CHAPTER I

Factors leading to the rise of Indian nationalism with particular reference to Andhra.

The Andhras:

The Andhras have a hoary past. The first mention of the Andhra people we come across is in the Aitreya Brahmana which is said to be as old as 1000 B.C. From this we note that the Andhras were a southern people inhabiting the region south of the Vindhyas. Coming to the historical period we come across the first mention of the Andhras in the Mauryan times. From the writings of Megasthene, the Greek Ambassador in the court of Chandra Gupta Maurya, we note that the Andhras were an independent and powerful people with 30 forts, one lakh infantry, 2000 horses and 1000 elephant corps.

From the inscriptions of Ashoka we also learn that the Andhras were by and large predominantly Buddhist in their religion and their country was an independent “Janapada” (Republic) which was outside the pale of the Mauryan empire. It was on account of this that Ashoka had to wage the famous Kalinga war which resulted in so much bloodshed that it brought about a complete change in the attitude of the emperor and made him renounce war and violence once for all and take up to the teachings of “Ashoka Dharma” which earned for him the distinction of being the first humanist and the first monarch in the world who taught to the world community at large the desirability and possibility of establishing international peace by eschewing war. While the Kalinga war was indirectly responsible for making Ashoka immortal in the annals of world history and civilization, it also points out the bravery of the heroic people of Kalinga of which Andhra was also a part.

The Satavahanas:

After the disintegration of the Mauryan empire we find that an Andhra dynasty namely the Satavahanas came into prominence and they ruled from 225 B.C. to 415 A.D. The Satavahana
empire at its zenith comprised of Maharashtra, northern Konkan, Berar, Gujarāt, Malwa and extended in the south upto Kanchi. One of the Satavahana rulers Gautami Putra Satakarni was noted for having defeated the Sakas. The Satavahana empire had trade relations with the Romans and their maritime activities are mentioned by foreigners in works such as "Periplus of the Erythraen Sea" and Ptolemy's Geography. They had also trade relations with countries in the Far East like Java, Sumatra, Indo-China and the Malaya Peninsula. The fame of the Satavahanas was known outside India in countries like China, Japan, and Burma with whom also they had commercial contacts. The Satavahana kings though they favoured the Brahminical religion patronised Buddhism also, thus revealing the spirit of tolerance of the Andhra people.

Acharya Nagarjuna:

The famous Buddhist philosopher Acharya Nagarjuna, who is said to be the first chemist in the history of the world, belonged to the times of the later Satavahanas (2nd C. A. D.). He was a pro-founder of the Madhyamika philosophy and gave a definite shape to the Mahayana cult of Buddhism that was ultimately responsible for the absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism, thereby adding to the many facets of the Hindu religion. The evolution of the Madhyamika philosophy of Buddhism was a distinct contribution of the Andhras to the various schools of philosophy existing in the world today. It was under the guidance of Acharya Nagarjuna that the famous Buddhist University known as the Nagarjuna Vihara flourished at Nagarjunakonda on whose model a university was built at Lhasa in Tibet. His commentary on Pancha-Vimsatika-Pratīka-Prajñaparamitā is still available in the Chinese language.

Amaravati School of Sculpture:

It was during the period of these Satavahana rulers that the paintings of Ajanta and the sculptures of Amaravati were carved. The Amaravati school of sculpture is a distinct school by itself, different from the Mathura and Gandhara schools of art. Thus even in the field of sculpture also the Andhras developed a distinct school of art. Commenting about the Satavahana empire, one of the historian says, "This too went the way of all empires through valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy and decay; but
while it lasted for more than four centuries and a half, it imparted more stability and security to the life of the people, the inhabitants of the vast regions of the Deccan than any other Indian power had ever done. Many empires had come and gone, the Mauryas, the Sungs, and Kanvas in Magadha, the Chedis in Kalinga and the Bactrians, Sakas and the Pahlavas in North and north western India, yet the Satavahanas ruled on, strong in will and stronger in action and before they fell, made weak by time and fate, they had already saved the Deccan from the aliens for more than three centuries”.

The people of Andhra in general are responsive to progressive ideas. This characteristic feature of the Andhra people can be gauged from the history of the various religious reform movements that took place in the country like the Advaita movement of Shankara, Veerashaivism of Basava, the Vaishnavism of Ramanuja, Achala Bodha of Vemana, Veera Brahnam and Siddiah. All these religious preachings had their impact on the people and society, though the society in general seems to have adhered to the teachings of Shankara while imbibing the spirit of the teachings of the other reformist teachers. Even the coming of Islam and later on of Christianity into Andhra did not produce any divisive forces in the society. On the other hand it resulted in creating a sense of tolerance and goodwill among the people.

Starting with the Satavahanas in the third century B.C. various Andhra dynasties played a prominent part in the history of India in general and of the Deccan in particular upto the 16th century when the last great Andhra ruler namely the ruler of Vijayanagar was defeated by the Bahamani Sultans of the Deccan in 1565. The years 1323 and 1565 are of special significance in the history of Andhra Pradesh.

The Kakatiyas:

In 1323 Pratap Rudra, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal was defeated by the armies of the Delhi Sultanate. This led to the splitting of Kakatiya dominions which spread upto Kanchipuram into several independent principalities under the control of the various Reddy and Padmanayaka chieftains who were not strong enough to prevent the passing of the greater part of the country into the hands of the Deccan Sultanates that formerly costituted the
Bahamani empire. It also finally led to the establishment of the Golconda kingdom in 1518 under the Qutb Shahs who ruled over a greater part of the Kakatiya dominions.

**Vijayanagar:**

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded in 1336 by the brothers, Harihara and Bukka of the Sangama dynasty. From 1336 to 1565 the Andhra kingdom of Vijayanagar had a unique role to play. It stood as a bastion against the spread of the Muslim power in southern India. But after the disastrous Tallikota war in 1565 its erstwhile dominions broke up into several principalities on the east coast while in the south its off-shoots existed in the form of Nayaka kingdoms of Madura, Tanjore and Gingi. Later the territories on the East Coast popularly called as the Northern Circars came under the control of the Qutb Shahs of Golconda. When the Qutb Shahs were annihilated by Aurangzeb in 1568 these areas naturally came under the control of the Mughals.

**The Hyderabad State—Cession of Northern Circars and Ceded Districts:**

When the Hyderabad State was established in 1724 in the Deccan by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asafjah they came under the control of the Nizam of Hyderabad who gave them in 1753 to the French General, Bussy, for the maintenance of the French troops in the Deccan. When the French were defeated by the English, the English East India Company acquired the Northern Circars of Eluru, Mustafanagar, Rajahmundry and Srikakulam in 1776 and Guntur in 1788 from the Nizam in return for which they promised to help the Nizam against his enemies. The Nizam also ceded to the English East India Company the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellary on 20th October, 1800 when he entered into the subsidiary alliance with them for protecting him against internal and external dangers.

