

## CHAPTER XIV

### *Nationalist Movement 1905-1918*

#### GROWTH OF MILITANT NATIONALISM

**G**RADUALLY, over the years, the trend of militant nationalism (also known as Extremism) had been growing in the country. It found expression in the movement against the partition of Bengal in 1905.

The Indian national movement even in its early days had increasingly made a large number of people conscious of the evils of foreign domination and of the need for fostering patriotism. It had imparted the necessary political training to the educated Indians. It had, in fact, changed the temper of the people and created a new life in the country.

At the same time, the failure of the British Government to accept any of the important demands of the nationalists produced disillusionment among the politically conscious people with the principles and methods of the dominant moderate leadership. There was a strong demand for more vigorous political action and methods than those of meetings, petitions, memorials, and speeches in the legislative councils.

#### Recognition of the True Nature of British Rule

The politics of the moderate nationalists were founded on the belief that British rule could be reformed from within. But the spread of knowledge regarding political and economic questions gradually undermined this belief. The political agitation of the Moderates was itself responsible for this to a large extent. The nationalist writers and agitators blamed British rule for the poverty of the people. Politically conscious Indians were convinced that the purpose of British rule was to exploit India economically, that is, to enrich England at the cost of India. They realised that India could make little progress in the economic field unless British imperialism was replaced by a government controlled and run by the Indian people. In particular, the nationalists came to see that Indian industries could not flourish except under an Indian government which could protect and promote them. The evil economic consequences of foreign rule were symbolised in the eyes of the people by the disastrous famines which ravaged India from 1896 to 1900 and took a toll of over 90 lakhs of lives.

The political events of the years 1892 to 1905 also disappointed the nationalists and made them think of more radical politics. The Indian Councils Act of 1892, discussed in Chapter XII, was a complete disappointment. On the other hand, even the existing political rights of the people were attacked. In 1898, a law was passed making it an offence to excite “feelings of disaffection” towards the foreign government. In 1899, the number of Indian members in the Calcutta Corporation was reduced. In 1904, the Indian Official Secrets Act was passed restricting the freedom of the press. The Naidu brothers were deported in 1897 without being tried; even the charges against them were not made public. In the same year, Lokamanya Tilak and other newspaper editors were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for arousing the people against the foreign government. Thus, the people found that, instead of giving them wider political rights, the rulers were taking away even their few existing rights. The anti-Congress attitude of Lord Curzon convinced more and more people that it was useless to expect any political and economic advance as long as Britain ruled India. Even the moderate leader Gokhale complained that “the bureaucracy was growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to national aspirations.”

Even socially and culturally, the British rule was no longer progressive. Primary and technical education was not making any progress. At the same time, the officials were becoming suspicious of higher education and were even trying to discourage its spread in the country. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was seen by the nationalists as an attempt to bring Indian universities under tighter official control and to check the growth of higher education.

Thus an increasing number of Indians were getting convinced that self-government was essential for the sake of the economic, political, and cultural progress of the country and that political enslavement meant stunting the growth of the Indian people.

#### **Growth of Self-respect and Self-confidence**

By the end of the 19th century, the Indian nationalists had grown in self-respect and self-confidence. They had acquired faith in their capacity to govern themselves and in the future development of their country. Leaders like Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal preached the message of self-respect and asked the nationalists to rely on the character and capacities of the Indian people. They taught the people that the remedy to their sad condition lay in their own hands and that they should therefore become fearless and strong. Swami Vivekananda, though not a political leader, again and again drove home this message. He declared:

If there is a sin in the world it is weakness; avoid all weakness, weakness is sin, weakness is death... And here is the test of truth—anything that makes you weak physically, intellectually and spiritually, reject as poison, there is no life in it. It cannot be true.

He also urged the people to give up living on the glories of the past and manfully build the future. “When, O Lord,” he wrote, “shall our land be free from this eternal dwelling upon the past?”

The belief in self-effort also created an urge for extending the national movement. No longer should the nationalist cause rely on a few upper-class educated Indians. Instead, political consciousness of the masses was to be aroused. Thus, for example, Swami Vivekananda wrote: "The only hope of India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead." There was the realisation that only the masses could make the immense sacrifices needed to win freedom. Moreover, the nationalist leaders felt that political activity should be carried on continuously and not merely on the few days on which the National Congress or the provincial conferences met.

#### Growth of Education and Unemployment

By the close of the 19th century, the number of educated Indians had increased perceptibly. Large numbers of them worked in the administration on extremely low salaries, while many others increasingly faced unemployment. Their economic plight made them look critically at the nature of British rule. Many of them were attracted by radical nationalist politics.

Even more important was the ideological aspect of the spread of education. The larger the number of educated Indians, the larger was the area of influence of western ideas of democracy, nationalism, and radicalism. The educated Indians became the best propagators and followers of militant nationalism both because they were low-paid or unemployed and because they were educated in modern thought and politics and European and world history.

#### International Influences

Several events abroad during this period tended to encourage the growth of militant nationalism in India. The rise of modern Japan after 1868 showed that a backward Asian country could develop itself without Western control. In a matter of a few decades, the Japanese leaders made their country a first rate industrial and military power, introduced universal primary education, and evolved an efficient, modern administration. The defeat of the Italian army by the Ethiopians in 1896 and of Russia by Japan in 1905 exploded the myth of European superiority. Everywhere in Asia people heard with enthusiasm the news of the victory of a small Asian country over the biggest military power of Europe. For example, the following comment appeared in the Marathi weekly, the *Kesari*, edited by Tilak, in the issue dated 6 December 1904:

It was up to this time supposed that the Asiatics lacked the sentiment of nationality and were, therefore, unable to hold their own before the European nations in spite of their individual courage and heroism. It was further believed that the continents of Asia, Africa, and America were created by Providence to be dominated by European nations. The Russo-Japanese War has given a rude shock to these beliefs, and those who hold them are now beginning to see that there is nothing inherently improbable in the Asiatics forming themselves into independent nations and taking rank with their European rivals.

Another newspaper, the *Karachi Chronicle* of 18 June 1905, expressed the popular feeling as follows:

**What one Asiatic has done others can do... .If Japan can drub Russia, India can drub England with equal ease... .Let us drive the British into the sea and take our place side by side with Japan among the great powers of the world.**

Revolutionary movements in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey, and China and the Boer War in South Africa convinced the Indians that a united people willing to make sacrifices could challenge even the most powerful of despotic governments. What was needed more than anything else was a spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice.

