CHAPTER ONE
GEORGE JOSEPH AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE:
BACKGROUND

India being a land of diverse cultures was in want of a strong unified political system for a long time. The Mauryans were the first empire builders in India. They succeeded in bringing a large part of the Indian territory under their hold. India has its own uniqueness in every field. Most of the invaders, who arrived in this land became more fascinated towards its unique culture, its abundance in resources and the ethnic beauty that had smeared over here.¹

A number of foreign invaders reached India and built up their areas of influence and areas of control. The Persians came to India by 6th century B.C. The Greeks made their attack in the 4th century B.C. The Huns came, the Sungas, the Sakas, the Parthians, the Kushans etc. came to India one after another and they endeavoured to embrace the ethos of Indian culture.

The Muslims invaded India in the 8th Century A.D and they continued here till the middle of the 19th Century. The Delhi Sultans (1206-1526) and the Mughals (1526-1858) had uniqueness in their patterns of administration. They too mingled with the people inhabiting over the land where they settled. The Mughals ruled over north India till the British established their imperial power.
The Mughal rulers always depended on land armies. They never possessed an adequate sea power. On the contrary the westerners possessed a strong sea power. By the latter half of the 15th Century the Europeans took keen initiative in new explorations and adventures in sea. The capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, closed all routes of trade through land. That turned them towards finding a new route through sea for conducting a smooth trade with the Eastern countries. The newly found sea routes made them accessible to the east and its spice lands were in great demand in the western world.²

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French came to India one after another. The Portuguese were the first to come and the last to go.³ The Portuguese monopolized Indian trade and commerce for a time and they sowed the seeds of imperialism on Indian soil. They were the pioneers of colonial activities in India.

The Portuguese had to face threats from the Dutch, subsequent to the amalgamation of Portugal with Spain in 1580. They succeeded in conquering some of the important Portuguese settlements. By the last quarter of the 17th Century the Dutch occupied almost all of the Portuguese settlements. The cultural impact on Kerala was greater under the Dutch (1663-1795) rather than under the Portuguese (1498-1663).
The English were the next to come to India for trading purposes. The French were the last European power to reach India. All these foreign powers fought each other for establishing their superiority over here. In Europe, there was a colonial and maritime rivalry among the big European powers for establishing their imperial domination over Asia and African continents. That had its reflection on Indian soil too. All the European powers who landed over here fought each other to acquire more and more concessions in order to conduct a feasible trade with the natives. However, the British who came as traders could conquer Indians commercially, religiously and politically. All the Europeans came on Indian soil first as merchants and traders and later as contestants for the crown of Hindustan. Both the English and the French possessed a well disciplined army. It was more revealing to the European powers in India the weaknesses of the Indian army. It was a strong contrast to the well disciplined European armies, which had attained a high degree of efficiency and self confidence to bring glory for their king and country. The military and naval superiority and their financial resources that they had squeezed from India enabled the British to carve out an empire in India.¹

When the Britshers landed on Indian soil, they were welcomed by some advantageous factors. India was ruled over by many petty chieftains and they lacked any type of unity, cohesion and coordination. The rulers were fighting each other for their own material gains. The indigenous ruling powers were not capable
enough to suppress the flow of foreign powers. The Indian people had to suffer and work hard under the humiliating and degrading conditions created by the British for nearly ninety years.\(^5\) The success of British in India is most commonly attributed to her superiority of arms and the efficiency and effectiveness of the militia. British army officers were trained in military tactics and strategy. The European military science was a major cause for the British success in India.\(^6\) The Britishers could spend their time for studying Indian culture, society, economy and its people. Through the British new thoughts and new ways of life poured into India. The British acted as a bridge for India to pass from the medieval world of the Mughals to the new age of science and humanism.\(^7\)

