Chapter - 3

A Profile of National Movement in India.

The Indian Freedom Movement in the Provincial and Local level needs to be studied in the background of the 'All-India Movement'. It needs a review in the context of British policies adopted towards the natives which enabled them to consolidate and get hold of entire Indian Peninsula within few decades. Secondly, the national awakening process was started by 'Reformative and Revivalist Elites' through Voluntary Organisations and Mass-Media from their respective Presidencies. The same was gradually spread to other segments. Thirdly, the Indian National Congress a national level organisation emerged in 1885 due to the efforts of the said elites to raise united and common voice against the alien administration. The INC gradually broadened its base since 1905 taking its roots towards regional and local centres. Hence it is necessary to study the movement under nationalistic background with an elite perspective.

The present chapter is divided in three parts. The first part briefly the issues that led to growth of British Empire in India. The second part deals with the social background of the national movement. The endeavour of reformative and revivalist elites in nation building exercise, socio-religious reforms, and emergence of economic and political organizations and role of mass-media is covered as the back drop to the research. The origin and evolution of INC is discussed in third part.
PART - A: Rise and Growth of British Empire in India:

Dr. Sunderland quotes the glimpses of India as “For 2500 years India has been pre-eminently the intellectual spiritual teachers of Asia. For 2500 years before the British came on the scene and robbed her, India was self-ruling and one of the most influential and illustrious nations of the world”¹. The western world progressed day by day due to the achievement of ‘Renaissance and success of Industrial Revolution’ and adventure to seek new markets in over seas. In contrast, India’s glory, cultural heritage started to decay since 17th century. It tumbled like nine pin after the death of Aurangzeb, the Moghal Emperor. The reason for the decline was largely due to mutual jealousy among native Kingdom and Provinces. It was also due to the lack of unity and lack of political homogeneity among the people.

British entered India during early 17th century as traders who became territorial heads by 1757 and the master of entire Indian Peninsula before 1857. The British Empire’s success in India chiefly rested on superior technology, top class man power, adventurism, will power, discipline and dedication, bravery to accomplish the set task and overcome the maladies compared to the natives. Sir Thomas Roe succeeded in getting permission to establish factory at Surat from Moghal Emperor Jahangir in 1613 and secured several privileges. He remained in good books with them till 1664. The East India Company expanded the base at Agra, Ahmedabad, Broach and Baroda and gradually established factories at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta which were important strategically locations and commercial centres. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707
was big blow to the centralised structure of Indian Rule. "Province after province fell to the East India Company because Moghal could no longer withstand the attack of its enemies, and in each the company's servants found no stable or organised political institutions". The Maratha and Rajput power tried to drive out the Muslim rule in India but there was lack of unity between them. British took the home condition advantage by utilizing the service of local soldiers. They applied proxy technique and subtle tactics of divide and rule policy, thus succeeded in uprooting the native Kingdoms. The French who too established their base did not lag behind. The commercial rivalry led to the Carnatik war between the two since 1743. The British tasted set back in the first two Carnatik war, but succeeded in third, thus became the sole foreign master in India. It was during this period they took firm hold on Bengal by running proxy administration. However they experienced a short living disaster in 1756 by Nawab of Bengal. As pointed out by Edward Thompson. "But Great Britian found skillful officers in India and a leader of genius Robert Clive and though in Bengal the East India Company in 1756 experienced overwhelming disaster ....... The battle of Plassey next year made them masters of the richest province of India ....... within three years of Plassey at the battle of Wandiwash, France was eliminated as an effective enemy in India". The success in Buxar battle (1764) made them masters of entire Bengal province comprising Orissa and Bihar. The British Generals supressed annexed the smaller provinces by subtle tactics and sheer force. They checked the native power. "The East India Company in its three main centres Calcutta, Madras,
Bombay was occupied with checking its own centres making defends and watching the country powers (as native states were called) who could active hostile. Gradually it created behind its own fence a comparative calm amid the warring chaos of India⁴.

British almost controlled the entire India by 1800. British with the help of Maratha and Hyderabad Nizam established supremacy over Tippu Sultan in 1799, which was rather unfortunate and a big blow to the Karnataka. The triumph over Mysore enabled them to get control over Southern Indian Peninsula and part of Western Coast. British divided the Karnataka into various provinces and between their friendly powers such as Nizam and loyal Peshwa and annexed the unfriendly provinces. The smaller rebellions suppressed during 1818 and ended the dominance of Maratha. The provinces like Kittur came under their grip in 1824. However the period of 1800-1830 was breathing space as no special event took place in North and Central Provinces. But by this period British had already spread their power base in Southern belt. Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse was strictly applied since 1840 and in due course annexed Sindh (1843), Gwalior (1844). The triumph over Punjab in 1848-49, annexation of Nagpur and Oudh thus British took total control over the entire Indian Peninsula. Percival Spear states the reason for rise and growth of British Empire as “British produced men of rare distinction, Clive-Wellington, subtle statesmanship of Warren Hastings ardent empire building of Wellessly. The British had greater advantage in the rank of secondary leaders for their scientific training, produced a general level of competence not equalled on the
Indian side"5. Spear further states the success of British was largely due to the habit of obedience, willingness to face danger and suffering the loyalty, personal bravery and the spirit of adventure, civil and military discipline. The East India Company tasted the first test in 1857 during Sepoy Mutiny. The mutiny was the first direct challenge to company rule in India. The mutiny failed but the seed of patriotism were sown in Northern and Central India. Once again British succeeded largely due to the service and brave effort of native soldiers of Punjab and North West. The native kings did not support the mutiny.

The Company’s administration left a deep impact on the socio-economic life of rural people and Indian Economy. The company administration by overlooking the native administration system plundered the rich province of Bengal and continued the same in other province. Agriculture was commercialised, American Cotton was encouraged and this led to the set back to local cotton. The re-settlement of revenue lands, imposition of land tax, and establishment of Court in place of Nyaya Panchayats affected the base of Indian life. The above said factors brought discontentment and resentment among the people against alien regime.

In North Karnataka Naragund Babasab rebelled against the British on 29-5-1858. Mundaragi Bhimarao, Shirahatti Kenchangouda, Hammagi Desai helped Babasab in this regard. The patriots attempt failed, but the seed of patriotism was sown in Northern Karnataka. The heroic effort inspired the localites' of the region to take part in the freedom movement in due course.
The British East-India Company's rule ended on November 1st 1858. According to Queen Victoria's proclamation, the British Empire assumed direct charge of Indian Administration. Her Majesty's government installed, with Secretary for State of India taking down the charge to run the administration. Governor-General Executive Council established and Indians became the subjects of British Empire.

The change of guard did not fair better. The Crown rule brought certain reforms in education, communication sectors. It established local self governments and introduced electoral reforms since 1909. The introduction of communal franchise, the divide and rule policy of British sowed the dissensions and division among the Hindu-Muslim fraternity. It harmed more than good, thus overall it destabilized the Indian economy and the base of rural life i.e. Commercialisation of Agriculture, Orientation towards Market Economy and Discriminatory Tariff Policy. The ignorance and mismanagement of Crown administration during successive famine, drought followed by plague brought resentment among public. The adoption of anti-people laws, increased land tax and imposition of new tax and partition of Bengal in 1905, Rowlett Act and 1919 Jalianwalabagh Massacre provided an occasion for elites to raise their voice and resist against the alien regime. The above issues and ground realities compelled the elites and public to be more vibrant and vocal to fight for justice, better administration and later for Swarajya.
PART-B Social background of the National Movement:

Introduction:

British rule in India was a blessing in disguise. It was a basket of mixed fruits. The rule overall dismantled the social fabric of Indian life and subjugated the glory of ancient culture and its future in the mercy of alien administration. The self-sufficient nation became the dependent nation of British Empire whose destiny was determined by aliens. At the same time the rule unified different political units and segments under one umbrella thus brought centralized structure and political homogeneity for the first time in the Indian political history. The British Company regime though harmed more, yet provided avenues for the emergence of new social classes in economic and social sectors in respective Presidencies. The rational and liberal educational policies and social legislations paved the way for growth of new educated class who belonged to upper castes but came from middle and lower income [except few] in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Pune. In due course, the administration provided fillip for the growth of communication and charitable services. The alien administrative policies and contemporary situations created an environment for the rise of new social class and the gradual isolation of feudal lords from elite corridor in social and economic sphere. The endeavour of authorities to prevent social evils and provision of social and charitable services and encouragement to newly educated youths contributed to the emergence of elites in Presidencies. The few chosen enlightened educated among them played crucial role in their respective Presidency towards public cause.
concerning national issues. They belonged to the first generations who were English educated with bent of mind humanitarian service oriented responsible natives, whom we may call as enlightened Indian elites. They may be regarded as think - tank of modern India who played constructive role to build India on secular and liberal values.

The visionary and constructive service of elites laid the foundation stone for national awakening prior to the birth of Indian National Congress in 1885. They opted socio - religious reforms as a priority to awaken the masses who were slumbered in darkness who were illiterate, poverty stricken, unemployed and unaware of the present and the future. Hence desired to create favourable environment by educating the young minds and masses and made an endeavour to mobilise the human resources and skill for the future course of action. They realised the need of human development and made an endeavour to bridge the gap between literate and illiterate. They engaged in social and cultural reforms and established ‘Voluntary Organizations’ and took help of ‘Mass- Media’ to streamline their vision and mission.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the first new elite laid the foundation in Bengal Presidency. His Brahmo followers expanded the base to other segments of Bombay and Madras Presidency. M.G.Ranade, Dayanand Sarswati, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Dadabhai Naoroji, B.G.Tilak, Swami Vivekanand, Mrs. Annie Beasant belong to the first generation of elites who played a pivotal role in national reconstruction programmes and political awakening exercise in the sub-continent. Literary celebrities such as Rabindranath Tagore, Michal
Madasudan Dutt created patriotic fervour among natives. Indian Freedom Movement had the rare distinction of an unbroken continuity. It began from Presidencies towards Provincial centers later extended to grassroot areas as a popular movement under the spirited guidance of INC since 1885. Hence it is essential to study the service of national elites and origin and natures of such institutions that emerged in India and assess their role in the Indian Freedom Movement from the present research point of view.