**Andhra and Telangana:**

From the year 1800 onwards the areas known as the Northern Circars and the Ceded districts of the Andhra country became a part of the Madras Presidency while the remaining Telugu speaking areas remained under the control of the Nizam under the
name of Telangana. Thus from the beginning of the 19th century onwards the development of the social, political and cultural history of the two regions takes two distinct forms on account of the fact that these two regions happened to be under two different and distinct political set-ups. We find that the course of the freedom struggle in the two areas runs on two different patterns.

The freedom struggle in the Andhra areas reflected on the whole the general features of the Indian national movement that was being carried on, at the all-India level to fight against British imperialism, but Andhra had certain unique contributions to make to the history of the freedom struggle in the shape of the Rampa rebellion of Sitaramaraju, a violent struggle amidst the aura of non-violence emanated by Gandhiji’s teachings; the Chirala Peralia struggle, the Palnadu and Pedanandipadu Satyagraha that are unique and different from the all India struggle.

The freedom struggle in the Telangana region of the Hyderabad State while adhering to the general pattern of the freedom struggle in the Indian Princely states also had its own special features like the growth of the anti-feudal struggle waged by the Communist party of Telangana called the “Telangana movement”. The Hyderabad State Congress which by and large represented the popular aspirations of the people also had to develop certain special techniques to fight the extreme communal wing of the Ittehad Muslimeen party known as the Razakar organisation. Ultimately the State Congress by means of certain tactics and methods it adopted succeeded in bringing about integration of the Hyderabad state with the Indian Union in 1948.

Andhra Pradesh:

The Andhra state comprising of the Andhra areas of the erstwhile Madras Presidency was formed in the year 1953, due to the self sacrifice of Sri Potti Sreeramulu. Later the Andhra and Telangana areas were constituted into a single state of Andhra Pradesh in November, 1956.

When we study the growth of the freedom movement in Andhra Pradesh we have to perform to study it under two different categories namely the freedom movement as it developed in the Andhra areas of the Madras Presidency and the freedom move-
ment as it evolved in the Telangana region of the Hyderabad state. Before one studies the evolution of the freedom struggle in these two regions let us first see how the 1857 rebellion, which is a distinct landmark in the history of India and which is said to be the first war of Indian Independence affected the two regions.

**Andhra in 1857:**

We find that on the whole the Andhra region of the Madras Presidency was not greatly affected by the events of 1857, though there were some isolated rebellions. One such rebellion took place in the tribal Savara areas in the Parakmudi zamindari. This rebellion was led by one Dandasena, a feudal Chieftain of Gaiba. His rebellion was put down by the British army under the command of Capt. Wilson.

Another rebellion under one Korukonda Subba Reddy, the Headman of Kottatooru village, took place on account of a private grudge he had against one Shankar Swamy, the Munsiff of Buttai-gudem. Subba Reddy was captured and sentenced to death. During his trial he declared that he was encouraged to rebel when he heard that Nana Saheb was advancing towards the Deccan and that Nana Saheb would reward all those who rebelled against the British.

Apart from this there were certain Rohilla and Arab incursions from the Nizam’s dominions into the districts of Krishna, Cuddapah, and Kurnool and the Taluq treasury at Jaggiahpeta was attacked while Rudravaramu in the Koilkunta taluq was raided. The British suspected that these raids had something to do with the events in Northern India but by adopting strong measures they were able to keep these areas comparatively peaceful. One of the reasons perhaps why these areas remained calm during the period when the greater part of Northern India was caught in the conflagration of rebellion against the British was that they had no local leaders in the shape of Indian kings for whom they could express their loyalty and rise in revolt against the Company Sarkar. Local rebellions of the zamindars on the East Coast were put down by the British East India Company long before 1857.

**Hyderabad in 1857:**

Coming to Hyderabad we find that the 1857 rebellion affected the state and people of Hyderabad to a far greater extent than it
did in the Andhra areas. The general impression that one has about the 1857 rebellion in Hyderabad was that the State was completely immune from all anti-British feelings during this period. When we closely look at the various events that took place in the State we find that this picture was far from correct. The people in the State were agitated by the events in the north and at least a bulk of them were anxious that their ruler should also participate in the struggle against the British. But their aspirations were not realised due to the pro-British attitude adopted by the then reigning Nizam, Nawab Afzal-ud-Dowla and his Minister Salar Jung I. The decision of the Nizam to remain firm in his alliance with the British coupled with a strong sense of loyalty displayed by the feudal nobles headed by Shams-ul-Umara in Hyderabad and the extortions of Salar Jung, the Diwan prevented a violent and serious outbreak of rebellions in the dominions of the Nizam. The British also recognised the importance of Hyderabad and the friendship and goodwill of the Nizam during this period and we find the Governor of Bombay writing to the Governor General to the effect, "If the Nizam goes, all goes". It is because of the Nizam's decision to be faithful to the British during this period that the embers of the mutiny did not spread to the Southern Regions. Thus the people of Hyderabad had no means of giving vent to their feelings. If at all they had to rebel they were left with the choice of rebelling in the name of the far off Nana Saheb Peshwa while their natural leader the Nizam for whom they were prepared to rise in rebellion lay inert.

Rebellion in the Capital City:

The news of the outbreak of rebellion in Delhi created a great excitement among the people of Hyderabad. Plackards began to appear on the walls of the mosques and other public places exhorting the Nizam to rise and revolt in the name of the Delhi Emperor and in the name of Islam. The plackards appealed to all sections of the people, Hindus and Muslims, to rise against the alien Christian power and they read as follows:

"The aid of the Almighty and his Prophet is present with Afzal-ud-Dowla Bahadur who should not fear and be apprehensive. If fearful he should wear bangles and sit at home ............ If after reading this paper on
hearing of it a representation is not made to the king (Nizam) or his Diwan, the oath of the swine is on him and if in case of a Hindu the oath of a cow”.

During this period one Moulvi Ibrahim took a prominent part in inciting the people to rebel against the British. The Diwan Salar Jung called the Moulvi to his presence and severely warned him to desist from indulging in seditious activity. Another, Moulvi Akbar, tried to declare ‘Jehad’ against the British by hoisting the flag of religion when the Muslims congregated to offer their prayers at the Mecca Masjid. But they were put to flight by the strong Arab guards posted by Salar Jung.

Feelings of discontent and rebellion were rampant among the Subsidiary troops stationed at Secunderabad and also among the Contingent troops stationed at different headquarters. Commenting about this Col. Davidson, the Resident, wrote to India Government, “I believe our only reliance for the continuance of peace in the Deccan must be placed on the fidelity of the native Government and sincerely trust that after the present crisis has passed over the British Government will not forget what His Highness the Nizam and his most able Minister———An opportunity and a leader are all that I believe to be wanting to extend the north west revolt to the Deccan and all Southern India. Our sepoys have dared to judge in what cause they will fight and in what not. After that how can they be considered good and trustworthy soldiers?”

