CHAPTER III
Indian Nationalism in Embryo: the Preparatory period of Indian Nationalism.

The English (the East India Company) came to India in the seventeenth century. They came as traders. But before long they saw the weaknesses of the quarrelling Indian rulers, and took to the policy of joining one against another. Soon they became the ruler of India. Tagore writes: "Baniker mandanda dekha dilo pohale sarbari rajdandarupe." — with the advent of dawn the traders' balance took the shape of the royal wand.

By the end of the 18th century, the British rule was definitely established in Bengal, and there was a phenomenal progress in every walk of life in Bengal in course of the next century. Although the material condition remained low, there appeared a high standard of rational thinking in Bengal leading to religious and social reforms which regenerated the whole of India. There was a quick development of intellectual eminence there, and literature which then came into existence has taken its rank with the most developed literature of the modern world. The sense of Indian nationalism and deep patriotic feeling had its birth in Bengal. Its political ideas and political organizations gave India a quick progress.

Impact of Western culture on education and culture. The impact of Western culture on India was very great. Western education broke the barrier and opened the floodgate of Western ideas, and went a long way towards infusing nationalism in India. Patriotism and love of freedom was mostly a product of English
education in India. English education widened the outlook of the people of India. There was no conception of Indian nationalism at the commencement of British rule. The growth of modern political concepts such as nationalism, nationality, patriotism and political rights owes to the impact of Western culture. It has already been mentioned that nationalism grew in Bengal earlier than any other parts of India. But even at the beginning of the 19th century, the Bengalees had hardly any feeling for the people of the parts of India beyond Bengal, and felt no concern for the rest of India. The Bengalees felt a sort of glory in every successive British victory over an Indian State which was treated as an occasion for thanksgiving to the Divine providence. Heber, writing in 1824, said that the Hindustanees regarded the Bengalees as no less foreigners than the English.\\(1)\\ This parochial spirit was created to an extent by historical traditions and the difficulties of communication between different parts of India. Further, the devastations caused by the Marathas all over Hindusthan, particularly in Bengal and Rajputana, made them odious to the inhabitants of these regions, and the dread of the Bargis supplied theme to lullaby songs in Bengal. The Bengalees were the first to have English education. The Supreme Court of Calcutta was founded in 1774, and the Hindus of Bengal became eager to acquire a smattering of English. As a result of their having English education first, they were taken up by the English in their administrative machinery for India. Gradually, the Bengalees became visible in almost all the Indian provinces, and so they also began to be looked upon by the people of those
In this section some sporadic facts and incidents that exerted not immediate but mediate influence on the formation of Indian nationalism have been recorded. The Upururge of 1857-8 in one such incident; but this being an event to be somewhat elaborately dealt with has been exclusively treated in Section II of this chapter.

English education steadily spread and a common language for India was furnished. Railway and posts and telegraphs and the same administration all over India also contributed to the unity of India. The single administration for the whole country was one of the causes of the spread of the Upururge of 1857-8. Indian nationalism came to embryo with the opening of the 19th century. Raja Rammohan Roy (1774-1833) was the first to have the concept of nation. He was the first Indian who mastered English and imbied deep the European concept of nationality. Derozio (1809-31) introduced free thinking among a section of the Bengalee students, and was a heralder of a new age in Bengal's reawakening. We shall see that towards the end of the 19th century, that is to say, after the period of doldrums following the Upururge of 1857-8, political awakening or the spread of national feeling received a steady course. But before this, the impact of Western education and culture gave birth to the concept of nation in some individual Indians. Men like Raja Rammohan Roy, Rajnarain Bose, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee had the perfect concept of European nation.
In shaping Indian nationalism, therefore, the impact of Western education can hardly be exaggerated. Many eminent Englishmen had already conceived the power of Western education in awakening India. In 1832 R. Rickards in his 'India' observed: "The school-master is abroad with his primer, pursuing a course which no power of man can hereafter arrest. ...... Through the medium of schools, literary meetings, and meetings, printed books, all the learning and sciences of Europe. Will be greedily imbibed, and securely domiciled by the Hindoos of India. .... The knowledge now diffused and diffusing throughout India will shortly constitute a power which three hundred thousand British bayonets will be unable to control." (2) Even the East Indian Company, decades before Rickard's warning to the English people, felt hesitant in imparting Western education to the people of Indian subcontinent. In 1792 when Wilberforce proposed to add two clauses to the Charter Act for sending out schoolmasters to India the Directors of the East India Company protested vehemently against the proposal. "On that occasion one of the Directors stated that we had just lost America from our folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India; if the natives required anything in the way of education they must come to England for it". (3)

The British sometimes acted as thesis, anti-thesis and even as synthesis in the educational, cultural, political and national progress of India. (We all know that it is Allan
Octavian Hume whose initiative established the Indian National Congress in India in 1885. A section of the English even including Lord Dufferin denounced it later on seeing its rapid progress, while another humanitarian section of the English including Sir Henry Cotton, Bardly Norton, Sir William Wedderburn, Charles Bradlaugh desired more progress for it and encouraged it. We know how the Churchill Government attempted vigorously to retain the Indian empire and how subsequently Attlee became impatient to give India freedom. It is the English that brought India from the medieval stage to the modern stage and even to freedom. The English proposed, the English opposed, the English decided. The Ilbert Bill commotion may be cited as an example. In this and in the next chapter we shall come across plenty of cases testifying to this.

Till 1835 there was a controversy as to education in India—whether it should be indigenous education or English education, whether the medium of instruction should be vernaculars or English. A section of the English which had already relished Indian lore held that the proposed Indian education should be the indigenous education through vernaculars, while their other group held that it was English lore and English language that India should acquire. It is by the efforts of the English that English education was introduced in India. It was also by the efforts of the English that the study of classics was preserved in India. It is the English that began to write authentic accounts of India and made her glory known to her people and to the world.

Warren Hastings (1772-1785), the first Governor General, who encouraged Pandits and Maulavis, founded the Calcutta Madrasa
for Islamic studies in 1781. He had already got the 'Vivadarnavasetu' compiled by several Pandits (1773), translated it into Persian, and rendered it from Persian into English as Halhed's 'Gentoo Code' (1774) which was meant to be a code of laws for Company's Hindu subjects.

In 1784 the Asiatic Society of Bengal, established by Sir William Jones (1746-1794) who, along with Charles Wilkins (1750-1835) and Colebrooke (1765-1837), gave the first stimulus to the revival of the Hindu classics. In 1785 the 'Bhagavad-Gita' was first translated into English by Charles Wilkins and it was known as the 'Song Celestial'.

This was the first rendering of a Sanskrit work into English. In 1786 Jones stated of a common source of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic and Persian in his Presidential Address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The fact that an Englishman gave place to Sanskrit among European classics was notable with regard to Indian prestige. In 1788-89, the Code of Manu, the greatest of the Hindu law-books, was Englished by Jones. Jones translated Kalidasa's 'Sakuntala' into English in 1789. In 1791 Forster rendered it into German from the English version. The German translation drew the notice of Herder (1744-1803), the votary of world culture, who introduced it to Goethe "on whom the effect was as tremendous as that of the discovery of America on geographers and of Neptune on students of astronomy". 'Sakuntala' served as a feeder of the German Romantic Movement in literature which was pioneered by Goethe (1750-1832). Colebrooke's 'Digest of Hindu Law' and Hamilton's 'Hedaya', a text-book on Mohammedan
Law, were published in 1791. Lord Cornwallis founded the Sanskrit College at Benares in 1792.

First stage With the help of the English, the Hindus and Muslims discovered themselves, their art, literature, philosophy and law. This produced some sort of self-possession, and a sense of dignity in them. They realised that they were not uncivilized savages. The English also came to recognize this. This was the first stage of nationalism in India.

Permanent In 1793 the permanent settlement of land revenues was introduced. It established landholding capitalism on firm and secure foundations. The zemindars became the patrons of education, literature and culture. They, of course, became pro-British and hindered the political progress of India. Exceptions were not, however, wanting. Zemindari system was allied to agricultural system. Agriculture ties man to land; it makes man more or less conservative and keeps him away from progressive ideas. Moreover, India ever retained the primitive mode of cultivation, and depended solely on human labour; it thus restricted the movement of the larger section of the population, and kept it unenterprising. Comfort, conservatism, timidity and immobility hinder political progress. It was the middle, the mobile class that imbibed the spirit of nationalism and was reckless in the fight for freedom. Industry and Commerce brought mobility, caused enlightened outlook and spread education.

Thomas Paine's In 1796 Thomas Paine's 'Age of Reason' was published. It made a vigorous attack on the religious dogmas of the 18th century. It became a powerful factor
in the revolution of religious thought. His work was widely read by the Bengalee scholars in the twenties and thirties of the 19th century.

The Fort William College was established in 1800 with William Carey as Principal. It continued till 1854.

Schlegel's discovery of Sanskrit The German poet and philosopher Schlegel's discovery of Sanskrit through Alexander Hamilton (one of the East India Company's servants detained in Paris during the Napoleonic Wars) made him write his book 'On the Language and wisdom of the Indians'.

Peninsular War The Peninsular War during 1808-13 started as a national movement against Napoleon. In 1813 the War of Liberation in Germany began. Nationalism now acquired a new significance in European thought.

Hindu College Through the initiative of David Hare, Radha Kanta Dev, Buddh Nath Mukherjee, Edward Hyde East and Rammohan Roy, the Hindu College was founded in 1817 in Calcutta for the study of English and Indian languages as well as Eastern and Western arts and sciences.

'Dig-darshan' In 1818 'Dig-darshan', the first literary journal in Bengali was established by the Christian missionaries at Serampore. A few months later an English edition of that monthly was also published.

Six Oriental Colleges, including the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, were founded in 1823.
Derozio: Western influence of Indian culture. Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-1831), a half-caste Portuguese, introduced the principles of the French Revolution and romanticism among the students of the Hindu College. Derozio's teachings brought about a virtual revolution in manners, morals and sentiments in the youths of Bengal.

Derozio regarded himself as an Indian. He wrote many verses, a specimen of which is shown below:

"My countrymen! in the days of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,
And worshipped as a deity thou wast,
Where is that glory, where that reverence now?
The eagle pinion is chained down at last,
And grovelling in the lowly dust art thou,
Thy minstrel hath no wreath to weave for thee
Save the sad story of thy misery!"

This poem published in 1827 may be regarded as the first patriotic poem written in India. Derozio developed a passionate yearning for liberty and patriotic feeling among the English-educated young men in Bengal.

However, the early effect of Western influence was that at the beginning a section of English-educated Bengali youths were carried away by a strong current of Western culture and became very much anglicized and had inordinate fondness for everything English. They adopted Western ideas and habits,
dresses and mannerisms, customs and usages, and openly showed their repugnance to everything Indian. They had a sneering contempt for almost everything Indian. Soon a small group of Westernised people formed a distinct section within the Indian community. But fortunately a reaction was not long in coming. Rationalism was the watchword of the first generation of English-educated Bengalees; the watchword of the second generation, of the English-educated Bengalees during the third quarter of the nineteenth century was nationalism.

Shakespeare, Scott, Burns, Byron, Bacon, Hume, Paine, Bentham and Voltaire were some of the favourite foreign authors of the Bengalees during the period from 1821-31. In 1830 Alexander Duff, a representative of the Church of Scotland Assembly, came to Calcutta. He established a school called the General Assembly's Institution. Duff converted forty young Hindus during his stay. Thomas Paine's 'Age of Reason' was devoured widely by the Hindu students and scholars about this time.

The humanitarian movement in England made rapid strides since 1832. Its impact on India was powerful.

In 1835 Bentinck established English language as the official language of higher education in India. It thus fulfilled the dream of Raja Rammohan Roy (1774-1833).

The Calcutta Medical College was founded in 1835 by Lord William Bentinck. The Hooghly Mohsin College was established in 1836.

It was mainly by the efforts of Dwarkanath Tagore that
The 'Landholders' Society' was established in 1838.

Dwarakanath Tagore, Prosonno Tagore and W.C. Harry, editor of the 'Englishman' were its leaders. The Society promoted political consciousness, although it was primarily intended to look into the interests of the landholders. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra observed that the Society might be regarded as the pioneer of freedom in this country. The Society gave to the people the first lesson in the art of fighting constitutionally to assert their claims and give expression to their opinions. The Society enlisted the cooperation of some Englishmen who sympathized with the political aspirations of the Indians. The English sympathy and the political character of the Society will be evident from Mr. Turton's speech in the meeting of the Society on November 30, 1839: "It was not as a conquered nation that he desired to retain the inhabitants of India as British subjects, but as brethren in every respect; as constituting a part of the Kingdom of Britain, as fellow-subjects — with the same feelings, the same interests and objects, and the same rights as the British-born inhabitants of England. He admired the principle adopted of old by the Romans, of incorporating their conquests with Rome, and granting to the conquered the privileges of Roman citizens." (4) The political character of the Landholder's Society becomes apparent from this speech.

In 1838 Rosen published the first edition of some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda.

Then the work was carried on by Burnouf, Roth and Max Muller whose researches laid the foundations of Comparative Religion.

In 1839 Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905) established the 'Tattva-bodhini Sabha' or Truth-Seeking Society. It marked an epoch
in the literary and religious history of Bengal. The Tattva-
bodhini Patrika, the organ of that Sabha, was published in
1843 with Akshoy Kumar Datta as the editor. It sought, among
other things, to "Indianize European Science" and discuss
Western philosophies of the philosophers like
Carlyle, Fichte, Newman and Comte.

Durham Report which was out in 1839 enunciated new principles of colonial government for Britain.

British friends of India: their role in evolution of Indian nationalism. Mr. William Adam, Raja Rammohan Roy's friend, was continuing the political agitation in England on behalf of India which the Raja had initiated. Mr. Adam, to rouse the interests of the English public in Indian affairs, established the 'British India Society' in July, 1839, and edited a journal called the 'British India Advocate.' The Landholders' Society of Calcutta began to co-operate with the British India Society in London and appointed a committee to supply information to the latter about Indian's grievances and demands. The Landholders' Society was fully cognizant of the beneficient effects of political agitation in England, such as was carried on by Rammohan and after him Adam, and it decided, at the instance of Dwarakanath Tagore, to appoint paid agents in England for the same purpose. This procedure had important consequences for the future. Mr. Thompson was a well-known public man in England and was appointed such an agent in July, 1843. He had accompanied Dwarakanath Tagore to India when
he returned from London in January, 1843. He roused unparalleled enthusiasm among the Young Bengalies by a series of lectures and was instrumental in founding the 'Bengal British India Society' on April 20, 1843. The Landholders' Society represented the aristocracy of wealth, and the Bengal British India Society the aristocracy of intelligence. Although they did not achieve great popularity, there can be no doubt that they served to rouse the political consciousness of the people.

On April 18, 1843, the Hindu College students held a public meeting in the Town Hall to send a memorial to the Court of Proprietors praying for the bestowal of more offices on Indians. Tara Chand Chakravarty vigorously attacked the maintenance of the Civil Service as a monopoly of Englishmen, and pleaded for opening it to public competition.

In 1846 the Krishnanagar College was founded for the spread of Western education in Bengal. In 1849 the Bethune College was established in Calcutta for girls' education on modern Western lines.

The establishment of more and more Colleges indicates the spread of higher education, and the spread of education quickens nationalism.

In 1851 the British Indian Association was established in the wake of the 'Black Acts' dispute. In 1849 Mr. Bethune, the Law Member of the
Government, drafted bills with a view to extending the jurisdiction of the East India Company’s Criminal Courts over the British-born subjects. Hitherto, these were subject only to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, and the result was that the people in Moffussil had practically no judicial remedy against their oppression, as it was hardly possible for them to carry on litigation in the Supreme Court in Calcutta. The bills were eminently just; but the European Community in Bengal characterized them as Black Acts and carried on a violent agitation. The Government was thus forced to withdraw them in spite of strong protests of the Bengalee leaders. The educated community of Bengal felt the need of a strong political association to safeguard Indian interests against the organized attacks of the European community. The result was that the two existing political associations in Bengal, the Landholders’ Society and the Bengal British India Society, amalgamated, and the British Indian Association was founded on October 31, 1851. From the very beginning the Association had an all-India outlook. The Committee of the Association carried on correspondence with leading political figures of other provinces. A branch was founded in Madras which soon cut off its connection with the parent body. At Poona and Bombay independent political associations of the same nature were also established. The British Indian Association sent a petition to the British Parliament in 1852 describing the evils of the union of political or executive power with the legislative, and prayed for the establishment of a representative legislature.
The Petitioners virtually desired that "the legislature of British India be placed on the footing of those enjoyed by most of the colonies of Her Majesty." (5) In England, on July 25, 1867, W.C. Bonnerjee delivered a long speech on "representative and responsible Government for India." The British Indian Association demanded the recognition of the principle of equality of all classes of citizens in the eye of law. The Association also prayed for the holding of the Civil Service Examination in India. The Association suggested various measures of reform. To rouse the interest of the masses in political questions it established local branches. It translated various bills into Bengali and circulated them extensively all over the Province. It framed questionnaire on important current topics like indigenous planting and circulated them. Peary Chand Mitra and Ramgopal Ghose urged the necessity of throwing open all offices, including Civil Service, without any reservation, to Indians, on the ground of equity, economy and the good of India. Dwarakanath Tagore spoke in favour of the introduction of trial by Jury both in the Supreme Court and Mofussil Courts. A new association called 'India League' was started in 1875 by a few advanced political thinkers of Bengal to awaken political consciousness and the sense of nationalism amongst the people. The India League had a useful
career although its life was brief. It was shortly supplanted by a new organization named 'Indian Association'.

Railway were first introduced in India in 1853. It has already been stated that railways went a long way in unifying India. But from the national point of view railways had their demerits, too. Railways quickened the mobilization of the British army in India. Further, British goods began to be transported to the remotest villages of India and raw materials carried away from the furthest corners. Nevertheless, with the spread of education these facts were known and the national sentiment of the educated people was indirectly fed.

In 1857, the Mutiny year, the University in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were also established in Bombay and Madras in the same year.

The Sannyasi rebellion was one of the most formidable that the British had to face almost at the very beginning of their rule in Bengal.

In 1760, the first sannyasi rebellion took place. Frightened of the rebels, Mr. White and Mr. Watt fled
away to Calcutta from Krishnanagar. The Fakirs made an assault in 1763 on the English at Bakhargunj. They captured the factory of the East India Company at Dacca. Felly and Lioester fled away surreptitiously. In 1765, the sannyasis took possession of the factory at Rampur-Boalia, and Baton and his men were brought to Patna and killed cruelly. Morrison, an English general, proceeded in 1766 with an army to chastise Rudranarayan, the ruler of Coochbehar, who was reluctant to abide by the policies adopted by the English. The sannyasis took the side of Rudranarayan and fought with him. Morrison fled away. Martle was killed in Jalpaiguri in an engagement with the sannyasis in 1769. The sannyasis soon assembled at Rangpur and made a big plan of expedition against the English. Kith was killed with his men in an attempt to capture the sannyasis in 1770. There was a fight in 1771 between Feltham and the fakirs at Ghoraghat, but neither side could secure an advantage. In 1772, in Rangpur, Captain Thomas and his men were all killed by the rebels. In 1773, at a place near Kumarkhali, major Doghlas and Captain Edward fought fiercely with the sannyasis but were killed, and many of the English fighting men were either killed or wounded, and the rest fled away for life. Also, a number of sannyasis died in the battle.
Fights between the English and the sannyasis and fakirs took place in Dinajpur, Bogra, Pabna, Dacca, Mymensingh, Barisal, Jessore, Nadia, Burdwan, Jalpaiguri, Coochbihar, on the border of Nepal, and at some places of North Bihar and Orissa.

This movement was initiated by Hindu sannyasis and Muslim fakirs, but they gained momentum from the support they received from the starving peasantry, dispossessed zemindars and the disbanded soldiers. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the motives which impelled the two religious groups to make almost annual incursions into Bengal. Their activities were increased after the great famine of 1770, and the economic distress drove the people in large numbers to join the sannyasis and defy the newly established British administration. The fighting qualities of the sannyasis were not negligible. They levied contributions on the zemindars and looted the houses of those who refused to pay. Encounters between the sannyasis and the British forces took place all over Western Bengal and Bihar, but the sannyasis could not be checked. The sannyasis, however, gradually moved their operations from Bengal and Bihar and probably joined the Marathas against the English.

Earlier discontents & uprisings. The Sepoy Mutiny took place in 1857-8. But there were earlier strings of discontents
and uprisings. We fail to find out a national cause behind
the Uprising of 1857-8, and it would be a greater failure to
find national tinge in those earlier risings. The causes were
entirely confined to the troops and were religious or connected
with non-payment of allowances or ill-treatment or breach of
faith on the part of the Government. The mutiny at Vellore in
1806 had a purely religious cause. The incident of 1824 regarding
the 47th Native Infantry which arrived at Barrackpur in order
to take part in some of the operations of the Burmese War as
the result of many grievances, one of which was that the sepoys
were asked to embark on board a ship. But whatever might have
been the causes, the mutiny at Barrackpur in November, 1824,
made a deep impression upon the sepoys, and the memory of the
martyrs for the cause of religion was long cherished by them
with reverence. There was a number of resistances against the
British but the causes were far from national. The Santal
rebellion took place in 1855-6. The grievances of the Santals
were against the "civilised people" and the Government. The
grievances were economic, but the rebellion had to put up
religious leaders before it actually started.

