

## Chapter 2

### Press and Indian Nationalist Movement

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## **2.1 Introduction: Nation- Nationalism-Nationality-Nationalist**

**Nation-** A nation is a group of people sharing aspects of their language, culture or ethnicity. The name derives from Latin *Natio* and originally described the colleagues in a college - is a group of people sharing aspects of their language, culture or ethnicity. The same derives from Latin *Natio* or students, above all at the University of Paris, who were all born within a place - spoke the same language and expected to be ruled by their own familiar Law<sup>1</sup>. In 1383 and 1384, while studying theology at Paris, Jean Gerson was twice elected procurator for the French Nation (i.e., French born Francophone students at the University). The Paris division of students into nations was adopted at the University of Prague, where from its opening in 1349 the stadium ganarale was divided among Czech, Bavarian, Saxon and Polish nations<sup>2</sup>. Anthony Smith proposes a synthesis of 'post-modernist' and traditional views. According to Smith, the

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<sup>1</sup> Internet Sources; *The Free Dictionary.com By Farlex.*

preconditions for the formation of a nation are a fixed homeland (current or historical), high autonomy, hostile surroundings, memories of battles, sacred centres, languages and scripts, special customs, historical records and thinking. Smith considers that nations are formed through the inclusion of the whole populace (not just elites), constitution of legal and political institutions, nationalist ideology, international recognition and drawing up of borders<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1.1 The Concept of Nation:

If one wants to enjoin people to struggle for their national interests, one must have some idea about what a nation is and what it is to belong to a nation. So, in order to formulate and ground their evaluations, claims, and directives for action, pro-nationalist thinkers have been elaborating theories of ethnicity, culture, nation and state<sup>4</sup>. The social group which is the beneficiary of the nationalist program, variously called 'nation', 'ethno-nation' or 'ethnic-group'. Since nationalism is particularly prominent with groups that don't yet have a state, one can't define belonging to a nation in terms of belonging to a state<sup>5</sup>. There is a marked distinction 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism: the first being allegedly Western European and the later more Central and Eastern European originating in Germany.<sup>6</sup> A group aspiring to nationhood on this basis will be called here an 'ethno-nation' in order to underscore its ethno-cultural rather than purely civic underpinnings. For the ethno-(cultural) nationalist it is one's ethnic-cultural background which determines one's membership in the community. One can't choose to be a member; instead, membership depends on the accident of

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<sup>2</sup> *ibid*

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*

<sup>4</sup> Nielsen, K;1998-99; *Cosmopolitanism, Universalism and Particularism in the age of Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Philosophical Exchange*,29; 1998-99,pp3-34.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*

origin and early socializing. It may be, however, that commonality of origin is an almost mythical notion for most contemporary candidate groups: ethnic groups have been mixing for millennia<sup>7</sup>.

Therefore, sophisticated pro-nationalists tend to stress cultural membership only, and speak of 'nationality', omitting the 'ethno-' part.<sup>8</sup> M. Seymour in his recent proposal of a 'socio-cultural definition' adds a political dimension to the purely cultural one. A nation is a cultural group, possibly but not necessarily united by a common descent, endowed with some kind of civic ties. This is the kind of definition that would be accepted by most parties in the debate today. So defined, nation is a somewhat mixed, both ethno-cultural and civic category, but still closer to the purely ethno-cultural than to the purely civic extreme<sup>9</sup>.

Let us now turn to the issue of the origin and 'authenticity' of ethno-cultural groups or ethno-nations. In social and political science one usually distinguishes two kinds of views. The first are the 'primordialist' views. According to them, actual ethno-cultural nations have either existed 'since time immemorial' or at least for a long time during the pre-modern period<sup>10</sup>. The second are the modernist views, placing the origin of nations in modern times<sup>11</sup>. They can be further classified according to their answer to a further question: how real is the ethno-cultural nation? The modernist realist view is that nations are real but distinctly modern creations, instrumental in the genesis of capitalism<sup>12</sup>. On the

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<sup>6</sup> Khons, H.; *Nationalism: its meaning and history*; New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1965, pp-1-10.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> Miller D.; *On Nationality*; Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1995, p11-24.

<sup>9</sup> Seymour, M; *On Redefining the Nation, in Miscevic ( Ed.) (2000)*; Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict. Philosophical Perspectives, La Salle and Chicago, 2000, pp. 3-25.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

<sup>11</sup> A. Smith's *Views on Modern Ethno-cultural Nation.*; Internet Source.

<sup>12</sup> *The Concept of Nation : Views of Gellner 1983, Hobsbawn, 1990.*

opposite side of the fence one finds anti-realist views. According to one such view nations are merely 'imagined' but somehow still powerful entities; what is meant is that belief in them holds sway over the believers<sup>13</sup>.

#### What is Nation? Nationalism

The term 'nationalism' is generally used to describe two phenomena:

- (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and
- (2) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) some form of political sovereignty.

The first one raises questions about the concept of nation (or national identity), which is often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties, and while an individual's membership in a nation is often regarded as involuntary, it is sometimes regarded as voluntary.

The second one, raises questions about whether sovereignty must be understood as the acquisition of full statehood with complete authority for domestic and international affairs, or whether something less is required<sup>14</sup>.

A nation often consists of an ethnic or cultural community, a state is a political entity with a high degree of sovereignty. While many states are nations in some sense, there are many nations which are not fully sovereign states. As an example, the Native American Iroquois constitute a nation but not a state, since they do not possess the requisite political authority over their internal or external affairs. If the members of the Iroquois nation were to strive to form a sovereign

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<sup>13</sup> Anderson's Views on Origin of Nations, 1965.

<sup>14</sup> *vide foot note No.4*

state in the effort to preserve their identity as a people, they would be exhibiting a kind of nationalism<sup>15</sup>.

Nationalism has long been ignored as a topic in political philosophy, It has only recently come into the focus of philosophical debate, The surge of nationalism usually presents a morally ambivalent, and for this reason often fascinating, picture. 'National awakening' and struggle for political independence are often both heroic and inhumanly cruel; the formation of a recognizably national state often responds to deep popular sentiment, but can and does sometimes bring in its wake inhuman consequences, including violent expulsion and 'cleansing' of non-nationals, all the way to organized mass murder<sup>16</sup>. Thus, in its general form, the concept of nationalism concerns the relationship between the ethno-cultural domain (featuring etho-cultural groups or 'nations') and the domain of political organization

Nationalism is a controversial term, as its most general definition is broad and has been controversial throughout history, and specific examples of nationalism are extremely diverse. Often the most negative consequences of the clash of nationalisms, ethnic tension, war, and political conflicts within states, are taken for nationalism itself, leading some to view the general concept of nationalism negatively and others to argue that viewing nationalism through its most negative consequences distorts the meaning of the term<sup>17</sup>.

Some theorists believe that nationalism became pronounced in the nineteenth century for the simple reason that language became more important as

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<sup>15</sup> Hobsbawn, E. J; *Nations and Nationalism since 1780; Programme, Myth Reality*, Cambridge University Press, 1960, pp 6-25.

<sup>16</sup> Vide foot note No. 15

<sup>17</sup> *ibid*

unifier due to increased literacy. With increasing numbers of people reading newspapers, books, pamphlets and so on, which were increasingly widely available and read since the spread of the printing press, it became possible for the first time to develop a broader cultural attachment that went beyond the local community<sup>18</sup>. At the same time, differences in language solidified, breaking down old dialects, and excluding those from completely different language groups. Nationalist movements from Ireland to India promote the teaching, preservation, and usage of traditional languages.<sup>19</sup>

Nationalism is a concept of Identity. In philosophy, the word Identity means the quality of being "the same as"- it is of particular interest to logicians and metaphysicians which members of a particular government. Further discusses the concept: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist"<sup>20</sup>.

### 2.1.2 The Theory of Cultural Identity:

Cultural identity is the (feeling of) a group or culture, or of an individual as far as she/ he is influenced by her/ his belonging to a group or culture<sup>21</sup>.

### 2.1.3 Evolution of nationalism:

The nation-state was born in Europe with the Treaty of Westphalia. The peace of Westphalia, also known as the treaties of *Munster and Osnabruck*, is the series of treaties that ended the Thirty Years War and officially recognized the united province and Swiss Confederation. The Spanish- Dutch treaty which ended the Eighty Years War was signed on January 30, 1648. The Treaty signed

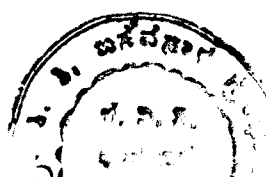
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<sup>18</sup> ibid

<sup>19</sup> ibid

<sup>20</sup> Gellner, E.; *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

<sup>21</sup> Pogge, T. *Group Rights and Ethnicity*, New York University Press, 1997, pp19-28.



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The results of the treaty were wide ranging. Among other things, the Netherlands gained independence, ending the Eighty Years' War, and Sweden gained Pomerania, Wismar, Bremen and Verden. The power of the Holy Roman Emperor was broken, and the rulers of the German states were again able to determine the religion of their lands. The treaty also gave Calvinists legal recognition. Three new great powers arose from this peace: Sweden, the United Netherlands and France<sup>23</sup>.

Another important result of the treaty was it laid rest to the idea of the Holy Roman Empire having secular dominion over the entire Christian world. The nation-state would be the highest level of government, subservient to no others<sup>24</sup>.

During the 19th century in Europe, Nationalism spread widely and became popularized. Nationalism has dominated European and even global politics ever since. Much of 19th century European politics can be seen as a

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<sup>22</sup> Kohn, H.; *Nationalism: Its meaning and History*; New York; Van Nostrand Reinhold Company; 1965, pp.22-50.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> *ibid*



struggle between newer nationalist movements and old autocratic regimes<sup>25</sup>. In some cases nationalism took a liberal anti-monarchical face whereas in other cases nationalist movements were co-opted by conservative monarchical regimes. Gradually through that century the old multi-national states, Austro-Hungarian Empire began to lose their grip, and various localized states were absorbed into larger national entities, most notably Germany and Italy. By the end of the 19th century, nationalistic ideas had begun to spread into Asia. In India, nationalism began to encourage calls for the end of British rule. In Chinese nationalism combined with Japanese exceptionalism<sup>26</sup> The First World War marked the final destruction of several multinational states (Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and to some extent Russia). The Versailles Treaty was marked by an attempt to recognize the principle of nationalism, as most of Europe was divided into nation states in an attempt to keep the peace<sup>27</sup>. However, several multinational states and empires survived. The 20th century has also been marked by the slow assertion of nationalism around the world with the destruction of European colonial Empires, the Soviet Union, and various other smaller multinational states<sup>28</sup>.

#### 2.1.4 Forms of nationalism :

##### *Civic nationalism*

It is the form of nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizens, the *will of the people*, political representation. An individual in such a nation must believe that the

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<sup>25</sup> *ibid*

<sup>26</sup> *ibid*

<sup>27</sup> Hobsbawn, E.J; *Nations and nationalism since 1780; Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press; 1990, pp68-97.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*

state's actions somehow reflect his will, even when specific actions go against his will. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who first developed this theory, devised the concept of the General Will to explain how that could work. Rousseau put down his theory in various writings, particularly *On the Social Contract*<sup>29</sup>. Civic nationalism lies within the traditions of rationalism and liberalism. It is the theory behind constitutional democracies such as the United States and France<sup>30</sup>.

**Ethnic nationalism:**

Is the form of nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy from historical cultural or hereditary groupings (ethnicities). This was developed by Johann Gottfried von Herder, who introduced the concept of the *Volk Romantic nationalism* (also *organic nationalism*, *identity nationalism*) is the form of ethnic nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy as a natural ("organic") consequence of race; in the spirit of Romanticism and opposed to Enlightenment rationalism. Romantic nationalism relies upon the existence of a historical ethnic culture which meets the Romantic Ideal; folklore developed as a Romantic nationalist concept<sup>31</sup>.

**Religious nationalism:**

Is the form of nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy as a consequence of shared religion. Zionism is an example, though many, if not most, forms of ethnic nationalism are in some ways religious nationalism as well. For example, Irish nationalism is associated with Catholicism; Indian nationalism

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<sup>29</sup> *ibid*

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

is associated with Hinduism. In general, religious nationalism is viewed as a form of ethnic nationalism<sup>32</sup>.

- Islam is fiercely opposed to any notion of Nationalism, Tribalism, Racism, or any other categorization of people not based on one's beliefs<sup>33</sup>.
- However, Islamist groups can be considered as racist and nationalist (and are therefore by some not recognized as truly Islamic)<sup>34</sup>.
- The modern vernacular use of *nationalism* refers to the political (and military) exercise of ethnic and religious nationalism<sup>35</sup>.
- Fascism is usually marked by ethnic nationalism, the most extreme example being National Socialism in Germany, Nazi Germany<sup>36</sup>.
- In some cases there has been a reaction against nationalism. An example was the perception in pre-World War I, European socialist movements that nationalism was being used to prevent workers uniting against capitalism. Another example is in present-day Germany, Israel and Ireland where there are people who are not comfortable with any nationalistic, patriotic, or even cultural symbols, because these have become associated (and permanently

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*

discredited in their view) with violent nationalism<sup>37</sup>. (See self-hatred).

### **2.1.5 Commonalities of all forms of nationalism:**

Some political theorists make the case that any discrimination of forms of nationalism is false. All forms of nationalism rely on the population being a nation; that is, that all the members of the population believe that they share some kind of common culture, and culture can't be wholly separated from ethnicity<sup>38</sup>.

### **2.1.6 What makes nationalism so attractive?:**

One reason why nationalism has maintained its appeal over the centuries might be that belonging to a culturally, economically or politically strong nation makes one feel better regardless of one's own contribution to this strength<sup>39</sup>.

### **2.1.7 Nationalist Theories<sup>40</sup>:**

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau
- Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Materials for the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*
- Ernest Gellner
- Emir Faisal
- Theodor Herzl
- Benedict Anderson
- Anthony Smith

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<sup>37</sup> *ibid*

<sup>38</sup> *ibid*

<sup>39</sup> *ibid*

<sup>40</sup> *Founders of Nationalist Theories*. <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com>

Benedict Anderson has stated, *only face-to-face contact can sustain community: nations are in some sense an illusion*<sup>41</sup>.

### **Historical nationalism**

Historical events (*not* just wars) in which nationalism played an essential role have included:

- The Italian Unification under the rule of Piedmont and Sardinia
- The 1848 Revolutions, which occurred throughout the European continent
- Italian Unification, under Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour
- German Unification under Otto von Bismarck of Prussia
- The French Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848 respectively.

The two World Wars: World War I and World War II, can also be described as historical events fuelled by nationalism, though wars are listed in the following section<sup>42</sup>.

### **2.1.8 Ethnic Nationalist Conflicts**<sup>43</sup>:

*(Includes most wars between the 18th century and World War I. Excludes conflicts driven primarily by other ideologies such as religion, communism, or democracy.)*

#### **Americas :**

- 1837 — Patriots Rebellion
- 1846–1848 — Mexican War

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<sup>41</sup> *ibid*

<sup>42</sup> *Historical Nationalism*

<sup>43</sup> *Ethnic Nationalist Conflicts*

- 1898 — Spanish-American War

- 1970 — October Crisis

**Balkans:**

- 1821–28 — Greek War of Independence
- 1878— Bulgarian War of Independence
- 1912–13 — Balkan Wars
- 1999–2000 — wars in the former Yugoslavia

**China:**

- 1900 — Boxer Rebellion

**Europe in general:**

- 1618–48 — Thirty Years War
- 1866— Austro-Prussian War
- 1870–1— Franco-Prussian War
- 1914–18 — World War I
- 1939–45 — World War II and the Holocaust

**Ireland:**

- 1798— 1798 rebellion
- 1848 — Young Irelanders' rebellion
- 1867— Fenian rebellion

- 1916— Easter Rising
- 1919–20 — Irish War of Independence
- 1920–1 — Irish Civil War
- 1969–2001 — Northern Ireland's Troubles

**Poland :**

- Polish Uprisings

**Middle East :**

- 19th century–present — Kurdish conflict against Turkey
- 1915–present — Kurdish conflict against Iraq
- 1917–present — Arab–Israeli conflict

**Spain :**

- 1960–2001 — Basque conflict

**2.1.9 Ethnic Nationalist Organizations:**

*(Not including governments and formal armies)*

- China
- Boxers

**Ireland:**

- United Irishmen
- Young Irelanders

- Fenian Brotherhood
- Irish Republican Brotherhood
- Irish Republican Army

**Middle East:**

- PKK
- KDP
- PLO

**Spain:**

- ETA

**2.1.10 Language :**

A common language has been one of the main presuppositions for nationalism; in France, for example, before the French Revolution, patois such as Breton and Occitan were spoken in the various regions which were incomprehensible to each other. Following the Revolution, French was imposed as the national language. For instance, in Brittany, Celti names were forbidden. The same phenomenon occurred in Britain and the United States. In the majority of the cases, policies were passed to accelerate the downsizing of minority language groups at various moments in history. Even a policy of laissez-faire with regard to languages will generally lead to unification under the language of the prevailing group or groups<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Karat Prakash; *Language and Nationality Politics in India*, Bombay, Orient Longman, 1973, pp. 1-20.



In short, Nationalism is a process through which Nation expresses itself and finds, not in isolation from other nation, not in opposition to other nation, but as part of a great scheme by which in seeking its own expression and therefore its own identity it materially assists for self expression of other nations as well as. Diversity is as rare as Unity -not to be confused with Nationality exists in Europe<sup>45</sup>.