**National Elites and Socio – Religious Organisations:**

1) **Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj Elites:**

The first voluntary association that emerged in India was Brahmo Samaj which stood for revival and reforms in existing social system that prevailed since millennium. It began on experimental note with the formation of Atmiya Sabha in 1815, largely to hold Theospohical discussions and meditations among the likeminded compatriots under the leadership of Ram Mohan Roy. A decade later, it was transformed as an organization in form of Brahmo Samaj.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in an orthodox Hindu family in 1772 at Radhanagar, a small village in Calacutta. He was the founder and above all a pioneer of voluntary associations in India. His mission to syntheses the existing form of religious system in India and an endeavour to eradicate all forms of social bigotry, conservatism and socio – educational uplift programmes earned him a name as ‘Father of Indian Renaissance’.
“Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first nationalist to start Brahmo Samaj, a Voluntary Social organisation in 1828”⁶. He set social reform as the integral part of the mission.” Roy advocated the need and essence of western type of rational and liberal education for Indians. He appealed the Governor to impart English education to Indians instead of Sanskrit, a traditional language when there was a move to introduce it by the British. He quoted “the Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness”⁷. He was even expelled from his own family members for taking revolutionary steps to eradicate socio-economic evils. He made an effort to provide educational facilities for the weaker and downtrodden section of the society. He made unsuccessful attempt to prevent ‘Sati’ of his brother’s widow Alokmanjari.

Ram Mohan Roy’s Bramo Samaj constituted persons belonging to upper castes but the membership was open to all those who believe and practice it’s principles. The meetings were held on Saturday evening. They were instructive and with reading of Upanishad in Bengali translation. The organization included the ‘Universal Brotherhood Ideals in the Trust Deed’ i.e. “1] Worship of one God. 2] No worship of Images or rituals. 3] People of all religions have equal opportunity to participate.4] Equal respect to all religion and so on”⁸.

The Samaj absorbed good virtues and principles of all religions. It did not blindly follow the Christian tenets but it’s equality principle and humane relations. It even criticized the conversion policy adopted by Missionaries in
India. It offered a broad based and synthesized operative principles of Hinduism, imbibing liberal ideas and rational action with a vision and mission to uplift weaker and downtrodden section of the society with special focus on women folk.

He successfully fought for the abolition of prevailing Sati system and other social evils. He organised famine relief programmes and pleaded for the education for girls, improving condition of widows, removal of caste barriers. He started and succeeded in bringing the awareness and opened chain of educational institutions to support the programmes. Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar and Keshav Chandra Sen carried on the organisations programmes successfully after his death in 1833.

2) M.G.Ranade and Prarthana Samaj:

The impact and influence of Brahmo Samaj gradually spread across Bengal. It was evident in Bomay Presidency. The elites of Bombay who belonged to professional sectors took initiation to establish an organization to undertake reforms and create awareness among the masses of locality. “A Society known as Paramahamsa Sabha (1849) found in Bombay though short -lived, it carried on the socio-religious reforms”9.

“The Prathana Samaj had been established in 1867 in Bombay by Dr Atmaram Pandurang under the influence of Kesab Chandra Sen who visited Bombay in 1864”10. The celebrities of the voluntary association were R.G.Bhandarkar, Justice M.G. Ranade, K.T.Telang and Narayan Chandavarkar. The promoters were truly influenced by great Saints of Maharashtra such as
Jnaneshwar, Namdeo, Tukaram and Ramdas. They desired to bring religious reforms within the fold of Hinduism and avoid religious controversies. They concentrated to eradicate social evils and emancipate women folk. The association did an excellent service in religious and socio-economic sector. The important activities of the Pratahna Sabha was directed towards removal of caste, child marriage and dowry, encouragement of inter-caste marriage, improvement condition for depressed classes, labour class and women welfare. The voluntary association established night schools for working class and engaged to promote literacy in the province.

The promoters and founders of voluntary association especially Justice M.G.Ranade and Telang initiated the socio-economic reforms and political awareness in the locality. The voluntary association set socio-economic reforms as top priority and a mission. The few promoters further associated with other institutions like Bombay Social Conference and Pune Sarvajanik Sabha to create a climate that helps to build nation building exercise. It is significant to observe that elites of this voluntary association namely Ranade, Telang and Chandavarakar played an important role in the formation of INC. The influence and impact of the organisation was quite evident in the forthcoming years in North Karnataka.

3) Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj Elites (1877):

The Arya Samaj was established on religious platform to eliminate inconsistency and conservative dogmas of Vedic society. It was established by Swami Dayanand Saraswati for the revival of Hinduism with deep influence of
western thought to cope up in contemporary world. The religious association advocated the need of change as a social revolution against the social evils practiced since millennium which were unethical and inhuman. The Samaj upheld the good old ideals and values of Indian culture. It made an endeavour to those people who abandoned Hinduism and embraced Islam and Christianity to return back to their original religion which is apostle of mankind and universal brotherhood.

Dayanand’s (1824 – 1883) original name was Mulshanker. He completed sacred education in 1845 and toured India in pursuit of knowledge and truth till 1860 and then entered public life in Uttar Pradesh. He delivered thoughts and preached in number of places in Uttar Pradesh. “It was on 10th April, 1875, that he founded the Arya Samaj in Bombay. In 1877, the Arya Samaj was also established at Lahore and it was this place which became its centre and where its principles received final shape. From 1877 to 1883, Swami Dayanand spent in preaching and teaching and writing books as well as establishing and organising Arya Samaj’s throughout India”11. The Arya Samaj occupies an important place among the revivalist movements of the renaissance period. Dayanand in a short span of time profoundly influenced the middle class people of Northern India. His rational ideas and profound knowledge of Vedas in true and scientific terms had an impeccable impact on the progressive oriented rich and middle class. His endeavour to uplift the downtrodden and weaker sections of the society through voluntary service was remarkable.
He established the first Hindu Orphanage at Jallandar to alleviate the pathetic conditions of destitutes and orphanages. The followers of Arya Samaj continued the principles and policies laid by their mentor in India soon after his demise in 1883. "The basic principles on which the social ideas of the Samaj based were, [1] Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man [2] Equality of sexes, [3] Absolute justice and fair play between man and man, nation and nation, [4] Equal opportunity to all according to their nature, Karma and merit and [5] Love and charity to all"12.

The establishment of orphanages at different places of Northern India was the beginning of a new chapter that bestows the spirit of equality, unity and oneness. The relief operations undertaken during famine hit Punjab and Uttar Pradesh portray its social commitment. The effort to check child marriage, better deal and good conditions for Hindu widows emphasised the need of the hour to restructure Indian society in a rational platform. The service, commitment and sacrifice of Dayanand Saraswati who during his life time stood for the pursuit of knowledge and universal truth, dharma and science above all a mission towards it's realization received due acclaim by his dedicated followers. The Dayanand Anglo - Vedic College established as a tribute in commemoration of memory in 1899 at Lahore by his followers portray the glimpses of mentor. The generous donation of the middle class and most important though meager was contribution of menial workers, poor fellows was worthy to remember. The college soon became popular with phenomenal increase in student strength and encouraged to establish similar
colleges at Jallandar, Hoshiarpur and Kanpur within four decades. The Samaj's method of action was orthodox and limited in rational form but quite effective. Lala Lajpat Rai, a frontrunner of national movement was one of its ardent followers.

4) Annie Beasant and Theosophical Society (1886):

Theosophical Society occupies an important place among the representative movements of the renaissance period. "The Theosophical Society was established in 1875 by Madam Blavatsky and Col. A.S. Olcott in Newyork in the USA. These founders came to India in 1882 and established the main centre of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, a suburb of Madras". Mrs. Annie Beasant joined the society under the intimate influence of Madam Blavatsky and devoted her life for the welfare of humanity. She came to India in 1893 and engaged her service towards religious and social uplift of the country. She became its President in 1907.

The society became real force in the socio-religious works and engaged in political reforms under Mrs. Beasant's leadership. It did splendid social service and opened chain of educational institutions to uphold the cultural heritage of India. "The Central Hindu High School later became the Hindu University of Varanasi in 1915. The Theosophical School of Bangalore became National College". Mrs Beasant was ardent supporter of Congress. She spearheaded the Home-rule Movement. Theosophical Society occupies an important place among the representative movements of the renaissance period.
5) Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan and Muslim Organisations:

The East India Company administration adopted anti-Muslim policy as a large number of Muslims participated in the 1857 - Sepoy mutiny. As a result, Muslim elites awakened and were engaged in Urdu revival activities during the post-mutiny period. The Muslim renaissance started during the post-sepoy mutiny period. "Sayed Ahmed Khan [1817 - 1898] was an outstanding representative of this movement". He propagated the belief of one nation and called for unity of all Indians particularly Hindu and Muslims. He advocated the absence of modern European education was primary reason for the present misery, poverty, social, economic and political backwardness. He made an endeavour to infuse the spirit of rationality and modernity among Muslims. He translated Socio - historical and literary works of English to Urdu for the benefit of Muslims. Mohammedean Literary Society was established in 1863. Muslim elites' regular meeting and discussion took place on contemporary issues pertaining to political, social and economic problems. "Sir Ahmed Khan, a Muslim elite established M.A.O. college in Aligarh which later became Aligarh University". The Aligarh movement became the land mark, created nationalistic fervour among the Indian Muslims.

