



CHAPTER 4

Second Phase of the Indian National Movement

Syllabus

Second Phase of the Indian National Movement (1905-1916)

-Brief mention of the causes of the Partition of Bengal and its perspective by the Nationalists. Reasons for Surat Split of 1907; objectives and methods of struggle of Early Nationalists. Any two contributions of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai.

The Presidency of Bengal was the most thickly populated province in British India. It comprised Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Chota Nagpur and some other remote areas. It had a huge population of over 80 million. On July 20, 1905 Lord Curzon announced the division of the province of Bengal into the following two provinces:

1. 'Bengal' which included the western districts of Bengal proper, Bihar and Odisha with a population of 54 million. Calcutta (Kolkata) was made its capital.
2. 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' which comprised the eastern districts of Bengal proper and Assam with a population of 31 million. Dacca was made the capital of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The province of Eastern Bengal was dominated by Bengali Muslims and the Province of Bengal was dominated by non-Bengali population—with 31 million non-Bengalis out of a total of 54 million. In both the provinces, the Hindu-Bengali population became a minority.

The scheme of the Partition of Bengal was implemented on October 16, 1905.

CAUSES OF PARTITION OF BENGAL

The main motive for the Partition of Bengal, according to the British rulers, was administrative necessity. They said that the province of Bengal was too big to be efficiently administered by a single provincial government. However, the officials who worked out the plan had other concealed motives. These included:

1. Bengal was the nerve centre of Indian nationalism at that time. So the British hoped to stop the rising tide of nationalism by partitioning Bengal. Explaining the political purpose behind the partition, Sir Herbert Risley, the Home Secretary to the Government, said, "Bengal united is a power. Bengal divided will pull in several different ways..... One of our main objects is to split up and thereby to weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule."
2. The Partition of the state was intended to curb Bengali influence by not only placing Bengalis under two administrations but by reducing them to a minority in Bengal itself.
3. The Partition was meant to foster division on the basis of religion. East Bengal would be predominantly a Muslim majority state and West Bengal would have a Hindu majority.



■ Lord Curzon

The Indian nationalists clearly saw the design behind the Partition and condemned it. They saw that it was a deliberate attempt to divide the Bengalis on religious and territorial grounds and thereby, disrupt and weaken nationalism in Bengal. They felt that administrative efficiency could have been better secured by separating Hindi-speaking Bihar and the Odia-speaking Odisha from the Bengali-speaking part of the province. Moreover, the manner in which the announcement of partition was made without any regard for the public opinion, hurt the sentiments of sensitive Bengalis.

THE ANTI-PARTITION MOVEMENT

People started a strong movement against the Partition, known as the *Anti-partition Movement*.

The Partition of Bengal led to a mighty upsurge which brought people and political leaders together. The Indian National Congress and the nationalists of Bengal opposed the Partition. Within Bengal, different sections of the population—zamindars, merchants, lawyers, students and women—rose up in opposition to the partition of their province.

Many protest meetings were held by eminent leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, Krishna Kumar Mitra, P.C. Ray, B.C. Pal and Ananda Mohan Bose. The Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists cooperated with one another during the course of the movement. The leaders condemned partition through newspapers like *Bengali*, *Hitabadi* and *Sanjibani*.

The Anti-Partition Movement was initiated on August 7, 1905. On that day, a massive

demonstration against the Partition was organised from the Town Hall in Kolkata. From this meeting, the delegates dispersed to spread the movement to the rest of the province.

People's Reaction

1. The Partition came into effect on October 16, 1905. The leaders of the protest movement declared it a day of *national mourning* throughout Bengal. It was observed as a day of fasting. There was *hartal* in Kolkata. People walked barefooted and bathed in the Ganga in the early morning hours.
2. The streets of Kolkata were full of the cries of '*Bande Mataram*', composed by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. It became the theme song of the national movement.
3. Rabindranath Tagore composed the patriotic song, '*Amar Sonar Bangla*' (My Golden Bengal), for the occasion which was sung by huge crowds parading the streets.
4. The ceremony of *Raksha Bandhan* was celebrated in a new way. Hindus and Muslims tied *rakhis* on one another's wrists as the symbol of unbreakable unity of the Bengalis and the two halves of Bengal.

In the afternoon, there was a great demonstration when the veteran leader Ananda Mohan Bose laid the foundation of a Federation Hall to mark the indestructible unity of Bengal. All gathered there took the vow to follow Swadeshi. It also exhorted the masses to boycott the use of Manchester cloth and Liverpool Salt.

Impact of the Anti-Partition Movement

Lord Curzon "had fired a very big gun but the recoil was tremendous". A wave of indignation swept across the whole province and had the following impact:

1. The Partition of Bengal along with the Anti-Partition Movement accelerated the Nationalist Movement by spreading it among the general masses. The people rose in unity to resist, to suffer and to sacrifice.
2. The ideas of *Swadeshi* and *Boycott*, born of the popular feelings in 1905, took shape

and it was realised that Swadeshi and Boycott were complementary and one would not succeed without the other. Swadeshi and Boycott were used as weapons of political agitation and a training in self-sufficiency for the attainment of Swaraj. British goods were burnt at public places and shops selling them were picketed. The spirit of Swadeshi spread to almost every walk of life—industries, education, culture, literature, etc.

