CHAPTER – I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The question what is history is one of the most controversial questions amongst the scholars of the world. Various scholars from different parts of the world in different ages have defined history in their own way. History is a record of unique events in the life of mankind. It is like a barometer to record the progress of mankind. The word history is said to have derived its name from the Greek word Istoria which means an enquiry, research, exploration or information. Herodotus has been called the father of history who laid the beginning of history writing as an important subject. After Herodotus, Thucydides spoke for history and questioned how and why things happened and laid stress on scientific investigation.¹

W.F. Maitland who started his career as a barrister but later on developed his taste in history has improved our knowledge by saying "what men have done and said, above all, what they have thought i.e. history". He was determined that his work should not only be technically accurate but should really illuminate the life of the past in a more precise way.² Voltaire defined history entirely in a new way by saying: "History is but a picture of crimes and misfortunes". So he saw a little use of history. He basically belonged to the middle ages when wars and bloodshed were the order of the day. He was not interested in political or military history but in the history of the arts, commerce and civilization and in reality the application of human mind.³ Another great scholar, Thomas Carlyle, does not agree with the above viewpoint. He held that history was nothing but the biography of great men. He went on to point that it was a record of human accomplishment particularly of great souls. Only the 'genius people' had been given due place while the masses had completely been ignored in the history. Only the powerful and the people of the higher-ups had a chance to live in history.⁴
Leopold Von Ranke, a German historian, tried to construct history on the basis of contemporary sources i.e. memories, diaries, letters, diplomatic reports, narratives of eye witnesses'. He was the first scholar of history who immensely used such sources in history writing. By studying the contemporary sources, one could know exactness of happening and events which took place in the course of history. 'History is nothing but based on the facts, let the facts speak’\(^5\). A famous British historian, E.H. Carr, disagreed with Ranke by saying that facts do not speak but "It is the historian who speaks in facts. History is what a historian makes it." He further writes that "History is an unending dialogue between the present and the past and the chief function of the historian is to master and understand the past as a key to understand the present."\(^6\) He was of the firm opinion that it "becomes scientific when it is based on facts but when it is a question of interpretation it is a different matter. History can never become exact science".\(^7\)

R.G. Collingwood firmly believes that history is neither concerned 'with the past by itself' nor with 'historians thought about it by itself', but with the two things in their mutual relations' He further writes: "The history of thought and therefore all history is the re-enactment of past thought in the historians own mind". Man was deemed as the only animal that could thought in the historians own mind\(^8\). Viewing the impact of environments on the historian, he has specially pointed out that "St. Augustine viewed the history of Rome from the point of view of an early Christian; Tillemont from that of a seventeenth century Frenchman;; Gibbon from that of an eighteenth century Englishman; Momsen from that of a nineteenth century German. There is no point in asking which was the right point of view. Each was the only possible for the man who adopted it."\(^9\)

Collingwood laid great stress on the natural process which was the 'process of events' and historical process was the process of thoughts which rendered his (man) actions the expression of his thought. Whatever was created by his thought
was such "a framework within which these appetites find satisfaction in ways sanctioned by convention and morality." But scholars like Arthur Marwick does not agree with such historical expression as he relied more on thought in his analysis of the nature of history. He further writes : "Everyone interested in history should know something of Collingwood's ideas. But it must be stressed again that he does not stand in the main stream of the development of historical studies : full of deep insights, he is no sure guide to what historians actually do or how they think". "Despite all this, it can be said that he attempted to integrate history and philosophy in a more convincing way. He fully believed in the importance and dignity of history as 'the natural science had been between 1600 and 1900'.

The above writings clearly show that a major shift has taken place in the last quarter of the twentieth century in the historiography of the modern period. No doubt the paradigm shift in understanding the dynamics of social reality events that have taken place in recent years in historical writings have provided a new perspective and invitations to understanding of the phenomena. The facts that have emerged as a result of the shift in approaching the problems have provided a new insight to approach the reality. Some of the facts which were neglected and overlooked in historical writings have revealed a fresh insight into the problem.

It is again pertinent to mention here the conception of history as pointed out by E.H. Carr that history is a constantly moving process, with the historian moving within it. He further elaborated his idea by suggesting: "The change is, no doubt, ultimately the product of scientific discoveries and inventions of their ever more widespread application, and of developments arising directly or indirectly out of them. The most conspicuous aspect of the change is a social revolution"

Now it would be pertinent to discuss the economic background of the country. The first phase of exploitation is termed by him on the mercantilist phase starting from 1757 up to 1813. This phase was marked by direct plunder of Indian
The second phase which began from 1813 to 1858 saw the classic age of free-trade and industrial exploitation. In this phase, India was converted rapidly into a market for Manchester textiles. It became a source of supplying raw materials to the textile mills located in England. Such a trade of raw material resulted into destruction of traditional handicrafts which was known for keeping the cottage industry of India as a source of earning.

Modern Scholars like E.H. Carr has rightly pointed out that 'History begins when men begin to think of passage of time in terms out of natural processes. But of a series of specific events in which men are consciously involved and which they can consciously influence. He further writes: "No doubt, the men and women when they begin to reflect upon the life that has been forced upon them to live is not in the hands of destiny but very much depends upon how they would like to change its course – it is at this juncture, the history is born".14 That was the reason why J. Burckhardt in his Reflections on History stated: "History is the break with nature caused by the awakening of consciousness".15 In this sense, history is nothing but a long struggle of man. It is also about the exercise of reason, to understand his environment and to act upon it. What is interesting to note that in the nineteenth century when during the course of national movement a phase came when the men who were guided by a strong desire of nationalism passionately decided to broaden the struggle for independence in a revolutionary way.

Historians and philosophers have pointed out that change in the modern world may be attributed to the development of men's consciousness. Desecrate, a 'French philosopher is considered to have attributed change in man's thinking due to development in man's consciousness itself. He further pointed out man is
endowed with the faculty of mind that forces him to think and also think about his own thinking. Thus he can observe himself and in the art of observing, man is simultaneously the subject and the object of thought and observation. It is in this context that the impact of French Revolution has been discussed and analysed by the historians. Commenting on the French Revolution, Alexis de Tocqueville stated that it was inspired by the belief that what was wanted was to replace the complex of traditional customs governing the social order of the day by simple elementary rules deriving from the exercise of the human reason and from natural law.  

The depths of human self-understanding and self-consciousness began to influence the world in the latter part of eighteenth century. German philosophers such as Hegel and Marx's ideas of modern world occupy an important place in philosophical and historical writings. Hegel's idea is rooted in the ideas of laws of province converted into Laws of reason. It was he who finally analysed the laws of ensuring through a rational process into a revolutionary initiative. Marx's final synthesis of historical development gave importance to three things which were inseparable one from another and formed a coherent and rational while they were first, the motion of events in accordance with objective and primarily economic laws. Second was the corresponding development of thought through a dialectical process and the third was the corresponding action in the form of the class struggle which reconciles and writes the theory and practice of revolution.