#### Existence of a Militant Nationalist School of Thought

From almost the beginning of the national movement a school of militant nationalism had existed in the country. This school was represented by leaders like Rajnarain Bose and Ashwini Kumar Dutt in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra. The most outstanding representative of this school was Bal Gangadhar Tilak later popularly known as Lokamanya Tilak. He was born in 1856. From the day of his graduation from the Bombay University, he devoted his entire life to the service of his country. He helped to found during the 1880's the New English School, which later became the Fergusson College, and the newspapers the *Mahratta* (in English) and the *Kesari* (in Marathi). From 1889, he edited the *Kesari* and preached nationalism in its columns and taught people to become courageous, self-reliant, and selfless fighters in the cause of India's independence. In 1893, he started using the traditional religious Ganpati festival to propagate nationalist ideas through songs and speeches, and in 1895 he started the Shivaji festival to stimulate nationalism among young Maharashtrians by holding up the example of Shivaji for emulation. During 1896-1897 he initiated a no-tax Campaign in Maharashtra. He asked the famine-stricken peasants of Maharashtra to withhold payment of land revenue if their crops had failed. He set a real example of boldness and sacrifice when the authorities arrested him in 1897 on the charge of spreading hatred and disaffection against the government. He refused to apologise to the government and was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. Thus he became a living symbol of the new national spirit of self-sacrifice,

At the dawn of the 20th century the school of militant nationalists found a favourable political climate and its adherents came forward to lead the second stage of the national movement. The most outstanding leaders of militant nationalism, apart from Lokamanya Tilak, were Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, and Lala Lajpat Rai. The distinctive political aspects of the programme of the militant nationalists were as follows:

They believed that Indians themselves must work out their own salvation and make the effort to rise from their degraded position. They declared that great sacrifices and sufferings were needed for this task. Their speeches, writings, and political work were full of boldness and self-confidence and they considered no personal sacrifice too great for the good of their country.



DELEGATES TO THE SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT AMRITSAR IN DECEMBER 1919. Seated on chair, right to left are: Medan Mohan Malaviya, Annie Besant, Swami Shradhanand, Motilal Nehru, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Lala Lajpat Rai is standing behind Swami Shradhanand. Sitting on the ground left to right, are: Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamuli (Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library)

They denied that India could progress under the “benevolent guidance” and control of the English. They deeply hated foreign rule, and they declared in a clearcut manner that *Jhara* or independence was the goal of the national movement.

They had deep faith in the strength of the masses and they planned to achieve *Swaraj* through mass action. They therefore pressed for political work among the masses and for direct political action by the masses.

#### A Trained Leadership

By 1905 India possessed a large number of leaders who had acquired during the previous period valuable experience in guiding political agitations and leading political struggles. Without a trained band of political workers it would have been difficult to take the national movement to a higher political stage.

#### THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

Thus the conditions for the emergence of militant nationalism had developed when in 1905 the partition of Bengal was announced and the Indian national movement entered its second stage. On 20 July 1905, Lord Curzon issued an order dividing the province of Bengal into two parts: Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 millions, and the rest of Bengal with a population of 54 millions, of whom 18 millions were Bengalis and 36 millions Biharies and

Onyas, It was said that the existing province of Bengal was too big to be efficiently administered by a single provincial government. However, the officials who worked out the plan had also other ends in view. They hoped to stem the rising tide of nationalism in Bengal. Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India, wrote in an official note on 6 December 1904:

**Bengal united is a power Bengal divided will pull several different ways. That is what the Congress leaders feel: their apprehensions are perfectly correct and they form one of the great merits of the scheme.. in this scheme as in the matter of the amalgamation of Berar to the Central Provinces one of our main objects is to split up and thereby to weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule.**

Curzon himself wrote in a similar vein in February 1905:

**Calcutta is the centre from which the Congress party is manipulated throughout the whole of Bengal and indeed the whole of India . .Any measure in consequence that would divide the Bengali-speaking population; that would permit independent centres of activity and influence to grow up; that would dethrone Calcutta from its place as the centre of successful intrigue... is intensely and hotly resented by them.**

The Indian National Congress and the nationalists of Bengal firmly opposed the partition. Within Bengal, different sections of the population—zamindars, merchants, lawyers, students, the city poor, and even women—rose up in spontaneous opposition to the partition of their province.

The nationalists saw the act of partition as a challenge to Indian nationalism and not merely an administrative measure. They saw that it was a deliberate attempt to divide the Bengalis and to disrupt and weaken nationalism in Bengal. <sup>1</sup> It would also be a big blow to the growth of Bengali language and culture. They pointed out that administrative efficiency could have been better secured by separating the Hindi-speaking Bihar and the Oriya speaking Orissa from the Bengali speaking part of the province. Moreover, the official step had been taken in utter disregard of public opinion. Thus the vehemence of Bengal's protest against the partition is explained by the fact that it was a blow to the sentiments of a very sensitive and courageous people.

#### The Anti-Partition Movement or the Swadeshi and Boycott Movement

The Anti-Partition Movement was the work of the entire national leadership of Bengal and not of any one section of the movement. Its most prominent leaders at the initial stage were moderate leaders like Surendranath Banerjea and Krishna Kumar Mitra; militant and revolutionary nationalists took over in the later stages. In fact, both the moderate and militant nationalists cooperated with one another during the course of the movement.

The Anti-Partition Movement was initiated on 7- August 1905. On that day a massive demonstration against the partition, was organised in the Town Hall in Calcutta. From this meeting delegates dispersed to spread the movement to the rest of the province.

The partition took effect on 16 October 1905. The leaders of the protest

movement declared it to be a day of national mourning throughout Bengal. It was observed as a day of fasting. There was a *hartal* in Calcutta. People walked barefooted and bathed in the Ganga in the early morning hours. Rabindranath Tagore composed a national song for the occasion, which was sung by huge crowds parading the streets. The streets of Calcutta were full of the cries of *Bande Matram* which overnight became the national song of Bengal and which was soon to become the theme song of the national movement. The ceremony of Raksha Bandhan was utilised in a new way. On that day people of Bengal tied the *rakhi* on one another's wrists as a symbol of the unbreakable unity of the Bengalis and of the two halves of Bengal.

In the afternoon, there was a great demonstration when the veteran leader Anandamohan Bose laid the foundation of a Federation Hall to mark the indestructible unity of Bengal. He addressed a crowd of over 50,000 and the meeting passed a resolution pledging to do their utmost to maintain the unity of Bengal.

