The nationalist philosophy from
Ham Mohan Roy to Tilak.

The father of modern India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, heralded a new epoch for India's regeneration. The work of Ram Mohan Roy, as that of a nation builder, was fourfolded; to reassess the national heritage, to replenish the national resources, to infuse the true spirit of Vedanta, and to use the awakened energies for the new national wants and demands.

In his work of varied reforms Raja Ram Mohan Roy was closely associated with the members of the circle at Rangpur, 'the Atmiya Sabha', established in 1815 and the 'Brahma Sabha' founded in 1928. In the works of social and constitutional agitations, Ham Mohan Roy gathered round him enthusiasts from the upper and the middle classes of social strata. Their influences on the society were far-reaching and epoch making.

Of the close associates of Ham Mohan Roy, the foremost in social eminence was Dwarakanath Tagore, who

along with the other aristocrats like Prasanna Kumar Tagore, the founder of 'The Reformer' in 1831 and the middle class leaders like Chandra Sekhar Deb and Tarashand Chakraborty who later joined the Brahma Samaj, inaugurated the new spirit of enlightenment in the society.

In Ram Mohan's own life time, however, the genesis of a trend of untra-radicalism, which later became famous under the name of the Young Bengal movement, which sprang from the precincts of the Hindu College.

Thriving out of the tradition of French Revolution and English Radicalism, this movement had a distinct element of free thought which offended Ram Mohan's sense of theistic idealism. Ram Mohan was, from the very outset, out of sympathy with it. The young men of this new group of thought also did not spare Ram Mohan of adverse criticism and dubbed his movement with comments in their organ 'Enquirer' that "it came as far as half the way in religion & politics."

Appointed a teacher of the Hindu College in May 1826

Henry Vivian Derozio, the founder of the Young Bengal Movement.

1. The Studies in The Bengal Renaissance. (Published on Bepin Chandra Pal's Birth Centenary)
2. Banglar Jagan - Kazi Abdul Wadid
   Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha - By Brajendranath Banerjee.
drew to himself like a magnet a host of boys in the upper classes who began to adore him and drink deep into the fountain of free-thoughts. 1.

Derozio encouraged them to debate freely and question all authority. Derozio started an Academic Association, with a monthly organ, *The Athenian*, 2 in which a pupil Madhab Chandra Mallik defiantly proclaimed that he and his friends hated Hinduism from the bottom of their hearts.

Round Derozio rallied the best boys of the college who ridiculed old traditions, defied the social and religious rites, demanded education for women, and to flaunt their independence indulged in wine drinking and beef-eating.

The college authorities in great alarm removed, the dangerous corruptor of youth, Derozio, from the Prof's chair on April 25, 1831, at the instance of Hem Kamal Sen.

Derozio's pupils came to be known collectively as Young Bengal group. As early as 1831, we find them coming out with an English and a Bengali organ—the 'Enquirer' and the 'Jnanavesan'.

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2. Notes on Bengal Renaissance, P-16.
3. Ibid.
The contemporary society was shocked with consternation by the activities of the Derozians.

The Young Bengal still kept up Derozio's Academic Association up to the year 1839 and supplemented it by an Epistolary Association for the exchange of views within their circle. 1

Their agitated discussions mainly centered round the issues like the treatment of Indian labour in distant Mauritius, the extension of the right of trial by jury, the introduction of English as court language, freedom of the press and on the condition of the forced coolie labours employed under the Govt. departments. 2

Thus for the time being the Derozians got themselves involved in active politics. But with the opening up of Govt. services for the Indians under the new Charter Act of 1833 most of them deserted politics and joined the services.

In 1842, the Derozians started again a new organ, 'the Bengal spectator'. They still pursued politics and in a society meeting in the room of the Hindu College on Feb 8, 1843, Principal D. L. Richardson protested against seditious

1. Notes on Bengal Renaissance, A. Sen, P-17.
2. Ibid. P-18.
remarks of a speaker, but the chairman, Tarachand Chakravorty, former associate of Ram Mohan Roy, but now one of the leaders of Young Bengal Group, took side with the speaker and firmly ruled out the protest. His influence was immense on the group and the Desozians came to be called after him the Chakravorti Faction. 1 He edited a special paper of the group called 'Quill'.

Early in 1843, George Thompson, a great exponent of anti-slavery agitation, addressed several public meetings which were organized by the Desozians and were attended with great enthusiasm.

Out of this situation arose a political association, inspired by Thompson and led by Young Bengal. This was founded on April 20, 1843, and came to be known as the Bengal British India Society, to safeguard the legitimate rights of the subjects.