Rebellion of the Contingent Troops:

The 1st and 2nd Cavalry of the Hyderabad contingent troops stationed at Aurangabad refused to leave the borders of the State saying, “Nizam Ke serhad ke bahar nahi jayenge—Deen ke upar Kamar nahi bandhenge” (we will not cross the frontiers of the Nizam’s dominions and we will not fight against our own co-religionists). The rebellion of these Contingent sepoys at Aurangabad was led by one Jamedar Amir Khan and Dafedar Mir Fida Ali. Mir Fida Ali was caught, court martialed and hanged while the native infantry and artillery corps were made to march past the gallows from which he was hung. Jamedar Amir Khan contrived to escape. All the men belonging to the 1st Cavalry were disarmed. On the whole the number of men arrested and disarmed during
the course of these incidents consisted of 1 Risaldar, 3 Jamedars, 9 Dafedars, 76 troopers and 4 trumpeters. Out of these 21 were shot dead while 3 were blown away from guns. Apart from these 3 Dafedars and 6 troopers were arrested at Mominabad. Describing about this Capt. Abbot, the British Officer in command of these contingent troops, wrote, “We have already disposed off a goodly number of the 94 prisoners we took in the first haul of the net; one has been hanged, 4 shot, one blown away from a gun, a frightful sight indeed; his head ascended about 20 yards in the air and his arms were thrown about eight yards in either direction! I was astonished to see how coolly they received intelligence that they were to suffer death.”

The Hyderabad Contingent troops stationed at Buldhana were also affected by this mutiny and several of them were arrested. Some of the sepoys who have deserted from Buldhana about ten in number arrived in Hyderabad under Jamedar Chhida Khan with the hope of receiving protection from the Hyderabad Government.

Attack on the Residency:

But the Hyderabad Government had already offered a reward of Rs. 3,000 for catching Chhida Khan. As soon as Chhida Khan had arrived at Hyderabad Salar Jung got him arrested and sent him over to the Residency for trial. This created a great Commotion in the city and the people congregrated at the Mecca Masjid on the 17th July, 1857; they decided to send 4 Moulvis to the Nizam with a request that Chhida Khan and his associates might be freed. They also resolved to attack the Residency in case the Nizam were to refuse the request.

Salar Jung, on hearing of the congregation at the Mecca Masjid, sent a body of Arab Guards to disperse the crowd and assured the Residency that he need not apprehend any danger. But by the evening of the same day he received news that a body of 300 Rohillas was heading towards the Residency building under the leadership of the Rohilla leader Turrabaz Khan and Moulvi Alauddin. So he hurriedly sent another message to the Resident saying that the Residency was in danger of being attacked and that the Resident should try to defend himself till such time as the Minister would be able to send a body of the Nizam’s troops to the
assistance of the Resident. The Rohillas headed by Turabaz Khan marched towards the Residency building from the western side, i.e., from the Sultan Bazar area where the road connects Hyderabad and Secunderabad. They occupied the upper storeys of two large houses that belonged to the local sahukars by name Abban Saheb and Jaigopaldas. By doing so they were able to get an advantageous position commanding the gateway towards the Putli Bowli and Dilsukh gardens. The insurgents demanded the release of Chhida Khan and his companions.

The Resident placed Major H. C. Briggs in charge of the defence of the Residency. As it was already dark, Briggs decided not to disturb the Rohillas and to allow them to remain in occupation of the sahukars' houses and to post Arab guards around them. But he had to open fire on them when the Rohillas broke through the partition wall of an adjoining building and tore away the hinges of the gate leading towards Putli Bowli. The English kept up firing on the Rohillas till about 4 O'clock in the morning. Finding the English cannon fire too severe, the Rohillas evacuated the house they were occupying with the help of the very Arab guards that were posted to prevent their escape. They also carried away their wounded with them leaving behind 4 dead.

Turabaz Khan, who led the attack against the Residency, was subsequently apprehended at Moghulguda while trying to escape and was arrested. During the scuffle that ensued when he was being arrested Turabaz Khan received a severe wound. He was tried and sentenced to transportation for life. But he contrived to escape from prison on the 18th January, 1859. The Government then announced a reward of Rs. 5,000 for anyone who would apprehend Turabaz Khan. They were able to effect his arrest once again with the help of one Kurban Ali near a village called Toopran where in the scuffle that ensued he was shot dead by the British soldiers. The body was subsequently brought to Hyderabad and was hanged up by chains in a public place.

Moulvi Alauddin who acted as the standard bearer of the people and who led the attack against the Residency on the 17th July fled to Bangalore. He was subsequently arrested at a village called Mangalapalli, brought back to Hyderabad, tried and was sentenced to transportation for life to the Andaman islands on the 28th June, 1859, where he died in the year 1884.
Rise of Nationalism in Andhra.

The incident of 17th July, that is the attack on the Residency, was the only major incident that took place in Hyderabad city proper. But it does not mean that the closing of that episode had put an end to all disputes between the people and their alien rulers. Tension continued to prevail among the various sections of the people till the year 1860. The situation in the state continued to be very critical on account of the fact that the emissaries of Nana Saheb, Tantya Tope and Rao Saheb Peshwa were actively moving among the people. The discontent against the British rule in India took a more concrete form in the shape of rebellions in the various parts of the state such as the rebellions of Raja, Venkatappah Naik of Shorapur, the Rohilla and Bhil rebellions in the Nirmal and Ajanta regions, the rebellion of Ramji Gond in Adilabad, Ranga Rao Patwari in Kowlas, and ultimately the conspiracy in the name of Rao Saheb peshwa in 1862.

The conspiracy of 1862:

In 1862 a conspiracy took place in the name of Rao Saheb Peshwa was supposed to be a nephew of Peshwa Nana Saheb in Hyderabad city. This conspiracy had its origins at Mhow in Central India and it was also partly hatched in Baroda in Gujarat. The person who called himself Rao Saheb namely Rama Rao arrived in Hyderabad in March 1862 and stayed in a temple garden known as the Bala Mukund Bagh which was owned by a sahukar by name Kishan Lal. He was also able to win the sympathies of the banking firm of Pooranmal to finance his projects apart from the sympathies of Rukma Reddy, the Zamindar of Marthad in the Armoor taluq, Rajaiah Reddy and Tuljaram, the brother of Amrut Lal known as ‘Chhawni Raja’ (cantonment Raja), the native commander of the Nizam’s irregular forces.