Sepoy Mutiny
It has already been said that the sepoys
rose in mutiny in 1857.
The Mutiny was not an outcome of the development of the sense of nationalism. Mere fight against the British does not constitute a war of independence; one must look to the object of the fight. Furthermore, it is not the number that counts, but the spirit behind the struggle; the fight against England carried on by a small body of Irishmen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been universally recognized as a war of independence. The uprising of 1857–8 was neither for national emancipation nor for national integration. It sought no social and political justice for all citizens, no self-determination. It only aimed at getting rid of temporary grievances which have nothing to do with the Nation as a political entity. The mutineers had no ulterior motive. The causes of the Mutiny, immediate and background, when carefully studied appear to be religious and personal grievances but not national.

The Enfield Rifle is the immediate cause of the Mutiny. The Enfield Rifle required a particular species of cartridge which was greased with lard made from the fat either of hog or ox. The sepoys, both Hindus and Muslims, were forced to taste this lard. It may be doubted whether there would have been a general revolt if there had not been the question of greased cartridges.

Also, the mysterious 'chapatis' caused a sense of alarm.
The Indian troops were ill paid. There were few Indian officers, and those too were of the lowest rank. The standard of living of a sepoy was very low. Further, for illegal gratifications he had to spend a lot. The European corps would take no share in the rough ordinary duties. The European officers were well paid, well fed. The sepoy had to pay for his uniform and buy his ration on credit from the 'bania' in the regimental market. His account was settled on the pay day, and after the deduction for his ration etc. the balance was paid to him; the balance sometimes comprised a rupee or a few annas. The sepoys had to defray the cost of carrying their personal belongings. Sometimes, they were not paid their 'battas' or allowances. The sepoy naturally smarted under a sense of unjustified inferiority. The policy of Subsidiary Alliance of Lord Wellesly and the Doctrine of Lapse of Lord Dalhousie were the two important remote causes. "Some Indian states .... also joined in the revolt but these were states which nursed a grievance because of their annexation by Lord Dalhousie," writes Abul Kalam Azad. (1) The policy of Subsidiary Alliance created bitterness in the minds of those rulers that were adversely affected by it. The British recklessly executed the Doctrine of Lapse. The Mutiny did not take place out of any love of freedom or love of country; tactless policies of the British created the revolt. However, the British were unknowingly hammering on feudalism which everywhere proved to be a hindrance to the growth of national
To the Muslims the annexation of Oudh and the proposal to remove the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah came as a shock. The forfeiture of the ex-Peshwa's pension and the annexation of Hindu States created alarm among the Hindus. Lest they should suffer a similar fate in future, the Hindu and Muslim Princes remaining unaffected by the policy of annexation also began to entertain a feeling of vague restlessness. Smith observes that "the minds of the civil population of all classes and ranks, Hindus and Muhammedans, princes and people, were agitated and disturbed by feelings of uneasiness and vague apprehension." (2) The annexation was not a blow to the princes, alone. Families dependent upon the favour of the Princes, officers who earned their livelihood by service in the Indian States, men who composed the militia of the local Rajas—all these were severely disturbed and filled with sullen resentment against the British.

The uneasiness created by the disturbance of material interests was aggravated by apprehension about the loss of caste and forcible conversion to Christianity. The abolition of Sati and infanticide, the widow remarriage legislation, the legal recognition of the right of inheritance of persons forsaking their ancestral religion, the aggressive spirit of missionaries, the spread of Western education, the introduction of female education, the construction of railways and electric telegraph—
these were all looked upon by many sepoys and civilians as attempts to destroy the Hindu and Muslim religions indirectly and to make this country a Christian land. Religious prejudices and social customs which were century-old and so dearly valued, were thought to be unsafe. Only a small educated minority in the Presidency towns welcomed the social legislation of the Government and the introduction of Western education. Also, the British arrogance, obstinacy, heedlessness, stirred up the Indians and caused the uprising of 1857-8. The English officials were not accessible, and so people failed to place their grievances before them. The differences in language and customs also widened the cleavage. The impersonal system of administration causing delay in taking action and involving frequent changes of policy found little response in the unaccustomed Indian hearts. The laws and judicial procedure appeared to be strange to the Indian people. Some contemporary Muslim writers go so far as to regard the non-admission of Indians into the legislature and administrative branches of the Government of India as the primary cause of the Mutiny of 1857. Sir Ahmad Khan points out that the exclusion of the natives from high appointments was a great source of discontent and dissatisfaction especially among the Muslims who had till the other day held positions of trust and dignity and depended mostly upon service being unaccustomed to trade and commerce. Further, the English deprived the inhabitants of India of many benefits which they
enjoyed before, and commerce passed into the English hands. The English did not think this country to be their own, and partiality to their own countrymen and even to their dependents, was a common feature. The English retained an overbearing attitude and looked down upon the Indian people. Their pride and arrogance led them to consider the natives of India an inferior species of mankind.

Motives of personal gain operated to a large extent among all classes, particularly, the 'goonda' elements and those professional classes who were accustomed to live by plunder, such as Gujars, Ranghars, Jats etc. Another class, which was led by self-interest and contributed largely to the origin and prolongation of the popular revolt, was that of the 'talukdars' whose lands were sold out at auctions for failure to pay rent. The cultivators and poor classes still continued to look upon them with greater regard than the purchasers at auctions, as the ex-zemindar and his family were still the most influential residents of the village. The auction purchaser was generally a resident of the city and never visited his village except for the hateful purpose of collecting his rents or enforcing his decrees. The people, therefore, sided with the zemindars to whom the outbreak seemed a grand opportunity for recovering their position. They began to destroy and plunder everything European and took forcible possession of their old estates.
Personal gain or satisfaction of personal ambition which impelled the people to rebel took many forms. The leaders and grandees thought of recovering the lands, honours and privileges they had lost. They thought of gaining new lands and wealth within easy reach or paying off old scores against the enemy. There were people who sought to remove the sources of their misery and humiliation by destroying all evidences of their indebtedness to the 'baniyas', and by killing the oppressive landlords or indigo-planters who had hitherto treated them as serfs. They welcomed the revolt because it did away with the inconvenient necessity of paying taxes and because it ushered in freedom from all vexatious restraints imposed by the Government. Some Muslim leaders and 'maulavis' were fired by the ambition of restoring Muslim rule in India. A few leaders, both Hindu & Muslim, might have been urged forward by the noble instinct of achieving freedom from foreign yoke; but their vision did not extend to the whole of India, and was limited to the narrow horizon of their own locality.

Various motives, personal interests, religious prejudices and ignorance were powerful. The feeling of nationality can hardly grow up so long as ignorance and prejudices have not been removed, and personal interests have not been subjected to a
general interest. India is a vast country, and so the growth of the concept of nation required a number of factors which time alone could produce. In Europe, the concept of nation grew up in the nineteenth century, while India had to wait till the 20th for full-fledged nationalism. A single cause or a few factors can easily unite the people of a small country. But a vast country requires long-time preparation for unity; for, many are the differences there, and consequently the process of growth of the idea of nationality is inevitably slow.

The success of the mutineers at various places and the massacre or flight of the local British officials and their abandonment of the city of Delhi into the hands of the mutineers led the people all over Rohilakhand and Oudh to believe that the British 'raj' had ceased to exist. No visible symbol was left of its authority in many localities. At many places there was almost a complete political vacuum and lack of any kind of authority. Such a situation always affords the best opportunity for popular outbreaks. Attempts to put in a joint resistance to the British were few and far between. It is true that though the beginnings of the revolt were marked by timidity and hesitation, after the people had made their choice they sometimes resisted the mighty British force with valour and heroism. This was due to the fact that the rebels had crossed the Rubicon, and many of them could not look back; there was the fear of severe punishment if the
British won. On many occasions the people fought for retaining what they had wrongly secured or for avoiding chastisement. That the civil population was spurred on to revolt was due to the fact that the Mutiny had extinguished the local authority. Otherwise, the civil population would not have dared to revolt. The people's revolt was the effect, and not the cause, of the Mutiny. The outbreak at Muzaffarnagar on May 14, the earliest instance of civil revolt, was precipitated by the action of the Magistrate and Collector Mr. Bedford. He was unnerved by the news of the mutiny at Mirat and by the false account of the imminent approach of mutinous troops towards Muzaffarnagar. He at once ordered the Public offices to be closed for three days. On the 12th evening he heard that the convicts in jail would rise that night. He immediately fled through the jungle to a village where he spent the night during which nothing occurred in Muzaffarnagar. On the 13th some officers' bungalows were burnt by the villagers, and Bedford decided to remove the treasure to the Tehseel on the 14th. The Treasury-guard refused to do it and broke open the treasure chests. They took away as much as they could carry. A number of people who were near by plundered the rest. As there were no regular sepoys, the Magistrate drew off the jail-guard for his own defence, and released the prisoners. The people were convinced by this act that the Government rule had ceased to exist. They saw that they could with impunity commit any excesses. The Civil, Criminal, and Collectorate 'dufturs' were burnt by
the people on 14 May. Violent crimes of all kinds were daily, almost hourly, committed throughout the district, not secretly, but openly, and the 'baniyas' and 'mahajans' were victims in the majority of cases.

Not a popular upsurge. The 'popular upsurge' was hardly more than a riotous upheaval mixed with even communal bitterness. At some places Jats and Rajputs were at daggers drawn with each other. The populace took advantage of general anarchy and rapine was a common phenomenon. The movement in the district of Bijnor degenerated into communal strife. The recruits at some places were attracted by prospects of employment and had no enthusiasm for any particular cause. Thousands of poor people flocked to the British camp for the same reason. The common folk went wherever they could find employment.

It is significant to note that there was no common end, common plan or common organization. In most cases the outbreaks were purely local. The sepoys became extremely oppressive and took to looting in broad daylight. Some of them amassed riches and left the army and started for home. The plunderers were sometimes plundered on their way home. The mass of people in Delhi were also oppressed and plundered by the sepoys, and felt no sympathy for them. People in general expected the return of the British and order with them. The revolt was doomed to
failure because of the absence of a common bond of national feeling and consequently of wide support from the civil population. It was actively opposed by the Indian Princes who possessed wealth, influence and military force. There was no co-ordinated plan behind the Revolt. Finally, reckless vandalism of the sepoys speedily alienated the civil population and deprived them of that popular sympathy which they had commanded in some measure at the beginning. The rebellion started without any definite political objective. Moreover, even at the later stages the movement was dominated by feudal ideas and parochial interests and it sought to restore an anachronistic political system — Mughal Padshahi — which was completely out of tune with the new India shaped for half a century by Western cultural and economic forces.

In many of the proclamations issued during the Mutiny, the feeling of the sepoys was reflected. "We have ungrudgingly shed our blood in the service of our foreign masters, complained the disaffected sepoys, we have conquered for them kingdom after kingdom until nothing remained to be annexed within the four corners of the country, but what has been the return? — spoliation of our people, degradation of our princes, and worst of all, — inconceivable insults to our religion." (3) Doubtless, this appears to be an appeal of the despondant and not a cry of those that burn with patriotism and nationalism.
Moreover, the revolt did not affect all parts of India equally; in the Deccan, although the mutinous spirit was not altogether absent, there was no actual outbreak except at Kolhapur; Bengal was practically unaffected by the Mutiny with the exception of two sporadic outbreaks at Dacca and Chittagong. In the Punjab there was no serious troubles. Further, the Sikhs and the Gurkhas remained loyal to the British and helped in recapturing Delhi and Lucknow. The Madras Army and the Bombay Army did not join the Mutiny. It was confined to the Bengal Army. Virtually, there was no Bengalee in the Bengal Army. The Bengal Army was composed of various people. It was only in Uttar Pradesh and in parts of Bihar and Central India that the Revolt had some success. Sindhia was all along outside the Mutiny. It is also to be remembered that there was no simultaneous rising of the sepoys on a particular date (the Mutiny broke out at different times, between 10 May and the end of July, extending over a period of more than two months), that the sepoys in many places were either steady in their loyalty or hesitant for a long time, and ultimately yielded only on persuasion, pressure, or the sudden impulse of the moment. The incident of Mangal Pandey at Berhampur was only an incoherent incident revealing the wide discontent and disaffection of the sepoys.

An eminent Bengalee, Kishori Chand Mitra, wrote in 1858 that the outbreak of 1857-8 was essentially a military
insurrection. Further, the number of rebels was insignificant when compared with those that enlisted their sympathies with the Government. While the rebels might be counted by thousands, the sympathisers by millions.

Sambhu Chandra Mukhopadhyaya, Harish Chandra Mukherjee, Sir Sayed Ahmad, Rajnarayan Basu, 'the father of nationalism in Bengal', and many other contemporaries felt no sympathy for the mutineers or their cause and all considered them to be evil-doers rather than fighters for freedom. They made no reference to any popular support behind the Mutiny. A Marathi, Godse Bhatji, who travelled over North India during the outbreak expressed similar views.

There was no competent leader for the uprising. Leadership Bahadur Shah was an unwilling leader. Nana Sahib might have grievances and discontent, but he was also hesitant and unwilling leader of the Mutiny at the outset. They were forced to take the side of the mutineers. The sepoys paid little respect to Bahadur Shah. Indeed, things came to such a pass that Bahadur Shah, disgusted of his life, resolved to adopt the life of a religious mendicant and go to Mecca. But the sepoys would not allow him to go. The sepoys sometimes quarrelled among themselves. The Rani of Jhansi was also forced to side with the sepoys and to help them with money, guns and elephants. The Rani herself says that she was threatened by the sepoy that if she at all hesitated to comply
with their requests, they would blow up her palace with guns; she was, therefore, obliged to consent to all their demands and to pay large sums to save life and honour. R.C. Majumdar writes: "There is nothing to indicate that any leading part in this mutiny was taken by Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, the widowed queen of Gangadhar Rao, the last ruler of Jhansi, and a victim of Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse." (4) The English, however, suspected her from the very beginning. The Rani made repeated attempts to disabuse their minds, but failed. No heed was paid either to her protestations of innocence or to her unequivocal declaration of loyalty to the British. When she was at last convinced that the British were determined to bring her to trial she decided to defend her honour by armed resistance to the British.

That the uprising lacked in competent leadership proves the lack of cohesion, common purpose and sense of sacrifice. Nationalism implies cohesion, tenacity and discipline among those that command and those that obey. When the interests are motley, a movement can hardly set up a single, competent person commanding over all. The sepoys thought that they were the leader-makers and this was a serious martial weakness. A small regiment surcharged with the spirit of nationalism can defeat troops largely outnumbering it, even under a second-rate or third-rate leader. Such was the case with the English whose strength mainly lay in their sentiment of nationality, national solidarity. At Lucknow and at
Kanpur only a handful of British soldiers resisted the mutineers for outnumbering them. That the Indian army as a whole did not join the revolt and a considerable section actively fought on the side of the Government, is another evidence for the fact that Indians lacked nationality and that the soldiers had more faith in English generals than in the mutineers. The mutineers sought the leadership of Bahadur Shah. That Nana forgot the old conflict between the Marathas and the Mughals, that he did not hesitate to declare himself a Subadar of the Mughal Court, that he struck coins and issued all orders in the name of the Emperor were all for a patchy unity that the emergency required and for his own restoration to old position. The same emergency required a Hindu-Muslim unity. The unity that was set up would have broken into pieces if the mutineers had been victorious, and India would have sunk into the old order of innumerable States fighting for supremacy. It was an outburst caused by class and sectarian grievances and not a war of independence. The mutineers had a tendency to be on the defensive and to accumulate at Delhi though they outnumbered the English. They took the offensive when there was no other way or the English numbered only a few hundreds and appeared to be utterly helpless. They were not united. They did not act under a single command. They were not ready to make common sacrifice. They had no vision of a unified India free from British rule. British might and tenacity and discipline was...
known fact; so, most of the native rulers and chiefs were sitting on the fence, and Bahadur Shah and Nana and the Rani of Jhansi were all disinclined leaders. The Sepoy Mutiny only showed the negative element of nationalism—revolt against tyranny and injustice—nationalism, i.e., revolt against tyranny and injustice, but no positive element of creative institutions, purposes or principles on a national scale. That the rise, in spite of defects, was based on wide discontent and disaffection and threw a very powerful challenge to the British appears to be a fact. How should we term the attitude behind it? Indubitably, it is not nationalism. The concept of nation is a latter-day product in India. Really, the people of India in those days could hardly think that they could belong unitedly to one great country—India—and that they could have a common political interest. But, that the English were a hated enemy was felt for a time, and this feeling had its extent from the wide ill-treatment and loathing by the English. There was undeniably a thirst for relief. But, the mutineers could hardly think what a disruptive India they would have gained if they had been successful in driving out the English. The Hindus would have centred round Nana Sahib and Tantia Tope, and the Mohammedans round Bahadur Shah, if there had been no smaller party-fragments. The Hindus did not forget what their position had been for centuries under the Muslim Yoke. The English had brought them greater
freedom. A section of the Muslims already raised a clamour for the restoration of the Muslim rule in India and was active for this end. It was a dispensation of Providence that the reverse had happened and India had to wait and ripen for true, national unity over the vast region from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Throughout the period of two centuries, the British welded and welded India through uniform oppression and also benevolent rule, and unconsciously brought India to unity, to the grim determination to overthrow the foreign yoke and achieve freedom, to the sense of nationality. Although the sepoy Mutiny itself was not a national upsurge, it was a great uprising, for it contributed enormously to the birth and growth of the concept of nation in later days.

Memory of the Sepoy Mutiny served as a great incentive to posterity. (When on May 10, 1857, the sepoys rebelled at Mirat their first cry was 'March to Delhi', and there was its reverberation about a century later from the I.N.A. in Burma - Dilli chalo, chalo Dilli). It is interesting to note that with the growth of national feeling in India, deeper became the hatred for those that participated with the English in the suppression of the Mutiny, and quicker came the forgetfulness of the incidents of selfishness, rowdyism, parochiality, communal narrowness that were then plentiful. The British, by their arrogance and thoughtlessness almost goaded the Sepoys to rise in rebellion and shake the British empire in India until the Queen proclaimed on November 1, 1858, that all treaties and engagements made by the
Company with the Indian Princes would be scrupulously maintained, that the principle of religious toleration would be followed and no distinction would be made on grounds of race or creed in the public services, that there would be no more expansion of British territory in India. If there had been no such convulsion as the Sepoy Mutiny, the British would not have taken to soft and respectful tone so early. The need of raising the standard of government was immediately felt and the administration was soon shifted from the Company to the Queen, and Lord Canning became the Viceroy and Governor General of India in 1858. The vigour shown by the sepoys, although mixed with inhuman elements, and the wrath for the British and the fury and stubbornness that the sepoys showed and their victories at the initial stage and the acute aversion that was alive until the sepoys were completely subdued supplied national inspiration to posterity. The belief among the Indians that the British could be overpowered would have taken many more years to grow than were actually taken if there had not been the fury of 1857-8, the madness to deal a severe blow at the ruling foreigners. Europeans, both civil and military, were taken completely unawares. The English were for some time completely helpless and remained in the grip of utter terror. The outbreak of 1857-8 is a landmark in the history of India's politics. The memory of 1857-8 infused courage into
the hearts of the later fighters, furnished a historical basis for the grim struggles and gave the subsequent movements a moral stimulus. "The memory of the Revolt of 1857, distorted but hallowed with sanctity, perhaps did more damage to the cause of British rule in India than the Revolt itself." (5) The Upsurge of 1857-8 also produced a faint idea that the British rule was a foreign rule, that the Indians should get rid of this rule however beneficial in many respects and that they should have a government of their own however primitive and defective it might be.

The victory of the British troops and the defeat of the mutineers enhanced in the end the prestige of the British Government in India. The struggle was suppressed with great violence and for many years there was an atmosphere of terror in the country. Hundreds were executed without trial. There was hardly any region in Northern India where corpses, hanging from gibbets, did not remind the people of the vengeance of the Government.

Before the Mutiny the British favoured the Hindus, for the Muslims ruled over the major part of India and the British had to conquer the Muslims mainly. The Marathas and the Sikhs were the only non-Muslim powers which the English had to subjugate before the whole of India came under their yoke. As a consequence the Hindus got into the good books of the English. But the Mutiny involved both the Hindus and the Muslims, and consequently the Hindus lost the implicit favour of the British they had hitherto
enjoyed and for some time both were in the bad books of the British; but soon the British adopted the policy of 'divide and rule' and began to favour the Muslims, for the British noticed the growth of nationalism among the Hindus who received English education first.

There was practically a period of doldrums after the outbreak of 1857-8. The Indian National Congress had its birth in 1885. After the outbreak of 1857-8, there were the Wahabi movement, the Kuka movement, the Birsa movement and other smaller disturbances. But they were utterly communal and parochial. If the Sepoy Mutiny had been a national movement it could not be completely subdued, for a true national unrest can be temporarily crippled but cannot be destroyed altogether. Indian nationalism was in embryo even at the initial stage of the Indian National Congress; it actually saw the light in 1905 when there was a resolve to drive out the British and complete independence became a crying demand.