3. The Swadeshi Movement not only played an important role in the growth of nationalism and patriotism among the masses but it also helped in the **revival of India's traditional and homegrown industries**. This in turn led to an increase in indigenous production and thereby **helped in promoting India's economy**. When indigenous manufactured products began to be sold in Indian markets, the price of British products dropped. All this **helped in the revival of Indian economy**.
4. A number of indigenous industries like soap and matchstick factories, textile mills, tanneries, banks, insurance companies and so on started growing and pushed the country towards achieving **self-sufficiency and self-reliance**.
5. The Partition of Bengal **left a lasting legacy of communal distrust and violence**. In fact, the British policy of Divide and Rule created a rift between two communities that persisted for decades and ultimately led to the tragic events during the partition of India in 1947.
6. The people **lost their faith in the fair play and justice of the British**. Lord Curzon refused to concede to the demands of annulling the partition. He said, "*Partition of Bengal is a settled fact and what is settled cannot be unsettled.*"
7. The Anti-Partition agitation **backfired the plans of Lord Curzon**. It gave added strength to the National Movement. The methods adopted by the Early Nationalists lost their appeal and gave an opportunity

to the Assertive Nationalists to lead the National Movement.

The Partition of Bengal was revoked in 1911. A new scheme of Partition of Bengal was implemented on linguistic rather than on religious grounds. Hindi, Odiya (Oriya) and Assamese speaking areas were separated from Bengal. Thus, Bihar, Odisha and Assam became separate provinces. The administrative capital of British India was shifted from Kolkata to Delhi in 1911.

SURAT SPLIT OF 1907

The Swadeshi movement cast its shadow on the growing differences between the Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists. The Assertive Nationalists wanted to extend the Swadeshi and Boycott to the rest of India and make it a vehicle for a full-fledged political mass struggle leading to Swaraj. The Early Nationalists, however, did not approve it for the whole of India and wanted it to be confined to Bengal only. The Early Nationalists did not want to extend open support to boycott which was in conflict with their policy of "petition and persuasion".

The Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists sank their differences and passed a resolution at the Calcutta session in 1906 condemning the Partition of Bengal. The dispute between the two wings of the Congress on the issue of Swadeshi, Swaraj and National Education was not resolved. There was also a disagreement over the candidature of the next President. Finally, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was respected by both the groups, became the President in 1906.

In the 1906 session, Dadabhai declared that *Swaraj* or self-government as it existed in Canada and Australia would be the goal of the Indians and the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements will have the support of the Congress.

The differences between the two sections continued. They surfaced again in the next session in 1907 at Surat. The Assertive Nationalists proposed the name of Lala Lajpat Rai as President while the Early Nationalists proposed the name of Rashbehari Ghosh. When

the session at Surat began in December 1907 there was utter confusion. This led to the split in the Congress and the Assertive Nationalist leaders were expelled. For nine years they remained out of the Congress.

The split in the Congress was unfortunate because it gave an opportunity to the British to exploit the situation to their advantage. They adopted a policy of 'concession and repression'—concession for the Early Nationalists as well as the Muslims and repression to the Assertive Nationalists.

The Surat Split also weakened the national movement. The Early Nationalists, however, were largely able to capture the Congress organisation and in the Allahabad convention, held in April 1908, the split was formalised.

THE ASSERTIVE NATIONALISTS

In the second phase of the national movement, there emerged a new and a younger group of leaders within the Congress who did not agree with the methods and ideology of the Early Nationalist leaders. These young leaders stood for complete Swaraj to be achieved by more self-reliant methods. They also wanted to have a mass-base for their movement. This group of leaders came to be known as *Assertive Nationalists*. They were so called because they had a different outlook that advocated active resistance to British imperialism. They condemned the British rule in India and held it responsible for the country's downfall. They called upon the people of India to make sacrifices for the sake of their country. Three prominent leaders of this group were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. They are famous as the *Lal-Bal-Pal* trio.

Causes for the Rise of Assertive Nationalism

The main causes which led to the growth of Assertive Nationalism are:

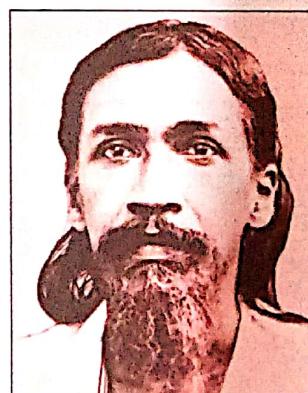
1. Recognition of the True Nature of the British Rule: The efforts made by the Early Nationalist leaders through their writings, agitation and petitions to the British government, exposed the true character of the British rule



■ Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal

in India. It was felt that the British rule was responsible for the economic ruin of India and her growing poverty. Some of the political events from 1892 to 1905 like the reduction in the number of Indian members in the Calcutta Corporation, the restrictions on the press etc., made Indians realise that instead of giving them more rights, the British were taking away even their few existing rights. All this convinced the Indians that India could not make progress unless British imperialism was replaced by a government run by them. Thus, the Assertive Nationalist ideology found favour with the masses.

2. Failure of the Early Nationalists: The younger elements within the Congress were dissatisfied with the achievements of the Early Nationalists. They strongly criticised the methods of peaceful constitutional agitation. The Assertive Nationalists advocated the adoption of European assertive methods to face British imperialism. The Early Nationalists were loyal to the crown and their political objective was to improve their chances of getting seats in the central Provincial legislatures or judicial services. The Assertive Nationalists accused the Early Nationalists of limiting their activities to the middle class of the society. The failure of the Early Nationalists to get something substantial from the British government



■ Aurobindo Ghose

led to the demand for more vigorous political action using a radical approach.

