contact with Man Mohan Gosh, W.C. Banerjee, S.N.Sen and A.M. Bose. He met the viceroy Lord Dufferin and discussed his plan. The congress could serve as a focal point for national discontent. Hume made it clear that the congress should serve as a 'safety valve' for revolutionary discontent. Hume as well as other English officials and statesmen was afraid that the educated Indian might provide leadership to the masses and organize a powerful rebellion against the British government. Hume believed that the National Congress would provide a peaceful and constitutional outlet to the discontent among the educated Indian and would thus help to avoid the outbreak of a popular revolt. W.C. Banerjee popularized the view that the idea of the Indian National Congress was a product of Lord Dufferin's brain, that he suggested it to Mr. Hume who undertook to work it out. Dufferin's idea was to have a political organization through which the government could ascertain the real wishes of the people and save the administration from any possible political outburst of the country. Lala Lajpat Rai maintained to serve as a safety valve for the growing unrest in the country and to strengthen the British Empire.

The 'safety valve' Theory is however, is a small part of the truth. More than anything else, the National Congress represented the urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national organization to work for their political and economic advancement. We saw that the national movement was already growing in the country as a result of the working of powerful forces. No one man or a group can be given credit for creating this movement. Even Hume's motives were mixed one. In many cases, the Indian leaders who co-operated with Hume in starting Indian National Congress, were patriotic men of high character who willingly accepted Hume's help as they did not want to arouse official hostility towards their efforts at an early stage of political activity.

Surendra Nath Banerjee and many leaders of Bengal had not attended the first session of Indian National Congress. They were busy with the second National Conference at Calcutta; in 1886 they merged with the Indian National Congress. The second session of the congress met in Calcutta on December 1886, under the president ship of Dadabhai Naoroji. From the second session the Indian National Congress became the whole country's congress. Here after the Indian National Congress met every year in December in different part of the country. The number of its delegate soon increased in Thousands. Its members consisted of lawyers, journalists, traders, industrialists, teachers and landlords. In 1890 Kadambari Ganguli, the first women graduate of Calcutta University, addressed the congress session.

MODULE-II ECONOMIC CRITIQUES

DRAIN THEORY

The Indian National Movement was the most deeply and firmly ruled in an understanding of the nature and character of imperialistic domination and exploitation. Its early leaders, known as moderates, were the first in the 19th century to develop an economic critique of imperialism. This critique was also perhaps their important contribution to the development of the national movement in India. The early nationalist complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness. The failure of modern industry and agriculture were due to the imperialist policy of the British. The nationalist leaders like Dadabai Naoroji and Romesh Chandra Dutt initiated and carried out the economic analysis of British rule during the period 1870-1905. They raised the basic questions regarding the nature and purpose of British rule. Eventually, they were able to trace the process of colonization of the Indian economy and conclude that colonization was the main obstacle to Indian economic development.

They clearly understood the fact that the essence of British imperialism lay in the subordination of the Indian economy to the British economy. The essence of the 19th century colonialism lay in the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials and a market for British manufactured commodities and field for investment of British capital. The early Indian national leaders organized powerful intellectual agitation against colonial economic policies. The nationalist economic agitation started with the assertion that Indians were becoming poorer every day. Dada Bai Naoroji declared from public platform and press that Indian is starving, he is dying off at the slightest touch, living on insufficient food".

R.C. Dutt in his book 'Economic history of India' wrote 'If India is poor today it is through the operation of economic causes'. In the course of their search for the cause of India's poverty, the nationalist underlined factors and forces which had been brought into play by the colonial rulers and the colonial's structure. The early nationalist asserted that genuine economic development was possible only if Indian capital itself initiated and developed the causes of industrialization. Foreign capital represented the exploitation of Indian resources.

Another major problem highlighted by the early nationalists was that of the decline and ruin of India's traditional handicrafts. It was the result of deliberate policy of destroying Indian industries in the interest of British manufactures. The nationalist view that the foreign trade and railways represented not economic development but colonialisation and under development of the economy and the railways had not been co-ordinated with the industrial needs. They ushered in a commercial revolution not an industrial revolution, which enabled the imported goods to undersell domestic industrial products. More over they said that the benefits of railway construction in terms of encouragement is steel and machine industry and to the foreign capital investment. The nationalist criticized the policy of free trade, which was ruining Indian handicrafts industries.

The important point of the nationalist critiques of colonialism was the Drain theory. The nationalist leaders pointed out that a larger part of India's was being transferred or

drained to Britain in the form of salaries and pensions of British civil and military officers working in India, interest on loan, profit of British capitalist in India and home charges or expenses of the Indian Government of Britain.

Dadhabai Naoroji (1825-1917)

He was the first Asian to be a British MP and the first Indian to become a Professor at Elphinstone Institution in 1850. **The 'Grand Old Man of India' and the 'Father of Indian Nationalism'** are the epithets to explain the personality of this great man who was an educator, cotton trader and social leader. He is none other than Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born on 4th September 1825 at Khadak in Mumbai.

He was a Member of Parliament (MP) in the United Kingdom House of Commons between 1892 and 1895. Dadabhai Naoroji played a crucial role in founding the Indian National Congress along with two other famous politicians of that time i.e. A.O. Hume and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha. Dadabhai Naoroji's concept of wealth drain from India during British rule got huge attention. He mentioned the same concept in his book **Poverty and Un-British Rule in India**.

After completing his schooling, Dadabhai Naoroji finished his Masters degree in Mathematics and worked as a professor in the same subject. He achieved many honors during his academic career and after completing his education from the Elphinstone Institution, he became a partner of the first Indian commercial company founded in Britain. So, he went to England for managing Cama and Co. While staying in England, he was very keen in exposing the wretchedness in India and what Indians were going through during British rule. In 1866, he established the East India Association in England. This was a platform to put forward the grievances of Indians in Britain. To promote these further branches of the association were also established in different parts of India.

Dadabhai Naoroji's theory of the Drain of Wealth

Dadabhai Naoroji was the first man to say that internal factors were not the reasons of poverty in India but poverty was caused by the colonial rule that was draining the wealth and prosperity of India. In 1867, Dadabhai Naoroji put forward the 'drain of wealth' theory in which he stated that the Britain was completely draining India. He mentioned this theory in his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. Further in his book, he stated the loss of 200-300 million pounds of revenue to Britain. Dadabhai Naoroji considered it as a major evil of British in India. On the footsteps of Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt also promoted the same theory by keeping it as a major theme of his book *Economic History in India*. The drain of wealth was the portion of India's wealth and economy that was not available to Indians for consumption.

Dadabhai Naoroji gave six factors that caused external drain. These are:

1. External rule and administration in India.

Funds and labour needed for economic development was brought in 2. by immigrants but India did not draw immigrants.

3. All the civil administration and army expenses of Britain were paid by India.

4. India was bearing the burden of territory building both inside and outside India.

5. India was further exploited by opening the country to free trade.

6. Major earners in India during British rule were foreigners. The money they earned was never invested in India to buy anything. Moreover they left India with that money.

Not only this, but through different services such as railways, was India giving a huge amount to Britain. On the other hand, trade as well as Indian labour was deeply undervalued. Along with this, the East India Company was buying products from India with Indian money and exporting it to Britain.

Dadabhai Naoroji was respected both in Britain as well as India for his loyalty towards British and services for Indians. For this reason, he was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, not once or twice but for three times i.e. in 1886, 1893 and 1906.