Thus the conscious revolutionary action was the main conceptual and theoretical schemes on which Marx analysed the course of history. His writings did not only contain element of philosophy but also contained an element of Praxis. According to his writings that entail revolutionary action his thesis suggested that philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, but the point is to change it. In his popular writings of Communist Manifesto and the Eighteenth Brunaire of Louis Bonaparte, he spoke of intellectual self-
consciousness dissolving by a country's old process of traditional ideas. Subsequently, it was Lenin whose emphasis shifts from class to party and also thought of moulding class consciousness by party.\textsuperscript{18}

In every society, certain steps are taken by the ruling elites to establish its domination over masses and generally people do not like themselves to be dominated. Collective efforts were made to oppose such ruling class domination and in order to arouse collective and organized attempt by the masses that the theoretical insights provided by Marx and subsequent Marxist scholars such as Althusser and Gramsci have been the part and parcel of the world history. India is also not an exception to this fact. The Imperial rule which established its administration first with East India Company on a trading destination and, subsequently, by 1858 establishing British Empire-by taking over the direct administration of India had initiated a policy based on exploitation of its economic resources.\textsuperscript{19}

The first phase of exploitation is termed by him on the mercantilist phase starting from 1757 up to 1813. This phase was marked by direct plunder of Indian economy. East India Company had monopoly over trade through the investment of surplus revenues in the purchase, often at low prices, of Indian finished goods for export to England and Europe.\textsuperscript{20}

The second phase which began from 1813 to 1858 saw the classic age of free-trader industrial exploitation. In this phase, India was converted rapidly into a market for Manchester textiles. Such a trade of raw material resulted into destruction of traditional handicrafts which was known for keeping the cottage industry as a source of earning for the traditional craftsman which had survived on it for generations. Ironically the cotton textile mills manufactured clothes inundated the Indian market.\textsuperscript{21}
The third phase of British exploitation according to R.P. Dutt started in the latter half of the nineteenth century i.e. after 1858 when the British Crown's government was established and continued up to 1947. It was the autocracy of what Sumit Sarkar calls an autocracy of chronically organized officials headed by Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. Thus third phase is also called the phase of finance imperialism which saw the establishment of British controlled banks, export-import firms and managing agency houses.22

Besides, the changes that took place in the macro structure laid stress on highlighting the incidents or events that took place at the local or regional levels and have their analytical focus. For a comprehensive understanding of the social and political developments, it is pertinent to mention here that the present study is going to concentrate on the constitution of the revolutionary role of the nationalists. Therefore, the background of the colonial rule especially the nature of disparity and the imperialistic design of colonial rule and its deleterious impact on the Indian economy have also been briefly examined here. How these developments were crucial for bringing the political outbursts in spontaneous manner will be the main focus of our present study.

The rise of Revolutionary-terrorist movement by the second decade of 20th century was the product of several new factors. Those who actively associated themselves with Gandhi's Non-Cooperation movement also actively associated themselves with the programmes and the activities of the revolutionaries. The enthusiastic participation of youths in the national movement was the direct outcome of the British colonial rule which had exploitative design in India. The indiscriminate plunder of the material resources was coupled with oppressive British rule that caused civil rebellions.23 In the present study an attempt has been made to examine the course of revolutionary movement in India with a view to highlight the causes of the rise of revolutionary movement in India.
It was the East India Company which led the foundation of British rule in India in 1757 when the Battle of Plessey took place defeating Siraj-ud-daula, the Nawab of Bengal. A powerful national movement against British Imperialism developed after 1858 when India came under direct administration of British Empire. The British policies, rule of bureaucracy and its unsympathetic attitude caused a feeling of intense bitterness against the ethno-centric bias that was reflected during the raj. The lack of interests between those of Indian people and British rulers kept widening. What is interesting to note here that the exploitative reasons had begin to deprive India's material resources since the second half of the 19th century as 33 per cent of the net revenue in the form of goods had been sent out of Bengal. The British capitalist development owed it to the drain of wealth from India during the company rule. According to one estimate, two percent of Britain's national income was the drain of wealth from India.\(^\text{24}\) The economic policies along with internal and external factors gave rise to the revolutionary activities in India.

Prominent historians and scholars of eminence such as Bipan Chandra\(^\text{25}\), A. Tripathi\(^\text{26}\), Sumit Sarkar\(^\text{27}\), A.R. Desai\(^\text{28}\), Partha Chatterjee\(^\text{29}\), Ramakrishna Mukerjee\(^\text{30}\), R.P. Dutt\(^\text{31}\) have all analysed the impact of British rule ever since East India Company established its trade linkages by causing destruction of the native products and interests of the entrepreneurial loss. The twin objectives of the monopoly of trade and control over financial resources enabled British capitalism to flourish. Bipan Chandra, A Tripathi and Barun De in one of their popular contributions have delineated three important features of British rule that have a deleterious impact on Indian social, economic and political life. The first stage of basic change was that "no basic changes were introduced. no basic changes were introduced in the administration, the judicial system, transport and communication, the methods of agricultural or industrial production and business management or in the educational and intellectual fields."\(^\text{32}\) It is important to know
that no basic changes were introduced in the administration, the judicial system, transport and communication, the methods of agricultural or industrial production and business management. Only a small beginning was made in the educational and intellectual fields by the British rulers in order to promote their imperial interests. Thus the governance of India by the British empire in the initial phase was not very different from the functioning of the traditional ruling dynasties.

In the second stage, the traditional economic structure was subjected to change and the British rulers were keen to transform the traditional India as they wanted the colonial economy to play a new role in the development of British economy. In order to bring about effective role of the traditional Indian economic structure, the colonial government set out after 1813 transformed its administration, economy and society. The British capitalists were given free entry into India to carry out economic activities at their will. Free trade was allowed and India’s firms and markets were given easy access to the British entrepreneurial classes. The routine administrative duties of tax collection and maintenance of law and order was saddled with the additional responsibility of entry of British goods in the small towns and villages to extract agricultural products for export.³³

A new judicial system based on a new corpus of laws and legal codes such as the Indian Penal Code and the Civil Procedure Codes were introduced. In order to effectively implement all this new system, educational system was introduced and expanded. The emergence of a liberal imperialist – political ideology among British statesman and the British administrators prepared the background for the rise of the new educated class. The new codes sought to establish the 'universal principles of jurisprudence' based on "a notion of indivisible sovereignty and its claims over an equal abstract and universal legal subject."³⁴

The British government's design to train native people in the art of self government and political power into their hands was the remarkable feature of the
second phase. Irony of the British regime was that despite the liberal measures their basic design of economic exploitation continued along with their earlier policies of exploitation.\textsuperscript{34}

Therefore, the goods produced by the Indians could not enter into competition with British manufacturers. Even indigo, opium and tea were kept under the control of the British government which gave British capitalists an edge over Indian manufacturers. British controlled Indian goods were subjected to heavy import duties ranging from 30 to 70 percent. The sugar produced in India was subjected to heavy duty which at times could be three times higher than the production cost. Bipan Chandra has rightly stated, "India was thus placed in the paradoxical position of taxing the movement of its own products, while letting foreign goods more free. .. The British manufacturers had acquired a decisive edge over Indian handicrafts even within the Indian market"\textsuperscript{35}. The Indian nationalists and revolutionaries became acquainted with their exploitation and started denouncing such economic policies of the British Government in India.