The English established a factory in Bengal in the year 1600. Later it became the seat of a presidency under the name of Fort William in Bengal. Bengal was the nerve centre of British trading activities at first. British establishments in Bengal soon became more profitable and important. There was a flourishing trade in cotton, silk, indigo and sugar. All these commodities had considerable demand in Europe.\(^8\) Though came as traders, the English merchants gradually changed from trade to politics. They could realize the actual situation prevailed over here, and were fascinated towards the abundance of resources available here. As an initial step they had to acquire the ‘Diwani right’\(^9\) from the nawab, and they became successful in getting that right from the Bengal Nawab. Thus they got a green signal for the beginning of colonial activities on Indian
soil. Territorial expansion also took place simultaneously. The British started a policy of exploitation on their Indian subjects. At first the British had to drive away all the other European powers from the Indian soil and to have full control over the whole of India. For expelling the other Europeans from India, the British followed a pleasing method towards the local rulers. The British followed a policy of territorial expansion which enabled them to extract higher rates of revenues from the people of India.

The English people introduced various modes of revenue settlements in different parts of India namely the permanent settlement, rytwari settlement and mahalwari settlement. All these settlements were not in favour of the Indians but it enhanced English hold over native states by hook or crook. Gradually all farmers felt the burden of increased taxation. Indian industries collapsed both in towns and villages. Most of the cottage and traditional industries got destroyed as a result of the new economic policy. The conquest and annexation policy introduced by many Governor Generals beginning with Warren Hastings (1774-85) added more oil to the fuel. Lord Dalhousie’s railway system all over India created a network of suspicion. All the new policies introduced by the British made the people more anxious and many speculations spread far and wide. The communication network in the form of telegraphs, posts and the railway system increased the suspicion of the people greatly.10
The battle of Plassey (1757) sealed the fate of the Nawab of Bengal under the leadership of Robert Clive. After that the company became a major territorial force on the subcontinent. Now the company changed its status from merely a trader to an aggressive ruler. The British with their modern weapons, developed technology military discipline and better diplomacy could dominate larger sections of the country. By this time the British were successful in overcoming the French threat and they acquired direct control over most parts of Indian territory. The English had to wage a series of wars with the Marathas. They were a major rival to the British ascendancy and their defeat soon became a reality. The Mughal emperor proved himself to the position of a mere British puppet and wasted his time in the “opium eater’s” paradise.

Among various activities and reforms introduced by the British on Indian soil, most crucial is the introduction of western education. It had great impact on Indian people. English education had far reaching consequences on Indian masses. Western education brought wonderful changes to the Indian Society.

Hindu Society of that time was a caste ridden society filled with blind customs and superstitious beliefs. Lower caste people were struggling to get their legitimate place in society. It is believed that education was the only solution to get rid of the evil customs and beliefs of Indian society. Several English men, both missionaries and officials came forward for giving western education
to Indians. But the Britishers never intended to civilize Indians or to free them from the clutches of evil practices. Whatever they did was for their own benefit.

Charles Grant, a British official took initial steps to introduce western education in India. It was strongly believed that all the evils could be removed only by education in English, which would open a world of new ideas and break the strong bonds of custom. William Carey (1761-1835) was another propounder of English education. He was a Baptist missionary who came to Bengal and carried out some activities to propagate western ideas. Another British man who came to India for taking over the activities for spreading English education was Macaulay.\textsuperscript{13}

Another phase of the development of English education in India was the Wood's despatch of 1851 which was known as the \textit{magna carta} of English education in India. It was drafted by Sir Charles Wood. By providing English education to Indians the British aimed at training a class of persons “Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, opinion, words and intellect.”

Western education had great impact on Indian society. The Indian youth greatly influenced by the Western thought and ideas that were never known to them, could catch some revolutionary ideas and the idea of militant nationalism. They could understand many modern ideas and concepts like humanism, marxism,
rationalism, nationalism etc. Educated Indians became fascinated towards these western ideas. That provided them a new spirit and enthusiasm which in reality the British was making a fault by introducing English education to Indians. In later years it became a great blow to them. Indians could absorb a spirit of nationalism that enabled them to start a freedom struggle against the colonial and imperialist powers.