6) Swami Vivekanand and Ramakrishna Mission (1897):

Swami Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission in memory of his spiritual mentor Ramakrishna Paramhamsa on 5th May 1897 along with the trusted disciples of the late Saint. "Swami Vivekanand believed that the best way of paying tribute to his great spiritual guide Ramakrishna Paramhamsa
was to spread his message all over the country. He established a network of monasteries all over India. His disciples' infact desired to establish a permanent organization when he was in USA to provide a concrete shape to the principles of service to the downtrodden people and propagate the vision of universal brotherhood. It was realized with its formation. The main objective of the Mission was to build up fellowship among members of all religions and to alleviate the poor financial conditions of downtrodden of society.

"The mission opened a chain of educational institution engaged in social and medical relief work irrespective of caste and creed. The Mission launched massive relief work during famine and plague hit period in UP and Bengal province. It undertook publication of books and newspapers to propagate rational view of life and made an endeavour to spread consciousness and national awakening call among the masses.

It is important to observe the impact of Vivekanand's visit to Karnataka played an instrumental role in nation building exercise. Swamiji toured extensively and visited Belgaum in 1890, Bangalore and Mysore during 1892, even before the establishment of Ramakrishna Mission. He delivered thought provoking lectures on Hinduism and Vedant. His profound knowledge had wider impact in Karnataka. Prof. S. Chandra Shekar quotes, "Swami Vivekanand's preaching had great impact on several wealthy persons, philanthropists belonged to Non-Brahmin community. They voluntarily came forward to establish Schools and Colleges for the welfare of their community students. They even provided scholarship for their education. The important
institutions established were Lingayat Shikashana Sangh Dharwad (1893), Veershaiva Mahasabha (1904), Mysore Lingayat Shikshana Datti Sangh (1905), Vokkaliga Sangh (1906), B.V.V. Sangh Bagalkot (1906), Mohammediya Kendriya Sangh Bangalore (1909)". It is true that Swamiji’s mission had great impact on Karnataka, at the same time it is difficult to deny the influence of Paramahamsa Sabha and Prarthana Samaj in North Karnataka, and the Brahmo Samaj at Bangalore.

Economic and Political Organisations: The roots of INC are evident in the economically motivated and political oriented organizations that existed at the Presidencies in India since 1850. “The idea of an all – India collaboration had been mooted more than three decades prior to the birth of the Congress”20. The efforts of such organization corroborated to establish the INC as a uniform and integrated force to redress their demands against the alien government. INC a mighty and strong organization is the result of the following voluntary associations whose base was limited to their respective presidencies.

Under British East - India Company Rule: The new form of elites established quite a few important institutions to safeguard their interest during Company rule, among them, the following were important.

“Under British East India Company rule, some important political associations were established, namely British India Society [1843] British Indian Association [1851] Bombay Association [1852] and Madras Native Association [1853]"21.
1) British Indian Association [1851]:

The Bengali intellectuals played an important part in the formation of this association to campaign against government policies which were detrimental to native's interest. Radhakrishna Deb, Devendranath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar were the founders of this Association. The British India Association existed “to remove the existing defects in law and civil administration of the country and to promote the general welfare and interest of the people”\textsuperscript{22}. The Association raised some of the important contemporary issues of the period and submitted petitions to British Parliament in 1852 to fulfill them. They were related to reduction of land tax, promotion of public works, encouragement to trade and industry, abolition of salt tax, expansion of education and so on. The nationalistic sentiments stimulated by this association inspired others to join the national mainstream, namely Bombay and Madras.

2) Bombay Association [1852]:

Dadabhai Naoroji, J.S. Seth and Jamshedji Jijabai were the founders of this voluntary association. The objective of Bombay Association was to “ascertain the wants of natives of India and to represent from time to time to the authorities, measures calculated to advance the welfare and improvement of the country”\textsuperscript{23}. The Association submitted petitions to British parliament in 1852 urging for the development of works and education for the masses.
3) Madras Native Association [1853]:

In the South, a similar voluntary association came into being as a pressure group to redress its grievances and raise voice against anti-people policies. “The prominent members of the Madras Native Association were Laxmi Narayan Chetty, P. Appaswami, P. Veera Perumal Pillay and Alwar Chetty”24. The Association demanded reduction in land tax, need for better roads, bridges, irrigation works, better educational facility, improvement in Judiciary and general administration. The Association submitted petitions to the British Parliament.

The said voluntary associations served under their respective Presidencies. They acted as pressure groups to mould public opinion and submitted petitions to redress their grievances on democratic line. They could not survive for longer period of time due to rift and clash of ideas among the rich and educated intellectuals. The intra-rivalry and mutual suspicion among the voluntary association failed to work united and fight jointly against the alien government even though their objective and motto was similar. As a result, some prominent members formed an alternative voluntary association which came into lime light since 1870 under British Crown rule.

Under British Crown Rule:

The failure of above said voluntary association paved the way to rectify the previous mistakes and maladies to form an alternative and viable organization to safeguard their interests since 1870. The prominent among them were as follows.
1) The East Indian Association (1869):

The elites of Bombay belonged to Parsi, Hindu and Muslim community formed a strong organization to serve as a pressure group to fight for rights and demand just and fair administration.

"The East Indian Association was established in Bombay. The moving spirits behind the association were Dadabhai Naoroji, Phiroz Shah Mehta, Badaruddin Tyabji, and K.P. Telang. They belonged to 3 major communities"\(^\text{25}\). The voluntary association was cosmopolitan in character. It is important to observe that the promoters of this voluntary association made an endeavour to safeguard the native interest in co-operation with British liberal elites by establishing London Indian Society in 1865 in Britain. The objective was to establish a think-tank and act as a nerve centre to promote and propagate liberal and nationalist ideals in the environment. The unsuccessful effort resulted in the formation of this voluntary association by the front ranking nationalist leaders who played major role in the formation of INC in 1885.

2) The Pune Sarvajanik Sabha [1869-70]:

The Pune Sarvajanik Sabha was founded by S.H. Chiplonkar and G.V. Joshi. The association received the service and able guidance of M.G. Ranade, a prominent jurist, socio-economic and political reformer. "The Sarvajanik Sabha, started a publication of a Quarterly Journal to which Ranade contributed articles "\(^\text{26}\). The Journal sought privileges which were enjoyed by the British citizens should be granted to Indian citizens and advocated for land reforms, spread of education and reduction of taxes. The national awakening
exercise carried on by the esteemed voluntary association received good response not only in Pune but also in entire Maharashtra.

"As Secretaries Chiplonkar and Joshi helped to establish branches in the districts, organised lectures, toured interior places where mass meetings were held and composed patriotic songs to stimulate a sense of National Pride"[27].

The Pune Sarvajanika Sabha was succeeded in building a strong base in urban and rural area within short period. It served as watchdog against any form of abuse of power. It organised protest rallies against increase in land tax and even organised no - tax campaign during the drought period. The merchants, peasants and rural masses whole heartedly supported the activities of Sarvajanik Sabha. B.G.Tilak was one of the strong pillars of this organization. G.K.Gokhale, a disciple of Ranade served as Secretary of the Sabha. The rift between Tilak and Gokhale led to the formation of Deccan Sabha at Pune by Ranade in 1895.

3) Indian Association of Bengal:

The prominent Bengali elites of varied background desired to establish a representative institution that could serve the interest of whole community unlike the British Indian Association which became a coterie of feudal lobby. As a result, a new voluntary association emerged in form of 'Indian Association of Bengal'. Surendranath Banarjee, A. M. Shastry, K.M. Banarjee, Sinchanath Shastri a Brahmo follower, who earlier served in British India
Association which was dominated by feudal lords were its prominent promoters.

The association opened several centres in Bengal province. The membership was open to all on payment of small fee. As a result the active educated class, young Brahmo follower’s enrolled as members and provided priority to 'Freedom of Press and Right to Popular representation in Local bodies'. It fought for the liberal causes and made an effort towards removal of caste, race and colour discrimination. It also rallied against the anti-people policies and actions of British administration by submitting memorandum. It organised protest rallies and public meetings. The association also fought for the rights of tenants against the mighty feudal lords. “The Indian Association quickly moved to champion tenant rights, sent agents to districts to talk to tenants and collect information, organised mass meetings of peasants and dispatched petitions to British authorities for calling swift action”28. As a result, the feudal lords organized counter demonstration opposing tenancy legislation. Hence the association won the support of majority of tenants and succeeded in building a strong base within a short span in Bengal Province. S.N.Bannerjee and other leaders toured extensively and communicated with other associations which enabled to deliberate on contemporary issues and exchange views.
4) Madras Mahajan Sabha 1884:

The Madras elites did not lag behind to form a strong organization. "The revival activities in the South were initiated by young graduates of Madras who gave a platform to launch political activities. The decision to launch 'The Hindu' newspaper in 1878 by six young graduates in Madras heralded the advent of political activism of the intelligentsia in South India." Madras Native Association's revival activities received boost in 1881 and provided an occasion to reshape and form strong organisation. The Madras intellectuals belonging to major communities took initiation and established Madras Mahajan Sabha in 1884. The promoters of the organisation were G. Subramanya Ayer, M. Veeraghavachari, P. Rangyya Naidu, Ananad Charlu and Salem Ramaswami Mudliyar who incidentally were the pioneers of The Hindu newspaper. "The Sabha received good support from merchants and middle class, established link with local bodies. Two provincial conferences organised by the Mahajan Sabha in 1884 and 1885 to discuss issues of political importance of the Presidency and the country as a whole." The promoters of the organization submitted petitions to British government demanding reforms in legislative councils, easier admission for Indian applicants in higher education. The Sabha also worked for the welfare of farmers who faced lot of hardships under British regime.
The above said political associations served for the national interest. They gave top priority for welfare of the people and improvement of the country. They established link with each other associations. They even spread their base in mofussil areas to focus the wide-range of activities undertaken by them. They not only submitted the petitions but also organised protest rallies and dharana to fulfill their demands. Although the associations located in different Presidencies were far away from each other, yet their goal, service and mode of operation was one.