When this conspiracy was brought to light to Salar Jung, he treated it with contempt saying that not a single person of any name nor importance at the Hyderabad Durbar has joined or been named in this conspiracy and that only the scum of the population were involved in it. The fact that Rama Rao, the alleged Rao Saheb, after his arrest on 4th March was able to slip through the clutches of the Government inspite of the latter having declared a price of Rs. 5,000/- on his head shows the loyalty, bravery and coordination of these humble people whom Salar Jung, from the
heights of his feudal greatness, dismissed as the scum of the population. Not only Rama Rao but his Diwan Kishan Rao and a Telugu woman who harbour them in the Bala Mukund Bagh were also able to make good their escape and they were never caught inspite of the best efforts of the Government.

Rama Rao narrowly escaped being caught by the Nizam’s Government twice, once at Begum Bazaar where the people resisted the attempts of Jamedar Tara Singh to search one of the houses belonging to the sahukar Kishan Lal where Rama Rao was alleged to be hiding and at another time in the village of Narsinghi where the Kotwal pretended to believe that the detachment sent by the Minister were none other than a body of dacoits.

After the escape of Rama Rao and his Diwan Kishan Rao, the Hyderabad Government arrested 59 persons and tried them. Forty persons were committed to trial and awarded various sentences. Rukma Reddy was sentenced to life imprisonment and he was always kept in fetters while the son of Kishad Lal was let off on account of his tender age but was asked to pay a fine of Rs. 75,000/- and the Pooranmal firm was fined Rs. 10,000/-. Ram Ratanji, who harboured Rama Rao, committed suicide on being arrested. With the conspiracy of 1862 the anti-British movements that were released in the state of Hyderabad in the wake of the 1857 rebellion came to an end.

**India under British Rule, its impact:**

With the suppression of the 1855 rebellion and the assumption of power by Queen Victoria, the illusion of India being an independent country under the hegemony of the Mughals was completely shattered. Vast areas of the Indian sub-continent excepting those that belonged to the Indian Princes were brought directly under the administrative control of the India Government. The assumption of power directly by the Crown in 1858 brought about vital changes in the economic, social and administrative setup of the country.

The British were a highly advanced nation and to serve their own ends they introduced in India a centralised and uniform system of administration. Modern methods of communication, modern systems of education and a totally different type of economy that
was not hitherto present in India were introduced. This resulted in the unleashing of new social forces that forged the basis for the rise and development of Indian nationalism.

It has been a matter of great pride to Indians that theirs is the only civilisation in the world that has been able to have a continued existence right from 3500 B.C. up to the present times whereas the other ancient civilisations of the world like the civilisation of ancient Egypt, Rome and Greece have totally disappered while another ancient civilisation, the Chinese, has undergo radical changes during the last 24 years.

One of the reasons why we Indians have been able to maintain this continuity of civilisation and culture from the very ancient times to the present day and that inspite of the various political changes that took place in our country, like the Greek invasion, the Turko-Afghan rule and the Mughal rule etc., the tenor of life especially in the social and economic fields was not affected was due to the existence of the self-sufficient village.

Dynasties have come and gone but they did not affect the basic unit of the Indian civilisation, namely the village with its self-sufficient rural economic system. Inspite of the many convulsions through which the country had passed, the village communities were not affected on account of the fact that they organised themselves like little self-sufficient republics where the various communities, who believed implicitly in the caste system, with its professions, carried on their vocations and were able to evolve a self-sufficient village agriculture and industry which was completely independent of the outside world and was not exposed to any external competition. Thus the villages in India continued for centuries to live as self-sufficient economic units, and the invulnerable strongholds of tradition and stereo-typed social order.

Side by side with these self-sufficient villages there were certain towns, towns of political importance where the king and his nobility lived, towns of religious significance, and towns of commercial importance. In these areas certain urban industries and handicrafts developed to cater to the needs of the people who visited these areas. The urban industries comprised of producing luxury articles that catered to the taste of richer sections of society and also evolved certain artisan crafts like building magnificent temples and monuments of art like the Taj Mahal, etc. or forging the necessary equipment for the army.
Certain industries like the textile industry which was mainly developed in commercial towns like Masulipatam, Nagapatnam, Hubli and Broach which were situated on the banks of navigable rivers evolved textile industry which earned a reputation for itself all over the world for its fineness. So also the Indian metal works, stone works, pottery, paper industries and leather industries gained a world reputation for their artistic quality and fineness. But the industries that were developed by the mercantile classes in the urban areas were strictly limited in their scope of marketing. They did not produce articles of daily use to the common people, otherwise called the consumer goods, which were catered to by the self-sufficient village. The vast requirements of the population in India were met by the self-sufficient villages and by the local artisans who ran the village industries rather than by the merchant class that lived in the few urban areas. Thus the Indian economy before it came under the British rule was an economy that did not have to face open competition from highly developed industrial nations.

**Destruction of Pre-British Indian Economic order:**

We all know that during the course of the 18th and 19th centuries the whole of Europe and much more so Great Britain passed through an important economic revolution known as the Industrial Revolution which completely reorganised the economy of Europe on a competitive basis. As a result of the Industrial Revolution there was a production of European commercial goods which required markets. Britain, which was the foremost industrial nation in Europe, naturally looked towards her colonies for supplying her with the necessary markets for her finished products. So one of the first acts of Great Britain after it assumed complete political power over India was to expose the Indian economy to the competition of European markets that were highly industrialised and also to introduce a uniform system of capitalist economy in the country. This resulted in the complete disappearance and disorganisation of the old economic order, the withering of Indian indigenous industries and the consequent impoverishment of the agricultural peasant, due to the pressure brought on agricultural land on account of the ruination of the urban and village artisans and handicrafts.
The introduction of the capitalist system in the century in the long run gave rise to the evolution of Indian national economy and to the growth of a new economic class which wanted to compete with the British markets and herein lies, one of the reasons for the growth of resentment on the part of India against the British rule which culminated in the rise of Indian nationalism.

The Renaissance:

The introduction of a uniform system of administration and a modern system of education with English as the medium of instruction also created in the country a new class of intelligentsia who imbibed the liberal teachings and spirit of the Western philosophers.

In pre-British India the entire life of an individual was organised within the concept of caste and tradition. The culture of the Indians was predominantly a religious culture and all intellectual and artistic avocations were dominated by a religious tone. But now with the emergence of the new intelligentsia, they began to look upon themselves as individuals existing in their own right and not necessarily as an integral part of a social structure to which they had always to bow and sometimes compromise their individuality.

This growth of a new intellectual class in India led to what was known as the Renaissance Movement in the 19th century in the country.