3. Worsening Economic Conditions: The evil economic consequences of foreign rule was exposed towards the end of the 19th century when there were famines, which ravaged India from 1896 to 1900 and took a toll on over ninety lakh lives. The government did nothing to help the people. On the other hand, it spent a huge amount of money on the Silver Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne.

These events revealed to the Indians their plight of utter helplessness. They attributed all this to anti-national policies followed by the British government. The worsening economic condition of the people and the unjust and repressive policies of the British provided a congenial atmosphere for the growth of Assertive Nationalism.

4. Growing Consciousness Among Indians:

The nationalist writers and agitators blamed the British rule for the poverty of the people. Leaders of this new ideology made all efforts to develop self-respect and self-confidence among the people. Assertive Nationalist leaders like Aurobindo Ghose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal asked the nationalists to rely on the abilities of the Indians. Bipin Chandra Pal reminded the people, '*Self-help and self-sacrifice is the real force in the field of nationalism*'.

5. Need for Mass Action: The Assertive Nationalist leaders taught the people that the remedy to their sad condition lay in their own hands. This belief in self-effort created an urge for extending the national movement to the masses. Swami Vivekananda said, "*The only hope of India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead.*" Thus, there was the realisation that only the masses could make the immense sacrifices needed to win freedom.

6. Influence of International Events:

Assertive Nationalism was inspired by the examples of international events. For the first time, Japan, an Asian country, defeated Russia.

Italian forces were defeated by the Abyssinians in Ethiopia. In South Africa, the Boers fought for three years (1899–1902) against the British Empire. In Ireland people were waging a full-scale Home Rule agitation. These events broke the myth of the invincibility of the Europeans. The Assertive Nationalists felt that the united masses could throw out the British yoke.

7. Growth of Education and Unemployment: The number of educated Indians increased considerably by the close of the 19th century. Large numbers of them were employed in the administration on low salaries, while many others faced unemployment. Their grievances made them look critically at the nature of the British rule. These educated low paid or unemployed Indians became the followers of Assertive Nationalism.

8. Ill-treatment of Indians Abroad: Indians had helped the British to develop their colonies in other parts of the world. But everywhere, especially in South Africa, Indians were subjected to racial discrimination. They were denied the right to vote and could not enter the hotels, clubs, buses or railway coaches reserved for the Whites. The discriminatory treatment meted out to the Indians in British colonies was resented by the Indians and led to the rise of Assertive Nationalism.

9. Existence of a Nationalist School of Thought: A school of nationalism had existed in the country from almost the beginning of the national movement. This school was represented by leaders like Rajnarin Bose and Ashwani Kumar Dutt in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra. These nationalists found an opportunity to lead the second stage of the national movement at the dawn of the 20th century. The most outstanding Assertive leaders were Lokmanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai. These leaders considered no personal sacrifice too great for the good of their country. They declared Swaraj or Independence as the goal of the national movement and directed all their energy towards achieving the goal.

10. Repressive Policies of Lord Curzon:

Lord Curzon's seven-year rule in India was full of repressive measures. He refused to recognise India as a nation. He was not in favour of giving freedom to India because he believed that the English were destined to rule over India. Therefore, he took several repressive measures to crush Indian Nationalism. These measures included—(i) the Act of 1898 which made it an offence to provoke people against the British; (ii) The Calcutta Corporation Act (1899) which reduced the strength of elected members from India, thereby giving the British a majority; (iii) the Official Secrets Act; (iv) The Indian Universities Act of 1904 which imposed strict official control over the Indian universities because Curzon considered them as the centres of nationalism. All these measures created resentment in India.

11. Partition of Bengal: The greatest impetus to the Assertive Nationalist movement came from Lord Curzon's decision to partition Bengal in 1905. The reason cited by him for this decision was administrative convenience. However, his actual intention was to divide the Hindu and the Muslim nationalists. The decision resulted in wide-spread protests and agitation. The people protested and launched the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements. All protests were put down with severe repressive

methods. Curzon's disregard for public opinion gave ample evidence that the Early Nationalists' policy of petitions, prayers and protests could not produce any results. So, more assertive methods had to be adopted.

Main Objective of Assertive Nationalists

The main objective of the Assertive Nationalists was the immediate *attainment of 'Swaraj'*. This means complete independence and not just self-government as in the colonies of Australia, New Zealand, etc.

Methods of Assertive Nationalists

The main focus of the Assertive Nationalists was to get a larger share for Indians in the administration of their country and to end Britain's economic exploitation of India. They believed that these objectives could not be realised without pressure tactics and some sort of direct action. Hence, they adopted the policy of non-cooperation and resistance to unjust acts of the British government. They gave new slogans to the national movement like 'non-cooperation, passive resistance, mass agitation, self-reliance', etc. The methods adopted by them can be grouped into four categories. They are:

1. Swadeshi: *Swadeshi* means producing necessary items in one's own country and using them for one's use without being dependent on imported goods. The *Swadeshi* idea was

COMPARISON BETWEEN EARLY NATIONALISTS AND ASSERTIVE NATIONALISTS

Early Nationalists	Assertive Nationalists
1. They wanted to achieve self-government and they strove for autonomy <i>within</i> the Empire and <i>not for absolute</i> independence.	1. They aimed at nothing short of <i>Swaraj</i> as it existed in the United Kingdom.
2. They believed in constitutional methods and worked within the framework of the law.	2. They were assertive in their approach.
3. They held good positions under the British government.	3. They denounced British rule and defied it.
4. They had faith in the British sense of justice and fair play.	4. They rejected British rule and held it responsible for poverty of the Indian people.
5. They received their support from the middle class intelligentsia.	5. They drew their support from the masses.
6. They were inspired by the ideas of western philosophers.	6. They drew their inspiration from India's past.

popularised by occasional bonfires of foreign cloth, salt and sugar.

