CHAPTER - SIX

GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

Before we proceed with the discussion in this Chapter, it is pertinent to define the way in which the term nationalism is used in the ensuing discussion. Obviously, in all those countries, where colonial rule held sway over the people for a fairly long period of time, as in India, nationalism meant essentially anti-colonialism, boosted up either through an exaggerated expression of their national culture, or through an overt expression of revolt, either in the form of guerilla combat, or in the form of open revolt. In the former case of boosting the merits of one's own cultural traditions, the colonial power is depicted as destroying the cultural image of the nation. In other words, countries under colonial rule gave expression to different forms of revolt, ranging from the more inward-looking fears of losing one's cultural identity, to the other extreme of open revolt. Thus, in the countries under colonial rule, nationalism has invariably
come to mean hostility towards colonial rule, and the urge to liberate itself from such rule.

This is nationalism in the restricted sense of the term. In a wider sense, nationalism implies the zest for looking at issues from the wider angle of the nation, and not from the angle of one's own local group, or immediate neighbourhood. Wherever the national perspective is enlivened with the ideological foundation of nationalism, we have nationalism of the most positive kind.

As the theme of this research investigation pertains to colonial rule, we cannot perhaps completely overrule the existence of the first kind, or the more restricted manifestation, of nationalism. But it is of greater interest to investigate whether this was the only form of nationalism that prevailed at that time, or there were already signs of the other type of nationalism, even in its most incipient form, trying to manifest itself. Perhaps, this would become clear in the discussion that ensues.

It was under the paramountcy of the British that India was for the first time united under one government
giving Indians a sense of identity. Also Indians exposed to western education in the English language schools in the nineteenth century were exposed to knowledge which helped them in the process of communication and nation-building. Many of the early leaders of the nationalist movements came from the educated elite class who were adapted to some form of western life, without entirely losing a foothold in their own traditions. Thus, nationalism or the development of patriotic feelings and a fellowship with one's countrymen began to develop. Western education, regardless of the percentage of literacy as a whole, was instrumental in creating a class of urban intellectuals in the country. These urban-based intellectuals tried to give a new definition to traditional Indian values so as to defend traditional culture against unfavourable comparison with the West. This was the inspiration behind social reforms in Indian society.

A second form of national activity which was also the outcome of western education was the organization of political activity to obtain freedom from British rule. This type of agitational politics involved mass communication, organization and, at later stages, civil disobedience. Leadership for initiating political activity also came
mainly from the urban elite class. It was the elite class which was acutely conscious and aware of the exploitation by the British rulers. Resistance to British rule was mainly voiced in the vernacular newspapers. How potent the newspaper was in inciting popular support from the masses can be understood from the repressive and stringent press laws enacted by the British government during the regime of successive Viceroy of the nineteenth century.¹

The growth of nationalism in Dharwar can be properly understood in the light of nationalist activity in the country.

The British administrators attempted to bring about changes in the Indian society, but perhaps they felt that social reform could receive an impetus only if the Indian people themselves felt the need for change. Many British administrators therefore, often solicited the opinion

and co-operation from the educated elite before enacting social legislation. Thus, often where the British themselves were rather reticent of directly intervening in the traditional life in India, the educated elite were more active in bringing about changes in the traditional life and institutions. An important issue regarding Indian society which engaged the attention of both the attention of the British as well as the natives was the question of widow remarriage and the prohibition of infant marriages. In 1837, the Principal Sadar Ameen (or Native Judge) of Dharwar opined that the Government ought to take positive steps in making it possible for widows, especially virgin widows to remarry. This native judge had himself seen the miserable condition and the plight of widows. He recounted various examples to show the miserable life led by widows who being considered as symbols of insuspicousness were relegated to a cloistered life. Also the Judge pointed the cases where young widows were led astray and were forced into immoral life by unscrupulous

2. Letter No.281. Rao Bahdur Parsi Venkatram, Principal Sadar Ameen to the Secretary of Indian Law Commission. No.688, Deitar M, Amendar MSS.
men and the harsh consequences meted out by society to them. He observed in his Report that widows "... are treated with scorn and contempt. The apprehension of such a state may be one reason, why so many females, have offered to immolate themselves with their departed husbands... then to suffer immediate miseries with relations and friends here."3

The Native Judge observed that widow remarriage was a justifiable act and a logical measure to be taken after the prohibition of the Sati system.* He further abhorred the system of infant marriages which contributed to a large number of child widows. In this context the Judge said: "I may venture to say while female infants... are permitted to marry ... the chances are that scarcely one-half or one-third of the males survive to the period of the consummation of such marriages and consequently the number of females destined to perpetual widowhood and the immoral and shameful results are immensely increased."4

* Sati was prohibited in 1829 under Lord Bentinck.
In this report, the judge finally pointed out that the re-marriage of widows was prevalent among lower castes, but even among them such marriages were generally not favoured.