The education imparted by the British in India was secular in character, liberal in essence, and for the first time open to all irrespective of caste or creed. So the educated Indian who imbibed the spirit of the British democratic principles felt the urge to rebel against the orthodox social institutions in India, like the caste system and authoritarian social philosophies that tried to suppress the individual in the name of tradition and custom. They also dreamt in terms of free national existence for the Indian people on a democratic basis, freedom of press, association, and the responsibility of the executive to the people. But, one remarkable feature about them was that while they wanted to reform their society they did not at the sametime want to give up their cultural heritage. This new school of intelligentsia first appeared
in Bengal with Raja Mohan Roy (1744–1833) starting the ‘Brahmo Samaj’ movement for the reformation of the Hindu society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy is described in the History of India as the “living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to an uncalculable future”. This work was soon taken up in other parts of India particularly in Maharashtra, when Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade founded the Prarthana Samaj in 1867. Ranade also founded the first Depressed Classes League in 1849, a widow home and also an orphanage at Pandharpur.

The Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj represented the Indian response to western rationalism. But there were two other reform movements of the 19th century which took their inspiration partly from India’s past and they derived their basic principles from her ancient scriptures. These are the Arya Samaj founded by Swamy Dayanand Saraswati in 1875 and the Ramakrishna Mission which marks the synthesis of the oriental and the western religions and which attained fame, due to the transcendental personality and teachings of Swamy Vivekananda. Another reformist religion which also gave great moral courage to the Indians was Theosophy which showed the way to the Hindus to reconcile universal brotherhood with the caste system and the fundamental unity of the Supreme Being with the worship of numerous gods and goddesses. All these reform movements led to the revival of Hindu society and the emergence of nationalism in India.

In India, a new middle class intelligentsia nurtured by the philosophical writings of thinkers like Burke, Spencer, Stewart Mill and Voltaire inspired by the writings of revolutionaries like Mazzini, events like the American War of Independence and the French revolution, came into existence by the beginning of the 19th century. They were all admiration for the British parliamentary institutions and were anxious to put into practice the spirit of democracy that they had learnt and imbibed in their class-rooms.

The British Government began to violate one by one the assurances of equality of treatment given to the Indians by the Proclamation of 1858. The British Government during this period showed its reluctance to appoint Indians to the Civil Service Cadre by trying to prevent the appointment of Surendranath Banerjee to the Civil Service and later by removing him from service on flimsy grounds. Shortly after this the British Government also
tried to make it impossible for the Indians to sit for the Civil Service Examination by lowering the age limit from 21 to 19. They also passed Acts prohibiting the Indians carrying arms (1878) and restricting the activities of the vernacular press.

The Dawn of Political Awakening:

This led Surendranath Banerjee to found in the year 1876 the "Indian Association" of Calcutta which acted as the forum for the educated middle classes in the country to create public opinion by appealing to the people directly. Shortly after this in 1883 during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, the Ilbert Bill was introduced. This Bill sought to remove the special privilege enjoyed by the European British subjects, they could be tried only by an all white jury. This move on the part of Lord Ripon created great resentment among the Anglo-Indian section of the community in India. They went to the extent of abusing him and boycotting him socially. The Anglo-Indian press also vehemently criticised the move of this liberal viceroy.

The Anglo-Indians also formed an association called the "Anglo-Indian Aid European Association" and raised funds for its defence and ultimately forced the Government to partially modify the bill in their favour. The Indian public opinion was greatly shocked to see "the all powerful British Government deflected from its purpose by newspaper abuse and an exhibition of bad manners". It also made them realise that in future they should also adopt similar agitational approach to run their campaigns. The forming of the 'Defence Association' by the Anglo-Indian section of the community led to the formation of the 'Indian National Conference' in 1883 in Calcutta by Surendranath Banerjee. Representatives from all over India attended this Conference. For the first time an all India national fund was raised for running the Indian National Conference. As a result of the agitation by the Indian National Conference the age limit for the Civil Service examination was once again raised by the British Government. Amidst all this unrest and agitation, Lord Ripon, who had become popular among the Indians by repealing the unpopular Vernacular Press Acts, by introducing local self Government institutions, and who, on account of these liberal acts, became unpopular among the Anglo-Indians, relinquished his office in 1884.
His departure from India was an occasion for popular demonstrations that were hitherto unparalleled in Indian annals. These demonstrations perturbed the British Officers and we find Sir Auckland Colvin, the Indian Finance Minister, wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "If it be real, what does it mean?" He described the growing Indian unrest as "the dry bones in the open valley had become instinct with life". It was against this background of growing Indian unrest that Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, and Allen-Octovian Hume conceived the idea of founding the Indian National Congress so that it can act as a safety valve for popular discontent, where Indians can meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be remedied. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. With the birth of the Indian National Congress, the history of India takes a new turn.

The Growth of Public Opinion in Andhra:

The period under review 1858–1885 saw also the growth of several vernacular newspapers and literary associations throughout the country. In Andhra also we see the same phenomenon. The first Telugu journal to be published is believed to be the Satya Doota, a missionary journal for the propagation of Christianity by the Christian Association of Bellary. To counteract the missionary propaganda a few Telugu newspapers were started, the most notable among them being the Tathwa Bodhini in 1864 by the Veda Samaj of Madras.

It is with the coming of Rao Bahadur Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, the father of the renaissance movement in Andhra and the founder of modern Telugu, that Andhra journalism and the social reform movement in Andhra gained new dimensions. Veeresalingam started in 1874, in Rajahmundry a weekly called the Viveka Vardhini for introducing reforms in the social and literary fields. Later on he also started a separate journal for women called the Satihita Bodhini and the Hasya Vardhini and Satya Sam Vardhini wherein he advocated the removal of social evils like child marriages, caste-system, the institutionalisation of prostitution as an integral part of the Hindu caste system, etc. He also advocated the introduction of widow marriage and the worship of god on monistic principles (Ekopasana). In order
to counteract the teachings of Veeresalingam, journals like the Andhra Bhaša Sanjeevani of Mahamahopadhyaya Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, was started from Madras.

The first Telugu political news weekly the “Andhra Prakasika” was started in 1885 with Sri A. P. Parthsarathy Naidu of Madras as Editor. Naidu was an ardent nationalist and he carried on with vigour the publications of this weekly for more than 25 years.

Another striking feature of this period was that it saw the formation of several associations like the Madras Native Association (1852), the Chennapattana Swadeshi Sangham by Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetti (1806-1869) who also was the founder of the English Weekly, “The Crescent”, the Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884) and the Kakinada Literary Association, etc.

The first President and Secretary of the Madras Mahajana Sabha were Andhras namely P. Rangaiyah Naidu and P. Ananda Charlu. The aim of the Madras Mahajana Sabha was to give proper direction to the growing national consciousness among the people.

The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 also led to the formation of district associations in Andhra and the first district association to be formed out of the 21 districts that constituted the Madras Presidency was the Krishna District Association in 1891.

When the first session of the Indian National Congress was held in 1885 in Bombay, several Andhras from the Madras Presidency like P. Rangaiah Naidu, President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, Ananda Charlu, the Secretary, S. N. Narasimhulu Naidu, Gitti Keshav Pillai from Anantapur, S. V. G. Pantulu and S. Venkatasubbarayudu of Masulipatam, not only attended its session but also actively participated in its deliberations. The subsequent sessions of the Indian National Congress were also always well attended by the Andhras.

