

**POPULAR NATIONALISM IN UNITED PROVINCES
AS REPRESENTED IN HINDI PRESS: A CASE STUDY
OF 'ABHYUDAY' 1907-1917**

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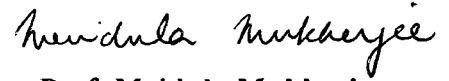
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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "POPULAR NATIONALISM IN UNITED PROVINCES AS REPRESENTED IN HINDI PRESS: A CASE STUDY OF 'ABHYUDAY' 1907-1917" submitted by Himanshu Tyagi is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this university. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Indian National Movement slowly emerged as an anti-colonial political movement growing out of over a century and a half of reaction and response to the growing colonial political and cultural domination of the Indians by the British. However, if we look at the chronological sequence of this response, we will find that the Indians began by attempting to get their own home in order and for that the effort was made towards socio-religious reform movements which eventually transformed themselves into the struggle for national liberation.¹ This can be explained by the fact that the Indians trying to locate the reasons for subjugation by alien power and culture found faults with their political and social apparatus which they came to believe was inferior to the culture of the most developed nation of the world, Britain. Open expressions of disaffection were not seen since there was an innate belief of the Indians in the liberal values of the British and they regarded themselves under their tutelage.² Thus through this tutelage was foreseen, a journey

1 See K. N. Pannikar, Culture and Consciousness in Modern India [New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1990], p. 30.

2 Prof. Bipan Chandra mentions that even though the economic critique of the colonial rule was developed, the 'positive aspects of the legal, constitutional and other material consequences of British impact were recognized and acknowledged by a section of the Indian national leadership almost to the end of the period under study'. Also, 'many of the Indian national leaders believed that their rulers and the British public were unaware of the real condition of India'. See Bipan Chandra Rise and Growth of Economic

from a period of darkness to that of light or from that of anarchy to a responsible constitutional system. It was in the post-Mutiny period that this notion came to be challenged much strongly and Indian nationalism started coming into its own with a sharp political and economic critique of colonialism developed by the Indian leadership.³

In the early twentieth century, a concrete shape was given to Indian nationalism and action was envisaged at a political level through a pan-Indian national organization viz., The Indian National Congress. It was at this time, in 1905, in the wake of Curzon's viceroyalty in general and the declaration and execution of the partition of Bengal by him that the first political movement with popular participation, however, limited in scope emerged.⁴

However, along with the consolidation of the anti-colonial forces, fissures appeared in the Indian society too. Most important of them was the one along the lines of religion. The articulation of a separate Muslim political programme came in the form of Muslim League, after which came a strong phase of the increasing tensions between the two communities due to the government's policies, especially

Nationalism in India: Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership, 1881-1915, New Delhi, 1966, pp. 1-3.

3 Dadabhai Naoroji as early as 1867 first questioned the economic benefits of the British rule which according to him were not evident. By 1871 he was referring to the continuous impoverishment and exhaustion of the country. See Bipan Chandra, op. cit., p. 2.

4 The Curzonian measures progressively alienated Indians from him. Sumit Sarkar mentions three such measures [i] of changes in the Calcutta Corporation in 1899 [ii] the

the granting of separate representation to the Muslims in 1909. This led to a further increase in the threat perception between the two communities. Though there were always possibilities of rapprochement as is evident in the nature of politics after the First World War, the Lucknow pact in 1916 and the cooperation between the two communities over the issue of Khilafat, the differences were informed by the construction of underlying consciousness that the two communities created for their members. Both the communities went through revivalistic movements in the nineteenth century which led to the construction of traditional selves by both communities which were counterposed to each other.⁵ Thus, the religious identity not only remained but also became in a whole new way a strong

universities act of 1904; [iii] Partition of Bengal in 1905. The latter was the last strand in causing disaffection. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India, Delhi, 1983, p. 105.

- 5 The Muslim reaction to the western influences came as early as the mid eighteenth century in the form of Wahabi movement. Muslim revivalism later found another expression in the form of Deoband School. Mushirul Hasan suggests that the notion of Islam having fallen on bad days was well spread in Islamic society of the world due to the European imperial penetration of the erstwhile Muslim world. He mentions the adventurist and revivalist movements led by Abdul Wahab [1703-92] in Arabia, Syed Ahmed Bareilvi [1786-1831] in India, Mohammad Ali ibn al-Samsi [1787-1859] founder of the Sannsiyyah order in Libya, Usman dan Fodio [1754-1817] in Nigeria and Mohammad Ahmad [1848-85], the Mahdi of Sudan. All the aforementioned religious leaders wanted the liberation of Islam through political action or jehad. Thus, linking the 'Indian Muslim revivalism to a world wide phenomenon pre-empting a pan-Islamic political movement'. However, he mentions that the response was not only in these terms. 'At another level, Islam was defended from the polemical and hostile attacks of nineteenth century western orientalist, and against the intellectual and moral imperialism of the west'. Thus the stress was on the 'original message of Islam which had provided the ideal pattern for traditional Muslim society and remained eternally valid, and on the fact that Muslims were fully equipped to respond to the political, cultural, and scientific challenge of the west. Syed Ahmad Khan and Mohammad Abdul [1849-1905] his contemporary from Egypt were the two reformers of this kind'. Thus Hasan outlines the two kinds of responses Muslim community would give to the western influx in political and cultural spheres. Mushirul Hasan, 'Pan Islamism versus Indian Nationalism: A Reappraisal', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXI, No. 24, June 14, 1986.

organizing principle and it became difficult for the society to secularize itself.⁶ Use of religious idioms by prominent leaders to mobilize the masses reinforced these modes of thinking. Thus, we see that nationalism along with its own rise saw the rise of communalism too.⁷ The term communalism is understood as being antithetical to nationalism. It is associated with political movements along the lines of communities which acted as a divisive force in the Indian national movement. The rise of communalism can be related to the rise of Hindu and Muslim religious identities. However, these very identities resulted in diverse and opposing

6 This did not mean however that the co-existence of two religions could not be conceived. Jamaluddin al-Asadabadi "al-Afghani" a firm believer in reassertion of Muslim identity and of solidarity, was extremely critical of Syed Ahmad's pro-British attitude and regarded the "Aligarh reformer's religious views and his educational programme as ancillaries to his political servitude to British interests, and chided him for relying on the British instead of joining hands with the Indian nationalists", *ibid.*, pp. 1075.

7 There is a strand of history writing that does not consider the rise of communalism as a recent phenomenon. C.A. Bayly in an article sees the continuity of the same from eighteenth century religious conflicts which, in his opinion, 'bear a close resemblance to the riots of later colonial period'. Thus the negation of context playing a role in the categorization of a phenomenon as one or the other is shown to be evident in a historiographical trend that regarded communalism in India as a pathological situation to which the eastern society was doomed. Pandey categorizes the proponents of this School of thought in two classifications [a] 'racist-essentialist' that regarded communalism as a natural given for Indian society, [b] 'liberal-rationalist' that saw communalism as irrational and harped on its 'illegitimacy' in the process of progress of society. This does not mean that Pandey takes a position for the legitimacy of 'communalism' but points out that this oppositional pair between primitive/modern, rational/irrational corresponding to national, secular/communal has a danger of negating the complexity of processes that lead to the making of a national consciousness and thus can be of a limiting influence in the historiographical analysis of a complete historical evolution of a society. Gyan Pandey refers to this process as indicative of the non linearity of growth of communalism in a historical existence of a society by outlining the process in different terms class relations in the towns and countryside, caste-uplift movements, the methods of mobilization in many different kinds of popular movements, the colonialist and nationalist outlook on the world — and especially the world of lower classes'. Pandey's analysis, however, misses out the very strong contribution of the colonial state and its policies for the growth of communalism. Gyanendra Pandey, The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990. See Introduction, pp. 1-22.

consequences, i.e., communalism and national movement. Since the process was set in motion as a response to the British dominance, there was a certain amount of intermingling between the diverse strands of consciousness and as we see in the course of the present work, Indian National Movement did have a reflective potential within itself which tried to accommodate, not without tensions though, the different lines of thought under one common umbrella, with the struggle for the independence of India from the imperial power becoming a 'primary' concern.

History writing of the nationalist movement has followed different trajectories. Initial writings on Indian nationalism can be divided into two major strands [a] imperialist history [b] nationalist history. Both the schools have explained the Indian National Movement as the response of an English educated 'middle class' reared by British rule, which engaged in various renaissance activities, and eventually turned against their masters thus giving birth to modern nationalism — out of frustrated selfish ambitions and ideals of patriotism and democracy derived from western culture or alternatively due to natural revulsion against foreign rule — the imputed motive in each cases depending upon the particular persuasion of the scholar.⁸

8 For examples of nationalist historiography, see P. Sitaramayya, History of the Indian National Congress, 2 vols. Bombay 1946-47 and R.C. Majumdar (ed.), British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, Bombay 1974 and Struggle for Freedom, Bombay, 1969. For imperialist history, see V. Chirol, Indian Unrest, London, 1910, Bruce T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism, New York, 1940.

Early Marxist scholars, though not given to the elitism of the aforementioned writings, hardly provided an adequate alternative for an understanding of the Indian national movement. They remained 'general' in their approach and sometimes mechanistic in their use of class-analysis.⁹

The Cambridge School which emerged in the late 60s drew upon the earlier imperialist writings and denied the Indian nationalists an ideology. This becomes logical with a further denial of any economic, political, social contradiction between the colonial regime and the Indians.¹⁰ Thus, the nationalist struggle then could only fit into the framework of selfish aims of the leadership or the elites, and the struggle between the provincial elite groups that wanted to maintain their supremacy. Thus the nationalist struggle came to be seen by the Cambridge scholars as the history of conflicting factions of elites Bengali bhadralok, chitpavan brahmins, the 'sub-elites' of the Hindi belt or Andhra.

Despite their later claim that elite history has fallen down the 'trapdoor of historiography', we do not see much change in the approach of scholars ascribing to this mode of analysis. A combination of administrative pressures and opportunities, as the British imposed new burdens and sought new collaborators through constitutional reforms, now came to gain focus as an explanation was attempted in

⁹ For the Marxist approach, see A.R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1949. R. Palme Dutt, India Today, Bombay, 1949.

terms of occasional coalescence of local patron-client groups into provincial or even national platforms. Thus, the Indian nationalists were still seen as part of the 'in' or the 'out' factions along a vertical hierarchical structure, struggling to find their way into the institutional structures of power.¹¹

This still leaves the role of ideology out as far as the content of Indian nationalism was concerned. Even if some individual variants of it accept the validity of Indian nationalist ideology,¹² there is scant attention paid to it while the

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- 10 See, Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century, Cambridge, 1968.
- 11 See, J. Callagher, G. Johnson and A. Seal (ed.), Locality, Province and Nation, Cambridge, 1973.
- 12 Indian nationalism in this approach has been treated as the 'other' of the classical western nationalism. This formulation is based on same assumptions as that of some well known theorists of nationalism who distinguished between 'western' and 'eastern' nationalisms. The latter are termed as deviant models of nationalism which in the west was the product of industrial revolution, enlightenment. It saw the society leading to democracy through liberal ideas. This was not the case in the east where nationalism emerged as a product of colonialism. Therefore though it aspired to the same ideals as the classical counterpart of it, but rarely achieved them. Thus, the polarity good/evil nationalisms is used in consonance with western/eastern or classical/deviant nationalism. See John Palmenatz 'Two Types of Nationalism' in Eugene Kamenka (ed.), Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of An Idea, London, Edward Arnold, 1976. Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism, New York, Macmillan, 1944; The Age of Nationalism, New York, Harper, 1962; Nationalism, Its Meaning and History, Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand, 1955. For a comprehensive discussion of these ideas, see Partha Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986. CA. Bayly in his monograph on Allahabad Politics from 1880 to 1920, begins by saying, 'By 1925, the Indian National Congress had established itself as a significant political force in the towns of North India'. However, after acknowledging the fact of Congress as a 'political force', he goes on to explain its ascendancy in terms of 'factions' and 'selfish motives'. 'During the 1920s and 30s, it was plagued by faction in the localities and dissension in its leadership. It was to be resisted by Powerful political groups claiming to speak for wide sections of the population. Conservative magnates standing as representative of the generality of landed society would oppose it, as would disappointed Congressmen combining with religious enthusiasts to claim a Hindu constituency and also the dispersed fragments of the Muslim political movement of the immediate post-war years. Yet already, 'the congeries of professional politicians, local publicists and political

all too familiar mode of factional politics is ascribed to the analysis. Thus in this approach, the main player is the colonial government, it remains the 'subject' of the history of our national movement while the Indians only came through as the 'objects' of the British policies — reacting and responding to them.¹³

Counter to this is a broad Marxist approach formulated by Bipan Chandra and his colleagues, who on the basis of their research contend that the colonial India saw the rise of an intelligentsia that understood the implications of the British rule 'from the very beginning'¹⁴, and was opposed to it. This leadership then mobilized the masses against the colonial domination, which, according to this set of scholars

associations which had been hammered into the semblance of organization during the first non-cooperation movement, were the earliest and most classic paradigm of nationalism in the colonies of Asia and Africa'. This one passage exposes the complete approach of Bayly, who sees congress being 'hammered' into a 'semblance' of organization and the colonial nationalism being essentially different from the classical nationalism. Though to skirt away from reading the ideological dimensions of nationalism here he contends that a study looking at the growth of political movement cannot or does not need to take into account the intellectual currents or ideas! After this, he acknowledges congress as an All India organization which aimed at changing 'the colonial standing of India'. This, in his opinion, explained the congress' appeal to students, young men, and political workers'. However, these were important only because 'some of them went on, in the 1920s and 30s to exercise real political power in the bodies where congress had already secured it'. He graciously grants the Indians to change their colonial standing. However, the statement's ambiguity is evident. Also the notion of 'politics' to be that action which was to gain power in government created structures of power reveals the fact that for him it is a conscious choice to negate the ideological content of Indian politics and to regard any action political which was outside the governmental structures. Thus, we may say that the clever manipulation in writing history can be termed as history in 'bad faith' as Guha terms it. See, C.A. Bayly, Local Roots of Indian Politics, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975, pp. 1-6. For the critique see, Guha, 'Dominance Without Hegemony and its Historiography', Subaltern Studies II, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983.

13 A similar attitude is shown in David Page, Prelude to Partition, Oxford University Press, 1982.

14 Bipan Chandra, Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, p. 1.

was the 'primary' contradiction in the colonial context. The other concerns viz., internal differentiation within the Indian society on caste and property bases were there but they were to be seen only as secondary contradictions which would be addressed within the framework of the all encompassing struggle to sort out the primary contradictions, i.e., how the independence struggle achieved its motive. Thus in this approach, the congress party organization and its leadership finds prominence since congress was inarguably the party organization which brought together diverse trends of thinking and modes of struggle under one pan-Indian umbrella conducting the struggle against the British.¹⁵

The subaltern school of historiography has given another dimension to the debate. It states very clearly in the opening essay [of now a fairly large body of ten volumes of collection of essays ranging from micro studies to theoretical essays] of its first volume that 'the historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time been dominated by elitism-'colonialist elitism and bourgeois-nationalist elitism'.¹⁶ It

15 See Introduction of Bipan Chandra and others, India's Struggle for Independence, Penguin, Delhi, 1989.

16 Ranajit Guha, 'On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India', Subaltern Studies I, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1982. Also see the same author's 'Prose of Counter Insurgency', Subaltern Studies II, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983. Here he makes a case of appropriation of the subaltern movement in their fold, i.e., the nationalists and the Marxists. This he does through the analysis of the text of primary, secondary and tertiary accounts of the subaltern movements written by individuals with varying frameworks for their analysis of these movements.

terms the historiography of both the varieties as 'blinkered historiography'¹⁷ since according to the subaltern scholars the 'consciousness' of the masses who participated in the 'anti Rowlatt upsurge of 1919 and the Quit India Movement of 1942' which, in their opinion were only two out of innumerable other examples, cannot be satisfactorily explained by the nationalist leadership's control of them since they were conducted in open defiance of or in absence of elite control. They regard the domain of the subaltern politics as being 'autonomous' and separable along with many other popular movements from the domain of elite politics. They further argue that whenever the 'autonomous' peasant and tribal action came in the purview of elite political action, it was betrayed by the latter into submission, since the Congress did not envisage any radical change in the existing power relations within the Indian society.¹⁸ The premium is put on violent or militant action by the peasants in several isolated incidents.¹⁹ However, the failure of this historiography

17 Ibid.

18 Gyan Pande, referring to the Eka Movement in Awadh states quite clearly. 'From this point of view, the congress' insistence in 1921-22 on a United Front of landlords as well as peasants and others was a statement in favour of the status quo and against any radical change in the social set up when the British finally handed over the reins of power'. See Gyan Pandey, 'Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism: The Peasant Movement in Awadh, 1919-22', Subaltern Studies I, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1982.