It is important to observe that the political awakening exercise undertaken by these voluntary associations was prior to the birth of Indian National Congress. Interestingly, the prominent leaders of the said association were the pioneers who played pivotal role for the formation of Indian National Congress. Suntarlingam rightly quotes "Although the Congress represented the first truly all India Political Association in the sub-continent, yet its formation must be seen as the culmination of the work of association that had come in to existence since 1850. In particular, the associations inaugurated by Intelligentsia played instrumental role in ushering the Congress. Although these bodies were regional in scope, nonetheless they became articulate exponents of all - India unity and even begun to take active steps to promote inter - provincial links"31.
National Elites and Mass-Media at National Level:

The role of Mass-media was quite influential in promoting the spirit of Indian nationalism during national movement. The newly emerged elites of respective Presidencies thought 'Mass - Media' as the best agency for social change and transformation under the contemporary conditions. Hence they opened and promoted such agencies in their respective locations. The media indeed became powerful tool to advance their nationalistic ideas and familiarise the masses regarding the burning issues of the period and brought awareness and consciousness among them.

1) National Elites and Press:

Raja Ram Mohan Roy decided to popularize and propagate the importance of liberal and humanitarian values of life, hence decided to establish print - media even before the formation of Brahmo Samaj. "The credit for founding nationalist press goes to Raja Ram Mohan Roy who started publishing Sambad-Kumudi in 1821, Moon of Intelligence in Bengali, Mirat-ul-Akthar in Persian in 1822". His mission succeeded in spreading the liberal ideas of reforms, liberty and philanthropy. It highlighted the luxury life of feudal lords which could have been spent for charity and welfare of the downtrodden. His powerful writings inspired the intellectuals and middle class of the period to study contemporary socio-religious and political issues. The enlightened intellectuals in a similar way opened print - media and patronised journalism during the British Company rule. Bombay Samachar, Samachar Darpan, Calcutta Journal, Enquirer and Bang Dutt were important...
among them. "The noteworthy press emerged during British Crown administration were Amrut Baazar Patrika (1868), The Tribune (1877), The Hindu (1878), The Indian Hearald (1879), Kesari and Maharatta of Tilak". The articles of writers fostered the growth of national consciousness. The press popularised the policy and programme and propagated the service undertaken by various organisations. The Indian press became a powerful agency for promotion of nationalistic ideas. Initially thought provoking articles brought attention of intellectuals in matters of public interest. The national press frequently discussed in detail regarding individual freedom and problems of people in various sectors. At the same time the press urged for political reforms in their articles. Press, thus became platform for national leaders to putforth their views concerning national interest. It helped to establish social and intellectual contact among each other residing in different segments and helped to exchange their views and concerns. It also assisted in building rich literature and culture. Press educated the masses, putforth the need of unity in public mind and to protest and resist against alien rule. Thus print - media created strong sentiment in the nation. It emerged as a powerful tool to focus the anti - Indian policies, despite tough restrictions imposed by the alien government in form of Vernacular Act and Illbert Bill.

2] National Elites and Literature:

The British rule in India was a blessing in disguise. It provided a platform for the promotion of Indian Literature which was patronised by Kinship since ancient times. It received open space and congenial environment
under British rule. The liberal ideas and rational thought spread featuring political, social and psychological issues as literary themes. Bengal and Maharashtra province were the first to provide a platform for literary enhancement. It was once again Raja Ram Mohan Roy followed by Michale Madhusan Datt’s works, provided the base for literary activities. The literary writings created confidence and consciousness among intellectuals. The growth of English language inspired for the revival of regional literature. The Grammer and Dictionary of alien and regional language became available. "The life and works of Mazzani, Garibaldi were translated in to Indian languages and their patriotic fervour and wonderful achievement provided inspiration for thousands of Indians." Thus modern literature brought fresh ideas and rational outlook which enabled to foster cultural nationalism. The works of Jyotiba Phule and G.H. Deshmukh from Maharashtra, related to social evils and issues highlighted the need to eradicate them and re-organise society on modern line. The various English books on Science, Economics, and Technical subjects written in regional languages helped the students to learn the subject with a rational outlook. Thus Anglo-Indian literature brought modernity in Indian writing. The literary celebrities’ wrote novels, books and dramas on contemporary issues. Bhratendu Harishchandra’s Bharat Durdasha in Hindi, Bangalar Jagaran, Nili Darpan and Anand Math the popular dramas in Bengali, Sinhasan Battisi, and Raja Shivaji in Marathi were important among them. The traditional Indian folk literature received momentum during historic 1857 Sepoy- Mutiny. The
folk songs and ballads, a rich cultural heritage of the nation infused the growth of national consciousness imbibing the saga of sacrifice and yeoman service of martyrs. "Large number of Urdu literature was written during this mutiny period by Zaheer Dalvi, Sir Ahmed Khan (A Treatise on the Causes of Indian Revolt) and Mirza Assadulla Khan popularly known as Ghalib". Ghalib stands right on top among the rest of the writers. He lived in Delhi along with freedom fighters during the Sepoy Mutiny and recorded the day to day events of the memorable period. The work is entitled as 'Dastambo'. The ballads composed by contemporary poets, in which majority of them were anonymous, sung by laymen indicate the spirit and popularity of the literature. The folk songs and ballads reflected the spirit of the contemporary period infused the seed of patriotism among masses during freedom struggle. The patriotic writings and poems composed during the Post - Sepoy Mutiny period gave impetus to the political movement. The prominent celebrities of the period were Tagore (Bengali and English), V.D.Savarkar (Marathi), Bankim Chandra (Bengali and English), Aurobindo, and Allama Iqbal. Bankim Chandra’s ‘Vande Mataram’ and Allam Iqbal’s ‘Sare Jahanse Achha Hindustan Hamara’, remains the all time best of all the patriotic songs even today. In similar strain patriotic songs written by Subramanya Bharati in Tamil, Huilgol Narayanrao and Kuvempu in Kannada was highly revealing.

PART-C: Origin and Evolution of Indian National Congress:

The local elites who gradually emerged as provincial elites played an important role in the formation of INC. The founders and promoters of
Bombay Presidency Association, Pune Sarvajanika Sabha and Madras Mahajana Sabha accorded the initiation of A.O. Hume. The Indian Association of Bengal soon joined the Congress umbrella in 1886. Hume’s role was instrumental to forge the unity and amity among elites of important segments and enlist their concurrence and co-operation to form a coveted organisation. He eliminated mutual suspicion, superiority complex and misunderstanding that embedded in their belief, which proved unsuccessful to form such uniform organizations in their previous attempts. His acquaintance with provincial elites, voluntary organizations, media and above all warm relation and sympathy towards the natives, certainly helped a long cherished dream to establish an all India organization in 1885.

Hume endeavour to knit the loose net work of Indian caucuses through secret mechanism, probably with a vision to co-opt and establish one common organisation to bring them under national forum. “However in April 1883 in one of his rare communication to the press, Hume identified as his friends the editors of the Hindu, Hindu patriot, Indian Mirror, Indian Spectator, Amrit Baazar Patrika and The Tribune”36. Hume utilized the service of editors for political activism to gain popular support for reforms. Hume organized Rippon’s farewell at Bombay with huge success, which witnessed large turnouts with delegates attended from Madras, Punjab, North-West Province and Mysore and other Princely States. The Hindu of Madras quote the farewell demonstration of Lord Rippon as “the first achievement of national India”37. The farewell response and interaction with important elites on the occasion
proved fruitful. Hume played a key role in the formation of INC and served as initiator, intermediator, conciliator and arbitrator in each stage of his career in India. He faced several ups and down from higher authorities, yet hardly lost enthusiasm but served for humanitarian cause.

The Indian National Congress first convention was organized at Tejapal Sanskrit College, Bombay on 28th December 1885. The 72 delegates from all parts of India belonged to distinct profession especially the front rank leaders of provincial organisations, special invitees of A.O.Hume attended the convention. Phiroz Shah Mehata, Dadabhai Naroji, K.T. Telang, Badaruddin Tyabji and Dinesh Wacha belonged to different communities of Bombay Presidency, M.G. Ranade and B.G Tilak of Pune Sarvajanik Sabha and P. Ananad Charlu, G Subramanya Aiyer, M. Veeraghavachari, P. Rangaya Naidu and C. Shankeran Iyer from Madras Mahajan Sabha were the pioneers who made deep impact to build Congress as a healthy and strong organisation. W.C.Banarjee, who presided over the first convention, did not belong to any organization but occupied prominent position because of his close association with Hume. S.N.Banarjee, Anand Mohan Bose and Man Mohan Ghose of Indian Association of Bengal assumed prominent position since 1886 in the organization.

The Bombay Presidency elites exercised profound influence on Congress due to their cosmopolitan nature and resources in hand. The Brahmo followers, Entrepreneurs and Feudal Lords residing in important segments contributed to the growth of Congress. The birth of INC, ironically gave a platform for liberal
minded elites to make conscious effort to deliberate contemporary issues and problems. It began with a humble note that to on an experimental note, not even realizing that soon its root would deeply struck purely for political liberation. The Congress evolved as a huge national organisation thus gradually expanded it's base from provincial centres to district and grass root areas in successive phase of movement in a sustainable manner. The elites of respected centres played crucial role to strengthen the organisation and expanded the base of freedom movement which revolved around Swadeshi and Swarajya concept.

Scholars and experts classify the growth and expansion of INC and its movement in three phases. The first phase began since its emergence in 1885 till 1905, which was controlled and dominated by moderate elites. The second phase saw the dominance of extremist leaders and evidence of first direct movement in form of Swadeshi Andolona and Home Rule Movement. The last phase began since 1920 till independence led by M.K.Gandhi which witnessed Non Co-operation, Civil dis -obedience and Quit-India movement which virtually crippled the alien government with no option of returning back to their homeland.