## 2.2 Indian Civilization and Indian Nationalism:

India is a sub-continent with a vast population of the most diverse levels of culture. Anthropological knowledge of the people of India reveals that almost all known racial groups have migrated to India at different times in the past with their own language, religion and culture. Since there was plenty of space, the migrating cultural and racial groups could pass on and penetrate further into the interior without much opposition.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the various cultural groups did not destroy each other, but continued to live on and consolidate into the main components of the present-day population<sup>47</sup>. The caste system also helped to keep the diverse racial, social and cultural groups apart, for it prevented them effectively from mixing with one another. The population of India is thus very heterogeneous. Variety and diversity permeates the whole sub-continent, every state and district, every town and village<sup>48</sup>

Indian civilization is the outcome of a confluence of various cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic traditions. Over the years of mutual foundation, synthesis and challenge, Indian civilization has come to be characterized by

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<sup>45</sup> Bakshi S.R.; *Indian Freedom Fighter ( Series-7 ) Struggle for Independence*, 1989, p.74

<sup>46</sup> Bhashyam A.L. : *Wonder That was India*;

<sup>47</sup> *vide foot note No. 46*

<sup>48</sup> *S. M. Michael, SVD, Culture and Nationalism- Politics of Identity in India*

diversity of culture, religion, language, race and caste groups. *In the absence of a centralized political authority it was 'the Indian civilizational enterprise' which 'over the centuries achieved a remarkable degree of cohesion and held together different sub-systems in a continental-size society.* Thus, the unifying force of Indian civilization was the acceptance of multi-culturality and linguistic diversity rather than a political ideology of regimentation<sup>49</sup>.

The Age of Nationalism in the modern sense of the word is a recent phenomenon. It developed in the eighteenth century in the West and emerged at a later period as a universal political concept<sup>50</sup>. It was only between 1815-1920 that the political map of Europe was redrawn, while the political map of Asia and Africa changed between 1945-1965<sup>51</sup>. Before this period nationalism with its present implications did not exist; there were city-states, tribal groups and dynastic states and empires<sup>52</sup>.

The development of nationalism is seen as an integral part of the same historical process that saw the rise of industrialism and democracy. According to Gellner and Hobsbawm the emergence of modern nationalism is an inevitable consequence of capitalism and industrialization<sup>53</sup>.

Partha Chatterjee expresses similar views with regard to the emergence of nationalism. In his opinion, nationalism required the replacement of a traditional, group-based culture by the culture of an industrial society, i.e., a shared culture of

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<sup>49</sup> Kthari Rajani; *Integration and Exclusion in Indian Politics, 1987; Economic and Political Weekly*, 22 Oct., 1988:2223-9.

<sup>50</sup> Kohn, H.; *Nationalism*; International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 1956, Vol. II, pp. 63-69.

<sup>51</sup> Kohn H.; *Nationalism*, 1968, p.63

<sup>52</sup> Gellner, E.; *Encounters with Nationalism*; Oxford Blackwell, 1994, p.62

<sup>53</sup> Hastings, A.; *The Construction of Nationhood*; Cambridge University press; 1997. p.10.

a larger group but where the individual and not the group was the primary unit<sup>54</sup>. Nationalism thus presupposes the existence, in fact or as an ideal, of a centralized form of government over a large and distinct territory<sup>55</sup>. In India nationalism emerged in the context of colonialism<sup>56</sup>.

It can be traced to the political and administrative unification followed by the economic unification by the British. Politically speaking there was no India at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for at least a century before that neither did India possess a knowledge of its own past and its ancient history<sup>57</sup>. The introduction of English education, European science and philosophy, as well as the pride in India as a nation and her past culture, emerged at this historical turning point.

### 2.2.1 What is the Cultural Foundation of Modern India?:

In its early manifestation, the struggle for nationalism, anti-colonial consciousness and the need for independence were not in the realm of politics but in the realm of ideology and culture<sup>58</sup>. The first expression of this consciousness was in the form of social and religious reform movements. The important question then was — what is the cultural foundation of Indian society and how are we to reconstruct it as a modern nation on a par with other modern nation states?

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<sup>54</sup> Chatterjee; *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World. A derivative Discourse*, N. Delhi; 1986, p.5.

<sup>55</sup> Kohn H.; *Nationalism*, 1956, p.4

<sup>56</sup> Oommen T.K.; *Citizenship, Nationality and ethnicity: Reconciling Competing Identities*, Cambridge, 1995

<sup>57</sup> Majumdar, R.C.; *The History and Culture of the Indian People. British paramountcy and Indian Renaissance II*, Bombay Vidya Bhavan; Bombay; 1965, 4.

Two strands of thought emerged from upper caste Hindus: one led to an attempt at reconstructing Indian society on the basis of Western ideas originating in the age of Enlightenment and Liberalism, and the other wanted the reconstruction to take place on the basis of ancient Hindu traditions. These two visions of India developed their own ideology, leadership and organization in the course of

freedom struggle in India. A third vision was voiced by oppressed and marginalized people of India<sup>59</sup>.

### **2.2.2 The Concept of an Indian Nation built on a Rational Approach to Culture :**

The Enlightenment philosophy of the West began to have its impact on the newly Western-educated Indians during the colonial period. It gave rise to the *Indian Renaissance*<sup>60</sup>. The spirit that was promoted by English education was usually that of British liberalism, rationalism and utilitarianism, a spirit that challenged many of the presuppositions on which the orthodox Brahmin Hindu world outlook was based. With ruthless self-criticism the new Western-educated elite sought to lay the basis for a total social transformation, to weld science and rationality to recreate India<sup>61</sup>.

The beginnings of this social revolt can be easily identified in the thoughts of Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833). Roy vividly described the degraded state of society and acknowledged without embarrassment the virtues of Western learning, liberal legal and social institutions, and Western social ethics<sup>62</sup>. With

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<sup>58</sup> Panniker, 1995, p.57.

<sup>59</sup> Bipan Chandra, *Indian Freedom struggle*

<sup>60</sup> *Indian Culture and Indian Nation.*

<sup>61</sup> *Renaissance in India*

<sup>62</sup> Damle Y.B., and Jacob Aikara; *Caste, Religion and Politics in India*, New Delhi, 1982, p.77

a view to cleansing Hindu culture and society of its weakness and incongruities, he founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 at Calcutta. Its main ideological thrust was to transform Hinduism in the mould of Christianity. The assumption was that Hindu society could only be healed of its social evils if it adopted the Christian rejection of polytheism and idolatry<sup>63</sup>.

The purpose of the Brahmo Samaj was to restructure Hindu culture in terms of modernity. Roy campaigned for the prohibition of sati until Governor-General Lord William Bentinck enacted it in 1829. His revolt against the living Hindu society and his appeal to Indians to purify their religion and reform their social institutions echoed throughout the century after his death. The Brahmo ideologues imbibed quite a bit of Christianity along with some Deism of the European Enlightenment. The third-generation Samaj leader Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-1884) professed a Christian-like veneration of Jesus of Nazareth and interiorized the Christian concept of man's basic sinfulness. The massive all-India impact of such reform measures led to a widespread reaction to restrain its further diffusion and subsequent erosion of traditional Hindu values<sup>64</sup>.

### **2.2.3 The Concept of an Indian Nation Built on Aryan Vedic Culture:**

While Rammohun Roy cherished held a vision of an Indian society rejuvenated by centuries of exposure to Western science and Christian morality, Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) urged a regeneration of Hinduism through adherence to a purified *Vedic faith*. The Vedic Aryans are praised by Dayananda as a primordial and elect people to whom the Veda has been revealed by God and whose

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<sup>63</sup> *ibid*

<sup>64</sup> *ibid*

language (Sanskrit) is said to be the '*Mother of all languages*<sup>65</sup>'. The chief object of the Arya Samaj, which he founded in 1875 in Bombay, was to bring about social and religious reform through a renaissance of early Hindu doctrines. Popular slogans were *Back to the Vedas* and *Aryavarta for the Aryans*<sup>66</sup>. This view simply equated Indian culture with Hinduism and Hindu culture; all non-Hindu cultural traditions were regarded as contaminating influences. The Arya Samaj is probably the first movement in India to define nationalism in terms of ethnicity: in Dayananda's writings, the Hindus are the incontestable descendents of the Aryans<sup>67</sup>.

Dayananda's attack on other religions as Christianity and Islam was vigorous. His book, the *Satyartha Prakash* (Light of Truth) contains a polemical chapter against Christianity, one against Islam, one against Buddhism and Jainism, and several against allegedly degenerative trends in Hinduism<sup>68</sup>. The Arya Samaj had two items in its manifesto: *Shuddhi*, the meaning of which is purification, a term for the ceremony by which non-Hindus were converted to Hinduism, and *Sangathan* which literally means union, that is the promotion of solidarity among Hindus. In short, the Arya Samaj wanted to establish a Hindu nation by propagating a common religion and culture in India and converting others to Hinduism through the ceremony of Shuddhi<sup>69</sup>. The idea of world domination by the Hindus was voiced at that time by another Arya Samajist based in the Rajasthani British enclave of Ajmer, Har Bilas Sarda (1867-1955). In the second chapter of *The Hindu Superiority* (1906), entitled *Hindu Colonization of the*

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<sup>65</sup> Dayananda, 1981, p.249

<sup>66</sup> Smith, 1938, p. 57

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*

<sup>68</sup> Dayananda, 1981, pp250-260

<sup>69</sup> Jordens, 1978

*World*, the author rejects the Central Asia theory of emigration of the Aryans to India, and asserts that Aryavarta was the birth place of a race which subsequently spread and settled in Egypt, Ethiopia, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, Turkistan, Germany, Scandinavia, the Hyperborean countries, Great Britain, Eastern Asia and America<sup>70</sup>. According to Sarda most civilizations of the world could be traced back to the Hindu-Aryans, a race which had colonised the whole world before the Mahabharat war<sup>71</sup>. The ideological impact of the Arya Samaj was one among several factors that influenced the subsequent ideology of Hindu nationalism that emerged in the 1920s<sup>72</sup>.

Vivekananda's (1863-1902) thought marked the culmination of the 19th century social revolt. He founded the Ramakrishna Math and Mission for the dissemination of Hinduism and for social service. He believed that India alone had a spiritual message whereas the West was steeped in sensuality<sup>73</sup>:

There are thus two predominant versions of nationalism in India: *Indian nationalism and Hindu nationalism*. The basic question raised by these nationalistic movements was **what should be the cultural foundation of the Indian nation?** Indian nationalism was mainly supported by the western-educated Indian élite, who were secular and utilitarian in their approach<sup>74</sup>. In the words of Heimsath, this brand of nationalism had **at its base an anti-traditional, liberal democratic, secular and politically oriented concept of the nation**, so at an early stage a nationalist ideology was developed which could properly

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<sup>70</sup> Sarda 1975

<sup>71</sup> *ibid*

<sup>72</sup> Jaffrelot, 1996, p.17

<sup>73</sup> Vivekananda, 1957. p.600

<sup>74</sup> Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism*, 1964, p.39

encompass all Indian cultures and religions. Hindu nationalism developed as a reaction against the liberal and inclusive Indian nationalism<sup>75</sup>.

#### 2.2.4 Cultural Controversies in the National Congress :

A second stage in the development of a modern Indian nationalism emerged in 1885 with the foundation of the National Congress by Allan Octavian Hume. The Indian National Congress tried to define a new India in terms of borrowed ideas from the European political experience and Western social ethics. Most of the leaders of the Congress understood the need for a truly all-India nationalism which would rise above regional and communal loyalties<sup>76</sup>.

By the end of nineteenth century there was a mighty struggle for the control of the Congress. Two factions, the moderates and the extremists, held radically different views as to the proper ends and means of the nationalist movement. While the moderates in the National Congress such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Madhava Govinda Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale promoted reforms in Hindu culture, extremists glorified Hindu culture and opposed any kind of reform in it. While liberals envisioned a modernization of India through the adoption of the Western parameters of justice, order, rationality and the secular state, Tilak glorified the Vedic civilization<sup>77</sup>. According to him Vedic religion was the religion of the Aryans from a very early time. During Vedic times, India was a self-contained country. It was a united and great nation<sup>78</sup>. He became the proponent of the Hindutva ideology of his time.

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<sup>75</sup> *ibid*

<sup>76</sup> Smith, 1963, p.88

<sup>77</sup> Parvate,1959,p.463.

<sup>78</sup> Verma. 1967,p.197



Tilak's overall consideration was the promotion of solidarity among the Hindus, and so he emphasized the superiority of their religion, encouraged revivalism, politicized the Ganapati festival in 1893 and converted Shivaji into a cult figure in 1895, thus serving both religious and political objectives<sup>79</sup>. Tilak effectively invoked the spirit of resurgent Hinduism to support the nationalist cause, but at the inevitable cost of alienating the Muslims<sup>80</sup>.

The leaders of the Hindu nationalist movement in favour of a revival of Hindu culture openly acknowledged their identification of nationalism with Hinduism. Tilak at one time put the matter this way: *The common factor in Indian society is the feeling of hindutva (devotion to Hinduism)*<sup>81</sup>. The style of the revivalists was more aggressive and tended to reflect a Kshatriya (warrior) worldview. The partition of Bengal in 1905 created a Muslim-majority area, widened the breach between the Hindu and Muslim communities, and gave further stimulus to extremist activities<sup>82</sup>.

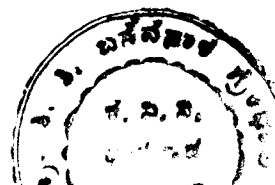
The religious symbols that Tilak used so effectively in Maharashtra had no appeal in Bengal, but others of even greater potency were at hand. The land of Bengal, and by extension all of India became identified with the female aspect of the Hindu godhead, and the result was the concept of a divine Motherland. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's (1838-1894) poem *Bande Mataram* (Hail to the Mother) soon became the Congress nationalist song popular throughout India. The country was the Mother, but not a defenceless female: *Thou art Durga (the Mother Goddess), Lady and Queen, with hands that strike and swords of*

<sup>79</sup> Michael, 1986, p. 185-197.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid*

<sup>81</sup> Wolpert, 1962, p.210

<sup>82</sup> *ibid*



*sheen*<sup>83</sup>. According to Majumdar, Bankim's nationalism was Hindu rather than Indian. In his novel he converted *patriotism into a religion and religion into patriotism*<sup>84</sup>.

Some of the most passionate statements of the extremist creed came from Aurobindo Ghose who wrote in 1907: *Liberty is the fruit we seek from the sacrifice, and the Motherland the goddess to whom we offer it. Nationalism is not a mere political programme; nationalism is a religion that has come from God he declared*<sup>85</sup>.

The cult of Durga or Kali, with its tantric ritual and animal sacrifices, quickly became associated with revolutionary terrorism in Bengal. A pamphlet printed secretly called upon the sons of India to rise up, arm themselves with bombs, and invoke Mother Kali: *What does the Mother want? A coconut? No! A fowl or a sheep or a buffalo? No!... The Mother is thirsting after the blood of Feringhis (foreigners) who have bled her profusely.*<sup>86</sup>

The marriage of politics and religion was consummated in the formation of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1915. In 1909 the famous Arya Samajist nationalist leader Lala Lajput Rai declared, *Hindus are a 'nation' in themselves because they represent a type of civilization all their own*<sup>87</sup>. He was echoing the use of the German word 'nation', which connoted a people, implying a community possessing a certain civilization and culture<sup>88</sup>. He published some articles by Lala Lalchand in the paper *Punjabee* on how to build a Hindu country: *This can only*

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<sup>83</sup> Smith, 1963, p. 90.

<sup>84</sup> Majumdar, 1965, p. 479.

<sup>85</sup> Ghose, 1965, p. 135

<sup>86</sup> Griffiths, 1952, p. 296; and Smith, 1963, p. 91

<sup>87</sup> Jaffrelot, 1996, p. 19.

<sup>88</sup> *ibid*

*be achieved by asserting a purely Hindu interest, and not by an Indian propaganda. The consciousness must rise in the mind of each Hindu that he is a Hindu, and not merely an Indian, and when it does arise the newly awakened force is bound to bring its result. In another article Lala Lalchand wrote: The point I wish to urge is that patriotism ought to be communal and not merely geographical<sup>89</sup>.*

### **2.2.5 Muslim Nationalism as a Response to Hindu Cultural Nationalism :**

The monopoly of the nationalist movement by Hindus who had a culture different from that of the Muslims, created nervousness among the Muslims as to the future of their own culture should the Hindus succeed in attaining independence<sup>90</sup>. Moreover, the large-scale participation by the Hindus in the nationalist movement inevitably put a stamp of its own on the movement. The various symbols used for promoting the nationalist movement like the anthem *Bande Mataram* were suggestive of Hindu culture<sup>91</sup>. A historical figure like Shivaji was a political hero to most Hindus; but to many Muslims he was an opponent of Muslim rule in India. All this drove a lock between the Muslims and the Hindus and the division became more acute with the gradual politicization of religion. During this time a number of Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in various parts of India<sup>92</sup>.

Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, a prominent Muslim leader realized the position of the Muslims and opened a college for Muslims in Aligarh in 1877, which later

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<sup>89</sup> *Lakshmanya Tilak on Indian Nationalism*

<sup>90</sup> *Muslim Nationalism in India.*

<sup>91</sup> *ibid*

<sup>92</sup> *ibid*

developed into the Aligarh University<sup>93</sup>. At first an ardent nationalist, Sir Sayed affirmed that Hindus and Muslims in India formed one nation. At the same time, however, he opposed the Congress movement from its inception, urged the Muslims to stay away from it, and set up organisations with a view to opposing it, all because he feared that the Hindus as the majority community would ride roughshod over the interests of Muslims<sup>94</sup>. Like the parallel movements among the Hindus, the Muslims too formed their own organizations. These Islamic movements tried to assert the superiority of their religion, their culture and their past and succeeded in at least giving substance to the idea that their religion, culture and philosophy were not inferior to others<sup>95</sup>. To serve them as the political platform to propagate their views of identity in India they founded the Muslim League in 1906<sup>96</sup>.