Thus the exploitative regime of British government did create a climate conducive enough for the nationalists to understand the imperial policy that directly affected the Indian producers, handicrafts and the agricultural economy. The third stage of British rule in India is said to have been started after 1860s. This stage saw three major changes in the world economic scenario. First was the gradual but steady industrialization process that also occurred in Western Europe and North America. The countries like France, Belgium, Germany, United States, Russia and Japan developed powerful industrial bases and began to search markets for their products. This brought British capitalists face shift competition in the world market. Second major chance was noticed due to the speedy industrial development which was coupled with heavy consumption of raw materials without which the entire industrial development could have been endangered. This stage of industrial expansion necessitated extensive research for new and secured sources
of raw materials and food stuffs which covered the entire world.\textsuperscript{36}

Thus there was also an intense competition among the competing imperialists to exploit the potential resources of agricultural and mineral raw materials in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. As a result of the second stage, the third stage experienced the development of trade and industry which further led to the exploitation of colonial market lending to the unlimited accumulation of capital in the developed capitalist countries. The accumulation of capital means that the colonial powers were also prepared to find an outlet for the investment of the accumulated capital. The working class was also getting organized and large scale investment in the industrial sector meant that the working class also wanted to increase its bargaining power for better wages which could relatively the lower profits from the investment in the industries.\textsuperscript{37}

The result of these developments mentioned above had an important bearing on imperialism and its expansion leading to the ideological and political consequences. Thus the second half of the nineteenth century was characterized as a democratic awareness. Robert Nisbet has rightly pointed out that these two developments as two sides of the same coin were intact in the industrial revolution and democratic revolution of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century Europe.

The Indian situation in the third stage of British rule was marked by a renewal upsurge of Imperialist control which was reflected in the policies of different Viceroyalties like Lytton, Lord Dufferin, Landsdowne and Lord Curzon. Lord Lytton and Curzon believed in reactionary policies. They looked upon India as a place where British capital could flourish. The period after 1850s saw huge capital investment in building infrastructure. A huge sum was invested in laying down the railway tracks and loans were also given to the Indian government to develop the infrastructural base. Referring to the huge investment that the colonial ruler had invested in India in the desire to maintain India as
British colony was a paramount consideration. One civil servant who asked the Governor of Bombay, Richard Temple, had stated that England, "....must keep India... because a vast amount of British capital has been sunk in the country, on the assurance of British rule being, humanly speaking, perpetual".  

After 1850, a very large amount of British capital was invested in railways, and the loans to the Indian government and to a smaller extent in tea-plantations, coal mining, jute mills, shipping, trade and banking were given. It was necessary to render this capital secure from economic and political dangers. British rule over India clamped down even more firmly.  

Thus, it is quite clear that the British policies and the styles of governance had one clear objective of treating India as a base for accomplishing its broader objectives of occupying a dominant position against the other competing imperial power. It also helped in having a dominant military base by exploiting both the human and the material resources of India. Naturally, these factors acted as the major causative factors for the rise of native Indians against the domination of colonial ruler. Whatever process of Industrial development that occurred suited the colonial power in expanding its rule in other regions. The colonial powers promoted the interests of the ruling upper classes of the imperial countries.  

In fact the kind of development impetus that was effected through the colonial policy as a result of widening democratic sentiments, it was feared that the workers and peasants would use this right to promote their own class interests and that the days of the political and economic domination of society by the upper classes were over. On the contrary, imperialism provided a way out. They were interested in deflecting popular attention towards external glory, to spread extreme nationalism, i.e. patriotic sentiments among the masses. The capitalist development that ushered in India during the British colonial rule provided enough scope for the rising nationalist aspirations. Alluding to the paradoxical feature of
the colonial rule, Bipan Chandra and others have observed "the colonial authorities were, therefore, caught on the horns of another dilemma : the very transformation needed to make India a paying colony endangered colonial rule by producing at the same time the social forces of nationalism that organized a struggle against colonialism."

The imperial policies pursued by the colonial masters gave rise to the protest movements and civil rebellions in the country.

The continuous resistance that took place acquired three broad forms such as:

a) Civil Rebellions;

b) Tribal uprisings; and

c) Peasant movements and uprisings

a) Civil Rebellions:

The process of British conquest of India and its consolidation was not devoid of series of civil rebellions which witnessed during the course of British rule. For nearly 100 years, popular discontent took the form of armed resistance which was spearheaded by the deposed chieftains or the military personnel. Zamindars, ex-soldiers, and other retainers of Indian states took part in such rebellions. It was also backed by the large section of peasantry and the artisans who took part in these rebellions because of the hardships that they faced during the colonial rule. The civil rebellions began with the establishment of British rule in Bengal and Bihar. Needless to mention that in course of time, the exploitative colonial policies saw intensification of land revenue demand resulting into exploitation of peasants by the East India Company. The supporter of the East India Company evicted the zamindars who defaulted in making payments to the
British raj. This sparked large scale rebellious tendencies in different parts of the country.\textsuperscript{42}

Besides the zamindars and peasants, Sanyasi rebellions also created major platform for organizing mass discontent against the British rule. The Sanyasi rebellions were led by religious monks and displaced zamindars. The Sanyasi rebellions had a long history which lasted from 1763 to 1800. It was also followed by the Chuar uprising. It covered five districts of Bengal and Bihar. It was confined to those hilly tracks inhabited by the tribal’s and the adivasis who found the British colonial design causing infringement of their land rights. The Chuar uprisings also lasted for a brief period initially from 1763 to 1772 and thereafter from 1795 to 1816. This simply goes to suggest that the colonial policy had begun to adversely affect those communities which were living in the inaccessible hilly tract and were left untouched even during the Mughal period.\textsuperscript{43}