#### The Swadeshi and Boycott

Th& Bengal leaders felt that mere demonstrations, public meetings, and resolutions were not likely to have much effect on the rulers. More positive action that would reveal the intensity of popular feelings and exhibit them at their best was needed. The answer was Swadeshi and Boycott. Mass meetings were held all over Bengal where Swadeshi or use of Indian goods and boycott of British goods were proclaimed and pledged. In many places public burnings of foreign cloth were organised and shops selling foreign cloth were picketed. The Swadeshi movement was an immense success. According to Surendranath Banerjea:

Swadeshisra during the days of its potency coloured the entire texture of our social and domestic life. Marriage presents that included foreign goods, the like of which could be manufactured at home, were returned. Priests would often decline to officiate at ceremonies where foreign articles were offered as oblations to the gods. Guests would refuse to participate in festivities where foreign salt or foreign sugar was used.

The Swadeshi movement gave a great deal of encouragement to Indian industries. Many textile mills, soap and match factories, handloom weaving concerns, national banks, and insurance companies were opened. Acharya P.C. Ray organised his famous Bengal Chemical Swadeshi Stores. Even the great poet Rabindranath Tagore helped to open 4 Swadeshi store.

The Swadeshi movement had several consequences in the realm of culture. There was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism. The patriotic songs written at the time by poets like Rabindranath Tagore, Rajani Kant Sen, and Mukunda Das are sung in Bengal to this day. Another constructive activity undertaken at the time was that of National Education. National educational institutions where literary, technical, or physical education was imparted were opened by nationalists who regarded the existing system of education as denationalising and, in any case, inadequate.

On 15 August 1906, a National Council of Education was set up. A National College with Aurobindo Ghose as principal was started in Calcutta.

#### The Role of Students, Women, Muslims, and the Masses

A prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation was played by the students of Bengal. They practised and propagated swadeshi and took the lead in organising picketing of shops selling foreign cloth. They were perhaps the main creators of the swadeshi spirit in Bengal. The government made every attempt to suppress the students. Orders were issued to penalise those schools and colleges whose students took an active part in the Swadeshi agitation: their grants-in-aid and other privileges were to be withdrawn; they were to be disaffiliated, their students were not to be permitted to compete for scholarships and were to be barred from all service under the government. Disciplinary action was taken against students found guilty of participating in the nationalist agitation. Many of them were fined, expelled from schools and colleges, arrested, and sometimes beaten by the police with *lathis*. The students, however, refused to be cowed down.

A remarkable aspect of the Swadeshi agitation was the active participation of women in the movement. The traditionally home-centred women of the urban middle classes joined processions and picketing. From then on they were to take an active part in the nationalist movement.

Many prominent Muslims joined the Swadeshi movement including Abdul Rasul, the famous barrister, Liaquat Husain, the popular agitator, and Guznavi, the businessman. Many other middle and upper class Muslims, however, remained neutral, or, led by the Nawab of Dacca, (who was given a loan of Rs. 14 lakhs by the Government, of India) even supported partition on the plea that East Bengal would have a Muslim majority. In this communal attitude, the Nawab of Dacca and others were encouraged by the officials. In a speech at Dacca, Lord Curzon declared that one of the reasons for the partition was "to invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and Kings."

In spite of the popular character of the Anti-Partition Movement and of the desire of the militant nationalists to take the national movement to the masses, the movement did not really affect and involve the peasantry of Bengal. It was confined on the whole to the towns and to the upper and lower middle classes of the province.

#### All-India Aspect of the Movement

The cry of Swadeshi and Swaraj was soon taken up by other provinces of India. Movements of support for Bengal's unity and boycott of foreign goods were organised in Bombay, Madras, and northern India. The leading role in spreading the Swadeshi movement to the rest of the country was played by Tilak. Tilak quickly saw that with the inauguration of this movement in Bengal a new chapter in the history of Indian nationalism had opened. Here was a challenge and an



opportunity to lead a popular struggle against the British Raj and to unite the entire country in one bond of common sympathy.

#### Growth of Militancy

The leadership of the Anti-Partition Movement soon passed to militant nationalists like Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo Ghose. This was due to many factors.

Firstly, the early movement of protest led by the Moderates failed to yield results. Even the Liberal Secretary of State, John Morley, from whom much was expected by the moderate nationalists, declared the Partition to be a settled fact which would not be changed. Secondly, the Government of the two Bengals, particularly of East Bengal, made active efforts to divide Hindus and Muslims. Seeds of Hindu-Muslim disunity in Bengal politics were perhaps sown at this time. This embittered the nationalists. But, most of all, it was the repressive policy of the government which led people to militant and revolutionary politics. The government of East Bengal, in particular, tried to crush the nationalist movement. Official attempts at preventing student participation in the Swadeshi agitation have already been discussed above. The shouting of *Bande Mataram* in public streets in East Bengal was banned. Public meetings were restricted and sometimes forbidden. Laws controlling the press were enacted. Swadeshi workers were prosecuted and imprisoned for long periods. Many students were awarded even corporal punishment. From 1906 to 1909, more than 550 political cases came up before Bengal courts. Prosecutions against a large number of nationalist newspapers were launched and freedom of the press was completely suppressed. Military police was stationed in many towns where it clashed with the people. One of the most notorious examples of repression was the police assault on the peaceful delegates of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal in April 1906. Many of the young volunteers were severely beaten up and the Conference itself was forcibly dispersed. In December 1908, nine Bengal leaders, including the venerable Krishna Kumar Mitra and Ashwini Kumar Dutt, were deported. Earlier, in 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh had been deported following riots in the canal colonies of the Punjab. In 1908, the great Tilak was again arrested and given the savage sentence of 6 years' imprisonment. Chidambaram Pillai in Madras and Harisarvottam Rao and others in Andhra were put behind the bars.

As the militant nationalists came to the fore they gave the call for passive resistance in addition to Swadeshi and Boycott. They asked the people to refuse to cooperate with the government and, to boycott government service, the courts, and government schools and colleges. As Aurobindo Ghose put it, their programme was "to make the administration under present conditions impossible by an organised refusal to do anything which shall help either the British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in

the administration of it—unless and until the conditions are changed in the manner and to the extent demanded by the people.” The militant nationalists used the Swadeshi and Anti-Partition Agitation to arouse the people politically and gave the slogan of independence from foreign rule. Aurobindo

Ghose openly declared: "Political Freedom is the lifebreath of a nation.\*" Thus, the question of the partition of Bengal became a secondary one and the question of India's freedom became the central question of Indian politics. The militant nationalists also gave the call for self-sacrifice without which no great aim could be achieved. The youth of India responded enthusiastically to the call. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was studying in England at the time, described the reaction of young India in the following words in his *Autobiography*:

From 1907 onwards for several years India was seething with unrest and trouble. For the first time since the Revolt of 1857 India was showing fight and not submitting tamely to foreign rule. News of Tilak's activities and his conviction, of Aurobindo Ghose and the way the masses of Bengal were taking the swadeshi and boycott pledge stirred all of us Indians in England. Almost without an exception we were Tilakites or Extremists, as the new party was called in India.