The First Phase, 1885-1905:

The national movement began with loyal tone to seek better policies and programmes, opportunities and services for natives. The nature of movement was simple, direct and reposed complete faith in British administration. The founders gave priority to institution building exercise under the able guidance...
of Hume. They set a convention to seek unanimity on major and complex issues and made an endeavour to keep the secular and cosmopolitan nature of the organization intact. The think-tank of INC during their earlier annual convention organized at respective Presidencies deliberated crucial issues, resolved action plans and appointed officials to implement the activities as per the calendar of events.

The voluntary nature of service and commitment to strengthen the organization proved fruitful in first five years. The strength gradually increased in each session “72 in 1885, 434 in 1886, 607 in 1887, 1248 in 1888 and 1889 in 1889. In the initial period totally borne by the leading provincial association, the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha, the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Indian Association. It were these bodies which called meetings, nominated delegates and provided funds”37. The session gave top priority to institution building exercise. The establishment of sub-committee was one among them. The discretionary powers were granted to units and local associations to undertake Congress work in their respective segments and promote social, economic and political activities and development programmes. The Joint General Secretary post was created to ease the burden of General Secretary. The formation of Central Executive Committees constituted from Provincial organisations to implement and monitor decisions taken at national body and deliberate crucial issues and policies at regular interval. The above mechanism adoption to the core organisation evidently emphasise that ‘it was not a ramshackle of local linkages as argued by Anil Seal’. The nature of work and
role played by national elites in earlier phase of the movement especially that of Dadabhai Navaroji, Badaruddin Tayabji and social reformers like Gokhale and Ranade and staunch radicalists like Tilak was truly significant. The remarkable service of elites transformed Congress as a potent national institution in given circumstances.

The moderates adopted a moderate strategy in the first phase of the national movement. They adopted peaceful methods and specially focused on reforms as a need of present for the future course of action. The INC resolutions indicate the priority given to strengthen the structure of organization and sought constitutional changes and reforms. The abolition of Council of Secretary of State to be replaced by Standing Committee in Parliament is putforth by Congress in its inaugural year. The Congress sought reforms in legislative, judiciary from executive. It requested to hold ICS examination simultaneously at England and India and reduce military budget and repeal Arms act. The reduction of salt duty, establishment of agricultural banks to provide loans to farmers and imposition of protective tariff for the promotion of native industries were its major demands. The moderate leadership requested to establish technical school and remove restriction imposed on native press. It also raised serious concern of Indians living in South Africa.

The demands of moderates was not seriously considered by the British except the 1892 Indian Council Act. The Council membership was enlarged but imposed restrictions on a suspicious note, perceiving Congress as threat to its
existence. The Age of Consent bill, negligence and poor handling of famine relief programmes followed by plague in Bombay Presidency created dissatisfaction against the government. The appointment of Lord Curzon as Viceroy in 1899 to underline the influence of Congress and strengthen the base of British, further created an opportunity to the rise of extremists group led by Lal-Bal-Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh in the next phase of the movement.

The Pune Sarvajanik Sabha, founder and an affiliated body of INC itself became a show of strength between Moderates and Extremists called Radicalists, since 1889 when Gokhale elevated to the post of General Secretary. "For Tilak, who in the past had discharged several onerous duties of the Sabha and the local Congress Committee, Gokhales election was severe blow, all the more hurting as relatively younger and inexperienced figure has stolen march on him. It was at this moment that Tilak was presented with an issue which went to the heart of the conflict that had alienated him from Ranade and Gokhale"39. This led to the factionalism in Congress which coasted its split in two power blocks of two different strategies though their goal was similar. The cleavage and cohesion which is fundamental feature of democratic system began in an institutional set up had serious repercussion on organization with Pune to host INC convention in 1895. Tilak occupied the coveted post of General Secretary Position, the platform turned as battle of strength that ultimately led to non-cooperation from moderates. The moderates tried to block the influence and impact of Tilak.
The series of such events provided Tilak to show vigor and demonstrate his concern by challenging the morality and legality of rule of law professed by British. Tilak organised celebrations of Ganesh and Shivaji festival to create patriotic fervour in the locality. He fought in favour of Prof. Paranjape, Prof. Sathe and Apte who were under prosecution trail for breaching famine code and their release from the case transformed Tilak's status in an unmatchable position. Tilak utilised the sensitive and religious issues fearlessly demonstrated and agitated in favour of farmers and organized no tax campaign. His mission towards public opinion moulding campaign against the alien government and won the hearts of rural community. Krishnarao Bhalekar, a social worker from Maharashtra erected a huge statue of famine stricken farmer depicting his condition in a miserable look in front of the door of pendal in December 1895 INC session organized at Pune with a challenging slogan as such "Are there even nineteen to give expression to the misery of nineteen crore of farmers". Tilak's heroic action, sympathy for farmers and agitation and direct attack on alien government in public and through his Kesari press earned him a name and fame. His induction on sedition charges and spreading disaffection against the government on 27th July 1897, hurt the sentiments of people and wide protests were held to condemn the prosecution "A Tilak Defence Fund was started simultaneously in Bombay and Calcutta and Rs 47000 were collected in few days". Tilak imprisonment in the case was a rude shock, Surendrananth Banarjee moderate leader during 1898 Amaravathi session made a touching reference to Tilak. He said "The whole
nation is in tears. Tilak's rigorous imprisonment and treatment as an ordinary criminal brought resentment among the public. He became a national hero revered as Lokamanya. Mr. Brook, Collector of Raigarh district described charismatic personality of Tilak when he pacified the huge crowd as per his request within few minutes who assembled to witness the case of Pranjape, Sathe and Apte as such. "I have never seen such a crowd of illiterate farmers gathered at a case of this nature". Tilak's magic power of attracting masses on various platforms to launch direct political action against the alien authority in association with similar like minded personality from Bengal, Punjab provinces created a platform in forthcoming operations.

The resolutions and actions of moderates from 1899 to 1904 in the annual session and formation of new constitution debate on subject committee further eroded its popularity. The stand taken by moderate leadership created adversaries from Punjab and Central Province and Bengal. Lala Lajpat Roy, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh emerged as hero’s from their respective provinces to challenge the strategies adopted by moderate leadership. The appointment of Lord Curzon as Viceroy in 1899 to strangle the base and popularity of Congress, his adversary reforms, the failure of moderate leadership to get co-operation and fair deal from the alien government led to the rise of radical elites at national scale. The partition scheme of Bengal further alleviated the problem and furore among the public. The evil design of Hindu-Muslim divide created strong current and patriotic fervour in entire India. The moderate leadership's unsuccessful attempt to stop the proceedings despite its
leaders Gokhale and Banarjee's visit to England, still persisting the prayer and petition form of protest agitated the mind of younger generation and wounded the sentiments of Bengali unity and their identity. The Bhadrokk community, literary celebrities, professionals and intellectuals' utilized the occasion which resulted to the rise of radical elites and diminishing influence of moderates in national politics.

The above comprehensive discussion and developments of INC since 1885 to 1905 provides a distinct picture of ups and downs faced by moderates in national movement. Scholars opine that the first phase of the movement is an era of moderate leadership. If thoroughly examined, we may find that the moderates dominated their position in first half of the movement. They succeeded in institutional building exercise and received good rapport from the alien government in the first five years but soon experienced repressive measures to cut its popularity and growing influence. The internal feud that rose in Pune Sarvajanik Sabha eventually led to the factionalism and existence of two power blocks in the INC. The moderates, moderate in their strategy and approach partially received set-back in Post 1890 operations thus Bombay Presidency power hub of national organisation tasted first cohesion and leadership conflict. The Punjab and Central province soon emerged as potent centres to get due recognition which marginally diminished the importance of Coastal Presidency Organizations. The emergence of Arya Samaj elites similar to that of Brahmo of Bengal Presidency and Bhadralok Community leadership tilted the balance in favour of radical leadership. This resulted in the growth of
extremists groups who adopted agitation and resistance as a strategy to counteract against aliens in a smaller scale in their locality. Despite few hiccups and setbacks the moderates over all dominated the organisational proceedings and controlled the organisation. The notable achievement of moderates was their institutional building exercise that enabled Congress to get national party status. They opted peaceful and sustainable approach towards the realisation of their vision. The moderates understood and experienced the utility and relevance of western education and democratic institutions in the contemporary world thus felt and believed the alien government's support and encouragement would be beneficial for the larger interest of the society. They compared the past to present and significant contribution done by aliens to impart rational education, induction of scientific temperament and development in specific sectors, hence made up their mind to seek same encouragement and support. On the observation of such ground realities, they opted prayer and petitions as their strategy and the reforms as their top priority rather than resistance and agitation. The two core groups showed two distinct faces to the problem and strategy to overcome in the national movement. Their concept and vision and even the goal was same but opted separate principles for the realisation within the ambit of Congress. In a way they are two faces of same coin. The moderates and extremists were realistic and pragmatic in their own way. The moderates believed in constructive development hence opted socio-economic reforms as the basic necessity to educate masses and bring awareness so that they can join national
mainstream in future. On the other hand the extremists groups realised the potent danger faced from alien government since 1890, and submissive attitude of moderates and their domination in the Congress thus created an opportunity and utilised the sentiments and misery faced by the masses in pragmatic way. The exercise elevated the status and charisma of extremist leaders who spearheaded the freedom movement in the next phase of Swadeshi and Home Rule Movement. The moderate leadership’s unsuccessful attempt to annul Bengal partition despite Gokhale and Banarjee’s visit to England, still persisting the prayer and petition form of protest agitated the mind of younger generation and wounded the sentiments of Bengali unity and their identity. The Bhadralok community, literary celebrities, professionals and intellectuals utilized the occasion which resulted to the rise of radical elites and diminishing influence of moderates in national politics.

