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PRE INC-ORGANISATIONS/EARLY INM (Indian National Movement)

Q) Trace emergence of INM until foundation of INC.

1) INM was led by western educated middle class (*WEMC) but 1st contribution to modern INM & modern politics was by regional associations of educated landed class -

a) British Indian Association [BrIA1851]- Calcutta

- i) 1st major voluntary organization in India
- ii) Had educated members from landed class.
- iii) 1st all **Indian** organization unlike Dwarkanath Tagore's **Landholders Society1838** that had many non-official Anglo Indians (*pre 1911 Anglo Indian meant Europeans in India)

b) Bombay Association 1852 & Madras Native Association 1852- same features

c) These associations represented landlords interests, however, immediate reason for being setup was to **present Indian demands to Br Parliament** which was deliberating **Charter Act1853**.

2) Action

a) 3 separate petitions (*not single ☹Fraternity☹) were sent complaining about

- i) high taxes, expensive & incompetent administration, neglect of education & public works (*grievances common to all Indians)
- ii) salt & opium monopolies (*personal interests of elites)

b) Therefore, didn't oppose Br rule but only un-british rule i.e. Indians haven't gained from British rule (*notice Brown Sahibness here un-British assumes

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British rule is by default awesome rule; are calling colonialism- unBritish; exploitation=unBritish)

- c) Result-** no demands met as these conservatives didn't threaten stability of British rule & had gained from British LR systems & in fact were dependent on British for continuation of their status in society. (*conservatives=who want very little change; moderates=who want moderate change; extremists=who want more change; revolutionaries =who want huge change & immediately)

RISE OF INM POST 1857 due to following factors/ Contribution by PreINC associations

Q) INM was product of colonial policies. Elaborate.

1) Western Education:

- a) Rapid growth of Western **Higher** education post 1857 led to rise of a nationalistic WEMC (*It is in college that people develop political ideology & hence "higher" education). British wanted to create Brown Sahibs but when WEMC realized that Br had no intent of sharing power, they gradually developed criticism of British rule to demand rights of Indians.
- b) **But Uneven growth of western education led to Uneven growth of INM (* a very imp concept for students)-** due to **Downward Filtration Theory 1835** which focused on education for only elites of Presidency Towns & ineffective mass education (*Woods Dispatch 1854 + Hunter Commission 1882-83 were poorly implemented as proven by Census (1921): only 8% literacy & 2% female literacy) . Thus early INM was dominated by WEMC

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who were upper castes (*UC), Marathis, Tamilians, Bengalis of Presidency Towns. Less western education among Muslims due to their desire to preserve Persian & control of Ulamas over masses

- i) (**why Persian culture in India? - Kingdoms of Golconda & Bijapur were ruled by Shia Muslim dynasties until annexed by AZ5807 in 1687,1685 respectively; Humayun3040 took help of Safavid Dynasty of Persia (Shia) to regain control from Suri Dynasty(1540-55) over India; recall Irani Group of Mansabdars; e.g. Awadh Nawabs were Shia; Persian was official language of Mughal Empire although Mughal Emperors generally were Sunni Muslims;)

2) Press- was main tool of WEMC & by 1875- 400 Indian newspapers in English and Vernaculars with more than 1.5 lakh readership. Press led to greater inter-regional awareness, spread of nationalistic ideas & development of national leadership. (*when regional leader of INM will develop awareness on all India issues he will start behaving as national leader or all India leader).

- a) [* if **Q on Press** then use content from : use of Press as tool in Social reforms + content from Education Reforms + use of Press in Peasant revolts post 1857 like Indigo Revolt (1859-63) + soon to be discussed Vernacular Press Act 1878, Ilbert Bill 1883-84, Use of press by Moderates, Extremists & Revolutionaries & MG.]

3) Railways & Telegraphs 1850s onwards led to greater interconnectedness & greater interaction between (*b/w) regional leaders.