Dadabhai Naoroji was a greater supporter of free education especially to women and children in India as his mother had to struggle a lot to provide the same to him. He was very keen in providing education and making it free. He also wanted to uplift the condition of women in India. For this, he laid the foundation of Jyan Prasarak Mandal, the only girls' high school in Bombay (present day Mumbai).

His contribution to politics was also immense. He was the founder of Bombay Association and established it in 1852. Further, the London Indian Society was established by him along with N.C. Banarjee for the betterment of relationships between Indian and Englishmen. His entire life was dedicated to the cause and betterment of India. Dadabhai Naoroji died in 1917 at the age of 92.

Moderate Phase- Prayer – Petition – Protest

Political Ideas of the moderates:

Faith in British Rule

The starting point of the early leaders of the Congress, often called moderates was their abiding faith that British rule was a great boon to India and a dispensation of providence. There were many factors responsible for their faith. First, the British had brought peace and order to the country after more than a century of disorder and anarchy that had been let loose on the land after the breakup of the Mughal Empire. Besides, the moderates were grateful to the British for the introduction of Western type of administrative machinery and justice, rapid means of transport and communication, local self governing institutions, the free press, and above all for English education which, according to them, had brought new light to the country. Loyalty to the British, therefore, was the kernel of the political creed of the moderates. The Congress- declared Dadabhai Naoroji, was not a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British government but another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government.

Secular Nationalism

The progressive part of the ideology of the liberals was their secular nationalism. They firmly believed that in spite of all the diversities, India was a nation. They tried to ignore and bypass all the caste and communal differences and focused the attention of educated classes on the questions of common interest. Despite the advocacy of many an English politician and some of their Indian disciples that India's degradation was due to her social and religious decay and, therefore, social and religious reforms should precede political reforms, the moderates tenaciously maintained the secular character of the Congress and kept the social and religious problems away from politics.

No Doctrinaire Liberty

Although the democratic ideals of liberty, equality and representative government had great fascination for them, they were not doctrinaire philosophers. Their ideal of liberty was not a reproduction of the western concept. They did not believe in the principle of laissez faire. They stood for state protection of industries and looked to the government for social reform, education, and protection of agriculture, trade and industries, for measures of health and sanitation, famine relief and other matters of national advancement. But at the same time they were great champions of civil liberties of the people. They fought boldly for freedom of thought and expression, freedom of the press and personal liberty.

No Doctrinaire Equality

Similarly, they had nothing to do with the doctrinaire concept of equality. They believed that the Indians were not capable of managing their political and civil affairs, and, therefore, it was necessary for them to pass through a period of tutelage under the guardianship of the British. Yet they fought consistently for racial equality between Indians and Englishmen, and for social and religious equality among Indians themselves.

Objectives of the Congress:

There was broad uniformity in the objectives and methods of the Congress during the first twenty years in its history. Every year it passed a roughly similar set of resolutions dealing with three broad types of grievances: political, administrative and economic.

(1) Political Demands

The principal political demand was the establishment of genuine consultative councils, both at the centre and in the provinces, increase in the number of members of existing councils, introduction of the principle of election, placing of all legislative and financial measures including the budget before the councils and the right of interpretation to the members of Legislature. Thus, the immediate perspective fell far short of self-government or democracy. It was for the first time in 1906 that Dadabhai Naoroji in his President address, declared, "self-government or Swaraj" like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies to be the distant goal of the Congress. An equally important political demand was the abolition of the hated India Council.

2. Administrative Demands

(i) Employment – The question of employment of Indians in the public services engaged the attention of the Congress from the very beginning. It was demanded that competitive examinations should be held, simultaneously in India and England open to all classes of her Majesty's subjects, that a classified list of appointments be made in order of merit, and that the age for competition should be not less than 19 and not more than 23. Similarly, it was insisted that the higher branches of Medical, P.W.D., Railway; opium, customs and Telegraph services be thrown open to Indians.

(ii) Reduction of Military Expenditure - The military, problem was another important matter to which the Congress devoted serious thought from the outset. The main demands in this connection were the ever mounting military expenditure should be reduced, an equitable portion of that expenditure be borne by the British, treasury and a system of volunteering for Indians be introduced. The most noteworthy feature of the Congress stand on the military affairs was its unqualified condemnation of the forward

aggressive policy of the government. The annexation of Burma, the Tibetan expedition of Lord Curzon and the forward frontier policy were severely criticized.

(iii) Legal Rights - The Congress from the beginning was solicitous about safeguarding the legal rights of the people. The first demand in this connection was separation of executive from judicial function: Another important demand was the establishment of the system of trial by jury.

(iv) Education - In the field of education the Congress demanded that the government should extend primary education, broaden secondary education, and maintain at its highest possible level higher education. Particular emphasis was laid on technical education for Indians.

3. Economic Demands

The economic issues raised were all bound with the general poverty of the masses, to the, first few years the official view of the Congress was that the drain of wealth caused by the employment of foreign agency in the administration of the country and the growing military expenditure were the main causes of the economic rain of the masses. Resolutions were passed calling for an enquiry into India's growing poverty and famines demanding cuts in Home charges and military expenditure and funds for technical education to promote Indian industries, and an end to unfair tariffs and excise duties.

The new land revenue system was also held responsible for the economic decline of the country and the main demands were introduction of Permanent Settlement and fixity of land revenue over the rest of the country.

The early Congress was concerned not only with the interests of the English educated professional groups, zamindars or industrialists. It passed numerous resolutions on salt tax, treatment of Indian coolies abroad, and sufferings caused by forest administration.

The Constitutional Method

The method which the early Congress adopted for the redress of their grievances is commonly known as the constitutional method. It excluded not only rebellion, aiding or abetting foreign invasion and resort to violence, but all well-organized agitation. Even if their demands remain underdressed, they could not think of setting afoot an agitation that had the remotest possibility of arousing genuine indignation and dissatisfaction of the masses against the British Government. Even a peaceful agitation was inconsistent with their views and aims.

The method of the moderates was an appeal to the sense of justice and generosity of British statesmen and people. Its essence was prayers and petitions. The early Congress concentrated, on building up through petitions. Speeches and articles a fool-proof logical case aimed at convincing the liberal-minded public opinion of the land of Cobden, Bright, Mill and Gladstone.

Finally, the Congress politicians argued that the attainment of self-Government by other colonies of the British Empire was proof positives of the fact that the real intention of the English rulers was to train Indian gradually in democratic institutions. As the time would come, India would also get at their hands the same type of government which they had conferred on other colonies.

Criticism of the Moderates' Ideology

During the first twenty years, 1885-1905, the Congress was controlled by moderates. Their ideology and methodology both have been criticized on various grounds. Neither their political ideology was correct nor were their means effective. Their liberal nationalism was a queer mixture of patriotism and loyalty to the British. Their thinking that the British rule was beneficial for the country was wrong. Their belief in the British sense of justice was also not correct. The later events proved that the British imperialists only understood the language of strength and pressure instead of truth and justice. Besides, the moderate leaders were not the leaders of the masses. Except Gokhale, no moderate leader was prepared for individual sacrifice for the attainment of the goal of freedom.

Moreover, the constitutional methodology adopted by moderates was not effective. Till 1918, despite petitions, memorandums, prayers and deputations, the British government did not show any real interest towards the legitimate demands of Indians. That is why the extremists later on described the moderate's methodology as political mendicancy.