(III)

Throughout the 19th Century, Bengal, nay India, witnessed the expansion of British rule, British economy and British culture. Truly, there was the invasion of a new spirit in the realm of our culture. The impact of Western culture on India brought about the replacement of blind faith in cultural
traditions, beliefs, and conventions by a spirit of rationalism. The Renaissance expressed itself in the intellectual sphere, in the religious field and latterly in political aspirations.

Raja Rammohan Roy was the first and the best representative of this new spirit of rational enquiry into the basis of religion and society. Rammohan inaugurated an era of social reform. He protested against the blind acceptance of whatever passed current on the authority of priesthood or its interpretation of scriptures. He established the Brahma Samaj in 1828, and opened his church in 1830. This church did not belong to any particular sect but was a meeting ground for all those who discarded idolatry and worshipped one true God. Raja Rammohan Roy is justly called the pioneer of modernism in Bengal. He was also a pioneer in the matter of introduction of English education in this land which was the most palpably creative factor in the history of our national awakening in the 19th century. The Western education broadened the outlook of the Indians. It gave them a power and consciousness which the British bayonets were in future unable to control. Rammohan concentrated his attention on the amelioration of the condition of women. He threw himself heart and soul into the agitation against the 'Sati' which had been going on for some time. He was the first of our internationalists and progressive politicians. About the Raja Sibnath Sastri observes: " ............with all his heart he hated all kinds of
social slavery and political tyranny and subjugation. For this reason, wherever in this world people strove for freedom he felt sympathy; and he was deeply moved when a people failed in the attempt for freedom. Even after hard strife, the news that the Italians were defeated by the Austrians sickened him in Calcutta to such an extent that he failed to attend an invitation. .... His boss, Mr Digby, has written that while working with him he often observed that Rammohan Roy anxiously waited for the European mail in thirst for news about the French Revolution, and if he saw that the freedom-side met defeat he wept." (1) He gave a public dinner in Calcutta when the Spanish colonies got a constitution. Such was his love of liberty that when on his way to Europe in 1831 he saw at the Cape of Good Hope a French ship flying the tri-colour flag of Revolution, in spite of every serious physical handicap, he rushed out of his cabin and asked to be allowed to visit the ship to salute the flag and honour a people who had established Liberty and Equality. One of his English admirers wrote that he would be free or he would not live. His English biographer has called him "the tribune and prophet of New India" while his own people have acknowledged him as the Father of Modern India. Rammohan said of himself that he nursed "a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of British power in India." (2) He also said that British rule, though a foreign rule, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants. In 1821 he said: "Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been,
and never will be, ultimately successful". (3) Rammohan could visualize the development which British rule in India would ultimately bring; he wrote: "Supposing that a hundred years hence the native character becomes elevated from the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measure serving to degrade them in the scale of society?" (4)

Rammohan carried on agitation against the July Act of 1827 by which the Christians, including native converts, could not be tried by a Hindu or Mohammedan juror, but any Hindu or Mohammedan could be tried by Europeans or native Christians. Rammohan also appealed to the Board of Control for the introduction of certain reforms. He appealed for the fixation of maximum rents to be paid by the cultivator, appointment of native assessors in the civil courts, trial by jury, separation of the offices of judge and magistrate, codification of the criminal law and also of the civil law of India, consultation with the local magnates before enacting laws, appointment of Indians to higher posts which were practically reserved for the British.

After the death of the Raja in 1833 the Brahma Samaj was reduced to a moribund condition, but Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905) infused new life into it. During the period between 1850 and 1856
there was a tendency amongst the younger members not only to broaden the basis of Brahmaism by advocating new social ideals, but also to apply cold reason even to the fundamentals of religious belief. They advocated female education, supported widow-remarriage, cried down intemperance, denounced polygamy, tried to rationalize Brahma doctrines and sought to conduct the affairs of the church on strictly constitutional principles.

Keshab Chandra Sen

The most notable figure among this younger members was Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884). He celebrated inter-caste marriages and various other unorthodox practices. Keshab made some important contributions, directly to the growth of Brahmaism, and indirectly to the national life of India. He made Brahmaism a great force all over Bengal and was the first to inaugurate an all-India movement of religious and social reforms. He undertook missionary tours to Bombay and Madras in 1864, and to North-West Provinces four years later. Keshab first made use of the platform for public addresses and revealed his power of oratory. But Keshab deliberately avoided politics. He and his followers openly proclaimed loyalty to the British Government, and thereby gradually lost his popularity with the younger people who were inspired by the advanced political ideas of Surendranath Banerjee. There is no doubt that he helped the cause of nationalism by the high status which he won from
Englishmen, and by awakening a sense of Indian unity through religion.

In his autobiography Bipin Chandra Pal writes:

"Keshab's mission to England, though it was not distinctly political, reacted very powerfully upon the awakening political consciousness of the Indian people. His success in England raised the entire educated community in India in their own estimation and very considerably strengthened the new sense of conceit of their intellectual and moral equality with the members of the alien ruling race in their country. The political freedom movement inaugurated by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendra Nath Banerjee through the Indian Association owed its psychological origin to the ideal of freedom organised in the Brahmo Samaj and the new national self-confidence and self-consciousness quickened by the English visit of the Brahmo Minister." (5)

The contributions made by Rammohan, Debendranath and Keshab to the development of freedom of mind, though manifested in religious and social reforms, must have strong repercussions on the ideas of nationalism and movements for political regeneration.

Arya Samaj: The Brahma Samaj inspired parallel movements in other parts of India. The most important of these movements is the Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) in 1875. Dayananda rejected the hereditary system
of caste. He declared that everybody had the right to study the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures. He preached that only the Supreme Being should be worshipped. He denounced the worship of gods and goddesses. Inter-caste marriage was encouraged and child-marriage was decried. But, Dayananda was opposed to the remarriage of widows.

Attempts at the removal of caste-system or caste-rigidity and discouragement of the worship of many gods and goddesses are attempts for unification. The birth of nationalism requires social health which is brought about by social reforms. Elimination of child-marriage, promotion of inter-caste marriage and widow-remarriage strengthen and consolidate the nation.

Dayananda was aware that Christianity and Islam were making inroads upon Hinduism. He thought that this process of denuding Hindu society must be stopped by using similar weapons. The success of Christianity and of Islam was according to Swami Dayananda based upon the infallibility of the Bible and the Quran. He set up Vedic infallibility to meet their challenge. According to B.C. Pal "It cannot be denied that the movement of Dayananda Saraswati, as organised in the Arya Samaj, has contributed more than the rational movement of the Raja's Brahma Samaj to the development of a new national consciousness in the modern Hindu, particularly in the Punjab. This was really the beginning of that religious and social revival among the Hindus of India to which
we owe so largely the birth of our present national consciousness." (5)

Dayananda preached "aggressive Hinduism." He had a strong urge to establish Hindu nationalism on a foundation of religious and social unity, and started 'Suddhi' movement. Millions of Hindus who had once been willingly or forcibly converted to other religions like Islam and Christianity but were willing to come back to the fold of Hinduism were so brought back. Orthodox Hinduism always barred its door against these people. The Suddhi was looked upon by the members of the Arya Samaj as a potent instrument for effecting religious, social and political unity of India.

But the Suddhi was strongly resented by the Muslims and was a source of almost chronic feud between the Muslims and the Arya Samaj.

We shall soon see how the two distinct nationalities grew up in India. The Hindus were the first to have English education and first to be nationalistic. We shall come across names like 'Hindu Mela', 'Hindu Patriot,' We shall also see that Tilak's Shivaji festival and Ganapati festival created dislike among the Muslims. The propaganda against the killing of cows, "generally, but wrongly, believed to be initiated by Tilak," was another factor which evoked opposition from the Muslims. However, subsequently, the Hindus became aware of the
bad effect in associating the word 'Hindu' with any national organization or enterprise. The 'Muslim' University of Aligarh was virtually a rejoinder. Likewise, Benares 'Hindu' University was again a challenge. To include the Muslims, the National Congress of India carefully avoided religion. Congress Muslims no doubt had the catholicity of outlook. Yet the division between the Hindus and the Muslims was deep-rooted. This cleavage eventually led to the Partition of 1947.

Social services like famine-relief and the spread of English educations were the two distinct features of the Arya Samaj. Lala Hansraj was principal of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore for 28 years. Under him the college became the foremost agency for planting a sturdy nationalism in the Punjab.

The Arya Samaj is a militant sect from the very beginning. It had intense patriotism. This patriotism has always carried with it a spirit of intolerance of other religious systems, particularly the Moslem. The attitude towards Christianity is not less hostile, though certainly not so open. The young Arya Samajists declared that they were waiting for the day when they would settle their account both with Moslems and the Britishers.

The Arya Samaj had also a positive approach to nationalism. Political independence was one of the first objectives of Dayananda. Dayananda was the first man to use the term 'Swaraj', he was the first to insist on people using only 'Swadeshi' things
manufactured in India and to discard foreign things. He was the first to recognize Hindi as the national language of India, that is, the language for the whole of India for India's unity.

Another movement contributing to our nationalist sentiments came into being in the early eighties, and that was the Theosophist movement. This was born out of Christian mysticism and Hindu spiritualism. Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott were the originators of this movement in India. They came to this country in 1879. The movement had a great force during the period 1879-93. Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott identified themselves with Hindu religion and lent support to its many orthodox and mystical beliefs and doctrines. He proclaimed in a confident language the greatness and superiority of the Ancient Indian Wisdom. Colonel Olcott talked of the "majesty and sufficiency of Eastern Scriptures " and made an appeal to the sentiment of patriotic loyalty to the memory of forefathers and advised the Indians to stand by their old religions. Thus, a great impetus was given to Hindu nationalism by the Theosophical Society. The Theosophists called our attention to the greatness of our past, to the strength and beauty of our religion and helped very materially to remove that 'inferiority complex' from our educated classes from which they had been so seriously suffering almost from the beginning of their imitation into modern European culture through English schools and Universities. The greatest
contribution of Theosophy to the development of Indian national consciousness was in its new and strange gospel of Ancient Indian Wisdom and in its announcement of a great world purpose and world mission which India was destined to fulfil.

The movement was first started in Bombay. The Theosophical Society aimed at the rescue of India from materialism. It aimed at the revival of ancient philosophical and scientific religions of India. It placed India as an equal partner in a great Indo-British Commonwealth. Soon it developed into a sort of an Indian movement, and a network of local branches and organizations spread all over the country. By the beginning of the eighties, the theosophical leaders commenced to convene annual conventions of their members during Christmas recess. This inspired some of the political leaders, who were associated with the Theosophical Movement, to convene the annual sessions of the Congress during Christmas recess and at different important cities.

Annie Besant was another important figure of the Theosophical Society. She was born in London in 1847, joined the Theosophical Society in 1889, settled in India in 1893, and became the President of the Society in 1907. She set herself showing the insufficiency of materialism as an answer to the problems of life and the immense superiority of Hinduism.

It has already been stated that social reforms produce social health, and social health is necessary for
political awakening or national consciousness. The Sati, i.e. the burning of the widow along with her dead husband, was abolished in 1829. Induced by Keshab, the government passed in 1872 the Native Marriage Act, popularly known as the Civil Marriage Act, for legalizing marriages which were not valid according to the Hindu Law. The Prarthana Samaj of Bombay also rendered great service by organizing social reform under the guidance of M.G. Ranade who was the leading member of the Samaj. The practice of killing a female child after her birth was in vogue among some Rajput tribes. The practice was declared illegal in 1795 and 1804. The practice of throwing infants into the Ganges, human sacrifice and many other cruel rites, were also abolished. The enlightened section of the people helped the Government in detecting crimes practised in privacy. As early as 1837 agitation for the remarriage of widows was carried on in Calcutta and Bombay. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar took the leading part in this agitation, and it was mainly due to his efforts that the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act was passed in 1856. Vidyasagar's efforts at female education are praiseworthy. Rammohan was the first Indian who concentrated his attention on the amelioration of the condition of women. National consciousness owes its enlargement to female education. An earnest effort was also made by the English-educated Indians in Bengal to abolish, by legislation, the practice followed by a Kulin Brahman of marrying 50 or 60 or even more wives. Towards the close of the
19th century there was an agitation against child marriage and
a bill was introduced raising the age of consent (on the part
of the wife for consummation of marriage) from 10 years to 12.
The Consent Act was passed in 1891. But there was a strong
protest by Tilak and many other eminent men against the Act. In
connection with agitation over the Age of Consent Act, there
arose a strong controversy as to whether priority should be
given to political independence or social reforms and educational
progress. K.T. Telang expressed the view that there could be no
political progress while the social abuses were rampant. But the
other side insisted on the priority of political independence.
Ramade expressed his view that both should go hand in hand. He
observed: "You cannot have a good social system when you find
yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be
fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your
social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a
good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect.
If your religious ideas are low and grovelling, you cannot
succeed in social, economic and political spheres. This inter-
dependence is not an accident, but is the law of our nature."(7)

Ramkrishna

Ramkrishna (1833-1886), the preceptor of
Swami Vivekananda, also made an enormous contribution to the
moral and spiritual progress of India. Apart from his awe-inspir-
ing spiritual personality which captured the reverence of
Keshab Sen and other notable persons and influenced their outlook
he made a silent contribution to Indian nationality. With regard to religion, he had a very broad view. He preached that all the religions have truth and lead to the same great realization. He himself went through different ways of 'sadhana' prescribed by different religions, and reached the same spiritual finality. He used to say: 'The pond is the same, but while the Hindus use it, they say they take 'apa', while the Muslims use it, they say they take 'pani', and the Christians say they take 'water' - the Hindus call him Iswara, the Muslims Allah, the Christians God'. He adopted Muslim ways when he took to the Muslim religions pursuit. We know that later Mahatma Gandhi recited passages from Quran in his prayer-meetings for Hindu-Muslim unity. Although a Brahmin by caste, Ramkrishna ignored caste rigidity. The attitude of Ramkrishna surely went a long way, in making Vivekananda say: "The ignorant sweepers and cobblers possess the same blood as you do, they are your brothers!" Vivekananda owed his dynamic character, and spiritual force to Ramkrishna who was also a great defender of the traditional order of Hindu sadhana. The Brahma Samaj adopted the European way of religious prayer to a great extent. The Bible produced a great influence on Keshab. Rammohan and Dayananda denounced idolatry. But Ramkrishna's was a polite and synthetic Hinduism as opposed to the aggressive Hinduism of Dayananda.

Swami Vivekananda Nationalism in India received a great momentum from the life and activities of Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) who championed the cause of Hinduism in the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893. He conquered a place for Hinduism
in the cultural map of the modern world. The civilized nations of the West had hitherto looked down upon Hinduism as a bundle of superstitions, evil institutions and immoral customs. Now, for the first time, they greeted with hearty approval the lofty principles of Hinduism as expounded by Vivekananda. This restored the self-confidence of the Hindus in their own culture and civilization and quickened their sense of national pride and patriotism. His writings and speeches embodied assertions of the spiritual superiority of India. He asked his countrymen never to exchange gold for tinsels. He, however, saw where the West was great and frankly admitted that Indian culture was not spotless. It had to learn many things from the West, but without sacrificing its true character. As a saintly nationalist, he devoted his life to the awakening of a sublime national consciousness, and his eloquent appeals would stir the national sentiments of India even today. Swami Vivekananda, though an ascetic, was a patriot of patriots. Sister Nivedita, who was his constant companion, has remarked: "Thoughout those years, in which I saw him almost daily, the thought of India was to him like the air he breathed". R.G. Pradhan writes: "Swami Vivekananda might well be called the father of Modern Indian nationalism; he largely created it and also embodied in his own life its highest and noblest elements." (9) Swami Vivekananda gave a spiritual basis to Indian nationalism. He often used to say that the great mission of India would remain unfulfilled so long as India
continued in her present state of slavery. To him the political and material greatness of India was indissolubly bound up with the spiritual regeneration of India. He asked every Indian to realize God in the nation and to dedicate himself to its service. He gave a living touch to the idea by coining the word 'Daridra-Narayana' i.e. the 'God symbolized in the poor and the humble'.

Often he said that what India needed was not so much religion or philosophy, of which she had enough, but food for her hungry millions, social justice for the low classes, strength and energy for her emasculated people and a sense of pride and prestige of being a great nation of the world. He made a trumpet call to all Indians to shed fear of all kinds and stand forth as men by imbibing 'Sakti' (energy and strength). The precepts and example of Vivekananda galvanised the Indian national life, infused new hopes and inspirations, and placed the service to the motherland on a religious level. Vivekananda was also a pioneer of a new revolution in the realm of relations of nations. India's pride in the past, pain in the present and passion for the future became very articulate in Vivekananda. He challenged for the first time in an effective voice the dehumanising status quo of international relations and inaugurated the historic struggle for equality between the East and the West. For the first time in history the voice of young India became audible in the international forum through the trumpet tongue of Vivekananda at the Parliament of
religion held in Chicago in 1893, down to 1893 the international relations of the world were marked by a palpable inequality in the Eastern and Western peoples. The latter constantly made arrogant claims to racial superiority over the former. When Vivekananda spoke to the West "I have gone forth to the world to preach a religion of which Buddhism is a rebel child and Christianity a distant echo," he spoke of India's superiority and gave utterance to the voice of India's militant nationalism. He held forth the cult of strength, manhood, virility and freedom. The cult of "Sakti" preached by him found a concrete expression in the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 which was India's first battle for freedom. Benoy Kumar Sarkar observes: "He paved the way for the ideas of 1905 and was thus in a general manner a Rousseau of the Bengali revolution".

Although the Indian National Congress lacked spirit it brought together on a common platform the people of different provinces, speaking different languages and professing different religions, and because of this in 1896 Swami Vivekananda said that he considered the Indian National Congress Movement as significant. He said that "a nation is being made out of India's different races." He considered the awakening of the masses to be the essential ingredient for the regeneration of India. He said: "The masses in our country are like the sleeping Leviathan."

The triumphant return of Swami Vivekananda from his first western tour in 1897 opened a
new era in the history of Nationalism in India. India had never before heard such a message of neo-Vedantism, strength and fearlessness and, such a clarion call to abjure all the deities except the Motherland for the next fifty years from the date of his lecture at Madras on February 14, 1897. Swamiji tried to avoid direct reference to political questions, but occasionally these cropped up almost involuntarily.

Swami Vivekananda tried to propagate nationalism, love for one's own people, in his unique way. In the early nineteenth century Swamiji's works along with the Gita were found by the police in the possession of many of the revolutionaries. Vivekananda once said: "What India needs today is bomb." Romain Rolland has written: "The Indian nationalist movement smouldered for a long time until Vivekananda's breath blew the ashes into flame and erupted violently three years after his death in 1905." Vivekananda wrote a poem entitled 'Kali the Mother':

"For Terror is Thy name,
Death is in Thy breath,
And every shaking step
Destroys a world for e'er
Then "Time" the All-Destroyer!
Then come, O Mother, Come!
Who can misery love,
Dance in destruction's dance
And hug the form of Death,-
To Him the Mother comes."
Swamiji's writings had enormous influence on the militant nationalists. Bhupendranath Datta, brother of Swami Vivekananda, writes: "It is a truism to say that there is a correlation between Swamiji's appeals to his young countrymen and the intensity of revolutionary urge in the mind of the young men of later generation. Since the foundation of the Revolutionary Party in Bengal, in which Swamiji's British disciple Sister Nivedita took at first an active part and was a member of the Executive Committee, his works, along with the writings and life of Mazzini as well as the life of Garibaldi, in Bengalee, were the mainspring of inspiration to the youthful mind of India. In every gymnasium, i.e. exercise-club of the Revolutionary Party of Bengal, his work entitled 'From Colombo to Almorah' was read." (13)

Subhas Chandra Bose writes: "Ramkrishna preached the gospel of the unity of all religions and urged the cessation of inter-religious strife. .... As against the Brahma Samaj, he .... condemned the ultra-modern imitative tendency of the Samaj. Before he died, he charged his disciple with the task of propagating his religious teachings in India and abroad and of bringing about an awakening among his countrymen. Swami Vivekananda .... took an active part in inspiring every form of healthy national activity. With him religion was the inspirer of nationalism. He tried to infuse into the new generation a sense of pride in India's past, of faith in India's future and a spirit of self-confidence and
self-respect .... everyone who came into contact with him or his writings developed a spirit of patriotism and a political mentality. So far at least as Bengal is concerned, Swami Vivekananda may be regarded as the spiritual father of the modern nationalist movement. He died very young in 1902, but since his death his influence has been even greater." (14)

What was recorded about Ramkrishna-Vivekananda in the Sedition Committee Report, 1918 is shown below:

"In 1886 had died the Bengali ascetic Rama Krishna. He was undoubtedly a remarkable and purely religious man. He strongly defended Hinduism but taught that all religions were true, that all deities were manifestations of the impersonal supreme, and that Brahmin disdain of low castes was wrong. To him the goddess Kali was the goddess of divine strength, although another of her attributes is destruction. .... He taught social service as the service of humanity...... after his death his doctrines were preached by some of his disciples, the chief of whom was Narendra Nath Datta, a young 'bhadralok' B.A., subsequently famous as Swami Vivekananda. Narendra Nath Datta became an ascetic and attended the Parliament of Religions in Chicago as the representative of Hinduism. There he made a great impression and founded Vedanta societies for spreading the teaching of the Hindu scriptures. He returned to India in 1897 .... and was acclaimed by many educated Hindus as a saviour and prophet of their faith. He organized centres of
philanthropic and religious effort under the supervision of a Rama Krishna Mission, and carrying much further the teaching of his master, preached that Vedanism was the future religion of the world, and that, although India was now subject to a foreign Power, she must still be careful to preserve the faith of mankind. She must seek freedom by the aid of the Mother of strength (Sakti)."