The new society and the organ 'Bengal spectator' left political experience of no little value.

In the Black Act agitation of 1849 which was a protest by generous minded Mr. Beaton (Law member) against the undue

privileges for exemption from the law suits enjoyed by the Europeans community in the Indian Law courts. This noble attempt of reform by Mr. Beaton was attacked by the enraged governing class and led to a country wide agitation, the adherents of this group gave a strong opposition. Hem Gopal Ghosh, the staunch Derozian, became a regular orator on that subject and came to be hailed as the Indian Demosthenes. His Remarks on the Black Acts was held in great esteem.

In 1851, the Derozians coalesced with the other groups in the foundation of the British Indian Association. Debendra Nath Tagore, the secretary of the Association, sent round a circular to other metropolitan centres to take up, after their model, the work of organised agitation. On ensuing revision of company's Charter Act 1853, the Association decided to forward a forceful petition formulating the list of Indian demands.

The petition of complaints of 1852 was efficiently drafted by the patriot-journalist Harish Chandra Mukherjee and formed the genesis of future political aspirations.

1. The Indian Association, By Jogesh Ch. Bagal
2. Muktir Sandhane Bharat, By J. Q. Bagal
A violent popular upsurge swept the country, the indigo agitation of 1859-60 gave a great impetus to growing national consciousness. 1

The post-mutiny era in the history of Indian nationalism, particularly in Bengal, was marked in the next phase by a magnificent outburst of creative activity in literature. A real renaissance thus set in the Indian thought i.e. a re-interpretation of the past in the light of modern viewpoints. The flowering of the Renaissance began with the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894), the educational endeavours of Iswar Ch. Vidyasagar, the drama of Dinabandhu Mitra (1828-1873), and the works of Madhusudan Dutta (1824-1873) and Kaliprasanna Sinha (1840-1870), in the historical works of Hajendra Lal Mitra (1822-1891), and in the eminent journalistic creativities of Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan (1829-1886), the founder of the weekly Somprakash (1858), and Harish Chandra Mukherjee, the eminent editor of 'The Hindu patriot'. Also, the patriot-poets like Rangalal and Hem Chandra Bandopadhya, Iswar Ch. Gupta and Akshoy Dutta etc. also contributed to the national literature, greatly.

On the eve of the Mutiny, Hindu national consciousness in itself crystallised round the figure of Haj Karayan Bose.

1. Muktir Sandhane Bharat by Jogesh Ch. Bagal.
In 1861, he founded at Midnapur a society for the promotion of National Glory and issued a prospectus for a society for stimulating National sentiment. 1

The word 'national' acquired such charm in those days that an associate of Haj Harayan, Naba Gopal Mitra, started a national school, a national press, a national paper and a national gymnasion till his countrymen came to refer to him as 'National Mitra'. 2 He along with Haj Harayan and Jyotindranath, a son of Debendra Nath Tagore, founded the Patriots' Association in 1865. But their greatest achievement was the organisation of an annual fair - the Hindu Mela.

It began in 1867, and was organised by Haji Harayan Bose, Nabagopal Mitra and the members of the Tagore family. 3

It's main purpose, as defined by Uamendra Nath Tagore, was the cultivation of national sentiment and the promotion of the spirit of self-help.

There was also an outburst of great religious revivalism and reawakening, during this fervent period of national reforms.

1. Mukti Sandhand Bharat By Jogesh Ch. Bagal.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Different schools of religious reformists were up and doing eradicating social evils and superstitions on the one hand, and challenge the impact of the western deluge on the other.

The Brahma Samaj, the pioneer on the field of religious reforms, crusaded against the hosts of social wrongs and heralded a new era of social revival.

In the year following the Mutiny, Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Brahma Samaj, and, within the next few years, proceeded to enliven it up, once again, from the stagnation, into which it had fallen, after the great days of the Tatva bodhini movement. He put such fire into Brahmism that it became a real power in the land as an organisation, and young men with fiery ideals flocked into its circle with strong enthusiasm and faith. Keshab Chandra was not content with the pessive inculcation of the Brahma faith as followed by its older leaders. In 1864-65, he launched on in mission tours, with his new radical ideas of progress and enlightenment of reoriented Brahmio faith. He aroused great stir in the society. Keshab Chandra Sen gathered round him a group of promising youths of great intellectual integrity, who soon outshone

1. Notes on Bengali Renaissance by A. Sen.*
him with their democratic ideals and who ultimately challenged his leadership which was tending to be high-handed.