19 See Guha, 'Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India', Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983. Guha trying to put 110 cases of Peasant insurgency stretching from 1783 to 1900 in one analytical framework does not see the difficulty of the changing context of each rebellion in making one historical statement out of them. Also one has to note that the 'seismic upheavals' that he talks about were quite small in scale when seen in an all India perspective. One more point of our interest is that Guha ends his study at 1900 mark when organized nationalism was still in its infancy. It may be noted that the Indian National Congress was formed only in 1885. Autonomy of the peasant societies therefore may not be so applicable to the post-1900 period.

lies in the fact that the 'subjects' of history as perceived by it would never have been able to create a pan-Indian organization for their struggle. Also there was very little possibility of the subalterns being able to win against the military might of the colonial state.²⁰ The focus of these scholars on the difference between the 'elite' groups and the 'subaltern' groups under colonial domination remains a problem of analysis. The Indian elite groups in our period would rather be placed in opposition to the foreign elite groups, rather than along with them. Under foreign domination, both at the level of structured exploitation of the Indians by the British and at the level of day to day 'lived experiences'²¹, Indians as a whole were at the receiving end. Along with the political and economic domination of India the Indians had to face the racial discrimination of the British. This came in concrete forms in the administration of the colonial government that affected the day to day experience of the Indians which in turn was bound to have an impact on their response to such forms of oppression. Thus despite certain internal fissures in the colonial Indian society, we would suggest that the Indian society on the whole formed a collectivity

20 For a more detailed critique of this School of historiography and the strategy of violence advocated by it as against that of Gandhian non-violence, see Mridula Mukherjee, 'Peasant Resistance and Peasant Consciousness in Colonial India 'Subalterns and Beyond', Economic and Political Weekly. This essay is in two parts and was published in two successive issues of the periodical October 8 and 15, 1988, pp. 2109-2120 & pp. 2174-2185.

21 We use the expression quoting from Sumit Sarkar who uses it for the broadening horizon of social history by looking at 'multifarious aspects of the lived experiences of the past' where there is an openness to the concepts and methods of other social sciences. See, Sarkar, Sumit, 'Social History: Predicaments and Possibilities', Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XX, nos. 25 & 26, June 22-29, 1985, pp. 1081-88.

against the colonial rule. This brings us to the position of differentiating between 'primary' and 'secondary' contradictions. Thus, we regard it to be a more suitable model for any analysis of the Indian nationalist struggle and Indian nationalism.

The identification therefore of the foreign power as the main target for attack and removal would become the primary concern for the mainstream of Indian national movement. However, this identification would be mediated through different idioms which would be a product of the traditional²² and modern thought processes. There would be an interaction between the two. This interactive idiom would be the one that would make nationalism sensible to the popular masses who would then act on its call. This then becomes the central problem of my work. What were the ideas that led people to action? What were the elements of consciousness through which they related to their environment? How did they relate to the colonial domination which was a strong component of this environment? How did this consciousness affect the formation of an Indian national identity? Therefore, what were the notions of self that the Indians constructed for themselves? How did they make these notions logical to themselves? Through looking for answers to the aforementioned problems, we wish to examine the

22 It is accepted that even a tradition might be modern or it might come to exist due to the concern for tradition and yet be modern and invented through texts. We use the word 'traditional' connoting what was perceived to be traditional that became a part of thinking of the people thus setting the reference points for them to understand the nationalist messages meant for them. For 'invention' of tradition, see Eric Hobsbawm, & Terence Ranger, (ed.), The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

ideological content of the Indian National Movement and also the popular content of it. What then, were the linkages between the 'popular content' of Indian nationalism and the broad based consent that the Indian National Congress managed to gain from the masses for its programmes on various issues?

We understand the difficulty of unravelling the consciousness of people.²³ Attempts have been made by historians²⁴ in this direction. The method adopted by them is through analyzing the motivations of a group of people acting in a moment of rebellion. This is made accessible to them through court room records and descriptions of these moments of protest by contemporary observers. Literature is also fast becoming a source for the historians for reaching into the minds of the social and political actors of the period. Sudhir Chandra²⁵ in his recent work has picked up some prominent minds of the late nineteenth century and through their

23 Hobsbawm in his study of nationalism points at the problem. Popular nationalism he suggests should be understood in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people. These together with the nationalist formulators of the ideology from above converge and constitute what is known to us as the nationalist ideology. To understand the popular nationalism an effort has to be made to unravel these very assumptions, hopes, longings . . . etc. of ordinary people. Eric Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

24 This can be regarded the most valuable contribution of the subaltern group of historians to modern Indian history. See Guha, Chandra's death, Subaltern Studies V, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987, pp. 135-166. Shahid Amin, 'Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern U.P., 1921-22', Subaltern Studies III, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984, and the same author's 'Approver's Testimony: Judicial Discourse — The Case of Chauri Chaura', Subaltern Studies V, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987, pp. 166-203.

25 Sudhir Chandra, The Oppressive Present: Literature and Social Consciousness in Colonial India, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994.

writings has demonstrated how they thought? He has also shown the necessity of acknowledging the complexity and thus the contradictory nature of their thought processes and perceptions. These were both paradoxical and consistent in the case of those whose writings he picks up. At one level, they all perceived the oppressive nature of the British domination, yet at the same time, they displayed their loyalty to the British crown and showed their trust in the liberating influence of colonialism. The consistency and the generality of their perception is clear from the fact that each one of them came up with an incisive criticism of colonial oppression both in terms of its humiliating experience for the Indians and the exploitative structure of the colonial rule.²⁶ This generality of the perception also points at the fact that despite the regional variations, an all India sensibility as against the British was under formulation at this point of time. However, Sudhir Chandra's work though important does not assist us in looking at the popular consciousness in a general way since he focuses on individuals of elite origins for his analysis.

It is Roger Chartier who through his study of the importance of 'written word' in early modern France gives us a more suitable framework to understand the 'popular consciousness' through our source material. He gives an amorphous

26 Ibid. See Chapter 1, 'Crushed by English Poetry', pp. 17-71.

categorization to the term 'popular culture'. He questions the pre-supposition on which the classic use of notion of popular culture has been based so far.²⁷

These are —

- a) perception of an exclusive relationship between specific cultural forms and specific social groups;
- b) various cultures in a given society are homogenous, and distinct to permit them to be characterized uniformly and unequivocally;
- c) the category of 'the people' or 'the popular' has sufficient coherence and stability to define a distinct social identity that can be used to organize cultural differences in past ages according to the simple opposition of 'popular' versus 'savant'.

Instead he states, "where there were thought to reveal strict correspondence between cultural cleavages and social hierarchies, I instead found evidence of fluid circulation, practices shared by various groups, and blurred distinctions".²⁸

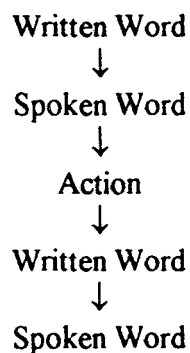
He suggests a complex interaction between the folklore and the culture of the written word. This interaction may be understood through certain configurations. The first links speech and written word — [a] whether the spoken

27 Roger, Chartier, The Cultural Use of Print in Early Modern France, Princeton. See Introduction.

word was set down in written form or [b] a text was grasped by certain of its 'readers' only with the aid of someone reading it aloud. The second configuration links the written texts and actions. The trajectories that might be followed were [a] written word to the act [b] from printed matter back to the spoken word.

This formulation becomes very important for the historians' understanding of the relevance of the written word for unraveling the social consciousness of the masses as well as their motivations for action.²⁹

Since it builds connection between the



28 Ibid.

29 Benedict Anderson points at the importance of print capitalism for forging a nationality through the mediation of a print language. However, he does not point at the relevance of the written text in a newspaper for the historians' work. Thus, through Benedict Anderson's formulation, we can see the process of forging a nationality. In Indian context, the emergence of Hindi as a language can be related to diverse consequences, i.e., along with democratization of language came the forging of a Hindu identity which created the differences between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, Verso, London, 1991.

This process may not necessarily be a unified one, i.e., the written word leading to a particular action or reaction need not be reported back and transformed into the spoken word at the end of the process as denoted above. However, the central focus on 'action' accords us several entry points to the consciousness that creates the 'action'. For example, the written word of or about a prior action being converted into spoken word might be used as the process of dissemination of ideas, these might be appropriated by those who receive the ideas in their own terms and their response which may come in the form of 'action' or 'indifference', which would both be mentioned in the written word. In producing the written word, the perception of the person creating the written word is also involved, thus, the helplessness due to the inaction of the countrymen might come out as exhortations by the writer thus exposing his sense of helplessness. Thus, we see that in the creation of written word, multiple actions are involved which become a repository of source material for the historian peeping into the thought process of the 'subjects' of history in the process of living and negotiating with their lives.

The choice of *Abhyuday*, the paper established by Madan Mohan Malaviya was made since it would have diverse source material which would make an interesting study. The period chosen is 1907 to 1917 since it was in this period that the popular participation at the level of action began in the agitational politics against the British in the United Provinces. After 1917, the political movement

takes on a fuller shape, first under the Home Rule League and later under Gandhi's leadership.

The organization of the chapters is given below:

In the SECOND CHAPTER, I have attempted to study the notions of *swadeshi* and *swaraj*, their interlinkage and the reasons why the masses responded so readily to them.

In the THIRD CHAPTER, I study and try to unravel the different enemy figures that the paper reveals to have existed in popular perception. I focus primarily at its attitude towards the British and the Muslims since the construction of ideology has been seen in the historical works so far with reference to these two groups viz., nationalism and communalism.

In the FOURTH CHAPTER, I have tried to locate certain fictional, semi-fictional and real narratives in the paper under study which through the construction of the narrative and the usage of its language reflect on the social consciousness in the period specific to *swadeshi*. This also displays how action was related to spoken and written word and also how the action of writing in itself was an extremely potent form of political action since it moulded and reported the actions of others through the prism of its own point of view, which, in turn further moulded the political action of others.

Since the colonial state recognized the threat that the Indian language papers could pose, a very strict watch was kept on them and as a result we have the Native Newspaper Reports as a useful source for our study. I have tried to corroborate the evidence from *Abhyuday* with selections from other newspapers available in these reports.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIAN SELF AND CONCEPTION OF 'SWADESHI' AND 'SWARAJ'

The newspaper 'Abhyuday' was founded in 1907. This was a time when rapid shifts were taking place in the Indian social and political scene. The Swadeshi movement was quite buoyant in Bengal and boycott and revolutionary terrorism were becoming prominent strategies for the struggle. The Moderate/ Extremist rift within the Congress was growing. This rift would lead to a break in the Congress at Surat. Also the Muslim League was formed in 1906.

The impact of the Swadeshi movement could be seen in the United Provinces as well. The debate on boycott was taking place in these provinces too with Tilak, Gokhale and other prominent Congress leaders like Surendra Nath Banerjee and Bipan Chandra Pal visiting the cities of the United Provinces and thus bringing it into the ambit of national politics at a greater level than ever before.

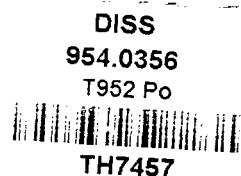
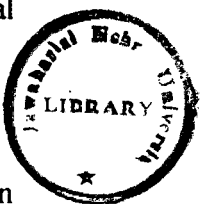
It was the idea of Swadeshi that really struck the popular imagination in these provinces and various interests came together to try and make it a success. The newspapers became an arena for debate over the issues of swadeshi and boycott. Since it was at this time that the papers reported widely the Swadeshi action and the growth of the revolutionary terrorist movement, the apprehension and response of the government was also visible in the newspapers. Newspapers carried

advertisements of swadeshi goods.¹ Newspapers contributed in moulding public opinion in these provinces and along with it in giving articulation to the hitherto suppressed anti-British sentiments.

The Swadeshi movement in the United Provinces has found only scant attention so far in historical literature and is deemed a failure by those who have looked at it. However, our sources indicate a different conclusion.² We can hardly claim to provide a detailed study of the political movement in the United Provinces since our main area of interest is the emerging nationalist consciousness there, yet the newspaper reports show a fairly good amount of activity spread over different areas at an inter and intra-regional level in colonial India and the United provinces respectively which was being reported in the press in the United Provinces. The newspapers themselves were a part of the social and political activity. Thus, the papers reporting the 'Swadeshi' action from different regions of colonial India, is in itself indicative of the formation of an all India level consciousness and political concern emerging at this point.

Swadeshi movement, as is general knowledge was prompted by the partition of Bengal. It came close on the heels of Curzon's speech at the Calcutta University

- 1 Though overtly maintaining a rejection of the revolutionary terrorism which was named 'anarchism' by the newspapers we find covert support for the young men in the columns of these papers.
- 2 Sumit Sarkar does not even acknowledge the involvement of United Provinces in the Swadeshi Movement. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India. 1885-1947*, Macmillan India Ltd., 1983.



Convocation after which Curzon had to face quite a bit of flak in the press.³ The anti-partition protest was seen in continuity with the protest over Curzon's speech.⁴ By September 1905, the newspapers in the United Provinces started appreciating the demand for use of indigenous goods by Indians.⁵ By September 1905 already anti-partition and pro-swadeshi meetings had taken place in the province.⁶ Indian People of Sept. 7, 1905 reported two meetings already held at Allahabad, one only of Bengalis there and the other one a general meeting of Swadeshi supporters. The next NNR onwards, Swadeshi became a common feature in the press of the region and we find the British government looking very carefully at it since the minutest

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- 3 It is important to note this speech as it was a critique of the civilization of the East as compared to that of the West. The notion of 'truth' in the opinion of Curzon belonged to the West. This insult was not taken lightly by the Indians and they reacted quite sharply to the all knowing attitude of Curzon. The following four lines say it all: "My name it's Chancellor Curzon, I ex scholar of Balliol College, I do know whatever can be known, And what I don't know isn't knowledge". What comes across is an arrogant and ignorant image of Curzon. Citizen, Feb. 27, 1905. Native Newspaper Reports [henceforth mentioned as NNR] of U.P.No. 5 of 1905. Hindi Pradip was the first Hindi paper that responded to this and defended the Indian traditions. It quoted Mahabharata and Ramayana where, according to the paper, truth is extolled as a supreme virtue. Thus, the emphasis was on the Indian cultural idioms to guard against its critique from the representatives of the west. Hindi Pradip, NNR of U.P. No. 5 of 1905.
- 4 Protest meetings in Bengal were reported as an eye opener and the Bengalis were extolled for their aggression. The 'Monster meeting' and demonstration at the town hall were also reported. Advocate, July 30, 1905. Indian People, July 30, 1905. NNR of U.P. No. 31 of 1905.
- 5 Deva Nagri Gazette, Sept 1905 of U.P. No. 37 of 1905.
- 6 It was the NNR of U.P. of September 9, 1905 that first mentioned the reporting of swadeshi movement of Bengal in the United Provinces press. The English language press was responding to the partition issue quite vociferously. It was in September that for the first time a Hindi paper Sipahi coming out of Kanpur reported Swadeshi movement and expressed hope for its spread to all other provinces of the country through public meetings. The report also advocated against the use of foreign goods by the Indians. Sipahi September 5, 1905. NNR of U.P. No. 36 of 1905.

reference to Swadeshi was looked at and reported quite meticulously in these reports. On October 16, 1905, the partition scheme came to be implemented and after that there was a widespread reaction in the press against it.⁷ As early as Oct 1905 a preacher Kashi Nath Misra of Barabanki was reported arrested at Delhi for preaching Swadeshi.⁸ The meetings were of two kinds, i.e., those concentrating on indigenous production and attempts to encourage it and the others with a dominant political content in them. *Abhyuday* reported several of these meetings held in Bengal and elsewhere. On 10th January 1907, a Swadeshi meeting was reported at Barisal in Raja Saheb's courtyard. This meeting was attended by Aswini Kumar Dutta, Dharendra Nath, Babu Tarini Kant.⁹ A report based on the Land Revenue report came in the newspaper suggesting that swadeshi propaganda was finding good response in Bengal. Sugar, Chandpur Matchsticks, Tobacco etc. were doing well. Also the same edition reported that a Swadeshi propagation exhibition was going to be held at Ambala. Barisal had a Swadeshi Sabha on January 26 where the Dhobis committed that they would not wash anyone's clothes who wore foreign clothes.¹⁰ Another edition reported the increased usage of 'spinning wheel' [*kargha*] of which a better version was evolved by the salvation army which was exhibited in