The western education has given Indians the modern political ideals. Western literature gave a new inspiration to Indians and they got absorbed in modern western concepts and ideas, which made Indians equipped to stage an anti colonial and anti imperialistic struggle against the John company at work. The English education put drastic changes on the social and cultural life of India.\(^{14}\)

Most crucial impact of western education was the emergence of a spirit of nationalism which began to emerge in India by the beginning of the 19\(^{th}\) Century. Through Western education Indian people could be acquainted with the modern western ideologies. Indian people came to know about the great international events like American war of independence and French Revolution. That made a deep impact on the people of India. Thus there emerged all favourable conditions to the genesis of nationalistic spirit.

The British tried to promote European literature and science among the natives of India. In India under the rigid caste system,
education was the monopoly of higher castes. But the British people introduced a new system of imparting education, under which education was accessible to all sections of the people. In 1854, the Court of Directors of the East India Company started a policy of systematic promotion of general education as one of the duties of the state. They desired for the diffusion of European knowledge in India.\textsuperscript{15}

Through Western contact, Indians could cherish the democratic spirit and ideal of political liberty. It can be said that the nationalists in India are fruits of western education. The Western education has had its deep influence on India and in fact such an influence led to the termination of British rule in India.\textsuperscript{16}

Thomas Babington Macaulay had played a crucial role in spreading English education in India. He hoped that English education would be caused for the destruction of Hinduism. Through this the British tried to stimulate the conversion to Christianity.\textsuperscript{17} The English education had deep impact on Indian society and culture, that could make a sea change in the whole cultural life of India.\textsuperscript{18} Western education cleared the dark beliefs and customs that had been prevailing in Indian society to an extent. English education gave one common language to India that could link the scattered people together. It promoted a spirit of a pan India nationalism. People began to realize the actual situation that had been existing over Indian peninsula, which gave them a feeling of
A crucial impact of western education was the emergence of a socio-religious reform movement in the middle of the 19th Century. Many intellectuals in India got attracted towards the western culture and ideologies. A section of people in India became admirers of western education and culture. For several years, India had been under the clutches of superstitious beliefs and customs. People were fed up with the inhumane complex practices and customs, which began to become abominable. Practices like polyandry, polygamy, child marriage, anti widow remarriage, etc began to be looked down upon as a result of English education. Untouchability, unseeability and unapproachability began to be condemned by the elite who imbibed the spirit of westernism.

The 19th Century India witnessed a remarkable outburst of intellectual activity in a limited manner. A radical transformation happened in her social and religious ideas, all of which had its roots in English education. Liberal ideas that entered India from the west had received a warm welcome from the Indian intelligentsia. They became more fascinated towards the modern western ideas and strongly believed that this would have the capacity to save Indians from its age old superstitious beliefs and traditions. People began to have a critical outlook on the past and rationality secured importance. Everything was subjected to critical examination. At first...
this change touched only a small group of persons but gradually it spread among larger sections of the people.19

At first the British government had given little interest in the development of education. Warren Hastings gave encouragement to the revival of Indian learning. He founded the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781, by getting inspiration from Sir William Jones, who founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 15th January 1784. Charles Grant, a civil servant of the Company is to be credited for setting up a network of schools for teaching English.20

The crucial role played by the Christian missionaries for promoting western education merits our attention. They travelled throughout India for propagating their mission with a vision. They could become successful in most of the places where they tried their best to promote trade, religion and political power. No revolution can be developed without a cultural renaissance, which is the nursing ground for any transformation. The renaissance that had taken place in Bengal in the 19th century promoted the idea of political change vis a vis cultural renaissance or reformation, if not a total regeneration.21

The rational thinking led to religious and social reforms and it awakened dormant nationalism and patriotism among the people of India. There were remarkable changes in religious, social and political ideas. Bengal had been passing from the medieval to the
modern age. Similar transformation took place in other parts of India and these changes can be attributed to the introduction of western education. The establishment of the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817 gave a stimulus to English education in Bengal. A number of schools and colleges were founded in different parts of India. It created an English educated class, and the formation of three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 enhanced the number of English educated Indians. The Western education challenged the traditional accounts, beliefs and customs.