Amongst the new group of young Brahma adherents were men like Swinath Settri, Durgamohan Das from Seradal Dwarakanath Ganguly from Dacca, and Ananda M. Bose from Mymensingh and many others.

The young Brahma's severed all their connection from the old Samaj and its decayed outlook of reforms. They founded in 1878, the Sadharan Brahma Samaj and drafted a democratic constitution for it and solemnly declared in 1882 that the Brahma ideals included no merely religious radicalism but also the universal liberation of all peoples under the banner of democratic republicanism. 1

The temperance movement was also launched, about this time, with great momentum under the leadership of Peary Chandra Sarker. The Young Bengal Group's legacy of the drinking evil to the society was most effectively eradicated out of the soil; through the vigorous propaganda of the society and its two monthly brochures, regularly issued. 2

1. Notes on Bengal Renaissance, By A. Sen. 39.
The Prarthana Samaj of Western India, too, under the guidance of Mahadev Govind Ranade exerted a great influence in reshaping the outmoded social pattern and religious outlook of the people. The Prarthana Samaj of Bombay was an offshoot of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1849, an association called the Prarthana Sabha was formed in Bombay with the battle-cry of levelling down the caste system. It failed to establish its fair claims and was dissolved in 1860. But with the touch of the fire of Keshab Chandra Sen's oratory it was re-kindled in 1864, with four objects in view:

(a) the breakdown of the caste system.
(b) the introduction of remarriage for widows.
(c) the abolition of child marriage.
(d) the encouragement of female education.

The Prarthana Samaj, though mainly a religious organisation, worked mainly for social upliftment and drew all its strength from its central figure Mahadev Govinda Ranade, the man of iron-will and deep religious conviction.

During the latter half of the 19th century a conservative and purely Indian religious movement arose as opposed to the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj which came into existence in the early part of the country.

1. Writings of Mahadev Govind Ranade.
Lala Lajpat Ray, a strong adherent of this movement and of the Arya Samaj which started it, described the exact religious state of the country when its founder Daya Nada Saraswati came forth with his religious preachings embodied in *Satyarth Prakash.*

"By the time Swami Dayananda started his missionary life," observed Lajpat Ray, "Christianity had made great progress in India. The country was simply studded with Christian schools and colleges and covered with a network of Christian agencies. The voice of the Brahma Samaj was a mere wail in the wilderness. The Brahma Samaj, at that time, was considered to be a kind of reformed or refined Christianity resembling more the Unitarian church than the Vedic monistic teachings of Ram Mohan Roy.*2 The Punjab Census report gave a summary explanation of the nature and the exact influence of the Arya Samaj and Swami Dayananda in the following words:

"The Arya faith is put forward as a revival, it takes us back to the time when the Arya race in its prime ruled the North of India. It designates the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, the Brahmaputra and the Indus, by its old name of Aryavarta; and calls on us to believe that Aryas have lived in it since creation. The aim of the

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1. The Arya Samaj, By Lajpat Ray.
2. Ibid.
Samaj is to unite the peoples and regenerate "our fallen Aryavorta".

This regeneration was primarily to be religious and social, but there are members of the Samaj who had political leanings also.

In its desire to advance the self-governing institutions of the country, it was generally found ranged on the side of the Congress agitation.

Throughout its speculations and its doctrines, religious and social, the Samaj has always been at pains to show that the faith it promulgates owes nothing to English influence and English modes of thought. 1

To regenerate India, through her own pure thought, philosophy and Yoga, had been the watch-words of the three great religious movements which were propagated during this period; viz the Arya Samaj movement, the Sanm Krishna Vivekananda Vedanta movement, and the Theosophical movement, sponsored in 1879 by Col. Olcott & Madam Blavatsky, which later became more organised and consolidated under Mrs. Annie Besant. These

foreign enthusiasts gave a new impetus to Indian national aspirations and helped the Indians to turn to their own national heritage to seek their spiritual salvation.

The Ramkrishna Vedanta Movement sponsored by Sri Ram Krishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda, struck a new note of religious democracy. The philosophy was steeped in patriotism and deep spiritual realisations. The system of religious patriotism, evolved under this particular school of religious thought, was basically Indian and rooted in the classic Hindu faith of the Vedanta.