Inspite of these signs of public awakening one must say that political awareness in Andhra in real sense of the term emerges only with the out break of the Vandemataram and the Swadeshi movements. This nascent political awareness blossomed into full-fledged nationalism in the 1920’s under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.
Prior to 1905 the theme of the Telugu newspaper was confined largely to the discussion of social, economic and educational matters.

The Pursharthia Pradhayini in 1874, wrote criticising the attempts of the bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay to convert the people to Christianity while another Telugu newspaper, the Lokranjani criticised the remarks made by "Broad Arrow" that the Hindus should not be made eligible for higher appointments in the Civil Service in India unless they sat for the competitive examinations in England saying, "In every town and in every village there are to be seen number of poor lads wandering about in the streets apparently without any employment, provision should be made for the education of the helpless boys;—-It is one of the duties of the Government to look after them".

It is only from the beginning of the 19th century that the Telugu newspapers began to take up the discussion of issues which had a political implication and criticised the Government for some of their actions. For example, the 'Gautami' in 1901 criticised the Government for issuing an advertisement which said, "Wanted a Musalamaan clerk for an acting post in the Chief Office of the Inspector General of Police in Madras". In its editorial on the 27th August, 1901 it wrote saying, "If such an advertisement proceeds from such a high official of the Government......whose duty it was to suppress all racial differences, such things not only prejudice between one race and another but also induce people to entertain doubts regarding the just administration of the country".

Another Telugu journal the "Sasilekha" criticised the Government in 1902 for having spent lavishly from the Indian exchequer towards the coronation celebration of the King Emperor Edward VII and for not showing equal treatment to India along with the other colonies. The Krishna Patrika, a national daily that was originally started in 1902 by Sri Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya and edited by Mutnuri Krishna Rao, wrote in 1902, commenting about the plight of the Indians in South Africa and posed this pertinent question to the British Government, "Are not all subjects under the rule equal?...... Now that the British Government is supreme in Africa the whole Indian population looks to it for the removal of the disability of the Indians there". Thus we find that there was a swing towards nationalism in Andhra in the beginning
of the 20th century and with the outbreak of the Vandemataram movement this swing gained greater momentum.

The Three phases of the Indian national movement:

The Indian national movement is usually divided into three phases—the first phase from 1889 to 1904 called as the "era of faith, prayer and unanimity"; the second phase comprising of the Swadeshi movement and the Home-Rule movement is called as the "era of discord and disillusion" which lasted from 1904 to 1917 while the third phase from 1920 to 1947 is called as the "Gandhian era" and it is during this period that India was able to rise as one nation against the British on a mass scale and ultimately achieve its independence.

During the first phase Indians believed implicitly in the basic good nature of the British people they thought and they could achieve their object of active association in the administration of the country by sending appeals to the British Government. So we find some of the leading Congressmen like Ramesh Chandra Dutt saying, "Educated India has practically identified itself with British rule, seeks to perpetuate British rule—because it is by a continuance of British rule that educated India seeks to secure a large measure of self-government and a position among the modern nations of the earth, which it is our aim and endeavour to secure". Even a staunch nationalist like Surendranath Banerjee said in Poona in 1895 that the east owed a heavy debt to the East and it could be repaid by the political enfranchisement of Indians. He appealed to England to give to her brown children what she had given to her white ones. Another eminent Indian, Lal Mohan Ghosh, who had proceeded to England to plead with the British Parliament for raising the maximum age limit for entrance to the Civil Service, presiding over the Indian National Congress session at Madras in 1907, said, "We prefer to cling to the belief that the English people are not barbarous conquerors, but they are champions of liberty whose divine mission it is to rekindle the torch of genius in this ancient land of philosophy and to raise it once more to a position in some degree worthy of the greatness of our past history". The main ideal of the Indian patriots during this period including nationalist leaders like Lokamanya Tilak was to attain a large degree of autonomy under the hegemony of the British. As late as the year 1904 the Congress delegates at the Bombay session which included Tilak
supported the resolution of Sir William Wedderburn to send a delegation to England; Tilak added, "It is there that the judges sit and our advocates must plead our cause before the English judges and not before the judges in India". Even Bipinchandra Pal, though he called himself a radical, declared, during this period that he thanked God for having brought English Government in this country to work our salvation. Thus we find that the entire period from 1889 to 1904 had implicit faith in the innate goodness, sense of justice and fairplay of the British Government and hoped that by pleading alone they would be able to attain their object of getting self-government. Only a few extremists like Damodar Hari Chapkar and Lala Munshi Ram, who later became famous as Swami Shraddhananda, were bitter against the British and severely criticised the Congress. Chapkar declared "We have formed a society for removing the obstacles in the way of the Aryan religion——This society does not want the beggarly Congress". He further criticised the Congress saying, "A thunder cloud produces no rain, a talkative man will not act". The Congress during this period tried to focus the attention of the Government on some of the short comings in matters of land revenue administration, improving agriculture and praying for enlistment as volunteers in the military and for starting a military training institute for Indians.

During this period a memorial was also sent from Andhra to the Secretary of State for India by the literary association of Kakinada that the age limit for entrance to the Indian Civil Service examination should be raised. The Madras Native Association as early as 1889 sent a petition to the British Government against the monopoly of the Civil Service by the European Officers who were normally young men fresh from the school and ignorant of the languages and customs of the people over whom they governed. This naturally resulted in inefficiency, and the Madras Native Association suggested that “the inefficiency and evils of this system would be most likely remedied if the educated and trained natives now acting as proxies in the performance of the functions normally assigned to these young and incompetent civilians were placed under their personal responsibility in all the supporting branches of the revenue and judicial lines”. But such was the anxiety of these people that they waited till the Indian mutiny was suppressed and then only submitted their petition so that the British Government would not
misunderstand their action. Even Ananda Charylu while presiding over the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1891 says, “The British people are ignorant of the Indian affairs. We must acquaint them in an increasing manner with an image of India to get our wishes fulfilled. After deep thought the British supporters of the Indian cause in Britain have invited us to hold our conference in London. We must respond to their call. We must meet in London to press for our demands and demonstrate to the English people and to their Government that we are not disloyal members and hostile to the English. On the other hand we are British subjects and want to remain under the British rule but wish to associate ourselves and take part in the affairs of the Government of India”.

But as we proceed towards the year 1905 we find there is a perceptible change in the attitude of these leaders. Tilak in an editorial in the Kesari, dated July 4, 1904, wrote, “We will not achieve any success in our labours, if we croak once a year like a frog” and he exhorted saying that the time had come to give a new direction to the political movement, — “there is today sufficient reason to change the white man’s old idea that the people of Asia will always remain slaves of foreigners”.