Evaluation

In spite of the basic weaknesses of the political thought and practice of the moderates, they rendered significant service to the country. The annual sessions of the Congress gave a concrete form to the idea of national unity. The congress inculcated among the people of diverse races, religions, castes and languages, the sentiment of nationalism and patriotism. Even more important was the establishment of traditions of organized political activity. Finally, the moderates made a bold attempt to give a secular direction to Indian politics. However, from the practical point of view the moderates did not meet with any amount of success. None of their demands was conceded by the government.

Gopala Krishna Gokhale (1860-1915)

Gopala Krishna Gokhale was a greatest leader of the Indian national movement. He was a follower of Mahadev Ranade, popularly known as the socrates of Maharashtra. Gokhale was a strong believer in the policy of modernization and reasonableness. He was considered as the Guru of Mahatma Gandhi. Gokhale was born in a Marath Brahmin family at Kolhapur. After graduation in 1884, Gokhale joined the Deccan Educational Society founded by Ranade. He served the society for twenty years in various capacities as a school master, professor and principal of Fergusson College Poona; He edited the journal of Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

Gokhale made his first appearance in the congress platform at the Allahabad session in 1899. In 1902 he was elected to the imperial legislative council. In the council Gokhale made his mark as an eloquent and persuasive speaker. In the legislative council Gokhale greatly criticized the Indian official finance and spoke with considerable insight on the budget. He also exposed the hollowness of the British pretension in the matter of appointment of Indian to higher service. He worked as a joint secretary of the Indian National Congress and later in 1905 presided over the Banaras session. In 1906 he went to England to educate the British about the situation created by the partition of Bengal and played a great part, officially and unofficially in the formulation of the Minto- Morley reforms of 1909. In 1910 Gokhale was again elected to the imperial council. He also served

as a member of Indian Public Service Commission (1912-15) and urged to increase the share of Indians in higher service. Gokhale made heroic efforts in the imperial legislation council for introduction of free and compulsory education throughout India.

In his 'political philosophy' Gokhale was a true liberal. He was a believer in moderation and reasonableness. He stood for the speed of western education and principles of liberalism and democracy. He was convinced about the evils and weakness of Indian society. He clearly saw reactionary rule of the Anglo- Indian bureaucracy. He played the difficult role of an intermediary between rulers and the ruled. He interpreted the popular aspirations and the government difficulties to the congress. This, on occasions, made him unpopular with both.

The Extremist in the congress found fault with his moderation and dubbed him as faint hearted moderate, while the government on occasions charged him with holding Extremist views and being a seditionist in disguise. Gokhale put forward his views in a very candid language. 1905 Gokhale laid the foundation of the 'servants of India society', with a view to the training of national missionaries for the service of India, and to promote by all constitutional means, the true interest of the Indian people. Gokhale played a remarkable role in spreading ideology of nationalism and democracy. He played the role of moderates and extremist. In his political view he was a moderate, but in his social outlook he was an extremist and revolutionary. He wanted to reform Indian society by the introduction of modern education and administrative reforms.

MODULE-III
SWEDESHI PROGRAMMES

The partition of Bengal: 1905-1911.

The partition of Bengal was the most important event during the rule of Lord Curzon. It was carried out mainly for the convenience of administration. Bengal in those days was the biggest province of India extending over 1, 89, 000 square miles with a population of 80 million. It was comprising of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and was under the central of one lieutenant Governor. After Lord Curzon took charge as Governor General of India the discussion over the Partition began due to the following issues:

1. Vastness of Province: The Province was spread over the area of 1, 89, 000 square miles with the population of 80 million, which was too vast to be managed by one lieutenant Governor. He could not make a tour for the whole province due to its vastness once in his tenure.

2. Limited Sources of Communication: The sources of communication in the provinces were limited due to rivers and forests. The law and order condition of the provinces was also worst due to insufficient police and in-efficient management. Therefore the need of partition of province was felt severally.

3. Difference of Language: There was also the difference of Languages and civilization of the natives of West Bengal and East Bengal. The natives of West Bengal considered themselves superior in civilization to the resident of East Bengal. The Condition demanded for the division of Provinces.

4. Need of the time: The division of Bengal was the need of the time to develop trade in East Bengal and to promote the Port of Chittagong, which could be done only by division of the Provinces.

5. Partition: The Partition of Bengal was thus calculated to restore efficiency in the Government and administration on one hand and encouraged local initiatives for progress and development on the other. Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and formed two new provinces of manageable size – East and West Bengal. East Bengal consisted of Dacca, Mamansingh, Assam, Kaula, Rangpur, and Bogra district, the Dacca was capital of East Bengal constituted a majority Muslim Province, while the Bihar and Orissa constituted a separate province to be called as West Bengal with the capital of Calcutta and become the Hindu Majority provinces.

East Bengal contained a population of eighteen million Muslims and twelve million Hindus. Whereas West Bengal had a population fifty four million of which 42 million were Hindus and thus was the Hindu majority province.

Muslims' Response

It received a favorable response from the Muslims. It was thought that it would bring the emancipation of Muslims socially and economically. The Muslims welcomed the Partition of Bengal for the following reasons:

1. In the majority province of East Bengal the Muslims would be free from Hindu dominance in economic field. They would get opportunities of services and advancement of agriculture.
2. The city of Dacca, where the Muslims were in majority was the centre of Muslim culture. In Dacca Muslims had a great chance of success for social and cultural advancement than in Calcutta.
3. The Partition could result in political uplift and securing represent action in the Government.
4. The partition of Bengal relieved the Muslims from competing with Hindus, who were more advanced in every field of life.

Hindus Response

The Hindus did not accept it, as it dealt a telling blow to their monopolies and exclusive hold on economic, social, Political life of the whole of Bengal. They called it as a deliberate attempt by British Government

1. The Partition of Bengal had brightened the possibility of betterment of Muslims; while the Hindu landlords, capitalists and traders wanted status quo and to continue the exploitation of the Muslims.
2. Hindu lawyers also reacted to the partition of Bengal because they thought that the new province would have its separate courts and thus their practice would be affected.
3. Hindu press was not different from that of Hindu advocates. Hindus had their monopoly over almost whole of the province press. They were afraid that new newspapers would be established which would decrease their income naturally.
4. The Hindus launched Swadeshi Movement whose sole purpose was to boycott of British goods.

Annulment of the Partition

When Lord Harding assumed charge as Governor General of India Hindus again became active and sent a representation to him for the annulment of partition of Bengal. He recommended the same to the British Prime Minister for Indian Affairs. On the

occasion of the visiting His Majesty George V to Indo-Pakistan and holding of Durbar at Delhi on 12th December 1911 the partition of Bengal was cancelled.

The united Bengal was placed under a Governor and Assam was placed under a Chief Commissioner. This decision was a shattering blow to Muslims. It left them sullen and disillusioned. Their anger and indignation had widespread repercussions. The Muslims leaders and intelligentsia condemned the decision as betrayal of worst kind.

Conclusion

The Muslims of India had appreciated the step and started turning in the favour of the British but the British soon gave in against the mounting pressure of Hindus which helped the Muslims to realize the importance of standing on their feet and to organize themselves politically.

Swadeshi and Boycott Movements

The Swadeshi Movement had its genesis in the anti-partition movement which was started to oppose the British decision to partition Bengal.