These views prompted the Indian Law Commission to fully examine the issue from the social and legal point of view. The issue was examined carefully from the point of inheritance of property and the future status of children born of widow remarriage. 5

In his candid opinion, therefore, the judge said "that a great portion of the higher castes of Hindoos may now consider such a measure an innovation on their by gone practices, and that they may consequently oppose and be very unwilling to express their approbation in the first instance; yet I have reason to think that several sensible individuals unadvisedly approve of the measure, but either from shame, to appear singular or from fear of persecution, withhold the expression of their real sentiments." 6

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5. Letter No. 1669 of 1839 from S. Frere, Deputy Registrar of Law Commission and letter dated 5th July 1835 from Parsi Venkatraco; No. 686. Deiter M., Inamdar H.O.

The opinion expressed by the Native Judge, in fact preceded such similar views which were to become popular in Bengal many years later.

Though the legislation on widow remarriage was not enacted until the later decades of the nineteenth century, the issue was still being discussed by many prominent educated Indians. The issue had once again come to the forefront due to the efforts of B.H. Malabari, a social reformer of Bombay, in 1884. The Government again considered the issue of infant marriages and enforced widowhood. Government again sought the views of yet another Native Judge of Dharwar for a second time. This Native Judge opined: "It is true that infant marriages have already ruined Indian society to a very great extent, and unless put to a stop to, will do more harm."

* Rev. Beynon in writing to Perai Venkatrao, says in this context: "Have you seen the subject of re-marriage of Hindu widows has been proposed by a member of the Dharma Sabha of Bengal? Some of the people speak highly of the advancement made by the native gentlemen who made the proposition. You are in advancement of him. If I recollect, many years ago, you wrote in favour of the subject (of widow remarriage)" - Letter of 9th June 1846 from Rev. Beynon to Perai Venkatrao. Packet No. 3, Daftar D, Inamdar MSS.

This Native Judge opined that infant marriage had no religious sanction. Similarly he decried enforced widowhood. He also expressed grave doubts of whether it was in the interests of native society that a man could marry twice when the first wife was living and had children. The Judge also pointed out the existence of the inhuman practice of marrying off very young girls to old men to whom the infant females were actually sold by greedy parents as wives. The Judge summed the prevailing sentiments thus: "They are fully aware of the cruelty and hardships of enforced widowhood, and privately wish that the young widows might be remarried, and yet they have not the courage of openly declaring their private wishes."10

Knowing that a Native Judge was sympathetic to social reform, many native gentlemen from different parts of the country began to discuss with him on this view.11 They

10. Tirmalrao, op.cit., p. 36.
11. (i) From Pandurang Narayan of Navalgoond, 3rd Feb. 1903. "You are the best and most capable and well informed gentleman as the head of our community and we trust..."
implored him to take up the issue and make it more popular and widely known over the district so as to gain more supporters to the cause of social reform and also thus create a favourable climate among the people for reforms. Even the social reformer, B.M. Malabari himself, wrote to the judge asking for support and encouragement for enacting a legislation on widow remarriage. The judge also kept himself in touch with the reformist movement in the Madras Presidency. He obtained the articles published in journals and newspapers of Madras to keep abreast of the reform activities.

Many other residents of Bharvar during the later decades of the nineteenth century also took a keen interest in reformist ideas. An Assistant Master in the local Ksheera...
school wrote an article upholding the idea of widow remarriage in 1884. However, the book entitled "Vidhawa Vapana Anachar" in Marathi (or Vidhava Hundana Anachar in Kannada) by Venkat Rango Katti, the Principal of Men's Training College at Dharwar, received wide publicity.