It should be remembered, however, that the militant nationalists also failed in giving a positive lead to the people. They were not able to give effective leadership or to create a sound organisation to guide their movement. They aroused the people but did not know how to harness or utilise the newly released energies of the people. Moreover, though they were radical in their nationalist beliefs, they remained constitutionalists in practice. They also failed to reach the real masses of the country, the peasants. Their movement remained confined to the urban lower and middle classes. Even among them they could not organise an effective party. Consequently, the government succeeded to a large extent in suppressing them. Their movement could not survive the arrest of their main leader, Tilak, and the retirement from active politics of Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose.

But the upsurge of nationalist sentiments could not die. People had been aroused from their slumber of centuries; they had learned to take a bold and fearless attitude in politics. They now waited for a new movement to arise. Moreover, they were able to learn valuable lessons from their experience. Gandhiji wrote later that "After the Partition, people saw that petitions must be backed up by force, and that they must be capable of suffering." The anti-partition agitation in fact marked a great revolutionary leap forward for Indian nationalism.

### Growth of Revolutionary Terrorism

Government repression and frustration caused by the failure of the political struggle ultimately resulted in revolutionary terrorism. The youth of Bengal were angered by official arrogance and repression and were filled with burning hatred for foreign rule. They found all avenues of peaceful protest and political action blocked and out of desperation they fell back upon the cult of the bomb. They no longer believed that passive resistance could achieve nationalist aims. The British

must, therefore, be physically expelled. As the *Yugantar* wrote on 22 April 1906 after the Barisal Conference; "The remedy lies with the people themselves. The 30 crores of people inhabiting India must raise their 60 crores of hands to stop this curse of oppression. Force must be stopped by force," But the revolutionary youngmen did not try to generate a mass revolution. Instead, they decided to copy the methods of the Irish terrorists and the Russian Nihilists, that is, to assassinate unpopular officials. A beginning had been made in this direction when in 1897 the Chapekar brothers assassinated two unpopular British officials at Poona. In 1904, V.D. Savarkar had organised the *Abhinava Bharat*, a secret society of revolutionaries. After 1905, several newspapers had begun to advocate revolutionary terrorism, The *Sandhya* and the *Yugantar* in Bengal and the *Kal* in Maharashtra were the most prominent among them.

In December 1905 an attempt was made on the life of the Lieutenant- Governor of Bengal, and in April 1908 Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki threw a bomb at a carriage which they believed was occupied by Kingsford, the unpopular Judge at Muzzaffarpur. Prafulla Chaki shot himself dead while Khudiram Bose was tried and hanged. The era of revolutionary terrorism had begun. Many secret societies of terrorist youth came into existence. The most famous of these was the Anushilan Samiti whose Dacca section alone had 500 branches. Soon terrorist societies became active in the rest of the country also. They became so bold as to throw a bomb at the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, while he was riding on an elephant in a state procession at Delhi. The Viceroy was wounded.

The terrorists also established centres of activity abroad. In London the lead was taken by Shyamji Krishnavarma, V.D. Savarkar, and Har Dayal, while in Europe Madam Cama and Ajit Singh were the prominent leaders.

Terrorism too gradually petered out. In fact terrorism as a political weapon was bound to fail. It could hardly have achieved its declared objective of expelling the English. But the terrorists did make a valuable contribution to the growth of nationalism in India. As a historian has put it, "they gave us back the pride of our manhood." Because of their heroism, the terrorists became immensely popular among their compatriots even though most of the politically conscious people did not agree with their political approach.

#### THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1905-1914

The agitation against the partition of Bengal made a deep impact on the Indian National Congress. All sections of the National Congress united in opposing the partition. At its session of 1905, Gokhale, the President of the Congress, roundly condemned the Partition as well as the reactionary regime of Curzon. The National Congress also supported the Swadeshi and Boycott movement of Bengal.

There was much public debate and disagreement between the moderate and the militant nationalists. While the latter wanted to extend the mass movement in Bengal as well as in the rest of the country, the Moderates wanted to confine the

movement to Bengal and even there to limit it to Swadeshi and Boycott, There was a tussle between the two groups for the presidentship of the National Congress for that year. In the end, Dadabhai Naoroji, respected by all nationalists as a great patriot, was chosen as a compromise. Dadabhai electrified the nationalist ranks by openly declaring in his presidential address that the goal of the Indian national movement was 'self-government' or Swaraj, like that of the 'United Kingdom or the colonies.

But the differences dividing the two wings of the nationalist movement could not be kept in check for long. Many of the moderate nationalists did not keep pace with events. They were not able to see that their outlook<sup>1</sup> and methods, which had served a real purpose in the past, were no longer adequate. They had failed to advance to the new stage of the national movement. The militant nationalists, on the other hand, were not willing to be held back. The split between the two came at the Surat session of the National Congress in December 1907; The moderate leaders having captured the machinery of the Congress excluded the militant elements from it>.

But, in the long run, the split did not prove useful to either party. The moderate leaders lost touch with the younger generation of nationalists. The British Government played the game of 'Divide and Rule' and tried to win over moderate nationalist opinion so that the militant nationalists could be isolated and suppressed. To placate the moderate nationalists it announced constitutional concessions through the Indian Councils Act of 1909 which are known as<sup>1</sup> the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. In 1911, the Government also announced the cancellation of the partition of Bengal. Western and eastern Bengals were to be reunited while a new province consisting of Bihar and Orissa was to be created. At the same time the seat of the Central Government was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi,

The Morley-Minto Reforms increased the number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and the provincial councils. But most of the elected members were elected indirectly, by the provincial councils in the case of the Imperial Council and by municipal committees and district boards in the case of provincial councils. Some of the elected seats were reserved for landlords and British capitalists in India. For instance, of the 68 members of the Imperial Legislative Council, 36 were officials and 5 were nominated non-officials. Of the 27 elected members, 6 were to represent the big landlords and 2 the British capitalists. Moreover the reformed councils still enjoyed no real power, being merely advisory bodies. The reforms in no way changed the undemocratic and foreign character of British rule or the fact of foreign economic exploitation of the country. They were, in fact, not designed to democratise Indian administration. Morley openly declared at the time: "If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it." His successor as Secretary of State, Lord Crewe, further clarified the position in 1912: "There is a certain section in India which looks forward to a measure of

self-government approaching that which has been granted in the dominions. I see no future for India on those lines.” The real purpose of the Reforms of 1909 was to confuse the moderate nationalists, to divide the nationalist Tanks, and to check the growth of unity among Indians.