The Government's decision to partition Bengal had been made public in December 1903. The official reason given for the decision was that Bengal with a population of 78 million (about a quarter of the population of British India) had become too big to be administered. This was true to some extent, but the real motive behind the partition plan was the British desire to weaken Bengal, the nerve centre of Indian nationalism.

This it sought to achieve by putting the Bengalis under two administrations by dividing them (i) on the basis of language (thus reducing the Bengalis to a minority in Bengal itself as in the new proposal Bengal proper was to have 17 million Bengalis and 37 million Hindi and Oriya speakers), and (ii) on the basis of religion, as the western half was to be a Hindu majority area (42 million out of a total 54 million) and the eastern half was to be a Muslim majority area (18 million out of a total of 31 million).

Trying to woo the Muslims, Curzon, the viceroy at that time, argued that Dacca could become the capital of the new Muslim majority province, which would provide them with a unity not experienced by them since the days of old Muslim viceroys and kings. Thus, it was clear that the Government was up to its old policy of propping up Muslim communalists to counter the Congress and the national movement.

Anti-Partition Campaign under Moderates (1903-05):

During this period, the leadership was provided by men like Surendranath Banerjea, K.K. Mitra and Prithwishchandra Ray. The methods adopted were petitions to the Government, public meetings, memoranda, and propaganda through pamphlets and newspapers such as Hitabadi, Sanjibani and Bengalee.

Their objective was to exert sufficient pressure on the Government through an educated public opinion in India and England to prevent the unjust partition of Bengal from being implemented.

The Announcement:

Ignoring a loud public opinion against the partition proposal, the Government announced partition of Bengal in July 1905. Within days, protest meetings were held in small towns all over Bengal. It was in these meetings that the pledge to boycott foreign goods was first taken.

On August 7, 1905, with the passage of Boycott Resolution in a massive meeting held in the Calcutta Townhall, the formal proclamation of Swadeshi Movement was made. After this, the leaders dispersed to other parts of Bengal to propagate the message of boycott of Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt.

October 16, 1905, the day the partition formally came into force, was observed as a day of mourning throughout Bengal. People fasted, bathed in the Ganga and walked barefoot in processions singing *Bande Mataram* (which almost spontaneously became the theme song of the movement).

People tied rakhis on each other's hands as a symbol of unity of the two halves of Bengal. Later in the day, Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose addressed huge gatherings (perhaps the largest till then under the nationalist banner). Within a few hours of the meeting, Rs 50,000 were raised for the movement.

Soon, the movement spread to other parts of the country in Poona and Bombay under Tilak, in Punjab under Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, in Delhi under Syed Haider Raza, and in Madras under Chidambaram Pillai.

The Congress's Position:

The Indian National Congress, meeting in 1905 under the president ship of Gokhale, resolved to (i) condemn the partition of Bengal and the reactionary policies of Curzon, and (ii) support the anti-partition and Swadeshi Movement of Bengal.

The militant nationalists led by Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh wanted the movement to be taken outside Bengal to other parts of the country and go beyond a boycott of foreign goods to become a full-fledged political mass struggle with the goal of attaining *swaraj*.

But the Moderates, dominating the Congress at that time, were not willing to go that far. However, a big step forward was taken at the Congress session held at Calcutta (1906) under the president ship of Dadabhai Naoroji, where it was declared that the goal of the Indian National Congress was 'self- government or *swaraj* like the United Kingdom or the colonies'. The Moderate-Extremist dispute over the pace of the movement and techniques of struggle reached a deadlock at the Surat session of the Indian National Congress (1907) where the party split with serious consequences for the Swadeshi Movement.

The Movement under Militant Leadership:

After 1905, the Extremists acquired a dominant influence over the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal.

There were three reasons for this:

1. The Moderate-led movement had failed to yield results.
2. The divisive tactics of the Governments of both the Bengals had embittered the nationalists.

3. The Government had resorted to suppressive measures, which included atrocities on students many of whom were given corporal punishment; ban on public singing of Bande Mataram; restriction on public meetings; prosecution and long imprisonment of swadeshi workers; clashes between the police and the people in many towns; arrests and deportation of leaders; and suppression of freedom of the press.

The Extremist Programme:

Emboldened by Dadabhai Naoroji's declaration at the Calcutta session (1906) that self-government or swaraj was to be the goal of the Congress, the Extremists gave a call for passive resistance in addition to swadeshi and boycott which would include a boycott of government schools and colleges, government service, courts, legislative councils, municipalities, government titles, etc. so as to, as Aurobindo put it, "make the administration under present conditions impossible by an organised refusal to do anything which will help either the British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it".

The militant nationalists tried to transform the anti-partition and Swadeshi Movement into a mass struggle and gave the slogan of India's independence from foreign rule. "Political freedom is the life breath of a nation," declared Aurobindo. Thus, the Extremists gave the idea of India's independence the central place in India's politics. The goal of independence was to be achieved through self-sacrifice.

New Forms of Struggle:

The militant nationalists put forward several fresh ideas at the theoretical, propaganda and programme levels. Among the several forms of struggle thrown up by the movement were:

Boycott of foreign goods:

This included boycott and public burning of foreign cloth, boycott of foreign-made salt or sugar, refusal by priests to ritualize marriages involving exchange of foreign goods, refusal by washer men to wash foreign clothes. This form of protest met with great success at the practical and popular level.

Public meetings and processions:

These emerged as major methods of mass mobilisation and simultaneously as forms of popular expression.

Corps of volunteers or 'samitis':

Samitis such as the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Ashwini Kumar Dutta (in Barisal) emerged as a very popular and powerful method of mass mobilisation. These samitis generated political consciousness among the masses through magic lantern lectures, swadeshi songs, physical and moral training to their members, social work during famines and epidemics, organisation of schools, training in swadeshi crafts and arbitration courts.

Imaginative use of traditional popular festivals and melas:

The idea was to use such occasions as a means of reaching out to the masses and spreading political messages. For instance, Tilak's Ganapati and Shivaji festivals became a medium of swadeshi propaganda not only in western India, but also in Bengal. In Bengal also, the traditional folk theatre forms were used for this purpose.

Emphasis given to self-reliance or 'atma shakti':

This implied re-assertion of national dignity, honour and confidence and social and economic regeneration of the villages. In practical terms, it included social reform and campaigns against caste oppression, early marriage, dowry system, consumption of alcohol, etc.

Programme of swadeshi or national education:

Bengal National College, inspired by Tagore's Shantiniketan, was set up with Aurobindo Ghosh as its principal. Soon national schools and colleges sprang up in various parts of the country. On August 15, 1906, the National Council of Education was set up to organise a system of education literary, scientific and technical on national lines and under national control. Education was to be imparted through the medium of vernaculars.

A Bengal Institute of Technology was set up for technical education and funds were raised to send students to Japan for advanced learning.

Swadeshi or indigenous enterprises:

The swadeshi spirit also found expression in the establishment of swadeshi textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops etc. These enterprises were based more on patriotic zeal than on business acumen.

Impact in the cultural sphere:

The nationalists of all hues took inspiration from songs written by Rabindranath Tagore, Rajnikant Sen, Dwijendralal Ray, Mukunda Das, Syed Abu Mohammad and others. Tagore's Amar Sonar Bangla written on this occasion was later to inspire the liberation struggle of Bangladesh and was adopted by it as its national anthem.

In painting, Abanindranath Tagore broke the domination of Victorian naturalism over Indian art and took inspiration from Mughal, Ajanta and Rajput paintings. Nandalal Bose, who left a major imprint on Indian art, was the first recipient of a scholarship offered by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, founded in 1907.