The Second Phase, 1905 – 1920:

The second phase of the national movement is distinct from the first, as it witnessed the first direct freedom movement against alien government in form of Swadeshi Andolana in 1905 and Home Rule Movement from 1915 to 1918. The second phase of the movement which commenced with the partition of Bengal indeed provided Tilak an opportunity to demonstrate exemplary leadership qualities at national level and instill Swarajya and Swadeshi concept in public mind. Lala Lajapat Rai from Punjab and Bipin Chandra Pal from Bengal and Aurobindo Ghosh spearheaded the Swadeshi Andolan. The constructive and inspired service of literary celebrities like Ravindranath
Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatarjee during Swadeshi movement was quite significant and effective. They virtually sidelined the significance and prospects of moderate elites in national politics but could not dominate their status in Indian National Congress. They continued petition and prayer without realizing the outcome would be negative and their approach may not get the sanctity of masses. The two distinct approach was crystal clear in the early part of second stage of the movement which resulted the alienation of extremist group from the party and split in the Congress. The Congress convention organized between 1905 to 1908 was crucial which decided the future course of action. The moderate elites succeeded in controlling the party through moderate methods, skillful tactics by taking confidence of major players of United and Punjab Province to their advantage. They retained supremacy but in the process lost sympathy and confidence of masses who looked extremist group elites as ray of hope and leaders of the masses to protect them from the clutches of alien government. Tilak released from jail in 1914 and he received overwhelming jubilation from masses of different segments, Mrs. Annie Besant entry in national politics and her constructive support and positive involvement to advocate for self-rule for Indians infused new life for the freedom movement. The second direct movement jointly operated under their leadership not only spread the message ‘Swarajya as birth right’ in India but also spread it as integral part of human life even in England and U.S.A to portray the democratic governments should realise and accept, self rule is a democratic right of every nation.
The Swadeshi Movement:

The symbolic agitation carried on 16th October 1905 even before the INC endorsed its decision at Benaras convention held in December 1905. It was opted much to dismay of moderate elites as the entire Bengali elites including moderates and masses, Maharashtra and Punjab delegates put pressure to accept swadeshi and boycott as a method of action to resist and agitate to annul the Bengal Partition instead of just stick to petition and prayer submission. Gokhale, the President of the session welcomed Swadeshi as a constructive measure for India’s regeneration but rejected the boycott concept on the ground that it may alienate British sympathy for India’s political aspiration. The extremist lobby warned the moderate leadership and threatened to block a resolution of welcoming Prince of Wales visit to India. As a consequence a compromise of boycott formula was inducted as a legitimate weapon to demonstrate in Bengal in the convention. Thus the pressure tactics, lobby technique utilised prudently by extremist elites which incidentally is yet another fundamental feature found in democratic party system. "Lajpat Rai speaking for the extremists hailed boycott as the dawn of new political era of India in which Indians were urged to show their rulers that we are not beggars, and that we are the subjects of an empire where people are struggling to achieve that position which is right by right or natural law. The Bengal spirit of protest to be recommended to other provinces of India". Tilak declared that the four pillars of Political struggle in India were Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Swarajya.
“Dadabhai Navoroji, the grand old man of India in his Presidential address, gave the call be Swarajya “45.

The attempt to alienate and eliminate extremists strong holdup proved successful in 1907 Surat Congress convention. Gokhale and Banarjee convinced and garnered the support and sidelined the importance of radical faction in Punjab, and Central Province, Bengal and leaders thus maneuvered with strong position in Provincial organisation. They nominated Ras Bihari Ghosh as President of the convention, utilized the support and quorum to their advantage thus not provided even half chance to include, move or endorse radicalist issues in subject committee or deliberations. Tilak had not given opportunity, even though he made an attempt to move the amendment to speak on the occasion. A committee was set up to formulate the revival of Congress with an objective to incorporate constitutional means of agitation as an ideology to attain self- government within British Empire. The process created clash and furore that virtually led to break in two groups due to the mode of agitation and failure of compromise and non co-operative attitude of Gokhale and company. The split changed the nature of movement with extremists group voluntarily came out to prevent threat from alien government and followed a separate nationalist block to continue the passive resistance. The outcome enabled moderate leadership to retain supremacy in the Congress but at the cost of elimination of invaluable service of radical leadership who created sensation and history in freedom movement.
The progress and impact of the Swadeshi Movement:

The Bengali elites especially the literary celebrities opposed the Bengal partition tooth and nail. The entire Bengal protested the partition with one set of mind and voice. The rich, poor, young and old, moderates and extremists saw the partition as an insult to their honour, threshold unity and sentiment. The people of Bengal gave expression to their righteous indignation on 16th October 1905, the day on which partition took effect. It was observed as a day of mourning. There was complete strike. People poured in streams to Town Hall in Calcutta where the protest meeting was held. Anand Mohan Bose, Lal Kohan Ghosh, Surendranath Banerjee and Ravindranath Tagore, headed the people’s proclamation in which they pledged that people of Bengal would do everything to counteract the evil effects of the partition and maintain unity in Bengal. "Ravindranath Tagore sang a song ‘Vande Mataram’ composed by Bengali writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in Anand Math novel in a melodious voice while listening to Vande Mataram Patriotic Sentiments surged in the blossoms of people. Vande Mataram became a mantra, a prayer with divine strength created a new vision of India in the minds of thousands of people who were spell bound by every line, nay every word in the song. 46. The Bengali elites realized moderate methods may turn deaf and dumb impact on Lord Curzon, hence adopted Swadeshi and boycott campaign to annal the partition. Mass-meetings were organised in entire Bengal province and huge crowds took oath of Swadeshi adoption as their way of life. The British manufactured goods were boycotted in larger scale. People burnt foreign
clothes and cigarettes and even refused to take foreign medicine. The students of Bengal played prominent role in the movement. They picketed shops selling foreign goods. The Swadeshi Industries and National Schools were established in Bengal. The Textile mills, soap and match factories, National Banks and Insurance Companies emerged in Bengal with a view to curtail the impact of foreign domination on domestic soil. Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo, Ramesh Chandra Dutt moderate elites Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose and Literary celebrities, Ravindranath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chatarjee flamed the spirit of Swadeshi Jagarana Abhiyana in entire Bengal. People from all walks of life, men and women, young and old, rich and poor participated with patriotism and demonstrated their vigour. The government offices, schools and colleges were boycotted which disrupted the official machinery. The impact and repressive action adopted in East Bengal and Assam Province was worst than Bengal. The indiscriminate and merciless police attack on procession organised at Barisal in 1906 shocked the entire country. The impact of Bengal Partition and the successive expansion of Swadeshi Movement in Bombay Presidency were tremendous. Tilak, C.M.Paranjape, Mrs.A.V.Joshi, Mrs.Ketkar, Vishnu Govind Vijapurkar, Mahadev Rajaram Bodos made no stone unturned to intensify the heat of agitation in entire Presidency. Infact Tilak spearheaded the movement and travelled widely to propagate the concept of Swarajya, Swadeshi, boycott and national school. The boycott of foreign goods became not only symbolic but also provided avenues to the establishment of Swadeshi industries. The
Intelligence Branch confidential report of Bengal government quote the progress of Swadeshi movement as such “The Progress of the movement was reported from 23 districts in United Provinces, 15 towns in Central provinces, 24 towns in the Bombay presidency, 20 districts in the Punjab and districts in the Madras Presidency”47. In April 1907 B.C.Pal visited Madras Presidency, addressed mass rallies in Madras city and selected district towns and appeared for support of extremist cause. Tilak visited United Province also the moderate strong hold as well as central province and the Punjab. Tilak and his allies in Maharashtra long chatting at their relative importance in the Congress condemned the partition of Bengal and urged the country to rally behind the Bengalis in their hour of need. We must act and not only hold meetings, argued Tilak in the refrain of Bengalis. He welcomed boycott on the grounds that the government will not shed its pride unless we do some thing to make government angry. Tilak called upon fellow Maharastrians to give “the Bengalis all necessary help”48 organized a bonfire of British cloth in Poona in October 1905. Several Swadeshi institutions opened in the region. Tilak opened Swadeshi Society in Bombay to promote to sale of local goods.

The New Indian Press wrote “Absolute national autonomy is the goal. The nation must succeed in gaining it or must perish in the attempt. Revolution is inevitable. The Yugantar commented that war of revolution was for better than death in peace and it urged the Indians to draw inspirations from Japan’s victory over Russia”49.
M.K. Gandhi an unfamiliar name in national movement, who was in South Africa in 1908 quotes that “The real awakening (of India) took place after the partition of India.... the day may considered to be the day of the partition of British empire. The demand for the abrogation of partition is tantamount to a demand for Home Rule...After partition, people saw that petitions must be backed by force and they must be capable of suffering. This new spirit must be considered to be the chief result of partition”50.

The Post-Swadeshi Development:

The split in Congress and transportation of Tilak for 6 years and Aurobindo’s retirement from politics and life of recluse in Pondichery, and subdued importance to B.C. Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai minimized the importance of Congress in national politics. The moderate leaders utilized the occasion to eliminate extremist group in Toto and dropped the passive resistance principle from the Congress programme by resolving necessary amendments in 1908, Annual Convention. The 1909 Morely - Minto reforms and creation of religion based electorates shattered the dreams of moderate elites. The strong trustworthy moderates like S.N. Banerjee, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru criticised the divide and rule policy, once again adopted by British. Gokhale too was dismayed and expressed the future of Congress as such. “The organisation evolved by the genius of Hume out of the material prepared by succession of workers in different parts of the country is crumbling in to pieces”51. The moderate leadership made an unsuccessful attempt to seek better deal from the alien government. It
eventually lost its popularity and masses support and even enthusiasm to strengthen its base. The Congress further reconstituted the structure through 1911 and 1912 amendment. The only notable achievement it received was the annal of Bengal Partition in 1911.