2. Boycott: Swadeshi and boycott are two sides of the same coin. Tilak said, "When you accept Swadeshi, you must boycott foreign goods". Economic boycott of British goods and use of Swadeshi was designed to encourage Indian industries and provide the people with more opportunities for employment. It also proved as the most effective weapon for harming British interests in India. Lala Lajpat Rai said, "We desire to turn our faces away from government house and turn them to huts of people. This is the spiritual significance of the boycott movement."

3. National Education: A National scheme of education was planned which was to replace that of Government controlled universities and colleges. The Assertive Nationalists tried to enlist the students in their service. When the British government threatened to take disciplinary action against the students, the national leaders advocated national universities that were free from government control. A large number of national schools were established in East Bengal. Bengal National College was set up at Kolkata and Pachaiyappa National College at Chennai. In Punjab, the D.A.V Movement made considerable effort in spreading education through various schools and colleges. Efforts were also made to give education a national orientation in the vernacular languages.

4. Passive Resistance: The Assertive leaders believed in adopting the policy of non-violent resistance and vigorous political action to achieve their aims. They believed that political rights could



■ Bonfire of Foreign Goods



Aatmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan and Vocal for Local schemes are meant to make India self-reliant and thereby strengthen the country's economy. Do you think these schemes are new definitions of Swadeshi, that was propagated during the Anti-Partition Movement in 1905? How relevant these schemes are in a world that is interconnected and interdependent?

not be won by an organisation which could not 'distinguish between begging rights and claiming them'. They, therefore, asked the people to refuse to cooperate with the government and to boycott government service, courts, schools and colleges. They advocated courage, self-confidence and a spirit of sacrifice to achieve their goal of Swaraj.

Besides the above said methods, the other methods used by these leaders were:

(i) Revivalism: Assertive Nationalists revived self-respect by referring to India's past glory. These leaders planned the national movement on people's religious beliefs. Tilak revived the Shivaji festival in 1895. The Assertive Nationalists presented Chandragupta Vikramaditya, Rana Pratap and Shivaji as national heroes, whose memory could inspire the masses to fight for their country.

(ii) Personal sacrifices: The followers of the movement used self-reliance and were ready for self-sacrifice, suffering and hardships to achieve their goal.

(iii) Mass involvement: They had an abiding faith in the strength of the masses and proposed to win freedom through mass action. They aroused the masses by influencing them with their sacrifices and suffering.

The Repressive Measures of the Government

The Assertive Nationalists suffered most for the cause of freedom. Since the movement for boycott of British goods was gaining ground, the government launched a campaign of repression against the Assertive leaders. In 1908, Tilak was tried and sentenced to six years of imprisonment. He was sent to Mandalay prison in Burma (Myanmar). Other leaders like Lajpat Rai were deported to Burma without trial.

The Government censored all newspapers, prohibited mass meetings and started prosecutions against the nationalist associations.

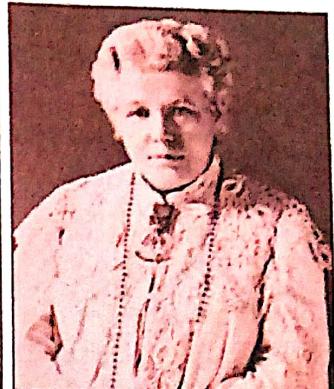
ACHIEVEMENTS OF ASSERTIVE NATIONALISTS

The Assertive Nationalists added a glorious chapter to the history of the national movement. They clarified its objectives, taught people self-confidence and self-reliance and prepared the social base of the movement to include the middle class, students, youth and women. Their achievements were the following:

1. These leaders were able to **inculcate national pride** by extolling India's past. Tilak revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to arouse national sentiments. Through his writings in *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* Tilak preached nationalism.
2. They **gave new slogans** to the Indian nationalist movement like 'non-cooperation, passive resistance, mass agitation, and self-reliance'.
3. They **spoke, wrote and edited newspapers in vernacular languages** and thus, succeeded in conveying their message to a large number of people.
4. Through their writings and speeches, they **infused in the Indians the spirit of active nationalism**. It was their efforts that produced a class of nationalists willing to sacrifice their lives and property for the sake of their country. They exposed the hollowness of the belief in the sense of justice and fair play of the British rulers.
5. Self-reliance was promoted by **setting up Swadeshi stores** that sold Indian made goods. Jamshedji Tata established Iron and Steel industry despite the fact that the industry had a long gestation period. Bengal Chemical Works was set up during this phase. Even Rabindranath Tagore set up a Swadeshi Bhandaar.
6. They declared that what India needed was **total freedom from foreign rule**.
7. Many **new educational institutions** were set up during the Swadeshi Movement. The National Council of Education was set up in 1906. It later developed into



■ Bal Gangadhar Tilak



■ Annie Besant

Jadavpur University. Similarly National College was set up at Kolkata with Sri Aurobindo Ghose as its Principal.