The first century of British rule in India (1757-1858) was a memorable epoch in Indian history. It was a period of political trouble and economic exploitation. In spite of all these troubles, this period witnessed a remarkable rising of intellectual activity in India and a radical transformation in social, religious and political fields apart from the stabilizing of British power through Plassey, Buxar etc.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1777-1833) was the pioneer in the field of socio-religious reform movements in India. He was the first Indian to welcome the introduction of English education in India. He is considered as the father of the reformation of the 19th century. He was a representative of the new spirit of India and he could bring India into direct contact with modern European ideas. Ram Mohan Roy was a great admirer of western education. He turned against the evil social practices that had been dominating over Hindu society for many centuries. He raised his hands against the most evil
practice of widow burning. Sati system was one of the worst evil practices that prevailed in Indian society. He played a major role for abolishing the sati system. He opposed the system of polygamy. Ram Mohan Roy criticized current religious beliefs and social practices of the Hindus. He was against the practices of the worship of images which was an essential part of Hindu religion. He dedicated his life for the propagation of monotheistic doctrine of the Hindu scriptures. A number of English educated persons became fascinated towards the ideas of Ram Mohan Roy and became his ardent followers. 

Ram Mohan Roy founded Brahma Samaj in 1828. It was a monotheistic society which opposed all kinds of Brahmanical authorities. This society had its branches in different parts of India. He used printed articles and books for public debate and controversy. After the death of Ram Mohan Roy, the Brahma Samaj was taken up by Devendra Nath Tagore. Ram Mohan Roy had a crucial role in reforming Indian society from age old evil practices and customs.

The Arya Samaj founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswathy (1824-1883) was more conservative and aggressive than the Brahma Samaj. Dayananda Saraswathy dedicated his whole life for reforming the Hindu society from its backwardness. He travelled through out India for propagating his ideas and opened
branches of Arya Samaj through out India. His activities mainly concentrated in Punjab, U.P, Rajputana and Gujarat.\textsuperscript{30}

Dayananda wanted the revival of vedic rituals and institutions. He strongly condemned the hereditary inheritance of Brahmins. He endeavoured to establish Hindu nationalism. For that mission he started a \textit{Suddhi movement}.\textsuperscript{31} Dayananda desired to uplift the status of women and so he opposed the practice of child marriage and all other atrocities against women. He criticized the mission of the British in India. His activities fostered a spirit of nationalism among the people. His famous slogan was ‘\textit{back to the Vedas}'. Through this Dayananda wanted to bring out the worthiness of the teachings of Veda, and Dayananda could stimulate the pride and patriotic feelings of the Indians.

The Theosophical society founded by Madame H.P Blavatsky (1831-1891) and Col. H.S Olcott in 1875 had a noticeable role in reforming Indian society from its traditional beliefs and customs. But the real success of the movement is attributed to Mrs Annie Besant (1847-1933), who joined the society in 1889 and came to India in 1893. The Theosophical society joined hands with the Hindu reform movement very soon. Annie Besant actively participated in the regeneration of the Indians. Besant said that though she was born under western skies her true motherland was India. She wanted to save Hinduism from the attacks of Christian missionaries.\textsuperscript{32}
Mrs. Besant believed that for solving the present problems Indians need to have a revival and reintroduction of their ancient ideals and institutions. She founded Central Hindu schools in Benaras for achieving her goal which gradually merged into the Benaras Hindu University. The Theosophical society had its many branches all over India which played an important factor in social and religious reform.33

Another westernized Indian who dedicated his entire life for the cause of the downtrodden section in the society was Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902). His original name was Narendranath Dutt. Vivekananda had a western style of education. He was fascinated towards new modern western ideologies. He had an ardent desire to save the society and his fellow beings from the religious backwardness. Vivekananda attended the parliament of religions held at Chicago in 1893 after his visit to Kerala and Kanyakumari. He delivered a historic speech on that occasion that could raise the pride and prestige of Hinduism among all other religions of the world. His magnetic personality attracted the people who had gathered in that conference of world religions. After returning to India, Swami Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission to propagate the ideas of his Guru-Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836-1886) throughout India.