#### **Revivalist Response to Gandhi:**

Gandhi strove unceasingly for Hindu-Muslim unity, convinced that ultimately both religions were true and valid<sup>97</sup>. His deepest conviction was that God, Truth and Ahimsa (non-violence) were all one and the same. Satyagraha (truth-force, non-violent resistance) was based on Gandhi's personal religious faith and which he successfully employed against the British who were firmly committed to the maintenance of law and order and vis-à-vis non-violent resistance appeared ruthless and brutal<sup>98</sup>.

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<sup>93</sup> Freedom Struggle of India

<sup>94</sup> *vide foot not No. 93*

<sup>95</sup> Haq, 1992

<sup>96</sup> *ibid*

<sup>97</sup> Gandhi, 1949

<sup>98</sup> *ibid*

The revivalists were disturbed by Gandhi's ascetic non-kshatriya style of leadership, his definition of dharma (right conduct) as the non-violent pursuit of *truth*, and his assimilationist conception of the Indian nation, which he saw as a brotherhood or a confederation of communities.

Dr. Kurtakoti, Sankaracharya (religious head) of the Karvir Peeth, expressed the views of many revivalists when he wrote in the 1920's that Gandhi's use of ahimsa (non-violence) in the non-cooperation movement would *uproot the very principle of Hinduism and Aryan philosophy*<sup>99</sup>. He claimed that ahimsa as employed by Gandhi weakened the Hindus. Moreover, he maintained that *passive and non-resisting sufferance is a Christian and not Aryan principle*. He implored Hindus to return to the militancy advocated by Tilak, Vivekananda, and Ghose. Many other revivalists were in agreement, and when Gandhi took control of the Congress in the 1920's the stage was set for a revivalist search for new forms of protest<sup>100</sup>.

As a result of the intensification of Hindu-Muslim tensions between 1921-1923, a renewed importance was attached to the dormant Hindu Mahasabha (Great Assembly), formed in 1915 as a forum for a variety of Hindu interests<sup>101</sup>. (e.g., cow protection, Hindi in the Devanagiri script, caste reforms, etc.)

It is in this setting of Hinduism-in-danger that a new influential Hindu militant organisation known as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sang (RSS) (Association of National Volunteers) was established in 1925 by Dr. Keshab Baliram Hedgewar who was deeply influenced by Tilak. The RSS claim to

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<sup>99</sup> *Maratta*, 20 Oct. 1922.

<sup>100</sup> *Anderson and Damle*, 1987, p. 20.

<sup>101</sup> *ibid.*, p.28

defend Hinduism against its so-called antagonists. Its affirmed objective is the unification of the Hindu community and the inculcation of a militant awareness of its common heritage and destiny<sup>102</sup>.

One of the most influential works in the development of the Hindu nationalist ideology was the treatise on Hindutva: Who is a Hindu? First published in Nagpur in 1923 by a Maharashtrian Brahmin and future president of the Hindu Mahasabha (1937-42) Veer D. Savarkar (1883-1966), a close associate of Tilak. Hindutva refers to a people united by common country, blood, history, religion, culture and language. The concept stems from the mythical reconstruction of the Vedic Golden Age of the 'Aryan' race<sup>103</sup>. Hindutva became influential in all RSS's organizational activities. While rejecting politics as the means to attain its particular objectives, the RSS has nevertheless in the past supported the political work of the Hindu Mahasabha, and has been closely linked with the Jana Sangh and Bharatiya Janata Party<sup>104</sup>.

Golwalkar reiterates that secularism is not his path for national integration; it should come through Hinduization. His idea of the best solution to the problems of minorities is contained in one word — assimilation. According to him they should be *wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — not even citizen's rights*<sup>105</sup>. Like Savarkar's Hindutva, Golwalkar's definition of Hindu is political rather than religious<sup>106</sup>.

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<sup>102</sup> *Objectives of RSS*

<sup>103</sup> Klostemaier 1989, p. 33,

<sup>104</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Golwalkar, 1947, pp.55-56

<sup>106</sup> Heehs, 1998, p. 117

So the river of Hindu revivalism flows on. The origin of Hindutva and its promotion by Hindu nationalistic groups such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Ram Rajya Parishad, The Jana Sangh, the Vishva Hindu Parishad, the Shiv Sena, Bajrangdal. Hindu nationalism in India emerged at that phase of the Nationalist Movement where religion was sought to be made the basis for the emerging identity of India<sup>107</sup>. As Juergensmeyer explains, when a religious perspective is fused with the political and social destiny of a nation, it is referred to as religious nationalism. He maintains that religious nationalists were not just religious fanatics. For the most part they were political activists who were seriously attempting to create a *modern* language of politics and provide a new basis for the nation-state<sup>108</sup>.

#### **2.2.6 An Alternative Cultural Vision of Indian Nationhood – The Voice of the Oppressed:**

The concern for social reform at the beginning of the Indian nationalist movement was given a back seat with the emergence of militant Hindu nationalism. Upper caste Hindus identified *nation* and *national culture* as basically Hindu, as deriving from Vedic times, and as fundamentally a creation of the Aryan people.. It is in this context of what constitutes Indian national culture that we should examine the alternative vision of prominent non-Aryan or non-brahmanic leaders within India.

The main figures of this larger non-Aryan and anti-Brahmin vision of Indian nationalism are *Jotiba Phule, E.V. Ramasami 'Periyar' and Babasaheb Ambedkar*, with many others throughout India such as Narayanswami Guru in

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<sup>107</sup> Juergensmeyer, 1994, p.406

Kerala, Acchutanand in Uttar Pradesh, Mangoo Ram in the Punjab. They attacked of exploitation at all levels, culturally, economically and politically<sup>109</sup>.

### 2.2.7 *The Vision of Jotirao Phule (1826-1890) :*

Jotirao Phule was the first Indian in modern India to proclaim the dawn of a new age for the common man, the down-trodden, the underdog and the Indian woman. It was his aim to reconstruct the social order on the basis of social equality, justice and reason. The *Aryan theory of race* constituted the most influential intellectual guideline in discussion on caste and society in Phule's time. European Orientalists used it to establish an ethnic kinship between Europeans and the ancient Vedic peoples. The constant interest of European scholars in ancient Aryan society and their praises of this society was an important moral boost to high caste Indians. Thus, Indian civilization was seen as primarily derivative from Aryan civilization, and the caste system was lauded as a means by which people of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds were brought together and subjected to the civilizing influence of Aryans<sup>110</sup>.

At one level, Phule simply reversed the perception, arguing that the low castes, whom he sometimes called *Shudras and Ati-Shudras* and sometimes simply listed as *Kumbis, Malis, Dhangars... Bhils, Kolis, Mahars, and Mangs*, were the original inhabitants of the country, enslaved and exploited by conquering Aryans who formulated a caste-based Hinduism as a means of deceiving the masses and legitimizing their power<sup>111</sup>.

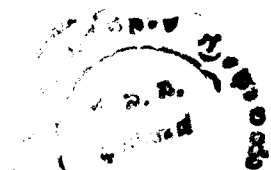
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<sup>108</sup> *vide foot note No. 107*

<sup>109</sup> *Indian Nationhood- The Voice of the Oppressed.*

<sup>110</sup> Omvedt, 1976, p. 103

<sup>111</sup> *ibid*





It was the confirmed view of Jotirao that the ancient history of India was nothing but the struggle between Brahmins and non-Brahmins<sup>112</sup>. Hence, Phule consciously sought to bring together the major peasant castes (these were, besides the Kumbhis or cultivators, the Malis or 'garden' cultivators and Dhangars or shepherds) along with the large untouchable castes of Mahars and Mangs in a common 'front' against Brahmin domination<sup>113</sup>.

Jotirao's attack on Brahminism was unmistakable. He realized that the seeds of Brahmin power, supremacy and privileges lay in their scriptures and Puranas; and that these works and the caste system were created to exploit the lower classes. To achieve his life's ambition for a casteless society, Phule founded the Satya Shodhak Samaj on 24 September 1873. The Samaj opened the first school for girls and untouchables and organised widow remarriages, marriages without Brahmin priests, etc.. Phule's view of exploitation was thus focused on cultural and ethnic factors rather than economic or political ones<sup>114</sup>.

### **2.2.8 Pariyar's (1879-1973) Self-Respect Movement :**

Periyar was convinced that casteism and Hinduism were one and the same. He wanted Hinduism, as he saw it, to go altogether out. His movement took a turn towards racial consciousness and became a 'Dravidian' movement, seeking to defend the rights of the Dravidians against Aryan domination. The Aryans were blamed for introducing an unjust and oppressive social system in the country<sup>115</sup>. The high caste élite of India began to define Aryan and Sanskritic culture as the basis of *Indian nationality*, but by so doing they were in fact

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<sup>112</sup> Keer, 1964, p. 120

<sup>113</sup> *ibid*

<sup>114</sup> *The Vision of Jotirao Phule*

<sup>115</sup> Hardgrave, 1965, p. 17

highlighting the culture of the north Indian upper castes and mistaking this fraction of Indian culture for the whole<sup>116</sup>.

Periyar sought to defend the rights of the Dravidians against Aryan domination. He saw in the Brahmins the representatives of Hindu arrogance and a stronghold of social injustice. He left the Congress attacking it as a tool of Brahmin domination. In 1925, he organized the *Self-Respect Movement*, designed as Dravidian Uplift, seeking to expose Brahmin tyranny and the deceptive methods by which they controlled all spheres of Hindu life. Periyar publicly ridiculed the Puranas as fairy tales, not only imaginary and irrational by grossly immoral as well. He also attacked religion as a tool of Brahmin domination<sup>117</sup>. Today, several Dravidian political parties in Tamil Nadu trace back their inspiration to Periyar in their efforts to build a Dravidian civilization in the Indian subcontinent.

### **2.2.9 Ambedkar (1891-1956), a Revolutionary:**

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was very much inspired and guided by the noble example set by Mahatma Jotiba Phule. Phule was no more there to guide Ambedkar. Nevertheless, his example made an indelible impression on the mind of Ambedkar, who was determined to complete the work, began by Jotiba: this became his life's ambition<sup>118</sup>. Ambedkar was a revolutionary. He led the fight against untouchability, Hinduism, and the Brahmin caste. He taught that caste was not only unjust but also immoral. He established a new dispensation, a new

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<sup>116</sup> *ibid*

<sup>117</sup> Naicker, 1959 p.iii,iv

<sup>118</sup> Rajashekraiah 1971, pp18-19 and Keer 1974, p.vii

religion (Neo-Buddhism), whose foundation is its unequivocal rejection of Hinduism<sup>119</sup>.

Ambedkar criticized the caste system strongly. For him the fight against casteism and untouchability was central, at the heart of his agenda. Hence, he was very critical of the two prevalent approaches in his time to reform the caste system, namely, that of Dayananda Saraswati and of Gandhi. Society should be based on the three fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity<sup>120</sup>.

Ambedkar also rejected the position of Gandhi with regards to caste and its reform. Gandhi felt that the ancient Hindus had already achieved an ideal social system with the varnavyavastha. So according to Gandhi, *the law of varna means that everyone will follow as a matter of dharma-duty the hereditary calling of his forefathers... he will earn his livelihood by following that calling*. In contrast Ambedkar believed that an ideal society had yet to be achieved in India. For him, the priority was not making Hinduism or Hindu society, shine forth but building a new, equal, free, open, non-hierarchical, modern India<sup>121</sup>.

According to Ambedkar, *it is wrong to say that the problem of the untouchables is a social problem. The problem of the untouchables is fundamentally a political problem (of minority versus majority groups)*.<sup>122</sup> Hence, Ambedkar launched his revolutionary movement for the liberation and advancement of the Dalits. On 20th July 1942 he declared at Nagpur: *With justice on our side, I do not see how we can loose our battle. The battle to me is a matter of full joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or sordid in it.*

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<sup>119</sup> ibid

<sup>120</sup> ibid

<sup>121</sup> *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar : A Revolutionary.*

<sup>122</sup> Ambedkar, 1945, p 190.

*For our struggle is for our freedom. It is a battle for the reclamation of human responsibility which has been suppressed and mutilated by the Hindu social system and will continue to be suppressed and mutilated if in the political struggle the Hindus win and we lose. My final word of advice to you is, educate, organise and agitate; have faith in yourselves and never lose hope*<sup>123</sup>. Thus Ambedkar was able to put the untouchability issue at the centre stage of Indian politics.

The above Phule/Periyar/Ambedkar tradition represents the effort to define an alternative identity for the people, based on non-Aryan and low caste perspectives, that was critical not only of the oppressiveness of the dominant Hindu castes, but also of the claim to antiquity and to being the major Indian tradition<sup>124</sup> Earl Stanley Jones, a visionary and close associate of Mahatma Gandhi wrote: *One of the greatest dangers to world peace is the rise of modern nationalism. It has taken that lovely sentiment called patriotism and has turned it into the deadliest enemy known to the modern world. It causes men to sin where they otherwise would not*<sup>125</sup>.

#### **2.2.10 The year 1799 marked a turning point in south India. :**

Nowhere in India at any time did the common people organize and fight for a nationalist cause so extensive, so violent a rebellion against British Imperialism as the patriots of South did in the memorable years 1800-1801. As the eighteenth century advanced towards its end, the cloud of horrors, wrought by an alien sway, thickened and the mass moves swiftly into a climate of despair,

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<sup>123</sup> *ibid*

<sup>124</sup> Machael, 1999 and Oomen, 2001.

<sup>125</sup> *S.M. Machael, SVD, Culture and Nationalism: Politics of Identity of India.*

bewilderment and revenge<sup>125A</sup>. Ridden with blatant evils, the wanton obliteration of political institutions bequeathed by the past and the systematic exploitation of the material glories possessed by the land, British imperialism with all its distasteful consequence drifted inescapably into a violent collision against a concerned challenge, organized by the peasants. This was the south Indian Revolt, the most widespread of all the liberations wars of the pre- Congress Epoch and the first and the last violent popular struggle of any formidable dimensions in the annals of British India. The historical records of the period through light on the political and economic development that led to this great rebellion<sup>125B</sup>.

The triumph of the enemy over natives. The gallant resistance offered by Tipu in the north and Kattabomman in the south to alien domination and the ideals for which they faced death gave rise to a wave of nationalistic fervour across the peninsula<sup>126</sup>. The heroic struggle of the French peasants against inequality and autocracy and the hostile powers brought in a fresh inspiration to the movement. More and more of the inhabitant swung towards the standard banner of revolt. The two rebel leagues of Tamilnadu, that escaped destruction in the wake of the fall of Mysore, extended their activity across new frontiers. An interplay of these powerful trends led to the formation of the peninsular Confederacy against the British sway.<sup>127</sup>

For the fear in the detection and execution many of the insurgents of the far south who had been engaged in the organization of the rebel league fled to the

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<sup>125A</sup> K. Rajayyan: Rao and Raghavan, *South Indian Rebellion; The First war of Independence (1800-1801)*, 1971, p.99-105

<sup>125B</sup> *ibid*

<sup>126</sup> *ibid*

<sup>127</sup> *ibid*

jungles of Kalayarkoil in Shivaganga. Upon the British conquest of Mysore the rebels of the western region too found asylum in these secure woods. From eleven to twelve miles across in every direction with no villages or cultivation to break the continuity of it., this thick jungle extended to the suburbs of Manamadurai, Shawkottai and Singampunari<sup>128</sup>. The trees which grew in it were of the hardiest kind and even if several trees had been cut asunder, they still remained in an upright position, being supported by the creepers. Inaccessible to the strangers and guarded by the rebels of Marudu pandyan, this region, after the fall of Mysore and the Tirunelveli League, assumed a new importance as a centre of intrigues. The leaders of the Tamilnadu met in the heart of this wood and held frequent discussion<sup>129</sup>

The villages, on the other hand, opened a secret correspondence from one to the other through confidential messengers who were paid from voluntary contributions. This system that resembled the committees of correspondence of the American Colonies in their struggle against Britain worked effectively in kanara<sup>130</sup>.

When the people of the southern provinces were holding deliberations and the rebels were meeting in the caverns of the mountains, yet hesitant to rise in open rebellion, an amazing turn of events struck a fresh note of optimism. In the north though Tipu had been defeated, the freedom loving inhabitants of Mysore did not surrender timidly. They reorganized resistance in the northern and western regions of Kannadanadu. In Europe the French Revolution brokeout in 1789 and the French endowed with a revolutionary zeal engaged the British

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<sup>128</sup> *ibid*

<sup>129</sup> Board of Revenue. 28 Dec. 1801, Proceedings Vol. 305. pp. 15362-15365.

<sup>130</sup> 28, Aug. 1800, Proceedings Vol. 261, pp. 1430-31.

and their allies in a deadly contest. Before long the tidings of this war reached South India<sup>131</sup>.

#### 2.2.11 *Favourable Events in Kannadanadu :*

Inconsequence of the British victory over Tipu, many of the patriots fled to remote regions. They reorganized resistance to the alien administration in co-operation with the

Inhabitants or furnished their service to the rebel ranks. Among them the most formidable were Krishna Kayak and Dhoondaji Waug<sup>132</sup>.