The Reforms also introduced the system of separate electorates under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected. This was done in the name of protecting the Muslim minority. But in reality this was a part of the policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims and thus maintaining British supremacy in India. The system of separate electorates was based on the notion that the political and economic interests of Hindus and Muslims were separate. This notion was unscientific because religions cannot be the basis of political and economic interests or of political groupings. What is even more important, this system proved extremely harmful in practice. It checked the progress of India’s unification which had been a continuous historical process. It became a potent factor in the growth of coimu- nalism—both Muslim and Hindu—in the country. Instead of removing the educational and economic backwardness of the middle class Muslims and thus integrating them into the mainstream of Indian nationalism, the system of separate electorates tended to perpetuate their isolation from the developing nationalist movement. It encouraged separatist tendencies. It prevented people from concentrating on economic and political problems which were common to all Indians, Hindus or Muslims.

The moderate nationalists did not fully support the Morley-Minto Reforms. They soon realised that the Reforms had not really granted ipuch. But they decided to cooperate with the Government in working the reforms. This cooperation with the Government and their opposition to the programme of the militant nationalists proved very costly to them. They gradually lost the respect and support of the public and were reduced to a small political group. The vast majority of the politically conscious Indians continued to support, (hough passively, Lokamanya Tilak and the militant nationalists.

#### THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

Modern political conscionsness was late in developing among the Muslims. As nationalism spread among the Hindus and Parsees of the lower middle class, it failed to grow equally rapidly among the Muslims of the same class.

As we have seen earlier, Hindus and Muslims had fought shoulder to shoulder during the Revolt of 1857i In fact, after the suppression of the Revolt, the British officials had taken a particularly vindictive attitude towards the Muslims, hanging 27,000 Muslims in Delhi alone. From now on the Muslims were in. general looked upon with suspicion. But this attitude changed in the 1870’s. With the rise of the nationalist movement the British statesmen grew apprehensive about the safety and stability of their Empire in India, To check the growth of united national feeling in the country, they decided to follow more actively the policy of

'Divide and Rule' and to divide the people along religious lines, in other words to encourage communal and separatist tendencies in Indian politics. For this purpose they decided to come out as 'champions' of the Muslims and to win over to their side Muslim zamindars, landlords, and the newly educated. They also fostered other divisions in Indian society. They promoted provincialism by talking of Bengali domination. They tried to utilise the caste structure to turn the *non-brahmins* against *brahmins* and the lower castes against the higher castes. In U.P. and Bihar, where Hindus and Muslims had always lived in peace, they actively encouraged the movement to replace Urdu as a court language by Hindi. In other words, they tried to use even the legitimate demands of different sections of Indian society to create divisions among the Indian people.

In the rise of the separatist tendency along communal lines Sayyid Ahmad Khan played an important role. Though a great educationist and social reformer, Sayyid Ahmad Khan became towards the end of his life a conservative in politics. He laid the foundations of Muslim communalism when in the 1860's he gave up his earlier views and declared that the political interests of Hindus and Muslims were not the same but different and even divergent. He also preached complete obedience to British rule. When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, he decided to oppose it and tried to organise along with Raja Shiva Prasad of Varanasi a movement of loyalty to British rule. He also began to preach that, since the Hindus formed the larger part of the Indian population, they "would dominate the Muslims in case of the weakening or withdrawal of British rule. He urged the Muslims not to listen to Badruddin Tyabji's appeal to them to join the National Congress.

These views were of course unscientific and without any basis in reality. Even though Hindus and Muslims followed different religions, their economic and political interests were the same. Even socially and culturally the Hindu and Muslim masses -as well as classes had developed common ways of life. A Bengali Muslim and a Bengali Hindu had much more in common than a Bengali Muslim and a Punjabi Muslim had. Moreover Hindus and Muslims were being equally and jointly oppressed and exploited by British imperialism. Even Sayyid Ahmad Khan had said in 1884:

Do you not Inhabit the same land? Are you not burned and buried on the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mohammedan are only meant for religious distinction —otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation. Then all these different sects can be described as one nation, they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all.

The question then arises: how could the communal and separatist trend of thinking grow among the Muslims?

This was to some extent due to the relative backwardness of the Muslims in education and trade and industry. Muslim upper classes consisted mostly of zamindars and aristocrats. Because the upper class Muslims during the first 70 years of the 19th century were very anti-British, conservative and hostile to modern education, the number of educated Muslims in the country remained

very small. Consequently, modern western thought with its emphasis on science, democracy, and nationalism did not spread among Muslim intellectuals, who remained traditional and backward. Later, as a result of the efforts of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Nawab Abdul Latif, Badruddin Tyabji and others, modern education spread among Muslims. But the proportion of the educated was far lower among Muslims than among Hindus, Parsees, or Christians. Similarly, the Muslims had also taken little part in the growth of trade and industry. The small number of educated persons and men of trade and industry among the Muslims enabled the reactionary big landlords to maintain their influence over the Muslim masses. As we have seen earlier, landlords and zamindars, whether Hindu or Muslim, supported British rule out of self-interest. But, among the Hindus, the modern intellectuals and the rising commercial and industrialist class had pushed out the landlords from leadership. Unfortunately, the opposite remained the case with the Muslims.

The educational backwardness of the Muslims had another harmful consequence. Since modern education was written for, ten years into government service or the professions, the Muslims had also lagged behind the non-Muslims in this respect. Moreover, the Government *had* consciously discriminated against the Muslims after 1858, holding them largely responsible for the Revolt of 1857. When modern education did spread among the Muslims the educated Muslim found few opportunities in business or the professions. He inevitably looked for government employment. And, in any case, India being a backward colony, there were very few opportunities of employment for its people. In these circumstances, it was easy for the British officials and the loyalist Muslim leaders to incite the educated Muslims against the educated Hindus. Sayyid Ahmad Khan and others raised the demand for special treatment for the Muslims in the matter of government service. They declared that if the educated Muslims remained loyal to the British, the latter would reward them with government jobs and other special favours. Some loyalist Hindus and Parsees too tried to argue in this manner, but they remained a small minority. The result was that while in the country as a whole, independent and nationalist lawyers, journalists, students, merchants and industrialists were becoming political leaders, among the Muslims loyalist landlords and retired government servants still influenced political opinion. Bombay was the only province where the Muslims had taken to commerce and education quite early; and there the Nationalist Congress included in its ranks such brilliant Muslims as Badruddin Tyabji, R.M. Sayani, A. Bhimji, and the young barrister Muhammad Ali Jinnah. We can sum up this aspect of the problem with a quotation from Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India*:

There has been a difference of a generation or more in the development of the Hindu and Muslim middle classes, and that difference continues to show itself in many directions, political, economic, and other. It is this lag which produces a psychology of fear among the Muslims.