7 NNR of U.P. No. 37 of 1905, NNR of U.P. No. 42 of 1905.

8 Advocate October 15, 1905, NNR 37 of 1905.

9 Abhyuday, January 29, 1907.

10 Abhyuday, February 5, 1907.

an exhibition at Calcutta. Same edition reported a meeting at Faridpur.¹¹ To justify and sustain the Swadeshi movement at a logical plane an article in *Abhyuday* compared the contemporary Indian condition to the British situation in the 1700s. An article titled '*England me Swadeshi andolan*' stated that Indian cloth which was quite sought after in England in the eighteenth century was discouraged by making laws against its entry into England. The article further argued for similar protective tariffs in India.¹² Another swadeshi meeting was reported from Agra. The meeting was held at Mankameshwar Temple. Over ten thousand people according to the correspondent were present. Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha Prayag member Krishna Sastri announced the expected conduct of its members in '*swadharma, swadesh aur Swadeshi vastu*' and swadeshi was put at a premium here. Swadeshi sugar was to be manufactured and used and foreign sugar was to be stopped.¹³ A report mentioned the 23rd swadeshi sabha in Lucknow where the 'Awadh Industrial Association' was formed which would work in tandem with Indian industrial conference'.¹⁴ Gokhale's trip to the United Provinces was reported. Gokhale visited Meerut on February 21st and visited Agra on February 22nd, 23rd, 24th. Surendranath Banerjee's visit to Agra in April was reported.¹⁵ A swadeshi meeting

11 Abhyuday, February 19, 1907.

12 Abhyuday, April 30, 1907.

13 Abhyuday, January 29, 1907.

14 Abhyuday, February 12, 1907.

15 Abhyuday February 26, 1907. Abhyuday, April 9, 1907.

was reported held at Almora in the Nandadevi Temple on the 11th of April. A swadeshi meeting was reported from Moradabad with a view to boycott foreign sugar. Another report of a swadeshi meeting at Moradabad was mentioned where the reporter mentioned an eloquent speech made by the editor of *Jasus* from Agra who proposed that since Europeans use the word 'native' for Indians, the latter should also retaliate by calling them 'Feranghis'. The resolution was passed unanimously with a loud applause. Another speaker spoke of the desirability of a swadeshi store being opened there with a capital of five thousand rupees and subscriptions for the shares were made almost immediately. A swadeshi committee was formed to arrange details. Several lectures were reported given by the upadeshaks of the Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha at Allahabad. It was hoped that foreign sugar would not be used any longer.¹⁶ The debate between swadeshi with or without boycott found a focus in the press. Bipan Chandra Pal who visited Allahabad during this time 'shook Allahabad by his violent speeches'. At the same time, the report mentioned that Malaviya's parallel meeting was attended by only 25 men and also that Malaviya, in the opinion of the report was 'pandering to the government'. *Hindi Pradip* wrote in the support of boycott and mentioned the need for a leader who could preach to the Indians the means whereby self government

16 Abhyuday April 16, 1907; Nizam-ul-Mulk, Dec. 31, 1906 NNR of U.P. No. 2 of 1907; Mukhbir-i-Alam, January 8, 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 2 of 1907; Sansar Mitra, January 29, 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 5 of 1907.

may be attained by them.¹⁷ Another evidence of political activity happening in the United Provinces came in the form of reports of small arrests like one Motilal Verma of Aligarh was caught distributing a pamphlet in the boarding home of Agra College where he had been an ex-student.¹⁸

However by 1910, we find that the Swadeshi tide was at its ebb in the United Provinces and in 1911, the partition scheme was repealed thus giving the final blow to the Swadeshi programme.

To conclude, however, that swadeshi was struck out of the consciousness of the people would be erroneous. It manifested itself time and again in different terms, transformed its meaning and with time, developed into an open assertion of swaraj from various political platforms.

The idea of swadeshi remained the key to the construction of nationalism in the United Provinces. It is this idea of swadeshi and swaraj that I will attempt to explore in this chapter — their economic and political implications and their interlinkages.

On the basis of the data available, we find a nationalist argument that went primarily against the colonial government and its authority and made its overthrow

17 Musafir, Agra, February 16, 1907. NNR of UP No. 8 of 1907: Hindi Pradip, February 6, 1907.

18 Abhyuday, June 12, 1908.

one of the basic aims. However as the data indicates, the logic did not follow a single line of argument, but was mediated by different notions and beliefs. It is in this logic that we locate the meanings of *Swadeshi* and *swaraj* and look at the political programme accompanying it.

THE NATIONALIST LOGIC

According to the nationalist logic, the country had already achieved greatness but now it had decayed in all aspects, the civilization had decayed and it needed to regenerate itself. That is what the effort was aimed at. The idiom of decadence/regeneration opposition is important since this provides two strands in the consciousness [a] location of a greatness of civilizational content in the past [b] this location of the greatness in the past sought to make the Indian civilization independent of the impact of other 'civilizations', i.e., 'the Muslim' and the English. This sense of independence from others in thought and action enabled the nation builders to conceive of an alternative national ethos in which the realization of the perceived self of a collective identity would be complete and pure without any external influences. Therefore, emphasis was put on traditional aspects of the Indian society and life that justified the differences with the west, and efforts were made to preserve them. Women and their role in the society and the family always became an important element of this alternative ethos. We find the same high pitched anxiety over women's role in the United Provinces that have been mentioned by

historians writing on this issue in the context of other regions of the country. The evidence in the press of the United Provinces is abundant. A writer writing in *Kanauj Punch* thought that the educated Indian women were going out of hand. The fear was related to certain women in Bombay taking interest in the Municipal elections.¹⁹ The education of the women was important as *Hindi Hindosthan* of Kalakankar pointed out but this was a functional role since they required education to be good mothers to their children and good and faithful companions to their husbands. *Abhyuday* put this forth through the story of Alopa and Devkala, two sisters one of whom was accomplished in the field of knowledge but did not marry while the other one faithfully served her husband. The story ended in showing that the sister who served the husband remained happy thus putting domestic role of an Indian woman at a premium. Another article pointed out that women by nature are frivolous and thus they ought to keep themselves in great check and should follow 'pativrata'.²⁰ Once again the functional role of women was emphasized. The article suggested that the Indians ought to allow their women whose hearts are filled with 'darkness' with 'fire of knowledge' and the fuel of 'brahmacharya' then they would give 'nirmal ujala' to their homes.²¹ In another essay '*bhavi phalon ka bhyankar parinama*' the writer discussed the invention of Gramophone and its introduction to

19 *Kanauj Punch*, February 15, 1907. NNR of UP No. 8 of 1907.

20 *Hindi Hindosthan* Feb 20, 1907. NNR of UP No.8 of 1907. *Abhyuday*, June 4, 1907. *Abhyuday*, April 10, 1908.

21 *Abhyuday*, May 23, 1912.

Indian public. It had a functional aspect attached to it too. According to the writer, it was supposed to protect the men from the sin of contact with prostitutes but it had turned harmful since it was making accessible to the women and kids those songs that were regarded as vulgar and thus would be a bad influence.²² A similar trend can be seen in the concern over the celebration of Holi and Diwali which according to the 'traditionalists' had degenerated and thus these celebrations should drop the undignified behaviour attached to them, i.e., using abusive language, dance of prostitutes, playing cards and gambling, etc.²³

Thus, the self/other opposition becomes important to understand the opposition to the colonial government. There were three basic elements of the nationalist conception for action '*swadharma*', '*Swadeshi*' and '*Swadeshi vastu*', i.e., one's own religion, one's own country and indigenous goods. The emphasis being on 'one's own' we can say that the retrieval of the self and selfhood dictated the nationalist consciousness and programme. India was perceived to have been great but it had lost its greatness due to the fallen 'self' of the Indians. Two qualities of the present generation Indians were supposed to have led them to the fallen state. These were disunity and idleness. There emerged a notion of

22 Abhyuday, Feb. 18, 1912.

23 Abhyuday, Feb. 29, 1912; Abhyuday, March 14, 1912; Abhyuday, March 15, 1913; Abhyuday, April 5, 1913; Abhyuday, March 7, 1914; Abhyuday, March 21, 1914; Abhyuday, October 17, 1912.

timelessness about these essential qualities that the Indians possessed. Thus in the discussion and conceptualization of these essentials, the past broke into the present and the present overlapped with the past. Therefore, be it the Moderate/Extremist rift in the Congress or the formation of the Muslim League, both were put in the same framework and they were blamed for the nation not being able to realize itself.

While pertaining to these societal fissures the paper commented :

‘ इन सब आपस की लड़ाईयों से हम लोग संसार के सामने अपनी हँसी करवा रहे हैं। स्वराज्य लेने का ये मार्ग नहीं है।²⁴ while pertaining to the moderate extremist rift it had to say ‘ धर्मराज युधिष्ठिर नरम दल के थे और भीमसेन गरम दल के नेता थे।²⁵

This disunity was seen in terms of disunity between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. Thus, whichever way anyone thought, the important thing was that one had to strive towards the common goal of independence.

‘ और शुद्ध भाव से कोई मनुष्य चाहे वह नये अथवा पुराने दल का हो, एक ईंट भी उस स्वतन्त्रता के मन्दिर की नींव में डालने में रखेगा जिसको बनाना सभी देशभक्तों का लक्ष्य है, वह सब काल में पूजनीय है।’

The disunity was to be avoided but at the same time the idleness and apathy, which also seems to have had a quality of timelessness in the imagination of the nationalists were to be dealt with. The idleness brought about the Indian subjugation but it was also the colonial rule that induced the ‘idleness’ in Indians. It is here that the notion of cultural subjugation of the Indians by the British finds its location. The tool for that was perceived to be English education. Thus, English education was seen to be having contradictory impacts. On the one hand, it was seen as a liberating force but

²⁴ Abhyuday, January 17, 1908

²⁵ Abhyuday, January 18, 1908

²⁶ Abhyuday, January 17, 1908

on the other it was seen to be leading to the erosion of the Indian self which, in turn, was being perceived as forcing people out of employment.

English education was called 'a poison which has been consuming the life blood of the Indians'.²⁷ For a writer of *Rahbar*, it led to increased competition between Hindus and Muslims for government employment. The failure to acquire employment would make them idle since everyone sought service and, failing that, had to lead an idle life.²⁸ This led also to the drop in production since 'artisans also went in for education and thus lost their ancestral crafts'.²⁹ He went further in saying that 'this accounts for the growing poverty in India'.³⁰ Impact of English education in loss of the indigenous culture was also emphasized.

' यदि हम में कुछ भी अपनेपन का ध्यान होता तो क्या हम ए, बी, सी, डी भर सीखते ही संध्या तक करना घोर पाप समझने लगते ? ' ³¹

Thus, it was the national individuality that was both being formulated and sought to be defended.

27 Rahbar, April 14, 1909 NNR of U.P. No. 17 of 1909.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Abhyuday, July 9, 1907.

‘ Indian painting and sculpture is dying out due to western imitation’. The writer would prefer ‘the state of subjection of Indians if that would keep up their nationality, to independence obtained at the cost of nationality’.³² The concern about the national individuality was found elsewhere too. *Rahbar* carried an article deprecating the ‘tendency on the part of the Indians to abandon their own customs, usages and institutions in favour of western ones on the ground that such an action produces a very bad effect upon their national individuality’,³³ because if the Indians did not maintain this individuality ‘they will surely relapse into the state of slaves and barbarians’.³⁴ The importance of selfhood and maintenance of distinctive identity became important in the conception of the political programme too which provides us with the entry point for understanding the appeal of Swadeshi and swaraj.

The ‘idleness’ and the ‘apathy’ was further related to ‘production’ when it came to formulating the swadeshi programme.

THE SWADESHI PROGRAMME

India no longer remained great since it imported goods from all over the world and did not produce them indigenously. The lament was that all these products could be made within India itself.

32 Abhyuday, May 7, 1909, NNR of UP No. 21 of 1909.

33 Abhyuday, April 9, 1909, NNR of UP No. 17 of 1909.

34 Ibid.

‘ देशान्तरों से जो कपड़ा, चीनी, लोहा, तांबा, पीतल, कांच, छतरी, जूते, टोपी, औषध इत्यादि अनेक वस्तु आती हैं वे कैसे आवें, ये वस्तु क्या भारतवर्ष में नहीं बन सकती हैं, और बना करती थीं, कौन सी वस्तु ऐसी है जो भारतवर्ष में नहीं बन सकती ?’³⁵

India should manufacture its own goods and it used to do so in the past ‘*bana karti thi*’ has to be noted. It is not thought that the Indians lacked the capability. It was due to certain qualities of the Indians that India lagged behind in production. Therefore, the perception of domination and the demand for its removal was located in the ‘self’ of the Indians and the ‘past with which this ‘self’ was inextricably linked.

‘India is sunk so deep in idleness and love of ease that all her industries have been crippled one after another. She has to depend even for the most trifling things on the foreigners. So degenerate have the Indians become that they hate all that is Indian’³⁶

Thus due to the idleness the production had declined and the foreign countries were supposed to have been able to take advantage of the Indians and their market.

35 Abhyuday, February 5, 1907

36 Anand Kadimbini, October 1906. NNR of U.P. No. 2 of 1907.

It is due to this idleness that the 'raw materials are bought from the Indians at a very cheap rate, and then returned to them after being finished into excellent commodities which sell at high prices'.³⁷ Therefore, the 'degeneration' becomes an important theme explained by the 'idleness' of the Indians. This, however, was related to the political and economic subjugation. It was this then which had to be given up to be able to formulate a programme for the nationalist assertion. 'Self reliance' and 'self sacrifice' were to become important qualities which were sought to be internalized and along with it the 'personal ease and the selfish aims' had to be given up by the Indians.

THE SWADESHI APPEAL AND THE PROGRAMME FOR SWARAJ

The meaning of '*Swadeshi*' or the '*Swadeshi bhaav*' has been described as a 'deep, intense, passionate, all absorbing love of one's country'. This 'passionate' love would be articulated in indigenous manufacture and trade. There should be a 'spirit of enterprise' as there is among the Japanese while the Indians show a predilection for things of foreign origin thus injuring India's interests and putting a 'large number of men out of work'.³⁸

In the United Provinces the demand at this point of time was for the manufacture and consumption of Indian products, especially sugar. However, this

37 Ibid.

38 Abhyuday, March 5, 1907.

was not all, production had to be Indianized and trade in India was to be promoted. It was in achieving the 'swadeshi' through indigenous manufacture and adoption of the traditional India that the Indian salvation lay. However, to achieve this, an understanding of the exploitative mechanism was important and that led to the formulation of swaraj. The knowledge of the 'drain' was evident. The increasing pressure of war expenses on the Indian exchequer was noted. Migration of labour to different areas was ascribed the reasons of high taxation, poor agriculture and the ruination of industry and trade due to foreign competition and a variance of interests between the government and the people.

' बेचारा हिन्दोस्तानी पेट की ज्वाला का मारा देश -विदेश भटकता है -यहाँ खेती में इतना लाभ नहीं कि सरकार का असह कर देकर वह पेट भर सके। और व्यापार अंग्रेजों के व्यापार के टक्कर से मारे गये।³⁹

The fact that India was a place for consumption of anything extra that was produced in England was mentioned.

*'Hindustan England ki pratyek vastu ke liye bazaar hai'*⁴⁰

Therefore India was just a market for English goods and that was how exploitation went further. The same logic was built further:

39 Abhyuday, March 12, 1907.

40 Abhyuday, April 30, 1907.

'raw materials are bought from the Indians at a very cheap rate, and then returned to them after being finished into excellent commodities which sell at high prices'.

It was the economic decline of India and the distress caused by resultant creation of hunger that was lamented by *Bharat Jiwan*.

'More than eight millions of persons have died for mere want of bread during one century and a half of British rule'.⁴¹

It was the British government that was 'sucking the life blood of India': thus we see the drain theory being formulated in popular consciousness. An American traveller Charles Russel is quoted as formulating that the Indian poverty was due to the 'heavy and unjust taxation' of the Indian cultivator by the British to fill up the 'imperial coffers'. He held the English responsible for high mortality in India due to famines. Plague was also related to the famines since so many corpses kept lying around without being cremated and that led to plague. The legitimacy of this assertion of course was much more since it came from a Westerner. *Abhyuday* saw the reason for the deplorable state of India in the 'export of Indian corn and raw materials to the foreign countries and the import of manufactured goods

41 Bharat Jiwan, Jan. 21, 1907, NNR of UP No. 4 of 1907.

therefrom'.⁴² The demand was put forth once again that the "revenues of the country should be spent in the interests of its own children".⁴³ The notion of drain was more forcefully echoed in *Hindi Pradip*.⁴⁴

Abhyuday came forth quite openly and explicitly on the issue of drain. One writer discussed the 'annual drain' from India through the via media of 'free trade'. The fact that Indian development was not taking place due to British domination was explicitly stated. While talking about the industrially developed economies of the world the writer stated:

' उनको अपनी उन्नति करने में बाधायेँ नहीं थीं जितनी हमको हैं। दनको वहाँ स्वराज्य था और जो उनके लिए हित था वही गवर्नेन्ट के लिए भी।'

Therefore, there were obstacles in the engagement of Indians in productive activities and the solution was 'swaraj'.