The success and credibility largely go to the militant group who organised revolutionary activities and kept the pace of movement under the guidance of extremist leaders. The members of Abhinava Bharat Society and Anusilan Samitis, Bharat Mata Society of Punjab, an informal supporters of extremist elites wide spread revolutionary activities after their leaders imprisonment. B.G.Tilak though not directly supported the violent activities but his blessings for the upsurgive actions were evident. The novels of Bankimchandra Chatarjee, secret activities of Aurobindo and eloquent speeches of Vivekanand produced favourable climate for the rise of revolutionary activities. The Nasik, Alipore, Tirvunavelly and Delhi Conspiracy subversive and violent activities were testimony to the Post – Swadeshi Movement developments that gave sleepless nights to the alien government in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Punjab Province. The young men of small circle kept the momentum alive by their secret activities. The governmental machinery subdued the militant activities, quite a few hanged and several shot dead and received rigorous imprisonment. They too became the martyrs whose sacrifice further aroused the spirit of freedom.
Home Rule Movement:

The out break of World - War -I, release of Tilak the emergence of Annie Beasant, Muslim League's demand for self government and Congress party's acceptance of separate electorate were the favourable factors for the launch of Home Rule Movement. The decay of moderate elites control over Congress and subsequently the death of Gokhale and Feroz Shah Mehta and rapprochement endeavour of Annie Besant to seek re-entry for Tilak, created an atmosphere to demand Home-Rule. Mrs. Annie Besant played an important role to consolidate the political forces and seek re-entry of radical group. She being an alien made remarkable achievement in socio-economic field and demanded substantial political rights. She started a weekly 'Common Wheel' in 1914. She went to England and won the support of many progressive leaders to India's course. She told the English public that if England wanted the loyalty in times of stress and strain the price of India's loyalty was India's freedom. She moved a resolution in 1915 session to establish Home -Rule League which was rejected by Moderate Leadership. Yet she complained her views through New India and Common Wheel journals and communicated the desire with Tilak. Beasant and Tilak felt it is the right opportunity to launch the movement.

The progress and impact of the Home Rule Movement:-

The Home Rule Movement was jointly launched by Tilak and Mrs Besant. Tilak toured widely to propagate the idea of self-rule "Bombay Provincial
Conference met at Belgaum on 27 to 29th April. Tilak delivered two significant speeches. The conference was attended by 1800 delegates. It was successful.

The Home Rule Movement was formally launched at Belgaum, in his speech Tilak said Swarajya was key to all things, he called the People to join Home-Rule league”.

Tilak’s maiden speech at Pune on 1st May 1916 was historic. He analysed the indepth meaning and significance of Swarajya. “Swarajya is my birthright; I shall have it”. His sacred message echoed all over India. He coined the same message in whirlwind tour. His call instilled the spirit of freedom among the people. On a similar line Annie Beasant started Home-Rule Movement. The leagues joined together and jointly operated the movement with full co-operation. Tilak activities confined to Bombay Presidency and Central Province while Mrs Beasant covered Madras and the rest of the Provinces. It was during this period both the factions of Congress united and Tilak emerged as the sole leader of Congress after the death of Gokhale.

The first democratic line movement soon gained momentum. The Home-Rule leagues were opened all over India. The response from the public was tremendous. The popularity of movement alarmed the government, subsequently adopted repressive measures. The Press Act 1910 and Defence Act repealed and penalty imposed on the offenders. The Leagues offices raided and property confiscated. Annie Beasant’s internment and arrest of Tilak halted the process of the movement which led to the failure. The significance of the movement was the integrity of ‘Language, Area and the Organization’. Middle
class people actively supported the movement. The mass protest, haratal, open criticism of government policy and action began on a brighter note.

**Movement in North Karnataka:**

Tilak’s call for the movement received good response from regional leadership. Alur Venkatrao, Muduvidu Krishnarao, Kadapa Raghvendrarao, Gangadhar Deshpande, Rangnath Divakar, Gadigeyya Honnapurmath, Sakkari Balacharya, Karnad Sadashivrao and V.R. Kulakarni, Narayanrao Dambal (Gadag) actively participated in the movement. It was during this period Tilak’s historic visit (1916) to Dharwad, Hubli and Gadag strengthened the base for movement.

"A separate Karnataka Provincial Home-Rule league was setup. Gangadhar Deshpande, Alur Venkatrao were nominated as President and Secretary. During this period nearly 6 Kannada Manuels were printed for Home-Rule propaganda. On behalf of Home Rule, Alur opened hospital for the treatment of hundreds of patients. Shrinivas Jog treated the patients suffering from influenza. During the same period Shantakavi (Sakkari Balacharya) toured widely even outside district, organized Harikirtane to propagate Home-Rule, the Vidhya Ranya Kirthane was most popular"53. Narayanrao Dambal and V.R. Kulakarni of Gadag took part in the movement.
The Third Phase, 1920 – 1947:

M.K.Gandhi led the last phase of Indian Freedom Movement. He was a farsighted man of larger vision, a psychologist, a strategist, a diplomat, a great economist above all a great human being. He knew that it is impossible to fight against the mighty British Empire with arms and ammunition. Hence adopted Satyagraha as a base and Non-violence and truth as principles to fight against alien government.

Gandhi toured extensively to gauge the socio-economic condition of India as per the advice of his political mentor Gokhale, after successful return from South Africa. He witnessed the poverty stricken rural people living in misery with lack of faith, idleness and slumbered in darkness. He decided to overcome their problems and make use of idle resources as assets by bringing them in to national mainstream. Gandhi adopted constructive programmes for his mission. He established Ashram at Sabaramati and adopted socio-economic regeneration programmes on Swadeshi principle. "Gandhi always considered Khadi as the central Sun around which other village industries revolved like so many Planets". His Sabaramati experiment succeeded and there after it was extended to other localities. Large number of men and women from all sections actively joined the mission. They adopted Swadeshi as their method of action. Gandhi was a self-made man. He practiced first, then advised and guided the followers to step in with firm conviction. He gave a new strength, direction and inspiration to countrymen and made them self confident and fearless. His simplicity has the magic power of attraction.
Gandhi's simple living and high thinking attracted the laymen. His method of action, work-culture enabled them to step under his shadow and that was how he became leader of the masses and was called Mahatma.

M.K. Gandhi emerged as a sole leader of Indian National Congress after the death of Tilak on August 1, 1920. The same day Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy, surrendering his ‘Titles and Medals’ and indicated to launch ‘Non Co-operation Movement’. The favourable factors for launching the movement were i.e. The Rowlett Act, the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre and the eye-wash Hunter Commission report, the atrocities of the government on protest rallies against the report and the Khilafat repercussion. The said issues made people discontent and dissatisfied which ultimately led to launch the movement under Gandhi's leadership. The Viceroy refused to apologise and rejected the demands of Gandhi. Congress organized a special session during September 1920 at Calcutta passed a resolution on non-violent, Non-co operation. "The resolution which was moved and defended by Gandhiji set certain objectives before the nation. Swaraj for India and correcting the Khilafat wrongs ....... he decided to wear lion-cloth in order to identify himself with millions of simple and poor people of India". Gandhi, Moulana Shaukat Ali and several frontier leaders travelled extensively and propagated the idea of Swaraj in one year and importance of Swadeshi. They visited Gadag-Betageri as part of their programme.

The A.I.C.C. Session was held from 24th to 31st December, 1920 at Nagpur. 800 representatives attended from Karnataka, among them Ananthrao
Jalihal, Vasudev Umachagi, Venkatarao Huilagol, Lingo Patil attended the Session from Gadag. The session ratified the resolution adopted during Calcutta session which was historic in the political history of India and Karnataka and Gadag. It was first broad based National movement organised on Non-violent principles under the leadership of M.K. Gandhi. The significance of the movement was the adoption of 'Constructive and Combative Programmes' throughout the nation. The long standing demand of Kannadigas for separate Provincial congress committee met during the session. Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee was established in Gadag. Gadag became the Head Quarter and centre of attraction for Provincial Committee activities.

**Non-Co-operation Movement:**

Non-co-operation means refusal to assist the Government which does not listen to people's grievance and which has become corrupt in their view.

"The Non Co-operation movement launched by Gandhi had to aspects, Constructive and Combative"56. Constructive programmes include promotion of Swadeshi which include revival of Charakha and Khaddar operation, removal of untouchability promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, prohibition of alcohol drinks, and advent of National Schools. Combative programme include Boycott of courts, School and Colleges and Councils. In short, Non Co-operation with British Empire in every sphere.
Progress and Impact of the movement at National level:

The Non Co-operation and Khilafat Movement ran in parallel in a promising note. The operation of the movement created tremendous enthusiasm among people and students. Students boycotted School and Colleges in important centres such as Aligarh, Banaras, Bombay, Calcutta, Patna, Ahmedabad, Pune, and Madras. Where ever Gandhi made his appearance there for the movement was the ordinary progress of educational work seriously interrupted. Lawyers suspended their practice, some of them resigned, and prominent among them were C.R.Das, Motilal Nehru, C. Rajagopalcharya and others. Nyaya panchayat opened, law suits settled, Khaddar became extensive, prohibition of alcohol, boycott of foreign goods was under taken seriously. The Prince of Wales, welcome function was completely boycotted in Bombay and the same fate continued in other places.