Swami Vivekananda, the great Master's most beloved disciple and the exponent of the Vedanta philosophy, wanted most fervently the regeneration of the masses. The wandering monk went from door to door and made ceaseless efforts to awaken the soul of the masses. Vivekananda addressed to his countrymen in most compassionate terms:

"Let each one of us pray, day and night, for the down-trodden millions in India, who are held fast by poverty, priest craft and tyranny - pray day and night for them. I came more to preach religious to them than to the high and rich. I am no metaphysician, no philosopher, nay, no saint. But I am poor, I love the poor . . . . . . . . . . . . . who feels in India for
the three hundred millions of men and women sunken for ever in poverty and ignorance, where is the way out?

Let these people be your God - think for them, work for them, pray for them. Incessantly - the Lord will show you the way. Him I call a mahatma, a noble soul, whose heart bleeds for the poor; otherwise he is a duratma, a wicked soul. So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold everyman a traitor, who having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them.

In this soci-religious background, evolved the Indian National Congress, a strong political institution with a national political creed of new mould.

The first President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. W.C. Banerjee placed, in 1885, before his countrymen the earliest political conception of the early congress followers. He claimed for the 1st. congress even in that early stage, a representative character. The Congress formed the nucleus of an organisation explained W.C. Banerjee, representing "community of sentiments, community of feelings and community of wants." 2

1. Vivekananda - By Swami Nikhilananda, P-75.
2. The Indian Nation Builder part II. Madras Ganesh & Co. Publisher.
W. C. Banerjee firmly held that "the more progress a people make in education and material prosperity, the greater would be the insight into political matters and keener their desire for political advancement." 1

W. C. Banerjee, at the same congress platform, expressed the thorough loyalty of the congress to the British Crown.

The desire to be governed according to the ideas of Govt. prevalent in Europe, explained W. C. Banerjee, was in no way incompatible with the loyalty to the British Government. All that the Congress demanded was that the basis of the Government should be widened and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it.

Dadabhai Narji, as the president of the second Indian National Congress emphasised the same loyal character of the early Congress and declared from the congress platform in unambiguous terms:

"Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone ..................."

But at the same session of the Congress the venerable leader did not at the same time hesitate to agitate for a

1 The Indian Nation Builder part II.
representative form of Colonial Govt.

"It is not for us to teach the English people how necessary representation is for good Govt. we have learnt the lesson from them and knowing from them how great a blessing it is to those nations who enjoy it and how utterly un-English it is for the English nation to withhold it from us," resumed Dadabhai Naroji, "we can with confidence and trust ask them to give as this." 1

Once more in his message to Gokhale, before he finally declared the ideology in the Congress platform of 1906, Dadabhai Naroji had summed up the demands in these words: 2

"We require on the one hand to inspire the people of India at large with the desire of attaining and enjoying their birth and pledged rights and the absolute necessity of freedom and self-Govt like that of the colonies for their material and moral development, progress and prosperity, self Government is the only remedy for India's woes and wrongs. For this purpose, we must strengthen the Congress, to go on making every possible effort to accomplish this end, which, is quite practicable.

1. Dadabhai's speech on the 2nd day's proceedings, 29th Dec. 1885.
2. Dadabhai Naroji - the Grand Old Man of India, R.P. Masani p. 496.
Surendra Nath Banerjee, the staunch moderate leader, laid stress on the adoption of the constitutional methods in their political agitations. He, too, like the rest of the moderate groups, had abiding faith in the British rule and the British sense of justice and broad humanitarianism.

As the president of the eleventh congress at Poona, he sounded a deep note of loyalty and gratitude:

"To England we look for inspiration and guidance. To England we look for sympathy in the struggle. From England must come the crowning mandate which will enfranchise our peoples." He further added an eulogy on England:

"England is our political guide and our moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political duty. English history has taught us those principles of freedom which we cherish with our life blood. We have been fed upon the strong food of English constitutional freedom."

Surendra Nath Banerjee proclaimed from the same congress platform the aspiration of the congress goal to be as:

"We have no higher aspiration than that we should be admitted into the great confederacy of self-governing states of which England is the August mother."
The moderate leaders, one and all, had the same goal of demand for the Congress. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, in the Congress of 1905, summed up the Moderate postulate of the Congress as:

"The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that in course of time a form of Government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire.

For better, for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire itself."

While the moderate group was thus faithfully following the beaten track of their unflinching faith in the providential character of the British rule in India, the sincere sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the British Crown and their abject belief in the sense of justice of the British people, a new creed of nationalism was emerging in the Congress front with a vital force and dynamism.

The ideal of loyalty as bolstered up by the Congress was set aside and a new milliant nationalist creed was placed before the nation.