Swami Vivekananda awakened the minds of the people of India and filled their minds with a spirit of their own cultural heritage.
His famous message to his countrymen was “work is worship.” Vivekananda emphasized that people of India should absorb all that was good in western civilization. Swami Vivekananda opposed the rigid caste system that had been dominating the Indian society. He condemned all kinds of caste systems. Swami strongly stressed the importance of imparting education to the masses. Vivekananda had both a national and universal outlook. He is the first Indian, who boldly proclaimed the superiority of Hindu culture and civilization and the greatness of her past and the hope for her future before the world.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) was another personality who has contributed his full efforts to reform the Indian society. He fought for reforming the society from its age old slumber. He was a great Sanskrit scholar with modern ideas. He worked for the uplift of women in Indian society. Vidyasagar tried to remove the primitive practices and blind beliefs from the society.

Vidyasagar formed a number of girl's schools in different parts of Calcutta for providing education to girls. In 1849, he founded the Bethune school in Calcutta. He fought against polygamy and child marriage. He too played a major role for shedding some light to the blindness of the society.

Though Indian Renaissance had its origin in Bengal it later spread to other parts of India. It had spread to Maharashtra, Punjab,
U.P and Kerala. The efforts made by both the oriental historians and Indian scholars, played a part in spreading Indian literature. The role of Christian missionaries proved to be one of the most powerful factors that resulted in the emergence of Indian Renaissance or Indian reformation in the 19th Century.\textsuperscript{37}

South India was also not free from rigid caste system and evil customs. The south Indian Brahmins were more traditional and conservatives and considered to be dominant than the Brahmins in North India. Rigid caste system was strongly maintained in South India.\textsuperscript{38} So there arose some movements against the Brahmanical domination. Since the beginning of the 20th century several movements began to take place like the South Indian Liberal Federation (1916-1917) Justice party, founded by Dr. T.M. Nair (1868-1919) and the self respect movement started by Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker\textsuperscript{39} (1879-1973).

All these social reform movements had a key role in reforming the Indian society from its backwardness that paved the way for the emergence of a spirit of rationalism among the people of India. People could move through western literature and new western ideologies as a result of English education. People could realize the actual situation prevailing in India. They became aware of their present condition and sufferings under a foreign rule. A spirit of nationalism reverberated all over India. Movements against the British Government started in various parts of India. Indians wanted
to overthrow the imperialist powers from their soil. They had to suffer a lot under the British Government. They were fed up with the misrule of the British. A movement against the British Government was inevitable.

The year 1857 witnessed the great revolt against the British authority. The revolt of 1857 is the first Indian political movement of the 19th Century. This movement was both national and political in character that gave a booster dose to Indian nationalism. It was only after these revolts important changes had taken place in India.

The outbreak of the revolt of 1857 was spontaneous and the course of this revolt was confused. The mutiny began among the sepoys of the company’s army but it soon spread to wide regions and involved the masses. This revolt was a product against colonial rule. A popular discontentment and hatred against the British were getting strength among different sections of Indian society. This discontentment was leading towards a popular revolt against the British. The causes for the revolts were many. Political, economic, social and military causes played a crucial role for the outbreak which was concentrated mainly in North India, as well as central and western India. This revolt could not make any impact in South India.

The Indian revolt that began at Meerut on May 10, 1857, was the result of the refusal of eighty five sepoys to accept cartridges for
their guns. The sepoys had discovered that the cartridges for the new enfield rifles were made of the fat of beef and pork. Taking them would make both Hindus and Muslims polluted. That created a panic among the soldiers. The soldiers marched towards Delhi and seized the old imperial city. They proclaimed the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Bahadur Shah II (1837-1858) as the Emperor of India.\textsuperscript{44}