The effect of the movement has serious implication on Government as its revenue decreased and collection of stamp duty fell. It adopted stiff measures, and applied Defence India act and Criminal Amendment Act. Prominent leaders were arrested namely C.R.Das, Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajapat Rai, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali, Subhas Bose and others. NGOs were declared illegal and Khilafat and Congress offices raided. Protest and Haratal held. Police lathi charged. There was wide spread repercussion through out the country. “By the time annual session of Congress was held at Ahmedabad in December 1921, 20,000 people had been jailed for committing Civil disobedience and sedition. During December 1921 and January 1922, ten thousand
more Indians were sent in prison for political offences. Then came the Chouri-Choura incident (February 1922). Police fired on peaceful procession. Public went furious. Police entered the building for protection. People set fire to the building eventually 21 policemen died. Shocked by the incident Gandhi suspended the movement on moral and ethical ground\textsuperscript{57}. The movement was called back by Gandhi on 23 February 1922 due to Chauri Chaura tragedy.

**Civil Dis-Obedience at National Level (1930-34):**

Civil Dis-obedience is branch of Satyagraha adopted as one of the fundamental tenet during Indian Freedom Movement. The following factors were responsible to launch this movement in entire India. The Constructive programmes adopted since 1920 paid rich dividend, British government increased land tax, imposed tax on salt, successful boycott of Simon Commission and Gandhi’s 11 point demands rejected by Viceroy. “The stage for the movement was set during Lahore Congress Session in December 1929”\textsuperscript{58}. The AICC adopted the following programmes to be undertaken during the movement under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. 1] Complete Freedom resolution to adopt in Toto. 2] 26th January 1930 to observe as Independence Day. 3] Legislator’s urged to resign. 4] Gandhi had given the full power to launch the movement.

**The Historic Dandi March:**

“Gandhi along with his 78 dedicated disciples marched towards Dandi from Sabaramati, a distance of 241 Miles on foot on 12th March 1930”\textsuperscript{59}. Mailar Mahadeva, a young nationalist from undivided Dharwad district was one
among them. The scene was historic, roughly 75000 people gathered to witness and gave warm send off to pilgrimage like Dandi Yatra. The Indian and Western Journalists witnessed the occasion with curiosity and enthusiasm. Sardar Patel visited every village propagated and campaigned its significance. Gandhi received tremendous welcome of public enroute to Dandi and reached the venue on 5th April, 1930. On 6th April, along with disciples, Gandhi brought lump of Sea water, boiled and prepared the Salt, thus broke the law. He gave a call to people defy 'Salt Law' which received tremendous response in entire India.

Gandhi’s call received spontaneous response throughout India. The Satyagraha, Haratal and Picketing were observed with great zeal and courage despite stiff measures adopted by the British government. The Dharasana Satyagraha led by Sarojini Naidu and Imamsab on 21st May was most memorable. Despite Police lathicharge nearly 2500 Satyagrahis though sustained injury never turned violent, marched ahead, and peacefully defied Salt law. “At Wadala, fifteen thousand satyagrahis violated the Salt law”60. In Karnataka and in Gujarat the peasants started the no - tax campaign. The movement marched ahead in entire India as per the Gandhian norms and received electrified response despite the arrest of prominent leaders and imposition of strict laws to prevent the momentum. The boycott of foreign goods, picketing infront of liquor shops and defy of laws continued and the pace of the movement did not slump but increased day by day. The Farmers, Textile Mill and Tea Estate workers joined the movement with vigour and
courage. The Jungle Satyagraha in Karnataka, Maharashtra and Central Province was successful. Large numbers of women for the first time wholeheartedly took active part and were imprisoned in the process.

The Prison Cells became pilgrimages and educational centres for future course of action. Gandhi released from prison went to London to attend Round Table Conference. The Mission failed but the pace of movement and high handedness of British authorities did not. “The Government continued repressive oppression even arrested leaders during AICC Session, nearly 130000 arrested in 15 months. The Civil Disobedience movement was withdrawn on 7th April 1934”61. The movement became a milestone path to the Freedom. Rural mass became conscious of their rights and understood the grim reality of Freedom. Women wholeheartedly participated in the movement. Large number of Agriculture and Industrial workers took part and the Government revenue came down. The Slump in Industrial and Agricultural goods was seriously felt and the boycott almost closed business establishments. As a result, the British Government granted regional autonomy. Subsequently elections were held and Congress won the elections. The 1935 Dyrachy Act was passed.

**Quit India Movement -1942:-**

The British War Cabinet sent a Cripp’s Mission to India with a new constitution proposal. The INC and Muslim league outrightly rejected the proposal. Gandhi declared it as “Post-dated cheque on crashing Bank”62.
Favourable factors to launch the Movement:

Japan captured Burma and its forces reared Assam in early 1942. British presence in India may compell the Japanese to intrude India, long discussions took place in this regard. The racial discrimination continued during the war, adequate compensation was not given to the land owners used for war purpose by British. Other than this British had given easy passage to escape, the Indian soldier gave tough passage during the Burma War. The rise in prices brought discontentment among people. They lost faith in paper currency, famine broke during this period in Bengal, thousands of people died, and millions starved hungry. All these factors led Gandhi to take advantage of the condition and launch the final onslaught on British regime in India. On 14th July 1942 the AICC Session held under the presidentship of Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad. A resolution was passed to launch the final onslaught on British Empire and a call was given to 'Quit-India'.

Quit - India Movement at National Level:

On 7th and 8th August, 1942 a meeting was held at Bombay, nearly 10,000 representatives from all over India attended the meeting. Gandhi called the people to "Do or Die" gave marching signal to British Empire as Quit-India..... "I will say nothing short of freedom ...... We will do or die"63. There was tremendous impact in the minds of people for Gandhi's call. The whole nation determined to break slavery chain and prepared for any trial.
Progress and Impact of the Movement:

On August 9th in the morning Gandhi, Azad, Nehru and Congress working committee members were arrested before the start of AICC Session and taken to Pune by special train. The government was so swift that provincial and district leaders. The Congress was declared an illegal organisation. The arrest news of Gandhi and national leaders spread like wild fire. There was spontaneous reaction. Haratal, procession held in various centres i.e., Bombay, Pune, Banaras, Allahabad, Mathura, Calcutta, Dacca. Police lathi-charged and fired, many people killed, thousands of men arrested. The incident created panic and resentment among people. Haratal observed in district and Tehsils. Police arrested prominent leaders and some Socialist leaders evaded the arrest.

The nation wide strike held from Bombay to Benar, Karachi to Calcutta. Mill Workers, labourers joined the movement, Textile Mill, Tea Estates closed. Curfew imposed yet the movement did not slump, students and youths took active participation. School and Colleges closed had complete deserted look from Karachi to Calcutta, Delhi to Madras. In places like Mathura, Benar, Allahabad, Meerat huge meeting held, protest rallies organised. In Satara a Magistrate was forced to wear Gandhi Cap. The Government adopted repressive measures. The repercussions were severe. The tempo of the movement intensified, leaders even at Tehsil level imprisoned. Volunteers, workers, students went on rampage, attacked police stations, disrupted railway and telegraph communication, military vehicles destroyed, mob turned violent,
policemen and officials killed. Government lost control, in certain places parallel government run:

**Underground Activities:**

The leader's evaded arrest set up centralised machinery to carry out the movement. Ram Manohar Lohia, Aruna Asif Ali, Sucheta Kripalani, Patawardhan, Ranganath Diwakar from Karnataka and others. They worked in close co-operation with similar groups which conducted operation from Cathedral Street from Bombay. Instructions issued from Central Directorate from AICC to Provincial level which was in typed, cyclostyled form of propaganda literature. Underground camps held in various places to chalk out programmes for selected workers, training was given how to disrupt British Government service. Bulletins issued to different centres. Students, Activists distributed them, excesses committed by government briefed to the people. In entire nation, morchas organised students, participated in planned action held throughout India. Government was almost ineffective to stop the same. Government offices ransacked and Communication link cut down. There was no loot, no arson even police lathi charge became ineffective till September 15th 1942. Since then leaders escaped from the imprisonment kept the movement alive for one year. They mobilised resources and received support from Jayaprakash Narayan and others. The organised resistance continued till January 1943, attacking police station, tension continued in Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Karnataka, Assam and Bengal. On 9th August 1943, Quit-India
movement anniversary held all over India. Once again mass disruption took place, the movement continued only to be slackened during May 1944.

"According to the British Government Report 940 Killed, 1630 injured 60,000 arrested, but as per Ram Manohar Lohia nearly 10,000 killed, 3 lakh imprisoned" 64.

Effect of the Movement:

British Empire shaken and paralysed. The underground activists kept the movement alive. Press played historic role in the movement. Leaders arrest did not stop the movement but the tempo and pace of the movement continued with more vigour and patriotic zeal. Students played an important role.

India towards Independence:

In May 1944 Gandhi was unconditionally released on medical ground. He established contact with Jinnah through correspondence for settlement between Congress and Muslim League. In September 1944 Gandhi met Jinnah in Bombay to find solution for United India but failed in the process as Jinnah stood firm for creation of Independent Pakistan. In the middle of 1945, Congress leaders released from the Jail. Gandhi and Congress Leaders putforth for United India demand for which Muslim League stuck back to two nation formula.

The Cabinet Mission appointed by British Labour government recommended a ‘Constituent Assembly for India’ and suggested an Interim Government. The Congress and Muslim League accepted the
recommendations. Nehru assumed the charge as head of Interim government. Muslim League did not join hence the demand for Pakistan became irresistible. MountBatten, the Viceroy of India prepared the partition scheme which was accepted by Congress and Muslim League. As a result, India became independent nation on 15th August, 1947.
References


2. Ibid, P. 3.


4. Ibid, P.16.


8. Ibid, P.112.


12. Ibid, P.121.


18. Ibid, P.129.


29. Ibid, P. 85.

30. Ibid, P. 86.


33. Ibid, P. 25.


37. Ibid, P.108.


39. Ibid, P.137.
41. Ibid, P.29.
42. Ibid, P.23.
43. Ibid, P.23.
46. Ibid, P.39.
48. Ibid, P. 56.
59. Ibid, P.134.
60. Ibid, P.136.
61. Ibid, P.146.
64. Ibid, P.179.