Thus, the expansion of British rule to those inaccessible hilly areas where the tribal’s lived were also not spared by the Britishers in their bid to collect land revenue as much as possible. No denying the fact that the extension of British power spread to other parts of the country with the similar results of rebellions and mass protests. The rebellion of Orissa zamindars which lasted from 1804 to 1817 was not the only one as it was experienced in South India when the Raja of Vijaynagara also rose in revolt in 1794.\textsuperscript{44} In Tamil Nadu, the Poligars revolted during the 1790, in Malabar and Dindigal the protest also took place in 1801, in coastal Andhra from 1801 to 1805, in Parlakimedi from 1813 to 1834 and in Mysore the people rebelled in 1800 and then again in 1831. The Vizagapatam uprising broke up during 1830-1834 and in Travancore Diwan Velu Thampi rebelled in 1805. Besides, the southern region, even in western India, the people raised voice against the British rule. It was led by the chiefs of Saurashtra who revolted repeatedly from 1816-1832. In Gujarat, the Kolis rebelled in 1824-1825, 1828, 1829 and 1849.\textsuperscript{45}
Apart from these uprisings, there were numerous uprisings in Maharashtra, Gujarat and other parts of western India. The Kittur uprising (11824-29); the Kolhapur uprising (1824), the Satara uprising (1841), and the revolt of Gadkaris (1844) may be mentioned in particular. Northern India was no less turbulent. Even in the northern India, several uprisings have been recorded. The prominent among those uprisings including the Jats of western U.P. and Haryana in 1824. Other prominent rebellions were those of the Rajputs of Bilaspur in 1805, the taluqdars of Aligarh in 1814-17, and the Bundelas of Jabalpur in 1842. 46

b) **Tribal Uprisings**

The tribal people who lived in the hilly and the inaccessible tracts have also felt the brunt of the British colonial policy and, therefore, they too were up in arms against the British colonial rule. They expressed their hostility against the intrusion of the colonial administration. They objected to the penetration of the simple and sheltered lived. It was the British colonial policy which led to the intrusion of the greedy moneylenders, traders and big farmers who worked and colluded with the British in bringing the tribal people within the influence and control of the colonial economy resulting into their exploitation and discrimination. 47 The British rulers worked hand in gloves together with the outsiders who were trying to exploit the tribal’s by taking advantage of their illiteracy and ignorance.

The tribal rebellions were marked by their immense courage and sacrifices on their part. Lakhs of tribal sacrificed their lives as they could not match the might and the, sophisticated armouries of the British soldiers. Against the British arms, the tribal’s had their primitive weapons as axes, bows and arrows on the one side, while on the other side, they were faced with the British Indian army equipped with the latest and the most scientific weapons of war. Some of the
noted tribal uprisings recorded in history were the Kols uprising from 1820 to 1837, the Santhals uprisings from 1855 to 1856, the Ramnpas uprisings in 1879 and the Mudas uprising from 1895 to 1901. 48

c) Peasant Movement and Uprisings:

The brunt of colonial exploitation was also felt by the Indian peasantry which also organized and fought back at every step to maintain their independent identity. In fact, the peasants formed the backbone of civil rebellions which were often led by zamindars and petty chieftains. The peasants revolts also took a religious colour. Some of the British policy had hurt the religious sentiments of the peasants and the soldiers who were recruited in the British Army.

The soldiers of British army were simply reminded of their religious and purificatory sentiments and they realized that they would be forced to comply with the oppressive policy and, therefore, they had no option but to rise in revolt against the colonial ruler. Furthermore, the Indian or my serving for the colonial ruler soon found out their agrarian origins and their association that they had with the farmers and therefore, they had no option but to attack the zamindars, the landlords and the moneylenders. The final anger found their outbursts against the British imperialism. Some of the notable peasant movement included the Wahabi Movement of Bengal, Bihar, Panjab and Madras, the Farazi Movement of Bengal and the Kuka Revolt in the Punjab. 50

The indigo cultivation was forced on the Indian peasants. The foreign planters compelled the peasants to cultivate indigo against their wishes. This oppression was also portrayed by the famous Bengali writer Dinbandhu Mitra in his play Nil Darpan which was published in 1860. When the peasant anger could not be contained it found its outbursts in 1859. Hundreds of thousands of peasants of Bengal refused to cultivate indigo and resisted the physical brutality and
violence of the planters. In Bihar also, the peasants organized themselves against indigo cultivation. A large number of peasants' revolts were reported from Darbhanga and Champaran in 1866-1868. Similarly the peasants of Jessore in Bengal revolted in 1883 and 1889-90 respectively.\textsuperscript{51}

Other major agrarian outbreaks that took place were reported from western India. In Maharashtra, the government had settled the land revenue directly with the peasants. The revenue demand was kept so high that the peasants found it difficult to make payment. They had no option but to borrow money from the moneylenders who normally used to extend loans to such farmers at a very high rate of interest. The patience of peasants was exhausted and that resulted in the peasant movement in Poona and Ahmed Nagar of Maharashtra in 1875. They decided to organize a social boycott of the moneylender\textsuperscript{52} The British wanted to protect the interests of the moneylenders and deployed police to support them but they failed to stand against the fury of peasants protests. The Mopilla peasants of Malabar also organized 22 rebellions from 1836 to 1854 which were directed against the high revenue demand of the British rule. The Mopilla discontent found renewed expression into five major outbreaks between 1873 to 1880. Series of peasant riots were also reported from Assam during 1893 to 1894. That means the peasants were determined not to pay the enhanced revenue as the demand imposed on them by the Britishers.\textsuperscript{53}

Some of the causes that stimulated and motivated the rise of a class of revolutionaries could be traced to the establishment of higher educational institutions. After the liquidation of the company rules and the assumptions of the control by the Crown, the power was transferred to the British Crown. That means the British 'government was responsible to enact and lay down the policies for the governance of India. Several welfare measures and enactments were also initiated during the British rule. One of the major decision of the government was to establish three universities - one each at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1858.\textsuperscript{54}
These universities were followed by other Universities established at Lahore and Allahabad in 1882 and 1887. The students studying in these universities had an access to the British philosophers and also acquired a critical capacity to judge the political developments that took place in India. One of the major contributory factor that helped the students acquire a broader vision of India was their exposure to western philosophy and history. It also instilled a sense of self-confidence and pride for the nation. The opening of the universities led to the teaching and the study of philosophers and thinkers like Burke, Voltair, Montesquieu, Bentham Mill, Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoy, Cavour, Mazzini, Kosouth, Parnell etc.\(^{55}\)

The intellectual awakening arising from the political writings were coupled with grave economic set backs that the India was facing under British rule. Even the youth studying in these universities could also feel the burden of civil rebellions which were the direct outcome of the exploitative policies that the British government had initiated. The cause of peasant uprisings were taken up by Harish Chandra Mukherjee, the editor of the Hindoo Patriot and Sisir Kumar Ghosh. Harish Chandra Mukerjee devoted time to the service of the unfortunate cultivators. In May 1860, he wrote in Hindoo Patriot "Bengal might well be proud of its peasantry. In no other country into the world is to be found in the tillers of the soil the virtues which the ryats of Bengal have so prominently displayed ever since the indigo agitation had begun".\(^{56}\) The writings of Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Manmohan Ghosh made a deep impression. Deenbandhu Mitra's drama Neel Darpan depicting the inhuman tyranny had a deep impact on those who read the moving description., of inhuman treatment that the peasants of Bengal were exposed to.\(^{57}\)