In science, Jagdish Chandra Bose, Prafullachandra Roy and others pioneered original research which was praised the world over.

Extent of Mass Participation:

Students came out in large numbers to propagate and practise swadeshi, and to take a lead in organising picketing of shops selling foreign goods. Police adopted a repressive attitude towards the students. Schools and colleges whose students participated in the agitation were to be penalised by disaffiliating them or stopping of grants and privileges to them.

Students who were found guilty of participation were to be disqualified for government jobs or for government scholarships, and disciplinary action fine, expulsion, arrest, beating, etc. was to be taken against them.

Women, who were traditionally home-centered, especially those of the urban middle classes, took active part in processions and picketing. From now onwards, they were to play a significant role in the national movement.

Some of the Muslims participated Barrister Abdul Rasul, Liaqat Hussain, Guznavi, Maulana Azad (who joined one of the revolutionary terrorist groups)—but most of the upper and middle class Muslims stayed away or, led by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca,

supported the partition on the plea that it would give them a Muslim-majority East Bengal.

Thus, the social base of the movement expanded to include certain sections of the zamindari, the students, the women, and the lower middle classes in cities and towns. An attempt was also made to give political expression to economic grievances of the working class by organising strikes in British- owned concerns such as Eastern Indian Railways.

But the movement was not able to garner support of the Muslims, especially the Muslim peasantry, because of a conscious government policy of divide and rule helped by overlap of class and community at places. To further government interests, the All India Muslim League was propped up in 1907 as an anti-Congress front and reactionary elements like Nawab Salimullah of Dacca were encouraged.

All India Aspect:

Movements in support of Bengal's unity and the swadeshi and boycott agitation were organised in many parts of the country. Tilak, who played a leading role in the spread of the movement outside Bengal. He realized that here was a challenge and an opportunity to organize popular mass struggle against the British rule to unite the country in a bond of common sympathy.

Annulment of Partition:

It was decided to annul the partition of Bengal in 1911 mainly to curb the menace of revolutionary terrorism. The annulment came as a rude shock to the Muslim political elite. It was also decided to shift the capital to Delhi as a sop to the Muslims, as it was associated with Muslim glory, but the Muslims were not pleased. Bihar and Orissa were taken out of Bengal and Assam was made a separate province.

Why did the Swadeshi Movement fizzle out?

By 1908, the open phase (as different from the underground revolutionary phase) of the movement was almost over.

This was due to many reasons:

1. There was severe government repression.
2. The movement failed to create an effective organisation or a party structure. It threw up an entire gamut of techniques that came to be associated with Gandhian politics – non- cooperation, passive resistance, filling of British jails, social reform and constructive work – but failed to give these techniques a disciplined focus.
3. The movement was rendered leaderless with most of the leaders either arrested or deported by 1908 and with Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal retiring from active politics.
4. Internal squabbles among leaders, magnified by the Surat split (1907), did much harm to the movement.
5. The movement aroused the people but did not know how to tap the newly released energy or how to find new forms to give expression to popular resentment.
6. The movement largely remained confined to the upper and middle classes and zamindars, and failed to reach the masses – especially the peasantry.
7. Non-cooperation and passive resistance remained mere ideas.
8. It is difficult to sustain a mass-based movement at a high pitch for too long.

Assessment:

Despite its gradual decline into inactivity, the movement was a turning point in modern Indian history:

1. It proved to be a “leap forward” in more ways than one. Hitherto untouched sections – students, women, some sections of urban and rural population – participated. All major trends of the national movement, from conservative moderation to political extremism, from revolutionary terrorism to incipient socialism, from petitions and prayers to passive resistance and non-cooperation, emerged during the Swadeshi Movement. The richness of the movement was not confined to the political sphere alone, but encompassed art, literature, science and industry also.
2. People were aroused from slumber and now they learned to take bold political positions and participate in new forms of political work.
3. The swadeshi campaign undermined the hegemony of colonial ideas and institutions.
4. The future struggle was to draw heavily from the experience gained.

Thus, with the coming of Swadeshi and Boycott Movement, it became clear that the Moderates had outlived their utility and their politics of petitions and speeches had become obsolete. They had not succeeded in keeping pace with time, and this was highlighted by their failure to get the support of the younger generation for their style of politics. Their failure to work among the masses had meant that their ideas did not take root among the masses.

Surat split: 1907

Surat split is an important event in the modern history of India. It took place in 1907 when the moderates parted company with the Extremists. The split in the congress was due to many reasons. The Moderates had controlled the congress from its very beginning and had their own ways of thinking and doing which were not acceptable to the younger generations who were impatient with the speed at which the moderates were moving and leading the nation. The differences between the two were inevitable and the split took place in the year 1907.

Reasons for the Split

The fundamental differences between the moderates and the extremists were on the question of loyalty to the English throne and the continuance of British rule in India. The moderates had faith and believed in loyalty to the English throne. They also believed that the continuance of the British rule was in the interest of the people in India. On the other hand the extremists felt that the British rule was a curse and there should be no question of loyalty to the British throne.

The emphasis on the ultimate goal and also the actual form of the ultimate goal was a point of differences between the extremists and the moderates. The moderates, believed in the policy of conciliation and compromise. They were not dissatisfied with the meager concessions given by the British parliament to India from time to time. The extremists did not bother about the petty concessions given by the British government. They felt that Swaraj alone was the final remedy. The Moderates believed in adopting strictly constitutional methods for agitation and that also of the feeblest type so that there was not the slightest chance of any violence. They believed in reasoned and emotional appeals, lucid presentation of the case, irresistible statements of facts, irrefutable

arguments and presenting petitions. The Moderates were not prepared to resort to a policy of non cooperation or passive resistance. They did not accept even the programmes of Swadeshi whole heartedly. They considered boycott as a vindictive act which was liable to create a feeling of ill-will. On the other hand, the extremists believed that the national problems could not be solved by resorting to argument, ethics and piety and only a vigorous agitation could meet the need of the situation.

Another point of difference between the Moderates and Extremists was with regard to their approach and strategy. The Moderates depended for their success on the goodwill and sympathy of the Englishmen. However the Extremists rejected such an approach and believed that the people of India were the masters of their own destiny and not any foreign powers. The Moderates believed that the people of India were still not fit for Self-Government. Whereas, the Extremists believed that the people of India were fit to rule themselves and self-government could not be denied to them on the ground of their unfitness. The Moderate believed that they would get what they asked for without any sufferings, the Extremists were of the definite view that the salvation of India was not possible without sufferings and self-sacrifice.

On account of these differences, there were clashes between the Moderates and the Extremists which eventually led to the split. There is no denying the fact that the Moderates were as much vehement in their denunciation of the partition of Bengal as the Extremists, but they had their own limitations and could not go beyond them. The Congress passed resolutions on boycott, Swadeshi and national education in 1906 but faced opposition from the Moderates. The Moderates did not approve of all that happened at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906 and tried to undo the same at the next session in 1907 at Surat. The Extremists were not prepared to allow them to do so. Under the circumstances, an open clash between them was inevitable.

The Surat split not only weakened the Indian National Congress but it virtually destroyed its effectiveness till the Lucknow session in 1916. For the next eight years, India's Nationalist Movement remained a house divided against itself, half constitutional and half revolutionary in aspiration.