The 1857 revolt was the last major effort made by traditional political leaders to regain their authority and to expel the British out from India. Bahadur Shah was not capable enough to provide a better leadership to such a rebellion.\textsuperscript{45} Mangal Pande, a young sepoy of the 34\textsuperscript{th} native infantry refused to use the newly introduced enfield rifle. Mangal Pande fired at the sergeant major of his regiment on the 29\textsuperscript{th} March 1857. Pande was executed (4/4/1857) and his regiment too was disbanded as a result of this incident. From Delhi this revolt spread to other parts of the country like Lucknow, Kanpur, Benaras, Allahabad and Jhansi. There arose an intense anti British feeling throughout India.\textsuperscript{46}

At Kanpur the rebellion was under the leadership of Nana Sahib (1800-1859). He was the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II. At Lucknow the leadership was taken by Beegum Hazrat Mahal. The revolt was led by Kunwar Singh as he was a zamindar who fought fearlessly against the British.\textsuperscript{47}
Rani Lakshmi Bhai, Queen of Jhansi (1828-1858) was an outstanding figure of this revolt. She was famous for her bravery and courage. She is considered as one of the greatest heroines of Indian history. General Bakht Khan took the leadership in Delhi.

Another outstanding figure of this rebellion was Tantia Tope. He was a loyal servant of Nana Saheb. He vigourously led the army against the British. The revolt was not confined to North India. It spread to Bombay and Bengal. But it did not spread to South India. The northern people had to suffer a lot from the hands of the British Government. The British officials tried to conquer the people of India both politically and economically. People became scared of new policies introduced by the British government like the policy of annexation staged by Lord Dalhousie. The British brought new revenue settlements and many reforms and it turned out to be harmful to the Indians. All these circumstances gave a favourable condition for the revolt. Even though this revolt at first started among the soldiers, it soon became a popular uprising with mass base.

Although the rebels fought enormously against the British, they failed miserably in attaining full support from the people of India as a whole. Most of the Indian rulers stood in favour of the British. The rulers who fought against the British failed to realize the significance of the revolt. The rebels had no political perspective or a definite vision of the future. However the British could suppress the revolt with their modern weapons and techniques. Most of the rebels
were either killed or deported. Bahadurshah II the last Mughal emperor who was captured by the British, had been deported to Burma. Thus the revolt came to end with the victory of the British but with a shock treatment. It is truly the first war of Indian independence against its colonial power.

The revolt of 1857 was an outcome of the growing patriotic feeling that was generated in the minds of Indian people. A feeling of nationalism began to develop in Indian soil. By the 1st half of the 19th century, a kind of political awakening had emerged in India. The political awareness occurred at first in Bengal, followed by Bombay and Madras, where the British presence was oldest and most widespread. The high caste western educated Indians were the earliest participants in the new politics.

A kind of national awareness began to develop in different parts of India. It was a slow process. Western education provided liberal and radical political ideas to the people of India. Gradually they became convinced that they were being economically impoverished by the British government. People began to criticize the activities of the British, and their rule had played a part in the development of political awareness and in the emergence of national consciousness.

By this time important English political ideas began to permeate in the minds of the people of India. Western educated
groups in India originated mainly from three centres viz Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. In Bombay presidency the Marathi Brahmins became a dominant group having Western education. A number of leaders came out of this caste. Among important leaders of this group were Justice M. Govind Ranade (1842-1901), Bala Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). They played a significant role in the political scenario of the struggle for freedom. 

In addition to Marathi Brahmins, there were other castes, which had good education. The Parsis became dominant in this regard, and they gave India, dominant leaders like Pheroz Shah Mehta (1845-1915) and Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917). In Bengal the radikulin Brahmins became prominent in this regard. Men like Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Surendranath Banerji (1848-1925) came from these castes.

The national consciousness ultimately found active expression in the formation of national organizations like those at Bombay, Madras and Bengal. All these associations of national importance got merged to form the Indian National Congress in 1885. There were various factors which contributed to the development of this national organization. The English education provided the people of India an opportunity to go through accounts of freedom movements in countries like France and America. Indian people developed a fascination towards those democratic
movements against imperialism staged in America (1773) and in France(1789). By acquiring English education, the educated Indians imbibed the spirit of national patriotism and democracy, not to speak of parliamentary form of government.