Sisir Kumar Ghosh wrote in 1874 that it was the indigo disturbance which first taught the natives the value of combination and political agitation. Indeed it was the first revolution in Bengal after the advent of the English. If there would be
a second revolution, it will be to free the nation from the death grips of the all-powerful police and District Magistrates. When the violent outbursts of the peasant of Pabna and Bogra districts that occurred in 1872 and 1873 were highlighted, the youth of Bengal were moved by the plights of the peasants and their anger was aroused against the tyrannical rule of the British raj. Some of the enthusiastic and patriotic minded students styled themselves as vidrohis. They organized themselves in groups and formed associations to register their protest against the British exploiters. Needless to mention that the revolutionary upsurge had a deep impact on the masses and particularly on the students who were studying in various colleges and the universities. They too realized that they owed something to their peasants who were desperately involved in fighting against the exploitative British rule.\textsuperscript{58}

Besides the ideological and the exploitative British policy, the social and cultural renaissance could also be traced to the literary and journalistic contribution of various writers who were involved in portraying the sad life of the peasants involved in civil rebellions. In fact, the creative writings of some of these writers helped in arousing the rebellious spirit among the people who were not only confined to Bengal but also to the other parts of the country. In Bengal, the works of poet Nabinchandra had created a spirit of enquiry and love for Indian rulers and people. His Plasir Yudhaha deserves a special mention here. The poet Ranglal's creative writings urged the people to break the chains of slavery. Similarly, the role of Madhusudan Dutta, Din Bandhu Mitra and Bankim Chandra Chatterji is considered quite remarkable as it was held that "the flowering of Renaissance began with the poetry of Madhusadan the drama of Dinbandhu Mitra and the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji".\textsuperscript{59}

Other writers and journalists such as Harish Chandra Mukerji who was the editor of the Hindoo Patriot aroused the emotions and feelings among the masses. Govind Chandra Roy and Jatindra Nath Tagore's nationalists songs also deserve a
mention here. It was not only their creative writings but their pointed and political commentaries on the activities of British rulers also inspired the masses. It also helped in developing a national outlook. Among other newspaper which aroused national feelings was Sambad Prabhakar managed by Iswarachandra Vidhyasagar was also a notable development.\textsuperscript{60}

Among the contributions of writers whose writings created a national resurgence, the name of Raj Narain Bose cannot be left out. In fact, Raj Narain Bose was affectionately called 'the Grand Father of Indian Nationalism'. In 1866, a society for the Promotion of National Feeling (Jatio Gaurab Sampadani Sabha) was established by Raj Narain Bose at Midnapore. Besides, he laid the foundation of the Patriot Association in 1865. It was joined by Jyotendr Nath Tagore and Nabgopal Mitra. In the same year i.e. in 1865, Raj Narain Bose and Nabgopal Mitra were instrumental in starting a national paper which motivated the feeling of nationalism. In order to further arouse the nationalist feelings, Raj Narain Bose founded a national paper, a national society, a national gymnasium and a national school. He also founded a Jatiya Mela which began to the popularly known as Hindu Mela also drew into national movement some of the notable persons like Sisir Kumar Ghose, Jyotirindra Nath Tagore, Manmohan Bose, Sibnath Shastri, Bepin Chandra Pal and many others. These literary activities were not only confined to Bengal.\textsuperscript{61}

In Bombay Presidency, certain journalists started newspapers for national fervour. The foundation of Jana Prasark Sabha in 1858 by the students of Elphinston College under the inspiration of Dadabhai Naoroji in 1852 turned out to be a major platform for creating spirit of nationalism among the youths. Dadabhai and Jaganath Shanker Seth started the Bombay Association. A Deccan Association was also started and its activities were also close to those of the Bombay Association. Yet another institution of the time in Maharashtra was the Sarvajanik Sabha founded in 1870. These developments explicit point out that the
young enthusiastic like Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, B.G. Tilak and G.G. Agarkar were the product of the background created by the leaders who had a nationalist tone in their writings and the speeches. They founded a school and later a college and started two important papers such as the Kesari and the Maratha.\textsuperscript{62}

The papers started by Tilak championed popular causes. Chiplunkar's premature death gave them a set-back but the two (Tilak and Agarkar) acting with others decided to continue the task set before them. During the Ilbert Bill Controversy, the Kesari and the Maratha criticized the government vehemently and even preached opposition to oppressive laws, "It appears that Maharastra with entire tradition of self-rule in the past was in a state of revolutionary ferment and but for Hume's action, violence would have crept in and set the smouldering smears into a blaze".\textsuperscript{63}

The northern India which had earlier in 1857 challenged the British rule, was soon to be enchanted by Vedic Mantras and the slogans, "go back to the Vedas" began to inspire and move the people. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, a great scholar of Sanskrit, held that the Vedas were infallible and began to criticize idol worship and Puranic Gods as well. He wanted to rationalize the whole theory of Godhead and preferred Vedic gods to any other mentioned in the Puranas. He wrote a book Satyarth Prakash which aimed at ridding the Hindu Society of many superstitions which had gathered round it and soon became the Bible of the Arya Samajists. This was the book which used the word Swaraj for the first time and propagated the cause of Hindi language as well.\textsuperscript{64}

The institution of Arya Samaj in 1875 offered a challenge to the proselytizing activities of the Christians and extolled the virtues of Vedic culture. The two followers of Swami Dayanand, Lala Hansraj and Lala Lajpat Rai, devoted themselves to the propagation of Arya Samaj doctrines. Like Martin Luther of Germany, Swami Dayanand purged Hindu religion of its orthodox, irrational and
superstitious doctrines and inculcated a sense of rationalism. Very soon the
country, specially the northern India, became full of many branches founded for its
social and educational works.\textsuperscript{65}

An appreciable work was done by the Theosophical Society founded in
the United States by Madame H.P. Blavatsky and Col. H.S.Olcott in 1875. They
visited India and a society was founded near Madras at Adyar. Its work was later
on taken up by Mrs. Annie Besant. Mrs. Besant's assessment was very correct when
she said, "The Indian work is, first of all the revival, strengthening, and uplifting
of the ancient religions. This has brought with it a new self-respect, a pride in the
past, a belief in the future, and as an inevitable result, a great wave of patriotic life;
the beginning of the rebuilding of a nation".\textsuperscript{66}

Like other orders, the society also engaged itself in social amelioration
and expansion of education. The intellectual and social awakening gradually
began to bring greater amount of self-confidence among the people. They not only
thought of getting more and more places in the administrative set-up but wanted to
control them. So writes Surendra Nath Benerjea, "we not only wanted to be
members of bureaucracy and to leaven it with Indian element, but we looked
forward to controlling it and shaping and guiding its measures and eventually
bringing the entire administration under complete popular domination".\textsuperscript{67}

The later years of the seventies noticed more and more virulence in the
political writings of a person like Shishir Kumar Ghosh, the founder of the Amrita
Bazar Patrika. This virulence was the direct outcome of a movement led by
numerous newspapers and journals. Shishir Kumar Ghosh who led the agitation
against indigo planters soon came to be looked upon as the political guru of many
young men and Bal Gangadhar Tilak was one of them. relentless critic of the
government, Shishir Babu looked at its policies with suspicion. On account of his
views and writings, he is classed among as the early exponents of the extremist
school of Indian politics. As early as 1870, he made a powerful demand for an Indian Parliament and demanded a more democratic constitution for the British Indian Association.  