Krishnappa Nayak, Raja of the district situated on eastern side of Kanara, referred to in the records as Bel country or Bellum or Bilam, had possession of an extensive territory in former times. Neither Hyder Ali nor Tipu Sultan did ever succeed in dispossessing him from his strongholds of Arisikarai and Rakanara<sup>133</sup>. Upon the British annexation of Kanara and establishment of its influence over Mysore, he decided to fight the alien aggression. Meanwhile Vittal Hegede, Subba Rao and Mahtab Khan rose into prominence as the leaders of popular resistance against the Company's rule in Kanara<sup>134</sup>. The Moplas of Malabar soon joined them. The rebel chiefs sent their emissaries in the name of Futteh Hyder, son of Tipu and prisoner at Vellore, and to the villages; and enlisted the services of the disbanded troops of Mysore and the deserters from the forces of the Company. Krishnappa Nayak met Subba Rao and through him entered into an alliance with Mahabat Khan and Vittal Hegede. An experienced soldier in the service of Tipu Sultan, Subba Rao assumed the Command of the

<sup>131</sup> K. Rajayyan: Rao and Raghavan, *South Indian Rebellion; The First war of Independence (1800-1801)*, 1971, p.99-105

<sup>132</sup> *ibid*

<sup>133</sup> Edward Clive, 13 Aug. 1799 *Political Despatches to England*, Vol 5. p. 338

<sup>134</sup> *vide foot note No.131.*

rebel parties. Thus came into a shape a rebel league in the western region of Kannadanadu<sup>135</sup>.

Early in 1800 these leaders raised disturbances. In January Hegeda, at the command of a body of insurgents advanced from Vittel to Kanara, where disaffected inhabitants joined the rebel camp, seized the revenue of the company and plundered Manjeswar. Thomas Munro, the collector of Kanara, wanted to take prompt action against the rebels but for want of troops in adequate strength and for fear that the example of Hegeda would be followed by a great number of leaders, who only waited for an opportunity to rise in open defiance, observed a self-imposed restraint.<sup>136</sup> Mahtab Khan challenged British authority in the southern part of Kanara. A native of Coorg, he was taken a captive by the troops of Hyder Ali and subsequently employed in the treasury at Shirangapattanam. After affection his escape during the confusion, created by the British assault of this fort, he fled to the west where he was joined by the disaffected. Reinforced by the rebels of Suba Rao, he invaded the company's post in Kanara. However, the enemy, the rebels fled to the mountains, defeated him. Here they were joined by more of the inhabitants, greatly strengthened, the insurgents made frequent plundering into the territories of the company in the west coast.<sup>137</sup>

The rebel league gained an important victory where it dislodged the British forces stationed at the strategic pass of Subramania Ghat, also known as Bissulu Ghat and cut off British communications between Mysore and Kanara.<sup>138</sup>

Dhoondaji Waug, a man of masterful will and dominating influence, raised the standard banner of revolt in Kannada- Maratha land. Native of Chennagairi

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<sup>135</sup> *ibid*

<sup>136</sup> 30 January, 1800. Proceedings, Vol. 243. p. 809.

<sup>137</sup> Madras Council, 24 July 1800, Political Consultation, Vol. I pp. 274-77

<sup>138</sup> 12 April, 1800, Military Consultation, Vol.267, pp. 2125-35.



in Shimoga, he entered into the service of Hyderali as a horseman in 1780. Deserting the service of Mysore subsequently, he lived the life of a rebel at Dharwad for a short period but reconciled by Tipu he re-joined the army. With fall of the Srirangapattanam to the British forces in 1799, he escaped to the Maratha land. From here he opened a correspondence with the sardars, formerly in the service of Tipu and gathered a body of armed men and 5000 horse from the remnant of the army of Mysore and from among the inhabitants of desperate fortune. Amongst all the Muslims of Mysore associated with themselves with the rebels. Dhoondaji Waug occupied Shimoga and proclaimed him as self-King of the two world<sup>139</sup>.

In malabar the inhabitants, who refused to compromise with the Settlement of Kerala Varma with the company, circulated palm-leaf letters, urging resistance<sup>140</sup>.

#### **2.2.12 Message of the French revolution. :**

The French brought in the message of the revolution and their great struggle with Great Britain to the patriots of South India in the crucial period. When company's forces invaded Mysore in 1799 the French found it impossible to rush any substantial aid. Subsequently, napoleon planned an expedition through central Asia with Russian co-operation, but because of the association of Tsar Paul this too did not materialize<sup>141</sup>.

However the emissaries of Revolutionary France from their base of activity in the Isle of France reached south India<sup>142</sup>. They came in batches to the Mysore Coast, moved to the interior, visited the villages and established contacts with the

<sup>139</sup> Marques Wellesley Dispatches, Vol. 12, p. 53

<sup>140</sup> W. Logan ( Ed ), Malabar (1889), Vol. I p. 267.

<sup>141</sup> J. Marriot The English in India, pp. 107-09

<sup>142</sup> Edward Clive, 13 Aug. 1799, Political Despatches to England, Vol. 5, p 338.

disaffected chiefs. The details of their activities are shrouded in mystery but the intelligence that the Company obtained in August 1798 indicated that the Frenchmen visited Karur, Aruvakurichi and Ramagiri and Tamilnadul<sup>143</sup>. Alarmed at this development, the Madras administration instructed the loyal poligars to seize all Europeans moving in a suspicious manner and offered reward for apprehending them<sup>144</sup>. Now French moved to the north and established their influence in the camp of Dhoondaji Waug.

The machinations of the patriots with the revolutionaries of France are entangled in obscurity. The extent of the impact of the French revolution on the movement in South India too can not be ascertained that the French promoted dissemination of revolutionary ideas and sought to kindle nationalist uprisings against the British.<sup>145</sup>

The Renaissance in Northern India and in the Madras Presidency was mainly spiritual and religious in Character but in the western India it was primarily social and educational. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Lion of Maharashtra, was a all- India leader since 1905.. The western India, Maharashtra was the dominant source of his wide leadership. Hence it was Maharashtra, the centre of Tilak's various activities<sup>230</sup>. In the history of Indian renaissance and Indian Nationalism, the role of the following papers is great<sup>231</sup>:

1. The Hindu Patriot.
2. The Mahratta
3. The Kesari
4. The Indian Patriot

<sup>143</sup> A Letter from Manaparai, 17 Aug. 1799, Military Consultation, Vol. 241, p 5088.

<sup>144</sup> Madras Council, July 1798, Military Consultations, Vol. 241, p. 5089.

<sup>145</sup> K. Rajayyan: Rao and Raghavan, South Indian Rebellion; (1800-1801), 1971, p.106

<sup>230</sup> *ibid*

<sup>231</sup> *ibid*

5. The Indu Prakasha
6. The Amrit Bazar Patrika
7. The Yugantara
8. The Bengalee
9. The Karmayogin
10. Bombay Samachara
11. The New India
12. The Hindu
13. The Young India
14. Banga Dharshana.

### 2.3 The Revolt of 1857 and Press:

The people in different parts of India, right from the beginning of the British conquest, never submit in their political subjection.. Some of these revolts were those of the Sanyasis in Bengal and Bihar (1763 Onwards), of the peasants (Midnapur in 1766, Rangpur in 1783, Mysore in 1830 -31, Khandesh in 1852), of the chiefs and other landed sections (for Rammathapuram, Shivaganga and other places during 1795-1805, of Velu thambi in Travancore in 1808-09, of Rani Chinnamma of Kittur during 1824-29, etc.), and of the tribal people (notably of the Bhils during 1817-31, the Kols during 1820-37, the Khasis under U. Tirot Singh during 1829-33, the Santhals during 1855-56, etc. There were also mutinies, for example, at Vellore in 1806. All these revolts were, however sporadic and localized and though some of them lasted many years, they did not pose a serious challenge to British rule. The greatest of the revolts, which shook the very foundations of British rule, occurred in 1857.<sup>148</sup> The revolt began at Meerut on 10 May 1857, with the uprising of Indian sepoy of the British arms on India. It was the result of accumulated resentment, which had been growing since the beginning of British conquest, but was triggered off by the greased

cartridge incident. In fact the cause were much deeper than this. Peasants had been dispossessed of their lands and artisans had been ruined. The British policy of annexation of territory had led to the dispossession of many Indian rulers. As a result of these, discontent was widespread. *Dalhousie, who came India as the Governor - General, annexed eight new states in the course of eight years of his stay in office. There was also fear in the minds of many people that the British government was out to forcibly convert them to Christianity.*<sup>149</sup>

The revolt soon spread over northern, central and eastern India. The rebels declared Bahadur Shah II, the Mughal King, the Emperor of Hindustan. Hindus and Muslim fought shoulder to shoulder against the British. The deeds of valor of rebels, like the Rani of Jhansi, Maulvi Ahmadulla, Kanwar Singh, Bakht Khan and Tantia Tope, have become proud legends and have inspired the later generation<sup>150</sup>. The revolt was suppressed after bitter fighting for over a year, though peace was not restored until 1859. *The British rulers followed a ruthless and indiscriminate policy of vengeance. Thousands of people were hanged in Delhi, Lucknow and other places.* The inhuman reprisals of the British government provoked resentment even in England. Many Englishmen protested against the barbarities of the British rulers and expressed their sympathy and support for the Indian People. The revolt and its cruel suppression left a legacy of bitterness and hatred amongst the people of India<sup>151</sup>.

The revolt marked a turning point in the history of India. The rule of the East India Company came to an end and the control passed to the British Crown. The

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<sup>148</sup> Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence, 1857-1947*, 1989, pp 41-79

<sup>149</sup> *ibid*

<sup>150</sup> *ibid*

<sup>151</sup> *ibid*

British government promised not to annex any more Indian States. The Indian states accepted the paramountcy of the British government and became loyal allies of the British rule.<sup>152</sup> The revolt made the Indian people more politically conscious than before. The movements of social reform and modernization had already started. These movements gathered momentum. The hold of the Indian princes on the Indian people declined and it was increasingly realized that national independence would be attained through a movement of the people themselves and not under the leadership of the old rulers of India. The struggle against the rulers on Indian states itself became a part of the national struggle for the independence. The most valuable legacy of the revolt was the memory of united struggle. Soon India was to witness the growth of the nationalist movement aiming at national independence democracy, social equality and national development.<sup>153</sup> The freedom of expression granted in 1835 was, of necessity, curbed temporarily as a result of the exigencies of 1857.<sup>154</sup> Consequently, the Act No. XI of 1857 was passed on June 13; it prohibited the keeping of a printing press without licence from the government, which exercised discretionary power in granting such licences. The Act applied to English and vernacular press alike, much to the displeasure of the Anglo-Indian. Press. The holocaust of 1857 created a sharp division in the Indian Press. Anglo-Indian journalists, began to cry for indiscriminate retribution against Indians. And evinced bitter racial prejudice. Indian editors had to retaliate either by way of defending themselves or out of their sympathy with the 'rebels'. The journalists in India then came to be divided on the basis of their nationalities<sup>155</sup> The freedom

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<sup>152</sup> *ibid*

<sup>153</sup> *ibid*

<sup>154</sup> Margarita Barns, *op.*, *cit.*, p. 250

<sup>155</sup> Prem Narain: *op.*, *cit.*, p. 47

of the press was restored along with the, transfer of the Indian rule from the Company to the Crown. The press now entered into a new phase of development, and yet the gulf between Indian aspirations and British interests continued to widen. A large section of the Indian press swerved round the view that there could be no identity of interest between the ruler and ruled separated as they were economically, geographically and culturally<sup>156</sup>. Side by side, Englishmen formed a separate class and many of them looked upon the Indian-owned press, especially the vernacular press, as largely uncultured and potentially, if not actually, seditious. Pioneer made a statement of faith when it wrote: *Anglo-Indian journalist* is an Englishman first and a journalist afterwards<sup>157</sup>. As natural corollary, Indian editors tended to look upon themselves Indian first and foremost. Many of them lost no opportunity to adopt an attitude of opposition towards measures, of the alien government. The Anglo-Indian press poisoned the government against the Indian press. Pioneer, for example, condemned them for manufacturing discontent<sup>158</sup>. *The Earl of Ellenborough* drew a clear picture of the press; he said on 7 December 1857: *The press of India is in a totally different position. In the first place there are two kinds of journals -Native and English. The English press is not the press of the people of India. It is the press of the stranger, the press of Government, the press of governing class. It advocates their interests. I do not say that it may not occasionally also advocate the general interest of the country; but that is not the particular object of the English press; it is to represent the interests of those by whom it is especially supported-the governing class-and these interests the English journals may have to support in direct contradiction to the general interests of the people of India. The Native*

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<sup>156</sup> *ibid.*, p. 257

*press on the other hand -erroneously as we think, traitorously as it has lately seemed - takes up what it conceives to be -the cause of the population generally, opposed to the personal interest of the governing classes. Being published in the English language, the English is perfectly innocuous as regards the people of India until the articles it contains are translated ; meanwhile it has no more influence on the people of India than the English journals would have upon the people of this country, if ' they were published in Greek or Latin. On the other hand, the Native press has no influence whatever upon us, for by us, it is not read. However, there can be no doubt upon the people of India the English press can have no effect what ever until its articles are translated and have received a general circulation through the native press.*<sup>159</sup> The cry of the Anglo-Indians and their journals went on against the vernacular press. The *Shula-i-Tur* was constrained to complain that Anglo-Indian newspapers were bent on inducing the government to take away the liberty of the Indian press, in order to prevent vernacular newspapers from expressing their grievances and, with that end in view, it charged the latter with publishing prejudicial opinions<sup>160</sup> These Anglo-Indian journals even charged the vernacular press with disloyalty. The *Almora Akhbar*, to cite but one example, denied the charge of disloyalty and asserted that the tone of the Indian press was not seditious<sup>161</sup> Another Indian journal counter-argued that whatever the Vernacular press ventilated the grievance of the people the Anglo-Indian smoothly denounced them for being seditious<sup>162</sup>.

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<sup>157</sup> Pioneer, 24 Dec. 1897.

<sup>158</sup> Sharma S. P.; *The Press, Socio- political Awakening*, 1996, p.42

<sup>159</sup> Hansard Parliamentary debate, 1857-58, Vol. CXVIII, p. 240.

<sup>160</sup> *Shula -I-Tur*, April 1875- RNN; NWP & Punjab, 1875, p. 157

<sup>161</sup> *Shula -I-Tur*, April. 1875.

<sup>162</sup> Hindustan, 12, Oct. 1889.

On the other hand, the Indian press assured the government of its loyalty: *The Native Press was the well-wisher of the government and considered its existence a blessing to the country, but the Anglo-Indian Press led the authorities, to suspect the motives of the Native Press, in criticising the action of the Government and its officials. The fact was that criticism was made with a view only to improving the administration, and not at all to injuring, and opposing the existence Of the British Government which had, by spreading education among the people, won the hearts of public in general and newspaper editors in particular*<sup>163</sup>. The government declared that it would make no distinction between them and deal out justice with an equal hand. But in this impartiality was never observed in practice<sup>164</sup>.

#### 2.4 The Government and the Press- Legislative Measures:

By an amendment to I.P.C. after 1857, Canning tried to improve relations between the Government and the Press. The first step in this direction was the deletion of Section 113 of the draft of Indian Penal Code which had been drawn up by Macaulay. Canning suggested the omission of the sedition section on the ground that it might be taken as an attack on the liberty of -the press; and when the Indian Penal Code was amended in 1860 (Act XLV), the sedition section was Omitted.<sup>165</sup>

The National uprising though subdued, left a great effect on the mind of the people. Their common suffering during the upsurge broadened their vision which supported the growth of the conceptions of India as a Common Motherland. People from every part of the country started becoming acquainted

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<sup>163</sup> Taradutt Freedom struggle of India, p. 44

<sup>164</sup> ibid

<sup>165</sup> Tara Dutt, *Freedom Struggle of India*, p. 45



with each other. As the war spread from Nepal to the territories of the Nizam, the participants came in close contact with the people of various provinces and principalities<sup>166</sup>. The growth of the conception paved the way for use of new types of political leadership. It inspired the struggle for independence in the years to come. Therefore the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century following the First War of Independence of 1857.- was characterized by the rapid development of National Consciousness<sup>167</sup>.

The outbreak of the Mutiny(1857) directed the serious attention of the Governor-General-in-Council to the writings of the native press. To their evil influences was attributed a large portion of the discontent, instilled into the troops and the ordinary people(Lord Canning's speech, 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1857 before the Legislative Council. Quoted in *History of Indian Journalism*, S.C. Sanial, Calcutta Review, 1908<sup>168</sup>)

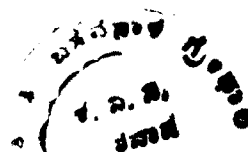
The press was in infant stage in the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The History of development of the Press in India following the Revolt of 1857 is much significance. The movement of religious and social reforms stirred Indian society and people were deeply agitated by debates : debates between the reformers and the traditionalists<sup>169</sup>. But the changed attitude of Government officials, the pressure of increasing, Economic, distress in the countryside, of which the frequent famines and natural calamities were an indication, and the exclusion of Indians from any part in the conduct of government were factors which added to the growing discontent of the people. Indians were showing increasing

<sup>166</sup> Dr. Sukbir Chowdhary; *Growth of Nationalism in India*; Vol. I, p. 57

<sup>167</sup> ibid

<sup>168</sup> Dr. Sen S. P ( Ed.) *The Indian press*; Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1967, p. 12

<sup>169</sup> Tarachand; *History of Freedom Movement in India*; New Delhi; Publication Division,MPD Govt. of India, Vol.II, 1965,p.450.



interest in the exciting events which were happening abroad movements of unification and liberation in Germany and Italy<sup>170</sup>.