The modern idea of nationalism had its birth in Bengal in the 19th century. The ideas of nationalism and patriotism spread among the people. Before the 19th century such feelings had not reached India. The ideas of nationalism, freedom and democracy had greatest influence on the people. English education provided most advanced political and social ideas of the West. Its influence was considerable and far reaching.

English education promoted the freedom of thought and liberalism. It had a bad effect on a section of English educated Bengali youth. Westernism became the fashion of the day. Students began to discard ancient Indian thoughts and literature. Everything was becoming much anglicized and a strong scintillation were there towards everything English. But this Western influence was not long lasting. A great wave of patriotism came to overcome it.

There were a number of factors which contributed to the genesis of the feeling of nationalism. There was a growing knowledge of the glory and greatness of the ancient Hindus. An umpteen number of oriental scholars like Sir William Jones, James Princep, Alexander Cunnigham etc gave vivid picture of the past
glory and greatness of ancient India through their writings. The archaeological excavations under Alexander Cunnigham and Sir John Marshall also exposed the greatness of India’s past.\textsuperscript{57}

Another factor which promoted the growth of nationalism in India was the ideas of French Revolution and American Revolution, which came to the mind of Indians through Western education. English educated Indians could read the books revealing the democratic ideas that roused their patriotic feelings.

The introduction of printing press was another important factor that caused for the emergence of nationalist feelings\textsuperscript{58}. The printing press was introduced in India by the Westerners and the press had a great role in creating national feeling among the masses. Journalism in India was inaugurated by European adventurers. The early periodicals in India were written in English, edited by English men. The \emph{Bengal Gazettee}, was the first Indian newspaper in English. It was started by J.A. Hickey in 1780. The weekly \textit{“Madras Courier”} was the earliest that started in Madras in 1789. Before 1818, there were no Bengali periodicals but gradually a number of vernacular periodicals as well as English papers owned by both Europeans and Indians began to appear. One of the leading newspapers which came to the forefront was the \textit{Hindu Patriot}, started in 1853 by Harish Chandra Mukherjee. The growth of the vernacular press caused panic among the British. British government began to turn against the liberty of press in India\textsuperscript{59}. 
In 1823, a rigorous press ordinance was issued, which imposed some restrictions on the freedom of press. This ordinance was however repealed in 1835 by Sir Charles Metcalf and removed all restrictions upon the press in India. The print media always played a key role in promoting patriotic feelings among the masses. Indian leaders tried to convey their ideas to the masses through various newspapers and magazines. They wrote various articles strongly criticizing the policies of the Government. They started newspapers in both English and vernacular languages, and it reached the hands of the people. The newspapers made the people aware of the exploitations done by the British government in India. That could create hatred among the people towards Western culture and British administration. People started criticizing the policies of the British in various ways.

There were a variety of factors that intensified the discontentment and disaffection against the British like the poverty of the people. They wanted to overthrow the British from their soil at any cost. The formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was a turning point in the history of India. But before the formation of Indian National Congress there were several political organizations in India.

By the latter half of the 19th century a forward movement in political ideas and organizations began to take place in India. A number of political organizations were founded by various
personalities. In 1875 a new organization called ‘India League’ was formed in Bengal. The main purpose of this organization was to stimulate a sense of nationalism among the people. This association tried to awaken political consciousness among the people. \(^6^1\)

In 1876 a new organization was formed under the leadership of Surendra Nath Banerjee called ‘Indian Association’. This association had a great role in stimulating national awareness of the people. This Association had different branches all over India. \(^6^2\)

Bombay had become a major center for promoting political ideas. It was blessed with the able leadership of the so called triumvirate namely K.T. Telang, Pheroz Shah Mehta and Badruddin Tyabjee. Another eminent leader was M.G Ranade. The oldest political association in Bombay was founded in 1852 called ‘The Bombay Association’. In 1871 a branch of the East India Association of London was founded in Bombay. ‘The Bombay Presidency Association’ was another major association. *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* was established in 1867.

In 1884, a major political association was formed in Madras. It was the *Mahajana Sabha*. All these organizations were predecessors of Indian National Congress.