Lal Bal Pal

Lal Bal Pal (Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Bipin Chandra Pal) were a triumvirate of assertive nationalists in British-ruled India in the early 20th century, from 1905 to 1918. They advocated the Swadeshi movement involving the boycott of all imported items and the use of Indian-made goods in 1907 during the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal which began in 1905.

The last and final years of the nineteenth century saw a radical sensibility emerge among some Indian intellectuals. This position burst onto the national all-India scene in 1905 with the Swadeshi movement - the term is usually rendered as "self reliance" or "self sufficiency".

Lal-Bal-Pal mobilized Indians across the country against the Bengal partition, and the demonstrations, strikes and boycotts of British goods that began in Bengal soon spread to other regions in a broader protest against the Raj.

The militant nationalist movement gradually faded with the arrest of its main leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak and retirement of Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh from active politics.

Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909(Government of India Act)

Background.

By 1909 the political turmoil and unrest prevailed in India. The Extremists Hindu and Congress activities had forced the Muslims to give a serious thought to their future line of action in order to protect and safeguard their interests as a nation. By now the Muslims had come to realize with firmness that they were a separate nation. The demand for separate electorate by the Simla Deputation and later by the Muslim League was the first step taken into the direction to protect and maintain the separate image of the Muslims.

Minto-Morley Reforms

The British Government had realized the importance of Muslim's anxiety about their future and was convinced that the present constitutional provisions were inadequate to provide safeguards to the Muslims. The Government therefore, decided to introduce new constitutional reforms to dispel Muslim suspicions. The Government made it clear that it was in favour of giving more rights to the Indian people. The Viceroy Lord Minto in accordance with the policy of the Government set to the task of preparing a draft Bill, in collaboration with Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, for the introduction of constitutional reforms. The Bill was prepared and presented in the Parliament for approval. The Bill, after approval by the Parliament and Royal Assent, was enforced in 1909 and came to be known as Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909.

Salient Features.

The Act contained the following provisions:

1. Separate Electorate was accepted for minorities.
2. The preparation of separate electoral rolls was ordered.
3. The Legislative Councils were expanded.
4. The authority of the Council was enhanced. The members were given more liberties. Members were allowed to present Resolutions, discuss Budget and put up questions.
5. The Viceroy's Council's membership was fixed at sixty members.
6. The membership of the provinces of Bengal, U.P., Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Orissa was fixed at 50 members whereas the membership of the provinces of Punjab, Burma, and Assam was fixed at 30 members.
7. The Indian were included in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and in the provincial Executive Councils.
8. The local bodies, trade unions and universities were allowed to elect their members.
9. Lt. Governors were appointed in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. These provinces were given right to form their own Councils.

Defects of Minto-Morley Reforms

There were some inherent defects in Minto-Morley Reforms due to which the Minto-Morley Scheme could not last very long. These reforms had following defects:

1. The Minto-Morley Reforms did not provide for mode of electing the representatives.
2. The system failed to develop a sense of accountability among the representatives.
3. The voting rights were squeezed which made the electorate too narrow and restricted.
4. The authority given to the elected members of raising questions and criticizing the policies proved useless as the real legislative authority rested with the Government and its nominated persons.
5. The legislative bodies lacked effective control on the Government agencies.
6. The Central Government exercised vast authority in the financial sphere. Provincial expenditures were controlled by the Central Government which could cut the provincial expenditures at will.

Significance of Minto-Morley Reforms

Following is the importance of Minto-Morley Reforms:

1. The Minto-Morley Reforms gave impetus to the constitutional development in India.
2. These reforms introduced the system of elections for the first time which created a great deal of political awareness among the Indian people.
3. The acceptance of separate electorate for the Muslims enhanced their political importance and significance.

Conclusion.

The importance and utility of Minto-Morley Reforms cannot be set aside because of some weaknesses in the scheme. It acceded the Muslims, their much cherished demand, the separate electorate in the provinces where legislative councils existed. The Muslim League performed in a commendable manner by achieving major demands of the Muslims after only two years of its inception. It scored an amazing political triumph within a short time of its political struggle. The separate electorate set the course of Muslim freedom movement which culminated in the shape of Pakistan after a forty years intense struggle. It also gave strength to the Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of Muslim freedom struggle.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Madame Bhikaji Cama(24 September 1861 – 13 August 1936)

From the early years of the 20th century, groups of Indians established centers for revolutionary activities in Europe, America and Asia. They carried on propaganda for India's independence among Indians living abroad and mobilized them for revolutionary operations. They maintained contacts with revolutionary groups in India and supplied them with revolutionary literature and even arms. During 1907 and 1914, Paris became the most important centre of Indian revolutionaries in Europe. One of the greatest revolutionaries of this period in Europe from India was Madame Cama. She brought out the Journal *Bande Mataram*. She and colleague S R Rana, another great freedom fighter, were in touch with other great revolutionaries like Shyamaji Krishnavarma, Veer Savarkar, V V S Iyer, Bhai Paramanand, Ajith Singh, Chambakaraman Pillai and others.

Madame Cama was born in 1861 to a well-to-do Parsi family in Bombay. One of Madame Cama's first great opportunities for doing public work was during Bombay's

great plague in 1897. Without concern for her own life, Madame Cama tirelessly nursed the ill back to health, and then, like any good missionary, converted those she helped to her cause of Indian independence. Unfortunately, in that process, Madame Cama, herself, fell sick. In response, her friends and family sent her to Europe in 1902 to enable her to recover her health.

Madame Cama's brief but meteoric political career started in London in 1902. Eventually, Madame Cama set up base in London. There, she became Dadabhai Naoroji's private secretary. He was an important Indian dignitary. Through him, Madame Cama allied herself with many patriots and began speaking against British rule.

Madame Cama became so famous and influential, that the British Government concocted an assassination or murder plot against her! When Madame Cama caught wind of this plot, she secretly escaped across the English Channel to France! She turned her French home into a secret hideaway for revolutionaries worldwide. She made friends by sending pistols disguised as Christmas gifts to Irish and Russian nationalists. As the British saw her influence abroad increase, they begged France to send her back to India. When the French government refused, the English exiled her from her motherland and seized her inheritance.

Naturally, despite all British attempts to disillusion Madame Cama, she continued championing her cause of India's freedom. In 1905, Madame Cama with other patriots designed India's first tricolor flag. The flag had green, saffron, and red stripes. The top, green stripe had eight blooming lotuses representing India's then eight provinces. 'Bande Mataram' was written across the central, saffron stripe in Hindi. On the bottom, red stripe, a half moon was on the right and the rising sun on the left. In spite of her English education and her 35 year stay in Europe, she advocated the introduction of Hindi in the Devanagari script as a uniform language in India.

Madame Cama and other freedom fighters in Europe also established contacts with socialists in France, Germany, England and America. Madame Cama participated in the *Congress of the Second International* at Stuttgart in 1907. At this international socialist conference, Madame Cama unfurled the tricolor National Flag of India which she and her friends had designed in 1905 bearing the immortal words of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee - Bande Mataram. It was hence, no mean achievement of Madame Cama, when she unfurled the first National Flag at the International Socialist Conference in Stuttgart (Germany) in 1907. A thousand representatives from several countries were attending. An Indian lady in a colorful sari was a rare phenomenon in those days and Madame Cama's majestic appearance and brave and clear words made everybody think that she was a Maharani or at least a princess from a native state. There, she held up the flag and declared in a bold voice, 'This flag is of Indian Independence. Behold, it is born!...I call upon you, gentle men, to rise.. I appeal to lovers of freedom all over the world to cooperate with this flag. Hail Bande Mataram !. Hail Bande Mataram!!'