8. The Movement which had started from Bengal, soon **spread to other parts of the country**. Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods assumed an all-India character.
9. It was because of the efforts and sacrifices made by Assertive leaders that the **Partition of Bengal was annulled** in 1911. This gave fresh self-confidence to Indian nationalists.

Home Rule Movement

Due to the rift between the Moderates and the Assertive Nationalists, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant launched two different Home Rule Leagues. Tilak formed the League at Belgaum (Karnataka) April 1916, whereas Annie Besant established it at Madras (Chennai) in September 1916. Although these were two separate leagues yet they collaborated with each other to achieve their goal of bringing self-rule to India without any international interference. In the process, both Tilak and Annie Besant awakened nationalism across India and laid the foundation for India's goal of achieving self-governance.

LEADERS OF ASSERTIVE NATIONALISM

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920)

Bal Gangadhar Tilak is known as the 'Father of the Assertive Nationalism'. He played a leading role in popularising the cult of patriotism and making the Congress movement broad-based.

Tilak was born in Maharashtra. After taking his degree in Law he founded the Poona New English School.

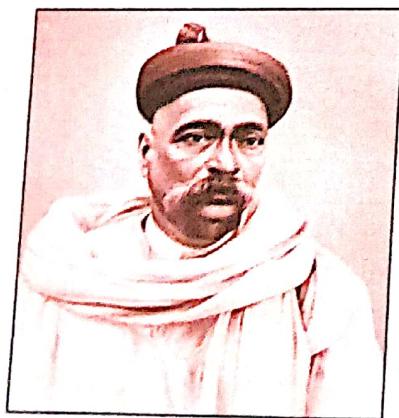
The Deccan Education Society was founded by him under Justice Ranade's guidance in 1884. Both Gokhale and Tilak were its members. The Society set up many educational institutions, including the famous Fergusson College at Pune.

His Contributions

1. Demand for Swaraj: Tilak was the first to openly declare the demand for Swaraj. "Swaraj is my birth right," he said, "and I shall have it". Tilak was convinced that political rights could be achieved by aggressively demanding them. His entry in the Indian political scene was marked by a shift from petitions to demand for political rights. He was the first nationalist leader who sought close contact with the masses. With this objective and to inculcate courage, self-defence and patriotism, he organised many akharas and lathi clubs where physical training was imparted.

2. Preached Nationalism: In 1893, Tilak started using the traditional religious Ganapati festival to propagate nationalist ideas through songs and speeches. In 1895 he glorified Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and started the Shivaji festival to encourage young Maharashtrians. He started two newspapers—Mahratta (English) and Kesari (Marathi)—which soon became the mouthpieces of his ideas. Through these newspapers he preached nationalism and taught the people to be courageous and self-reliant. He wrote two well-known books—the *Gita Rahasya* and *The Arctic Home of the Vedas*.

3. Established Home Rule League: Tilak set up a Home Rule League at Pune in 1916



■ Bal Gangadhar Tilak

to attain home rule or a dominion status for India under the British Empire along the line of countries like Canada and Australia.

4. Forerunner of Gandhiji: Tilak was the forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi in a number of ways. First, Tilak's idea of *Swaraj* was akin to Mahatma Gandhi's idea of complete independence. Second, Tilak sought close contact with the masses as Mahatma Gandhi did. Third Tilak preached the idea of *Swadeshi*, *Boycott* and *Prohibition*. These ideas were preached and followed by Mahatma Gandhi later on. Fourth, Tilak had to suffer several terms of imprisonment for the sake of the country, an example followed by Mahatma Gandhi and other nationalist leaders.

Tilak's selfless patriotism, strong determination and courage aroused the masses against the British and opened a new chapter in the history of India's freedom struggle.

Bipin Chandra Pal (1858–1932)

Born in Sylhet, now a part of Bangladesh, in 1858, Bipin Chandra is known as the 'Father of the Revolutionary Thought in India.' He started his political career as a social reformer attached to the Brahmo Samaj. He visited a number of European countries and the United States of America. It was during these visits that he observed how people resisted foreign domination. In 1886 he joined the Indian National Congress.

His Contributions

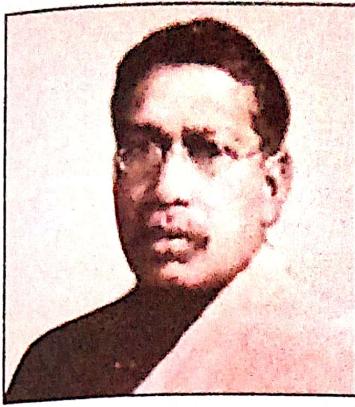
1. Role as a Journalist: As a journalist he worked for *Bengal Public Opinion*, *The Tribune* and *New India* to spread his nationalistic ideas.

The British Government found his writings seditious. Further, he was required to give testimony against Aurobindo Ghose which he refused. On his refusal, he was arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

2. National Education: Bipin Chandra wanted National Education to be the basis of the freedom movement. It would arouse nationalistic passions and become an effective instrument of social progress.