(15)

(IV)

The period 1860-1905 was marked by the growth of patriotic and national sentiments, chiefly due to English education and the contact with Western culture brought about by it. (However, the grounds were prepared for it half a century before.) During this period, there was almost a revolutionary change in every sphere of Indian life, ushering in what is usually designated the Renaissance. The intellectuals, i.e. the educated classes, now dominated the field. Hindu society, religion, literature, etc. underwent a great transformation. Politics was changed almost beyond recognition. Western ideas of patriotism and nationalism gradually made their influence felt, and the ideal of the British democratic system of government animated the people. Anger and hostility towards the British rule were replaced by devotion and loyalty to the British throne, based upon implicit faith in the benevolence and liberalism of the
British people. Armed resistance was replaced by political organization and constitutional agitation. The vision of a United India as a self-governing dominion within British Empire dominated the newly awakened political consciousness of the people.

Behind the growth of the concept of nation lie the spread of education and developed literature, and behind the spread of education and development of literature lies the printing-press.

The printing-press was unknown in India before her contact with the West. It first came into general use in this country in the 19th century. The printing-press producing large number of copies in a short time and the improvement of transport and communication by railways and steamers and the establishment of post offices gave a publicity to the various types of literature among the people living far away from important centres of learning.

Literature and the Press are wings for the concept of nation. Before the 19th century, there was no prose literature
Bengali prose literature came into existence with the foundation of Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 which had a Bengali section with William Carey as its head. The Bengali prose also got impetus from Raja Rammohan Roy who propagated his heterodox views in a number of prose books and tracts. A fine prose style was gradually evolved by the efforts of a large number of eminent writers. The Bengali writers made a wide and deep study of English literature, and this changed the outlook of Bengali literature. The growth of the new type of literature facilitated the awakening of national consciousness and the application of a rational spirit in the discussion of religious, social, political and economic problems. The Bengali periodicals grew from 1818. The weekly 'Samachar Darpan', the most notable of the early periodicals, was published on May 23, 1818. In 1818, the utility and importance of trial by Jury was explained in the Samachar Darpan. In its issue of 16th June, 1827, the paper exhorted the people to try to secure greater share in the work of administration. The periodicals soon became the chief forum for discussion of all topics - political, economical, social, educational, religious etc. - which agitated or interested the public.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891), Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894) and Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) helped by less renowned authors, transformed the Bengali language into one of the most beautiful and highly developed languages of modern world and...
a very powerful instrument for the awakening of the people from their age-long torpor. Through the efforts of Christian missionaries and influence of English literature, the same kind of development took place in different regional languages of India—Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telegu, Kanada, Malayalam and Urdu.

1858-1893 is considered to be the period during which national literature grew. The early pioneers were Rangalal, Madhusudan, Bankim Chandra, Hem Chandra and Nabin Chandra. Romanticism-cum-Nationalism was carried forward by Rabindranath and Vivekananda in the late 19th century.

In the fervour of patriotism, Rangalal Banerjee (1827-1887) was at one with the spirit of Iswar Gupta (1827-59). But the freedom-urge or love for the country's independence which acquired great prominence in his poetry was the special feature in Rangalal. In a famous poem of his Rangalal wrote: "Na jagile jagena ai Bharat lalana, a Bharat ar jagena—unless womenfolk are awakened, India has the least chance of awakening fully. Rangalal's successor was Madhusudan Datta (1824-73). He published his 'Meghnad-vad Kavya' in 1861. In it he introduced the blank verse, and broke down the fetters of old rhyme. He was a rebel child of Bengal, - a symbolic product of nationalism of the time. Madhusudan was followed by Hem Chandra (1838-1903) and Nabin Chandra (1847-1909). Hem Chandra's 'Vritrasan-har' (1875-77) is a dedication to
Indian nationalism. The voice of patriotism or nationalism became louder in Hem Chandra. His 'Bharat Sangit', 'Bharat Vilap' and 'Bharat Bhiksha' breathe the same spirit.

Many Bengali epics and dramas picturing war silently pointed to a national war, latently urged people to prepare for national freedom.

Nabin Sen emerged into prominence as the poet of 'Palasir Juddha' (1875) — a historical drama of great national interest. The drama was intended to kindle the spirit of nationalism in his countrymen. 'Raibatah', 'Kurukhetra' and 'Provas' were published in 1887, 1893 and 1896 respectively. He painted Krishna anew. He sought a reconciliation of the contending peoples of India unifying them into one mighty nation under the leadership of Krishna depicted as a superman.

Writers with national spirit who have depicted Krishna have ever in their mind a perfect national leader with supernal abilities.

Bankim's Krishna was also his own creation - the superman or the ideal man of all ages.

Bankim has been called the poet of Bande Mataram and the Prophet of new Indian nationalism. Sri Aurobindo writes that Bankim bade us leave the canine method of agitation for the leonine.

Though Bankim's contribution to Indian nationalism is
great, yet it can be safely said that Bankim’s literature widened the chasm between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims could hardly put a liking to Bankim’s ‘Rajshinha’ and ‘Anandamath’. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee once made a remark on Bankim to the effect that he had hardly taken kindly to the Muslims in his literature.

Before the formation of the Indian National Congress, Muslim sentiment was usually ignored. The Indian National Congress being an all-India organization required the support of the Muslims. Besides, the tendency of the Muslims to side with the English created by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also made the Congress feel the necessity of winning over the Muslims. Moreover, some liberal-minded Muslims had participated in the Congress. When in a Congress session, the proposal of denouncing the anti-cow-killing movement was raised by a Muslim, to find a way out the leaders in the Congress had to announce that the Congress should thenceforth be above all religious questions. Latterly, to speak in favour of the Muslims in quest of unity came into practice. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee felt the necessity of depicting the nice Muslim characters like that of Gafur and Gahar to compensate for the damage done by Bankim. A vernacular periodical in 1830 contrasted the period of the Hindu Rajas with that of the Muslims and the British, and this view persisted throughout the 19th century among the Hindus. It was reflected in periodicals and literary works. The great Bengali writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who died in A.D.
1894, gave forceful expression to it. In his writings Bankim unreservedly fostered the idea of Hindu nationalism. However, Bankim forestalled modern criticism of nationalism when he admitted that nationalism was not an ethical sentiment, for it had produced great evils in Europe. Nevertheless, he defended it by stating that whichever nation possessed it in a greater degree became more powerful than others. National sentiment was very strong in Europe and it caused many revolutions. It had unified Italy. Nationalism was at the root of the most powerful German empire.

The foundation of 'Bangadarshan' in 1872 was an epoch-making event in the history of our national literature and so in the history of nationalism in India. Bankim was the most powerful writer of his age. He was also the creator of a formidable literary tradition with which the names of many litterateurs were associated as creative factors. Bankim towered above them all as a literary genius and a nation-builder.

His Anandamath (1882) contained the patriotic song of Bande Mataram which breathes a high spirit of nationalism. It preached religious nationalism based on a conception of the country's past glory and future greatness. Anandamath reacted strongly on the minds of Bengali youths. The hymn Bande Mataram had been the national anthem of India up to 1947. With Bankim
patriotism was the supreme religion and the Bande Mataram
anthem was surcharged with that spirit. During the long and
arduous struggle for freedom from 1905 to 1947 Bande Mataram
was the rallying cry of the patriotic sons of India; thousands
of them succumbed to the lathi blow of the British police or
mounted the scaffold with Bande Mataram on their lips. Bankim
was styled 'Rishi' by Aurobindo in the Swadeshi days. Aurobindo
appraised Bankim's foremost contributions as consisting in the
creation of "a language, a literature and a nation". In April
1907 Aurobindo observed: "No nation can grow without finding
a fit and satisfying medium of expression for the new self into
which it is developing — without a language which shall give
permanent shape to its thoughts and feelings and carry every
new impulse swiftly and triumphantly into the consciousness of
all. It was Bankim's first great service to India that he gave
the race which stood in its vanguard such a perfect and satis-
fying medium.... As he had divined the linguistic need of his
country's future, so he divined also its political need. He,
first of our great publicists, understood the hollowness and
inutility of the method of political agitation which prevailed
in his time and exposed it with merciless satire in his
'Lokarahasya' and 'Kamalakanter Daptar'. But he was not satisfied
merely with destructive criticism, — he had a positive vision
of what was needed for the salvation of the country. He saw that
the force from above must be met by a mightier reacting force
from below, the strength of repression by an insurgent
national strength. The religion of patriotism, this is
the master idea of Bankim's writings. This is the second
great service of Bankim to this country that he pointed out to
it the way of salvation and gave it the religion of patriotism.
Of the new spirit which is leading the nation to resurgence and
independence, he is the inspirer and political guru. The third
and supreme service of Bankim to his nation was that he gave us
the vision of our Mother. The mantra had been given and in
a single day a whole people had been converted to the religion
of patriotism. A great nation which has had that vision can
never again bend its neck in subjection to the yoke of a conqueror." (1)

Two more names may be mentioned — Girish Chandra Ghose
(1844-1912) and Dwijendralal Roy (1863-1913). D.L. Roy’s national
songs and poems created patriotic pride in Bengalees. The literary
creation of Girish Chandra Ghose made a stirring appeal to the
national sentiments of the people.

Towards the close of the 19th century Rabindranath
Tagore was leaping into prominence. Rabindranath, a son of the
renowned Tagore family, was a product of the time of Hindu Mela.
A literary disciple of Bankim and Hemchandra, Rabindranath in
his youth was naturally suffused with burning nationalism. Like
Bankim, he also advocated the cult of ‘Atmasakti.’ He was also
a hater of begging concessions and reforms from the alien ruler. This attitude was revealed in his essay on 'Ingraj O Bharatbasee' read out in a meeting held in the Chaitnya Library, Calcutta, in 1893, with Bankim Chandra in the chair. His 'Europe-Pravasir Patra' (1881), "Sandhya Sangit" (1882), 'Prabhat Sangit' (1883), 'Europe-Jetrir Diary' (1891-93) and many other writings served to heighten the patriotic consciousness of the Bengalees.

Thus we see that a new class of literature, justly called national, was springing up in the country inspiring our hopes and directing our steps to national self-realisation. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's 'Pather Dabi' profoundly moved the Bengali youths for some time.

The Indian Press developed during 1835-1882. The journalism in India was started by Europeans. All the early periodicals in India were written in English and edited by Englishmen. Prof. Dodwell writes: "Under the Company, the Anglo-Indian press alone was of importance; but in the fulness of time, an Indian press grew up, both English and vernacular, which set to work, as Munro had foreseen, to make the country uneasy under its foreign Yoke. It uniformly attacked the Government, sometimes with great bitterness." (2) The 'Bengal Gazette,' the first weekly paper was started by J.A. Hicky in 1780. He described it as a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none. But it is difficult to say how far Hicky
acted up to his bold assertion. Hickey, however, enunciated the noble principle of the liberty of the Press for which the Indians carried on a bitter fight up to the very end of the British rule. Hicky not only stated that the liberty of the Press was essential to the very existence of an Englishman, but added that "the subject should have full liberty to declare his principles and opinions, and every action which tends to coerce that liberty is tyrannical and injurious to the community." The 'Weekly Madras Courier' started in 1785 was the earliest paper in Madras. This was followed by two others in 1795. The 'Bombay Herald' which appeared in 1789 was the first paper in Bombay. This, too, was followed by two others. It has already been said that Bengali periodicals did not appear before 1818; but a large number followed in quick succession, and one of them was edited by Raja Rammohan Roy, and another was started by the Raja along with Dwarkanath Tagore and some other liberal-minded citizens of Calcutta. In 1822 the 'Gujarati Bombay Samachar' was started; it is still in existence.

The Government never took kindly to the English papers that criticized their action. The growth of the vernacular press alarmed them still more. Even liberal-minded officers like Munro and Elphinstone were opposed to the liberty of press in India. Munro candidly observed that a free press and the dominion of strangers were things which were incompatible and which were
unable to exist together for a long time, for a free press was to deliver a country from the foreign yoke. But Englishmen were not wanting who argued that a free press was the best protection against sedition and revolution in a country where people had no other way of bringing their grievances to the notice of the Government. Nevertheless, on 14 March 1823, a rigorous Press Ordinance was issued. This Press Ordinance drew forth vigorous protest from Raja Rammohan Roy, and a constitutional agitation was made against it by Indian leaders. A few days later, five distinguished citizens of Calcutta, led by Raja Rammohan Roy, submitted a memorial to the Supreme Court for hearing objections against it. But the memorial was dismissed. Rammohan then made an appeal to the King in Council. But this appeal, too, shared the fate of the memorial. Miss Collet observed on this appeal:

"In a language and style for ever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British History." (3) An Englishman has observed on this episode: "Ram Mohon himself, who, though not a lawyer, had brilliant powers of understanding and expounding legal matters, drafted the petition, which the other five also signed; Chandra Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Harchandra Ghose, Gauri Charan Benerjee, Prasanna Kumar Tagore; all men remembered by Indians as brave patriots who dared to stand up to Company, government and court, not on behalf of any peculiarly Indian
rights, but on behalf of what they and their admirers regarded as a natural right of all men, the free access to knowledge and opinion without the intervention of any authority to say what was good for them, what not. The whole memorial shows how they had become imbued with English political privileges and ways of thought." (4) Evidently, this daring act of Rammohan and his associates marks the beginning of a new type of political activity. As R.C. Datta has rightly remarked that it was the start of "that system of constitutional agitation for political rights which their countrymen have learned to value so much in present day." (5)

In 1835 Sir Charles Metealfre repealed the Ordinance of 1823 and removed all restrictions upon the Press in India. This action was condemned by the Home authorities and Metealf resigned in disgust. For twenty-two years it was not considered necessary to fetter the Indian Press. Speaking of this intervening period, John Bruce Norton writes: "As a whole, the Press of India is conducted with singular ability; and it is astonishing to mark the giant strides with which it has advanced within the last few years. It discusses all topics with an ability which, looking back a few years, was scarcely to be anticipated. The existence of a free Press is incompatible with despotism, however paternal." (6)

In 1837, 1838 and the following years several Urdu
The leading newspaper edited by an Indian was the 'Hindoo Patriot'. It was started in 1853, and was edited by Haris Chandra Mukherjee. Its object was described to be a fair and manly advocacy of the interests of the country and an impartial exposition of the social and political evils with which the country was then afflicted. It redeemed its pledge nobly. G.P. Pillai, a famous journalist of Madras, has described Haris Chandra as the first native journalist of any note in India. Mr. Pillai observes that Haris Chandra was the father of native journalism in India and was the first to make his countrymen feel the influence of newspaper. Haris Chandra strongly criticized Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation. In 1857, the Mutiny year, Haris Chandra defended strenuously the policy of Lord Canning, and played the part of peace-maker between the native soldiers and the Government. The European community counselled the Viceroy to dispossess all landowning classes of their lands and make them over to Europeans and avenge the organizers of the bloody rebellion. But Lord Canning, nicknamed 'Clemency Canning' stood all unmoved, and to no small extent did Haris Chandra Mikerji contribute to that firm determination, by writing, week after week, a series of articles. But in 1860, the year of Indigo crisis, he rendered even a greater service. In the struggle between the European planters and the native ryots, Haris Chandra stood on the side of the
peasants and gave utterance to their mute sufferings and exposed the grim oppression of the planters through the columns of his journal. During the hour of that historic crisis, he not only gave courage to the peasants and drafted on their behalf petitions and memorials, but even fed, clothed and protected them. Suits were filed against him in 1860 by the planters, and while the legal proceedings continued, he suddenly died a pauper for the cause of his country.

Haris Chandra died at the age of thirty-six only. His death was mourned widely by the countrymen. Wide mourning on a political worker's death indicates the growth of national consciousness. When Deshbandhu Chitteranjan Das died in 1925, a mammoth crowd followed the dead body to the cremation ground. The growth of national urge is also indicated by the bulk of the audience at a political meeting.

After Haris Chandra, Kristo Das Pal became the editor of the Hindoo Patriot. During his time native journalism developed into power, and for the first time the British authorities consulted a native newspaper with a view to ascertain the opinion of the people. In 1874 in an article in the Hindoo Patriot Kristo Das Pal wrote that the attention of the people should be directed to Home Rule for India, to the introduction of constitutional government for India. Most of the British colonies had been blessed with constitutional Government, but India was the only
dependency which, despite the vastness of its area, its population and interests, was denied that privilege. If taxation and representation went hand in hand in all British colonies, why should this principle be ignored in British India?

The 'Indian Mirror' was founded by Monmohan Ghose under the patronage of Debendranath Tagore in 1861. When Monmohan left for England, it was edited by Narendranath Sen under the influence of Keshab Chandra Sen. Although it was a paper for the propagation of the message of Brahmaism, it was often used as a vehicle for the discussion of other national problems, including politics.

The next important native journal of Calcutta was the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika'. It was founded in 1868 by Sisir Kumar Ghose in order to carry on political agitation in defence of Indian rights and liberties. It was a Bengali weekly at first. Later it was printed in both vernacular and English. Still later it was converted into an English weekly to evade the Vernacular Press Act. In 1891 it was converted into an English daily and has been functioning since then. In 1870 the Patrika urged the introduction of Western parliamentary institutions into India.

The 'Bengalee' was founded in 1861 as an English weekly. It was converted into Surendranath Banerjee's organ in 1879. Under his able editorship, it soon became the foremost exponent of Indian nationalism.
Lord Canning in the Mutiny year passed a Press Act which made no distinction between the English and the Indian Press. The duration of the Act was confined to one year only. J.B. Norton observed that this attack upon the Press was in reality intended to screen the cowardice and incapacity of the real authors of the revolution. Lord Canning's arm might have dealt the blow, but there was a power behind which directed the arm. It is not that the crisis necessitated the measure; but that the crisis had been seized as the fittest moment for striking a long meditated blow at the Press.

The native Press made constant attacks on Government's policy. Lord Lytton (1876-1880) passed the Vernacular Press Act on March 14, 1878. Lytton's Act empowered a collector or a magistrate to require the editor of any paper written in an oriental language either to give a bond not to publish objectionable matter or to submit his proof-sheets before publication. The exemption of the Anglo-Indian papers was not only political in motive, but was also a reflection of the racial distinction. The reactionary character of the Indian Vernacular Press Act was viewed with strong disfavour and resentment by large sections of educated Indians. The Act received condemnation also from Gladstone in the British House of Commons. The Act, however, signifies the deeper truth that the Indian Press had become in the seventies a great political force working in defence of
Indian legitimate rights. The Act was repealed under Lord Ripon (1880-1884) in 1882. It is evident that hardly anything else played a more creative role in developing nationalism in the country, in creating a common conception of collective responsibility and in making a homogeneous nation from heterogeneous hordes.

The role of the British economy has always been a strong aiding factor in the history of Indian nationalism. Indian arts and industries were rapidly destroyed. The people were impoverished. Indian arts, crafts and industries declined in competition with machine-made goods with which the country was being more and more flooded. The British exploited Indian resources. The feeling became universal in the country that the native Indian population was growing poorer. Prithwis Chandra Roy, in his book on 'The Poverty Problem in India' published in 1895 wrote that the policy of Free Trade, however beneficial to England proved to be a great cause of India's economic ruination under the special circumstances of the case — India's political subjection to the aliens. Marquis of Salisbury observed that much of the revenue of India is exported without any equitable equivalent in return. Sir John Strachy remarked that except
cotton-manufactures, most of Indian imports were luxuries or things that did not answer to the primary needs of the natives of this country, and these articles of luxury were purchased at the expense of the food of the millions. The commercial apathy and the many obnoxious trade regulations in the interest of British industrial expansion were also responsible for the economic catastrophe in India in the 19th century. The decline of Indian arts, crafts and industries started ever since the battle of Plassey, and by the end of the 19th century the British had succeeded in reducing industrial Bengal into agricultural Bengal. Alexander Canningham, Fergusson, Harrington and Henry Cotton also noticed this dark and dismal element in Indian situation. Dadabhai Naovaji has recorded a moving account of India's poverty under British rule in his 'Poverty and the Un-British Rule in India'.

High taxation, the waste of large sums of money in unproductive works, the continuous drainage of resources lent force to the charge of awakened India against the Anglo-Indian administration. In his book ironically entitled 'Prosperous British India' William Digby drew a gloomy picture of India's retrogression. The picture drawn by Digby has also been confirmed by Ramesh Chandra Datta in his 'Economic History of India in the Victorian Age'.
famines. Within four decades between 1860 and 1900, there took place in India ten widespread famines - the famines of 1860, 1866, 1869, 1874, 1877, 1878, 1889, 1892, 1897 and 1900. Ramesh Chandra Dutt noted that although famines in India were directly due to a deficiency in the annual rainfall, yet the intensity and severity of these famines and the loss of innumerable lives were largely due to the chronic poverty of the people. He wrote that if the people were generally in a prosperous condition, they could make up for local failure of crops by purchases from neighbouring provinces; but the people were absolutely resourceless and could not buy from surrounding tracts, and perish in hundreds of thousands or in millions, whenever there is a local failure of crops.