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4) British **Racism & Authoritarianism** contributed to INM [***biggest contributor as it is villain which leads to rise of Hero in movies & hence here rise of INM**]

a) **1850 Black Acts (*called so by Anglo Indians):** brought British born subjects in presidency towns under criminal jurisdiction of ordinary courts where Indians were judges. The acts had to be suspended due to high opposition by Anglo Indians (*i.e. Europeans in India) or fear of white rebellion (*not necessarily armed rebellion & word can be used for big protests). (*recall that Charter 1833 promised **equality before law** or equal application of laws for Indians and Britishers in India.) Article-14

b) **1850 Lex Loci Act/ Removal of Religious or Caste Disabilities Act-** allowed right of inheritance to converts from any to any religion. It was passed despite opposition by Indians and intent was to promote conversion to Christianity.

c) **1868 Income tax-** was introduced in 1860 but then withdrawn after protests in press. Then re-introduced in 1868, despite famines in different parts in 1860s -70s. WEMC gave slogan of **No Taxation Without Representation**. (*worst among these was **1876-78 Great Madras Famine** due to 2 years of drought, 1cr Indians died)

d) In **1870 Govt decreased higher education expenditure in Bengal** due to Anglo-Indian press propaganda of WEMC becoming seditious (while high Military expenditure & high taxes continued)

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- e) British racism increased **Cultural Nationalism** & later extremists like Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gandadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal (*Lal Bal Pal) & Aurobindo used it for strengthening political nationalism (*recall cultural nationalism represented by Arya Samaj 1875, Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee etc)

f) **LYTTON 1876-1880 (*Lytton7680)**

- i) **1876-** Decreased age limit for CS exam from 21 to 19 & rejected demand for exam in India (**exam by- charter 1853 & held in 1855, exam in India by- GOI 1919 & held in 1922).
- ii) **1878- Statutory Civil Services Act-** created "Statutory Civil Services" but ensured that only loyalists nominated as entry was by nomination not examination (*lateral entry) → Lateral entry refers to the process of allowing individuals to enter an organization, institution, or system directly at a higher position, level, or stage, bypassing the usual progression path.
- iii) **1877-80-** Huge press campaign by WEMC for indianization of Civil Services.
- iv) **1877 Imperial/ Delhi Darbar** - wasteful expenditure at time of famines (*1876-78 Great Madras Famine). Here Queen Victoria got coronated as Empress of Hindustan or Kaesar-i-Hind.
- v) **1878 Vernacular Press Act -**
- (1) to curb freedom of vernacular press which was becoming highly critical of British. E.g. Amrita Bazar Patrika.
- (2) Printers & publishers to deposit money as advance that could be forfeited if they published anything objectionable (** i.e. anti-British)

(3) This led to huge agitation in press. Famous Br Liberal **MP Gladstone**

also criticized the act. Amrita Bazar Patrika became English newspaper from Bengali overnight.

(4) 1878 Arms Act - Indians to need license to own arms while

Europeans & Eurasians to not. Therefore, fear & racism in operation.

B.C. Pal began agitations in press against Arms Act 1878.

(5) 2nd Afghan War 1878-80 or Lytton's Afghan Adventure-

unnecessary war expenditure at time of famines. Fought due to fear of Russian influence in Afghanistan. Treaty with Russia after war led to modern borders of Afghanistan. (*1838-42 1st Afghan war for same reasons)

g) Ripon8084 (1880-84)

i) 1880- Gladstone of Liberal Party became PM & sent **liberal Ripon8084** as Viceroy who

ii) Setup **Rent Commission 1880 - led to Bengal Tenancy Act 1885**

(*recall pressure created by Fanna Agrarian Leagues 1873 against poor implementation of Rent Act 1859 in Bengal)

iii) Factories Act 1881- Banned child labor < 7yrs age + cap on working hrs for Children <12 yrs age + 4 monthly holidays. (*Moderates opposed this act because would hurt interests of Indian capitalists who already faced high competition from British goods)

iv) 1882: Repealed **Vernacular Press Act 1878**

v) **1882- Amended Arms Act 1878** so now everyone needed license to own arms (*liberal but ruler nevertheless else would have repealed the act).

vi) **1882 Local Self-Government Resolution/Act** (SG at third tier)

(1) strengthened urban & rural local bodies + removed them from under officials. **Goal** was to train Indians in self-government.