In the Preface to this book, Katti systematically argued that the disfigurement of widows by shaving their head had no religious sanctions. He believed that this custom had crept into Hindu society under the influence of Buddhism wherein the female monks shaved their heads and also wore red or ochre robes. Katti strengthened his argument by citing the evidences from several ancient Hindu texts to prove that disfigurement of widows was only a later development in Hindu society. In fact, Katti offered a prize of Rs.500 to any one who could prove that disfigurement of widows was justified in the Hindu Laws and Texts.

In this context, he said: "... an appeal is made to our present reformers and men of patriotic feelings to gird up their lions to put down this abominable and unauthorized...

Thus did the various enlightened men try to take up such issues as having social relevance to create a favourable opinion among the public in regard to reformation of Hindu society.

Many of the educated elite were quick in realising the benefits that accrued as a result of British rule. They felt that the change and progress in Indian society after the advent of the British rule in India could not altogether be ignored. In this connection, it may be noted that though generally many of the Vernacular newspapers voiced popular anti-British feelings during the later decades of the nineteenth century, there were instances of a few newspapers which published articles accrediting British government for bringing about social reforms and good administration in the country.

The Karangal Wartika in 1879 pointed out that credit must be given to the British for uniting the country under one government bringing about cordiality among the people.

of the different regions of India. The Karnatak Wartika again pointed out in another article while commenting on the Religious Endowment Bill in 1880, the efforts of the British to rid Indian society of its many evil social customs. In this article it was pointed out that British interference in some of the social customs of the Hindus was necessary to set right anomalies which had crept into native society. Such interference was necessary and was to be welcomed in order to bring about change and control the society from evil social practices. The Paper pointed out that the efforts of the British were not to be observed as an interference and tampering with native customs.

In a similar vein the Karnatak Patra, another newspaper of Dharwar carried an article which pointed out that the native community could improve itself by imbibing some of the good qualities which were to be found among the Europeans and thereby improve native society. It pointed out that rationality and some experience of English life would benefit Indians.

17. Ibid., 7th Feb. 1880. B.H.R.R.
18. Karnatak Patra, 19th June 1893. B.H.R.R.
The Rajhans similarly pointed out that if the British had settled down in India, as the Moghuls and other conquerors had done before, and had integrated themselves in Indian society, the British would have taken a better interest in the affairs of the country instead of behaving as aliens. 19

However, it is to be noted that not all newspapers of Dharwar acclaimed British rule as being essential for the betterment of native society. Many of the newspapers were quick in observing the style of functioning of British officials. In fact, towards the later decades of the nineteenth century the Press had become highly critical of British rule. Many of the newspapers in Dharwar echoed the nationalist sentiments prevailing under Tilak's influence. Many of the educated and enterprising natives in Dharwar had set up printing presses and began publishing newspapers. Thus Dharwar had about ten newspapers between 1870 and 1900. 20

20. 1) The Chhaya (Weekly) - 400 copies
2) The Madhavi, Marathi weekly - 200 copies
3) Vritant Manjari, Kannada weekly - 100 copies
4) Dharward Vritt, Marathi weekly - 700 copies

contd...
A perusal of the articles appearing in the newspapers of Dharwar show that they reflected (a) the unjust treatment meted out to the natives and (b) the nationalist activity inspired by Tilak in which one may perceive that anti-British feelings were accentuated by two natural calamities such as the great famine of 1877-78 and the visitation of the plague during the 1890s.

Many western educated elites had become increasingly aware that they were being denied many opportunities and participation in the higher levels of administration. The outcome of western education was the development of aspiration of the country and a keen sense of awareness of the unequal treatment meted out to the natives. In this context a correspondent in the Dnyan Bhodak wrote on the exceptional privileges enjoyed by the Europeans in India.  

21. Dnyan Bhodak, 8th Jan, 1872, B.R.K.R.
The writer observed that unequal treatment could be clearly perceived in the application of justice where Europeans were let off with a light sentence while the natives were more harshly punished for a similar offence.

A mention was made in the Dharwad Vritt about the carelessness of the British government where the feelings of the native subjects were concerned and had almost become tyrannical in nature.22 The same paper later pointed out that the early British adventurers had undergone extreme tribulations to conquer and consolidate power in the country. In this article the paper pointed out that the British would certainly lose what their forbears had gained out of hard work by carelessly hurting the feelings of the people by a show of arrogance.23 Again the Dharwad Vritt, in yet another article pointed out that the Government had failed in creating more opportunities for the educated Indians who were aspiring for better prospects.24

23. Ibid., 20th Nov. 1873.
24. Ibid., 22nd Oct. 1874.
The Chhava, one of the oldest newspapers of Dharwar pointed out that the only remedy for obtaining a better status for Indians was to drive out the British from India. This paper opined that the British had conquered India not just with the force of arms, and the only method to drive them out of the country was by the very same method the British had adopted to subjugate the country. The paper pointed out that India was conquered through cunning and treachery and not through a pitched battle.