The ruling class put restraint on the people against Criticism of the Government with the exception of some liberal-minded Governor-Generals, like Metcalfe before 1857 and Ripon after 1857, most of them regarded the Indian Press as a nuisance, if not a positive source of anxiety as expressed by Sir George Campbell<sup>171</sup>.

The out-break of 1857 laid down a line of demarcation between colonial rule in India and anti- colonial movement in India. The message of 1857-58 sustained the later movement infused courage into the hearts of its fighters, furnished historical bedrock upon which this scheme of the great struggle against British rule can be framed. **The Revolution of 1857 stands for sanctity and it moral stimulus for the freedom fighters**<sup>172</sup>.

Vernacular Press had been exercising much influence even before 1857, and Urdu Newspapers, in particular, had played an important role during the Revolt. After 1857, the progress was rapid in spite of the opposition which they encountered from the rulers. *The Government* was particularly apprehensive of the influence of these papers. Their actual circulation was not large, but that was not a true measure of the extent of their influence as each paper was read by many readers<sup>173</sup>. Again, these papers directly affected the opinion of a class of readers who were not sophisticated by English education. In schools and who responded immediately to whatever the papers said. It is also a fact that their

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<sup>170</sup> *ibid.* pp. 445-55

<sup>171</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> *ibid*

<sup>173</sup> *ibid*

comments were sharper and rankled more than those of the contemporary English newspaper<sup>174</sup>.

As such, the liberty of the unrestrained writing was thought incompatible with the state of insurrection and the Government for a more absolute and summary control over the press felt an urgent necessity. The result was the Act No. XV of 1857, applicable to all newspapers in India, European and Native, which remained operative for one year only. Instantaneous action was taken against some vernacular newspapers of Bengal ( the Sultan-UI-Akhbar, the Doorbeen and the Samachar Sudharshan, the first two being written in Persian and the last one in Hindi and Bengali) as also against some Anglo-Indian newspapers( the friend of India and the Bengal Hurkaru)<sup>175</sup>.

. Rev. J. Long writes in the report, *That the statistics of the native press in India have been regarded with attention by Government we have evidence in the facts- that the Court of Directors sent out many years ago a standing order to the Secretaries of Government in India to transmit to them regularly copies of new vernacular works. In 1856 they directed to have the India-House Library supplied with one copy of each work of every description in Original Bengali published by the Native Presses of Calcutta.*<sup>176</sup>

To probe into the native press as the *exponent of Indian mind* became a matter of greater importance after the outbreak of the Mutiny. As Rev. Long writes *Surely the mental food of the Indian people ought also to be examined, as also its purveyor, the native press. The opinion of the Native Press may often be regarded as the safety valve which gives warning of danger; thus had the Delhi*

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<sup>174</sup> *ibid*

<sup>175</sup> Margarita Barns; *Indian Press*, p. 256

<sup>176</sup> Reports on the National Press in Bengal: Selections from the records of bengal Government No.. 32, 1859

*Native newspapers of January 1857 been consulted by European functionaries, they would have been in them how the Natives were rife for revolt, and expecting aid from Persia and Russia.*<sup>177</sup> Reporting on the native papers became regular affairs with the Bengal Government since 1862-63 when reporters were first established in lower Bengal with the sanction of the Government of India for bringing their tone and spirit under the cognizance of the Government<sup>178</sup>. There were many vernacular journals and newspapers in Bengal in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century, some of which proved to be temporary while others continued to exist for a considerable period of time.<sup>179</sup> The Indian-owned press, during this period, became more and more nationalistic in attitude and critical in tone and posed serious problems for the authorities to deal with. A new section (Section 124-A ) was added to the Indian Penal Code in 1870, making penal all seditious writings and speeches( i.e. those which were calculated to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government). The Wahabi Conspiracy of 1869-70 had been the immediate occasion for such addition<sup>180</sup>.

## 2.5 English Newspapers:

In 1861, the *Times of India* were established after the amalgamation of the *Standard*, the *Telegraph* and the *Courier* with the *Bombay Times*. It justified itself by pointing out the importance of Bombay as a port and the capital city of India in its first issue. It said : *Imperial in its resources whether -for commerce or for war and the natural emporium and capital of Asia- there is a future before Bombay that the most sanguine cannot adequately forecast. While the city is imperial, its press has hitherto been provincial, and in announcing ourselves*

<sup>177</sup> *ibid*

<sup>178</sup> Extract of Letter No234-T, dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1862- Home ( Public) A- Sept. 1897- No. 145-146. )

as the *Times of India* we are simply endeavouring to keep up with the march of events.<sup>181</sup>

The *Pioneer* was started from Allahabad in 1865. It was regarded as the mouthpiece of the official mind and an organ of the Anglo-Indian community. The *Civil and Military Gazette* established in Simla in 1872 and transferred to Lahore in 1876, was the advocate of the interests of the services, military and civil. Rudyard Kipling, who later rose to fame, spent his early days as the Assistant Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer*<sup>182</sup>. In 1875, Robert Knight bought the *Friend of India* and founded the *Statesman* with the help of twenty-four English merchants of Calcutta. The *Madras Mail* and the *Madras Standard* served the Anglo-Indian community in the Presidency. *The Standard*, which was started in 1877, passed into Indian hands in 1892, and became 'an independent, radical and vigorous advocate of the Indian point of view'<sup>183</sup>. *Hindu Patriot* was the first newspaper, which was owned and edited by Indian, Girish Chandra Ghosh. The successor of Girish Chandra Gosh was Harish Chandra Mukherji who assumed its editorial charge in 1855. He was fearless and dynamic and prolific writer in exposing the tyranny of the planters and in bringing relief to the harassed peasants<sup>184</sup>. On his death in 1861, Kristodas Pal became its editor. He was a typical product of English education. He admired British rule and professed the philosophy of British liberalism. Under his

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<sup>179</sup> Tarachand; *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, 1961, pp. 450-455

<sup>180</sup> *ibid*

<sup>181</sup> *ibid*

<sup>182</sup> *ibid*

<sup>183</sup> *ibid*, p. 451

<sup>184</sup> *ibid*

influence the *Hindu Patriot* came to represent the interests of the upper middle class of the landlords of Bengal<sup>185</sup>.

As a check to the *Patriot*, Girish Chandra Ghosh started the *Bengalee* in 1868, to voice the wants and views of the ryots. Surendra Nath Banerjee, who had been a contributor to the paper, acquired it in 1879 and made it the leading paper of India, a fear-less critic of the Government and an unwearied advocate of Indian claim.<sup>186</sup> In 1861 the *Indian Mirror*, another paper of progressive views, came out, under the editorship of Man Mohan Ghose, with the financial assistance of Debendranath Tagore. With him was associated. Keshab Chandra Sen<sup>187</sup>. He edited the paper for some time. The paper attained great popularity under Narendra Nath Sen. The Ghosh brothers- Sisir Kumar, Basant Kumar and Hemant Kumar- started the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as a Bengali journal in 1868. It moved to Calcutta in 1872 and in 1878 became an English paper to circumvent the provisions of the Vernacular Press Act. The *Patrika* was outspoken in its criticism of Government measures<sup>188</sup>.

Madras was crawling in its early ventures. The *crescent*, the organ of the Native Association, the *Native Public Opinion* sponsored by Sir T. Madhava Rao, Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao and others, and the *Madrasee*, were all short-lived. But the need for an organ of public opinion was imperative and so in 1878, the *Hindu* was founded<sup>189</sup>. It was soon established in the esteem of the public under the distinguished direction of G. Subramania Iyer. The *Madras Standard* started in 1877 as an Anglo -Indian paper, but passed into the hands of

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<sup>185</sup> *ibid*

<sup>186</sup> *ibid*

<sup>187</sup> *ibid*

<sup>188</sup> *ibid*

<sup>189</sup> *ibid*, p.452

G. Pillai in 1892, who followed a radical line. K. Natarajan established the *Indian Social Reformer*, which became a staunch –protagonist of social reform<sup>190</sup>

In the Bombay Presidency, business and commercial pursuits brought the European and Indian merchants—Parsis, Bohras, Gujaratis—close together and the Times of India represented<sup>191</sup>

In 1857, Canning had sought to control the newspapers by the Press Act. But it failed to achieve its object and then Lawrence decided to establish an official news agency to answer the criticism of the Indian Press, The scheme could not be implemented and was abandoned. However, an Act to regulate – the printing presses **and Newspapers and for the registration of books passed in 1867**<sup>192</sup>. It aimed at punishing writers and speakers, who were accused of sedition. Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan started the Som Prakash in 1858. It enjoyed the patronage of the great scholar and social reformer, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar . After Vidyabhusan, its noted editor was **Sibnath Sastri; a leader of the Brahma Samaj**<sup>193</sup>.

The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* was founded by Sisir Kumar Ghosh in 1868 and was conducted in Bengali till the passing of the Vernacular press Act in 1878. Its place was filled by the *Anand Bazar patrika*. It was an independent paper, which expressed its views frankly and fearlessly. The Sulab Samachar was the first cheap paper which cost one paise a copy. It was launched by the Indian Reform Association in 1876, under the direction of Keshab Chandra Sen. The *Sudharani* was issued with the blessings of Bankim Chandra Chatterji.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> *ibid*

<sup>191</sup> *ibid*

<sup>192</sup> *ibid*

<sup>193</sup> *ibid*, p. 454

<sup>194</sup> *ibid*

In addition to these there were published a number of important monthlies and fortnightlies which served to spread enlightenment. They were mainly concerned with literary, scientific and religious subjects. Among them were: the *Rahashya Sandarba* (1863); organ of the Calcutta school Book society and the Vernacular Literature Society; the *Siksha Darpan* (1864), which was replaced by the *Education Gazette* in 1868; the *Banga Darshan* (1872) edited by Bankimchandra Chatterjee in 1868; the *Bharati* (1877), which was produced by Dwijendranath Tagore and helped by Rabindranath Tagore and the other writers of note. The growth of influence of the Press was not regarded with favour by the Government<sup>195</sup>. The Bengal Administration Report of 1875 wrote:

*Blame is constantly attributed to the British Government and administration. Impractical suggestions are frequently made, a disposition to find fault with everything that is done, and to be pleased with nothing, is sometimes manifested; an increasing jealousy is evinced regarding the bearing and demeanour of British people towards the natives; there is a tendency inflated aspirations out of visionary ideas without due regard to the sobering influences of deep knowledge and practical thought. It went on to add: A very general desire is gaining ground among the natives to assert their rights according to the declared principles of British rule and to urge their just claims to a full share in all the best things which the public services and government organization can afford. An increasing pride finds expression among them in respect to the achievements of the Hindu mind which is yet assured concomitant of national improvement. In*

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<sup>195</sup> *ibid*



*Short there is a short of intellectual restlessness and mental fermentation going on*<sup>196</sup>.

In western India, a similar development was taking place. In 1871, there were 29 Marati and 26 Gujarati papers in the Presidency and 3 Urdu, 1 Persian. Among Marati papers, the *Indu Prakash* (1862), the *Native Opinion* (1864), and the *Deenabandhu* (1877) were influential<sup>197</sup>. The *Indu Prakash*, a bilingual paper, was the mouthpiece of progressive writers and reformers and, among its contributors and supporters were Ranade, Bandarker, Telang, Chandavarker and Vishnu Shastri pandit. The *Deenabhandu* was the organ of the Satyashodak Samaja established by Phule, a radical social reformer, and edited by Krishna Rao Balekar. The paper was the champion of the backward classes whose ignorance, poverty and ill health received its special attention. It was not infavour of political reforms, which, it, thought, would benefit the upper classes at the cost of the lower<sup>198</sup>. The *Native Opinion* was a bilingual weekly. Its editor, Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik, was a conservative who challenged some of the reform policies of the *Indu Prakash* school. Bombay, like Bengal, owned a cheap Marathi weekly, *Dnyan Chakshu of Poona*, whose annual subscription was only one rupee and two annas.<sup>199</sup> Other influential papers of Bombay were the *Rast Gofar* and *Guzerat Mitra*, which contained terrific leaders, but at the same time, inculcated a sound sense in a graphic manner. Of the press of the Bombay Presidency Digby wrote:

*The energetic Anglicized Parsee population of Bombay, and general martial character of the inhabitants of the states under the direct rule or protection of the*

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<sup>196</sup> *ibid*, p.455

<sup>197</sup> *ibid*, 456

<sup>198</sup> *ibid*

<sup>199</sup> *ibid*

*Presidency Governor, introduce us to vernacular newspapers whose stamp is altogether different to the publication of the Bengali, and yet, properly treated, they are not one with more dangerous to the ruling powers, than is the softer speech of the editors of the Eastern India Patrika and Prakash*<sup>200</sup>.

*The Bombay Administration report: ( 1875-76), commenting on the Marathi Press, pointed out its concern at the advocacy of constitutional rights for Indians, and complained: Other proceedings have been condemned freely such as the enlargement of the powers of the Secretary of state and of the Indian Executive, the rumoured restrictions of the liberty of the Press and the attempts of Manchester to procure the repeal of the import duty on cotton goods*<sup>201</sup>

*The report noted that, while the tone of the Bombay papers was moderate and showed signs of reflection, that of Poona was constantly hostile to the Government. It said: The general purport of their writing was that the English by tyranny and fraud had reached the acme of prosperity and the duty of the oppressed people was to rise and expel them from the patrimony of the Hindu*<sup>202</sup>.

In the Madras Presidency, if the progress of the Indian papers written in English was slow, the story of the Indian-language papers was rather disappointing. The Christian missionaries dominated the Press, but their papers devoted to the various propaganda. Next to them came Muslim journals, which accounted for as many as one-third of the number. Lord Hobart, Governor from 1872 to 1875, gave much encouragement to Muslim papers. About them it is said that they were dull, containing *not a line of original matter*.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Digby W. ;*The Native Papers and Ceylon, Calcutta Review*, LXV, 1877, p.373

<sup>201</sup> Bombay Administration Report, 1877-78; pp 315-16

<sup>202</sup> Bombay Administration report, 1877-78; pp 425-26

<sup>203</sup> Tarachand p. 457

In Upper India which consisted of the present Uttar Pradesh, The Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Berar, journalism was growing vigorously on lines similar to those of Bengal and Bombay. Among Indian language papers, Urdu predominated. These papers manifested all the characteristics of a showy loyalty, which was largely due to fear of the British Raj or the desire to win the patronage of Government officials. Among these were the *Koh-i-Noor* started about 1850, and *Akhbar-i-Am* issued in 1870.<sup>204</sup>

The position of the, Indian Press during this phase of development, to quote William Digby, was as follows: In 1875, there were 374 Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular newspapers in circulation, as against 147 English papers--102 were published in Bengal, 86 in Bombay, 65 in the North-Western Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), 58 in Madras, and 63 in Punjab, Sind, the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh) and Rajasthan combined<sup>205</sup> The Indian-language newspapers had altogether a much larger circulation, and the number of their readers was increasing. As Roper Lethbridge pointed out, *if a single copy reaches a village or even a large collection of villages, its contents will soon become known to nearly every man residing in the neighbourhood*<sup>206</sup>.

## 2.6 The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 :

The Government of India, was against the Indian Press, and the British bureaucracy and non-official Anglo-Indians were quick to take resentment at any strong criticism and to counsel drastic measures for curbing the Press, even though the papers loudly protested their loyalty<sup>207</sup>. In 1873, Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, suggested to the Government of India the

<sup>204</sup> *ibid*

<sup>205</sup> Digby W; *Calcutta Review*, LXV, 1877. p.362

<sup>206</sup> McCully T. B.; *English Education and Origin of the Indian Nation*, p.305

<sup>207</sup> Tarachand , p. 458

necessity of passing a law to punish summarily and severely without the formality of a long prosecution, those who wrote and published mischievous and seditious on 'the Government'<sup>208</sup>. In 1875, *Malhar Rao Gaikwad*, Maharaja, of Baroda, was tried and deposed. The Indian Press was much excited and the *Indu Prakash* of Bombay went so far as to question the suzerainty of the British Government over the Indian States. This irritated the ruling circles and the cry to suppress seditious writings of the Indian-language papers was raised. Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, inclined to the view of the Pall Mall Gazette that various *articles in the Native Press are not only calculated to bring the Government into contempt, but palliate, if they do not absolutely justify as a duty, the assassination of British officers*, and, therefore, suggested the prosecution of the papers under the Indian Penal Code. The legal advisers of the Government found that prosecution under the existing laws was of doubtful success in convicting the accused<sup>209</sup>.

Lord Lytton then took up the matter, and came to the conclusion, that provision should be made for taking security from the proprietors of the Native Press. The Indian papers naturally condemned the proposal, and even the London Times did not approve of it<sup>210</sup>.

Bengal's Lieutenant-Governor pressed for legislation on the ground that there was a growing tendency to criticise the works of Government and the intentions and motives of public officers in a spirit which was distinctly disloyal, and sometimes even seditious<sup>211</sup>. Upon this, the Government, of India' decided to act and on March 14, 1878, Lord Lytton hustled the Council into passing the

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<sup>208</sup> *ibid*

<sup>209</sup> *ibid*

<sup>210</sup> *Bengalee*, April 15, 1876, Quotes the Times

<sup>211</sup> *ibid*, 18 Aug., 1877.