As students of history we should also know that the manner in which Indian

history was taught in schools and colleges. In those days also contributed to the growth of communalist feelings among the educated Hindus and Muslims. British historians and, following them, Indian historians described the medieval period of Indian history as the Muslim period. The rule of Turk, Afghan, and Mughal rulers was called Muslim rule. Even though the Muslim masses were as poor and oppressed by taxes as the Hindu masses, and even though both were looked down upon by the rulers, nobles, chiefs, and zamindars, whether Hindu or Muslim, with contempt and regarded as low creatures, yet these writers declared that all Muslims were rulers in medieval India and all non-Muslims were the ruled. They failed to bring out the fact that ancient and medieval politics in India, as politics everywhere else, were based on economic and political interests and not on religious considerations. Rulers as well as rebels used religious appeals as an outer colouring to disguise the play of material interests and ambitions. Moreover, the British and communal historians attacked the notion of a composite culture in India. Undoubtedly, there existed a diversity of cultures in India. But this diversity did not prevail on a religious basis. The people of a region as well as the upper and lower classes within a region tended to have common cultural patterns. Yet the communal historians asserted that there existed distinct Hindu and Muslim cultures in India.

Even though the communal view of politics and culture was unscientific and was largely the product of reactionary thinking and British tactics, it played upon the fears which came naturally to a minority. In such a situation wisdom dictated that every step be taken to remove the genuine fears of the minority that the majority might use the force of its numbers to injure the minority. The best remedy here was the outlook and behaviour of the religious majority. Its actions had to help the minority to realise two things: (1) that its religion and particular social and cultural traits, would be safe; (2) and that religion should not and would not be a factor in determining economic and political policies. This was fully recognised by the founding fathers of Indian nationalism who realised that the welding of Indians into a single nation would be a gradual and hard task, requiring prolonged political education of the people. They therefore set out to convince the minorities that the nationalist movement would carefully protect their religious and social rights while uniting all Indians in their common national, economic and political interests. In his presidential address to the National Congress of 1886, Dadabhai had given the clear assurance that the Congress would take up only national questions and would not deal with religious and social matters. In 1889 the Congress adopted the principle that it would not take up any proposal which was considered harmful to the Muslims by a majority of the Muslim delegates to the Congress. Many Muslims joined the Congress in its early years. In other words the early nationalists tried to modernise the political outlook of the people by teaching that politics should not be based on religion and community.



Unfortunately, while militant nationalism was a great step forward in every other respect, it was a step back in respect of the growth of national unity. The speeches and writings of some of the militant nationalists had a strong religious, and Hindu tinge. They emphasised ancient Indian culture to the exclusion of medieval Indian culture. They identified Indian culture and the Indian nation with the Hindu religion and Hindus. They tried to abandon elements of composite culture. For example, Tilak's propagation of the Shivaji and Ganapati festivals, Aurobindo Ghose's semi-mystical concept of India as mother and nationalism as a religion, the terrorists' oaths before goddess Kali, and the initiation of the anti-partition agitation with dips in the Ganga could hardly appeal to the Muslims. In fact, such actions were against the spirit of their religion, and they could not be expected as Muslims to associate with these and other similar activities. Nor could Muslims be expected to respond with full enthusiasm when they saw Shivaji or Pratap being hailed not merely for their historical roles but also as 'national' leaders who fought against the 'foreigners'. By no definition could Akbar or Aurangzeb be declared a foreigner, unless being a Muslim was made the ground for declaring one a foreigner. In reality, the struggle between Pratap and Akbar or Shivaji and Aurangzeb had to be viewed as a political struggle in its particular historical setting. To declare Akbar or Aurangzeb a 'foreigner' and Pratap or Shivaji a 'national' hero was to project into past history the communal outlook of 20th century India. This was not only bad history; but was also a blow to national unity.

This does not mean that militant nationalists were anti-Muslim or even wholly communal. Far from it. Most of them, including Tilak, favoured Hindu-Muslim unity. To most of them, the motherland, or *Bharatmata*, was a modern notion, being in no way linked with religion. Most of them were modern in their political thinking and not backward looking. Economic boycott, their chief political weapon, was indeed very modern as also their political organisation. Even the revolutionary terrorists were in reality inspired by European revolutionary movements, for example, those of Ireland, Russia, and Italy, rather than by Kali or Bhawani cults. But, as pointed out earlier, there was a certain Hindu tinge in the political work and ideas of the militant nationalists. This proved to be particularly harmful as clever British and pro-British propagandists took advantage of the Hindu colouring to poison the minds of the Muslims. The result was that a large number of educated Muslims either remained aloof from the rising nationalist movement or became hostile to it, thus falling an easy prey to a separatist outlook. Even so, quite a large number of advanced Muslim intellectuals - such as the banister Abdul Rasul and Hasrat Mohani joined the Swadeshi movement and Muhammad Ali Jinnah became one of the leading younger leaders of the National Congress.

The economic backwardness of the country also contributed to the rise of communalism. Due to the lack of modern industrial development; unemployment was an acute problem in India, especially for the educated. There was in consequence an intense competition for existing jobs. The farsighted Indians

nagnosed the disease and worked for an economic and political system in which the country would develop economically and in which, therefore, employment would be plentiful. However, many others thought of such short-sighted and short-term remedies as communal, provincial, or caste reservation in jobs. They aroused communal and religious and later caste and provincial passions in an attempt to get a larger share of the existing, limited employment opportunities. To those looking desperately for employment such a narrow appeal had a certain immediate attraction. In this situation, Hindu and Muslim communal leaders, caste leaders, and the officials following the policy of 'Divide and Rule' were able to achieve some success. Many Hindus began to talk of Hindu nationalism and many Muslims of Muslim nationalism. The politically immature people failed to realise that their economic, educational, and cultural difficulties were the result of common subjection to foreign rule and of economic backwardness and that only through common effort could they free their country, develop it economically, and thus solve the underlying common problems, such as unemployment.