( VI )

The Indigo Agitation deeply stirred the agitation in Eastern provinces of British India, particularly Bengal, in 1860. Prof. H.C. Chakladar in his article entitled 'Fifty years Ago : The Woes of a Class of Bengal Peasantry under European Indigo-Planters' records that three or four millions of our countrymen in Bengal were subjected by European Indigo-planters to a system of inhuman oppression which finds a parallel in the annals of Negro-slavery in America. The ryots were forced to take up the cultivation to indigo. At last the ryots showed a
disposition of revolt. The hundreds of thousands of peasants refused to produce indigo any longer. Vishnu Charan Biswas and Digamber Biswas of Chowgacha in the Nadia District raised the banner of rebellion against the planters. They were formerly ‘dewans’ of indigo concerns, but resigned their offices in bitterness of mind at the oppressions of the planters. They roused the ryots. In 1880 the ryots showed a disposition to revolt in a body. Thousands of indigo ryots and many other people of Bengal showed a degree of patriotism, self-sacrifice and a power of combined and united action as had scarcely been witnessed in the country before. Canning wrote: "I assure you that for about a week it caused me more anxiety than I ever had since the days of Delhi and from that day I felt that a shot fired in anger or fear by one foolish planter might put every factory in Lower Bengal in flames."(1) But the people did not resort to violence and revenge upon the planters. The Amrita Bazar Patrika wrote on May 22, 1874: "It was the indigo disturbances which first taught the natives the value of combination and political agitation. Indeed it was the first resolution in Bengal after the advent of the English. If there be a second revolution it will be to free the nation from the death grips of the all-powerful police and district Magistrate. Nothing like oppression! It was the oppression which brought about the glorious revolution in England and it was the oppression of
half a century by indigo planters which at last roused the
half-dead Bengalee and infused spark in his cold frame." It
has already been mentioned that Haris Chandra Mukherjee
exposed the inhuman oppression of the planters through the
'Hindoo Patriot'. Indigo planting also became the subject of
incessant attacks in the 'Bhaskar' and 'Prabhalkar!', two
Bengali newspapers whose opinion filtered down to the masses.

The people, however, did not resort to violence. The
educated middle class that stood indifferent or opposed to
the rising of 1857 identified themselves wholly with the
cause of the suffering peasantry in 1860. When the ryots
showed a disposition to revolt in a body, a commission was
appointed which reported that the system on which indigo had
been cultivated was a coercive system. Hemendra Prasad Ghose
observes that the agitation against the oppression of the
indigo planters "assumed the proportions of the first
'Satyagnaha' in India".

Bengalees will also remain ever thankful to the
European officers like J.P. Grant, Asley Eden, W.I. Herschel
and Seton Karr and Rev. J. Long for what they did for the
ryots. The Lieutenant Governor, Sir J.P. Grant was prosecuted
in the Supreme Court about ten years after the trial of Mr.
Long.

'Nil Darpan' by Dinabandhu Mitra was translated into
English by Madhusudan Dutt under the superintendence of Rev. J. Long. 'Nil Darpan' played the same part in the popular movement as did 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in the movement against slave labour. The planters instituted proceedings against Mr. Long. The trial that followed roused the greatest interest among both Europeans and Indians. Merchants, traders, bankers, everybody, rich and poor, high and low, flocked to the Court. Rich men were ready to unloose their purse-strings if money could have saved the reverend gentleman, and the author of 'Nil Darpan' was there ready to exchange places with Mr. Long if that had been possible. Mr. Long was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 1000 and to suffer imprisonment in common jail for one month. The fine was paid then and there by Kali Prasanna Singha, the publisher of the Bengali translation of the Mahabharata.

The agitation of 1860 mightily stimulated our patriotic and national self-consciousness. It revealed the tyrannical system of the alien government in its grimmer aspects.

The next stage in the evolution of our national consciousness began in 1867 with the foundation of the 'Hindu Mela'. It was a conference of the nationalists. Its life and soul was Nabagopal Mitra. Nabagopal was so much suffused with the national spirit that he earned the nickname of "National Nabagopal". Rajnarayan Bose, Canendranath Tagore, Satyendranath Tagore, Dwijendranath Tagore, Jyotirindranath Tagore, Mommohan
Bose and Sisir Kumar Ghose were among the patrons and promoters of the Hindu Mela.

Rajnarayan Bose enthusiastically took up the ideas preached by Rajnarayan Bose (1826-1900). Rajnarayan Bose was a deep scholar with saintly character. He was a constructive genius. While working as the Headmaster in the Midnapore Government School, he threw himself heart and soul into the temperance Movement. Surendranath Banerjee writes that a temperance movement was a real necessity at the time. Rajnarayan Bose, himself a product of the Western education, held out before his countrymen a complete and comprehensive picture of nationalism. To picture nationalism, he touched almost every aspect of life in a prospectus issued by him in 1866 with a view to the establishment of a "Society for the promotion of National Feeling among the educated Natives of Bengal". The aim of this Society was to resist the powerful tendency of imitating the West by reviving the old ideas, traditions and customs in every walk of life. In the manifesto issued in 1866, he also observed that no nation could be eventually great without due cultivation of national feeling and this was a fact testified to by all history. In his autobiography, Rabindranath Tagore has said that he and his elder brother joined a secret society founded by Rajnarayan Bose and got from him their first inspiration to free India. Nabagopal
advocated Hindu nationalism, and a few years later, Rajnarayan himself proceeded to base his nationalism on the Hindu religion. In a lecture delivered by him in 1872, Rajnarayan boldly proclaimed the superiority of Hindu religion and culture over European and Christian theology and civilization. He said that the Hindus had forgotten their past to such an extent that they had no recollection of the fact that rational thinking and ideas of social and personal freedom were not wanting in the history of their own culture. He said: "I see in my mind the noble and puissant Hindu nation rousing herself after sleep, and rushing headlong towards progress with divine prowess. I see this rejuvenated nation again illumining the world by her knowledge, spirituality and culture, and the glory of Hindu nation again spreading over the whole world." (2) His clarion call rallied round his banner a large number of Hindus. His lecture produced a profound effect. Bankim Chandra wrote an eulogy on it.

It may, however, he said that Hindu nationalism of Rajnarayan Bose or of the Hindu Mela was not of any aggressive type. Rajnarayan Bose saw that the Hindus remained in subjection for centuries; so he felt an urge for Hindu awakening. Virtually, Bankim also entertained no aggressiveness towards the Muslims although he preached Hindu nationalism.

Rajnarayan Bose who played a significant role in shaping nationalism in Bengal made a stirring appeal to his
countrymen in 1888. After describing the economic ruin and cultural degradation caused by the British he wrote: "Will you not remedy this fearful state of things by self-help, persistent constitutional agitation and other lawful means? Will you for ever lie in the slough of despondence? ... Are you so dull-headed as to think that our foreign conquerors are a set of philanthropists who have come to our country to serve your interests only and not their own? Do you think they will neglect their own Birmingham and Manchester, and encourage your arts and manufactures as you wish? Members of a down-trodden race! Know ye not that he who would rise, must himself make the attempt."(3) Rajnarayan Bose, the first exponent of nationalism in Bengal, also organized the earliest secret society whose members had to take the oath that they would destroy by the use of force the enemies of the country and deliver India from her bondage.

Nabagopal started the annual gathering of the Hindu Mela in order to "promote the national feeling, sense of patriotism and a spirit of self-help among the Hindus". Its annual session was held till 1880. It is on the basis of the ideology expressed by Rajnarayan in his manifesto issued in 1866 that the Hindu Mela was organized in Calcutta in 1867. In its environment were set up the national press, the national paper, the national gymnasium etc. The special features of the annual gathering were patriotic songs, poems and lectures, a detailed review of the political, social,
economic and religious conditions of India, an exhibition of indigenous arts and crafts, and performances of indigenous forms of physical exercises and feats of physical strength. It had an all-India outlook; specimens of arts and crafts were collected from Banaras, Jaipur, Lucknow, Patna, Kashmir. The Hindu Mela was the precursor both of the Indian Association (founded in 1876) and the Indian National Congress (founded in 1885) in its constructive conception of a pan-Indian nation. The Hindu Mela advocated the cult of self-help and self-reliance. The cult of self-development through self-help or 'Atma-Shakti' was to find later in Bankim, Vivekananda and Rabindranath some of its greatest exponents.

The annual gatherings of the Hindu Mela were held fourteen times from 1867 to 1880. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of its contribution to the growth of national feeling in Bengal. The first national song was composed by Satyendranath Tagore for the Mela in 1868. It was sung in Chorus. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was moved to the warmest feelings of admiration for this poem. Some of the best national songs of Gaganendranath Tagore, Dwijendranath Tagore, Monmohan Bose were first composed and sung in the Hindu Mela. Young Rabindranath also read out two poems by him in 1875 and 1877.

After the fourth session of the Mela, an association, called the 'National Society', was founded for the promotion of
unity and national feeling among the Hindus. The Mela was confined to the Hindus, so objection was taken to the use of the word 'National'. Against this objection, the 'National Paper,' the organ of the Mela, observed: "We do not understand why our correspondent takes exception to the Hindus who certainly form a nation by themselves, and as such a society established by them can very well be called 'National Society'." (4)

Thus we see that later when M.A. Jinnah declared that the Muslims were a nation, he made no invention. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan's two-nation theory had also no novelty in it.

However, there were reasons behind this attitude of the Hindus. Before the English came, the Muslims were the rulers of India. So when the English subjugated India and the Hindus developed national consciousness, the Hindus kept off the English along with the Muslims. The Muslims, too, could not think in a national way for a long time. Re-establishment of the Muslim rule was what had occupied their thought. There was also the Pan-Islamic sentiment pervading most of the Indian Muslims.

But the Pan-Islamic sentiment of the Indian Muslims was virtually the result of the estrangement of the Muslims in India. No question of Pan-Islamism is there after the Partition in 1947, and no Pan-Islamism was there in India during the Muslim rule. The Ali Brothers laid stress on
Pan-Islamism; but Jinnah avoided Pan-Islamism, and towards the end he considered the Muslims to be a distinct nation and as such he demanded a portion of India as its territory. It was, however, a high time for the Hindus to develop Hindu-Muslim unity at the beginning, for then the Hindus educationally and therefore in political consciousness more advanced and the Muslims were practically uneducated and helpless. Efforts for unity from the side of the Hindus would have animated the Muslims, for they would have found no reason for suspicion in those efforts at that time.

Through his writings, Nabagopal elaborated his view of Hindu nationalism. Nabagopal held that the chief criterion of nationalism is unity, and this unity is brought about, sustained, and promoted in different peoples by different means and on different principles. He maintained that the Hindu religion became the basis of national unity in India. Nabagopal said "Hindu nationality is not confined to Bengal. It embraces all of Hindu name and Hindu faith throughout the length and breadth of Hindusthan; neither geographical position, nor the language is counted a disability. The Hindus are destined to be a religious nation."(5.)

However, the Hindu Mela imparted a new tone of morality and intellectuality into our public life. About this
national movement Rabindranath observed: "It was not fully political, but it began to give voice to the mind of our people trying to assert their own personality. It was a voice of impatience at the humiliation constantly heaped upon us by people who were not oriental, and who had, especially at that time, the habit of sharply dividing the human world into the good and the bad according to the hemispheres to which they belong. This contemptuous spirit of separatedness was perpetually hurling us and causing great damage to our world of culture. It generated in our young men a distrust of all things that had come to them as an inheritance from their past. The national movement was started to proclaim that we must not be indiscriminate in our rejection of the past. This was not a reactionary movement but a revolutionary one, because it set out with a great courage to deny and to oppose all pride in mere borrowings." (6)

Spirit of nationalism soon spread to other parts of India. Though the spirit of nationalism was first evolved in Bengal, it soon spread to other parts of India. The writings and activities of Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar (died in 1882), Mahadev Govinda Ranade, Gopal Ganesh Akerkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and the ideas preached by Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, Vishnubawa Brahmachari and Jyotirao Phule clearly indicate the growth of a national feeling in Bombay. Indeed, the people of Maharashtra occupied
a high position in Indian politics. In Bombay, too, as in Bengal, it was the English education that fostered the spirit of nationality, the love of freedom, the spirit of patriotism, it made people know the blessings of self-government and the higher duty of self-sacrifice. As far back as 1885, Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote: "We are, at present, gradually being inspired by the spirit of patriotism. The birth of patriotism among us is due to English rule and English education. English education has imparted to us knowledge of ancient and modern history; it has enabled us to know what were the fruits of patriotism among the ancient Greeks and Romans. We have also learned from their histories how, when they lost their patriotism, they were subjected to foreign domination and became ignorant and superstitious. English rule has made us realise the necessity of cultivating patriotism in our national concerns .... The spirit of patriotism has not as yet permeated all classes. .... Patriotism is not our national quality, it is the product of the influences to which we have been subjected after the introduction of British rule."(7)
Tilak made it an object of his life to diffuse the spirit of patriotism and nationalism among the masses. He inaugurated Shivaji festival, and transformed the traditional worship of Ganapati into an altogether new form. He requisitioned two of the great forces - religion and history - to stir the national mind. But these institutions produced opposite effects upon the
Hindus & Muslims. The Muslims have the iconoclastic spirit. Further, Shivaji had founded the Maharashtra Kingdom in the teeth of opposition from the most powerful Muslim Emperor in India.

The evolution of political ideas and organizations was well marked in Bombay. There was the able leadership of the so-called triumvirate, namely, K.T. Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta and Badruddin Tyabji in the province. Mehta, like Dadabhai Naoroji, had a faith in the sense of justice and fair play of the British and relied on them for the political salvation of India. This was also the trend of political ideas in Bombay during the seventies. It may, however, be noted that outside Bengal, Bombay alone was seriously perturbed by the Ilbert Bill agitation. Mainly as a result of this agitation, the Bombay Presidency Association came into being. The Bombay Association founded in 1852 was the oldest political association in Bombay. It had lost its vitality within a decade, but was revived in 1870 and galvanised into fresh life by Mr. Naoroji Furdunji in 1873. But it shortly became practically extinct, and this was partly due to the fact that a Branch of the East India Association of London was founded in Bombay in 1871 which carried on useful work in developing political ideas. But the career of the Branch came to an end along with that of the parent body in London. Mehta, Tyabji and Telang vainly tried to put fresh life into these two political organizations. At last they had the idea of starting a new
political association in Bombay. They convened a public meeting for this purpose on January 31, 1885, and the Bombay Presidency Association was inaugurated in this meeting amid great public enthusiasm. The public interest, however, gradually waned and the whole show was run by the illustrious triumvirate.

The 'Poona Sarvajanik Sabha' was another important political association. It was established in 1867. The Sabha awakened the political consciousness of the people, and thus rendered great services to Maharashtra. The Government, however, was alarmed at its activity and withdrew its recognition in 1897. The Sabha was dominated by Mahadev Govinda Ranade through his disciple Gopal Krishna Gokhale who was its secretary from 1891 to 1896. But the group led by Ranade started a new political organization known as the Deccan Sabha when Tilak became the dominant figure in 1896 by capturing the Committee of Management.

The 'Mahajan Sabha' of Madras founded in 1884 was another important political organization of the time. The Sabha advocated the expansion of the Legislative Council and the separation of the judicial from revenue functions.

Mahadev Govinda Ranade was associated with social and economic rather than political problem. Under the Government of Bombay he held the office of a subordinate judge and therefore could not take any active part in politics. He devoted himself to the social and economic uplift of the country. Although his
activities were not so spectacular as those of Surendranath Banerjee, he like Surendranath, greatly advanced the cause of nationalism and inspired and initiated men like Gokhale to the service of the Motherland.

(VII)

The English-educated middle class was steadily increasing, and with it increased the national consciousness which soon produced a conflict with the alien government. The principle of competitive examination was recognized in 1853 as the basis of all appointments in the Covenanted Service of the Company. Indian youths took advantage of this. Satyendranath Tagore was the first Indian Civilian, and the second batch included Surendranath Banerjee (1848-1925), Ramesh Chandra Datta and Bihari Lal Gupta who passed the Indian Civil Service Examination in 1869. In 'My Life and Times' Bipin Chandra Pal observes: "The simultaneous admission of three Bengalee youngmen into the Indian Civil Service was, therefore, something of a rude awakening to many members of this service. It was really the inauguration of a new movement among us to enter Civil Service in increasing numbers and thereby gradually take charge of the administration of our country into our own hands. This was naturally viewed as an attack on British authority and prestige by many members of the Civil Service. This created, therefore, a new conflict between the Government and our educated middle class!"
This was a conflict between Indian aspirations and British prestige. The conflict came out most glaringly in the trial and dismissal of Surendranath from Civil Service on unjust grounds. Indian educated classes considered this to be an attack upon their rights. Surendranath's case created resentment in the educated classes throughout India. Pal observes: "This was the beginning of our political conflict under British rule, which was the parent of our new political freedom movement."

However, Surendranath's dismissal was a great boon to the country. In his 'A Nation in Making' Surendranath writes: "In the iron grip of ruin, I had already formed some forecast of the work that was awaiting me in life. I felt that I had suffered because I was an Indian, a member of a community that lay disorganised, had no public opinion, and no voice in the counsels of their Government. I felt with all the passionate warmth of youth that we were helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water in the land of our birth. The personal wrong done to me was an illustration of the helpless impotency of our people. .... In the midst of impending ruin and dark, frowning misfortune, I formed the determination of addressing myself to the task of helping our helpless people in this direction." (2) Surendranath made futile attempts in England to redress his personal wrong. He came back home in June 1875, and was at once appointed Professor of English in the Metropolitan Institution by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.
The Students' Association was organized in Calcutta by Ananda Mohan Bose in early 1875. Surendranath became its most active member. Surendranath took advantage of this opportunity and sought to rouse the patriotic consciousness among the students. Surendranath intended to create among the youths a "genuine, sober and rational interest" in public affairs and movements. Surendranath wrote that the beginnings of public life must be implanted in the youths. They must be stirred out of their indifference to politics, which was the prevailing attitude of the student-mind in Bengal in 1875. Also, they must be protected against extreme fanatical views. Surendranath delivered lectures at different places on such subjects as Indian Unity, the Study of History, the life of Mazzini and the life of Chaitanya. He was a passionate speaker and his lectures were greedily devoured by the student community. Amongst those who regularly or frequently attended the meetings in those days may be mentioned the names of Bipin Chandra Pal (1855-1932), Narendra Nath Datta (later Vivekananda) and Byomkesh Chakravarti. In fact, the graduates and under-graduates of those days were drawn to the Students' Association under Surendranath's magnetic spell. A veritable youth movement, wedded to the cult of freedom and nationalism, was organized in this province.

Surendranath's first lecture was 'On the Rise of the Sikh Power in the Punjab'. The lecture created a deep impression on his young listeners. B.C.Pal writes: "Our school
text-books on Indian history did, no doubt, notice the story of the Sikhs in connection with Ranjit Singh. But these references had no inspiration for us. Surendranath for the first time presented the Sikh movement as really a movement of freedom, first, against the current ceremonialism and Brahmanical domination of the Hindu Community; second, against the oppression of the Moguls, who tried to crush a movement of religious and spiritual freedom ... and lastly, against British aggression. .... Surendranath in his address on The Rise of the Sikh Power in the Punjab exposed the unreliable character of British historians and painted in burning words the justice of the Sikh cause, the deathless devotion of the Sikh people to their 'Khalsa' or Commonwealth and the signal defeats which they inflicted on the British at Chilianwala and Gujerat. .... This revelation of the history of the Sikhs made a very powerful appeal to our infant patriotism and lent new strength and even bitterness to the anti-British feeling that had already commenced to possess our youthful minds .... Surendranath's position as the most powerful orator of his generation was at once established by this performance." (3) But the most inspiring message was delivered through his lectures on Mazzini, the Prophet of the 19th century nationalism in Europe. Modern India owes its greatest debt of gratitude to Surendranath for his pioneering work among the students; he roused their political consciousness and kindled in them a fascination for public affairs. Since 1875 he remained the most articulate
voice in Indian politics for decades to come.