Vernacular Press Act.<sup>212</sup> Meetings of protest, were held in which the Act was denounced. A petition was presented to the Parliament inviting its intervention. The Liberal Party, under the lead of Gladstone, condemned the Act. At last, on the transfer of the Government in England from the Conservative to the Liberal Party and the nomination of Lord Ripon as Governor-General of India, a re-examination of the Act was undertaken.<sup>213</sup> Lord Ripon, after scrutiny, found -that there was little justification for the law. He wrote to the Secretary of State:

*This is a great satisfaction to me, and I hope now that in a very short time the Indian Statute Book will be cleansed from that wretched piece of legislation.*

*I did not expect to get the matter settled so easily, as the good majority of the Local Authorities consulted were in favour of some amendment of the Penal Code. The fact is that the Indian official regards the Press as an evil, necessary perhaps, but to be kept within as narrow limits as possible; he has no real-feelings of the benefits of free discussion.*<sup>214</sup>

#### *The Press and the National Movement*

The Press was happy as Government repealed the Act of 1878 till the forthcoming issue i.e. Albert Bill of 1883, the age of consent bill of 1891, and the Council Reform Act of 1892, were some of the emissaries which created heart burning and dissatisfaction. The Hindu- Muslim riots which broke out in 1893 and which were attributed by one community as due to the pro- Muslim attitude of the officials and by the other as the effect of undue interference in the exercise of their rights, led to further estrangement between the Government and the people<sup>215</sup>. *During the, second phase of its history, the Press became an*

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<sup>212</sup> Tarachand, p. 458

<sup>213</sup> *ibid*

<sup>214</sup> *ibid*, 459

<sup>215</sup> *ibid* 459

*important political institution, Its influence extended over people living even in the remote villages, for, whom it became, the principal means of political education*<sup>216</sup>.

The Indian newspapers were, in the nature of things, an activity of the educated middle-class. They were owned, managed and edited by the members of this class. Through them, the middle class acquired influence over the whole of the country and in fact began legitimately to lay claim to represent all India which the rulers strongly resented and thoroughly deprecated. Unfortunately, the facts were against them, and their denial led, before the end of the period, to a violent change in the temper and disposition of the Press and to a loud demand for independence from British rule- a demand which has been heard debilitated during the nineteenth century<sup>217</sup>.

## 2.7 The Press at the end of the XIX Century:

India regarded British sovereignty over India as of real benefit, for it promoted India's solidarity and advanced its material and cultural interests. But, at the same time, a great many papers were dissatisfied with the administration of the Indian Government. They criticised *the* Government's foreign policy, which led to expensive wars, inflation of expenditure, higher taxes and starvation of works of social and material welfare like education, health, irrigation, etc. The exclusion of Indians from the higher services and the employment of expensive British personnel, the galling racial discrimination between Indians and Europeans, and the total denial of the Indians' claim to a share in policy-making and legislation which implied complete lack of confidence in their intellectual

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<sup>216</sup> *ibid* 460

<sup>217</sup> *ibid.* p. 460

capacity and moral integrity, were subjects of vehement and sustained disapprobation<sup>218</sup>.

The nineteenth century saw the remarkable growth of the effectiveness of the Indian Press and its, increasing influence, among the Indian people. In every province, Indian owned English papers supplied news and views to the English-educated- class of the province, and brought the educated- classes in all the provinces of India into a single community which shared common thoughts and emotions. The Indian-language papers spread the same ideas and sentiments among much wiser sections of the people. The two together moulded the country into a national unity<sup>219</sup>.

Of all the provinces of India, Bengal was in the van of progress. In 1881, the number of its papers was 76 (28 in Bengali), but in 1906, it had grown to 111 (65 in Bengali). *Of the English papers, during the period, the outstanding in importance and influence was the Bengalee, edited by Surendra Nath Banerjee; and then came the Amrita Bazar Patrika, the Hindu Patriot and the Indian Mirror. In 1903, another English paper joined their ranks, namely, the New India of Bipin Chandra Pal*<sup>220</sup>.

To the list of important Bengali weekly papers of the period from 1857 to 1880, were added *Sanjivani (1883), Bangabasi (1890), Hitabadi (1891), and Basumati (1896)*. A daily Bengali paper, *Dainik, came out in 1885*<sup>221</sup>.

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Uttar Pradesh), the number of papers published in 1884 was 95. Among them, 76 were in Urdu, 12 in Hindi and 5 in Hindi-Urdu. In 1900, the number rose to 109, of which. 70 were in Urdu, 32

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<sup>218</sup> *ibid.* p. 461

<sup>219</sup> *ibid.* p. 462

<sup>220</sup> *ibid.* p 462

<sup>221</sup> *ibid.* p 462

in Hindi and 2 in Hindi-Urdu. It is noteworthy that Hindi journalism was rapidly advancing while that in Urdu was stagnant<sup>222</sup>.

The reports from Madras do not indicate any intense journalistic enterprise, but there is no reason to doubt that the progress there was similar to that in the other provinces. In 1882, the *Swadeshmitram* -was established by G. Subramania Iyer and soon became the leading Tamil paper which supported all progressive causes. Among Telugu papers, *Vivekavardhini* was a champion of social reform, and *Andhra Prakashika* dealt with general affairs including politics. In 1900, the number of newspapers and journals in the South stood at 161; 52 were Tamil, 32 Telugu, 17 Kannada, 27 Malayalam and 31 Hindustani. The leading amongst them, besides the three mentioned above, were *Deshabhimani*, *Lokopakari*, *Vikata Duta*, *Prapanchn Mitram*, *Kerala Patrika* and *Manorathna*<sup>223</sup>.

The attitude of the Government towards journalistic activity continued to be one of suspicion and displeasure<sup>224</sup>. At first, the Government did not take the new trend seriously. The report on the Press for 1885 considered the tone and style of the writings in the Indian papers objectionable, but nevertheless of little -importance, in as much as they followed the fashions and manners characteristic of contemporary<sup>225</sup> Bengali literary activity, which preferred hyperbole and exaggeration to moderation. The real trouble, according to the reporters, was want of information concerning the Government intentions and the remedy was to supply 'necessary' facts and explanations<sup>226</sup>.

In 1897, the Bombay Presidency was in the fray of a crisis. Widespread famine and outbreak of pestilence convulsed the Presidency. In an atmosphere

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<sup>222</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>224</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>225</sup> *ibid.*



surcharged with suspicions, the officer on plague duty in Poona was murdered. The Anglo-Indian Press was wild with rage and raised the alarm of British dominion in danger<sup>227</sup>. The Government was thrown into a panic. The city of Poona was placed under punitive police and searches for hidden arms were carried out. Tilak was prosecuted for incitement to violence and spread of disaffection against the Government, and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. Section 124A of the Penal Code was redrafted and made more stringent<sup>228</sup>. The Government of Bombay, in its letter to the Government of India, observed : *The most unsatisfactory feature in the situation in the increase in the circulation of the newspapers which are most violent in their tone. Thus the Gurakhi- twice convicted... has a daily circulation of 5000 copies. Similarly the issues of the Kesari have risen from 12,000 to 13,000 while the Kal which is the most malignant and audacious of all the newspapers published in the Presidency, found subscribers for 2500 copies.*<sup>229</sup>

## 2.8 The Bombay Report on the Press in 1903:

**Classified Indian journals under the following categories<sup>230</sup>.**

(1) Marathi newspapers which are chiefly in the hands of Chitpavan Brahmans and are animated by a spirit of hostility to British rule.

(2) Newspapers which support the Congress propoganda and voice the aspirations of *Young India* to increased political rights.

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<sup>226</sup> *ibid*

<sup>227</sup> *ibid.* p,465

<sup>228</sup> *ibid*

<sup>229</sup> Jenkins J.L; Acting Secretary, Home Dept. Got. Of India ; Pol. Dept., Aug. 23, 1901. No. 5963

<sup>230</sup> Home Dept. Public Part B, Progs, June 1904, Nos. 138-39

- (3) (a) Newspapers which are moderate and fairly loyal in their tone and take a sober and non-partisan view of the questions they discuss; and
- (b) Papers *which* consistently support the trend of British policy and are thoroughly loyal in their tone.
- (4) Publications which do not come under any of the above categories and are generally of an innocuous character."

The report had, however, to acknowledge that the newspapers in the hands of the Brahmins- Kesari, Kal etc., were very influential and had a very wide circulation<sup>231</sup>.

North-Western Provinces ( U.P ) Press took its cue from the Bengal and Bombay journal, but was moderate in its expression. Among the vernacular Press, the Oudh Akhbar, the Hindi Hindustan of raja Rampal Singh and the Aligarh Institute Gazette, and among the English papers the Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar were two of the best got-up papers. The tone of the Citizens continued to be the same, generally finding fault with the Government. The tone of the Madras Press was temperate. The Hindu and the Madras Standard gave the lead, expressing their views in a moderate manner. The Indian-language Press was like-wise generally mild in its criticism<sup>232</sup>.

The growth of the Indian nationalism started in the nineteenth century. Political unification of the country, destruction of India's old social and economic system, the beginning of modern trade and industry and the rise of new social

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<sup>231</sup> Tarachand, p.466

<sup>232</sup> *ibid*

classes laid the basis of nationalism. The social and religious revolts contributed to the growth of nationalism<sup>233</sup>.

Several other factors helped in the growth of national consciousness amongst Indian people. The exploitation of India by the British rules and dislocation caused by their policies worsened the condition of the already impoverished masses. There was a series of famines which took a toll of millions of human lives due to the indifference of the autocratic British administration<sup>234</sup>. The British government made use of Indian resources to pursue its imperialist aims in other parts of Asia. The Governor General (now also the Viceroy) was the supreme authority in the country, responsible only to British parliament thousands of miles away. Executive and legislative councils, which consisted of persons, assisted him, mostly Englishmen appointed by him. Indian people had no say in the administration of the country. The Indian civil Service, which ran the administration of the country also, consisted mostly of Englishmen. Though Indians could appear for competitive examinations, which were held in England, and they could afford to appear for them<sup>235</sup>.

## 2.9 Early political Movements and the Indian National Congress:

A number of political organizations came into existence in the later half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1851, the British Indian Association was formed in Bengal to represent Indian grievances to the British government<sup>236</sup>. In 1876, Surendranath Banerjee founded the Indian Association in Bengal. DadaBhai Naoroji had started the Bombay Association. Some of the other associations

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<sup>233</sup> *ibid*

<sup>234</sup> *ibid*

<sup>235</sup> *ibid*

were the Madras Native Association formed in 1852, the Puna Sarvajanik Sabha and the Madras Mahajan Sabha set up in 1870 and 1884 respectively. Attempts were made to form an All India organization. In 1883, Surendranath Banerjee called All-India National Conference which was described by its President as the first step to a National Parliament. In 1885, Indian National Congress was founded<sup>237</sup>. In the founding of the Congress, a retired English civil servant, A.O. Hume, played an important role. The Governor General, Lord Dufferine blessed the Congress. He thought the Congress would be a good forum for the government to keep itself informed regarding the best Indian Public opinion. Soon however the Congress was to become a revolutionary organization leading the Indian people to independence<sup>238</sup>.

Even at the first session of the congress held in Bombay, under the Presidentship of W.C. Bannerjee all regions of India were represented. Persons attending the session belonged to different religious faiths. The problems that were discussed concerned all Indians, irrespective of their religion, caste language and region. Thus the Indian nationalist movement, which the congress represented, was from the start, an all-India secular movement embracing every section of Indian society<sup>239</sup>. It was attended by such eminent person as Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, W.C. Banerjee, G Subramanya, Aiyer, P. Ananda Charlu, Behramji Malabari and N.G. Chandavarkar.<sup>240</sup> Some of the early demands of the congress were for elected representatives in the provincial and central legislative councils, holding the Indian Civil Service Examinations in

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<sup>236</sup> Freedom Struggle of India

<sup>237</sup> *ibid*

<sup>238</sup> *ibid*

<sup>239</sup> *ibid*

<sup>240</sup> *ibid*

India and raising the minimum age of entry, the reduction of military expenditure, the spread of education, industrial development of India, relief in agricultural indebtedness and the amendment of the Arms Act<sup>241</sup>.

The leadership of the Congress, which included leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, M.G. Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, R.C. Dutta and Pheroza Shah Mehta, had faith in justness of their demands and in the British government. They believed that, as soon as the British government was convinced of the justness of their demands these would be accepted. They wanted not separation but association with British Government<sup>242</sup>. In the early period, the congress was dominated by what were called 'Moderates'. Its demand were primarily demands of the educated middle class and rising Indian industrialists. However, it played an extremely significant role in the early stages of the growth of the Indian nationalist movement. Its emphasis on national unity, its criticism of the drain of Indian wealth, its demand for representative institutions and Indianization of services, its opposition to repressive measures like the Arms Act and its constant underscoring of people's poverty as the basic factor of Indian politics helped to put the nationalist movement on sound foundations. This phase of the movement lasted till about 1905<sup>243</sup>.

Even the moderate demands of the Congress were not accepted by British Government. The non-fulfilment demands combined with the rising awareness among the people led to the growth of a radical wing in the Congress, which advanced the movement further. A new phase began in the history of the Indian

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<sup>241</sup> *ibid*

<sup>242</sup> *ibid*

<sup>243</sup> *ibid*

nationalist movement. New demands were made and new methods of struggle adopted with increased mass mobilization<sup>244</sup>.

At the turn of the century, a new trend developed which has been called 'Extremism'. Under the influence of the new trend the nationalist movement gave up the practice of merely issuing appeals to the government and adopted new radical ways of political agitation. The demands put forward also assumed a more radical character. Several new factors contributed to this<sup>245</sup>.

### 2.10 Rise of Extremism:

Curzon came to India as the new Viceroy in December 1898. During his period of Viceroyalty, he imposed extremely unpopular measures which intensified the opposition to British rule. He had said that he would assist in the 'Peaceful demise' of the Congress. When he left India, the Congress and the Nationalist movement were stronger than ever before and had, in fact, assumed new dimensions<sup>246</sup>. His most unpopular act was the partition of Bengal. The object of the measure was given out as administrative convenience. The leaders could clearly see that it was actually measure to divide the people. East Bengal was to be a Muslim majority province and the West a Hindu majority province. The partition was designed to disrupt Hindu - Muslim unity and thus weaken the nationalist movement<sup>247</sup>. However, the effect of the measure belied the hopes of the British Government. It provoked an agitation and such angry reaction against British rule that the partition measure had to be annulled<sup>248</sup>.

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<sup>244</sup> *ibid*

<sup>245</sup> *ibid*

<sup>246</sup> *ibid*

<sup>247</sup> *ibid*

<sup>248</sup> *ibid*

International events also contributed to the growth of vigorous nationalism. Russia was defeated by Japan in 1905. This was the first victory over an European Nation. Although Japan herself was turning into imperialist gains in China, Japan's victory gave confidence to the Indian nationalist in their struggle against Britain. the revolution had aimed at the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy but had been suppressed. The revolution also influenced the thinking of Indian nationalist<sup>249</sup>.

The group, which led the 'Extremists' in the Congress, consisted of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Rajpat Rai. It was usually referred to as "*Lal Bal Pal*". They extolled the past of India in order to inculcate self-confidence and national pride in the Indian people<sup>250</sup>. Tilak had been active in the Congress since 1890. In 1897 he was prosecuted and sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment for his seditious writing and speeches. He had started a newspaper 'Kesari' in Marathi through which he conducted his nationalist campaigns. He revived the 'Ganapati and Shivaji' festivals and made use of them for arousing national feelings. He exhorted people to action which according to him, was the true message of the Bhagwat Gita . In this period the 'Extremist' wing came to be more and more concerned with arousing pride in Indian Culture<sup>251</sup>. In Bengal the cult of the Goddess Kali was adopted. The extremist condemned the old leadership of the Congress for their praise of Western culture and their faith in the British Government<sup>252</sup>.

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<sup>249</sup> *ibid*

<sup>250</sup> *ibid*

<sup>251</sup> *ibid*

<sup>252</sup> *ibid*

There was a wide divergence between the views of the extremist and the moderates on the means to achieve political rights. Tilak summed up the difference thus *Political rights will have to be fought for. The moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be got by strong pressure*<sup>253</sup>. The extremist leaders drew masses into the struggle, particularly in urban areas. The mobilization of the people, particularly the youth for the struggle was a major contribution of the extremists<sup>254</sup>.

### 2.11 The Boycott and Swadeshi Movements :

The partition of Bengal created widespread indignation all over the country. In the turbulent atmosphere that followed the boycott and Swadeshi movements started. Swadeshi literally meaning of one's own country, aimed at the promotion of indigenous industry. The Swadeshi and boycott movements spread to many parts of country. Shops selling foreign goods were picketed. Students played an important part in the Swadeshi and boycott movement. Meetings were held all over the country and associations were formed<sup>255</sup>. The government resorted to repressive measures. Meeting were banned, the chanting of the national song **Bande Mataram** composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was prohibited, recognition was withdrawn from schools and grants were stopped, processionists were lathi-charged and various attempts were made to strike terror in the people. However, all the measures of oppression were of no avail. The popular upheaval was so intense that many people came to believe that the end of British rule was near. It was at the first time that Tilak wrote 'Repression is repression, if it is legal, it must be resisted peacefully; but if it is illegal, it must be illegally met'.

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<sup>253</sup> *ibid*

<sup>254</sup> *ibid*



He also gave Congress the slogan *Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it*. The movement continued into the year 1907. The nationalist newspaper were banned and their editors prosecuted. Many leaders were imprisoned<sup>256</sup>.

In 1907, the 23rd session of the Congress was held at Surat. Here the Moderates and the extremists came into conflict. The *Moderates* wanted to modify the resolutions Swadeshi and the boycott passed at Calcutta session in the previous year. They also wanted to write into the constitution of the congress a clause that self-government was to be achieved through constitutional means and by reforming the existing system of administration. They were opposed the intensification of the movement. Tilak tried to capture the leadership of the Congress. There ensued disorderly scenes and session broke up. The two group later met separately. Leadership of Congress remained in the hands of moderate group. The 'extremist' worked separately until the reunion in 1916<sup>257</sup>.