3. Social And Economic Reforms: Bipin Chandra Pal wanted to remove social and economic evils from the society. For this he made the following efforts:

- (i) He opposed the caste system and other



■ Bipin Chandra Pal

rigid rules concerning inter-dining and inter-mixing.

- (ii) He advocated widow remarriage.
- (iii) Educating women, he believed, was the most effective way of elevating their position.
- (iv) He stressed the need to develop indigenous industries in the country; he preached the use of Swadeshi and the Boycott of foreign goods to eradicate poverty and unemployment.
- (v) To establish equality in society, he wanted to tax the rich more heavily than the poor;
- (vi) He demanded forty-eight hours of work in a week and an increase in the wages.

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865–1928)

Lala Lajpat Rai was popularly known as 'Punjab Kesari' or 'Sher-e-Punjab'. He was an eminent lawyer, prolific writer, enlightened educator, social reformer and a staunch fighter against the British rule. He was born at Dhudike, Jagraon in Punjab. He was influenced by the Arya Samaj Movement. Lord Curzon's ruthless measures forced him to fight the British rule through mass education. His speeches against the misrule of the British invited their wrath and he was arrested several times.

He joined the Congress in 1888 and remained its worker till the end of his life. He joined the Assertive Nationalists in 1907. He carried on agitation against the agrarian policy of the British government. He was arrested and deported along with Sardar Ajit Singh to Mandalay.

Lalaji supported workers' movements and in 1920 became the first president of the All India Trade Union Congress. He was one of the first Indians to link imperialism with capitalism. This justified the need for the working class to join the national movement.

In 1920 he was elected president of the Indian National Congress. He became a member of the Servants of India Society.

Lalaji was arrested in 1922, along with the other leaders. On his release, he joined Motilal Nehru and his Swaraj Party. In 1923 he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly. He, however, left the Swaraj Party because he did not share its political philosophy.

His Contributions

1. An Educationist and a Forceful Writer:

Lala Lajpat Rai was a prolific writer. When he was in the USA, he started a monthly magazine *Young India* to spread the message of the right of India to attain *Swaraj*. His publications included: *The Call to Young India*, *England's Debt to India* and *The Political Future of India*.

Lajpat Rai founded 'Punjabi', 'Vande Mataram' (Urdu Daily) and 'People' (English weekly). He also wrote a book on 'National Education' that called for reform of the prevalent educational system.

2. A Social Reformer:

Lajpat Rai was associated with the Arya Samaj Movement. He was instrumental in the expansion of D.A.V. College at Lahore in 1886. He opened



■ Lala Lajpat Rai

orphanages, hospitals and schools. He set up Servants of the Peoples Society for the welfare of the downtrodden and outcasts.

3. Political Work Outside India: He went abroad to mobilise opinion in favour of India's struggle for freedom. When he went to America in 1914 he joined the Ghadar Party there.

Through his writings in *Young India*, he preached Assertive Nationalism, inspired the

Indian youth and kindled the fire of patriotism in them.

In 1928 while leading a procession at Lahore against the Simon Commission he was injured in a lathi charge. He succumbed to his injuries a month later on November 17, 1928. On the day he was wounded, he said, '*Lathi blow inflicted on me would prove some day as nail in the coffin of the British empire.*' His prophecy was fulfilled on 15th August, 1947.

CHAPTER AT A GLANCE ➤➤➤

Partition of Bengal: Lord Curzon announced the Partition of Bengal on July 20, 1905 and divided Bengal into two parts: *Eastern Bengal and Assam* and the rest of *Bengal*.

Reasons Behind the Partition: *Official:* Bengal was too big to be efficiently administered by a single provincial government. *Actual:* The British wanted: (i) to stop the rising tide of nationalism; (ii) to reduce Bengalis to a minority in Bengal itself; and (iii) to divide the Hindus and the Muslims.

Surat Split of 1907: (i) The annual session of the Congress in 1907 was held at Surat; (ii) There were differences between the Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists on Swadeshi and Boycott; (iii) There was a tussle between the two groups for the Presidentship of the National Congress. The Assertive Nationalists proposed the name of Lala Lajpat Rai as President of the Surat session whereas the Early Nationalists proposed the name of Rashbehari Ghosh. Finally, the Assertive Nationalists were expelled from the Congress.

Rise of Assertive Nationalism: The second phase of the National Movement was marked by the emergence within the Congress of a new group of leaders, who did not agree with the methods and ideologies of the Early Nationalists. They were known as *Assertive Nationalists*.

Causes for the Rise of Assertive Nationalism: (i) The efforts made by the Early Nationalist leaders exposed the true nature of the British rule; (ii) The failure of the Early Nationalists to get anything substantial from the British government; (iii) The younger elements within the Congress realised the futility of the methods adopted by the Early Nationalists; (iv) The worsening economic condition of the country caused by the British exploitative policies; (v) The ill-treatment meted out to the Indians in the British colonies in other parts of the world; (vi) Contemporary international events like the defeat of Russia by Japan, an Asian power; defeat of Italian forces by the Abyssinians, etc.; (vii) The repressive measures followed by Lord Curzon.

Main Objective of Assertive Nationalists: the immediate attainment of 'Swaraj'.

Methods: (i) Swadeshi; (ii) Boycott; (iii) National Education; (iv) Passive Resistance.