Her passionate speech against the British tyranny in India was published at the end of August in the German Socialist paper Vorwarts.

Madan Lal Dhingra (1887-1909), a 22 year old engineering student studying in England, assassinated Sir Curzon Wyllie, political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley in London in 1909. He was hanged at Pentonville Prison, London,

on 17 August, 1909. Before going to the gallows on that day, Madan Lal Dhingra, spoke the following inspiring words: 'I believe that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race, I attacked by surprise. Since guns were denied to me I drew forth my pistol and fired. Poor in health and intellect, a son like myself has nothing else to offer to the mother but his own blood. And so I have sacrificed the same on her altar. The only lesson required in India at present is to learn how to die, and the only way to teach it is by dying ourselves. My only prayer to God is that I may be re-born of the same mother and I may re-die in the same sacred cause till the cause is successful. Hail Bande Matram! Hail Bande Matram !'

When the First World War broke out in 1914, Madame Cama and S R Rana were interned in France, Indian revolutionaries like Cama, Rana and Shyamaji Krishnavarma tried to secure the help of Turkey and Germany, Britain's enemies in that war, for overthrowing the British rule from India. Berlin became their most important centre in Europe. After 1909 she published two revolutionary periodicals, *Talwar* and *Bande Mataram* from Geneva. These were smuggled into India through Pondicherry. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, who was publishing the *TALWAR*, was joined by Bhupendranath Dutt, Barkatulla, Champakaraman Pillai and others. They formed what is called the Berlin Committee. In the mean time, a powerful organization of Indian revolutionaries called the Ghadar Party had been formed in North America. The Ghadar Movement in America was started by Lala Hardayal, another great Punjabi leader. This Ghadar Party and the Berlin Committee, taking advantage of the I World War, organized anti British uprisings in India during the war.

According to the History Sheet of the Criminal Intelligence Office of the Home Department (Political) of the Government of India in 1913, 'She was at that time one of the recognized leaders of the revolutionary movement in Paris, and was said to be regarded by the Hindus as a reincarnation of some deity, presumably Kali'. The truth of this assertion aside, she was sympathetic to the most radical expressions of the Indian national movement.

In 1910 the British Government requested France for her extradition. When this was refused, her property in India was confiscated. Several Parsi women came under her influence and were kept under political surveillance. With the outbreak of World War I, she was interred in a camp in France, and her political activities came to an end. Madame Cama's battle cry on her heroic march to freedom was: 'March Forward! We are for India. India is for Indians! Hail and sing Bande Mataram!'

Madame Cama was a powerful orator who traveled all over the world, including the US, speaking on behalf of India's freedom under the flag and banner of *Bande Mataram*. She rallied foreign support for the cause of our freedom from many nations. In my view, another great achievement was that she taught Indians to make bombs, and also sent weapons secretly to India for being deployed against the alien rulers. Whatever might be thought of her extremism it had the effect of putting across the Indian message with a force and clarity it had never had before. Conviction, courage, and integrity were her foremost characteristics which won for her the respect and admiration of a widening circle of people and beyond this the attention the Indian cause so desperately needed at

that time. All who came into contact with her felt the impact of her unquenchable spirit of Independence from British rule.

Madame Cama returned to Bombay in 1931 when she was 70. She passed away in Bombay on August 13, 1936, eleven years before the birth of our freedom.

A lifetime of unparalleled adventure and influence for a woman, Madame Cama demonstrated a woman's true place in a man's world. As she, herself, declared, 'Do not forget the role of women which is also important in building a nation.'

MODULE-IV

HOME RULE MOVEMENTS

Tilak's activities were confined to Bombay Presidency and the Central province while Annie Besant popularized this movement in the rest of India. The branches of the league were set up all over the country. Tilak made a whirlwind tour of the country in 1916 and in his speeches he said, "*Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it.*" He said that Home Rule through was the only cure of India's political ills and the grievances of the Indians. He preached the idea of Home Rule through his two news papers - *the Kesari* and *the Maratha*. Annie Besant also toured the country and created a lot of enthusiasm among the people for the cause of Home Rule. She carried on the propaganda in favour of it in the newspapers named *New India* and *Common Weal*.

The movement reached its peak in 1917. The Government got panicky at the activities of the Home Rule Movement and it thought of suppressing it with a heavy hand. The Government made use of Defense of India Act to curb the activities of the agitators. Students were prohibited from attending Home Rule meetings. Tilak was prosecuted for his fiery and exciting speeches and his entry in Punjab and Delhi was banned. Important leaders of the movement including Annie Besant were interned. Various restrictions were imposed on the press by using the Indian Press Act of 1910. But the repressive policy followed by the Government only added fuel to the fire. Strikes, agitation and protest meetings were organized throughout the country.

The government realized the seriousness of the demonstrations that broke out in support of the Home Rule League. The Indians seemed to be prepared to pay any price to achieve the Home Rule. Therefore to appease the nationalists, the Secretary of State for India made a declaration on August 20, 1917 announcing the British policy towards India. He said, "*The policy of his Majesty's Government was the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of the responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire.*" As a result the Home Rule Movement died out gradually.

Importance of the Home Rule Movement:

The Home Rule Movement has its own importance in the history of National Movement of India. It was an important milestone in the history of the Indian freedom movement. It transformed the national movement into the peoples' movement as more and more people began to take part in it. It worked as a light house when the political atmosphere in the country was full of disappointment. It put new life in the national movement. It gave definite shape and direction to the movement for Swaraj. It also influenced the foreign statesmen and several of the American leaders. Many British members also supported the demand for Home Rule to the Indians.

Annie Besant (1847-1933)

President of Theosophical Society of India; founded Home Rule League in 1916 and demand self rule in India; became first woman president of Indian National Congress.

Annie Besant was a prominent Theosophist, social reformer, political leader, women's rights activist, writer and orator. She was of Irish origin and made India her second home. She fought for the rights of Indian and was the first woman president of Indian National Congress.

Annie Besant was born as Annie Wood on October 1, 1847 in a middle-class family in London. She was of Irish origin. Her father died when she was only five. Annie's mother supported the family by running a boarding house for boys at Harrow. As a young woman she traveled widely in Europe and this widened her outlook.

Annie Besant was married in 1867 to a clergyman called Frank Besant. But the marriage did not last long. They legally separated in 1873. Annie Besant had two children from the marriage. After her separation Annie began to question not only her long-held religious beliefs but the whole of conventional thinking. She began to write attacks on the Churches and the way they controlled people's lives. In particular she attacked the status of the Church of England as a state-sponsored faith.

Annie Besant fought for the causes she thought were right, such as, women's rights, secularism, birth control, Fabian socialism and workers' rights. She became interested in Theosophy as a way of knowing God. Theosophical Society was against discrimination of race, color, gender and preached Universal brotherhood. To serve humanity at large was its supreme goal. It was as a member of Theosophical Society of India that she arrived in India in 1893.

She toured the entire country of India. It gave her first hand information about India and middle-class Indians who were affected more by British rule and its system of education. Her long-time interest in education resulted in the founding of the Central Hindu College at Benares (1898).