Thus by the last quarter of the 19th century there emerged the spirit of nationalism all over India that culminated in the formation of
the Indian National Congress. Time was then ripe for the formation of an all India political organization. There arose a need to unite politically against the common enemy. Indian people were getting much awareness about the economic exploitation made by the British. The British were squeezing the wealth of India through various ways and means. Even though many organizations sprang up in different parts of India, all those were narrow in their scope and functioning.

In the year 1885 began a new era in the political life of India with the foundation of Indian National Congress. Many Indians had been planning for an all India organization. Many educated middle class Indians came to the forefront to form an all India Association. They realized the urgent need of an all India struggle to drive out the foreign powers from the Indian soil.

After Lord Samuel Ripon (1880-1884), Lord Dufferin (1884-1888) became the Viceroy of India. He was very diplomatic. He could easily understand the rising political situation in India. Lord Dufferin expected the political organization to represent the best Indian opinion about British policies. That would be a sort of harmless association which would serve as a “safety valve” than as a genuine nationalist organization for India’s national purpose.63

The Indian National Congress was founded by A.O.Hume, a retired English ICS officer under the guidance of Lord Dufferin.64
Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912) deserves special mention regarding the foundation of Indian National Congress. He gave his wholehearted support to the emerging political agitations in India. He was born in England as the son of one of the leaders of the Radical party of England. He later joined Indian Civil Service and had occupied many high official positions. He could realize the nationalistic sentiments growing among the educated Indian middle class. He had great sympathy towards the plight of the people of India. That is why historians consider him as the true founder of the congress.⁶⁵

There were two main trends of opinion among the British rulers regarding how they should exercise their domination over the Indian people. One trend was to follow a policy of violence using the forces. The other opinion was to impose an English culture on Indian people. The British administrative policy in India depended on the character of the party in power in Britain. When the power changed between the conservative and liberal parties, it would reflect in the attitude of the Governor Generals and other government officials sent by the representative parties of Britain to India.⁶⁶

The educated middle class intellectuals organized and led a nationalist movement in India. The new education which they had acquired from the schools and colleges established by the British provided them with new knowledge of the west.⁶⁷ They could read about the American war of Independence, of the Italian struggle for
national liberation and the Irish struggle for freedom. They went through the works of Thomas Paine, Burke, Spencer, Mill, Voltaire, Mazzini and other writer-intellectuals. This educated Indian middle class became the ideological basis and its political leaders led the Indian nationalist movement.

**End Notes:**

2. English Records, ERTV File II
3. L.J. Trotter, *History of India from the Earliest Times to the present day*, p. 93.
9. Right to collect revenue from the natives.


17. *Ibid*, p. 3

18. *Ibid*.


20. *Ibid*, p. 810


22. R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, pp. 289-290. The Russo-Japanese war of 1905 is treated by many as the triumph of Asia over Europe-pigmy Japan (Asian power) defeated mighty Russia (a European power). This was the beginning of Asian nationalism according to Prof Kennedy (*Asian Nationalism*). But 164 years before this triumph Marthanda Varma, King of Travancore (1729-58) crushed the Dutch East India Company in the battle of


31. It is the reconversion of those Hindus who had once been willingly or forcibly converted to other religions like Islam or Christianity.
40. Lala Lajpath Rai, *Young India – an Interpretation and A History of the Nationalist Movement from within*, pp. 96-111.
42. Bipan Chandra, *Modern India*, p. 103.
43. Bipan Chandra, *India’s Struggle for Independence*, p. 31.
45. *Ibid*.
47. *Ibid*.
51. See NMML, New Delhi. See details in the Biographical section of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (hereafter NMML). Files on freedom movement and fighters of freedom.

52. Ibid. Also see C.H.Philips, *The East India Company* (1764-1834), *Passim*.

53. Ibid.


57. Ibid, p. 446.

58. Ibid.


60. Ibid, pp. 308-312.


68. *English Records*, *Trivandrum ERTV files vol III-1V ,Passim*

69. Ibid.