A section of Congressmen realised the uselessness of carrying on the agitation in the old way and Tilak once again wrote on 15th August, 1905, “Government has no respect for the opinions expressed at meetings of lakhs of people.———Our state of public opinion has become like waves beating against the mountains on the shore and blow back. Waves are far more effective than our public opinion because at least they are salty.” These leaders who were becoming impatient with the Government’s indifference towards the Indian demand for association in administration were called as “extremists”, while they preferred to call themselves as nationalists; they condemned the Congress Policy as political mendicancy. This school of political thought was led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Poona, Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab.

The partition of Bengal:

While Indian public opinion was becoming more and more impatient, Lord Curzon, the viceroy, announced amongst other
things the plan for the partition of Bengal on 7th July 1905, into East and West Bengal. This resulted in the growth of a fierce agitation all over the country. The people felt that the partition of Bengal not only struck at the dignity of the Bengali nation but also at the nationhood of the Indians. They felt that the honour of the mother-land is to be protected. In this context the old invocation to the Goddess Kali, "Vande Mataram" or "Hail to the Mother" acquired a new significance and it became the political war cry of the Indian national cause.

Thus we find that out of the travails of Bengal Indian nationalism was born and the Benaras session of the Indian National Congress in 1905 passed the following resolution, "that this Congress records its emphatic protest against the partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the province".

The partition of Bengal created a country-wide reaction and it led to the growth of what was known as the "Vandemataram" and the "Swadeshi Movement". While on the political front the slogan "Vande Mataram" inspired the people to wage a struggle against the British on the economic front the Indians wanted to fight against the latter by trying to revive Indian indigenous industries through the Swadeshi movement.

The Congress ranks were split up into two camps on the question of Bengal Agitation; the nationalists, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Arvind Ghosh; and the moderates led by Surendranath Banerjee, Pheroze Shah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Nyapati Subbarao Pantulu and Mocherla Ramachandra Rao, etc.

The differences between the nationalists and the moderates became quite acute by the year 1906. While the nationalists wanted to introduce a resolution on Swaraj and Boycott at the ensuing Congress Session in Calcutta, the moderates who still believed in British benevolence wanted to avoid such a resolution. In order to bridge the cleavage between the two groups, Dadabhai Naoroji, was invited from England, to preside over the Calcutta Congress session in 1906. Naoroji in his Presidential speech exhorted the Congress to fight for Swaraj. The Calcutta Congress also passed a resolution supporting the boycott of British goods, to
promote national education and to encourage indigenous industries. At the Calcutta Congress the song “Vande Mataram” was adopted as the National Song of India and as a rallying point for all the nationalists to fight against the British. It is from the name of this song that the name of the movement “Vande Mataram” was derived. The Raja of Munagala, Komaraju Lakshman Rao and Gadicherla Harisarvottama Rao and even Ananda Charlu who attended the Calcutta Congress Session joined the side of the nationalists. Ananda Charlu as a matter of fact moved the resolution on “Swadeshi” at this session.

The Vande Mataram movement—a middle class movement:

With the outbreak of the Vande Mataram movement India enters into a new phase of freedom struggle. Hitherto, the leadership of the Congress was dominated by the liberals. They constituted the intelligentsia and they were drawn mostly from the educated upper middle classes and the commercial classes. The Congress under the leadership of these liberals from 1885 to 1905 fought for administrative reforms such as the separation of judicial and executive functions, the Indianisation of services and the repeal of the Arms Act and also against the anti-Indian legislation in countries like Transwal, Cape Colony, etc. The liberals stood for representative institutions and the elective principles. They had also implicit faith in the rich democratic and scientific culture of modern Europe. They were all admiration for the rationalist thinkers of Europe and stood for democratisation of social relations on the principles of humanism and economic advancement through industrialisation. But as days advanced they realised that there was a fundamental conflict between the British economic interests and the economic interests of India which was a colony of Great Britain. So also the political interests of India clashed with the political status of England as an imperialistic country. As this realisation began to dawn upon them, they became more and more disillusioned and we find Surendra Nath Banerjee declaring that “the history of the Civil Service is one unbroken record of broken promises”. Hence we find that even a moderate leader like Dadabhai Naoroji strongly advocated at the Calcutta Session of Congress the adoption of the new programme of swaraj, swadeshi and boycott of British goods. These were all endorsed by the liberals. This disillusionment was
further accentuated by the outbreak of a severe famine in Bombay in 1896 and Tilak boldly asked the people to demand the benefits of Famine Relief Code from the Government and he asked the people not to be cowards and not to sell their lands and cattle to pay the dues. This political discontent among the people was further accentuated by the high-handed methods of Lord Curzon who passed the Official Secrets Act, brought the Universities under the Government control and finally partitioned Bengal. His speeches were also very provocative and it roused the people when he said that “the Indians by their environment, heritage and upbringing were unequal to the responsibilities of high office under the British rule”. The unemployment among the educated youths also had increased considerably by the beginning of the 20th century. So the programme of the liberals to achieve progress with British aid in slow measures did not appeal to the youth in the country. Hence now there emerged in India the extremist school led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo and Barindra Ghosh. These leaders inaugurated in India what was known as the ‘era of militant nationalism’. The support to these leaders and to the new nationalism came from the middle classes.

The social basis of the Indian national movement was hitherto confined to the upper class intelligentsia and to the richer commercial classes. But now it extended to the lower middle classes, and was able to gain a greater momentum than it was hitherto possible in the country.

The defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan in 1905 gave a great stimulus to the growth of nationalism all over Asia. In India it helped them to cast away their inferiority complex and regain their self-confidence in overthrowing the British rule.

The Nationalists, inspiration from Indigenous Indian Sources:

The militant nationalists in India drew their inspiration from India’s ancient past and cultural heritage. They tried to infuse national pride and self-respect among the people and invoked episodes from the history of India for that purpose. They were against idolising the Western culture, more particularly the British culture. The names of India’s ancient heroes like Chandragupta
Maurya, Ashoka, Rana Pratap Singh, Akbar, Shivaji and Jhansi Laxmi Bai’s were invoked.

The Indian historians began to take up from this time onwards to the writing of Indian history laying stress on the cultural heritage of the Indians derived from the Hindu and Islamic contacts.

The philosophers of militant nationalism believed in the special genius of India and advanced the theory that the Indians are endowed with a special spiritual greatness. In Bengal this school led by Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh who were greatly under the influence of the neo-vedantism of Swami Vivekananda, otherwise called as neo-Hinduism. Aurobindo declared, "What is nationalism? Nationalism is a religion that has come from God. Nationalism is a creed ————What the intellect could not do, this mighty force of passionate conviction born out of the very depth of national consciousness will be able to accomplish."