She also became involved in Indian freedom movement. In 1916, she founded Home Rule League which advocated self rule by Indians. She became the President of Indian National Congress in 1917. She was the first woman to hold that post. She started a newspaper, "**New India**", criticized British rule and was jailed for sedition. After the arrival of Gandhiji on Indian national scene, differences arose between Mahatma Gandhi and Annie Besant. Gradually, she withdrew from active politics.

Annie Besant died on September 20, 1933 at Adyar (Madras). As per her wish her ashes were immersed in Ganga in Benares.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920)

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a social reformer and freedom fighter. He was one of the prime architects of modern India and strongest advocates of Swaraj (Self Rule). He was universally recognized as the "Father of Indian Movement". Tilak was a brilliant politician as well as a profound scholar who believed that independence is the foremost necessity for the well being of a nation.

Life:

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born on July 22, 1856 in a middle class family in Ratnagiri, a small coastal town in southwestern Maharashtra. Tilak's father, Gangadhar Shastri, was a noted Sanskrit scholar and school teacher at Ratnagiri. His mother's name was Paravti Bai Gangadhar. In 1886, following his father's transfer, the entire family shifted to Poona.

Tilak was a brilliant student and also very good in mathematics. Since his childhood, Tilak had an intolerant attitude towards injustice and he was truthful and straightforward in nature. Though, he was among the India's first generation of youth to receive a modern, college education Tilak was a critic of the educational system, the

British had provided for the Indians. According to him, the education was not at all adequate. After graduating from Deccan College, Pune in 1877, Tilak also cleared the L.L.B. from the Elphinston College, Mumbai. Later, he helped found a school that laid emphasis on nationalism.

Social Reforms

After completing his education, Tilak spurned the lucrative offers of government service and decided to devote himself to the larger cause of national awakening. He was a great reformer and throughout his life he emphasized on the concepts of women education and women empowerment. Tilak educated all of his daughters and did not marry them till they were over 16. To inspire a sense of unity, he introduced the festivals like 'Ganesh Chaturthi' and Shivaji Jayanti'. Today, Ganesh Chaturthi is considered as the prime festival of the Marathis. It is a sheer tragedy that for his allegiance towards extremism, Tilak and his contribution were not given the recognition, he actually deserved.

Newspapers

Towards his goal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak launched two newspapers called 'Mahratta' (English) and 'Kesari' (Marathi). Both the newspaper stressed on making the Indians aware of the glorious past and empowered them to be self reliant. In other words, the newspaper actively propagated the cause of national freedom.

In 1896, when the entire nation was gripped by the famine and plague, the British government declared that there was no cause for anxiety. The government also rejected the need to start a 'Famine Relief Fund'. The attitude of the government was severely criticized by both the newspapers. Tilak fearlessly published reports about the havoc caused by famine and plague and government's utter irresponsibility and indifference.

Extremism

Bal Gangadhar Tilak joined the Indian National Congress Party in 1890. Realizing that the constitutional agitation in itself was futile against the British, Tilak opposed the moderate views of the party. This subsequently made him stand against the prominent leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He was waiting for an armed revolt to broom-away the British. His movement was based on the principles of Swadeshi (Indigenous), Boycott and Education. But his methods also raised bitter controversies within the Indian National Congress Party and the movement itself.

As a result, Tilak formed the extremist wing of Indian National Congress Party. Tilak was well supported by fellow nationalists Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab. The trio was referred to as the Lal-Bal-Pal. A massive trouble broke out between the moderate and extremist factions of the Indian National Congress Party in the 1907 session of the Congress Party. As a result of which, the Congress split into two factions.

During 1908-1914, Bal Gangadhar Tilak spent six years rigorous imprisonment in Mandalay Jail, Burma. He was deported because of his alleged support to the Indian revolutionaries, who had killed some British people. Following his growing fame and popularity, the British government also tried to stop the publication of his newspapers. His wife died in Pune while he was languishing in Mandalay prison.

Tilak returned to India in 1915 when the political situation was fast changing under the shadow of World War I. There was unprecedented jubilation in India after Tilak was free and back in India. After seeing such a grand welcome, Tilak decided to re-unite with his fellow nationalists and founded the All India Home Rule League in 1916 with Joseph Baptista, Annie Besant and Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Death

Tilak was so disappointed by the brutal incident of Jalianwala Bagh massacre that his health started declining. Despite his illness, Tilak issued a call to the Indians not to stop their movement no matter what happened. He was raring to lead the movement but his health did not permit that. Tilak had become very weak by this time. In mid-July 1920, his condition worsened and on August 1, he passed away.

The Lucknow Pact, 1916

Lucknow Pact, (December 1916), agreement made by the Indian National Congress headed by Maratha leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the All-India Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah; it was adopted by the Congress at its Lucknow session on December 29 and by the league on Dec. 31, 1916. The meeting at Lucknow marked the reunion of the moderate and radical wings of the Congress. The pact dealt both with the structure of the government of India and with the relation of the Hindu and Muslim communities.

On the former count, the proposals were an advance on Gopal Krishna Gokhale's "political testament." Four-fifths of the provincial and central legislatures were to be elected on a broad franchise, and half the executive council members, including those of the central executive council, were to be Indians elected by the councils themselves. Except for the provision for the central executive, these proposals were largely embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919. The Congress also agreed to separate electorates for Muslims in provincial council elections and for weightage in their favour (beyond the proportions indicated by population) in all provinces except the Punjab and Bengal, where they gave some ground to the Hindu and Sikh minorities. This pact paved the way for Hindu-Muslim cooperation in the Khilafat movement and Mohandas Gandhi's noncooperation movement from 1920.

SYLLABUS

MODERN INDIAN HISTORY (1857 TO THE PRESENT): HIS2CO1 INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT - FIRST PHASE (1885- 1917)

Module I Emergence of Early Political Organizations

Surendranath Bannerjee and the East India Association

Indian National Congress

Module II Economic Critiques

Drain Theory

Moderate Phase- Prayer – Petition – Protest

G K Gokhale

Module III Swadeshi Programmes

Partition of Bengal – Swadeshi and Boycott Movements

Surat Split – Lal- Bal – Pal

Minto- Morley Reforms 1909

Revolutionary Activities – Madam Bhikaji Kama

Module IV Home Rule Movements

Annie Beasant – Tilak – Role of Newspapers

Identification of Cultural Icons and Programmes

Lucknow pact

BOOKS FOR STUDY

Module I

1. Percival Spear, The History India, Vol 2

2. Percival Spear, Oxford History of Modern India 1740- 1947

3. Bipan Chandra et.al., India's Struggle for Independence

4. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India 1885- 1947

5. Sekhara Bandyopadhyaya, From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India

6. A. R, Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism

Module II

1. Percival Spear, The History India, Vol 2

2. Percival Spear, Oxford History of Modern India 1740- 1947

3. A. R, Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism

4. Bipan Chandra et.al., India's Struggle for Independence

5. Sekhara Bandyopadhyaya, From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India

Module III

1. Percival Spear, The History India, Vol 2

2. Percival Spear, Oxford History of Modern India 1740- 1947

3. A. R, Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism

4. Bipan Chandra et.al., India's Struggle for Independence

5. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India 1885- 1947

8. Sekhara Bandyopadhyaya, From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India

Module IV

1. Percival Spear, The History India, Vol 2
2. Percival Spear, Oxford History of Modern India 1740- 1947
3. A. R, Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism
4. Bipan Chandra et.al., India's Struggle for Independence
5. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India 1885- 1947
6. Sekhara Bandyopadhyaya, From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India

+++++

+