Meanwhile, the repressive measures of the government continued. The repression was particularly brutal in, Maharashtra, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. In 1907 the Seditious meeting Act was passed to prevent the holding of meeting 'Likely to promote the disturbance of public tranquillity'. In 1910, the Indian Press Act was passed which gave the authorities wide power to punish the editor of any paper which publish the matter which in their view was incitement rebellion<sup>258</sup>. The government deported people without trial under a century old law. A number of newspapers were banned and leaders imprisoned and deported. Tilak was sentenced to six years imprisonment deported to Mandalay for two articles which

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<sup>255</sup> *ibid*

<sup>256</sup> *ibid*

<sup>257</sup> *ibid*

<sup>258</sup> *ibid*

he had published in his paper *Kesari*. His arrest was widely resented and led to one of the earliest strikes in the history of the India by the textile workers of Bombay.<sup>259</sup> Thus in the first decade of the twentieth century the nationalist movement entered a new phase. More and more people were drawn into it. And they were no longer satisfied by appeals to the government. The association of religion with the movements in some places encouraged communal thinking and proved harmful.<sup>260</sup> Tilak was preaching sedition through his paper *Kesari*. *Kesari* was doing matchless service to the cause of militant nationalism. *Kesari* published an article of Tilak justifying the assassination. The publication of 15 June, 1897, led to the trial and conviction of Tilak<sup>261</sup>. Newspapers: Some of the Indian newspapers like *Kesari*, *Kal*, *Barisal Hitaishi* and others began attacking the Government. The Ghosh brothers (Aurobindo and Barindra) with the help of their followers, started various papers the most popular of which was the *Jugantar*. The Journal began to pour forth racial hatred in March 1906, attained a circulation of 7000 in 1907, and rapidly reached a still wider range before it ceased to appear in 1908, in consequences of the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act. Its character and teaching evoked the chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, to observe, *They exhibit burning hatred of the British race, they breath revolution in every line, they point out how revolution is to be effected.*<sup>262</sup> Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta, brother of Swami Vivekannanda, the editor of the *Jugantar*, was prosecuted for sedition. The *Jugantar*, made its first appearance in March, 1906. In the words of Upendranath, a co-worker of Barindra, The *Jugantar* sold like hot cakes, one thousand, five thousand. Ten thousand copies

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<sup>259</sup> *ibid*

<sup>260</sup> *ibid*

<sup>261</sup> *ibid*

<sup>262</sup> Report, Sedition Committee, Chap. II, para, 29

every week- that was how the sale leapt up in the course of a year. Aurobindo wrote in *Bande Mataram* in April, 1907, *Just as no representation, no taxation was the watchword of the American agitators, similarly I say ' no control, no-cooperation.*<sup>263</sup> Aurobindo Ghosh was the editor of *Bande Mataram*. The *Bande Mataram* commented bitterly on the prosecution of the editor of the *Jugantar*. The *Bande Mataram* was also prosecuted on 26<sup>th</sup> august, 1907. In connection with the prosecution of the *Bande Mataram*, Bipin Chandra Pal was also awarded six months simple imprisonment. Aurobindo was charged with sedition but no evidence came regarding the fact that he was the editor as such he was acquitted., though the printer was convicted<sup>264</sup>. The paper of Brahma Bandhav Upadhyay, *Sandhya* was also prosecuted. The newspapers from south to the north which criticized the government were:<sup>265</sup>

1. Poona Vaibhav
2. Vihari
3. Nava Shakti
4. Karmayogin
5. Pratoda
6. Sayhayak
7. Peshwal
8. Hoonkar
9. Swaraj and
10. Desh Sevak.

Books: The revolutionaries devised an ideal literature for them. Books like the *Gita*, *Ananda Math*, *Lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi*, *Desher Katha*, *Swandhantar Itihasa*, *Bhavani Mandir*, *Mukti Kon Pathe*, and *Bartman Rajniti* were their staple

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<sup>263</sup> *ibid*

<sup>264</sup> Tilak

<sup>265</sup> *ibid*

food<sup>266</sup> Aurobindo threw his whole weight into these movements. Indian National Congress was yet a Begging and petitioning institution.(p.24). The Congress session of Ahmedabad in 1902 afforded an ideal opportunity where Tilak and Aurobindo came into close contact. They were later joined by the Lion of the Punjab, Lala Lajpat Roy. Marata-Bengali- Punjabi collaboration for Indian freedom struggle strengthened.<sup>267</sup> Mahatma Gandhi wrote in 1908: *The real awakening of India took place after the partition of Bengal. The demand for the abrogation of the partition is tantamount to a demand for home rule. Hitherto we have considered that for the redress of grievances we must approach the Throne, and if we get no redress we must sit still, except that we may still petition. After partition, people saw that petition must be backed up by force, and that they must be capable of suffering. This new spirit must be considered to be the chief result of the partition. The spirit generated in Bengal has spread in the North to the Punjab and in the South to Cape Comorin.*<sup>268</sup>

Tilak's nationalism had a revivalist orientation. He wanted to bring to the message of the Vedas and the Gita for providing spiritual energy and moral enthusiasm to the Nation. A recovery of the healthy and vital traditions of the old culture of India was essential. He said: *A true nationalist desire to build on old foundations. Reform based on utter disrespect for the old does not appeal to him as constructive work. We do not want to Anglicize our institutions and so denationalize them in the name of social and political reforms.* Hence he pointed out that Shivaji and Ganapati festivals had been encouraged by him because they served to link contemporary events and movements with historical traditions.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> *ibid*

<sup>267</sup> *ibid*

<sup>268</sup> *ibid*, p.442

<sup>269</sup> *ibid*

Lokamanya wanted to substantiate the nationalistic movements in India by a strong cultural and religious revival of Hinduism. But he also accepted the economic arguments for nationalism. Dadabai Navroji made famous the *Drain Theory* in Indian Economics<sup>279</sup>. Both Lokamanya and Gokhale accepted that foreign imperialism resulted in the enormous *Drain of India's Resources*. Tilak held that the attainment of Swarajya would be a great victory for Indian Nationalism. Hence he gave to the Indians the Mantras: *Swarajya is the birthright of Indians*. Although in his speeches and writings Lokamanya always said that Swarajya did not imply the negation and severance of ultimate British sovereignty, still people knew that in his heart of hearts he always wanted complete independence. He once wrote that Swarajya is *the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity*<sup>280</sup>. He always pointed out that the path of the attainment of Swarajya was full of suffering and misery. During the Home rule days Lokamanya always was careful to state that he was not opposed to the King-Emperor but he only wanted to change structure and personnel of the bureaucracy. He confidently asserted that to preach against the despotism of the irresponsible bureaucracy was not sedition. Since he did not advocate the doing away with the King-Emperor, hence Bipin Chandra Pal says that Lokamanya was a believer in *Imperial federation* which would be composed of Great Britain, Ireland and Egypt and India and dominions each absolutely autonomous internally but combined for the purpose of protection and progress.<sup>272</sup> The *Kesari* and *Mahratta* extended the earliest support of such doughty patriots and brilliant writers as Chiplunkar, Agarkar, Tilak, Apte, Khadilkar, Kelkar and others. *They regarded journalism not as a profession but a mission for*

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<sup>279</sup> *ibid*

*propagating the gospel of nationalism.* Tilak, the relentless foes of the British Government, was the master-mind behind the twopapers, from 1889 to 1920.<sup>273</sup>

The *Kai*, edited by Shivaram Mahadev Paranjape, was the third member of the trio which strongly propagated nationalist views. They grew so much in popular favour that other papers like the *Indu Prakash* and *Myatt Prakash* were overshadowed. They changed the attitude of society. The cause of social reform received a set-back and the reformers were obliged to fight a losing battle against the advance of orthodoxy and politics.<sup>274</sup>

Both the *Kesari* and *Kai* had to suffer heavily for their independence and radicalism in political demands. The Secretary of the Government of Bombay, in forwarding the report of the year 1893 on the Indian Press, commented: *A wave of religious revivalism with its inevitable embitterment of social distinction has passed over Hindu society. Furious denunciations unsupported by a particle of evidence and a wild incontinence of language have characterised the least respectable organs of Hindu opinion, and attacks upon rival religious bodies have been transferred to the British Government which has endeavoured to uphold the law with, impartiality.*<sup>275</sup>

Right from the inception, the *Kesari*, and the *Mahratta* were committed to the democratic and the nationalistic ideology. The Government report on the Native Press (1882) regarded the *prevailing tone* of the *Kesari* as *unfriendly to the Government*<sup>276</sup>. Although Chiploonkar and Tilak had great veneration for the

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<sup>280</sup> *ibid*

<sup>272</sup> *ibid*

<sup>273</sup> *ibid*

<sup>274</sup> *ibid*

<sup>275</sup> Dr. Varma Vishwanath Prasad; *The Life and Philosophy of Lokamanya Tilak*, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, Agra; 1978. pp. 1-30.

<sup>276</sup> *ibid*

dominant ideas of Hindu culture, the Kesari, even before the establishment of the Indian National Congress wanted that the dissemination of patriotic sentiments should be achieved by the growth of English education and by a definite apprehension of the evils of an alien bureaucratic political structure.<sup>277</sup> In 1885, the Kesari wrote.<sup>278</sup>

*The birth of patriotism among us is due to British rule and English education. 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. If patriotism had been a part and parcel of our national character, it would have been found among those who are not Western-educated as well as among those who are. It was a natural quality of the ancient Greeks and Romans.. Our nascent patriotism is thus as yet exotic, it has not spread among all classes and communities. The Kesari has been dedicated to the propaganda of patriotic vitalise and creative nationalism.*

In India, the nineteenth century upsurge started first in Bengal. Secret societies: Bengal began to think in terms of secret organisation and underground activities for the attainment of independence. As such Raj Narayan Bose, Jyotindranath Tagore, Shivanatha Shastri, Bipen Chandra Pal, Surendra Nath Banerji, Sarala Bala Devi and others thought of launching a movement with pledge taken in the most solemn manner, some signing with their blood, in the seventies of the nineteenth century<sup>279</sup>.

Raj Narayan made a cult of his idea of Nationalism and initiated others into it. With the help of Jyotindra an elder brother of Rabindranath Tagore, Raj Narayan

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<sup>277</sup> *ibid*

<sup>278</sup> *ibid*

<sup>279</sup> Report, Sedition Committee, Chap. IV, para, 36.

started in 1878 a secret society called Sanjivni Sabha ( life giving society ) in a deserted house in North Calcutta with himself as chief and Jyotindra as organizer<sup>280</sup>. Rabindranath Tagore was one of its members. This secret society was the first seed or incipient stage of the future secret revolutionary organisations that Raj Narayan's grand son Aurobindo set up in the country. The aim of these secret societies were to prepare the mind of the people for strong action in support of boycott of foreign goods, resistance to laws and orders, militating against the country's interests, interfering with the efforts of propagating the idea of self rule amongst a wider public, and at the later stage not to recognize a foreign government. The report of the sedition Committee bears testimony to the fact of secret societies and their strength. The report mentioned:<sup>281</sup> *The various organisations were necessarily small. The Dacca Amusilan samiti was widely extended and overlapped each other's territory. The Dacca Samiti was throughout the whole period the most powerful of these associations. This body alone constituted a danger. It penetrated the schools. In after years it spread itself overall Bengal and extended its operations to other provinces. While its organization was most compact in Mymensingh and Dacca, it was active from Dinajpur in the North-west to Chittagong in the south-east and from Cooch Behar on the north-east to Dinajpore on the south-west. Outside Bengal its members were working in Assam, Bihar, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the central provinces and at Poona.*

Harvey Adamson, Home Member of the Government of India, while introducing the bill in the Imperial Legislative Council for expeditious trial

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<sup>280</sup> *ibid*



without jury, gave an outline of the secret associations, their aims and activities on December 2, 1908. In the course of his speech he said:

*Disloyal associations known as Sanitise and consisting of Volunteers were first founded in 1902 but they did not come much into evidence till 1906. With the intensification of anti-British feeling there was a rapid expansion of Such samities particularly in the districts of East Bengal. Majority of the associations are maintained with the object of training youths in the use of arms and fitting them to take part in a general revolution that is hoped for. They practice drill, engage in sham fights and parades, encourage a martial spirit with a ultimate object for which there is little attempt to conceal. Moreover, an insulting demeanour towards Europeans is constantly paraded and it is a cause of Common complaint<sup>282</sup>. The government received reports that the secret societies had split their work into different branches which can be classified as follows: One dealt with the publication and the press. The military section made the collection of funds for its main business. The intelligence department watched the movement of the police<sup>283</sup>. The government hurriedly passed an Act for suppression of assemblies which in the opinion of the police were engaged in unlawful activities. By as order in 1909, the following associations were declared unlawful<sup>284</sup>.*

1. The Anusilan samiti, Dacca
2. The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, Barisal,
3. The Brati Samiti, Faridpur,
4. The Suhrid Samiti, Mymensingh,
5. The Sadhana Samaj, Mymensingh

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<sup>281</sup> *ibid*

<sup>282</sup> *ibid*

<sup>283</sup> *ibid*

<sup>284</sup> *ibid*

6. The Jubac Samiti, Calcutta and
7. The Brati Samiti, Kumira ( Khulna ).

Independent of the Bengal movement, the Maharashtra region was breathing a spirit of burning patriotism. The idea of revolutionary action took shape in the mind of the Chitpavan Brahmins. One of them was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, described as one of the most dangerous pioneer of disaffection, a notorious agitator, truly the father of the Indian unrest and also a man of considerable erudition, great ability and dynamic energy. His initiation of the celebrations of Ganapati and Shivaji Festivals had played its part well and worked as a new spirit that travelled to other parts of India<sup>285</sup>.

Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar, Chitpavan Brahmins in Poona had formed a society for physical and military training which they called the *Society for the removal of Obstacles to the Hindu Religion*<sup>286</sup>. In the wake of this movement, association like Mitra Mela later changed to Abhinav Bharat Society came into being in Bombay<sup>287</sup>.

According to the British Government, *Abhinav Bharat is the name of the secret revolutionary society started by U. D. Savarkar in India in London which was responsible for the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik, and later, through V.V.S Aiyar in Pondicherry. of Mr. Ashe in the Tinnevely district*<sup>288</sup>.

The Editorials (of Bengali newspapers) Rev. J. Long's article in the Calcutta Review of 1850 and his two reports on the Vernacular Press of Bengal of 1855 and 1857 throw interesting light on its growing importance. The Editorials of

<sup>285</sup> Report on the National Press of Bengal; Selection from the records of Bengal Government- No. 32, 1859.

<sup>286</sup> *ibid*

<sup>287</sup> *ibid*

<sup>288</sup> *ibid*

Bengali Newspaper he writes, *though very feeble, yet by the process of perpetual reiteration, moulding the opinions of thousands of intelligent and influential Hindus*<sup>289</sup> ‘ the native newspapers are humble in appearance, yet like the ballads of a nation they often act where laws fail, and as straw on a current they saw its direction.’<sup>290</sup> Customs and postal authorities were authorized to detain and search suspicious mail. Newspaper of those publishers who had failed to deposit securities could also be seized.<sup>291</sup> This measure was vigorously enforced between 1910 and 1914 the government initiated 355 cases( warnings, security demands and prosecution) against the printing presses. Although the Government banned and seized English material primarily from abroad, the real target was the vernacular publications. The government proscribed 50 works in English and 272 in the vernacular languages, including 114 in Marati, 52 in Urdu and 51 in Bengali.<sup>292</sup> The six year administration of Lord Hardinge(1910-1916), extending into the beginning of World War I, was marked by improvements and progress, albeit with some political turmoil. In December 1911, king Emperor George V and the Queen visited India and proclaimed at a Grand Darbar the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and reunification of Eastern Bengal with Western Bengal, thus settling an issue which had caused violence and ill feelings among Indians for many years<sup>293</sup>. Although a bomb thrown at him in Delhi severely wounded him, Lord Hardinge did not take revenge, instead he supported the passive resistance movement of Gandhi in South Africa against that government’s passage of the Anti- Indian Immigration Act. The South African

<sup>289</sup> Rev. J. Long ; *Early Bengali Literature*; Calcutta revies, 1850.

<sup>290</sup> *ibid*

<sup>291</sup> *ibid*

<sup>292</sup> *ibid*

<sup>293</sup> Tarachand; *History of Freedom Movement in Indis*; Vol. II,1961, pp 460-470

Government yielded to Hardinge and the Act was modified. Gandhi called *a Magna Carta of Indian Liberty in South Africa*.<sup>294</sup>

World War I and Further Controls of the Press: The outbreak of the war in Europe, presented Lord Hardinge with complex issues. He needed nationalist support to quiet down the country so that British troops could be spared for war efforts. Some exiled Indian patriots, were making progress in getting support from other countries<sup>295</sup>. The British were concerned with the alliance being formed by Indian Organizations, such as the San Francisco based (Mutiny) party which was accepting thousands of dollars from German agents. Another Organization, Indian national Party, based in Berlin and headed by Taraknath Das, Har Dayal and Dr.C.Chakravorthy, set up an, Oriental Propaganda Bureau financed by the German Foreign Office. Their publication, *Why India is in Revolt Against British rule*, attempted to influence neutralist attitudes against the Government of India<sup>296</sup>.