In Maharashtra this new nationalism was led by Tilak, who resuscitated the memory of India’s past cultural greatness by reviving the tradition of Shivaji’s struggle against the mighty Mughal Empire for the liberation of Maharashtra. He also utilised the celebration of purely religious festival like the Ganapathi festival as a special social gathering for the cultural revitalisation of the Hindu society and last but not the least in order to counteract the inertia of passivity of the people he asked them to take their inspiration from the ‘Bhagavat Gita’ which he said was based on the principle of doing the right action at the right time. He declared, “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.”

The militant nationalists also infused a strong sense of national consciousness among the people. Tilak propagated his ideas through the Kesari, a Marathi weekly and Maratha, an English Weekly. He also revived the Shivaji festival in 1895. Some political thinkers have criticised the part played by these extremists in reviving Indian nationalism by drawing inspiration from the Hindu religion and said that by doing so they were able to evolve essentially a Hindu nationalism and as such they could not draw all the sections of the Indian population into the fold of the freedom struggle. But when we look at the general condition
of the country and the life of the people, a great majority of whom were Hindus and who were illiterate and tradition bound, the only method by which nationalism could be built up among such people was by appealing to their ancient past and to their religion. We know from the popularity of the Vande Mataram movement, and its extensiveness, that the method adopted by the nationalists was correct. The identification of the country with the "concept of Mother India" in a society where the Goddess Kali is worshipped as the supreme mother, had a tremendous psychological effect on the imagination of the people. We find on the Durga Pooja day 50,000 citizens of Calcutta, had taken their oath saying, "Mother! I solemnly promise that to the best of my power I will never use foreign articles, and that I will not purchase that articles from foreign shops which are to be had at Indian shops". This instilling of nationalism through accepted religious norms made the movement popular throughout the country and we find that several songs idolising India as the Bharat Mata or the Divine Mother were composed during this period because the Indian mind and psychology are used to the concept of worshipping the Mother Goddess as the Supreme Prowess capable of putting down injustice and tyranny. Thus the Vande Mataram movement was in keeping with the psychology of the Indian masses, so much so that it found a ready response among the people. Any movement if it were to be successful should have its roots strongly imbedded in the cultural genius of the people. The Vande Mataram movement was one such. The new nationalism gave to the Indians a proud ego and self-reliance and they were prepared to undergo suffering for the attainment of swaraj. The Kesari and the Maratha papers of Tilak in Bombay, the 'Vande Mataram' of Aurobindo Ghosh and the Yugantar in Bengal and the Krishna Patrika in Andhra played a notable part in educating the people in their respective regions in the new programme.

The Swadeshi movement, as conceived by the nationalists, was essentially a weapon forged by the people to achieve the industrial and general economic regeneration and advancement of India. In practice it became the common religion of united India. The 'Boycott movement' was an anti-British measure which included not only the boycott of British goods but also renunciation of titles and Government posts. The Boycott movement was used as a
weapon to annul the Government partition of Bengal and also to rouse the determination of the people to win Swaraj. Lala Lajpat Rai explaining about the significance of the Boycott movement said, "the meaning of boycott is this ————The primary thing is the prestige of the Government and the boycott strikes at the root of their prestige".

As a result of the successful campaign against the boycott of foreign goods there was a great slump in the cotton trade in Bengal and the Marwari Chamber of Commerce sent frantic cables to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to use their influence in bringing about the annulment of the partition of Bengal. The Boycott and Swadeshi movements which are component parts of the Vande Mataram movement have a special significance in that they paved the way for the future growth of the non-cooperation movement under Mahatma Gandhi. Both boycott and Swadeshi, as conceived by the extremist leaders, outgrew their original meaning and object, of undoing the partition of Bengal and developed into the idea of non-cooperation with the British on every front in order to achieve the independence of India. Aurobindo Ghosh writing about the swadeshi and Boycott movements on 6th August, 1906, in his paper the 'Vande Mataram' said that it was a call for absolute autonomy free from British control and he gave a detailed programme of what he called non-cooperation and passive resistance which later on spread to the other provinces of India. Thus we find that as the ideas of "Swadeshi" and the "Boycott" during the Vande Mataram movement began to spread, the economic aspect of the swadeshi movement was superceded by the new meaning given by Aurobindo Gokhale also in 1907 described Swadeshism as "Swadeshism at its highest is a deep, passionate, fervent, all embracing love of the motherland and that this love seeks to show itself in any one sphere of activity but not all." Gandhi also observed, "that the day the partition of Bengal took place may be considered as the day of partition of the British Empire and that demand for the abrogation of the partition is tantamount to a demand for Home Rule. As time passes the nation is being forged."

The extremists on the whole advocated organised passive resistance for achieving their goal. As the Vande Mataram movement launched by the militant nationalists began to spread the
Government adopted repressive measures. Arrests and imprisonment of leaders and thinkers began to take place.

Tilak who declared in 1908 "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it," was sentenced to six years imprisonment for an article published in his paper and was sent to Mandalay. In the Punjab agrarian riots took place in Lahore, Layallpur and Rawalpindi in connection with the Canal Colony Bill and Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported from the Punjab.

The extreme policy adopted by the nationalists was not liked by the liberals in the Congress and in 1907 at the Surat Session the split in the Congress between the liberals and the extremists took place. Inspite of this split the movement continued unabated and Government finally had to yield to the pressure of public opinion and annulled the partition of Bengal in 1911.

The First World War broke out in 1914 and the British Government in order to win the support of the Indian merchant class for the war, granted an import duty of 3½% on cotton in 1916 on account of which the Indian textile industry was greatly improved. But all these measures did not satisfy the extreme nationalist leaders and they continued their demand for Swaraj during the War.

Tilak, when he came out of prison in 1914 started a campaign for the Home Rule for India and founded the Home Rule League in Poona in 1916. Annie Besant started the All India Home Rule League at Madras six months later.

The moderate and extremist sections of the Congress once again reunited at the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1916. A pact was also concluded with the Muslim League, which was of great significance for the forthcoming national struggle.

The Home Rule movement lasted from 1916 to 1918. In this connection Mrs. Annie Besant was interned at Ootacamund in 1917 while Tilak and Pal were served with orders of externment.

Another offshoot of this period was the rise of terrorist societies, that believed in the creed of violence. The societies tried to set up revolutionary centres and manufacture arms and bombs in India.
The main centres of these terrorist activity were in Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra. They had close links with the terrorist centres in London, Paris and New York. Shamji Krishna Varma along with V. D. Savarkar established the Indian Home Rule Society in London in 1905 and also the India House at High Gate. Both were revolutionary centres. Lala Hardayal started the 'Gadar Movement' in San Francisco in 1913 and they were very strong in the Punjab, Bengal and other places in India between the year 1914 and 1915. Their activities included armed dacoities, killing of police officials and revolutionary propaganda among army units in the Punjab and in military centres like Meerut and Kanpur. The terrorist activity decreased in India after 1915.