42 Abhyuday. January 29, 1907, NNR of UP No. 8 of 1907.

43 Ibid.

44 Hindi Pradip of February 1907 NNR of U.P. No. 7 of 1907.

यदि हम लोगों का वश चलता तो हम ये नहीं करते कि सूती माल पर से चुंगी हटा देते किन्तु उसके साथ ही साथ विदेशी सूती माल को देश में आने से रोकने के लिए उस पर कर लगा देते, और इस प्रकार अपने कपड़ा बनाने व्यवसाये में उन्नति करते।⁴⁶

However, since the government was not doing that and was doing something that was just the opposite therefore its actions were not in the interest of India.

‘ यदि गवर्मेंट भी ऐसा करती तो उसका यह कहना सत्य होता कि वह भारतवर्ष का शासन भारतवर्ष के हित के लिए कर रही है।⁴⁷

Once this economic critique was the heart of the nationalist ideology, the other arguments became peripheral — whether cultural or religious or educational. Nonetheless, it was not only the economic subordination that was thought of, politically India did not have the independence of action, that was the reason why the Indians could not have control over their economic activities. Thus, the Swadeshi programme would be to discard foreign fashions and articles and to adopt Indian manners and customs’ if the ‘regeneration’ of India was at all desired. The programme echoed itself with the exhortation that Indians ought to ‘promote indigenous arts and manufactures and to take to trade as far as they possibly can’.

46 Abhyuday, April 3, 1908.

47 Ibid.

Since the Indian revenues were being spent elsewhere, it was advocated that the money accrued be spent on Indian education. Through it the Indian industries would be revived and thus India would be saved from the onslaught of foreign goods which would lessen the foreign exploitation. However, the actual *Swadeshi* programme would demand action since it was questioned.

‘ पर केवल स्वदेशी रटने से अथवा बन्देमातरम् लॉकेट पहनने से क्या हम स्वदेशी हो सकते हैं ?⁴⁸

But it was not that the same was not taking place

‘ स्वदेशी वस्तुओं और देशी चीनी की बनी हुई मिठाई की कई दुकानें सुल गई हैं।⁴⁹

We see here that though the government would not oppose *Swadeshi* openly yet it did not abolish the countervailing excise duties that rendered ineffective the small protection that the low import duties gave to indigenous production.

Thus to rejuvenate the Indian Industrial production it was important to gain swaraj-

‘ जो घर में स्वतन्त्र है बाहर भी स्वतन्त्र है वह अपनी पुण्यवती जन्म भूमि और वीर देशवासियों के भरोसे सारे गर्जता फिरता है।⁵⁰

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Abhyuday, April 30, 1907.

Thus, it is with 'swaraj' that one would become 'swatantra' and only through being 'swatantra' one could expect any respect within and without the country. The writer asked why the Indians kept going abroad as labourers? The answer was simple

' इसका कारण क्या है ? यही कि हिन्दोस्तान में हिन्दोस्तानीयों को न स्वराज्य है, न उनका आदर है ।⁵¹

Thus, here we see that there is an explicit linkage between the two, i.e., 'swaraj' and 'respect' of the Indians. The notion of independence indicates what might be expected through it by the people. It was stated that those who pay their taxes ought to be able to say what should be done with the money so generated indicating yet again a difference in interests of the tax paying Indian public and the colonial government

' जो लोग कर देते हैं उनका सब सभ्य देशों में अधिकार है कि वे अपने रूपये के व्यय किये जाने के विषय में राय दे सकें ।⁵²

51 Ibid.

52 Abhyuday, June 4, 1907

The denial of self-government on the ground that they were not worthy of representative government was questioned and the example of Japan was taken when this demand was put forth.

THE EXTERNAL INSPIRATION FOR ACTION

The opposition with the 'others' was not always in terms of contradiction. The 'other' that created the ideal in the present were the Japanese. The Russo-Japanese war and the Japanese victory in it against a supposedly great Eurasian power, Russia, appealed to the popular imagination in India. It became clearer to the Indians that the Europeans could be beaten but this capability that was latent in Indian people could be used to overthrow the British only if certain present aspects of Indian life were given up and the Japanese example was followed:

'जापान की सरकार ने यह व्यवस्था की है कि छः वर्ष के ऊपर के लड़के और लड़कियाँ १४ वर्ष की अवस्था तक विद्योपार्जन करें। दूसरे ४ वर्षों में अंग्रेजी पढ़ें। जातीय उन्नति का यही मार्ग है।'⁵³

For modernisation, the model of education that was followed by the Japanese ought to be followed. The writer contended that it was the only way of progress of the *jati*. The example becomes important because Japan was in a state

53 Abhyuday, Feb. 12, 1907.

of degradation, just as India is, and the former had been able to come out of that state through certain effort that the Japanese collectively made.

Therefore, despite the fact that the Japanese were 'blacks' [read non Europeans or Asiatics] they could not be disrespected anywhere. Therefore, the race that 'proves itself' is treated the way it deserved. The writers mused that why was it that the nationalism or patriotism of the Japanese was respected by the British but the Indian feeling for their nation was not? The question was left open for the readers while the answer was obvious.

The reason why the Japanese managed to do all that they did was because in the present, they were intrinsically different from the way the Indians were:

' जापानी हम भारतवासियों की तरह बातों के मर्द नहीं हैं कि सैंकड़ों कान्फ्रेंसे कर डालें, प्रस्ताव पर प्रस्ताव पारित हो जायें परन्तु इन प्रस्तावों को कार्य में परिणत करने में वही ज्यों के त्यों ।'⁵⁴

Thus, the notion of 'self' vis-à-vis the other with respect to the Japanese was looking towards following the latter's example even in moulding the qualities of the people composing the nation.

54 Abhyuday, March 19, 1907.

The Japanese example was also looked at for the rejection of the notion of British 'justice' in which the moderates still believed. The writer said that Japan had followed the principle of 'might is right' and that, according to him, was the right way out.

The Indians began the appropriation of the perceived positive qualities of the Japanese by incorporating them into the Indian past. Thus, the quality of assertion of one's might was, of course, an Indian quality which the Indians had lost for the time being for:

' गत रूस-जापान की लड़ाई में राजपूत वीरता की झलक जापानियों ने दिखाई है।'⁵⁵

Therefore, if the Indians went back to the past qualities, mixed it with some modern attributes of English education [while maintaining their selfhood], scientific training and knowledge, they could achieve the same amount of greatness and independence that the British and the Japanese had achieved in the present and that the Indians had achieved in the past.

SWARAJ AND THE DEMAND FOR EQUAL RIGHTS WITH THE BRITISH

The assertion of equal rights with the English became a prominent demand. It was the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation that was invoked

again and again for this. Thus, suggesting that the liberal British government and the Government of India were still in some ways at cross purposes though if not explicitly then at least implicitly the British government lay exposed. The charter act of 1833 was invoked and the suggestion was made that Indians should be made to feel that they were equals to their British counterparts.

‘ ऐसा होने से भारतवासियों के चित्त में यह भाव उत्पन्न हो जायेगा कि उनमें और अंग्रेजों में भेद नहीं है, वे भी उनके बराबर हैं। इस से जेता और जित, प्रभु और दास, गोरे और काले, इस अनुचित भेदभाव का नाश हो जायेगा।⁵⁶

The 1858 Proclamation was referred to when *Abhyuday* asserted the same demand once again. The appeal was to the British justice while the writer demanded the “rights and privileges for Indians which are theirs’ since they were not purchased slaves of King Edward VII but his imperial majesty’s subjects and were entitled to all those rights and privileges which were possessed by all free born Englishmen”.⁵⁷ The demands were also made in the forms of complaints that the promises made to Indians by the Imperial government through the Queen’s Proclamation were betrayed, *Mohini* echoed *Abhyuday* in contending that the ‘Indians have not even

55 Abhyuday, July 16, 1907.

56 Abhyuday, August 11, 1912.

57 Abhyuday, Feb. 12, 1907. NNR of UP No. 7 of 1907.

got what they were promised in the proclamation. But now it was time that King Edward VII in conjunction with the present liberal government should make some valuable political concessions to the Indians'.⁵⁸ The proclamation of the Queen and its influence was not to remain limited to the Indian territory alone. Its impact was seen to be felt — even among Indians in the territories of Transvaal and Canada. It was the former that had a tremendous influence over the Indian imagination.

‘ ट्रान्सवाल के भारतवासी इस समय अपनी प्रतिष्ठा के लिये लड़ रहे हैं, न कि अपने रहने के स्थान के लिये। वे अपने उस स्वत्व का दावा कर रहे हैं जो कि उन्हें महारानी विक्टोरिया के घोषणा पत्र से मिला है।⁵⁹

Therefore Churchill's agreement to grant the Indians in Transvaal a separate area for living was seen as another humiliation for the Indians. The demand was for the selfhood and was regarded as a legitimate one

58 Mohini, Feb 19, 1907. NNR of UP No. 7 of 1907.

59 Abhyuday, Jan. 24, 1908.

‘ मि चर्चिहिल का यह सम्मति देना मानो यह कहना है कि अंग्रेज लोग यदि भारतवासियों को अपने बीच में रहने दें तो उन्हें उसे अनुग्रह समझना चाहिए किन्तु भारतवासियों के अंग्रेजों की बराबरी का दावा करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है।⁶⁰

Here even the English government lies exposed.

‘ ऐसी सम्मति देना हिन्दोस्तानियों के घाव पर नोन छिड़कना है और उनके हृदय से इस बात की आशा को निर्मूल करना है कि इंग्लैंड की गवर्नेट हिन्दोस्तानियों की मान और स्वत्व की रक्षा के लिये कुछ यत्न करेगी।⁶¹

The questioning of an existing reality was the first step that the young Indian minds were taking. Explaining the increasing student participation in politics, Gokhale was reported as saying that

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

‘ वर्तमान समय में ऐसी कई बातें हो रही हैं जिनका स्वाभिमानी और सहृदय मनुष्यों को अत्यन्त असह्य मालूम होना स्वाभाविक है और कॉलेजों से निकले हुए नवयुवक चारों ओर से यही बात पूछ रहे हैं कि देश की दशा ऐसी ही क्यों रहने दी जाये।⁶²

Mr Chidambaram Pillay was quoted as saying that the English ought to be thrown out of the country. This was how he also defined swaraj.

‘ स्वराज्य की परिभाषा चिदम्बरम पिल्ले की सभाओं में यों की गई थी कि अंग्रेज लोग एक दम यहाँ से निकाल दिये जायें, उनका झंडा समुद्र में फेंका जाये। तब स्वराज्य का झंडा फहराया जाये और कोई विदेशी मनुष्य बिना टैक्स दिये भारतवर्ष में न आने पावे।⁶³

Thus, we see that the consciousness of Swadeshi unfolded into swaraj, i.e., the replacement of the national symbol or the flag of colonial government with an Indian flag would help in promoting the idea of selfhood but along with that all Englishmen were to be thrown out and none was to be allowed into India without paying a tax for entry.

Further, even a paper like Abhyuday went on to endorse Khudiram Bose's objectives if not action and his courage to act was highlighted.

62 Abhyuday, April 13, 1908.

63 Abhyuday, April 17, 1908.

‘सुदीराम के चेहरे से शोक या घबड़ाहट का लेश भी नहीं झलक रहा था।’⁶⁴

Thus, though the strategy of violence may not be deemed fit but those who acted violently were held in high regard which only demonstrates that the choice between violence and non-violence at least initially was only a matter of strategy and violent steps could be taken if the circumstances allowed them to be taken.

We find that the theme of extremism in popular imagination was related with religion as is evident from the following incident and its reporting. A Christian who became representative of the ‘other’ in this case along with the government since the government’s nature was that of the ‘other’ religion. The incident was that a cow was killed by a cart-driver who was a Christian. The cow was not lifted and the police did not respond and the cart puller laughed and said that nothing could be done against the Christians which is where the selfhood of the Indians was hurt and an assertion was made for extremism in action.

‘आजकल दुष्टों के मारे धन-धर्म बचाना मुश्किल हो रहा है, इसी से माडरेट बन कर नहीं रहा जाता है।’⁶⁵

64 Abhvuday, May 8, 1908.

65 Abhvuday, April 10, 1908.

Though these kinds of everyday incidents are discussed in the next chapter to build the case for a primary opposition between the Indians and the English, this case is special in its own way. The importance is that it links in its reporting the opposition to the 'other', i.e., the English comprising or containing within themselves the Christians and the dominant political strand at the time, i.e., the mode of extremism. Also it gives enough reason to argue that it might have been the challenges to the notion of the self which was once again closely linked to the religious notion that brought about the change in the ways of thinking and articulation by the Indians of their nationalistic intentions.

MOVE TOWARDS AGITATIONAL POLITICS

Along with the militant programme and the exasperation with the colonial government, we also find a shift in the needs and requirements of a leader. The moderates were a past phenomenon, now India needed a strong man like Rama.

‘ अब बहुत हो चुका। अब दया करके हमारे देश में ऐसे बलिष्ठ आत्मा को जन्म देने का सुअवसर दीजिये जो गुणों में राम के समान हो।⁶⁶

This strength would find its articulation only when there was unity in the ‘*jati*’. It was ‘*jatiyata*’ or the strength of the group, united and bound together that would provide with the necessary assertion to be able to step the offensive on the enemy.

‘ जब बहुत सी चीज़ों में कोई खास गुण एक सा पाया जाता है तब उस गुण की अपेक्षा से उन चीज़ों के समूह में जातीयता आ जाती है, ओर वे सब एक ही नाम से पुकारी जाती हैं।⁶⁷

The meaning of ‘*jati*’ can shift its meaning when related to human beings.

‘ परन्तु जाति शब्द का दूसरा भी अर्थ है, किसी खास देश की प्रजा को जो एक ही शासन में रहकर एकता पूर्वक निवास करती है उसे भी जाति कहते हैं।⁶⁸

However, this united oneness of the ‘*praja*’ can articulate itself in aggression if it is oppressed, with a leader like Krishna emerging out of it to defend

66 Abhyuday, April 17, 1908.

67 Abhyuday, April 24, 1908.

68 Ibid.

the '*jati*' by leading it. The conditions of '*jatiyata*' and '*rashtriyata*' become quite similar and with the given conditions for their rise it is hardly possible to be able to discern between the two.

Thus, we see a linkage between the religious idiom, a sense of militancy and the emergence of nationality as conceived in the popular consciousness.

We once again see that different issues get mixed together and the political demand for Indianisation of civil services is related to the demands emanating from the Charter Act of 1833. Along with it the point that the Indian soldiers are not treated at par with the English ones is put forth. It was mentioned that no Indian soldier even if he excelled in his duties beyond his white colleagues could ever become a commissioned officer while in the case of the British it is just the opposite. We also find that with passing time the tenor of Indian demands and complaints becomes more and more stern.

' हमें सरकारी पदों के पाने में समानता का हक प्राप्त है। हक प्राप्त और यदि सचमुच वह हक हमें सच्चाई के साथ दिया गया है तो उसी के अनुसार काम भी होना चाहिये।'⁶⁹

69 Abhyuday, January 16, 1913.

Thus, we find that now the assertion of the right does not come with hesitation. The assertion, however, is also from the external examples of resistance. Gandhi and his leadership in South Africa of the resistance was highly noticed by the paper. The strategy of non-cooperation began to be highly admired paving the way for his entry in the Indian political scenario.

‘ भारतीयों से फिर विश्वासघात किया गया है और उन्होंने फिर निष्क्रिय प्रतिरोध का झंडा सड़ा किया है।’⁷⁰

A book titled ‘*Karamveer Gandhi*’ was taken out by the Abhuday press which was available on sale for interested readers.

There was increasing criticism of the government on various issues. The paper was critical of the government on famines and the action by the government in this respect was regarded to be quite limited in scope. The fact that the suggestions made by the Indian members of the viceregal council was depicted. Thus, the claim that Indians were given more representation in the legislative bodies lay exposed. The writer mentioned Surendra Nath Banerjee’s suggestions that were not accepted and then argued that the agitation for getting these accepted would have to step-up.

70 Abhyuday, January 10, 1914.

Commenting upon the law which discriminated between the Indian and the Anglo Indian press, the paper wrote.