Absolute autonomy or Swaraj was proclaimed by Dadabhai Neraji, under the influence of the Extremist group of the Congress in 1906, as the ultimate goal of the people of India, and was considered as the only way to the fullest and freest realisation of their divinely appointed destiny as a Nation.

This manifesto was fully supported by both the wings of the Congress, as expressed through the moderate press 'The Bengalee' which echoed the voice of the land and the people.

"It has at once become our solace and our inspiration, our pole star to guide us and our comfort." 1

The whole nation was set astir, the Extremists heralded a new era in Indian politics. It showed the potentialities of a movement which had as its foundation a renaissance of the ideals of Indian civilization as a whole, and which announced a progressive self-realisation of Indian nationality.

Aurobindo Ghosh forward with his new political creed

1. The Bengalee. Dec. 30, 1908. p-5"
and adhered with firm faith to it - " as of the New school would't pitch our ideal an inch lower than absolute Swaraj" and added " we must hold firm faith in that determination and keep the Swadeshi awakened and by that we mean the determination to assert our national individuality in every branch of our national activity".

By a Biblical analogy, he reminded each citizen of India that "the kingdom of Swaraj is within you".

But he did not just leave them there, he led them still further to the practical realisation of the living ideology.

" Let us win and keep that kingdom of Swaraj, the sense of the national separateness and individuality, the faith in its greatness and future, the feeling of God within ourselves and in the nation, the determination to devote every thought and action to the service of the Mother land ".

Aurobindo resumed his Beadon Sq. speech with a spiritual revelation :

" The spirit was what mattered, if the spirit were there, the movement would find out its own channels, for After

1. The Legacy of the Lokapenya. P. 67."
all it was the power of God manifested in the movement which would command its own means and create its own channels.

we must have the firm faith that India must rise and be great and that every thing that happened, every difficulty every reverse must help and further their end.¹

The code of the extremist philosophy was clearly stated by Aurobindo in the following words:

"To found the greatness of the future on the greatness of the past, to infuse Indian politics with Indian religious fervour and spirituality, are the indispensable conditions for a great and powerful political awakening in India."²

Bepin Ch. Pal, another fire-brand leader of the Extremist Group, expounded the new creed with new revelations.

He wanted to infuse a new spirit into the people. The Moderate Congress tried to extort political rights and privileges from the Govt. but the new hope was to help the people to grow into these rights and privileges by their own internal strength and by asserting their spirit of independence and self-reliance.

¹ Beadon sq. speech, By Aurobindo Ghosh.
² Aurobindo Ghosh in introductory appreciation to B.G. Tilak, P.
"The new spirit will not sell its birth-right even for Mr. Morley's mess of pottage," wrote Bepin Ch. Pal in 1906.

His Gospel of Swaraj as invoked by this new-spirit was that of a totally democratic Swaraj.

"The Swaraj of ours", declared Bepin Ch. Pal, "is not merely the Hindu, not merely the Mohammedan, not merely the Christian Swaraj, but the Swaraj of every child of India...

The Swaraj will be the Swaraj of the Indian people not any section of it."  

And this Swaraj again, clarified Bepin Ch. Pal, "was to be of an organic growth."  

Pal was definitely against the acceptance of any gift from outside. He emphasised the necessity of growth from within, and this to be based upon a new synthesis of life.

"The Indian National Congress should not merely aim at ephemeral advantages, and mere political make-shifts," critically remarked Bepin Ch. Pal but should aim at laying the

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3. Ibid.
foundation of the future political advancement of the country through the progressive realisation of political philosophy; this new synthesis of life. 1

If that could be effectively accomplished, divined Bepin Ch. Pal, then the mission of the Congress would not be just merely to wrench this political privilege and that political right from the hands of an unwilling Government, but would be there to proclaim the gospel of a new life, and a new era. That would open a new destiny for the people, to be realised through the spiritual attainment of a new political growth and consciousness. It would lead them to a firm faith in themselves and thus to a better new world.

"The National Congress will then declare in peels of thunder," prophesied Bepin Ch. Pal, "through this new and glorious gospel to the wondering multitude of this caste-ridden, this priest-ridden, this authority-ridden country. . . . . . . . . . the doom of all priestly, aristocratic and imperial theories and practices in religion, society and politics". 2

Lala Lajpat Rai echoed in the Punjab, in his fiery zeal, the new tenet of extremism, and put every effort to rouse the people from their political torpor and sluggishness. He tried to awaken the people to their sense of responsibility and in the great need of the nation upbuilding.