These articles reflect the growing discontent among the educated natives who were becoming increasingly aware of the fact that they were being treated as a subject race by the British and were thus being denied many opportunities which they could not aspire for despite their education.

25. The Chhava, 1st April 1883, E.H.N.R.

* See Dadabhai Naoroji, India and Un-British Rule. Sonnenschein, London, 1901, p.105. Naoroji has pointed out several instances were educated Indians were denied their legitimate employment opportunities in preference to English men. Naoroji in this context has pointed out that though Chanbasaappa (1824-1881) of Dharwar received training as an engineer at Poona, had to enter the education dept. as the more responsible job of an engineer was entrusted only to an Englishman at the time.
The famine of 1873-79 was perhaps the most severe famine of the nineteenth century which affected a large part of Maharashtra and north Karnataka taking a very heavy toll of lives. Such was the scarcity of grains that it led to many incidents of looting of grain shops in Dharwar, Navalgund and a few other towns. During this period the British government were unable to transport grains due to lack of proper transport facility. (In fact the railway was introduced in north Karnataka in 1879 as an aftermath of the consequences of the plague). Also, many died due to the distribution of bad grains. However, the collection of taxes during the famine and post-famine period by the officials irked the peasants. The need for a proper leadership during this crucial period was provided by Tilak who as an anti-British fighter immediately channelized the nationalist feelings among the masses. Tilak organized a "No tax campaign" which received wide support from the peasants.

The Congress movement founded in 1885 was at this time more of an elitist group counting membership from generally, the educated natives. Tilak who was also a member of the Congress was perhaps its most active member often resorting to active politics which was considered
too revolutionary by the Congress. It was with his "No tax Campaign" that Tilak emerged as a national leader in western India.

Nationalist sentiments received a mass appeal under the leadership of Tilak during the last three decades of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Nationalism became more popular as it did not reflect only the views of the educated elite. This was due, as has been said before, to the natural calamities of famine and plague which took a heavy toll of lives bringing misery to the masses. The lack of sympathetic feelings and the arrogance of the British officials in charge of the relief programmes heightened anti-British feelings among a large number of people. It was thus that nationalist feelings received mass appeal and which was guided by Tilak from Poona. Thus, Poona became the centre of nationalist upsurge, whose influence was felt in north Karnatak during the later decades of the nineteenth century. Many of the newspapers in Dharwar were deeply inspired by Tilak's writings in 'Kesari' and 'Mahratta'. In fact the Chhava (or lion's cub) was deemed to be the heir to Tilak's Kesari (Lion). The Chhava, therefore, reflected Tilak's ideology. 26 Tilak's Kesari was distributed

in Dharwar by a person named Guruji who would also translate the Marathi articles into Kannada and read them for the benefit of his hearers. Local leaders such as Auri, Pitre, Muduveedkar, Honnapurmath and Hindurao, who were also editors of the local newspapers delivered patriotic lectures propagating Tilak's ideology in the town. Every effort was made to arouse the enthusiasm of the people so that Tilak's influence was felt not only in the political sphere but also permeated into the social and cultural spheres also. Tilak's campaign for freedom from British rule was based on the four-fold basis of (a) Swaraj (b) Swadeshi (c) Boycott of foreign goods (d) National Education. The response to this ideology in Dharwar was good.

A move was initiated by the local leaders to collect funds for Tilak's Swadeshi schemes and the money was sent to Poona towards the establishment of a glass factory there. Thus originated in Dharwar what was known as the 'Paisa Fund', to which each inhabitant donated a single pie towards the establishment of industries. Many small industries came up in Dharwar under this scheme, manufacturing

small items such as matches, chalk, tiles, handloom cloth, lead pencils etc.28 The Karnatak Patra in this context noted that the British government was exploiting the nation while enriching itself from the raw materials taken away from India.29 The theme of economic exploitation was taken up by another paper, the Bharwad Vritt, which commented that had India achieved Home Rule, the British officials would never have incurred unnecessary expenditure on pomp while overburdening the economy of the poverty-striken country.30 The Rajhamsa also reflected a similar opinion. In this connection, the correspondent observed that the first remedy to improve the economy of the country was to gain ascendancy in commerce and later to obtain political rights.31 Regarding the first remedy, the writer implored that the people should concentrate on improving the economic conditions by starting more industries whereby, the writer opined, political rights could be obtained when the economy of the nation was placed on

28. Mutalk-Dessi, op.cit., p.95
29. Karnatak Patra, 17th June 1892, B.H.H.R.
30. Bharwad Vritt, 8th Feb.1896, B.H.H.R.
a sounder foundation.