‘ यह अन्याय दूर होना चाहिये और जो कानून इन दोनों को भेदभाव की दृष्टि से देखे उसका कानूनी पुस्तक में रहना कभी भी उचित नहीं कहा जा सकता।’⁷¹

Criticizing a proposed hike in *malgujari* and income tax in India reported by a British paper ‘*Englishman*’, *Abhyuday* contended that Indians could be used in high offices and defence expenditure could be cut down.

There was a growing perception that public opinion ought to be given more weightage and the government was advised, in its own interest, to pay heed to it. The people were told that no rights could be won without an agitation. The following extract is representative of such exhortations

‘ समय दिन पर दिन बदल रहा है, सार्वजनिक मत भी पुष्ट होता जा रहा है, उसको अपनी ओर किये रहना ही श्रेय है।’⁷² and

71 Abhyuday, January 17, 1914.

72 Abhyuday, April 25, 1914.

‘ बिना आंदोलन के इस २० वीं शताब्दी के सभ्य संसार में कोई राजनैतिक स्वत्व प्राप्त नहीं होते। जैसे कि बिना रोये माँ दुग्ध भी नहीं पिलाती।’⁷³

Thus through political statehood could be attained the regenerated self of the ‘*jati*’ and salvation for the country for which was required a struggle or an ‘*andolan*’ against the foreign usurpers of power. This rhetoric increased and sharpened with time as the First World War progressed and the participation of the Indian soldiers was regarded as a ‘self’ fulfilling action where they would represent the Indians and uplift the Indians’ self esteem⁷⁴. At the same time, this was seen as a time to secure swaraj through political action. As the paper pointed out —

‘ अभी समय है, यदि इस समय घोर आंदोलन किया गया तो हमें स्वराज्य मिलेगा।’⁷⁵

In the same vein the Russian revolution was spoken of. The connection was also drawn between the French and Russian revolutions and Indian political action.⁷⁶

73 Abhyuday, August 11, 1912.

74 Abhyuday, September 5, September 26, and November 14, 1914.

75 Abhyuday, October 2, 1915.

76 Abhyuday, March 24, 1917.

The demand for freedom or swarajya in post-war India became loud and wide spread.⁷⁷ The assertion of self-hood was complete and the political movement along with it also reached its maturity ' ब्रिटिश शासन के अस्तित्व के लिये भारतवासी पैदा नहीं हुये हैं परन्तु भारतवासियों की भलाई के लिये ब्रिटिश शासन है।'⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Abhyuday, April 17, 1917.

⁷⁸ Abhyuday, April 20, 1917.

CHAPTER III

THE PERCEPTION OF 'US' AND 'THEM' IN THE NATIONALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

For any struggle, it is important to locate the parties which struggle with each other for supremacy. The struggle would be around the clash of interests that the parties perceive between themselves over a period of time. It is in this perception of the clash that the historian can locate the way the parties or the people involved in the struggle looked at themselves and the others. In this construction of identities for themselves and the others, we locate the recognition of the enemies too. The history of national movement in India has focused prominently on the economic, political exploitation of the periphery, i.e., India, by the mother country, i.e. Britain, as the main causal factor for the growth of national movement. Though it cannot be denied that economic exploitation led to a sense of deprivation in the Indians vis-à-vis their British counterparts, but certain other factors, i.e., the experience of day to day living under the British rule and the sense of discrimination and humiliation felt by the Indians in their everyday lives on the road, in the trains, at the place of work, in the execution of justice, for a growing anti-British feeling has been paid scant attention so far. In this respect, even the relevance of newspapers in being a part of the day to day experience has been ignored. The newspapers that were themselves everyday 'events' represented events, put them in normative

classifications and made these normative models accessible to a large number of people. This compounded the sense of humiliation felt by the readers in their everyday lives. Perhaps this aspect of the potency of the newspaper for the mediation of disaffection has not been appreciated to its fullest. Along with the normative models came a lot of ideas that almost always gave articulation to the anti-British sentiments which might have been latent in the minds of the Indians.

However, the notion of 'self' as perceived by one community that was brought out in the above mentioned 'experiences' of the members of the community was also linked to how the community placed itself in history. The construction of the past determined the construction of the present. The shortfalls of the community were recognised and the ideal situation was constructed. The past encroached upon the present and the present overlapped with the past in the 'nationalist consciousness'. This led to a large scale intermixture of the two for the formation and execution of a political agenda.

The nationalist consciousness in the provinces was rooted in the historical narrative that came to be constructed. The narrative was a spillover from the rhetoric of revivalist movements that were prevalent in the whole of India for almost a century now and had slowly transformed from social movements to a unified political movement.

The consciousness of past greatness was strongly embedded in the united provinces. It became the principal driving force and motivation for action. The 'self' located in past greatness made the political actors identify their enemies in the present struggle. 'एक समय था कि भारतवर्ष भूलोक का भूषण था। विद्याओं की उत्पत्ति यहाँ हुई, धर्मों का जन्म यहाँ हुआ, कलाओं की कल्पना यहाँ हुई, इन बातों को विदेशी लोग भी अब मानने लगे हैं।'¹ And 'यहाँ बड़े-बड़े समृद्ध नगर और जनपद थे, बड़े-बड़े प्रासाद ,दुर्ग,देवालय, उद्यान,विहार,विद्यापीठ,कला भवन थे।'²

The 'greatness' rhetoric is evident and almost all the qualities are explained in terms of past 'tha'. Different forms of knowledge began from here, religions were born here, arts were conceived here. This also gets legitimised since even the 'others', the foreigners had begun to agree with this. India, the writer explained was not only highly developed at the level of ideas but even in material terms had a highly developed past. It had 'great prosperous cities', 'huge dwelling places', 'ports', 'temples', 'gardens', 'centres of learning', and 'centres for arts'. Along with this came the political power which the writer asserted that the Indians had.

'आज का काबुल, कंधार,अफगानिस्तान पहले दिनों में भारत ही का एक प्रान्त, सूबा था।'³

1 Abhyuday, February 5, 1907.

2 Ibid.

3 Abhyuday, February 26, 1907.

The suggestion is that the political power that extended to Kabul, Gandhar, Afghanistan could be seen as an imperial power since all the aforementioned regions were only 'subahs' of the political unit or the empire.

The past greatness which had come to be strongly embedded in the popular mind did not exist any longer in reality. A logical explanation was required for this which was provided in terms of time cycle.

‘कालचक्र की गति में पड़ कर हम बहुत नीचे गिर गए हैं ।’⁴

However, the notion of the 'fallen state', cyclical notion of time, led the logic further to the difference in the qualities of people who inhabited the 'country' and made the civilisation.

‘वैदिक काल के आर्य बड़े पराक्रमी, बड़े परिश्रमी और निडर थे ।’⁶

Thus, the Indians were identified with the 'Vedic Aryans' who were what the present Indians were not, i.e., 'very hard working', 'very brave'. The loss of civilisation in this conception was due to the reason that as opposed to the Vedic Aryans, the present day Indians had become 'lazy' and had lost their 'self confidence'.

4 Abhyuday, January 29, 1907.

‘हमारे देश में दिनों दिन आत्मबल के अभाव से आलस्य का विस्तार हुआ है।’⁶

But the loss of self-confidence did not happen in isolation. It happened because of ‘hundreds of years’ of foreign rule.

‘भारतवर्ष की शोचनीय अवस्था के मुख्य कारणों में से एक यह भी है कि सैंकड़ों वर्षों तक विदेशी राज्यों के अधीन रह कर हम लोग शक्तिहीन हो गए हैं, और हम लोगों को एक प्रकार का विश्वास हो गया है कि हम बड़े काम करने योग्य नहीं रह गए हैं’,⁷

The external agency of foreign rule was seen as being responsible for the decline in the character of the people. Loss of self confidence was preceded by the loss of power or strength by the Indians. The loss of confidence led to a loss in spirit.

‘यह ठीक है सदैव अपने आप को तुच्छ समझते रहना - अपने पर कुछ भरोसा न करना और प्रतिक्षण गुलामी का ही विचार सिर पर सवार रहना इत्यादि आत्मा को निर्बल बना देते हैं।’⁸

Thus, the linkages between a dispirited existence and a sense of inferiority prevailing in the captive mind was perceived and articulated by a contemporary observer. This observer however, and the others like him, were rooted as much in the same discourse of the western superiority and the Indian inferiority in the present. In this conception, the Indian loss of spirit had led the Indians to be irresponsible to the others.

5 Ibid.

6 Abhyuday, May 21, 1907.

7 Abhyuday, February 5, 1907.

8 Abhyuday, March 19, 1907.

‘ निरूत्साह हो कहने लगे वाह हम मरें और हमारे साथी सुखानुभव करें। यह हमसे न हो सकेगा चाहे उन्नति हो चाहे भाड़ में जाये ।’⁹

Therefore, it was the instinct to survive that seemed to have become much stronger than the instinct to work for social progress and social good as the Indians were portrayed as saying

‘ हमारे दिन सुख चैन से कटते हैं, हमें गैरों से क्या मतलब ?’¹⁰

Thus, selfish, irresponsible, weak, dependent Indians were counterposed to the brave, creative, strong, independent *Aryans* of the past. The nature of the people in the two times had altered but the people remained the same, ‘the *Aryans*’. Therefore, it was quite possible to be great again but only a few corrective measures were to be taken as already mentioned.

THE LOCATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE NATIONALIST DISCOURSE

The Muslims did not share the past with the ‘*Aryans*’ in this conception. They were the intruders with whose arrival the decay began. The notion of historical time puts the ‘Muslim’ period on the negative.

9 Abhyuday, May 21, 1907.

10 Ibid.

‘ वैदिक काल की सरलता, धार्मिकता और उद्योग यवीर काल की वीरता और स्वाधीनता बौद्ध तथा जैन काल के कलाकौशल, तत्त्वज्ञान, शान्ति और समृद्धि य मुसलमान के अत्याचार विषय और विलासिता यवर्तमान काल की शान्ति, दरिद्रता और दासत्व तथा उमड़ती हुई जातीयता और शिक्षा का प्रचार।’¹¹

Thus, we see that different periods were supposed to be marked with different attributes. While the *Vedic* period was marked with ‘simplicity’ and ‘religiosity’, ‘industry’; the Buddhist and Jain period was marked with expertise in ‘arts’, ‘philosophy’, ‘peace’ and ‘prosperity’. The ‘*Vir*’ period with ‘bravery’ and independence. It was the Muslim period that provided the turning point with ‘oppression’ and ‘ostentation’. Thus the religious distinction led to a distinction in the world view and practice of life that led to the belief of a completely different historical contribution of the Muslims which, as has already been said earlier, was seen to be quite negative. In an essay ‘*Hum Do Bhai*’¹², we see a contradictory pull. On the one hand, the identification of the ‘Muslims’ as the ‘other’ of the Hindu or the *Aryan* society and thus being the ‘other’ of the Indian society, but at the same time being a part of the Indian extended family as the two communities were personified as having two monolithic identities and then seen as being brothers. Thus, the very title is suggestive of an effort of unifying the two communities for a common project. The writer says:

11 Abhyuday. July 16, 1907.

‘ लगभग बारह सौ वर्ष पहले यह बात कहीं कुछ नहीं थी। हमारा भारतवर्ष केवल हमारा ही था।’¹³

The assertion of ‘ours’ [*hamara*] is made with the word representing that which belonged to the Hindus.

‘ केवल आर्य जाति ही इस आर्यावर्त (भारत देश व हिन्दोस्तान) की अधिकारी संतान थी।’¹⁴

Therefore ‘Aryans’ in their peak of civilisation had far surpassed the Muslims.

‘ तब तो हमारे मुसलमान भाईयों का हमारे देश में तो क्या पृथ्वी पर कहीं जन्म भी नहीं हुआ था।’¹⁵

Though the Muslims were ‘brothers’ now but they were still seen as the ‘other’. However, the factor of hostility between Hindus and Muslims varied. Though, even in the present the threat from the Muslims was perceived through real incidents like the ‘Comilla riots’, ‘Jamalpur riots’ where the administration and the police were supposed to have openly sided with the Muslims against the Hindus. Even then unity between the Hindus and the Muslims was perceived. The same essay contends:

12 Abhyuday, February 26, 1907.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

‘ हिन्दोस्तान में अब केवल हिन्दू नहीं बसते हैं। हिन्दोस्तान अब केवल उन्हीं का देश नहीं है।

हिन्दोस्तान जैसे हिन्दुओं का प्यारा जन्म स्थान है वैसे ही मुसलमानों का भी है।’¹⁶

It was accepted, therefore, that the Indian Muslims belonged here and since they were to be seen as ‘brothers’, they ought to stand united against the British. It was asserted that the British, as a community, liked themselves much more than the Muslims. While referring to a conflict between the European principal and the Muslim students, the writer says:

‘ चाहे तुर्की टोपी सरकार को प्यारी हो तो भी लाल पगड़ी उससे भी प्यारी है।’¹⁷

Thus, symbolising both sympathy of the British towards other Europeans and the opposition between the Muslims and the British rulers. This conception points at the need for formation of community of interests between the Hindus and the Muslims.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Abhyuday, March 26, 1907. The Aligarh Students’ agitation found a favourable hindi press: This was the period when the ‘young gentlemen’ were getting disillusioned with the policy of loyalist politics and were threatening to join the Congress. See F.C.R. Robinson, Separatism Among Indian Muslims, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 142. Peter Hardy, Muslims of British India, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 154. David Page, Prelude to Partition, Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 14. The formation of the League is ascribed to an attempt made by the the older leaders of the Muslim community and the British government to try and contain the radical sentiments of the Aligarh Students. This, according to the three authors, the League failed to do.

The press had mixed responses to the formation of the Muslim League. While certain papers preferred the League on the grounds that the Congress did not represent the interests of the Muslims, there were others that questioned the formation of the League and asserted that the aforesaid political organisation would only divide the effort of the Indians. However, with the proposed Indian Council's Bill, the feeling that the English government was supporting the Muslims and thus there was some kind of agreement between the two to quell the Hindus became a strong one which brought about mutual mistrust between the two communities. However with this the sense that it was the British 'divide and rule' policy that was leading to the feeling was also quite potent.

Therefore, the Indian nationalist sentiment had a reflective capability which makes us suggest that the critical point where the two communities thought of each other as permanent mutual enemies had still not reached and the future history of the two could still go either way.¹⁸ The talk for a unified effort for constitutional agitation and rights was evident, where without relying on any metaphors in an extremely objective sense the papers demanded that the Hindus and Muslims come together for the struggle for constitutional rights. The issues which found significant representation in the press at this point, besides the separate

18 Profesor Bipan Chandra puts this phase of communal growth in the 'liberal phase' of its development. This was a period of a close association between the emerging leaders of the league and the Congress, increasingly coming under the control of Mahatma Gandhi. See Bipan Chandra, co-authored by Mridula Mukherjee; Aditya Mukherjee; Sucheta Mahajan; K.N. Pannikar, India's Struggle for Independence, Penguin, 1987, p. 420.

representation, were cow killing, the significance of Urdu as the court language as opposed to Hindi, religious processions passing in front of other community's religious places. The census also contributed to the fear psychosis created as there was a concern for the misrepresentation of the number of Hindus and also that of which language they spoke.¹⁹

Thus, the situation was still in quite a flux. We see some efforts at refuting the differences on the basis of language. *Mashriq* regarded the Hindi/Urdu crisis to be quite meaningless as the language spoken was neither Hindi nor Urdu, but a mix of the two 'Hindustani'.²⁰ It was also the paper that saw census to be a reason for misunderstanding between Hindus and Muslims. At the other hand, there were attacks on the Arya Samaj leaders. For example, the legitimacy of Dayanand was questioned and the Hindus responded in kind, thus contributing sharply to the debate.²¹

However, it was not only the Hindus who perceived the threat from the other community. The proselytization of the Aryas was seen as a dangerous trend by the Muslims and it was thought that it might lead to the extinction of the Muslims as in Spain. Counter to the Hindu fear, there was a trend among the Muslims where the 'lethargy' of the Muslims was deplored and they were exhorted to rise up

19 Abhyuday, November 10, 1910, NRR 46 of 1910.

20 Mashriq, Gorakhpur, November 29, 1910, NNR 48 of 1910.

21 Rahbar, Moradabad, NNR 50 of 1910.

and fight for their 'honour' and 'dignity'.²² Thus, now it was seen as a 'race of progress' in which the Hindus and Muslims were supposed to be lagging behind in their own views.²³ This obviously led to the next step that was of looking for tools through which the Hindus or the Muslims could achieve supremacy in the race. The tool identified was education and the publicists of both the communities were now concerned with this effort. Though these fears and concerns of the publicists may not be logical but we can argue that what they said or wrote would be partly true which became a 'perceived reality' for the readers. Also since the 'other' of this 'perceived reality' would only be presented in a distorted form, these fears could be increased further. For example, while discussing the 'industrial situation of India',²⁴ the writer said that 'India is not a rich country, but that, if the wealthy class could be prevailed upon to undertake the task of imparting technical education to people, there would be no difficulty in opening educational institutions'. However after having made this statement, there was a shift from the Indian to the Hindus who the writer felt were 'sadly lacking in the matters of co-operation and organisation' and could not be compared even to the 'Muhammadans'. This perception existed due to the fact that the Muhammadans had 'earned the favour of government and the praise of Anglo Indians only for this one quality'. It need not be said that if the government favoured any one particular community, it could not be for any other