The separatist and loyalist tendencies among a section of the educated Muslims and the big Muslim nawabs and landlords reached a climax in 1906 when the AU India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dacca, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. The Muslim League supported the partition of Bengal and demanded special safeguards for the Muslims in government services. Later, with the help of Lord Minto, the Viceroy, it put forward and secured the acceptance of the demand for separate electorates. Thus, while the National Congress was taking up anti-imperialist economic and political issues, the Muslim League and its reactionary leaders preached that the interests of the Muslims were different from those of the Hindus. The Muslim League's political activities were directed not against the British rulers but against the Hindus and the National Congress. Hereafter, the League began to oppose every nationalist and democratic demand of the Congress. It thus played into the hands of the British who announced that they would protect the 'special interests' of the Muslims. The league soon became one of the main instruments with which the British hoped to fight the rising nationalist movement.

To increase its usefulness, the British also encouraged the Muslim League to approach the Muslim masses and to assume their leadership. It is true that the nationalist movement was also dominated at this time by the educated town-dwellers, but, in its anti-imperialism, it was representing the interests of all Indians—rich or poor, Hindus or Muslims. On the other hand, the Muslim League and its upper class leaders had little in common with the interests of the Muslim masses, who were suffering as much as the Hindu masses at the hands of foreign imperialism.

This basic weakness of the League came to be increasingly recognised by the patriotic Muslims. The educated Muslim young men were, in particular, attracted by radical nationalist ideas. The militantly nationalist Ahrar movement was founded at this time under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali, Hakim

Ajmal Khan, Hasan Imam, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, and Mazhar-ul-Haq, These young men disliked the loyalist politics of the Aligarh school and the big nawabs and zamindars. Moved by modern ideas of self-government, they advocated active participation in the militant nationalist movement.

Similar nationalist sentiments were arising among a section of the traditional Muslim scholars led by the Deoband school. The most prominent of these scholars was the young Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was educated at the famous Al Azhar University at Cairo and who propagated his rationalist and nationalist ideas in his newspaper *Al Nillat* which he brought out in 1912 at the age of 24. Maulana Mohammed Ali, Azad and other young men preached a message of courage and fearlessness and said that there was no conflict between Islam and nationalism.

In 1911 war broke out between the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and Italy and during 1912 and 1913 Turkey had to fight the Balkan powers. The Turkish ruler claimed at this time to be also the Caliph or religious head of all Muslims; moreover, nearly all of the Muslim holy places were situated within the Turkish Empire. A wave of sympathy for Turkey swept India. A medical mission, headed by Dr. M.A. Ansari, was sent to help Turkey. Since Britain's policy during the Balkan War and after was not sympathetic to Turkey, the pro-Turkey and pro-Caliph or Khi'afat sentiments tended to become anti-imperialist. In fact for several years—from 1912 to 1924—the loyalists among the Muslim Leaguers were completely over-shadowed by nationalist young men.

Unfortunately, with the exception of a few persons like Azad who were rationalists in their thinking, most of the militant nationalists among Muslim young men also did not fully accept the modern secular approach to politics. The result was that the most important issue they took up was not political independence but protection of the holy places and of the Turkish Empire. Instead of understanding and opposing the economic and political consequences of imperialism, they fought imperialism on the ground that it threatened the Caliph and the holy places. Even their sympathy for Turkey was on religious grounds. Their political appeal was to religious sentiments. Moreover, the heroes and myths and cultural traditions they appealed to belonged not to ancient or medieval Indian history but to West Asian history. It is true that this approach did not immediately clash with Indian nationalism. Rather, it made its adherents and supporters anti-imperialist and encouraged the nationalist trend among urban Muslims. But in the long run this approach too proved harmful, as it encouraged the habit of looking at political questions from a religious view point. In any case, such political activity did not promote among the Muslim masses a modern, secular approach towards political and economic questions.

Even though no organised party of Hindu communalists was formed in this period, Hindu communal ideas also arose. Many Hindu writers and political workers echoed the ideas and programme of the Muslim League. They talked of Hindu nationalism. They declared that Muslims were

foreigners in India, They also carried on a regular agitation for 'Hindu' share of seats in legislatures and municipal councils and in government jobs.

#### THE NATIONALISTS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

In June 1914, the First World War broke out between Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Japan and the United States of America on one side and Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey on the other. We have already seen in Chapter X that the industrialised capitalist countries of the world had begun to compete in, and struggle for, the possession of exclusive markets and colonies in the second half of the 19th century. By the beginning of the 20th century, this struggle had become very intense and bitter as the area of the world still available for conquest began to shrink. Those powers, such as Germany and Italy, which had arrived late on the world scene and had therefore not been able to grab as much as the early starters, such as Britain and France, now demanded a redivision of the colonies. They were willing to seek such a redivision by \* force. Every major country of the world now began to prepare for a possible war to retain its possessions or to acquire fresh ones. The \* opening years of the 20th century witnessed a fierce armament race among the powers. The people of these countries got emotionally involved in the struggle for colonies as they were told by their rulers that the prestige, power, and fame of a nation depended on the extent of its colonial possessions. Jinoo newspaper served as the main vehicle for such propaganda. Thus, for example, the British felt proud of the fact that 'The sun never sets on the British Empire', while the Germans clamoured for "a place in the sun". Afraid of being politically and militarily isolated by its rivals, every country sought alliances with- other countries. Very soon, the powers got divided into hostile sets of alliances or power blocs. Finally, the war started in August 1914, World politics now began to change rapidly. In India the years of War marked the maturing of nationalism.

In the beginning, the Indian nationalist leaders, including Lokamanya Tilak, who had been released in June 1914, decided to support the war-

exploit of the Government. This was not done out of a sense of loyalty or sympathy with the British cause. As Jawaharlal Nehru has pointed out in his *Autobiography*.

There was little sympathy with the British in spite of loud professions of loyalty. Moderate and Extremist alike learnt with satisfaction of German victories. There was no love for Germany of course, only the desire to see our rulers humbled.

The nationalists adopted an actively pro-British attitude mainly in the mistaken belief that grateful Britain would repay India's loyalty with gratitude and enable India to take a long step forward on the road to self-government. They did not realise fully that the different powers were fighting the First World War precisely to safeguard their existing colonies.

### The Home Rule Leagues

At the same time, many Indian leaders saw clearly that the government was not likely to give any real concessions unless popular pressure was brought to bear upon it. Hence, a real mass political movement was necessary. Some other factors were leading the nationalist movement in the same direction. The World War, involving mutual struggle between the imperialist powers of Europe, destroyed the myth of the racial superiority of the western nations over the Asian peoples. Moreover the War led to increased misery among the poorer classes of Indians. For them the War had meant heavy taxation and soaring prices of the daily necessities of life. They were getting ready to join any militant movement of protest. Consequently, the war years were years of intense nationalist political agitation.