Achievements: (i) They inculcated national pride among the Indians by extolling India's past; (ii) They exposed the true character of the British rule in India; (iii) They promoted self-reliance through Swadeshi and Boycott Movements; (iv) They set up many educational institutions; (v) They brought the middle classes into the national movement.

Prominent Leaders of Assertive Nationalism

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (i) played a leading role in making the Congress movement broad-based; (ii) started two newspapers—*Mahratta* (English) and *Kesari* (Marathi); (iii) used the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to propagate nationalist ideas; (iv) He started the Home Rule League in 1916.

Bipin Chandra Pal (i) used journalism to spread his nationalistic ideas; (ii) believed in national education to be the basis of the movement; (iii) worked towards social and economic reforms.

Lala Lajpat Rai (i) prolific writer: founded 'Punjabi' and 'Vande Mataram' (Urdu Daily) and 'People' (English weekly); (ii) social reformer and actively associated with Arya Samaj Movement. He was instrumental in the expansion of D.A.V. College at Lahore; (iii) worked passionately for the freedom movement.

EXERCISES

I. Multiple-Choice Questions

A. Select the correct option.

1. What measure did Lord Curzon take to reduce the 'influence of Bengal'?
(a) Partition of Bengal (b) Swadeshi Movement
(c) Boycott Movement (d) Bengal Land Act
 2. The Partition of Bengal was annulled and a new scheme was implemented on which grounds?
(a) Religious (b) Linguistic
(c) Cultural (d) Traditional.
 3. Both, Early Nationalists and Assertive Nationalists spoke, wrote articles and edited newspapers. Which section had a wider reach and why?
(a) Early Nationalists because they were well educated.
(b) Early Nationalists because they held official positions.
(c) Assertive Nationalists because they used Vernacular press as a medium.
(d) Assertive Nationalists because they used English language as a medium.
 4. Assertive Nationalists adopted the policy of _____ to oppose the unjust acts of the British.
(a) entreat and beseech (b) non-cooperation
(c) passive redressal (d) prayers and petitions
 5. Which of the following international events led to the rise of Assertive Nationalism?
(a) Victory of Japan over Russia
(b) Defeat of Britain in the Anglo-Afghan Wars
(c) Defeat of France in Ethiopia
(d) Defeat of Germany in South Africa
 6. Early Nationalists : Ideas of western philosophers :: Assertive Nationalists :?....
(a) Ideas of eastern philosophers (b) Ideas of Swadeshi
(c) Ideas of Karl Marx (d) India's past
 7. Early Nationalists : Educated middle class :: Assertive Nationalists :?....
(a) Youth and women (b) the British nationals in India.
(c) the masses (d) the Civil servants
- B. Select the option that shows the correct relationship between Statements (I) and (II).**
1. (I) Bengal, according to the British, was too big to be efficiently administered by a single provincial government.
(II) The British wanted to stop the rising tide of nationalism by partitioning Bengal.

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- (a) (II) contradicts (I) (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
(c) (I) is true but (II) is false (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
2. (I) The Anti-Partition movement popularised the idea of Swadeshi and Boycott being complementary and one would not succeed without the other.
(II) The Assertive Nationalist leaders were expelled from the Congress at the Surat session in 1907.
(a) (II) contradicts (I) (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
(c) (I) is true but (II) is false (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
3. (I) The Early Nationalists did not want to extend support to boycott movement.
(II) Boycott was in conflict with their policy of 'petition and persuasion.'
(a) (II) contradicts (I) (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
(c) (I) is true but (II) is false (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
4. (I) Lord Curzon refused to concede to the demands of annulling the Partition of Bengal.
(II) The administrative capital of British India was shifted from Kolkata to Delhi in 1911.
(a) (II) contradicts (I) (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
(c) (I) is true but (II) is false (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
5. (I) The Partition of Bengal was revoked in 1911.
(II) A new scheme of Partition of Bengal was implemented on the basis of size of population rather than on religion.
(a) (II) contradicts (I) (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
(c) (I) is true but (II) is false (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
6. (I) The failure of the Early Nationalists to achieve something substantial from the British government led to the demand for more vigorous political action.
(II) The Assertive Nationalists advocated active resistance to British imperialism.
(a) (II) contradicts (I) (b) (I) is the reason for (II)
(c) (I) is true but (II) is false (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
7. (I) The Assertive Nationalists wanted immediate attainment of Swaraj or complete independence as it existed in the United Kingdom.
(II) The Early Nationalists wanted to achieve self-government and autonomy within the Empire and not complete independence.
(a) (II) contradicts (I) (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
(c) (I) is true but (II) is false (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.

II. Short Answer Questions

1. Who composed the *Bande Mataram*? State the reaction of the masses to the proclamation of the Partition of Bengal.
2. Read the excerpt given below and answer the question that follows:

Tagore's 'Banglar mati, Banglar jol', and the sentiment of brotherhood and patriotism that it invokes

In 1905, Curzon partitioned Bengal on communal lines which Rabindranath Tagore opposed strongly, and wrote a hymn for communal harmony, brotherhood, and a united Bengali identity. The TMC government has now declared 'Banglar mati, Banglar jol' the state anthem.

The song calls for unity for all Bengalis by invoking the beauty of Bengal — its natural environs, its language, its people, and its soul. This is perhaps best expressed in the final stanza of the song which is loosely translated as:

The soil of Bengal, the water of Bengal; The air of Bengal, the fruit of Bengal; Let them be blessed; Oh my Lord.