He drew attention of the people to the exigency of the national aspirations, and addressed them in great fervour.

He was deported and rigorously penalised, but, his patriotic voice could not be stilled. It loudly proclaimed the new spirit of democratic nationalism.

Lajpat Rai supported the message of the 1906 Congress, and set before the people the new programme of work.

"The aim of all our efforts and the object of all our agitation has been placed before us in clear and inspired moment. The Grand old Man of India, Dadabhai Naroji, struck upon that noble word 'Swaraj' which sums up all our political aspirations. Henceforth, Swaraj is our war-cry," vigorously declared Lajpat Rai.

"The next question that now arises", said he as a serious after thought, "is how to reach that goal and how to realise that aim."

After deep introspection he came to a spiritual revelation of his doctrine.

1. The Modern Review, Vol. I - 1907 (Jan - June)
2. Ibid.
"In my opinion," said he, "the problem before us is a religious problem - religious not in the sense of doctrine and dogmas - but religious in so far as it evokes the highest devotion and the greatest sacrifice from us. Our first want, then is to raise our patriotism to the level of religion and aspire to live or to die for it."  

He analysed the political arena of the Moderate and criticised it with a new light.

"Trivial changes in administrative machinery, the reform of the most crying Governmental abuses and a few more ineffectual concessions not involving any fundamental change in the principles of Government or in the constitution of the same, should not satisfy our people, unless the same are accompanied by a guarantee of a fundamental pact recognizing a right, power and a sovereignty in the people."  

Lajpat Rai gave another lashing to the Moderate Congress through his stringent criticism of its activities.

"Hitherto, our work has lacked that system and solidity which are the outcome of well thoughtout and well-organised plans. Hitherto the political movement has only..."
been carried out by fits and starts. It has completely depended on the moments of leisure, which gentlemen engaged in learned professions and business could conveniently spare for the same. It has always occupied a secondary position in their thoughts.

Lajpat Rai offered his new scheme of political approach:

"The chief and crying need of the national movement is the coming forward of a class of earnest, sincere, able and devoted men who will move about the country freely and preach the Gospel of freedom, both by word of mouth as well as by example, men who will win over the masses to the cause of truth and justice, by words of wisdom and lives of service. The non-existence of this class at the present moment, combined with other difficulties makes the national outlook very gloomy indeed, but the remedy, to change the face of things lies in our own hands."

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the great leader of Maharashtra came forward with fiery speeches which were recorded in papers 'Maharatha' and 'Kesori'.

1. The Modern Review - P 267 Vol I - 1907 (Jan - June) Edited by Kshmananda Chatterjee, (The National outlook; The great need of the situation; by Lajpat Rai.)
Tilak's first article in *Kesari* was entitled "The crisis arrives". "The crisis arrives was a call to the nation not to fall back however hard the Government’s repressive policy might be.

Tilak, the political realist of the extremist group, devised the basic techniques for the successful struggle against imperial domination.

Tilak abhorred the policy of mendicancy followed slavishly by the Moderate Congress. He came to the Poona Congress of 1905 and before a crowd of 10,000 men, who came to receive him at the railway station, he gave utterance to the stirring slogan: "Militancy - not mendicancy". But Tilak's militancy was not that of an armed rebellion. As he explained:

"We are not armed and there is no necessity for arms, either, we have a stronger weapon, a political weapon, in boycott; we have perceived one fact, that the whole of this administration which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen is carried on with our assistance ................. If you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the

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2. *Lokamanya Tilak* by Tahamonkor P112.
power of self-denial and self-abstinence so as not to assist this foreign Govt. to rule over you? 1

The delegations from the Punjab, under the leadership of Lajpat Rai, and the Bengal delegation, led by Bepin Chakravat, declared their unanimous support to Tilak's programme and policy.

They, all, decided to hold an open conference in the Congress camp of 1905, and Tilak was asked to address it.

It was on that historic occasion that Tilak gave to the nation his immortal precept: the idea of passive resistance. 2

The object of the passive resistance movement was threefold:

1) to destroy the hypnotic spell which had made the people and the country accept the omnipotence of their rulers and a kind of faith in their altruism;

1. Idhamanya Tilak by Tahamonkar P 114
2. Young India - Lajpat Rai.
3. Ibid.
(2) to create a passionate love of liberty, accompanied by a spirit of sacrifice and readiness to suffer for our cause of the country;

& (3) to win India's independence.

This subsequently circulated throughout the country as "Tenets of the New Party".