Tilak's Swadeshi movement is, perhaps, best reflected in an article which appeared in the Dharwad Vritt which said: "If our people have any spark of patriotism in them, if they have any feelings for the poor in the land, and if they have any feeling of self-respect in them, now is the time to show them. We do not call them to arms to storm a fortress. We do not want them to use gun-powder or firearms or even to wield swords in showing their patriotism....Nothing of the sort is needed. They must simply unite as one man and make a plain resolve to give up the use of English cloth altogether..."32

Tilak's ideology also included the re-generation of Indian culture. Thus he felt that not only should the economy be strengthened but for obtaining freedom the people should understand Indian culture. Thus he initiated what he termed as 'National Education'. The first aim of National Education was to re-educate the people and acquaint the people of their rich cultural heritage, the knowledge of which had been suppressed from the students attending the government schools. Tilak also tried to

32. Dharwad Vritt, 8th Feb. 1896, B.N.H.R.
impart to the Indian youth the strength of character given by Hindu religion which he felt the new generation of students were unaware of due to the preaching of Christian missionaries. In this context Tilak said: "How can a person be proud of his religion if he is ignorant of it? The want of religious education is one of the causes that have brought the missionary influence all over the country." 35

Thus came into effect the celebration of Shivaji and Ganapati festivals in Maharashtra and north Karnataka. The cow-protection movement was also an offshoot of the New Education Movement.

Some students and followers of Tilak formed a dramatic group in Dharwar called the 'Shri Shivaji Arya Samaj', and enacted patriotic plays and dramas taking themes from Indian history narrating the martial exploits of Shivaji and other heroes. They also brought forth nationalist literature in the form of ballads, poems and songs acquainting the people with the rich cultural heritage.

For Tilak religious education became an instrument

Through which he could propagate his political ideals, for, this was an effective means by which people gathered to hear the recitation of scriptures. Since the British censorship was stringent on open political activity, these religious movements could be convenient vehicles for the propagation of political ideals conveyed in the guise of religious festivals. Tilak thus popularised the Ganapati festival. In Dharwar this festival became very popular and often every street in the town would have one such idol installed. The Ganapati festival in fact took on a local colour in Dharwar, when the people began to celebrate the 'Vidyaranya' festival in honour of the great preceptor of the Emperors of Vijayanagar, the last Hindu Empire. Thus came into effect the celebration of the 'Nasuda Habba' in Dharwar. The cow-protection movement was also received with enthusiasm in Dharwar. A local Go-Rakshan Sabha was organized for the protection of cows.

The British government was suspicious of the mass appeal of these movements inspired by the people. The Rajs, in this connection, sought to allay the fears of the Government. The Paper said: "... let us try to convince the Government that there is nothing wrong at the bottom
of the Cow Protection Society or the Dharwad Co-rakshana Sabha, otherwise called Gorakshak Mandal... The Paper further listed the aims of the 'Sabha' and pointed out that every one, irrespective of caste, creed, sect or religion, could become its members if he paid a monthly membership fee of 2 annas. The Paper observed that the creation of the Cow Protection Society had given an opportunity for the British to exploit the Society as a means of sowing discontentment between Hindus and Muslims. The correspondent of this paper strongly hinted that the British were behind the discontentment among the Muslims in Dharwar and would create a disturbance at the Hindu festivals and thereby break the amity between the two communities. In another article the Rajhams again stressed this point. The Paper observed: "It is indeed strange that while the Muhhamedans of Dharwar have been endeavouring to get their religious rights acknowledged by Government, the Hindus have remained quiescent... If the Muhhamedans have petitioned the Government to cancel the Dasara order, the Hindus should also do the same to get it confirmed..."  