The reunification of Bengal was viewed by the Muslim as a threat to their community and prompted them to review the cry *Islam in Danger*. The question of turkey's future precipitated the publication of two pro-khilafat campaign; while Mohmad Ali's *the Comrade* reprinted caustic essays on British policy, Zafar Ali Khan's *Zamindar* championed the Muslim cause<sup>297</sup>.

The Anglo- Indian Press felt that emergencies created by the war should take precedence over nationalist activities. On the part of the Indian press, however, there was unanimity of feelings that the magnificent and spontaneous response which has been given by the Princes and people of India to the call for help and

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<sup>294</sup> *ibid*

<sup>295</sup> *ibid*

<sup>296</sup> *ibid*

<sup>297</sup> *ibid*

cooperation should be acknowledged by the British Government by according to India the same right and liberties for which the Allies were fighting in Europe.<sup>298</sup> Tilak, released from Jail in 1914, Joined Annie Besant in establishing a number of Home Rule League. The 1916 session of the Indian national Congress at Lucknow members agreed to draft constitution designed to secure self government. The columns of the *New India*, the new name of the *Madras Standard*, acquired by Annie Besant, became the forum of the nationalists in the advocacy of self rule<sup>299</sup>.

An increase in the price of newsprint forced the newspaper to increase their prices thus compounding the difficulties caused by the Government's rigid censorship of the news<sup>300</sup>.

Lord Chelmsford became the Viceroy in 1916 and was faced with intensified nationalist agitations. The same year Annie Besant's *New India*, the chief organ of the Home Rule advocates, was compelled to furnish a deposit of 200 rupees<sup>301</sup>. The government declared this security forfeited and levied a security of an additional 10,000 rupees. Besant appealed to the Privy Council where she found the support of Benjamin Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* and N. C. Kelkar, Editor of the *Maratha*. This widely publicized struggle of Annie Besant and her newspaper caused concern among government officials. The step taken to resolve the problem was to exile Annie Besant, along with her two chief followers to Ootacamund<sup>302</sup>.

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<sup>298</sup> *ibid*

<sup>299</sup> *ibid*

<sup>300</sup> *ibid*

<sup>301</sup> *ibid*

<sup>302</sup> *ibid*

### 2.11.1 Government Actions against Newspaper and Printing Presses, Financial, Security Demand 1914-1918<sup>303</sup> :

The press in India was urging the government to repeal the Press Act of 1910. In 1917, for example, Viceroy Chelmsford was met by the delegation of editors to no avail.<sup>304</sup> In 1918, however, the government established a Central Publicity Bureau, the purpose of which was to maintain contact between Government Departments and the Press, with Stanley Reed, than editor of the Times of India, as its Vice-President<sup>305</sup>. Table No.7 shows the Government action against Newspaper Printing Presses during the period 1914-1918.

### 2.12 Gandhi's Non-Violent Movement:

In the mean time, in 1914 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, veteran of the non-violent movement in South Africa, founder and editor of the *Indian Opinion*, which he had begun in 1904 in South Africa had arrived in India. The passage of the Rowlatt Act in 1919 was fuel to the fire of Gandhi's campaign against the British<sup>306</sup>. Passed against the vote of every non-official Indian member of the Imperial Legislative Council, The Act provided for the trial of political offenders by judges without juries and legal internment without trial by the provincial Governments of persons suspected of having subversive aims. It created great discontent throughout the country leading to nationwide hartals and riots in many places culminating in the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre and start of the Non- Cooperation Movement in 1920<sup>307</sup>. The Indian press, angry over the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre described the events as cruel and frightful. The government responded by declaring forfeiture of securities. The *Amrita Bazar*

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<sup>303</sup> *ibid*

<sup>304</sup> *ibid*

<sup>305</sup> *ibid*

Table No.7

Government action against newspapers and printing presses, financial security demand during the period 1914-1918.

**Newspapers**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Demanded</b>	<b>Further increased</b>	<b>Forfeited</b>
<b>1914-15</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1916</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1917</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1918</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>

**Printing Press**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Demanded</b>	<b>Further increased</b>	<b>Forfeited</b>
<b>1914-15</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1916</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1917</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1918</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>N.A</b>	<b>4</b>

Source: Karkhanis Sharad; *Indian Politics and the Role of the Press*; New Delhi; Vikas Publishing House Pvt.Ltd.;1988,p.65.

*Patrika*, for example, lost 500 rupees deposit and was required to replace that amount with a new security of 10,000 rupees. *The Pratap* of Kanpur, *the Independent* started by Motilal Nehru of Allahabad, *the Hindu* and *Swadeshmitram* of Madras, *Hindvasi* and *the Ala Mur* of Sindh and many others suffered a similar fate Benjamin Horniman of the Bombay Chronicle was deported<sup>308</sup>.

From 1920 onwards the tempo of the nationalist movement increased rapidly and found its expression in Indian newspapers. The News of Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement. Satyagrahas and the demonstrations filled the pages of every language newspaper in all parts of the country<sup>209</sup>.

### 2.13 Gandhi's Civil Disobedience:

**and the Tightened Controls, 1930-34,**

Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement, the Salt March at Dandi, the terrorist attack in Chittagong, Bengal, Newspaper attack on the Government and numerous leaflets, pamphlets and political propaganda, both open as well as underground, flooded the country<sup>210</sup>. A poem in *Kirti*, a radical Punjab Journal, directed at workers and peasants:

*The Fat bellies which can be seen are swollen with flesh cut from our stomachs;  
the faces which are red, are red with the blood of the workers which has been  
shed; Our children cry with hunger, but the Capitalist lives in luxury; There is  
no rag for our lions, but the capitalist wears silk; no one listens to our cry, but*

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<sup>306</sup> *ibid*

<sup>307</sup> *ibid*

<sup>308</sup> *ibid*

<sup>209</sup> *ibid*

<sup>210</sup> *ibid*



*the capitalists threaten as; We will cut the nose of the Capitalist*<sup>211</sup>. With this kind of inflammatory literature spread throughout the countryside of India, The British found it necessary to legislate added powers to both the Central and State Governments. On April 19, 1930, they issued an Ordinance empowering the Government to take summary action against suspected terrorists. By July 7th of that year six more Ordinances directed towards intimidation and unlawful instigation were issued. The 1930, Indian Press Ordinance. One of the six ordinances aimed to better control of the press<sup>212</sup>. Very similar to the 1910 Press Act, it provided for local magistrates, at their discretion, to demand securities of 500 to 2000 rupees from publishers and printers of newspapers. Local governments were empowered to declare securities forfeit if it appeared to them that the published matter, directly or indirectly either by influence, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, or implication tended to incite murder or other offences, to lure British Army officers or police officers from their duty, to cause hatred or contempt of the Government, or the administration of justice, or cause diaffection with the people., to incite persons to interfere with the administration of law or payment of taxes, to incite persons to commit illegal acts and crimes, to promote hatred among various classes of people and to interfere in the recruitment and, training, disciplining or the administration of the British Army<sup>213</sup>. In the protest against the legislation, a number of Indian Nationalist resigned from the Assembly. Prominent leaders like Gandhi and Nehru were imprisoned, and these were followed by arrests of several other agitators, including Motilal Nehru. An appeal to the women of India was answered by

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<sup>211</sup> *ibid*

<sup>212</sup> *ibid*

<sup>213</sup> *ibid*

large demonstrations and picketing. Although the boycott of British goods was not a total success, the sale of Swadeshi products increased<sup>214</sup>.

A number of nationalist newspapers suspended their publication; others forfeited securities, prominent leaders like S.A Brelvi of Bombay Chronicle and Ganesh Shankar Vidharthi of Pratap were sent to Jail<sup>215</sup>.

As a result of Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the civil disobedience Movement was temporarily suspended. As a part of that agreement the Government, on March 6, 1931 withdrew the Indian Press Ordinance of 1930 along with other ordinances passed that year<sup>216</sup>.

In April of 1931, Lord Willingdon became the Viceroy of India. Unsympathetic to the nationalist movement, he followed the policy of Non-conciliation with Nationalist leaders. Upon Gandhi's return from the Round Table conference in London, Willingdon Sent him to jail, declared the Indian National Congress illegal and took measures to suppress the Civil Disobedience Movement. The first of the Repressive measure was the passage of the Indian Press( Emergency Powers ) Act of 1931<sup>217</sup>.

Similar to the 1908, 1910, and 1930 legislation, this Act empowered local Magistrates at their discretion to require publishers and printers to deposit security up to 1000 Rupees. The local government was empowered to take action against any publisher or printer suspected of printing or publishing material which may be construed as incitement to commit crime. The local governments were empowered to declare securities for forfeit and demand additional securities, and direct a Magistrate to issue a warrant to search

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<sup>214</sup> *ibid*

<sup>215</sup> *ibid*

<sup>216</sup> *ibid*

<sup>217</sup> *ibid*

property where copies of newspaper and books declared forfeit were suspected of being stored for distribution. The chief Custom Officer or other officers authorised by the government were empowered to detain packages brought into India containing prohibitive documents<sup>218</sup>.

On the instructions from the local Government, magistrates were empowered to issue summary action, thus placing the onus of proving innocence on those who were prosecuted. The only appeal permitted was an appeal to the special Bench of High Court, consisting of less than three judges<sup>219</sup>.

This was an act which gave wide ranging powers to local government, the effect of which was to prohibit the printing of names or portrait of well known leaders of the Nationalist Movement as well as notices and advertisements of meeting of the Congress Party or any political events<sup>220</sup>.

Several newspapers around the country were affected by this measure. The publishers and printers of the *Bombay Chronicle* were each fined 3000 rupees for publishing an article by B. G. Hornian. Anand Bazar Patrika's printer and publishers were fined 100 rupees each. The Amrita Bazar patrika and Liberty of Calcutta were required to pay 6000 rupees security, and the Press Journal's security of 6000 rupees was forfeited<sup>221</sup>.

The Foreign Regulations Act of 1932, passed on April 2, 1932, was intended to prevent the publication of statements likely to undermine friendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the government of certain states. This Act empowered the Governor-General to make or authorise any person to submit a written complaint of an offence falling under chapter XXI of the Indian

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<sup>218</sup> *ibid*

<sup>219</sup> *ibid*

<sup>220</sup> *ibid*

<sup>221</sup> *ibid*

Penal Code committed against the Ruler of a state outside, or adjoining India, or against the consort, son or principal Minister of such a ruler. Any book, newspaper or other document containing such specified defamatory matter which tended to undermine friendly relations between his majesty's Government and the government of such a state could be detained in the same manner as seditious literature<sup>222</sup>.

By the middle of 1932 on June 30, the government promulgated a consolidated ordinance, called the special powers ordinance embodying most of the powers contained in the four ordinances that it replaced.. This ordinance essentially included all the provisions of the 1930 and 1931 Acts and made it applicable to books, newspapers and documents<sup>223</sup>.

In 1934, the Indian States Protection Act was passed providing district Magistrate with power to prohibit within their Jurisdiction. Attempts to promote assemblies of persons or entries from British India into the territory of a state in India. For the purpose of causing disturbances or danger to citizens or disturbances of public tranquillity in that territory. The provisions of the Indian Penal Code and the code of Criminal Justice were made applicable, and penalties for violations were set at six months imprisonment, fine or both<sup>224</sup>.

Between Oct. 1931 and Feb. 1935, the government mandated 527 presses and newspapers to furnish security; 124 were required to furnish additional security; 17 newspapers and presses forfeited their security and 256 ceased publication<sup>225</sup>.

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<sup>222</sup> *ibid*

<sup>223</sup> *ibid*

<sup>224</sup> *ibid*

<sup>225</sup> *ibid*

The Nationalist Press, however, continued its propaganda against the government's policies at home and abroad. For example, they opposed the Ottawa Trade Agreement, because it was beneficial only to the British, and campaigned for Gandhi's unconditional release from prison so that he could carry on his negotiations with Hindu leaders and continue to actively oppose untouchability. The report of second and third Round Table Conference filled the pages and headlines of newspapers<sup>226</sup>. The attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press is well expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru in his Autobiography.

The British owned Anglo- Indian Newspapers in India Joined in this game of *Ballihoods with gusto*, and gave utterance and publicity to many a thought which perhaps they had nurtured and repressed for long. Ordinarily, they have to be a little careful of what they say, for many of their readers are Indians, but the crisis in India, swept away these restraints and gave us the glimpses of the minds of all English and Indian alike<sup>227</sup>.

The Free Press of India. A news agency, was increasing the number of newspapers it published. The Indian Express in Madras, the Free Press Journals in Bombay, Gujarati and Marati Journals, and plans for establishing Free Press newspaper in all cities of India were resented by Bengal subscribers who believing that news agency should not be in the newspaper publishing business, threatened to subscribe instead to the Associated Press of India<sup>228</sup>. Fearing that Associated press of India might become a monopoly, the Editor of the Free Press, B,Sen Gupta, resigned his position and started the United Press In India<sup>229</sup>.

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<sup>226</sup> *ibid*

<sup>227</sup> *ibid*

<sup>228</sup> *ibid*

<sup>229</sup> *ibid*

In 1935, however, the Press of India news agency collapsed due to the Bombay Governments forfeiture of 20,000 rupees security under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act. The Indian Express Agency, Survived, although under different management.<sup>230</sup> The signing of the 1935 Government of India Act, although the major step towards bestowing *dominion status* upon India, fell short of the expectation of nationalists. It provided for a diarchy with the executive responsible to the British Parliament and unimpeachable by the people of India. The Viceroy's powers of certification and legislation by ordinances and the power to veto legislation given to the Governor-General and the crown by the Indian Federal legislature were objected to by Indian Nationalists as serious impediments to the full enjoyment of Dominion status. By India<sup>231</sup>.

#### 2.14 World war II and the Returns of the Censorship:

With the beginning of World war II, the government found it necessary to pass the Defence of India Act, bolstering in the authority of the Central Government to dealwith the agitation and seditious materials. Censorship machinery with a Chief Censor, a Director of Public Information, and other censors and advisory committees in each province, began to operate. Printed material came under the scrutiny of the Government.<sup>232</sup> The United Provincial Government served notice on the *National Herald* in 1940 asking it to submit the headlines of war news for pre-censorship. The newspaper continued to publish the war news without the

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<sup>230</sup> *ibid*

<sup>231</sup> *ibid*

<sup>232</sup> *ibid*

headlines until the order was withdrawn<sup>233</sup>. Similarly, the National Herald which had received order from the Government concerning its editorials, discontinued all editorials in protest. As a result of discussion between Government Officials and representatives of leading newspapers, the order was withdrawn after 17 days and the newspaper resumed its editorials<sup>234</sup>.

The call for the *Quit India* movement had begun, Gandhi accelerated the pace of civil disobedience. Marches, processions, hartals and breaches of law were met with mass arrests. Over 20,000 Congress men were hauled into jail over the country. The Congress propaganda, via leaflets, flyers, word of mouth and preaching teams visiting rural areas, denounced the war and criticized British policies in India<sup>235</sup>.

The British found that stricter control of newspapers created more problems than solved. They then sought to use the young but active Organisation, the Indian Newspapers Editors' Conference as a means for directing press opinions. In return for relaxed controls the editors Conference agreed to exercise self-restraint<sup>236</sup>. The Provincial Governments, however, followed their own policies and continued repression of the Press<sup>237</sup>. With the War drawing to an end, and a clear indication that India was soon to be freed.- whether as one Nation or two- continuation of censorship and repression was meaningless. Gradually as the War ended so did most of the controls on the Press. The imminence of freedom was in the Newspapers<sup>238</sup>.

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<sup>233</sup> *ibid*

<sup>234</sup> *ibid*

<sup>235</sup> *ibid*

<sup>236</sup> *ibid*

<sup>237</sup> *ibid*

<sup>238</sup> *ibid*

## 2.15 The factors Promoting Indian Nationalism<sup>239</sup>:

- Racial arrogance- on the part of the British hit back by the Indians
- Act of Discrimination in giving jobs
- General Mayo openly made statement of British Racial Superiority.
- Educated Indians desired to acquire equal status within the Machinery of British rule (ICS)- They founded a nationalist movement seeking equal status for Indians and eventually sought full Indian Independence.
- British Modernisation i.e. Improved transport and communications helped the spread of Nationalist Message.
- Indian Association 1885- began as powerless *Talking Shop* but turned into the Indian National Congress, where Indians could voice their complaint against the British. Educated politicians used this parliament to rally support for the movement.
- Lord Curzon(1898-1905) treated Indians as inferior
- The Splitting of Bengal led to a swell of Nationalist Rise of Indian Nationalism(1906)
- In 1885 a number of Indian Lawyers and professionals formed the Indian National Congress. Members of the organisation belonged to various religions and came from all parts of India. Congress members debated political and economic reforms, the future of India, and ways for Indians to achieve equal status with the British.
- Swadeshi movement led to the introduction of Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. These reforms enlarged the Viceroy's executive council to include

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<sup>239</sup> *ibid*



an Indian. They also allowed Indians to elect representatives to the Provincial Legislative Council. In 1911, the British reunited Bengal.

Freedom of the Press, like any vital liberty, is one of the great themes of American History, indeed of Human History. It is simply indispensable to Democratic self Government and broadly conceived, to individual creativity i.e. art and literature. We cherish it, favour it, promote it, and protect it and we can not do well, in Govt. or culture unless it flourishes<sup>240</sup>. It is the medium of expression as well as the necessary condition for the search for the truth, but it is also the most dangerous freedom. Democracy can function only with a free, informed, educated electorate; but that electorate cannot exist without freedom of expression even for the thought that may be Hateful, Licentious.

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<sup>240</sup> Harold L. Nelson : *History of Indian Press*, pp. 1-6