[All] Bengalis' life, [all] Bengalis' soul; All brothers and sisters in Bengal's homes; may they be united; Oh my Lord

— Indian Express, September 9, 2023

- (a) What official reason did Lord Curzon give for partitioning Bengal?
- (b) Name another song composed by Rabindranath Tagore during the Anti-partition agitation.
3. Who were Assertive Nationalists? Why were they so called?
4. What was the aim of the Assertive Nationalists as far as the National Movement was concerned? How did it differ from that of the Early Nationalists?
5. How did the Assertive Nationalists expand the social base of the National Movement?
6. What were the two methods adopted by the Assertive Nationalists in the freedom struggle?
7. Mention any one reason for the rise of Assertive Nationalism. Why did the educated Indians turn against the British?
8. List any two international events that shattered the myth of European superiority.
9. Mention any two measures that show that Lord Curzon's policies were repressive.
10. Name the two books written by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
11. When and why did Tilak leave the Indian National Congress?
12. Why did Tilak revive Ganapati and Shivaji festivals?
13. Mention any two contributions of Bipin Chandra Pal.
14. Mention any two achievements of the Assertive Nationalists.

III. Structured Questions

1. Read the excerpt given below and answer the questions that follow:

Rabindranath Tagore endorsed the Swadeshi movement through his songs and poems. There was a change in his attitude as noted by Sumit Sarkar in his book, *Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*. He says: "[From] trying in vain to placate the foreign ruler and talking big in a foreign tongue, he (Tagore) urges volunteers to the villages instead, spreading social and political enlightenment in the melas and through magic lantern lectures, and, above all to revive our traditional samaj, channelling all constructive work through it once again."

- (a) What was the impact of the Anti-Partition Movement?
(b) How did the people react to the Partition of Bengal?
(c) What was Lord Curzon's argument in favour of the Partition of Bengal? How did the nationalists interpret Lord Curzon's motives?
2. In the second phase of the national movement, there emerged a new younger group of leaders within the Congress who did not agree with the old leadership. In this context, answer the following questions:
(a) Explain how the repressive policies of Lord Curzon and influence of International

events led to the Assertive nationalism.

- (b) Name the Assertive Nationalist leader who was wounded when he was leading a protest against Simon Commission. How were his words, when he was wounded, prophetic?
- (c) Differentiate between the Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists in their objectives and achievements, stating one objective and two achievements of each wing of the Congress.

3. With reference to the Surat Split of 1907, answer the following questions:

- (a) What were the issues on which the two wings of the Congress had differences of opinion? How did the British exploit the differences between the Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists?
- (b) What was the effect of the split between the two wings of the Congress on the National Movement?
- (c) Why did the Assertive Nationalists adopt the policy of non-cooperation with the British Government? Name the Assertive Nationalist leader who organised akharas and lathi clubs. Why were these organised?

4. Read the excerpt given below and answer the questions that follow:

"You will have observed the word 'boycott' attached to the word 'movement'. It means that it shall move, move from point to point, move from city to city, move from division to division, move from province to province till we realise the highest destiny of our people as a nation in the comity of nations. I mean swaraj."

— Bipin Chandra Pal, 1906 Calcutta Session of the Congress

- (a) Mention Bipin Chandra Pal's political aims.
- (b) State his ideas on National Education.
- (c) What remedies did he propose to eradicate India's poverty and unemployment?

5. Read the excerpt given below and answer the questions that follow:

It is a mistake to suppose that the Swadeshi movement requires sacrifice from poor people. We, the middle classes are the greatest offenders in this respect. The poor Kumbi villagers, require not many foreign articles at all, — probably none at all. It is we, the middle classes, who are the consumers of foreign goods; and since this Government is not going to stop the drain by imposing a protective duty it becomes imperatively necessary to adopt a measure by which we can do ourselves what the Government is bound to do and what the government ought to have done long ago. That one point was self-help and another point was determination; and the third sacrifice. You will find that all this included in this resolution, joined with the declaration made in the Presidential address that Swadeshim is a forced necessity in India owing to unnatural economic conditions in India, makes up a complete case for you. I trust that resolution of self-help adopted this year will form the basis of other resolutions of self-help in years to come.'

—Bal Gangadhar Tilak (At the 1906 session of Indian National Congress, where the resolution on Swadeshi was moved.)

- (a) What was the main aim of 'Swadeshi' as referred to in the extract? How does it relate to 'boycott'?

- (b) What are the reasons for focussing on Swadeshi?
(c) In what ways is the speaker of this extract the forerunner of Gandhiji?
6. Study the pictures given below and answer the questions that follow:



(A)



(B)

- (a) Identify the persons 'A' and 'B' given above. To which section of the Congress did each belong and what were their ultimate objectives?
(b) State three different methods of struggle adopted by each section of the Congress.
(c) State two contributions of persons 'A' and 'B' to the freedom struggle.

IV. Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS)

1. Imagine you are a young boy of 10 years living in Kolkata in 1905. Describe the Anti-Partition Movement as you saw it.
2. What would have happened in case the Surat Split did not occur and the Assertive Nationalists were suppressed?
3. Is the Swadeshi Movement on a path to revival with the 'Make in India' scheme launched by the Indian government? List initiatives that aim at making India self-reliant and a global leader.