Shisir Kumar Ghosh along with Shambhu Chandra Mukerji founded the Indian League. It had in its fold persons like Durga Mohan Das, Anand Mohan Bose, Narendra Nath Sen, Nabgopal Mitra and Surendra Nath Banerjea. But it could not last for long and was replaced by the Indian Association in 1876. The national cause was certainly dearer to them than anything else. Explaining the significance of the epithet, Indian Association, Surendra Nath Banerjea who was throughout the moving spirit said: "For the idea that was working in our minds was that the Association which was to be centre of an all India movement. The choice of the word India probably indicates that the unity of the country was to be maintained side by side with the political demands. The people had the pattern of Italian Unity in their minds". The objects of the Association were:

(i) "The creation of a strong body of public opinion in the country;
(ii) The unification of the Indian races and peoples upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations and
(iii) The promotion of friendly feeling between Hindus and Mohammedans, and, lastly the inclusion of the masses in the great public movements of the day."  

One of the important topics which was taken up by the Association was the situation arising from the new Regulation of 1876 which aimed at the reduction of the age limit of the competitors for the Indian Civil Service examination from 21 to 19. This had evidently hit the Indian hard who could not get proper education to compete with their English counterparts. As Surendra Nath Banerjee says, "the underlying conception and the true aim and purpose of the civil service agitation was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India". The meeting decided to bring the various Indian provinces on "the same common
platform (a thing that had never been attempted before) and to unite them through a sense of common grievance." It authorized Surendra Nath Banerjee to undertake extensive tours of the important cities and to arouse national and political consciousness in the country. This tour "has been rightly acclaimed as the first successful attempt of its kind at uniting India on a political basis." Even the authorities from that time began to recognize the Indian opinion as a force.  

The establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 was yet another important factor which inspired the spirit of nationalism in India. In fact, the formation of Congress organisation initiated struggle for India's independence in a systematic manner. Initially, it was launched in a small hesitant and mild but organized manner and as the time passed by it grew in strength and became instrumental in leading a powerful and militant campaigns against the foreign ruler. The leaders associated with the Indian National Congress were also instrumental in spreading the nationalist consciousness by using other channels for the development and articulation of nationalism between the years 1885-1905. It also became instrumental in organizing its local and provincial counterparts by organizing its day to day political activities. The conferences were organized on annual basis at the local and provincial level to ensure larger participation of people belonging to all sections of the society. Earlier, the people were divided on the basis of religions, castes, communal and regional identities which did not allow them to establish a platform where they could organize mass agitation shedding their parochial social base for the national cause.  

The mass media played an important role in the early years of India's freedom struggle. Needless to mention that the newspapers in the late 19th century and early 20th century were not initiated with the business ventures. Newspapers were consciously started to give under cover to public activity organized at the national level. Such local protests and the public discontentment were overlooked by the British press. It distorted the report of public protests launched by the
Indian public. The owners and editors of newspapers were also the men of integrity inspired by feeling of nationalism. In fact, some of the major nationalist newspapers were founded before the establishment, of Indian National Congress. Nevertheless, when Indian National Congress was established the views of nationalist leaders were given adequate coverage in these newspapers which inspired the youth, and the ordinary people to organize themselves against the British rulers.

Some of the prominent nationalist newspapers of this period included the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *the Indian Mirror*, *the Sanjeevani*, *the Bengalee* were brought out from Bengal Presidency. The prominent newspapers that were brought out from Madras included the Swadesh Mitra, Andhra Prakasita and the Kerala Patrika. The prominent newspapers which were published from Bombay included *the Mahratta*, *the Kesari*, *the Indu Prakash*, *the Sudharak* etc. Northern India was also a prominent centre of revolutionary activities and the newspapers which played a critical role included *the Tribune*, *Akbar-i-Am*, *Paisa Akhbar*, *Kohinoor* etc. All these newspaper were brought out from Punjab.

The leaders of all the streams found the print media quite useful in directly communicating with the people. Whatever political agenda and the political activity that they wanted to carry forward could easily be given space in the newspapers. Thus, the newspapers became an important source for arousing the national feeling and its consolidation. In fact, it proved instrumental in bringing a large number of Indian people into the centre of nationalist politics. It also became a source of proper treatment and assessment of politics, carrying forward political agitation and struggle. Bipan Chandra and others have rightly pointed out the two important objectives of the Indian National Congress at the initial stage. According to them, the first important task in this respect was the creation of public interest in political questions and the organization of public opinion in the country. Secondly, the popular demands had to be formulated on a country wide
basis so that the emerging public opinion might have an all-India focus.\textsuperscript{77}

The leaders associated with Indian National Congress not only aroused nationalist consciousness but also made them aware of civil rights. It included making people aware of their freedom of expression i.e. right to express their opinion through press and platform to achieve their goals. The colonial rulers were hostile to the civil rights of the people, even before foundation of Indian National Congress the British government had passed. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was meant to gag the freedom of press which were brought out in Indian languages. By 1890s, the British officials strongly criticized the role of newspaper in making official secrets public. The most dramatic incident included the arrest of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and several other leaders and editors of newspapers in 1897 on the charge of spreading hostility against the British government. Tilak was known for his radical nationalist feelings and to curb his activities, the British government sentenced him to rigorous imprisonment for 18 months.\textsuperscript{78}

The extreme reactions of British government angered the leaders of the Indian National Congress, the editors of various newspapers and the leaders of various political associations. The leaders considered this as an attack on their civil rights and country-wide protests were organized against the British ruthlessness. Undoubtedly, Tilak emerged as the most popular leader of India who was given the title of Lokmanya by the people. Thus, it is clear that the Indian nationalists had begun to feel the pressure of British rule. The leaders of Indian National Congress also realized that the soft attitude against the British government might have the disastrous consequences. Gopal Krishna Gokhale in his presidential address to Congress at Banaras in 1905 and Dadabhai Naoroji at Calcutta session in 1906 decided to press for Swaraj as its demand.\textsuperscript{79}

Such speeches made the moderates realize the importance of taking a militant posture against the British rule. They also realized that asking for reforms
from the British government would not serve the purpose. Naturally, this led to the rise of new leadership within the Indian National Congress which was more radical in their approach and believed in pursuing a more militant form of nationalism. Within the Congress, there emerged a group of extremists who decided to lead the masses including students, peasants and workers. The names of prominent leaders in the initial phase who pursued militant posture included Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal, B.G. Tilak, B.S. Munje, G.S. Khaparde etc. in Bombay presidency. Their extremist views became the guiding principles of their leadership.  