But this mass agitation could not be carried out under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, which had become, under Moderate leadership, a passive and inert political organisation with no political work among the people to its credit. Therefore, two Home Rule Leagues were started in 1915-16, one under the leadership of Lokamanya Tilak and the other under the leadership of Annie Besant, and S. Subramaniya Iyer. The two Home Rule Leagues carried out intense propaganda all over the country in favour of the demand for the grant of Home Rule or self-government to India after the War, it was during this agitation that Tilak gave the popular slogan: "Home Rule is my birth-right, and I will have it." The two Leagues made rapid progress and the cry of Home Rule resounded throughout the length and breadth of India.

The war period also witnessed the growth of the revolutionary movement. The terrorist groups spread from Bengal and Maharashtra to the whole of northern India. Moreover, many Indians began to plan a violent rebellion to overthrow British rule. Indian revolutionaries in the

United States of America and Canada had established the Ghadar (Rebellion) Party in 1913. While most of the members of the party were Sikh peasants and soldiers, their leaders were mostly educated Hindus or Muslims. The party had active members in other countries such as Mexico, Japan, China, Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, Indochina and East and South Africa.

The Ghadar Party was pledged to wage revolutionary war against the British in India. As soon as the First World War broke out in 1914, the Ghadarites decided to send arms and men to India to start an uprising with the help of soldiers and local revolutionaries. Several thousand men volunteered to go back to India. Millions of dollars were contributed to pay for their expenses. Many gave their life-long savings and sold their lands and other property. The Ghadarites also contacted Indian soldiers in the Far East, South-East Asia and all over India and persuaded several regiments to

rebel. Finally, 21 February 1915 was fixed as the date for an armed revolt in the Punjab. Unfortunately, the authorities came to know of these plans and took immediate action. The rebellious regiments were disbanded and their leaders were either imprisoned or hanged. For example, 12 men of the 23rd Cavalry were executed. The leaders and members of the Ghadar Party in the Punjab were arrested on a mass scale and tried. 42 of them were hanged, 114 were transported for life, and 93 were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Many of them, after their release, founded the Kirti and Communist movements in the Punjab. Some of the prominent Ghadar leaders were: Baba Gurmukh Singh, Kartar Singh Saraba, Sohan Singh Bhakna, Rahmat Ali Shah, Bhai Parmanand, and Mohammad Barkatullah.

Inspired by the Ghadar Party, 700 men of the 5th Light Infantry at Singapore revolted under the leadership of Jamadar Chisti Khan and Subedar Dundey Khan. They were crushed after a bitter battle in which many died. Thirty-seven others were publicly executed, while 41 were transported for life.

Other revolutionaries were active in India and abroad. In 1915, during an unsuccessful revolutionary attempt, Jatin Mukerjee popularly known as 'Bagha Jatin' gave his life fighting a battle with the police at Balasore. Rash Bihari Bose, Raja Mahendra Pratap, Lala Hardayat, Abdul Rahim, Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Champak Raman Pillai, Sardar Singh Rana, and Madam Cama were some of the prominent Indians who carried on revolutionary activities and propaganda outside India.

#### Lucknow Session of the Congress (1916)

The nationalists soon saw that disunity in their ranks was injuring their cause and that they must put up a united front before the government. The growing nationalist feeling in the country and the urge for unity produced two historic developments at the Lucknow the Indian National Congress in 1916. Firstly, the two wings of the Congress were reunited. The old controversies had lost their sting and the split in the Congress had not benefited either group, of all the rising tide of nationalism compelled the old leaders came back into the Congress. Lokamanya Tilak and other militants. The Lucknow Congress was the first united Congress.

At Lucknow, the Congress and the All India Muslim League old differences and put up common political demands before the government. While the War and the two Home Rule Leagues were new sentiment in the country and changing the character of the Congress, the Muslim League had also been undergoing gradual change. We have already noted earlier that the younger section of the Muslims was turning to bolder nationalist politics. The War witnessed further developments in that direction. Consequently, the Government suppressed the *Al-Hilal* of Abul Kalam Azad and the *Omrad* of Maulana Mohammed Ali. It also interned the Ali Maulanas Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Kalam Azad. The League reflected, at least partially, the militancy of its younger members. It gradually began to out-look the political outlook of the Aligarh school of thought and closer to the policies of the Congress. The rift between the Congress and the League was brought about during the Congress-

League pact, known popularly as the Pact. An important role in bringing the two together was Lokamanya Tilak. The two organisations passed the same i at their sessions, put forward a joint scheme of political reforms eparate electorates, and demanded that the British Government ke a declaration that it would confer self-government on India ' date. The Lucknow Pact marked an important step forward Muslim unity. Unfortunately, it was based on the notion of Dgether the educated Hindus and Muslim as separate entities; ;ords without secularisation of their political outlook which ke them realise that in politics they had no separate interests or Muslims. The Lucknow Pact, therefore, left the way open ire resurgence of communalism in Indian politics, immediate effect of the developments at Lucknow was tremen- e unity between the moderate nationalists and the militant s and between the National Congress and the Muslim League reat political enthusiasm in the country. Even the British nt felt it necessary to placate the nationalists. Hitherto it had relied heavily on repression to quieten the nationalist agitation. Large numbers of radical nationalists and revolutionaries had been jailed or interned under the notorious Defence of India Act and other similar regulations. It now decided to appease nationalist opinion and announced on 20 August 1917 that its policy in India was "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government of India as an integral part of the British Empire." And in July 1918 the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were announced. But Indian nationalism was not appeased. In fact, the Indian national movement was soon to enter its third and last phase— the era of struggle or the Gandhian Era.

## EXERCISES

1. How would you explain the growth of militant nationalism or Extremism in the beginning of the 20th century?
2. In what way did the militant nationalists differ from the Moderates? How far were they successful in realising their political objectives?
3. Trace the course of the Swadeshi and Boycott movement.
4. Examine critically the important factors which were responsible for the growth of commnnalism in India in the early part of the 20th century. Bring out clearly the role of the British policy of 'Divide and Rule', the educational and economic backwardness of the Muslim upper and middle classes, the teaching of Indian history, the militant nationalism and the economic backwardness of the country.

5. Write short notes on:

(a) Lokamanya Tilak, (b) Growth of revolutionary terrorism, (c) The Surat split, (d) The Morley-Minto Reforms, (e) Muslim League, (f) The growth of militant nationalism among the Muslims, (g) The First World War, (h) The Home Rule Leagues, (t) The Ghadar Party, (j) The Lucknow Pact.