34. Rajhamsa, 11th Oct. 1893, B.H.H.R.  
35. Ibid., 1st Nov. 1893, B.H.H.R.
Thus, the nationalist sentiment symbolised through celebration of Hindu festivals was exploited by the British Government to sow the seeds of dissent and discord among the people. The Karnatak Vritt suggested various measures whereby Hindus and Muslims could sort out their differences and live in amity in the town.36

The Dharwad Vritt gave wide coverage to the celebration of the various Hindu festivals in order that the minority community should not view the celebrations with suspicion. It also spelt out the aims and objectives of the local Goraksanak Sabha so as to dispel any apprehension in the minds of the non-Hindus that the activities of the Sabha were aimed at them. The news item in this Paper reported a speech delivered by Venkat Rangappa Katti, the spokesman of the Sabha, in which he justified the celebration of the Ganapati festivals and the activities of the Sabha.

Despite the difficulties and objections raised, the Goraksahak Mandali and its sister organisation, the Saha

Prasarak Mandal, held their annual functions. Many of these were largely attended. In fact at one such annual function, it was reported that nearly five hundred gentlemen attended as delegates from Ichalkaranji, Savelgund, Hubli etc. In 1894, the Sabha's activities were presided over by Pandurang Athavale, a well-known member of the local bar. Perfect peace was maintained in the town and communal incidents were averted.37

These comments in the various Dharwar newspapers were a pointer to the existence of communal disharmony which later was to become a constant feature of the freedom movement. In Dharwar, communal harmony was maintained and was rarely broken. In this connection, the Rajhamsa said: 'The Dasara festival went off without any hitch... Thanks are due to our Mohammedan brethren of Dharwar for the good faith with which they behaved towards the Hindus, and we hope that if they continue with the present behaviour they will undoubtedy set a good example for their brother Mohammedans in the mofussil'.38

37. The Rajhamsa, 17th Jan.1894, B.N.H.R.
38. Ibid., 10th Oct.1894, B.N.H.R.
The visitation of the plague epidemic in the town during the 1890s and the heavy toll of lives that the epidemic took, was a third factor which helped in aggravating anti-British feelings among the people who saw in the British the source of all their miseries. The newspapers of Dharwar during this period gave expression to the miserable conditions which prevailed among the people. The native population was beginning to feel that it was the British themselves who were to be blamed for the utter hatred which the people entertained toward the British. The climate of opinion which prevailed among the local population was expressed by the Dharwad Vritt which took up the issue that the ever-widening gulf between the Europeans and the Natives was wholly due to the arrogant attitude of the British officials. The Paper pointed out that Indians no more held the British officers in awe as before and said: "... the European officer is no more a demi-god with the Natives as of old. The general spread of education has taught the natives that the European officers are, after all, human beings like themselves and that the Natives have the same rights as Europeans." 39 40

40. Ibid.
This gulf between the British and the local population was widening as a result of the stringent action taken by the Plague authorities who often enforced the regulations neglecting to take into account the sentiments of the people. The Plague relief operations were handled by the Military authorities in the town who enforced the rules strictly.

The Dharwad Vritt commenting on the feelings of the people observed: "The Natives of India have long lost their self-respect and are obliged to put up with any affront cast on them, even by a ragged rascal, much more are they doomed to brook patiently the indignities of the Government."41 The paper further commented: "As long as we remain spiritless the English people and the British government will continue to insult us..."42

The feeling of hatred increased when the town of Dharwar was almost emptied to prevent the epidemic from spreading. This was done forcibly by the Plague authorities. People were often herded into Plague camps outside the town. During this time several thefts occurred in the

42. Ibid.
town and many of the articles were later traced to the servants entrusted with the task of sealing the houses. This further provoked the feelings of the people. Often the houses of the people were disinfected and the task of disinfecting the houses was unimaginatively entrusted to the labourers belonging to the Nair caste, who were untouchables. Many of these men forcibly entered the houses of the people under the direction of the Plague authorities which caused much resentment among the people. In fact a man called Haigrivachar preferred to hang himself rather than to suffer the indignity of an untouchable entering his house for purposes of disinfecting it.

The Karnatak Vritt observed in this connection: "It seems in the eyes of the Europeans that the Natives are no more than brutes... The case of assault upon Natives have become very frequent of late... we are beginning to doubt whether the Europeans coming to this country are humans or brutes void by reason."