Bipan Chandra Pal, a true disciple of Lokmayna Tilak, used to deliver forceful speeches in public. He also addressed the students to instill a sense of national pride among them. Similarly, Aurora Ghose was also known for his radical views which he carried forward through the Bande Mataram, a prominent newspaper of Bengal presidency. Thus, the contributions of these leaders of the Indian National Congress in its initial phase was quite critical in arousing the nationalist sentiments among the Indians.

The militant postures adopted by several leaders of the Indian National Congress were coincided with several revolutionary struggles and political events that developed during the early 20th century. Besides, it the global changes and events broadly impacted the educated Indian youth after the World War I. The emergence of Japan as a modern powerful country after 1868 gave a new hope to the Indians. The emerged of Japan as a political force gave the feeling that Japan was a powerful Asian country. not only Japan became a powerful industrial nation but also emerged as a strong military power without seeking support from the west as has been rightly observed by Bipan Chandra and others. The defeat of Italy at the hands of Ethiopia in 1896 and the victory of Japan over the Russia in 1905 are such examples in which small countries were defeating the big countries of Europe.
Thus the Indians were greatly influenced by the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. The defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan in the war was an object lesson that the greatness of a nation did not depend merely upon the size of territory and number of people but mainly upon moral and martial qualities like self-sacrifice, patriotism and self-reliance etc. The other lesson that Indians learnt was an atmosphere of self-rule that the state machinery could be used to do miracles. Thus Japanese success strengthened India's urge for independence.  

The success of Japan was viewed as a tremendous set-back to the British government because the British rule was representing the western dominance in India. This victory broke the myth of European superiority. It was "The victory of a just cause of heroism and of patriotism' and a lesson to all the Asian country as versed by Bertrand Shadwell:

Wake Asia, Wake, the red rises fast,  
Arm China, arm they millions at the wall,  
The sleep of silent centuries at last,  
Is broken by a sudden trumpet call.  
Dawn in the East! The red sun flashes low;  
Strike for thy own, the right against the wrong,  
Now while the robber reels benath the blow,  
Dealt by an Eastern sword so deft and strong".  

Thus our national movement received considerable inputs from the sudden triumph of Japan in the war against Russia, one of the great powers of Europe. The news of the Russo-Japanese war both on land and sea and the amazing clitoris of Japan electrified the atmosphere in India and stirred the country with enthusiasm.
and hope for its own future. The influence of Japanese success of India was two fold - psychological and practical. It gave way to the replacement of *Raj Bhakti* by *Desh Bhakti* in India.  

The Italian war of independence or Risorgimento too created a profound impression on the Indian nationalists. Even the British socialist leader, H.M. Hyndman also supported the adoption of the Mazzinian methods to the Indian situation. He was of the opinion that India would get nothing through the constitutional methods. In a letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, he made it clear that “what they would gain by the moderation.... They just kick you and pass sedition acts over you, and lie about you, even more than they do with us.... Sauvé, moderate gentleman don't get much attention when the band begins to play', so they might at least be heard now – but they are not." He told the Indain leaders to put things ‘in a clear, vigorous and interesting way’

Another important impact was the Irish demand of Home Rule. The Irish nationalists strove hard to maintain their separate politics and cultural identity. The failure of Irish Home Rule bills in 1886 and 1893 shocked not only the Irish but Indians also who had expected that after Ireland's solution, the case of India would be taken up. The Sinn Fein movement, an outcome of British failure in Ireland, inspired extremism and terrorism in India. Both the movements decried the constitutional methods and appealed for the adoption of militant methods. F.H. O'Donnell, an Irish nationalist, proposed that both the countries should fight shoulder to shoulder against the common foe and effect common deliverance.

The Sinn Fein organisation which was established by Arthur Griffin in 1905 demonstrated the creed of non-cooperation and declared complete Home Rule for the Irish people. This movement left a profound impression upon Indians who lost all faith in constitutional movement. The Indians also adopted triple programme of swadeshi, boycott and national education for the benefit of the
The Indians also praised the Irish leaders such as Justin McCarthy, Parnell, Michael Davitt, T.D., Sullivan, James Dillon, F.H. O' Donnell etc. for taking keen interests in Indian affairs in and outside the British Parliament. Many Indian newspapers praised the Irish movement which influenced the other fighting countries for freedom.  

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was keenly observed by the Indian revolutionaries who became thrilled at its magnitude. Workers all over Russia went on strike and gained the support of the masses at many places. It paralysed the entire economic life of Russia. The workers and peasants compelled the Tsar to summon the Duma to start an era of constitutional reforms in the country. The revolution of 1905 laid great stress on “political freedom and constitutional government for Russia contributed substantially to the awakening of nationalism and the development of constitutional government in Asia.” This development was treated as a great victory of the Russian people over the despotic and autocratic rule of the Tsar.

The Russian Revolution fostered the ideas of mass agitations, demonstrations against the tsarist regime in Russia. The Indian revolutionaries were also trying to grasp the lessons of Russian Revolution but without mass organisation, it was impossible to go further. The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in Russia was not liked by the Indian revolutionary as it would lead to the oppression and suppression of the movement by the rulers. Revolution would be possible only with four pronged constituents such as youth, labour, peasant and army which constituted the bulk of the population. If all these constituents were not brought together movement would never succeed. The leadership of the Russian movement was not up to mark in 1905 but despite this it fostered a patriotic feeling among the Indian people.

After a decade, the Russians again stood up against the autocratic Tsar of
Russia. The leadership of the movement was now quite dynamic and ultimately transformed the Russian polity from autocracy to socialism. The Russian Revolution of 1917 provided a new thinking to Indian revolutionaries active in and outside India. Some of them were attracted toward its ideological message and abandoned the path of individual terror in favour of the idea of liberating the country with the friendly outside powers. The Indian revolutionaries active in Paris, Berlin and San Francisco were sure that without the involvement of the masses in the struggle, the withdrawal of anti-imperialist forces from India would be impossible. The other group led by V.D. Savarkar and Raja Mahendra Pratap wanted to exploit religious sentiments as a means for furthering their revolutionary activities. But others were deadly against such design. So the Russian Revolution encouraged the Indian revolutionary to adopt Russian methods and strategy to achieve freedom.