The Indian Association was the next important step in the history of our national awakening. For many years, the Indian Association functioned as the voice and organ of the middle class aspirations. On his return from England in 1875, Surendranath felt the need of an association which would represent the views of the educated middle-class community and inspire them with a living interest in public affairs. The Hindu Mela which had been functioning since 1867 was not a permanent institution but a temporary conference; moreover, its aspirations looked mild and modest in the changing background, and its composition was all-too-Hindu in character. The Muslims were completely left out. The Students' Association was also a limited one, for it had mainly confined its work to the student community alone. The British Indian Association under Kristo Das Pal no doubt valiantly upheld the popular interests when necessary; but it was essentially an Association of landholders. Moreover, active political agitation or the creation of public opinion by direct appeals to the people was no function of the British Indian Association. Thus, the foundation of a new institution on a popular and democratic basis was in high demand. The Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Madras Mahajana Sabha were all local bodies and represented more or less limited provincial or class interests. Pal writes:
"The growing educated middle class in the country, as much in Bengal as in the other provinces, who represented in a special sense and to a specially large degree the spirit of freedom and democracy inspired by the new education imparted through the Universities, were really without any organization of their own before 1876. The Indian Association was the first to organise the political thoughts and sentiments of this growing educated middle-class directly in Bengal and indirectly outside this province also. The Indian Association was inspired from its birth by the ideal of Indian Unity, and at once set to work to bring the educated intelligentsia of the different Indian provinces upon one broad political platform". (4)

The Indian Association was founded on July 26, 1876 by Surendranath in collaboration with Ananda Mohan Bose and Dwarkanath Ganguli. Ananda Mohan Bose was its Secretary and Akshay Chandra Sarkar was its Assistant Secretary. Although Surendranath kept himself in the background, he was its moving spirit. Surendranath writes that the Association sought to realize certain ideals which embraced the creation of a strong body of public opinion in the country, the unification of the Indian races and peoples upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations, the promotion of friendly feeling between Hindus and Mohammedans and the inclusion of the masses in the great public movements of the day. Soon an opportunity
arose for the Indian Association to organize a country-wide movement. The maximum limit of age for the Open Competitive Examination for Indian Civil Service was reduced from twenty-one to nineteen years by the orders of the Marquis of Salisbury. This was regarded "as a deliberate attempt to blast the prospects of Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Service". In 1877 a great public meeting was held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The meeting was attended by representatives from the whole of Bengal. Even Keshab Chandra Sen, who had never in his life taken part in any political meeting, was persuaded to participate in the proceedings. The meeting was one of the biggest public demonstrations held in Calcutta. This meeting became the forerunner of similar and even more crowded meetings held all over India. At this meeting, Surendranath was appointed special Delegate to visit the different provinces and organize public opinion against the measure and awaken the spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India. He visited the United Provinces and the Punjab; his fiery lectures instilled a new political consciousness into the people. At Agra, Lahore, Amritsar, Meerut, Allahabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Aligarh and Benares crowded public meetings were held, and the Calcutta Resolutions and the Civil Service Memorial were adopted. Whenever possible branch Indian Associations were also started. Thus a set of organization was started and the foundations were well and truly laid for United and concerted action. In 1878
Surendranath undertook his tour through Western and Southern India. The Calcutta Resolutions were adopted at the Civil Service meetings held at Bombay, Surat and Ahmedabad. Crowded meetings were held wherever he went. A conference of leading men was held at Madras and the Calcutta Memorials and Resolutions were accepted. Surendranath writes: "For the first time under British rule, India, with its varied races and religions had been brought upon the same platform for a common and united effort." In his 'New India' Sir Henry Cotton also observed: "The educated classes are the voice and brain of the country. ... The Baboos of Bengal have done even more. They now rule public opinion from Peshwar to Chittagong; and although the natives of North-Western India are immeasurably behind those of Bengal in education and in their sense of political independence, they are gradually becoming as amenable as their brethren of the lower provinces to intellectual control and guidance. A few short years ago and there was no trace of this; the idea of any Bengalee influence in the Punjab would have been a conception incredible to Lord Lawrence, to a Montogomery, or a Macleod; yet I remember the tour of a Bengalee lecturer, lecturing in English in Upper India, assumed the character of triumphal progress; and at the present moment the name of Surendranath Banerjea excites as much enthusiasm among the rising generation of Multan as in Dacca."
question was addressed to the British House of Commons. It contained a powerful plea for the modification of the orders by raising the maximum age-limit from nineteen to twenty-two. Barrister Lal Mohan Ghose was selected by the Indian Association to be its delegate to England and give an expression to the pressing grievance of his countrymen to British audiences. His deputation to England on behalf of the wounded India under Lytton was our first political deputation. In Willis's Room, St. James, London, he delivered an address on July 23, 1879, on Lytton's Indian policy before an influential gathering of members of Parliament and others. John Bright, the greatest English orator of that time, was in the chair. Lal Mohan took the British nation by surprise. His marvellous gifts of oratory extorted warmest tribute even from the President of the meeting. Surendranath writes: "The effect of that meeting was instantaneous. Within twenty-four hours of it, there were laid on the table of the House of Commons, the Rules creating what was subsequently known as the Statutory Civil Service. Under the Parliamentary Statute of 1870, the Government of India were empowered, subject to rules that were to be framed, to make direct appointments of natives of India of proved merit and ability to the Covenanted Civil Service. For seven years the Government of India had slept over the matter. But so great was the impression created by the demonstration at Willis's Room, having behind it the sentiment of united India, that the Rules, which were only four in number and had been
delayed for seven years, were published within twenty-four hours of that meeting." (γ')

But this Statutory Civil Service evaded the great moral issue involved in Indian grievance. It did not touch the question of raising the maximum age-limit from 19 to 22. The statutory Civil Service opened for the Indians the posts of a District Magistrate or judge and Sessions Judge even without passing the Civil Service Examination in England. But Lai Mohan Ghose’s deputation to England bore a significance which was far more moral than political. Bipin Chandra Pal writes that it added considerably to our pride and strengthened our conceit of intellectual equality with our foreign masters. During his second deputation in 1879, Lal Mohan Ghose stood as a candidate for Parliamentary election in the Liberal interest from Deptford. But the Irish vote went against him almost at the last moment and he was defeated. The high distinction of being the first Indian Member of Parliament therefore remained reserved for India’s Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Bipin Chandra Pal says that Lalmohan’s Parliamentary candidature also reacted powerfully upon our infant nationalist politics, particularly in Bengal.

Surendranath once observed that reactionary rulers were often the creators of great public movements. The ardour of nationalism and political consciousness were increased by the
repressive laws of Lord Lytton. The Press Act and the Arms Act (1878) caused stronger irritation to the native minds. Vehement protests were raised in the country against Lytton's lavish expenditure over the Delhi Assemblage at a time when the people in Madras were perishing in famine as well as the diversion of the famine fund to the second Afghan War. In the House of Commons, Lytton's reactionary measures provoked attacks on the Disraeli Government. The Press Act of 1878 was condemned by Gladstone. Surendranath records: "The reactionary administration of Lord Lytton had roused the public from its attitude of indifference and had given a stimulus to public life. In the evolution of political progress, bad rulers are often a blessing in disguise. They help to stir a community into life, a result that years of agitation would perhaps have failed to achieve."(9) In England in the General Election of 1880, the administration in India became for the first time "openly a party question". Disraeli was defeated at the polls. The formation of Liberal Ministry headed by Gladstone roused considerable hope and enthusiasm in India. These were strengthened by the appointment of Lord Ripon to the Indian Viceroyalty. As early as 1877 Gladstone said: "Our title to be in India depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations; and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."(9) But Lord Lytton's Indian policy spread grievances and discontents.
Ripon cherished warm feelings of respect for Indian legitimate aspirations. His Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, his Local Self Government Act introducing the principles of self-government in municipal administration, his appointment of the Hunter Commission to improve primary and secondary education, his Factory Act and plan of Tenancy Bill, all gave a spur to Indian aspirations. The sympathetic attitude of many British officials like Sir Henry Cotton and Allah Octavian Hume to the Indian cause was also a factor to be reckoned with. Blunt characterized the rule of Ripon as "the awakening hour of the new movement towards liberty in India, the dawn of that day of unrest which is the necessary prelude to full self-assertion in every subject land." (f)

Now there were two episodes of great significance for the nationalist movement of India. These were the Ilbert Bill controversy (1883) and the Contempt Case of Surendranath (1883). Surendranath in his Bengalee (April 2, 1883) condemned Mr. Justice Contempt case of Morris's act of bringing of a 'saligram', a stone idol, into court for identification. The Court premises and the surroundings were swarming with a surging crowd on the day fixed for trial (May 5). The crowd included thousands of students led by Ashutosh Mukherjee (1864-1924) and others. In spite of the dissenting voice of Ramesh Chandra Mitra, Surendranath was condemned to two month's imprisonment. His condemnation to imprisonment produced a profound impression not only in
Calcutta and in Bengal, but also throughout India. When the sentence was pronounced, a section of the crowd, mostly composed of students, became excited and smashed the windows of the building. The crowd began to pelt stones at the police. Indeed so menacing was the attitude of the crowd that Surendranath had to be removed secretly by a back-door in a private carriage instead of the prison van. Surendranath writes that in Calcutta on the day of his imprisonment the Indian shops were closed and business was suspended in the Indian part of the town, not by order, or by an organized effort, but under a spontaneous impulse which moved the whole community. The demonstrations organized against Surendranath's imprisonment were not confined to the upper or the educated classes: the masses joined them in their thousands. The occasion also marked the beginning of the practice of holding large open-air meetings. Numerous protest meetings were held. The Indian Association organized a meeting in the Beadon Square on May 16, 1883. It was the largest meeting ever held in Calcutta. There were about twenty thousand people present representing different sections of the community. Numerous telegrams and letters as well as the presence of delegates specially sent from the Muffassil on the occasion testified to the all-pervading sympathy and interest of the country. Surendranath's imprisonment also evoked sympathy and protest in remote parts of India. Public meetings were held in Agra, Fyzabad, Amritsar,
Lahore, Poona and various other towns all over India. Even a Pandit of Kashmir, ignorant of English, burst into tears on hearing the imprisonment of Surendranath. Syed Ahmed, the leader of the Muslims of the north-western region of India, a member of the then Legislative Assembly of India, in collaboration with his Muslim brethren convened a large meeting and expressed sympathy for Surendranath. All these testify the extent to which the bonds of fellowship and good feeling between the different parts of India had been created during the eighties of the nineteenth century.

With Asutosh Mukherjee on the chair the students held a meeting in the Free Church College which was also attended by the students of the Bethune College (girls' College) who had bows of black ribbon on them. Even the housewives were deeply mortified and wrote letters of sympathy to the wife of Surendranath. The then editor of the Statesman wrote a few powerful editorials in bitter criticism of the judgment of the High Court. The editor held that Surendranath ought to have been given lighter punishment, he could have been fined instead of being imprisoned and that it had been an unnecessary and improper action on the part of the Chief Justice to mention in his judgment that Surendranath had been dismissed from Civil Service. The editor did not perform his duty simply by writing severe editorials, he took the wife of
Surendranath in his carriage to the prison for her visits to her husband.

When an Englishman sided with us, spoke or wrote in our favour, our national enthusiasm increased.

The Annual Report of the Indian Association for 1885 observed: "That good cometh out of evil was never more fully illustrated than in this notable event. It has now been demonstrated, by the universal outburst of grief and indignation which the event called forth, that the people of the different Indian provinces have learnt to feel for one another; and that a common bond of unity and fellow-feeling is rapidly being established among them." The imprisonment of Surendranath produced another good result. Surendranath was released on July 4, 1883, and on July 17, a public meeting was held. A National Fund was raised to secure the political advancement of the country by means of constitutional agitation in India and England. A sum of about Rs.20,000 was collected. It was made over to the Indian Association, Calcutta, for the promotion of political work.

Ilbert Bill. A very important feature of the agitation controversy over the Ilbert Bill and Surendranath's imprisonment was the participation of the student-community in public matters. The students took a prominent part in the organization of public meetings and openly expressed their resentment against the
Government. Many students became victims of official repression.

The growth of the concept of nation is measured by the degree to which the masses are joining a political meeting. It is also measured by the students' interest in political matters. Nationality is the sense of political unity. The people of India once did not mind the change of government, even when the new government was one of the foreigners. The sense of political unity was first entertained by a few English-educated men; with the spread of education it spread, but remained confined only within the enlightened. We shall see afterwards how Aurobindo attacked the Congress for retaining the affair only within the enlightened circle and not spreading it to the masses.

The excitement caused by the agitation over the Ilbert Bill preceded the Contempt Case of Surendranath. The Ilbert Bill greatly helped the cause of Indian political advance. The controversy over the Ilbert Bill was a turning point in the history of India's Nationalism. The agitation produced a great commotion in the country. Supported by Ripon, Ilbert introduced the Bill in the Viceregal Legislative Council in 1883. It sought to invest the native Magistrates in the interior with powers over European British subjects and to abolish judicial disqualifications based on race distinctions. The Bill roused angry passions in both the communities, Europeans and Indians. The European community in India embarked
upon a "tearing agitation" against the Government. The Viceroy was insulted. The Indians, however, did not sit idle. "The passionate claim of the Europeans to predominance was to be answered by an equally passionate claim of the Indians to equality," wrote Dodwell. The European community found their leader in Branson, the Indian community in Lal Mohan Ghose. The two entered into a battle of words. B.C.Pal records that Branson's speech contained "a most savage attack upon Indian culture and character, citing our mediaeval social institutions of caste, child-marriage, 'zehana' seclusion and the prohibition of widow re-marriage, as conclusive evidences of our moral degeneration, that branded us with absolute disqualification to sit in judgment upon European criminals." Lalmohan also gave a fiery reply as a result of which the Bengali solicitors boycotted Branson who had to fly far from the country. Lord Ripon was vehemently attacked by the Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Indian officials. The 'Times' took up the attacks; the Cabinet was alarmed for its popularity, and the Queen was shaken in her opinion of her Viceroy's judgment. Lord Ripon was practically left alone to his fate. The Anglo-Indian Defence Association was hurriedly formed; its branches spread in the different provinces. The educated community watched the struggle with interest; but their agitation was far less organized. Amvika Charan Majumdar writes that the agitation stirred up the public mind only in Bengal and Bombay. It produced little or no effect
in Madras, while the N.W. provinces and the Punjab were perfectly silent. The Muslim community held aloof.

Lord Ripon's honest attempt, therefore, practically failed. The Bill was changed beyond recognition when passed into law. A concordat was concluded towards the end of 1883 upon a bare recognition of the principle in the case of District Magistrates and the Sessions judge only. Blunt records: "... I know the effect it produced on native politicians. It was everywhere looked on as a surrender, and a disgraceful one; and there was a moment when it was doubtful whether popular indignation would not vent itself in more than words. But Lord Ripon's personal popularity saved the situation, and moderate counsels prevailed. It was recognized even by the most violent that the pusillanimity of the Home Government, not of the Viceroy, was in fault; and it was felt that, should popular indignation turn now upon Lord Ripon, no Viceroy would ever again dare befriend the people. The compromise, therefore, was accepted with what grace was possible, and bitter feelings were concealed, and the day of indignation postponed."(14) Hemchandra Banerjee composed a poem in a sarcastic vein when the Anglo-Indian agitation was afoot, and he wrote a stern poem entitled 'Mantrasadhan' preaching nationalism when the Bill was modified. Amvika Charan Majumdar writes: "It was recognized
that the failure was largely owing to the want of adequate, vigorous and united support throughout the country to counterbalance the spirited and well-organized opposition of the Anglo-Indian community, and it was further felt that if political advancement were to be achieved it could only be by the organization of the national assembly wholly devoted to wider politics than hitherto pursued in the different provinces independently of each other .... It was also proved an eye-opener to those talented and highly educated Indian gentlemen who having returned from England and adopted English habits and manners had lost nearly all touch with their countrymen and were apparently seeking to form a class by themselves in the vain hope of assimilating themselves as far as practicable with the Anglo-Indian community. Forces were thus at work driving the people from different points of the compass to a common fold and to concentrate their thoughts, ideas and activities to a common focus for the attainment of the political rights and privileges of the people who being under a common rule, it was understood, could have but a common goal and a common destiny. All the time the Indian Press throughout the country was incessantly urging the people to unite under a common standard.

Surendranath also said that it strengthened the forces that were speeding up the birth of the Congress movement.

The first National Conference was called by the Indian Association. It was held on December 28, 29 and 30, 1883
in the Albert Hall of Calcutta. It was an all India Conference. Surendranath says that the objects of the National Conference were not sectional nor regional, but truly national. More than a hundred delegates, both Hindus & Muslims, attended the Conference. With a national hymn the proceedings began. The Conference was attended by two Englishmen, one of whom was Blunt. Blunt writes: "... I went to the first meeting of the National Conference, a really important occasion, as there were delegates from most of the great towns—and, as Bose (Ananda Mohan) in his opening speech remarked, it was the first stage towards a National Parliament." (15)

On December 25, 26 and 27, 1885, the second session of the National Conference was held in Calcutta, and it was more representative than the first. More than thirty political Associations all over India sent representatives. This session was also joined by the British Indian Association which was an association of landed aristocracy. The subjects discussed included the Arms Act, the Civil Service question, the separation of the judicial and executive functions, and the retrenchment of expenditure. Almost all the questions that formed the chief planks in the Indian National Congress platform during the first twenty years of its existence were discussed in the two sessions of the National Conference.
The great International Exhibition was held in Calcutta in 1884. The year 1884, acquired significance also because of Surendranath's triumphant tour through Upper India. He addressed large meetings wherever he went, and raised the demands on the Civil Service question. The underlying object was, however, to foster and deepen the spirit of Indian unity between the different peoples and provinces. The maximum age-limit for the Indian Civil Service was raised to 22 before long.

Ripon's retirement and popular farewell demonstrations, unparalleled in Indian history, showed the dimension of the national awakening in India. Surendranath observes that the Anglo-Indian official living in isolation and detachment from the people now began to realise the birth of a national movement, of which he had not the faintest conception. Sir Auckland Colvin, the Indian Finance Minister, was bewildered. However, he said: "The dry bones in the open valley had become instinct with life." (14)

( VIII )

Indian National Congress A new political life of India began with the foundation of the Indian National Congress towards the end of the year 1885. It completely dominated the political life of India for more than twenty years and gave a shape and form to the ideas of administrative and constitutional reforms of India.
It should be mentioned that the Indian National Congress was not a sudden emergence; it was the culmination of the evolution of the previous political ideas and organizations that existed in India. The Indian National Congress was not the only force, though the main force, which wrought for India's freedom. It was, however, the central theme, the pivot, round which resolves the story of India's grim struggle for independence.

In 1884 Allan Octarian Hume had conceived the idea of bringing the leading Indian politicians together once a year to discuss social matters. There were recognized political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and other parts of the country, and so Hume did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion. But Lord Dufferin, the then Governor-General, told him that in his opinion Mr. Hume's project would not be of much use. Lord Dufferin said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. So he held that it would be very desirable in their interests as well as the interests of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved. He also said that the assembly should not be presided over by the Local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds. Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments, and
when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme.

The Congress was really designed by Hume to arrest the progress of a revolutionary outbreak. Wedderburn clearly states that the "ill-starred measures of reaction, combined with Russian methods of Police repression, brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of revolutionary outbreak; and it was only in time that Mr. Hume and his Indian advisers were inspired to intervene."(1) Although from the second session it adopted healthy resolutions, the Congress was primarily designed to hold back the Indian intelligentsia from an apprehended general outbreak against the British. Hume himself said: "A safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised." (2)

The National Conference of Calcutta held its three-day session from 25th to 27th December, 1885. It was the culmination of a genuine political movement extending over half a century, while the Indian National Congress was brought into existence as an instrument to safeguard the British rule in India. This time the Conference was not summoned by the
Indian Association alone; it was summoned by three prominent organizations of Calcutta—the British Indian Association representing the landed interest, the Indian Association representing the middle classes, and the Central Mohamedan Association representing Muslim interests. It was also an all-India Conference like its predecessor. Yet, the Indian leaders chose the Congress as their national organization because many of them could not reconcile themselves to the advanced political ideas of the Indian Association of Calcutta. Surendranath Banerjee was considered to be an extremist in those days; W.C. Banerjee who had kept aloof from the Indian Association was therefore selected as the first President of the Congress.

At the Conference of Calcutta, among the important speakers were Surendranath, Henry Cotton, Gooroo Das Banerjee, Kali Mohan Das, Rai Jatindranath Choudhuri and Heramba Chandra Maitra. At this Conference, six resolutions were passed on the reconstitution of Legislative Councils, modification of the Arms Act, retrenchment of public expenditure, Civil Service question, separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions and reorganization of the Police.

The first Congress session opened on December 28, 1885 at Bombay. W.C. Bonnerjea presided over it.

A few Muslims attended the session, and the meeting was strictly confined to the self-chosen representatives. The
members of the public were not admitted even as spectators.

The Bengal leaders of the Conference were glad at the birth of the Congress, and they merged their movement in it for they felt no necessity for its separate existence.

In its first session the Congress was not a representative body. It was a gathering of some leading men of the country. The 72 members that attended the session were self-chosen representatives. In the first session politics was intentionally kept in the background. The second session was held in Calcutta. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, presided over it. The first Congress consisted of "Volunteers" while the second of "Delegates". The second Congress was held with 436 delegates elected from different provinces. Its session commenced in the Town Hall packed to the utmost capacity. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in course of his opening address observed: "For long, our fathers lived and we have lived as individuals only, or as families, but henceforward I hope we shall be living as a nation, united one and all to promote our welfare and the welfare of our mother-country." (3) In his Presidential Speech Dadabhai Naoroji urged upon the delegates to work upon the Congress as a purely political body and Congress platform as a political platform. He urged upon the delegates to discuss such questions as affected the whole nation, leaving social questions for others to decide.

The rapid progress of the Congress towards
nationalism created anxiety among the Anglo-Indians. Lord Dufferin was appalled. He characterized the Congress as 'a big jump into the unknown' and called Congressmen a microscopic minority. Eardly Norton, however, gave a crushing reply to Lord Dufferin.

Surendranath took an active part in the second session and henceforth proved to be one of the strongest pillars of the Congress organization. The conservative British Indian Association of Calcutta joined the Congress. The Mohamedan Association of Bengal held aloof.

Another innovation was the admission of the public as spectators.

The third session was held in 1887 at Madras, and it was presided over by Badruddin Tyabji, an eminent Muslim leader. The number of delegates rose to 607. Though the numbers of delegates are gradually increasing, no regular constitution was adopted during the next twenty years.