22 Abhyuday, February 26, 1911, NNR 9 of 1911.

23 Ibid.

reason than for its own strategic interests. The Hindu Sabha was then at pains to show how the Muslim nobility was helping with the league effort while the Hindu elites were not contributing to the cause of the Hindu Sabha. The Hindus therefore were shown to be lagging behind in the race in which the Muslims were shown to be forging ahead. This assertion had very little bearing in truth. Thus, the trajectory of the logic had now completely shifted. It was no longer the 'Indians' who were losing place in the 'race' with 'western competition' but the Hindus against the Muslims. Among the Hindus, the great concern over the illiteracy of the poor classes of Hindus and the required efforts to educate them began to find prominent concern probably due to the fear of numerical reduction as we have seen earlier on the basis of census enumeration.²⁵ Therefore, the Hinduness of the educated Hindus was to be reinforced thus not only as 'march to progress' through technical knowledge but the retention of traditional aspects of Hindu life were also essential, thus Hindu education was to come with 'religion' or the practice of brahmcharya, etc.²⁶

However, counter to the Hindus, the Muslim publicists constructed an alternative historical logic. In this logic, the 'salutary' effect on the Aryan inhabitants by the Muhammadans was argued for. The Aryans learnt 'civilisation' from the Muhammadans, therefore, there was a 'debt' that the Hindus owed to the

24 Ibid.

25 Abhyuday, March 12, 1911, NNR of U.P. No. 11 of 1911.

Muslims and thus the logic of Muhammadan Kings' oppression of the Hindus stood negated and refuted.²⁷

It is interesting to note the give and take that continuously took place between the two communities. A temple at Bhera was supposedly destroyed by the Muslims. This was reported by Punjabee coming out of Lahore and *Abhyuday* also took up this story. The Municipality refused to furnish the details of the incident, thus it was named 'Aurangzebi'. The behaviour of the local municipality was termed so since the consciousness of the Hindus was opposed to the Aurangzebi rule.²⁸

However, we find that on the issue of destruction of the Turkish empire and no attempts being made by the British government on this account, there was great discontent among the Indian Muslims because of which the Congress and the Muslim league came together.

Therefore, it is evident that the tensions existed but there was always a chance for the resolution of the tensions. A few of the essays are quite revealing.

26 Ibid.

27 Naiyar-i-Azam, Moradabad, May 12, 1911. NNR of U.P. No. 20 of 1911. The paper to build this logic quoted a sentence from Justice Ranade's speech made in 1900 at the thirteenth social conference at Lucknow.

28 Abhyuday, June 22, 1911, NNR of U.P. No. 26 of 1911.

The essay '*mail ki baat*'²⁹ began with the assertion that '

'सभी उन्नति के अभिलाषी यही चाहते हैं कि भारतवर्ष की दो प्रधान जातियों, हिन्दुओं व मुसलमानों में भाईयों का सा व्यवहार हो जाये।'³⁰

thus echoing the spirit of the earlier essay '*hum do bhai*'. The reasons for the present discord were cited by this particular writer in the past of Indian social and political life. Aurangzeb's injustice towards the Hindus of course was one such reason but even a present day cause of conflict between the two communities i.e. cow-killing by the Muslims came in the purview of the same explanatory logic. For this the muslim habit of killing cows and eating beef was located in the past political struggle that had ensued between the Hindus and the Muslims. Hindus would lose their cattle when the Muslims ate beef. Thus, this practice was explained away as a part of the political process. The Muslims reduced the resources of the Hindus by eating beef and thus used the habit to defeat the Hindus while in battle with them. Thus the practice was given its relevance in a particular context. Though it was unjust in the opinion of the writer, yet the legitimacy to the Muslim action was granted by this writer and they were granted the cleverness of a smart enemy.

29 Abhyuday, January 10, 1914.

30 Ibid.

‘ यह अन्याय जरूर था किन्तु शत्रुओं पर विजय प्राप्त करने, उन्हें शिथिल कर देने, उनकी संख्या कम करने की यह अनोखी और कभी न निष्फल होने वाली नीति थी।³¹

This mode of fighting with the enemy was not only adopted by the Muslims, but even the Sikhs employed the same mode to conquer the Muslims.

इसी नीति पर सिक्ख धर्म में शूकर जो मुसलमानों में निषिद्ध था, सर्वपवित्र माना गया। मुसलमान सेना का भोजन रखा है, उसमें सूअर की हड्डी लगा दी गई, बस उनके लिए वो विष हो गया और सिक्खों की बन आई।³²

However, this was in the past. In the present times no such conflict was seen by the writer between the Hindus and the Muslims.

‘ मुसलमान कहीं बाहर के नहीं हैं। यह एक निर्विवाद बात है कि मुसलमान इसी देश के हैं।³³

- the country is like a mother to both the ‘brothers’ and they are both equal in the mother’s eyes.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

‘ हिन्दुओं के दुःखी रहने से जितना माता का रोआ कलपता है, मुसलमानों के सिर दुखने से भी माता का कलेजा वैसे ही कौपता है। माता की दृष्टि में दोनों बराबर हैं।²⁴

But if the two were brothers, how does one explain the present discord. The example goes on into the relations between brothers in a family. Two brothers have differences when one is prosperous and the other one is not so.

‘ संसार में देखा जाता है कि धन के मद से या और भी बहुत कारणों से कभी-कभी भाईयों में वैमनस्य हो जाता है। जो अमीर होता है वह गरीब की ओर निहारता नहीं, यही नहीं कभी-कभी कुटिल मति से वह दूसरे को हानि पहुँचाकर भी प्रसन्न होता है।²⁵

but once both are in the same position, they ought to get together.

‘ इसी के साथ ही साथ दरिद्रावस्था में एक ही सी अवस्था होने पर या स्वार्थ एक होने पर दोनों एक हो जाते हैं, एक दूसरे के लिए मरना सीख लेते हैं, और वास्तव में एक जान दो कालिब या एक मन दो शरीर हो जाते हैं।²⁶

Of course, just as the two brothers ought to come together under the given conditions, even the Hindus and the Muslims should be together now since the condition of both the ‘brothers’ was the same. He left a question which implied the answer

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

‘ क्या हिन्दू मुसलमान दोनों भाईयों की भी इस समय वही अवस्था नहीं है ?³⁷

Therefore, now there was no reason for discord and cow-killing should be given up since there was a third party now in the struggle, i.e., the British and also since it was ‘not based on any Muslim religious practice’ [which might not be similarly perceived by all the Muslims.

The fact that the English press and the Anglo-Indian readership of it would not appreciate the Muslim League decision of demanding ‘Swarajya’ had also been explained in terms of the family

‘ इन लोगों की सदा से यह रीति नीति रही है कि घरवाले लड़ते रहें और बाहरवाले मजा करें ।³⁸

Thus, even if the parties at home fight within themselves, they are part of the family while the outsiders remain ‘outsiders’. An essay written to provoke the ‘Hindu’ to act and take revenge reveals that at a popular level, the differences even at this level may not have been so prominent as they seem to be. Even when the writer preaches that the Hindu ought to learn how to take revenge he does not advocate any hatred on the basis of religion but the experience of living was perceived as having become highly oppressive.

37 Ibid.

38 Abhyuday, January 10, 1914. Abhyuday January 30, 1913 reported that Muslims were quite struck by Turkey’s condition and were trying to help the Khilafat. Abhyuday, February 15, 1913 reported Muslim League’s decision to demand independence.

‘ मार खाकर जीना, गालियां खाकर जीना, अत्याचार सहकर जीना, हा! पशु भी ऐसे जीने से घृणा करते हैं।³⁹

Thus, the writer advocates that the Hindus should contribute to their organisation at the local level wherever they stay. However, the intended provocation also displays the level of exasperation with the way the Hindus participated in the Muslim way of life.

‘ तुम्हारे बच्चे कब्रों की पूजा करें, शोक! तुम्हारी सन्तान ताज़ियादारी करें, धिक्कार! तुम्हारे भाई मुसलमानी पीरों के पांवों में पड़े शर्मा! शर्मा!⁴⁰

It is this perceived prevalence of the composite culture that existed that is the object of revulsion to the writer and thus it also proves that it existed. Thus, even if at a political level the Hindu/Muslim rift was growing, the leadership had still not been able to distance the two communities' living practices from each other.

THE LOCATION OF BRITISH IN THE NATIONALIST DISCOURSE

The perception of difference with the British came to emerge at two levels [i] the economic and political exploitation at a level of broad structural exploitation of India and the Indians by the British. The papers responded to this quite overtly and demanded political action from the Indians to gain power. [ii] The hitherto hidden factor that strengthened the former can be seen in the every day experiences and humiliations faced by the Indians in their day to day living.

39 Abhyuday, January 10, 1914.

The government of the day thought it quite important to keep a close watch over all the reports that came in the vernacular newspapers referring to the sites where the Indians and the British came to interact with each other and thus the sites of potential disaffection. The native newspaper reports carried separate sections on [a] judiciary [b] police and [c] railways. More often than not we find that the incidents we will refer to have interlinkages between the three. *Abhyuday* reported ‘*aurton par rail ke naukaron ka atiyachar*’.⁴¹ Two Indian women were molested by English railway employees while travelling in the same train. The guard, who was an Indian, tried to stop them, he was beaten up by the Englishmen. The reporter laments:

‘ यहाँ पर यह कहना ज़रूरी है कि गार्ड हिन्दोस्तानी था, अगर हिन्दोस्तानी न होता तो पिटता ही क्यों ?’⁴²

The case then went to the court. Only one of the Englishmen was punished and even he had to pay a paltry sum of Rs. 100 only. In the Indian view, it was nothing for the enormity of crime that he had committed. Since ‘nothing exasperates Indians so much as outraging the modesty of their women and that the officers who will take measures to prevent the commission of such offences at any rate on the part of soldiers, will do a distinct service not only to the Indian community but to

40 Ibid.

41 *Abhyuday*, February 19, 1907.

42 Ibid.

the government as well'.⁴³ The newspaper here referred to the case of a lady molested by a soldier. We note quite clearly that the 'distinct service' that would be done by the officers stopping this kind of actions on the government of the British soldiers will not only benefit the Indians but the 'government as well': This implies that the editor himself regarded these happenings as those that were creating discontent among the Indians. The awareness of injustice done in this case is strong. The report says, "why would the guard get beaten had he not been an Indian". This suggests that this was not an incidental case but these kind of incidents were quite frequent and they did lead to strong discontentment. The report laments the 'degraded' state of India due to which such humiliations have to be suffered by the Indians.

' जिन मैजिस्ट्रेट साहिब ने यह फैसला किया हमको उनकी अकिल पर और अपनी हालत पर अफसोस आता है।'⁴⁴

The same sentiment is echoed in another report of a Calcutta Court's '*manchale karamchari*'⁴⁵ H. Meredith's conduct. He was ordered to get a home vacated from a '*bhale ghar ki pardanashi istree*'⁴⁶, i.e., a woman belonging to a good family who remained in '*purdah*'. Meredith who was earlier a 'police sergeant' [this

43 Rahbar, Moradabad, February 7, 1911, NNR 6 of U.P. of 1911.

44 Abhyuday, February 19, 1907.

45 Abhyuday, May 23, 1914

linkage with his conduct is important to note] pulled the woman 'out', then pushed her so she fell down then he hit her but when he was challenged. In the court, he was let off with a fine of Rs.50/-. This is not regarded as justice done to the Indian against a European. Also this is seen as a normative of such cases.

' अंत में हुआ क्या ? वही जो भारतवासियों और यूरोपियनों के मामलों में प्रायः हुआ करता है।'⁴⁷

A similar incident was reported in three different newspapers of the region. *Jasus* picked up the news from *Paisa Akhbar* of a case which was being pursued by the government against some villagers for assaulting two British officers. According to the officers, the woman who incited the villagers to assault them did not move out of their way when they were out in the country on a hunt. The editors of *Jasus* and *Rahbar* responded to this. We can gauge the enormity of the incident from the statement in *Jasus*.

'An Indian woman, even of the lowest class, will dare bring a charge of outraging her modesty, when she is conscious that the slightest suspicion on her chastity will ruin her honour for good. . . .'⁴⁸

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 *Jasus*, Agra, December 21, 1906, NNR of U.P. No. 1 of 1907.

This makes the point quite clear. A woman's chastity, even if she was from the lower class determined her character and life and thus the paper asserts that until and unless the woman was sure of herself she would not go to the court with a charge on someone for outraging her modesty. The paper at the very outset absolves the Indians of any crime, it is suggestive that such incidents might have been quite frequent but they were hushed up. The report goes on to say:

'... or can one imagine that an Indian can say a word opposed to the wishes of a European unless the matter is one of the life and death'.⁴⁹

Rahbar echoes the argument:

'it is impossible that a poor woman of the cultivator class should incite her friends and relatives to assault European officers in the manner that they have said to have done'.⁵⁰

The Indians have been regarded as incapable of assaulting the Europeans. This in itself depicts how the differences between the Indians and Europeans manifested themselves. The case is typical for the interrelationship of two sites of 'railways' and 'judiciary' where interaction between the Indians and the British took

49 Ibid.

50 *Rahbar*, Moradabad, January 21, 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 4 of 1907.

place and the former had to suffer ignominy at the hands of the latter. The report in *Jasus* pointed out that

“the favouritism shown in the decision of the courts has emboldened the Europeans to continue their undesirable attitude towards Indian women, which Indians cannot and will not tolerate . . .”⁵¹

The report in *Rahbar* echoes the same sentiment,

“ . . . it is impossible to expect even handed justice in cases between black and white men”.⁵²

Therefore, the discrimination on the basis of colour was not only visible, but at the same time was resented. The opposition between the black and the white is established also through an identification with the ‘blacks’ at similar sites of injustice. A Negro Anderson Ellis was burnt to death in America for committing an outrage upon a European lady. However, for the same crime the Europeans in India hardly received any punishment as we have shown above. The writer suggests

‘that the incident might remind Indians of the kind of punishment which is usually awarded to Europeans in India when convicted of a

51 Rahbar, December 21, 1906 NNR of U.P. No. 1 of 1907

52 Rahbar, December 21, 1906 NNR of U.P. No. 1 of 1907

similar offence with respect to Indian ladies'.⁵³ [The inappropriateness of the punishment with the seriousness of the crime is clear].