Now it would be appropriate to discuss the beginning of revolutionary activities in India. Bombay province was an important and anti-British province where famines, deadly epidemics and rural indebtedness created hostility against the British. Such situation created agrarian riots in 1874-75. Tilak carried on a vigorous criticism of the British rule through his newspapers Kesari and Mahratta. Towards the end of 1896 when a severe famine threatened Deccan, he started a no-rent campaign to withhold the payment of land revenue. The government failed to check the epidemic and Tilak criticised the government measures. Damodar Chapekar, a Chitpavan Brahmin, shot dead Rand, a Plague Commissioner and Lt. Ayerest who were returning after celebrating Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. This was followed by more violence when two informants of the government were shot dead by the members of the Chapekar Association. The provincial authorities awarded death punishment to Damodar and his three associates. They further utilized this occasion to arrest Tilak for publishing an account of Shivaji festival held on June 12, 1897 in his paper. He
was sentenced to undergo eighteen month's rigorous imprisonment but was released after six months.\(^9\)

Valentine Chiron, the editor of Times (London), visited India two times. He has mentioned the Shivaji Club, anti-cow killing societies, explosive speeches, unrestrained press, gymnastic meets, Ganpati Choirs and national festivals became manifestations of the revolutionary activities taking hold in Bombay, Poona, Kolhapur and Nasik where these centres emerged as the centres of such activities in the province.\(^1\)

Many secret and revolutionary societies were working in Maharashtra. Savarkar brothers of Nasik were drawn into an anti-British movement initiated by Mahatama Sri Agamya Guru Paramhansa. In 1906, a number of students started at Poona a society which elected Savarkar as their leader. After few months Savarkar left for London where he became a leading figure in the circle of Indian revolutionaries where he was awarded fellowship by Shyamji Krishna Verma.\(^1\)

In the absence of V.D. Savarkar, his elder brother, Ganesh Damodar Savarkar, became the head of the revolutionary movement at Nasik. He founded the Abhinav Bharat Society which was joined by the members of the society at Poona. Ganesh Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life and his property was forfeited on June 9, 1909. This conviction also led to further violence. When this message reached to Savarkar in London he was enraged and a revenge to this act, on 1 July 1990 when Madan Lal Dhingra had murdered Sir W.C. Wyllie. Jackson, a British Officer, was shot dead at Nasik by a young Brahmin. The pistol used in the act was one of the those twenty Browning – automatics which was sent by V.D. Savarkar from England.\(^1\)

In 1910, three Brahmins were convicted at Satara where they were engaged in a secret society since 1907 for the liberty of the people. It was a branch of Nasik Society in which youth were very active. Repressive activities made political
atmosphere quiet. Lokmanya Tilak returned from his exile in 1914 and Poona people gave him a tremendous public welcome.\textsuperscript{103}

The revolutionary activities in Bengal were initiated by Barinda Kumar Ghosh, the brother of Aurobindo Ghosh. Revolutionary movement began when Lord Curzon partitioned the Bengal on October 16, 1905. The aim of Barindra Ghosh was to preach anti-British feeling and open rebellion against British rule. He openly declared, "The wish of a subject people is to destroy an untruth like foreign rule and its preparation for the gratification of that wish are sacred things and must be done"\textsuperscript{104}

When an attempt was made on the life of Lt. Governor of Bengal, the murders of Mrs. and Mr. Kennedy at Muzaffarpur and the Alipore Conspiracy Case also took place. Barindra and his associates were directly connected with this. The train of Sir Andrew Fraser was derailed by a bomb near Midnapore in December, 1907. The explosion caused when Barindra was caught he openly confessed: "We are determined and are still so to take the life of the Lt. Governor of Bengal as he prohibited, public meetings, sanctioned the prosecution of the press and people and set the police against the citizens of Calcutta"\textsuperscript{105}

After the arrest of Barindra and unearthing of conspiracy centres at Calcutta, the revolutionaries and their secret societies became desperately active at Dacca, Bakerganj, Faridpur and Mymen Singh.

Like other provinces, revolutionary activities also began to take place in the Punjab. The leader of the movement was Ajit Singh, the extremist and revolutionary leader of Punjab. Sufi Amba Prasad, Lal Chand Falak, Kishen Singh, Swarn Singh, Zia-ul-Huq, Mehta Anand Kishore, Pindi Das, L., Banke Dayal, Dr. Ishwari Parshad, Munshi Ram, Nand Gopal, Dhanpat Rai and Ghulam were the other leaders of the movement. Many of them joined the organization called 'Anjuman Muhibban-i-wattan', popularly known as Bharat Mata Society.
These revolutionaries were spreading disaffection against the British rule by writing fiery articles against the British *raj* in the newspapers. They also publish 'seditious books', patriotic poems and other literature.\(^{106}\)

Many revolutionaries went to the Western countries where they found congenial atmosphere for achieving support of the world public opinion. The revolutionary activities first of all began in London where Shyamji Krishna Varma founded the Home Rule Society in 1905. He established a lodging house at Cromwell Avenue, High gate, London. This India House was meant for the students who were accommodated at a moderate rate of rent. After that revolutionary activities began to spread in the other parts of the Europe. After the assassination of Curzon Wyllie, Shyamji Krishna Varma left Britain and V.D. Savarkar became the leader of the London group of Indian revolutionaries. He always remained in close touch with the other Indian revolutionaries who had established centres in Europe and America along with the European anarchists.\(^{107}\)

After India House, London, other revolutionary centres were established in Paris, New York, San Francisco, Geneva, Berlin, Vancouver, Cairo, Hong Kong, Japan and China etc. Savarkar, B.C. Pal, S.K. Verma, H.M. Hyndman, M.P.T. Acharya etc. operated from London. S.K. Verma, S.R. Rana and Madame Bhikhaiji Cama came to Paris and started the organization and the publication of revolutionary literature.\(^{108}\) Tarak Nath Das, Har Dayal, Sohan Singh Bhakhna, Ram Nath Puri, Ram Chander founded centres in America. Similar work was done by P.M. Bapat in Scotland and Paris also, G.D. Kumar in Vancouver and Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya and Tirumal Acharya in Berlin.\(^{109}\) They used to visit all the centres for furthering their activities.

These revolutionary aimed at spreading hatred against the British through their revolutionary leaflets, papers and circulars from abroad. They also kept on sending arms and ammunition to their counterparts in India and also to gain
sympathy and active support for their cause from those countries which were hostile to Britain.\textsuperscript{110}

The revolutionary movement started soon after the partition of Bengal and the demand for Swaraj began to echo. The moderate Congressman did not demand for gaining *Swaraj* but aimed at to get some degree of self governing institutions under the British rule. The extremists who emerged after 1905 did not advocate violence but believed only in non-cooperation and passive resistance. They were sympathetic to the revolutionaries who were active in and outside India.

The period (1905-1920) was an eventful period in Indian history. It brought about the resurgence of Indian nationalism in the wake of the reactionary and imperial policies culminating into the partition of Bengal. The rise of extremism and revolutionary terrorism with a new philosophy and weapons of struggle created upheaval within the Congress and in the imperialist regime also. The reforms were aimed at rallying the moderates, chieftains, landlords and the Muslims. The Indian revolutionaries had to be prey of British repression, imprisonment, deportation etc. The policies of the government gave rise to such activities which were disliked by the colonial regime. Besides, internal, external factors were also responsible for the resurgence of revolutionary activities in and outside India. After the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation movement, resurgence of the revolutionaries became imminent with a new outlook and a new ideological perception in Indian politics.
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