On the eve of the third session of the Congress, Syed Ahmad delivered a speech to dissuade the Muslims from attesting it.

At the session a members gave notice of a resolution urging the prohibition of cow-slaughter. The Congress was in
great difficulty. The Congress, however, found a fair solution, and it was decided that if any resolution affecting a particular class or community was objected to by the delegates representing that community it should not be considered by the Congress.

The Indian National Congress passed a number of Resolutions each year demanding reform in administration and redress of grievances. But the Government did not pay any heed to them. Hume was pained and shocked by the indifference shown by the Government and the antagonism of the Muslims who represented the Congress movement as an attempt to establish the Hindu Raj.

Mr. Hume, however, set to work. Over thousands of meetings were held throughout the country; many meetings were attended by more than five thousand persons.

The officials were irritated by the mass movement. They desired to suppress the Congress; they even recommended that Mr. Hume should be deported.

That the concept of nation was still in embryo in India will be proved by an interesting fact. Hume's mass movement received no support from a class of Indian leaders. Even B.C. Pal thought that "it would be a dangerous thing not only for the British Government but also for India, if the masses
were to be imbued with antagonism to British rule through political agitations." (4) Pal was a member of the Brahmo Samaj; he pointed out that the Brahmo Samaj owed its safety to the principle of religious freedom inculcated by the British in India, and so he was "frankly afraid of a return to Hindu or Moslem rule in India." (5) Hume's mass movement failed.

The fourth session was held at Allahabad. The official opposition was noticeable when this session was held. The Anglo-Indian community found its leader in Sir Auckland Colvin, who had already begun to alienate the Muslims from the Congress. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who had pleaded for the admission of Indians into the Legislative Councils in his 'Causes of the Indian Revolt' (1858), now turned into a strong opponent of the Congress under official influences. Aided by a loyal Hindu zamindar, Sir Syed Ahmad set up a rival organization, and the officials held out the threat that anybody joining the Congress would come to grief. In spite of this official attitude, over 1200 Delegates, including 200 Muslims, attended the fourth session of the Congress. Annie Besant writes that even Lord Dufferin attacked it as seditious in a banquet given him on his leaving office. But Eardly Norton said in his speech before the Allahabad Congress (1888) that as an Englishman he felt ashamed that England did not fulfill promises and broke pledges to India.

Every year witnessed an enlargement and expansion of
the scope of activities of the Congress. The fifth session was held in 1889 at Bombay and was attended by exactly 1889 delegates. It was presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, the friend and biographer of Hume. Charles Bradlaugh whose genuine pro-Indian attitude in the House of Commons earned him the nickname 'Member for India' was present at the session. About this session Annie Besant writes: "Glancing over the register, we find people of all professions and trades from all parts of the country — princes, landlords, peasants, merchants, contractors, barristers, vakils, pleaders, solicitors, attorneys, principals, headmasters, professors, teachers, editors, money-lenders, bankers, brokers, manufacturers, traders, shopkeepers, artisans, doctors, sardars, printers, authors, reises taluqdars, a judge, a munsif, nine clergymen and missionaries, and ten ladies, seven of whom were Indians." (6)

In this session a scheme of representative government was drafted. A Muslim delegate made a demand that there should be an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members in the Council. But the demand did not get much support; even the majority of Muslim members voted against it. Nevertheless, it was a bad omen for the future, for the ugly head of communalism made itself visible.

The sixth session was held in Calcutta. During the session the Government publicly declared the Indian National
Congress to be perfectly legitimate. The Government servants were also permitted to attend the Congress, but they were prohibited from taking part in its deliberations.

Year after year, the Congress passed Resolutions protesting against the abuses and urging for reforms in the various branches of administration. The separation of the Executive and Judicial functions was a Resolution passed no less than ten times between 1886 and 1906. The Resolutions for trial by Jury, reform of the Police administration, reduction of salt tax and income-tax, extension of the Permanent Settlement were also passed in many sessions. The Congress made insistent demands for holding simultaneous examinations in London and India for admission to the Civil Service, and for raising the maximum age of competitors. In 1904 the Congress demanded representation of Indians in the British House of Commons, each province returning at least two members.

D. Mackenzie Brown writes: "In those early days, when Mahadev Govind Ranade was a power behind the movement, the emphasis was on British good will and on social reform. These, in fact, became the policy of his people, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and the main theme of Congress. " The times and conditions would not allow in the earlier years anything else than a reasoned appeal to the authorities for the redress of grievance and a moderate demand of new concessions and privileges. This frame of mind soon developed into an art. Forensic
talent on the one hand and a richly imaginative and emotional eloquence on the other, were soon brought to bear on the task that lay before the Indian politicians. An irresistible statement of facts followed by irrefutable arguments to prove the justice of the popular cause are to be met with everywhere in the speeches supporting the Congress resolutions and the addresses delivered by Congress Presidents. The burden of these utterances was that the English people are essentially just and fair, and that if properly informed they would never deviate from truth and the right, that the problem was the Anglo-Indian and not the Englishmen, that what was wrong was the system and not the individual, that the Congress was essentially loyal to the British Throne and fell afoul only of the Indian bureaucracy, that the English Constitution was the work of popular liberties everywhere and the English Parliament was the Mother of Democracy all over, that the British constitution was the best of all constitutions, that the Congress was not a seditious body, that the Indian politicians were the natural interpreters of Government to people and of people to Government, that Indians must be admitted into public services in larger measure, should be educated and made fit for high positions, that Universities, the Local Bodies and the public services should form the training ground for India, that the legislatures should be thrown open to election
and the right of interpellation and discussion of budgets should be conceded, that the Press and the Forest Laws should be relaxed, the Police should become friendly to the people, that the taxes should be moderate ...." (7)

None the less, with a few honourable exceptions, the British Government and the British people regarded the Congress as the greatest enemy of British rule in India. They were actually afraid of the spirit of nationalism that the Congress was steadily widening and deepening. On the Resolutions adopted in the first session of the Congress the Times observed: "The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was own, and it is by force that India must be governed .... If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view." (8)

The observation of the Times is strong enough to awaken any sleeping people. It has already been said that the English sometimes deliberately and friendly, and sometimes unconsciously and inimically roused nationalism in India. The Times was really perturbed by the start of an all-India
organization. Although the Resolutions of the first session of
the Congress were extremely meek, the Times could not ignore
them. The observation sounded an insulting note and silently
urged Indians to resort to powerful means. We shall soon see
that in regard to incision, the criticism of the Congress made
later by Aurobindo can be compared with that by the Times which
was largely responsible for making the Congress adopt a sterner
attitude and sterner Resolutions.

However, when the British noticed that the Congress
did little more than passing Resolutions, they were gratified.
In 1896 Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India,
wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Elgin: "It is gratifying to note
that the Congress, as a political power, has steadily gone down
during the last few years, and this is, I think, largely due to
the indifference and unconcern with which the Indian Government
has tolerated its proceedings."(9) But Hamilton wrote again to
Elgin in 1897: "The more I see and hear of the National Congress
Party the more I am impressed with the seditious and double-sided
character of the prime-movers of the organization."(10)

Although Hamilton spoke of the decline in the power
of the Congress, he was anxious to curb its influence. In 1899
Hamilton wrote to Lord Curzon asking him to ascertain who
amongst princes and noblemen subscribed to the Congress fund and
to let them know that the Government was aware of the fact, to prefer for honours and distinctions those who were not Congressmen, and to exercise a greater control over education, its organization and text books.

In 1900 Curzon wrote to Hamilton: "My own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise". (11)

The Government adopted the policy of favouring the anti-Congress elements and putting pressure upon the rich and the aristocracy to withdraw their patronage from the Congress. The success was remarkable, for few dared openly support the Congress. But the British did not know that the Congress derived its strength and support not from the wealthy and the aristocracy but from the middle class.

Hamilton was ready to apply another weapon. In 1899 he wrote to Curzon: "I think the real danger to our rule in India, not now but 50 years hence, is the gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation and organisation, and if we could break the educated Hindu party into two sections holding widely different views, we should, by such a division, strengthen our position against the subtle and continuous attack which the spread of education must make upon our present system".
Thus was initiated the policy of rallying the Moderates which was followed with success in the twentieth century, specially by Morley and Montague.

Nevertheless, the leaders of the Congress did not lose faith in the British people. But Hume was disgusted at the conduct of the British officials in India. He held that the British public should be awakened to a sense of the wrongs done to the Indian people, and pressed upon Congress workers the need for carrying on a political propaganda in Britain. He said:

"The least that we could do would be to provide ample funds for sending and keeping constantly in England deputations of our ablest speakers to plead for country's cause - to enable our British Committee to keep up an unbroken series of public meetings, whereat the true state of affairs in India might be expounded — to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, and magazine articles .... " (12)

In 1889 'The British Committee of the Indian National Congress ' was started with Sir W. Wedderburn as Chairman, Digby as Secretary, and a number of distinguished Englishmen and W.C. Bonnerjea and Dadabhai Naoroji as members.

The Committee decided to wage war against the hostile propaganda of the India Office on three fronts - in Parliament,
on the platform and in the Press by starting the journal 'India' as an organ of the Congress views. In 1893 the Indian Parliamentary Committee comprised 154 members of the House of Commons. A number of public meetings and lectures were addressed by liberal Englishmen and Surendranath and G.K. Gokhale. By his political speeches Gokhale made a very good impression at Manchester, at Cambridge and other places.

(IX)

Results of the Indian National Congress activities. Although the Indian National Congress failed to secure any substantial grant of political reforms it was demanding for twenty years (1885-1905), it helped the political advancement of India in various ways. The Congress sessions awakened political consciousness among a steadily increasing circle of educated Indians. The Congress sessions brought together the leading representative men from distant parts of India and gave a reality to the ideal of Indian unity and developed patriotic feelings. Besides, important political, economic and administrative problems of India were discussed in the meetings of the Congress, and later also in the Provincial Conferences. These discussions diffused very useful and accurate knowledge necessary for the political development and educated public opinion on all questions concerning the welfare and progress of India.
The Legislative Councils were enlarged by the Act of 1892. Many distinguished political leaders were elected members of these Councils. The speeches of Pherozeshah Mehta and Surendranath voicing the aims and aspirations of political India were now echoed in the Council chamber in the presence of the highest officials of the Government. Men like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Asutosh Mukherjee and Ramkrishna Bhandarkar discussed the burning questions of the day in detail and with mature knowledge. However, they achieved little success by way of practical results. Dadabhai Naoroji who was elected member in the House of Commons in 1892 placed the Indian question before the British public and thus roused the political consciousness of India. The Indian National Congress enhanced the political prestige of India. It quickened the sense of national pride in the heart of the Indians. Besides Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath, men like and Pherozeshah Mehta, R.C. Dutt, Lal Mohan Ghose, G.K. Gokhale, B.G. Tilak and Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, made a deep impression even upon Englishmen as embodiments of the intellectual and cultural progress that India had made in the nineteenth century.

But actual attainments fell far short of the aims and aspirations of the Congress. The Congress had an unflinching faith in the
providential character of the British rule. The Congress entertained devoted royalty to the British crown and belief in the sense of justice of the British. The Indian National Congress could not keep pace with the advanced political ideals, and failed to respond to the developed sense of nationality and patriotism. An abstract love of liberty for its own sake and as our birth-right, an earnest desire for freedom based upon a sense of greatness of our ancient culture, an innate hatred of British rule and a spirited protest against the arrogance of the English rulers—all these which stirred the neo-nationalists of the period, were not found in the programme and proceedings of the Indian National Congress during the first twenty years of its existence. So the ideals and methods of the Congress failed to satisfy the advanced political thinkers of the time, and the votaries of the new spirit of nationalism who were gradually becoming a political force in the country remained dissatisfied.

As far back as 1883 Bankim Chandra Chatterjee protested against the policy of mendicancy followed by our political leaders. The same policy was later adopted by the Congress. In 1893 Aurobindo wrote in the 'Indu prakash' of Bombay against the Congress:

"... that its aims are mistaken, that the spirit in which it proceeds towards their accomplishment is not a spirit of sincerity and whole-heartedness, and that the methods it has chosen are not the right methods, and the
leaders in whom it trusts, not the right sort of men to be leaders; — in brief, that we are at present the blind led, if not by the blind, at any rate by the one-eyed.

"... In an era when democracy and similar big words slide so glibly from our tongues, a body like the Congress, which represents not the mass of the population, but a single and very limited class, could not honestly be called national...

Aurobindo comments elsewhere:

"The Congress in Bengal is dying of consumption; annually its proportions sink into greater insignificance; its leaders, the Benerjis and Banerjis and Lalmohan Ghoses, have climbed into the rarefied atmosphere of the Legislative Council and lost all hold on the imagination of the young men. The desire for a nobler and more inspiring patriotism is growing more intense ..." (1)

The Congress was thus severely criticised on account of its policy of mendicancy, lack of contact with the masses, and the practical limitation of its activity to the three days, of the annual session. Aswini Kumar Datta denounced the Congress session as a "three days' 'tamasha' ".

The Congress failed to respond to the manifesto issued by A.O. Hume to the graduates of the Calcutta University in March 1883. In this manifesto he writes that all vital progress, whether in the individual or the nation, must spring
from within, that they who would be free must strike the blow themselves, and that unselfishness and self-sacrifice are the only unerring guides to freedom and happiness. In his manifesto Hume appealed to the educated Indians to make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for themselves and their country; he observed that if "fifty men cannot be found with sufficient power of self-sacrifice, sufficient love for and pride in this country, sufficient genuine and unselfish heartfelt patriotism to take the initiative, and if needs be, devote the rest of their lives to the cause, then there is no hope for India." Hume advised: "Let there be no more complaining of Englishmen being preferred to you in all important offices, for if you lack that public spirit, that highest form of altruistic devotion that leads men to subordinate private cause to the public weal, that patriotism that has made Englishmen what they are — then rightly are these preferred to you, rightly and inevitably have they become your rulers. And rulers and task-masters they must continue... until you realize and stand prepared to act upon the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unerring guides to freedom and happiness." (3)

The Congress so far ignored the ideals preached by Hume, but the new nationalists felt sympathy with them. Lajpat Rai, a distinguished nationalist, observed: "The movement was neither inspired by the people, nor devised or planned by them. It was a movement not from within." (4.) He observed that the Congress leaders had "neither sufficient political consciousness nor faith. They had certain political opinions, but not beliefs for which they were willing to
suffer. .... they were not prepared to bear persecutions or suffer for their cause. Either they did not know that they had a cause, or they were wanting in that earnestness which makes men suffer for a cause." (5)

In fact, the Congress lost leadership of the national movement shortly after its birth, and could not recapture it until Mahatma Gandhi came. The real national movement during this long interval ran its course outside the Congress pandal and the Legislative chambers.

No doubt, it is Rajnarayan Bose who played a very significant role in building up nationalism in Bengal; but it is Aurobindo Ghose, his grand son, who was the high-priest of the new cult of nationalism. Aurobindo wrote:

"It is not in human nature to rest eternally contented with a state of subordination or serfdom. God made man in His own image, essentially and potentially free and pure; shall man keep him in eternal bondage and sin? ....

"Tyrants have tried but have they ever succeeded in repressing this natural love of freedom in man? Repressed, it has grown in strength; crushed under the heel of the tyrant, it has assumed a myriad forms and in successive incarnations gaining strength and inspiration from repeated failures and endless suffering, it has risen finally, to overthrow its oppressor for good: this is the teaching of History, this is the message of Humanity."
the car of progress has, through human folly and perversity, to wade through blood and ruin still on earth."

B.G. Tilak | Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahman of Poona, emphasized the four distinctive features which characterized the new nationalist movement. The first is a sincere faith in the glory and greatness of Indian culture in the past. The second is a conviction that the policy of mendicancy should be thrown off and the Indians must rely on their own strength and assert their rights even at the risk of great sufferings and sacrifices. The third is a clear pronouncement that the political goal of India is 'Swaraj' or self-government. The fourth is the awakening of political consciousness among the people through political agitation among the masses.

In 1896 a terrible famine broke out in Bombay. Tilak managed to distribute leaflets containing the relevant sections of the Famine Relief Code among the people, and in this way educated the people in the knowledge of their rights. Through the 'Kesari' he made appeals to the people. He asked them not to pay the Government dues by selling their lands and cattle. However, he asked the people of means to pay the Government dues. He forbade the people to loot the bazaars, and asked them to go to the Collector for work and food instead. This activity of Tilak was regarded as no-rent campaign by the official circles, and Tilak's
name was entered into the "Black List" of the Government.

Tilak inaugurated the Ganapati and Shivaji Festivals, and thus utilised the religious instincts and historical traditions to engender patriotism and national spirit among the people.

Although Tilak preached Hindu nationalism, he never meant 'Swaraj' for the Hindus alone. It may be mentioned here that even the Ali Brothers acknowledged Tilak as their political 'Guru'.

Mr. Rand, the Collector of Poona and Lieutenant Ayerst were shot dead in 1897 within ten days of the Shivaji festival held at Poona. The Chapewar brothers committed the murder in order to avenge the atrocities perpetrated by the British soldiers employed in enforcing preventive measures against the plague epidemic at Poona. The Anglo-Indian Press demanded his prosecution, for the Anglo-Indian circles held Tilak indirectly responsible for the crime. Tilak was arrested on a charge of sedition, and was sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. Tilak was really imprisoned for his strong national sentiments, sturdy spirit of independence, and fearless criticism of unjust measures of the Government, particularly their anti-plague policy and repression practised by Rand and his men. Tilak was asked to offer an apology to the Government after his conviction; but he refused to do it disdainfully. Tilak's trial and conviction may be regarded as a landmark in the history of Indian nationalism. Henceforth,
sacrifice and sufferings came to be regarded as the badge of honour and distinction. Mere orators ceased to be acknowledged champions of liberty. The homage of the people was no more paid to intellectual brilliance in politics. It was reserved for the martyrs, for the sturdy spirit that bravely challenged the autocracy without any fear. Tilak was seconded by B.C. Pal, Aurobindo, Lala Lajpat Rai, Khaparde and others. They raised the standard of revolt against the mendicant policy of the Congress; they preached the cult of self-help in different parts of the country through books, journals and lectures.

Aurobindo was Aurobindo Ghose. With Aurobindo nationalism was not a political or economic cry; it was the innermost hunger of his whole soul. In January, 1908, in a lecture at the Bombay National Institution Aurobindo said: "There is a creed in India today which calls itself Nationalism, a creed which has come to you from Bengal.... What is Nationalism? Nationalism is not a mere political programme; Nationalism is a religion that has come from God; Nationalism is a creed which you shall have to live. Let no man dare to call himself a Nationalist if he does so merely with a sort of intellectual pride, thinking that he is more patriotic, thinking that he is something higher than those who do not call themselves by that name. If you are going to be a Nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the
instruments of God .... It is a religion by which we are trying to realise God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen. We are trying to realise Him in the three hundred millions of our people. .... The hour of my consecration has come, and I have to thank God now that the time for laying myself on His altar has arrived and that I have been chosen to suffer for the good of my countrymen .... But when you have a higher idea, when you have realised that you have nothing, that you are nothing and that the three hundred millions of people of this country are God in the Nation, something which cannot be measured by so much land or by so much money, or by so many lives, you will then realise that it is something immortal, that the idea for which you are working is something immortal and that it is an immortal Power which is working in you .... You may be sure that if you embrace this religion of Nationalism you will have to meet such tremendous forces as no mere material power can resist. The hour of trial is not distant, the hour of trial is already upon you .... Try to realise the strength within you, try to bring it forward, so that everything you do may be not your own doing, but the doing of that Truta within you .... and the whole nation will rise, the whole people of this great country will rise, filled with a divine power, filled with the inspiration of the Almighty, and no power on earth shall resist it, no danger or difficulty shall stop it in its onward course." (7)
Aurobindo placed the new nationalism on the high pedestal of spirituality.

He expressed the same idea in his another lecture:

"It is because God has chosen to manifest Himself and has entered into the hearts of His people that we are rising again as a nation .... It will move forward irresistably until God's will in it is fulfilled. He fulfils His purposes inevitably and these too He will fulfil .... When they pass away others will arise or even if no great men stand forth to lead, still the soul of this people will be great with the force of God within and do the work .... 'Swaraj' is not the Colonial form of Government nor any form of Government. It means the fulfilment of our national life. That is what we seek, that is why God has sent us into the world to fulfil Him by fulfilling ourselves in our individual life, in the family, in the community, in the nation, in the humanity ...." (§)

The Congress believed that India was not yet strong enough to stand on her own legs. Sankar Nair in The Presidential address in the Congress of 1897 said: "We are also aware that with the decline of British supremacy, we shall have anarchy, war and rapine. The Mahomedans will try to recover their lost supremacy. The Hindu races and chiefs will fight amongst themselves. The lower castes who have come under the verifying influence of Western civilisation are scarcely likely to yield without a struggle to the domination of the higher castes". (¶)

The Congress leaders argued that the Indians were not yet
fit for carrying on their own administration. They argued that the cry for freedom would be useless until and unless social abuses, religious superstitions, communal rivalry, and illiteracy of the people were removed. They believed that the British rule in India was a divine dispensation and hoped that India would one day attain self-government under their guidance.