43. Rajhamse, 18th Jan. 1899, B.E.N.R.
44. Lokabandhu, 10th Sept., 1899, B.E.N.R.
45. Karnatak Patra, June 1898, B.E.N.R.
The high-handed and arrogant behaviour of the plague authorities had its political repercussions. The Rajhama noted: "The mistakes committed by the rulers in the administration of the country have caused extreme dissatisfaction all over the country ... while we are on the verge of starvation, it is the rulers alone who enjoy the fruits of our hard labour." Also, the Karnataka Patra observed that the people of Dharwar were disgusted with the unnecessary trouble given by the plague officials.

The British were blamed for the deaths which took place in the plague hospital and it was thought by some that the plague hospital was a device to bring to Native population under control by killing as many as possible. In fact the Karnataka Patra observed: "... it matters little if some of the Native population died under plague operations. Under the British rule the Native population is increasing like the brood of a bitch. In short, for the safety of the Europeans, unprecedented and unknown rules are framed..." to control native population.

46. The Rajhama, 28th Dec. 1899, R.N.K.R.
47. Karnataka Patra, 13th March 1899, R.N.K.R.
48. Karnataka Patra, 15th June 1899, R.N.K.R.
Thus, by the time the fury of plague abated the native population were firm in their conviction that the British in India were responsible for their misery. This opinion was even voiced in some of the papers by their correspondents.

The leadership of Tilak and the popular support he received in Dharwar was to some extent due to the local vernacular newspapers. Not only were the newspapers read by educated inhabitants but even the illiterates showed an interest in the news that was published as these were read out to them at street corners. Many of these newspapers were available in the local library established by a native gentleman in 1854. The British were quite aware of the rapid spread of the spirit of disenchantment among the people about themselves. This was mainly effected through the printed pages of the local newspapers, as the articles in the newspapers had by then gained considerable popular appeal. Perhaps, this led to a series of retaliatory steps against the local newspapers at British hands. The Rajahmala was one of the newspapers of Dharwar, whose offices were subject to a police raid to search for possible seditious literature. This occurred in 1893.

49. Lakshman Shripad Nagpurkar Library (see Gazetteer, 1864)
There is no gainsaying the fact that the concomitant result of western education was the inception of political consciousness. Western education produced a new set of elites who perceived themselves as the spokesmen of the Indian society. It was the elite who generated the country with nationalism, as these elites themselves were not without political aspirations. In this context, Apter opines that quite often those who participate actively in political activity "... have been those who realised that if they did not change their soul, they would be for ever barred from political power." 50 The fact that education would eventually create an educated class who would challenge the presence of the British in India was realised by the British themselves. This was evident in the nineteenth century itself. As Monier Williams says: "It is commonly alleged that if we go on educating on our present plan we shall soon lose India. No one will despite that whatever the consequence may be, our duty is to continue educating" 51. In a similar vein a British


administrator opined: "The question of education in India is intimately associated with the future government of the Empire and the fate of the nation; for no one possessed of common sense would maintain that the country can always be governed by the sword..." Thus, the British government was aware that nationalism in India was a product of education and that this would create unrest in the country. Apter observes that in a colonial situation political activity is possible only if there is an educated elite and secondly, only if there is a 'westernized' government in which the educated elite aspire to participate. In the nineteenth century both these conditions were available. Hessenstadt also holds a similar view and further observes: "Most of the early leaders of nationalistic movements came from relatively well-to-do families. They had adapted themselves to some aspects of western life, without entirely losing a foothold in their own traditions". Thus, nationalistic activity brought into its fold the regeneration of the cultural

heritage of the country. Traditional, social and cultural institutions, Rudolph and Rudolph observe, were utilised for purposes of gaining political goals. This type of political activity is seen in the observance of Ganapati and Shivaji festivals, the cow protection movements etc. The Indian values were thus re-defined and it brought forth a sort of Hindu revivalist movement.

The spread of western education and the growth of nationalism is demonstrated through the rise of a national press. It embodied the loud thinking of educated natives. It also provided a means for mass contact. In this context Valentine Chirol says: "It is the press rather than the platform that Indian politicians, whether 'extreme' or merely 'advanced', are let themselves go. They write down to the level of their larger audiences." The press played an important role in the propagation of political ideals.

Thus, Indian nationalism is a phenomenon which came into being as a result of the action and interaction of numerous subjective and objective forces which developed under the conditions created by British rule.