(2) Now in rural areas **district boards** were set up across British India + members to be elected by LR payers & rent payers, instead of being nominated.

(3) Powers of **municipalities** were increased & minimum 2/3rd elected members & chairman to be non-official member.

(4) **Subjects** of health, education, sanitation, roads, communication etc given to local bodies which were to be autonomous in day-to-day functioning. However, govt could inspect & dissolve a local body (**regulation & not control)

(5) **1882-83: Hunter Education Commission** suggested transfer of Education subject to local bodies & focus on mass education in vernaculars especially female education.

(6) **Age limit for CS exam raised from 19 to 21.** His proposal for exam in India strongly opposed by Britishers in India therefore failed.

(7) **1883-84 Ilbert Bill controversy:** (same type of Act was Black Act 1850)

(a) bill by law member C.P. Ilbert

(b) brought Britishers in mofussil areas (rural areas) under jurisdiction of Indian district judges.

- (c) Strongly opposed by Britishers in India
- (d) Had to be withdrawn & amended so now there was to be **trial by mixed jury** in cases where Britisher involved.
- (e) Controversy was turning point as now WEMC had no doubt regarding British racism & authoritarianism.
- (f) Important milestone in growth of political activities due to massive press propaganda.

RISE OF ASSOCIATIONS LED BY WEMC

- 1) **Bombay:** Though Bombay Association (1852) was revived in 1876 with arrival of Dadabhai Naoroji & Naoroji Ferdunji from London. But now the young WEMC leaders challenged Bombay Association (1852) and hence **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha 1870** setup by M.G. Ranade with young leaders like K.T. Telang, P.M. Mehta & later G.K. Gokhale & Tilak – was setup to represent interests of all sections.
- 2) **Bengal: Indian Association 1876** in Bengal by Surendra Nath Banerjee (*SNB) with goal of “representing the people” (* SNB passed CS exam, not selected due to age controversy as different age as per Hindu Calendar)
- 3) **Punjab: Lahore Indian Association 1878** in Punjab by Ajit Singh & Lala Lajpat Rai
- 4) **Madras:** Madras Native Association (1852) ended in 1862 and hence dip in political activity which was then revived by **Madras Mahajan Sabha 1884**
- 5) therefore **1870+**, an **organized INM** under WEMC began. (** pre-1870: WEMC active without organization) (** post 1870, WEMC active with organizations).

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Till 1890s there was a phase of co-existence and transition between Conservatives and Moderates.

6) WEMC associations gradually replaced domination of organizations of conservative landed class. They:

- a) Took leadership of peasants e.g. in Bombay Deccan (1875), Indigo Revolt (1859-63), Punjab Canal Colony Agitations (1907)
- b) Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870) organized famine relief in 1870s and held **arbitration courts** for dispute resolution as high costs of fighting cases in courts
- c) They protested against Plantation Labour & Inland Emigration Act (1859) which led to serfdom because gave power of arrests to Planters against workers who tried to escape.
- d) Demanded representation in Legislative Councils (*ICA1861 setup Legislative councils)
- e) Demanded Separation of Powers between Legislature, Executive, Judiciary
- f) Demanded decrease in Home Charges (*explained later in Drain Theory)
- g) Demanded extension of PS1793 to other areas to prevent increase in LR by govt.

7) Later WEMC used Br institutions like **Legislative Councils** especially post Indian Councils Act 1892 (*ICA1892 which allowed more Indians as members) for criticizing British policies.

The British aimed to include non-official Indians (educated elites and local notables) in governance. Legislative councils provided a platform for Indian representatives to participate, giving an illusion of inclusivity. It allowed for limited consultation with Indians on legislative matters. Also established so to prevent 1857 like revolt.

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