The Nationalists were not, however, deterred by these considerations. Tilsk said: "Swaraj is my birth-right and I must have it." Lajpat Rai passionately exclaimed: "Can the wealth of the whole world be put in the scales over against liberty and honour? ... A subject people has no soul, just as a slave can have none." The Nationalists argued that if India had to wait for the removal of social defects, she will have to wait till doomsday. They also argued that the foreign rule would perpetuate the social evils. B.C. Pal said: "The new spirit accepts no other teacher in the art of self-government except self-government itself. It values freedom for its own sake, and desires autonomy, immediate and unconditioned, regardless of any considerations of fitness and unfitness of the people for it." Aurobindo said: "Our eyes have been turned away from the Government: away from the Houses of Parliament: from Simla and Calcutta; and our faces have turned now to the starving, the naked, the patient, and long-suffering 300 millions of Indian people, and in it we see a new potency, because we view them now with an eye of love which we had never felt before, and in the
teeming, toiling, starving and naked populations of India, we find possibilities, potentialities, germ that have given rise to the movement, namely, Faith in the people, Faith in the genius of the nation, Faith in God, Who has been guiding the genius of this nation through ages by historical evolution, Faith in the eternal destiny of the Indian people. With the decadence of our faith in the foreign Government and in the foreign nation, has grown up this higher, this dearer, this deeper, this more vital and more divine faith in Indian Humanity.”

A people suffering under the tyranny of a foreign or despotic rule but unable to resist it openly take to secret organizations to bring about its fall. Secret societies owe their birth to the love of the suffering motherland and impotent rage at the inability to relieve her distress. In the process of the historical evolution of states, terrorist organizations are well-known phenomena. The history of Italy, Ireland and Russia is replete with instances of such activities.

Bengal was a breeding ground of terrorism on an extensive scale. The teachings of Bankim Chandra and Vivekananda supplied enormous inspiration. Bankim's Anandamath (1882) prepared the solid ground for terrorism.

In fact, long before Bankim and Vivekananda, revolutionary ideas were instilled into the minds of the
Young Bengali students by Surendranath Banerjee. His lectures on Mazzini and the Italian freedom movement and his articles on the same subjects in the monthly Bengali journal 'Aryadarshan' from 1874 laid the seeds of militant nationalism.

The new nationalism and its militant aspect were coeval. Rajnrayan Bose, the first exponent of nationalism in Bengal, organized the earliest secret society whose members had to take the oath that they would destroy by the use of force the enemies of the country and deliver India from her bondage. Militant nationalism was encouraged by the precepts and examples of Surendranath Banerjee, Swami Vivekananda, B.G. Tilak and Rabindranath Tagore, though none of them directly lent support to it. Aurobindo stimulated militant nationalism more than anything else. It was a movement by the middle class but not for the middle class alone. The supreme interest of India as a whole to be achieved through complete freedom was in its view.

Impact of world-forces

In the making of the concept of Nation in India, the impact of world-forces was great. The educated Indians recalled the unity in Italy and Germany brought about at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the reaction to Napoleonic rule. The nationalist movement that was steadily gathering strength owed its impulse largely to the impact of world-forces, — ideas, institutions and movements — which India had been experiencing throughout the nineteenth century.
The impact of the American War of Independence, the French Revolutionary ideologies, the British doctrines of Liberalism, the cult of Nationalism of Mazzini and the Young Italy, the unification of Italy, the growth of the German Empire, the Home-Rule movement of Parnell in Ireland, the Nihilist movement of Russia, the awakening of Japan, and the resurgence of China and Persia, was palpable and creative in the history of Indian Nationalism during the nineteenth century. Mazzini, Cavour and Bismarck rose high in Indian imagination. The serial publication by Max Muller of the 'Sacred Books of the East' since 1875 deepened the patriotic pride and nationalist sentiments of the Indians. His publication of 'India: What can it Teach Us?' in 1883 drew the world's attention to the superiority of Indian philosophy and metaphysics and thus ministered to our veneration for the past which had already seized our minds.

D. Mackenzie Brown in his 'Indian Political Thought' observes: "In their cultural turmoil, Indians had continually before them the spectacle of a resurgent Japan .... Tilak's newspaper, Kesari, in an editorial supporting Swadeshi, advocated giving preference to the purchase of Japanese manufactures above all except native Indian goods ...." (1) The poet Tagore commented that Japan's example gave heart to the rest of Asia and that we saw that the life and the strength were there in us, only the dead crust was to be removed. For Indians, the Japanese victory over Russia, in 1905, was symbolic of the New Asia.
The Japanese example strengthened the resolve of those Indians who wished to preserve traditional values while embracing the advantages of Western technology. Swami Vivekananda remarked after a visit to Japan, "In my opinion, if all our rich and educated men once go and see Japan, their eyes will be opened. There, in Japan, you find a fine assimilation of knowledge, and not its indigestion as we have here. They have taken everything from the Europeans, but they remain Japanese all the same, and have not turned European; while in our country, the terrible mania of becoming Westernized has seized upon us like a plague." (2) Vivekananda's tribute was in recognition of the Japanese attempt to combine tradition and technology.

While speaking of Barindra Kumar Ghose, brother of Aurobindo, the Sedition Committee recorded as follows:

"But neither the religious teachings of Vivekananda nor the exhortations of Sri Krishna in the Bhagavad Gita would have afforded so moving a test to preach from had not the whole world, and specially the Asiatic world, been electrified and amazed by the victories of Japan over Russia at a time when within this country circumstances occasioned by certain Government measures especially favoured the development of Barindra's plan." (3)
and Muslim attitude towards the Hindus, and Indian nationalism.

The Muslims kept themselves aloof from English education for many decades, because they nursed a hostile attitude towards the British and an aversion to merely secular education.

The Hindu College was founded in 1817, and this created a great impetus among the Hindus for English education. The Muslims made very little progress in education during the next fifty years.

By virtue of English education, the intellectual faculties of the Hindus were more highly developed, their political outlook became much broader, and they held most of the Government offices.

In 1896 Mr. R. M. Sayani, a liberal Muslim leader, in his Presidential Address at the National Congress held in Calcutta gave a very lucid exposition of the relation between the Hindus and the Mohammedans:

"Before the advent of the British in India, the Mussalmans were the rulers of the country. The Mussalmans had, therefore, all advantages appertaining to the ruling class. The sovereigns and the chiefs were their co-religionists, and so were the great landlords and the great officials. The court language was their own. Every place of trust and responsibility, or carrying influence and high emoluments was by birth-right theirs. The Hindus did occupy some positions, but the Hindu
holders of position were but the tenants-at-will of the Mussalmans. The Mussalmans had complete access to the sovereigns and to the chiefs. They could, and did, often eat at the same table with them. They could also, and often did, intermarry. The Hindus stood in awe of them. Enjoyment and influence and all the good things of the world were theirs. ... By a stroke of misfortune, the Mussalmans had to abdicate their position and descent to the level of their Hindu fellow-countrymen. The Hindus who had before stood in awe of their Mussulman masters were thus raised a step by the fall of their said masters and with their former awe dropped their courtesy also. The Mussalmans who are a very sensitive race, naturally resented the treatment and would have nothing to do either with their rulers or with their fellow-subjects. Meanwhile the noble policy of the new rulers of the country introduced English education into the country. The learning of an entirely unknown foreign language, of course, required hard application and industry. The Hindus were accustomed to this, as even under the Mussulman Rule, they had practically to master a foreign tongue, and so easily took to the new education. But the Mussalmans had not yet become accustomed to this sort of thing, and were, moreover, not then in a mood to learn, much less to learn anything that required hard work and application, especially as they had to work harder than their former subjects, the Hindus. Moreover, they resented competing with the Hindus, whom they had till recently regarded as their inferiors. The result was that so far as education was concerned, the Mussalmans who were once superior to the Hindus now actually
became their inferiors. Of course, they grumbled and groaned, but the irony of fate was inexorable. The stern realities of life were stronger than fiction. The Mussulmans were gradually ousted from their lands, their offices; in fact everything was lost save their honour. The Hindus, from a subservient state, came into the lands, offices and other worldly advantages of their former masters. Their exultation knew no bounds, and they trod upon the heels of their former masters. The Mussulmans would have nothing to do with anything in which they might have to come into contact with the Hindus. They were soon reduced to a state of utter poverty. Ignorance and apathy seized hold of them while the fall of their former greatness rankled in their hearts." (1)

This analysis enables us to understand the feelings that alienated the Muslims from the Hindus and the reason why the political outlook of the two communities was different from the very beginning.

The Muslims did not take any active part in the different political organizations. Hardly was there any Muslim on the Committee of Landholders' Society, British India Society and the British Indian Association. On the other hand, the Muslims started separate organizations of their own as soon as they became politically conscious. The Hindus had been considering the Muslim community as a separate unit, and so they took this separatist tendency as quite natural. The Committee of the British Indian Association expressed rejoicing at the formation
of this communal organization. Then the Hindu Mela and the National Society were started by the Hindus. Nawab Amir Ali Khan organized the 'National Mahammedan Association' in Calcutta with a view to uniting the Muslims for the common good.

It was not till the third quarter of the nineteenth century that the Muslims seriously took to English education. Thus the Muslims, in the race of progress, were handicapped by a time-lag of fifty years.

When in 1883 W.S.Blunt visited this country, he received complaints about the Hindus from the Muslims. Blunt was a liberal-minded Englishman who had protested against the British policy in Egypt. His books 'Secret History of the English' and the 'Future of Islam' had endeared him to the whole Muslim world.

At that time the great agitation over the Ilbert Bill was going on. Blunt writes in his diary: "I spoke my mind very plainly, and told them that if they deserted the Hindus in this instance, they would never have any reform given or justice done them for another twenty years. They must sink their differences and their little private interests if they wanted to force the Government's hand. The Bill was the battleground on which the whole principle of legislation of India was being fought; and the Mohammedans could turn the scale by their attitude one way or the other." (2) Elsewhere in his diary Blunt writes: "... I advised Amir Ali to come to
a regular concordat with the Hindus for their mutual benefit."

(3) Blunt mournfully remarks: "... his attitude with regard to the Ilbert compromise is not that of a leader."

Reference should also be made to the influence of Pan-Islamic sentiments upon the minds of Indian Muslims. In 1897 Lord Hamilton, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Elgin: "We have, however, a new element of intrigue and commotion introduced into India by The Pan-Islamic Council in Constantinople and the close connection which is being established between the Sultan and Indian Mohammedans." (5) Some Muslims told Blunt: "During the Egyptian War we all looked to Arabi (Pasha) to restore our fortunes, for we are in a desperate state and need a deliverer." (6) This indicates that the Indian Muslims had already begun to feel that the Muslims outside India were more nearly allied to them than the Hindus, their neighbours, and such a feeling cuts at the very root of the idea of Indian nationality, for no people can form a nation unless they are united by common sympathies. Mill writes: "A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others — which make them co-operate with each
other more willingly than with the other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be governed by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively." Such a feeling - feeling of sympathy - may exist as a result of a variety of circumstances, such as the community of race, language, religion, or culture; residence within a geographical area; long tradition; identity of present political interests; common historical traditions of the past; common subjection to the same ruling authority, etc. These are the basic factors of nationalism, but none of them forms an essential element. The presence of one or more of them does not make a people a nation if a considerable body of men are not inspired by the feeling of sympathy, while a people possessed of the feeling of sympathy may constitute a nation even in the absence of one or more of the basic factors. Again, in every country the memory of past greatness binds the people together into a national unity. But this historic consciousness in India operated upon the two major elements of the population, the Hindus and the Muslims, in diametrically opposite ways. The historical incidents in the past which reflected glory upon the one was a humiliating memory to the other. The triumphs of Muhammad Bin Qasim, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and Muhammad Ghori which created pride in the Muslims as a great conquering nation, evoked painful memories of national degradation and humiliation in the minds of the Hindus.

Then came the Aligarh movement. Though the movement brought about the political and social regeneration of the
Muslims, it was conceived, in a communal spirit. It created a distinct Muslim unit in Indian politics, and widened the political cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims. Syed Ahmad was the creator of this movement. Syed Ahmad's movement helped the British policy of 'divide and rule' in governing India. Although Syed Ahmad in his speech in 1884 propounded the theory of one - nation, the movement inaugurated by him rested on the solid basis of the two-nation theory. The object and ideal of the Aligarh movement may be formulated in the following principles:

1) The Hindus and the Muslims are two separate political entities having separate outlook and conflicting interests.

2) The grant of representative institutions and open competitive examination in India would be detrimental to the Muslims as they would be subject to Hindu domination which is far worse than British rule.

3) The Muslims should therefore regard the paramountcy of the British as the safeguard of their interests and keep themselves aloof from political agitation against the Government.

4) The Muslim interests are safe in the hands of the British, so the Muslims should devote themselves to cultural development and avoid politics except in so far as
It is necessary to counterbalance the mischief of Hindu political agitator.

It may be pointed out that in support of the last two points he declined to support the "National Muhammadan Association" founded in Calcutta in 1877 by Amir Ali and a young group of Mohammedans.

The following lines clearly indicate Syed Ahmad's trend of thought:

"In a country like India where homogeneity does not exist in any of these fields (nationality, religion, ways of living, customs, modes, culture, and historical traditions), the introduction of representative government cannot produce any beneficial results; it can only result in interfering with the peace and prosperity of the land .... The aims and objects of the Indian National Congress are based upon an ignorance of history and present day realities; they do not take into consideration that India is inhabited by different nationalities; .... I consider the experiment which the Indian National Congress wants to make fraught with dangers and suffering for all the nationalities of India, specially for the Muslims. The Muslims are in a minority, but they are a highly united minority. At least traditionally they are prone to take the sword in hand when the majority oppresses them. If this happens, it will bring about disasters greater than the ones which came in the wake of the happenings of 1857 .... The Congress cannot rationally prove its claim to represent the opinions,
ideals, and aspirations of the Muslims." (8)

Syed Ahmad gave expression to many contradictory views. In 1884 he said that the terms Hindu and Mohammedan were only meant for religious distinction, but they formed one nation; in 1888 he referred to the Hindus and Muslims as two warning nations. He once praised the Bengalees whom he described as the "head and crown of all the different communities of Hindustan"; but later he abused the Bengalees in 'Aligarh Institute Gazette' edited by him. He organized and presided over a meeting at Aligarh in 1877 in which Surendranath Banerjee spoke in favour of simultaneous examinations for Indian Civil Service in England and India, and a resolution was unanimously passed; but, later, he opposed the idea as it would mean Hindu predominance in higher appointments.

Syed Ahmad visited England in 1869. After his return in 1870 he carried on a vigorous propaganda for the spread of English education and Western culture among his community. In 1877 he founded the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh. This College later became the chief centre of the propaganda against the Congress under the direction of its Principal, Mr. Beck, who was the right-hand man — the friend, philosopher and guide — of Syed Ahmad.

Very considerable was Beck's contribution to the Anti-Hindu bias in Aligarh movement. He made a systematic
effort to alienate the Muslims from the Hindus. He wrote: "The objective of the Congress is to transfer the political control of the country from the British to the Hindus. It demands the repeal of the Arms Act, reduction of military expenditure, and the consequent weakening of frontier defences. Mussalmans can have no sympathy with these demands. .. In order to stop cow-slaughter the Hindus have gone to the extent of boycotting the Muslims .... It is imperative for the Muslim and the British to unite with a view to fighting these agitators and prevent the introduction of democratic form of government, unsuited as it is to the needs and genius of the country. We, therefore, advocate loyalty to the Government and Anglo-Muslim co-operation." (9)

The influence exerted by Beck upon Syed Ahmad was very great. One Muslim writer humorously remarked that "the College is of Syed Ahmad and the order is of Beck." Morrison who succeeded Beck as Principal in 1899 and continued in this office till 1905 followed in the footsteps of his predecessor.

Syed Ahmad and his school insistently opposed the Congress. He looked upon the Congress as a machinery devised by the Hindus to further their own interests at the cost of the Muslims. There were, however, many Muslim leaders who regarded themselves as Indians first and Muslims afterwards and wholeheartedly supported the Congress. Muslim leaders like Badruddin Tyabji and Sayani in Bombay, Nawab Sayed Mahomed Bahadur in Madras, A Rasal in Bengal, Maulavi Mazar-
-ul-Ha^ in Bihar and others regarded themselves as Indians first. But they were few and their followers, fewer still. In fact, the Muslims of Northern India were as firmly attached to the policy of Syed Ahmed as the Hindus in India to the Indian National Congress. Surendranath Banerjee wrote: "The Muhammedan community, under the leadership of Sir Sayed Ahmed, had held aloof from the Congress. They were working under the auspices of the Patriotic Association, indirect opposition to the National Movement, Our critics regarded the National Congress as a Hindu Congress and the opposition papers described it as such. We were straining every nerve to secure the co-operation of our Muhammedan fellow-countrymen in this great national work. We sometimes paid the fares of Muhammedan delegates and offered them other facilities." (10) Gokhale remarked that seventy millions of Muhammadans were more or less hostile to national aspirations.

During 1888 Tyebji and Hume constantly endeavoured to secure Sir Syed Ahmed's conciliation with the Congress. Sir Syed gave Tyebji a stunning reply. He said: "I do not understand what the words 'National Congress' mean. It is supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, or can become a nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is impossible, and when it is impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples. You regard the doings of the misnamed National Congress beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I
regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large. I object to every Congress in any shape or form whatever which regards India as one Nation." (193)

R. Sayani, a distinguished Muslim, presided over the Congress session in 1896. Ismail Khan, a friend of Syed Ahmad, suggested to the Congress President that a resolution should be passed to the effect that the Hindus and Muslims should have equal number of seats in the legislative councils, district-boards and municipalities. Sayani, however, did not accept Ismail Khan's proposal. Syed Ahmed endorsed Ismail Khan's proposal; he wrote in an article that the Muslims could join the Congress only if the Congress agreed to the proposal of Ismail Khan.

wisely if they had accepted

The Congress leaders would have acted the proposal, and this would have been a timely action. It would have been a wise act on the part of our leaders if they could retain India undivided even after the departure of the English. Confined in one country after freedom, the two sects of India, Hindus and Muslims, could not but amicably settle their affairs and form one nation all over India. That a disruptive tendency, although still very weak and still confined only to some of the hill tribes, has made its appearance is largely in 1947, due to the fact that India could be divided. Our leaders should have acted in such a way as not to allow the English to apply the principle of 'divide and rule'.

Almost all the leading Muslim Institutions and
personalities joined hands in their indignation against the Indian National Congress. "Resolutions condemning the Congress were passed by the Musalmans of Allahabad, Lucknow, Meerut, Lahore, Madras and other places. The Mohamedan Observer, The Victorian Paper, The Muslim Herald, The Rafiq-i-Hind and the Imperial Paper—all spoke with one voice against the Indian National Congress. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, a powerful Muslim organ of Northern India, never missed the opportunity of even reprinting all sorts of views opposed to the Congress ideology from other newspapers and magazines. The Central National Muhammadan Association of Bengal, the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta, the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Madras, the Dindigal Anjuman and the Muhammadan Central Association, Punjab, denounced, in the strongest possible terms, congress aims and activities."(108)

Syed Ahmad laid the foundation of the Annual Muslim Educational Conference in 1886. Each year the Conference was held at different places in India exactly at the same time when the Congress session was held. Although the discussion of the general and educational condition of the Indian Mohammedans was its main object of discussion, it began to disseminate political opinions. Through this annual conference, the Muslims hoped to overspread "the whole of upper India with a network of societies, committees and individuals, all working harmoniously in the great cause, so that a big evil may be dealt with by a strong remedy, and by the vigorous work of one generation the tide of misfortune may be turned and
Mohamedan Nation may be set moving on the tide of progress abreast of all the other Nations of India." (11)

Syed Ahmed died in 1898, and his mantle fell upon Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk who followed the same policy. The spirit of animosity against the Congress gradually turned into a general spirit of opposition to the Hindus. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk said: "Although we have not the might of pen .... but our hands are still strong enough to wield the might of the sword." (12) This resembles Zinnah's announcement of 'direct action' about half a century later.

We have already seen that the general tendency towards unity practically developed among all sections of the Indian except people/the Muslims; and the Muslims in general, too, kept themselves outside the main current of Indian unity. It has already been discussed that any religions other than Islam either were offshoots of Hinduism or bore affinity to Hinduism. Zoroastrianism may be cited as an instance. The Parsees worship fire, and in the Vedas of the Hindus fire-worship has occupied a prominent place. But the Muslims came to India with religious aggressiveness and as invaders. They lived in India, yet they lived in a distinct religious world. They tolerated Hinduism, because they could not destroy it. Unity in difference which is a characteristic of India comprised the Muslims, yet a number of Muslims indulged in religious bigotry, joined hands with the British and fought against India's freedom. Plenty of riots took place between the Muslims and
Hindus. In 1851 and 1874 in Bombay the Parsees suffered greatly in the hands of the Muslims in communal disturbances.

Servants of India Society | Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society in 1905. The object of the Servants of India Society was to train such men who should be prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country. At the time of admission every member of the Society had to take seven vows of which the first four are: that the country will always be the first in his thoughts and that he will give to the country's service the best that is in him; that he will seek no personal advantage for himself in serving the country; that he will work for the advancement of all, without distinction of caste or creed, and will regard all Indians as brothers; and that he will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself and will remain content with such provision for himself and his family, if he has any, as the Society may be able to make.