The judicial action in certain other cases would help us in establishing this point much further. An incident from Aligarh was reported in which an Indian was killed by rash driving of a European. The latter was first convicted and then acquitted by the court.⁵⁴ Similar cases were reported from elsewhere. The *Intikhab-i-Meerut* reported that one Mr Jacob from Patkhali was accused of five offences viz., theft, committing an affray, of being armed with deadly weapon. Instead of Jacob being charged or convicted, it was the complainant who was charged of making a false complaint.⁵⁵ The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* reported, inviting attention of Assam government, a case of murder where a peon was killed by a European in authority on the Bengal Assam railway. The death occurred on a shooting excursion. The attempt was made to hush up the matter.⁵⁶ *Swarajya* mentions the death of the mother of one Moghal Jan by the motorcar of Mr Peter,

53 Swarajya, April 10, 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 17 of 1909.

54 Alamgir, Aligarh, January 15, 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 4 of 1907.

55 Intikhab-i-Meerut for January 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 4 of 1907.

56 Mukhbir-i-Alam, Moradabad, January 24, 1908, NNR of U.P. No.4 of 1908.

Superintendent, Government Railway Police, Howrah. The matter reached the court but Mr Peter was acquitted on the ground that it was a mere accident.⁵⁷

The papers while responding to these incidents reacted in almost similar terms. The *Alamgir* wrote,

“that the medical profession has so far treated deaths caused by Europeans as due to the rupture of an enlarged spleen, it will not be strange if they now go a step further and pronounce that the elements differentiating a human being from a beast are wanting in Indians”.⁵⁸

The *Intikhab-i-Meerut* wrote

“why Indians have at all recourse to courts in cases between themselves and Europeans, when they are openly refused justice in such cases”.⁵⁹

The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* wrote,

“lives of Indians are held so cheap that even the formality of inquiring is not gone through in such accidents”.⁶⁰

57 Swarajya, April 10, 1909, NNR of U.P. No. 17 of 1909.

58 Alamagir, Aligarh, January 15, 1907, NNR of U.P.No. 4 of 1907.

59 Intikhab-i-Meerut for January 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 4 of 1907.

60 Mukhbir-i-Alam, Moradabad, January 24, 1908, NNR of U.P.No.5 of 1908.

The *Swarajya* wrote,

“Readers! can anyone be such a fool as to say that the magistrate did injustice in the case, or that he showed undue favour to his own countryman [his brother], or that it was not the fault of the old woman herself who came in the way of the motor car and thus caused her own death”.⁶¹

It goes on

“his son should thank the Sahib for having released her from the troubles of a miserable life”.⁶²

He ends by saying

“justice demands that the old woman should be prosecuted and hanged afresh for obstructing the public thoroughfare”.⁶³

The tone of what is said makes the content quite clear. There are two elements which are brought forth from these reports [a] anger and [b] desperation. Both of these are directed towards the British, against whom all Indians become one since they have to go through these humiliations everyday which become collective

61 Swarajya, April 10, 1909, NNR of U.P.No. 17 of 1909.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

through the publication of the news in the press. The titles used for such reports in the *Abhyuday* are quite suggestive and representative of the nature of incidence and the judicial action or rather inaction in their response. '*phir tilli phati*'⁶⁴ '*dusra mamla*'⁶⁵ that pre-empt a 'first' or '*ek manushya ka shikar aur hua*'⁶⁶ as if it was a normal everyday occurrence. The judiciary either made light of these cases or rejected any offence at all. In the first case in hachar one Mr Hudson had killed a Porter Faud by hitting him. The civil surgeon reported '*mrit vyakti ki tilli badi hui thi*'⁶⁷ which was the normal reason given for such deaths. The report goes on to say almost in disbelief '*woh bhi itni ki tanik chot se phat sakti thi*'⁶⁸.

The writer does not leave us in any doubt by demanding a comparative study with the western countries in terms of number of such deaths and a doctor's commission to investigate in this regard. In '*dusra mamla*', there were some white youths who had a case of dacoity against them along with killing a '*mali*' but '*is bechare mali ki bhi tilli he phati thi*'⁶⁹. This case from Bombay high court saw

64 Abhyuday, July 18, 1914. Literal meaning of the expression is bursting of the spleen.

65 Abhyuday, August 18, 1914.

66 Abhyuday, April 26, 1913.

67 Abhyuday, July 18, 1914.

68 Ibid.

69 Abhyuday, August 1, 1914.

these 'boys' acquitted on the ground that it was not an 'intentional' death. They had to pay a fine for ordinary crime. The paper mentions that

' हॉ पाठकों को यह बता देना आवश्यक होगा कि जज के कथनानुसार अभियुक्त केवल लड़के ही नहीं थे वरन् १७ से २५ वर्ष तक की अवस्था के मनचले युवक थे।'⁷⁰

This is another truth that must be revealed to the 'readers' to let them think of the good and evil of this case. About the event, he finally goes on to say '*kya is par bhi teeka tippani ki aavashyakta hai?*'⁷¹ as if, the readers already know of the occurrence of these kind of cases and the mechanism of how they occur. A similar indictment of the system came from the paper. A coolie was killed by a white assistant manager of a tea estate. The case was against him and yet he was given a place to sit in the court. Even when his crime was proved he was made to pay a fine of Rs.500 only. The paper says '*Aajkal is desh mein tilli phatne ki ghatnae praya hua karti hai*'.⁷² The racial difference and discrimination based on it is highlighted here

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Abhyuday, August 1, 1914.

‘ यदि इस मामले में गोरे अभियुक्त के स्थान पर कोई काला आदमी होता और कुली की जगह कोई यूरोपियन होता तो क्या काले अभियुक्त के साथ वैसा ही व्यवहार किया जाता जैसा हडसन के साथ किया गया है ?’⁷³

However, we find that the news title calls this *coolie* from Assam a ‘*Bharatwasi*’ Thus, the identification is clear, it is the Indian against the British when the struggle is of the black against the white too. This puts a question mark on the British sense of justice which was questioned by *Nasim-i-Agra* in which a shepherd killed by one H.T. Davis at Rangoon was mentioned and the fact that this man was let off with a fine of only Rs.10. This in the reporter’s words would ‘shake the confidence of Indians in British justice.’⁷⁴ Here Hindus and Muslims all come together since all Indians share these travails of colonial administration. The desperation does not remain limited to the individual cases of day to day living but extends itself to the methods employed by the colonial administration and judiciary to curb the actions of the nationalists. *Abhyuday* mentions and expresses indignation over the unfair nature of the Rawalpindi trials and published a detailed report of them. It also questions the administration in framing false charges in the Alipore trial and Midnapore cases. The police lay exposed in Etawah and Rawalpindi cases. Pointing out the fabrications in the Midnapore and Alipore and Howrah Gang case trials and the untrustworthiness of the police reports, the paper demands that the

73 Ibid.

74 *Nasim-i-Agra*, September 15, 1911, NNR of U.P.38 of 1911.

Indian deportees should be given a chance to establish their innocence.⁷⁵ A primary concern at this time is related to sedition. The paper also says that 'detectives infest the country' and that the British government is seeing too much 'sedition' when there is not so much. This shows how panic stricken the British government was at this point.

The police oppression came in several forms. At Madras, the English used 'volunteer sena' to curb the strikers. The paper comments:

*'संसार के किसी हंगामे आदि के दमन के लिये पुलिस बुलाई जाती है किन्तु मद्रास के गोरे साहबों ने पुलिस का काम बाल्टियर सेना से लिया।'*⁷⁶

This implied the irresponsibility with which the Indians were treated by the British authorities. He goes on to say '

*'भारत में मालूम पड़ता है निःसहाय निरस्त्र मजदूरों पर गोली चलवा देना एक मामूली सी बात हो गई है।'*⁷⁷

He suggests that the government ought to think and the 'leaders' ought to force it on the government to decide when firing should take place. However, we see that similar complaints are being made in a slightly later period. As the Indians

75 Abhyuday, June 11, 1909.

76 Abhyuday, January 10, 1914.

77 Ibid.

were getting more and more accustomed to the unusual fear of sedition on the part of the English, they asserted this sense of oppression much more.

'*jise chahe bandh do*'⁷⁸ is the title of such a report. One Surendranath working in Elgin Mills was apprehended in the Rash Behari Bose case and was left after one day. One Nirmalkant Rai was indicted in killing of a police inspector but after the case was presented in front of the jury twice, he was acquitted, showing quite clearly that he was not the murderer. The paper comments:

'पुलीस जब कोई मुकदमा तैयार करती है, जब वह कहती है कि उसके पास काफी सबूत मौजूद हैं।' इनज' काफी सबूत के बिना मुकदमा सड़ा करने की कौन सी सजा दी जायेगी ?⁷⁹

as it was in the case which was one of the most representative cases of those which have been mentioned earlier. The question is further put forward.

'निर्दोष मनुष्यों को कष्ट उठाना पड़ता है, उसकी क्षति कौन पूरी करेगा ?'⁸⁰

This for the paper is not the way to maintain affection in the minds of the people. It warns the government '

78 Abhyuday, April 25, 1914.

79 Abhyuday, May 2, 1914.

80 Abhyuday, May 2, 1914.

गवर्नमेंट को विचारकर काम करना चाहिये। अशान्ति रोकने के बजाय अशान्ति वृद्धि करना ही उसे अभीष्ट हो तो फिर हमें कुछ नहीं कहना है।⁸¹

However, it was the judiciary here that exposed the fabrications. *Abhyuday* lauds Mr Beachcroft, the judge for his 'even-handed justice',⁸² but it is not the British government that he thanks and thus the judge in his opinion is not representative of the British government and thus is an anomaly in the system just as Barnes is who was reprimanded by Justice Robertson for criticising the police in public. The normative of a British official is Ibbetson, who in a party was supposed to have reprimanded an army officer for even giving meagre punishment to an Englishman who had killed an Indian. Ibbetson was also reported to have instructed the same officer not to consider Indian life so dear in the future.⁸³

However, the differences that come to be seen in further experiences of day to day life, for example, on the road where an Indian could be 'slapped' by an Englishman for the former not 'salaaming' the latter, while facing him at the work place where being an Englishman the person can demand his work to be done even on a non-working day; in the way Indians were addressed by the British, which is

81 *Abhyuday*, April 25, 1914.

82 *Abhyuday*, May 14, 1909, NNR of U.P. No. 21 of 1909.

83 *Abhyuday*, April 10, 1908.

evident from the exhortation of the edition of *Jasus* to call all English-men 'feranghis' as they call the Indians 'natives'.⁸⁴

Abhyuday draws the 'normative' for these experiences while travelling in trains:

' बड़े-बड़े राजाओं को फर्स्टक्लास गाड़ी में शिकारी गोरों की चरण धूलि हाथ से साफ करनी पड़ी है, और न्याय मूर्ति जजों को मामूली सबाल्टर्न की लातें खानी पड़ी हैं।'⁸⁵

just as Lala Munshi Ram, Governor of Gurukul Kangri, had to learn when he was assaulted by an Englishman when he was travelling in a train. This was obviously not an isolated incident as 'similar cases' had 'previously been brought to the notice of Government'. However, the government had done nothing so far as a 'remedy'. The editor suggested 'exemplary punishment'.⁸⁶ Mr Yamini Mohan Das, member of the Assam Council met with similar fate when he was travelling from Karimganj to Shillong. He was made to vacate his place for a white in the first class who incidentally was the member of the same council and was going to Shillong to attend a meeting of the council. Though the white man made the train official return the difference between the first and second class fares to Mr Das, but Mr Das was not

84 Mukhbir-i-Alam, January 8, 1907, NNR of U.P. No. 2 of 1907.

85 Abhyuday, April 30, 1907.

86 Oudh Akhbar, Lucknow, November 21, 1911, NNR of U.P. No. 47 of 1911.

permitted to share the seat or the compartment with the white man.⁸⁷ [Can we regard this as reflective of defunct function of the councils]. The paper in a later edition castigated the member, his weak 'will' and 'soul' that led him not to assert his rights.⁸⁸

Thus, even the elites of the Indian society had to suffer at the hands of those who were at the lowest rung in the British social hierarchy. The writer says that the Americans, Germans and the other Europeans who come to India travel here as if they are the lords: ‘

‘ सैर क्या करते हैं उस चाल से भूमि को कँपाते हुये फिरते हैं ।’⁸⁹ while when the Indians go abroad, they have to be submissive even to the waiters in the hotels.

‘ हिन्दोस्तानी रईस फ्रांस या इंग्लैंड में रूपया फूंकने जाते हैं तो वे होटलवालियों से भी दबते रहते हैं ।’⁹⁰

87 Abhyuday, April 5, 1913.

88 Abhyuday, April 19, 1913.

89 Abhyuday, April 30, 1907.

90 Abhyuday, April 30, 1907.

Thus, the Indians stand at such an inferior level compared to their western counterparts that they ought to get into some political action to relieve themselves from this everyday humiliation. The *Jasus* says it quite clearly.

“The fire of discontent will not be put out in this way, rather it will burst forth into a greater blaze, and the feelings between Europeans and Indians will become more and more strained everyday”.⁹¹

91 *Jasus*, Agra, December 21, 1906 NNR of U.P. No. 4 of 1907.

CHAPTER IV

NEWSPAPER NARRATIVES AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Newspapers and news journals in our period were a part of the socio-political activity. They not only expressed their views through representation of factual news but they also contained certain semi-fictional narratives and representations which aimed at affecting the social consciousness of the readers. However, this is the most potent evidence that we have to be able to break through into the popular mind, since the intention of these articles was to have an impact on the receiving mind. However, reception would be effective only when the reader was able to relate what he/she read, to life around himself or herself. At the same time the narrative would be expected to go with the popular concerns and opinions and, in effect, reinforce them. The news items that we discuss in this chapter can be classified into three main types: [a] fictional [b] semi-fictional [c] real/representational.

Despite this classification, these news items, as we will try to argue, were dominated by certain social and political consensus which had a contextual relevance at the time of their appearance in print. This social and political consensus was

either constructed or reinforced by creating certain [a] stereotypes [b] oppositions [c] the stereotypes and their opposition are seen through action.

The first narrative of the semi-fictional kind is given below:

“A correspondent of Punjabi from Amritsar writes of an incident that he saw with his own eyes. In Amritsar at king’s road, three or four Indians were going on a *tonga*. One white man asked the Indians to get down and tried to get on to the *tonga* himself. Indians did not get down. The white man lost his temper, he ran and held the *tonga* and shouted, “you blackman, you do not obey white man.?” At this, one Indian who was well built replied, “Saheb, please talk properly” saheb went a bit at a distance and said, “you niggers don’t you know we are blackmen’s god, even if I kill you I can’t be hanged”. At this the Indian said, “I am whiteman’s god”. After saying this as he began to climb down with a hunter in his hand, Saheb lost his senses and he ran off to his house”.¹

As we have already shown in the third chapter, Indians were humiliated time and again in their day to day lives and thus this narrative has a normative element attached to it. It does not seem too likely that this was a real event but a created narrative in response to a case where a white man killed his servant and got away

1 Abhuyday, February 12, 1907.

with it quite easily from the court after paying a small fine. However, we term it as semi-fictional only because of the agency of the writer involved whose imagination leads to recreation of an incident and reporting of it. There are three remarkable points about the narrative:

- a) It shows how the press in the country had already formed linkages between different regions based on community of interests.
- b) It presents its readers with a different possibility from the one that the Indians were being made to face in everyday life, i.e. it is not the Indians who have to face the humiliation but an Englishmen.
- c) It has a very strong visual content with lot of action taking place which also provides the reader with some humour as the power relations are reversed. Also the addressal and counter-addressal accentuate the visual sense.

Let us examine the text more carefully to make our point clearer. The Indians were going on a *tonga* when the white man stopped them. The Indians refused to get down. At this the whiteman [a] lost his temper [b] came nearer the *tonga* [c] held it and asked the Indians to obey him since he was a white man and they were black. He in fact addressed them as 'niggers', thus reinforcing the differentiation between the east and west which manifested itself in two ways [a] at a racial level between the blacks and whites and [b] at the level of power

relations between the oppressor and the oppressed. However, all these stereotypes come to be challenged since an Indian who has been described as one with a 'strong built', which becomes a crucial factor in changing the course of the narrative, asked the Englishman to talk properly but the latter did not do so and said that he was the Indians' god. At this, the strongly built Indian counter addressed the Englishman by saying that he was Englishmen's god, climbed down the *tonga* with a hunter, only to see the White man intimidated beyond his wits and disappearing by running off to his house. The expression used for that is '*rafoo chakkar ho gaye*'.²

What comes forth from the story is that a strong Indian man is all that takes to make the Englishmen run away 'in fear'. Therefore, the Indians, if strong and fearless, can do away with the British presence and the British menace in the country. The language that is adopted puts in a high content of humour which makes the story appealing. It is obviously appealing to the Indian readers who would go through these humiliations everyday, as we have shown in an earlier chapter. Therefore, the story also had its inspirational content since the British ruling community's arrogance was shown to have been challenged by an Indian of strength and character. Thus, the story in a subtle way reflects the nationalist rhetoric prevalent at this point of time concerning physical prowess of the Indians which would make them fearless to counter the humiliations heaped on them by the English. This was also the dominant spirit of swadeshi.

2 Ibid.

Another narrative of a small incident in the same category as the previous one is concerning a barber from Pushkar who supported swadeshi. The title for the narrative is '*Ek desh bhakt nai*'.³ The narrative goes as follows:

'A barber from Puskar was shaving the beard of a babu of 'new light' [*nain roshni wale*]. He noticed the foreign clothes and shoes that this young man was wearing. He left the shave half way and the babu was left with half a shave. whoever saw the 'poor babu saheb' in that condition laughed at him. 'Babu Saheb must have heard lectures on *swadeshi* propaganda but they did not have any impact on him. We expect that now being refused services by a small barber he will have to give up the foreign things'.⁴

This narrative has two parts to it. One is the incident and after that is the message that the editor wants the readers to receive which has been stated quite plainly in straight and simple terms. This narrative is again marked with a strong visual content, has a very strong element of humour since the babu was in an unimaginable predicament. Again, we find that certain element of role reversal is present in this narrative. It is a babu, English educated, wearing foreign clothes and shoes, definitely from a privileged section of the society, discarding the traditional India. He is called someone with the 'new light'. He is humbled by a petty barber

3 Abhyuday, February 26, 1907.

who after shaving half his beard leaves him. However this is not all, the narrative becomes interesting since the visual impression of a half shaven man from a privileged section of the society has been created. His predicament would evoke the sense of humour from the people who would stand against all that the man stood for. Therefore, we find contradictory and opposing forces present herein. It was *swadeshi* against the foreign. The writer does not leave it to chance for the readers to understand what the message or the intention is. There is a subsequent portion to the narrative where he states that this young man must have heard of *swadeshi* but did not follow it but this lesson from a small barber might teach him that *swadeshi* is important, we see that the other opposition here is between the privileged and the under-privileged. Though the privileged man was English educated, he still failed to appreciate the cause of the Indians and relate to it, but a barber who would do physical work and who was without much intellectual capacity was the one who stood for the Indian cause. Then another implicit opposition here is between the intellectual and the non-intellectual where the latter is put at a premium. A third narrative in the same genre states that:

'In Buxar one eight or nine year old boy's father had not given donation for the '*jatiya pathshala*' or the national school. One day the boy was bitten by a scorpion and it pained so much that his father was scared. That boy said that father I will not care at all about the

pain if you help the '*Jatiya Pathshala*'. Listening to his son's words, the father was moved and he agreed to give donation and the boy quietly bore the pain. The writer does not end here but blesses the child '*dhanya vatsa dhanya, cheeranjiva*'.⁵

The narrative was quite obviously aimed at young children. The opposition once again is between the apathetic Indians and the nationalist forces that were making an effort for the social and political 'regeneration' of the country. Though the narrative has no humour, but it does have a strong visual content which demonstrates another human emotion and seeks the young minds to identify with it or the older generation to grasp and pass the information to the younger ones. It was the child's resolve after having been bitten by a scorpion that becomes the turning point. The father was moved by his son's sense of sacrifice and resolve and agreed to help out with the national social endeavour. However, the narrative did not finish here but the writer himself did appreciate the boy and his effort and blessed him a long life. The piece ends with '*dhanya vatsa dhanya, cheeranjiva*'.

A similar narrative portrays a South Korean child with similar concerns.

'Korean Daily News' named newspaper writes that a fourteen year old student used to be given five cents daily for food. One day he asked his father for three month's expenses that amounted to 1 Re

5 Abhyuday, April 9, 1907.

and passed it on through a newspaper man as a contribution to the amounts that had to be returned by Korea to Japan'.⁶

Yet another sacrificing child. Though there is no opposition to his endeavour but it was the contradiction between the two nations Korea and Japan which was being sought to be resolved by the kid's effort. This example is once again to appeal to children of a low age to evoke a patriotic fervour in them which may not have been a very abnormal situation for even the children at this point of time in India with the *swadeshi* idea sweeping a large chunk of the population with it. Another narrative in the same genre had relationships as its main theme.

'One newspaper from America has published an article written by someone called 'worried'. Worried saheb writes that, "I married a widow. She had a young daughter. My father was a frequent visitor to my place. He saw my step daughter, was attracted to her and married her. Through this relation my father became my son in law and my step daughter became my mother because she was my father's wife. In a few days time my wife gave birth to a son. In relation he became my father's brother in law because he was my step mother's brother. My father's wife, i.e., my step daughter also gave birth to a child. He became my brother in relation and he also became my grandchild since he was my step daughter's child. My

6 Abhyuday, April 23, 1907.

wife became my maternal grand mother in relation because she was my father's wife's [my step daughter's] Mother. Like this I became my wife's husband and her grandson too. I became my own maternal grand father because grand mother's husband is grandfather.⁷

A complex of relationships were created which led the poor man to utter confusion. We see that the indictment of western civilization and its ways was strong since the incident was located in America where it was supposed to have been published in a newspaper. The event responsible for this confusion of course was the widow remarriage which the Indian reformers had been trying for a long time to incorporate in the Indian way of life. We see in this passage a high premium put on the relationships by the Indians and the situation becomes humorous also because the whole set of relationships between the man, his wife, his step daughter and the man's son and his step daughter's son all get jumbled up. This narrative thus makes a political and social statement through the usage of relationships. As the traditional order was being challenged by those who believed in the modern values. The Indians were being protective about their way of life by challenging the western influx in it.

7 Abhyuday, February 26, 1907.

However, relevant to the swadeshi itself and tying all the themes that we have discussed in the previous two chapters together are other narratives which are self professed fiction and have no claims to be otherwise.

The first story is called '*Vimochan*'.⁸ Vimochan babu was a judicial officer in a lower court. In the period of swadeshi certain students were targeted by the police and arrested. The next morning was the case hearing. Vimochan had a young wife and he was looking forward to a promotion. The hearing was to be in his court only. In the morning he was called by his British superior and told that he might be promoted soon and that he should carefully listen to the case and give a good judgement. Vimochan punished the young students. In the evening he came back home, his wife had already heard the story and she was estranged by the neighbours. She did not say anything to her husband but did not behave normally with him. The next day she went and sold her gold bangles for the expenses of the appeal for the boys and the movement to save the boys from punishment. The British officer heard this, called Vimochan to his office and humiliated him. Vimochan left the service.

It highlights a few aspects of the period. It points out that the swadeshi had both a large support in the minds of the people and the writer through the paper was attempting to strengthen this support for the swadeshi movement. The contradiction this time is the main contradiction of the period. It is the British

colonial state against the Indians. Initially, certain well meaning students were arrested. These students had popular support which the Indian activists did in all likelihood. A loyalist looking for personal gain used the authority that the colonial government had given him and punished the students. This act amounted to collaboration and it was not approved of by the Indian community and his wife had to face the brunt of it since she was put out of any interaction by her neighbours. She, the good wife of an erring husband went and donated money for carrying out the movement and other follow up action to save the students. This report reached the British Officer who humiliated Vimochan. This humiliation happened to almost everyone in his time by the English. Thus, Vimochan gave up his selfish aims, left the government and joined the effort at propagating swadeshi. We have in this narrative certain stereotype emerging. The good wife who brought her husband to the right path. The neighbours who refused to interact with her. The husband who finally gave up the government office. Agency by four protagonists shifts the narrative as we can see the neighbours, the wife, the British officer and finally Vimochan himself. The story was designed to be a normative as well as an ideal one on the part of the paper, an attempt to reach to its readers and influence them for swadeshi, while at the same time reflecting the popular support to swadeshi with a strong anti-British flavour to it.

Similar narrative is of one Rai Gaurvinod Das Bahadur⁹ whose younger brother joined the swadeshi movement. He disapproved of it and tried to stop his younger brother from being a part of it. However, the younger brother refused to do so. The differences grew and he threw his brother out of the house. However, later he himself was humiliated by the British Officer and he turned a supporter of swadeshi and boycott. The narrative is similar to that of the earlier one we have just discussed. This time, however, conversation between the two brothers has been put in a dialogue form therefore making the visual sense quite prominent. Also since there are two characters representing contradictory forces it is easier to bring out the contradiction through dialogues.

Gaurvinod: Will you leave *swadeshi andolan*?

Manmath: No Never because it is for the betterment of thirty crore brothers.

Gaurvinod Boycott.

Manmath: No babu! This is an easy and proper way of taking us to *swarajya*.¹⁰

Therefore, we see in the form of questions and answers that the logic for joining the *swadeshi* has been put forth projecting Manmath as a young man with guts who is also courteous while 'Gaurvinod' gets projected once again as a

9 Abhyuday, March 13, 1908.

10 Ibid.

collaborationist like 'Vimochan'. Very much like Vimochan, we see that Gaurvinod is also humiliated by a British officer. It would be appropriate to put this addressal in Hindi as it is

'साहब ने बिजली की तरह कड़क कर कहा-चपरासी! इस बदजात को कान पकड़ कर २५ दफे उठाओ- बिठाओ, फिर इसी के जूते इस के सिर पर रख कर और कान पकड़ कर बाज़ार में घुमाओ।'¹¹

Thus, Vimochan was a part of the government, but the other kind of loyalists in this period who did not support the swadeshi movement were the erstwhile aristocratic or privileged sections of the society. Even he was turned anti government since he was rewarded for his loyalism by humiliation. Thus, once again the young swadeshist 'Manmath' becomes the ideal for the reading youth.

It was in the order of things to invoke examples of national heroes from the past for strengthening the emerging national movement. A prominent example is that of the narrative titled '*Rajputane ki veerangna*'¹² which is the story of Jodhpur's ruler Jaswant Singh's wife.

Jaswant Singh had gone for a battle. His side was losing and he fled back to the fort from the field. The Rani did not allow him to enter the fort for eight days. However, she became soft towards him because religiosity was as much a part of

11 Ibid.

12 Abhyuday, August 13, 1907.

her as gallantry. As she saw her husband, her anger left her and, influenced and inspired by the religious sentiment, she bandaged her husband and his associates' wounds. Later she happened to take charge of the battle against Aurangzeb in which one Rajput was facing hundred *yavanas* at a time. Thus the point is made that it was such a time of pride in the country when Rajputs were gallantly laying their lives for their country.

Before we go on to analyze this narrative, let us also look at another similar narrative pertaining to another national hero Shivaji. The narrative is titled '*Shivaji aur Shaistakhan*'¹³, and is about the struggle between Shivaji and the Mughal General Shaistakhan. The fort that Shivaji attempted to conquer was described thus:

There was a river flowing closeby.

' उस दुर्ग की चोटी से क्या शोभा दृष्टि आती है जीमतमूँ, तपअमत सिवूपदह बसवेम इल' उस नदी के किनारों ने बसंत काल के नव पुष्प से सुशोभित अति मनोहर रूप धारण किया है।'¹⁴

Shivaji's has been portrayed as a national hero and his qualities are described as

' बदन मण्डल दृढ़ और गंभीर था, भय लेश मात्र को दृष्टि नहीं आता था! - ' नेत्र उज्ज्वल थे ' - ' दृष्टि स्थिर और अविचलित' '¹⁵

13 Abhyuday, January 31, 1908.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

The narrative is similar as the previous one. Shivaji eventually conquers the fort but the objectives that have set for Shivaji and his mother's direction to him are notable.

' देश किसकी बुद्धि बल से रहेगा ? स्वाधीनता किसके बाहु बल से रहेगी ? हिन्दू गौरव की रक्षा कौन करेगा ?'¹⁶

His mother tells him.

' पुत्र ! हिन्दू धर्म की जय करो, स्वयं देवराज शंभु तुम्हारी सहायता करेंगे ।'¹⁷

Both these narratives invoke historical figures located in the past. Both have religious element attached to it. Both have a woman playing a major role in the life of a man and both are related to conquests against the Mughals. The first one is about a struggle with Aurabgzzeb while the latter one is with a general of his.

Looking at the first example, we see that a defeated Rajput King was not respected by his wife and he was made to wait outside the fort by her, the woman's agency as supportive to that of the man becomes important. However, her 'religiosity' made her treat her husband kindly when she saw him since she was a 'swami bhakt' and the husband was seen as her 'swami'. Later again supplementing the husband's work, she went out to 'fight' the enemy bravely. Finally the writer wrote of the battle located in the past where the stereotypical 'Rajput' warriors fought hundred Muslim [*Yavana*] soldiers at a time.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

‘ इस युद्ध में एक एक राजपूत सौ -सौ यवनों का सामना कर रहा था। अहा! वह कैसा देशभिमान का समय था जब राजपूत वीर..... प्राणों को अर्पण कर रहे थे।’¹⁸

The expression of the writer does manage to give a visual impression of him being able to visualize this battle evoking in him an emotion of admiration and delight. It is here that his agency comes in sharper relief for the historian. Along with the stereotypes created from the past we find that the narrative has a comment on the present and envisages a programme for the future. The idea is that the ‘weak’ Indians who have lost their self-confidence’ should once again follow the role model of the Rajputs and protect their country with bravery.

The Shivaji narrative gives a visual content to the role model. He should be strong bodied, fearless, bright eyed and focused, with depth oozing out of his personality. Though it can hardly be a generalization, but the objectives purported by the writer in this narrative are those of the Hindu nationalism and thus Shivaji becomes a ‘Hindu’ hero all set to protect the Hindus. Once again, we qualify that this cannot be a generalization , but it shows a concern for the protection of the Hindu community. Also it depicts a sense of contradictory pulls of the social consciousness since one paper itself tends to depict so many myriad strands of social consciousness.

¹⁸ Abhyuday, August 13, 1907

Just opposed to this is a representation which even points at an appreciation of the contradictions existing and persisting within the Indian society. This again may not be a generalization since the article bears the name of 'Balkrishna Bhatt', the prolific editor of *Hindi Pradip* [though we do expect that his understanding of various issues would have been discussed by the writers and editors of other Hindi newspapers and journals since they were known to communicate with each other and they had formed an editors' association]. The description goes as follows:

' यदि तौल ही से मतलब है तो एक पलरे पर मोटेमल सेठ को रख दीजिये और दूसरे पर क्षुधति दुर्बल अंग्रेजी राज्य के किसानों को रख कर तौलिये तो मोटेमल की नगाड़े सी तोंद अकेली के वज़न में पेट की अग्नि में झुलसे चार किसान आ जायेंगे। या एक पलरे पर खादा-खाद, सर्व भक्षी सामायिक सभ्यता के नये बाबू को बिठा दीजिये दूसरे पर तपश्चर्याकश किसी संयमी अस्थिशेष बाह्यण को रख तौलिये, देखिये कौन सा पलरा तराजू का झुका हुआ मालूम होता है।¹⁹

The oppositions are obvious. It is the 'Motemal Seth' against poor weak farmers living under the English colonial regimes and the babu of the new all devouring civilization against a poor undemanding brahmin. The visual impression along with the oppositions is tremendous Seth, *Motemal* with a '*nagade si tond*'²⁰

19 Abhyuday, April 30, 1907.

20 Ibid.

which can take in four hungry farmers and the 'new babu' against तपश्चर्याकिस, संयमी, अस्थिशेष।²¹ brahmin. He left it open to the imagination of the readers as to which side of the scale would weigh more and go down.

There was a curious mixture in the understanding of the contemporary issues. Though it was evident that there was an extremely sharp indictment of the nexus of traders, government and the officialdom who were the harbingers of a new order of things. There was an obvious concern for the common man who suffered from hunger and deprivation as well as sympathy for those like the poor [traditionally educated] Brahmin who had lost out because they had not become babus by taking to western education.

Thus, we see the dominating concerns of the time converging in these narratives and representations showing how they dominated the consciousness of people at that time. Also, at the same time, they show that there were multiple components of what made the social consciousness in this phase of nationalist struggle.

21 Ibid.

CONCLUSION

We began our inquiry with the central theme of examining nationalist ideology as it existed among the popular masses. The attempt was to locate in this ideology the reasons why people responded to the appeal of the Indian National Congress for a struggle against the foreign yoke. Also an examination of the complexity of this consciousness was sought.

In the course of our study, we have reached certain broad conclusions. The Indians realized the state of deprivation that they lived in under the colonial rule. This sense of deprivation came in the form of perception of economic and political subjugation. This, however, was mediated by a sense of inferiority in all spheres of life. Thus, the knowledge or the reception of this mediation came through the 'lived experience' of the Indians. It was this experience which made them look at themselves as one community as against their foreign rulers. However, this notion of self and the attempts to transform it did not follow a mono linear logic. The consciousness had both modern and premodern constituents in it. Thus, the Indians looked at the past in two ways — [a] which came to be known to them through the Sanskrit texts and [b] the living traditions of the people. Thus, the past could also be broken into two, i.e., the classical and the recent past. While this gave the Indians a sense of pride in themselves, it also gave them legitimacy to deny those aspects of present life of their own which did not suit their perception of

requirement for the regeneration of the country. Thus a past self, a set of traditions, came to be constructed and omitted as it suited the nationalist project. This is what gave the social process the complexity that our evidences indicate. Though the leadership of the national movement emphasized the economic and political critique of colonialism, the masses appropriated the critique through its aforementioned sensibility which was coming to be. Thus, along with transforming the 'self', religion also played an important part in fully appreciating the colonial political and economic domination. Thus, the response and the articulation of a political programme with the notions of *swadeshi* and *swaraj* had a mixed content, though the final thrust was in the direction of Indian independence.

While constructing the 'self', the Indians identified the 'others'. There could be examples to be emulated like Japan or enemy figures to be vanquished. The 'Muslims' found an ambiguous position in this conception. However, we see that for our period, the Muslims were still being accommodated in the Indian 'family' though certain differentiations at the level of consciousness were emerging. However, the riots which had taken place before cannot be treated as indicative of a sharp communal tension pre-existing between the two communities. We see that even though the Muslims in the social imagination were treated as 'others', yet they were also seen as 'brothers'. This also reflected in the politics of the period where the two communities were progressively coming together on one platform.

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