
CHAPTER THREE :

POLITICAL IDEAS OF TILAK - NATIONALISM

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Tilak's nationalism was influenced by the western theories of national independence and self-determination. In the famous trial speech of 1908, he quotes with approval John Stuart Mill's definition of nationality. In 1919 and 1920 he accepted the Wilsonian concept of self-determination and pleaded for its application to India.¹ The dominant metaphysical assumption of Tilak influenced his political ideas. He was a Vedantist. The metaphysics of non-dualism of the Vedanta implied, according to him, the political conception of natural right. Because the spirit is the supreme reality and because all men are portions or aspects of that absolute essence, all have the same autonomous spiritual potentiality. Hence Advaitism taught him the supremacy of the concept of freedom. Freedom according to Tilak was a divine attribute. Without freedom no moral and spiritual life is possible. Foreign imperialism kills the soul of a nation and hence Tilak fought against the British empire. There was philosophical foundation for the political struggles for liberty in which Tilak was engaged.

Tilaks philosophy was a synthesis of the Vedantic idea of the spirit as supreme freedom and the western conceptions of Mazzini, Burke, Mill and later on of Wilson.²

According to Tilak India was a nation in ancient days because the Hindus were united by a common historical tradition. Their motherland was one and they were guided by the same Shastras or codes of life of conduct. So the building up the nation was not a new adventure for the Indians in the modern times. Nationalism was in the tradition of this land since the vedic period. The place of unity is man's heart, So the sense of unity is an inner feeling. The feeling of oneness among all the inhabitants of this land makes the nation. Tilak considered that the nation is the product of the sentiment of oneness among the people, unity was the need of the period, it was the chief condition for getting Swaraj. So he urged upon our countrymen that, " it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united in race, united in religion and united as regards all shades of different political opinion." ³

Tilak appealed to our country men to be true and to be loyal to our country. But we know that due to cast system of ancient India, there was no psychological unity among Indians.

The elements of nation according to Tilak were common language and literature, common religion, tradition and history. The first important element of nation is a common language. Tilak said that " It is a part of a national movement to have a common language for the whole of India."⁴ A common language is indispensable for organising the people. Tilak had devoted so much of his attention to the ' Kesari ' because it was written in " Marathi " which was the language of the people. Tilak realized that to appeal to our people through their vernaculars would help them to understand the country's problems more easily and directly and would bring about their unity. This was one of the chief objects of Tilak's life. So he had started ' Kesari ' in Marathi. But Kesari was limited to Maharashtra. The ' Maratha ' which was another journal edited by Tilak was in the English language and was intended to attract English knowing readers in Maharashtra and more especially reader's from outside Maharashtra. But India has no common language still.

Literature is the second element of nationality. Ramayan, Mahabharata as well as the ' Gita ' are our sacred books. Tilak, much ^{of} /time takes references from Mahabharata and Gita. These epics and scriptures ^{were} /originally written in Sanskrit but rendered into all the languages of India.

The Third element of nationality is religion i.e. Hindu, Tilak wrote, " one common religion becomes a great means to create mutual affinity and sympathy among people."⁵ Nationalist realized that British rule had not only brought about the material ruin of this country but also the much more serious degradation of our moral and of our Dharma and fervently looked forward to the revival of our material and moral greatness as the basis of our national rebirth. According to Tilak " Hindu religion was the only tie that bound the Hindu inhabitants of different provinces together and that without Hindu religion, we should be nowhere ".⁶ Explaining the meaning of dharma Tilak said that ' Dharma ' means our duties toward God as well as towards our fellow creatures. Religion is made up of both these elements - duty towards God and duty towards man.⁷ Thus Tilak has much faith in Hindu religion than other element. Tilak believes that since ancient times principle of Dharma had united the people our country. History also teaches that the people of the same Dharma united naturally, follow the same code of conduct, and live in harmony India, in past, had occupy a rightful place in the world. Tilak think s that due to the cultural effects of British rule the hold of Dharma slackned. So it become the imperative need to create respect and loyalty for Hindu Dharma and to spread

knowledge of it through such religious and social events. Tilak called upon our people to be proud of Hindu Dharma. The name Hindustan reveals the greatness of our Hindu Dharma. Therefore we should think about our own Dharma such was Tilak's faith about Hindu Dharma.

Tilak's concept of nationalism was spiritual and religious. History and tradition, religion and philosophy, action and unity were all made meaningful in the concept of love of country. Tilak wrote, "God and our country, are not different in short our country is one form of God."⁸ He looked at our motherland as a Goddess. Tilak also defined the spiritual connotation of Swaraj in this term, "It is a life centered in self and dependent upon self. There is Swaraj in this world as well as in the world hereafter. The Rishis who laid down the law or duty took themselves to Forests, because the people were already enjoying Swaraj or people's dominion which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kshatriya King's. It is my conviction, it is my thesis, that Swaraj in the life to come cannot be the reward of a people who have not enjoyed it in this world. Such was the doctrine taught by our fore-fathers who never intended that the goal of life should be meditation alone. No one can expect the providence to protect one who sits with folded arms and

throws his burdon on other s God does not help the indolent." ⁹
Thus he always urge for God and talk importance of God. "Tilak reinterpreted the Gita and declared Action to be its central teaching. The very kernel of the Gita's philosophy, he said, was missed by the Indian people who had, as a result sunk into inertia and fatalistic moods. The Indian nation could be roused to dynamic efforts only if they recognized this. Tilak tried to provide nationalism with a dynamic philosophy by drawing from the ancient Hindu religion." ¹⁰

Tilak and other nationalists draw inspiration from the India's past, invoked the great episode in the history of the Indian people. They revived the memories of the vedic past of the Hindu's the great phase the reign of Ashok and Chandra Gupta, the heroic deeds of Rana Pratap and Shivaj, the epic patriotism of Laxmibai, the Queen of Jhansi and Leader of the National Revolt of 1857. From ancient time India was not plitically united. In ancient India there were many kingly states and some where Republican states. Under Mughal Empire India was also not politicaly united. Due to British rule India stood politicaly united.

Tilak's nationalism had to some extent a revivalistis orientation. He wanted to bring to the front the message of Vedas and the Gita. He said, " A true nationalist desire to

build on old foundations. Reform based on utter disrespect for the old does not appeal to him as constructive work... we do not want to anglicise our institutions and so denationalise them in the name of social and political reform."¹¹ Hence he pointed out that the Shivaji and the Ganapati festivals had been encouraged by him because they served to link contemporary events and movements with historical tradition. Nationalism is essentially a psychological and spiritual concept. It is the modern version of the old deep sentiments of tribal patriotism which we find since prehistoric and ancient times. It is true that nationalism flourishes best when there are objective entities which create sentiments of unity. A common spoken language, belief in common descent from an actual or a mythical race, habitation on the same territory and profession of a common religion are very important objective factors which generate the feeling of nationalism. But the subjective psychological factor is dominant. In spite of racial and linguistic diversities, this psychological bond of nationalism has been important in India. Besides the subjective experience of this psychological units, an other feature of nationalism is a spiritual phenomenon. Not only the economic grievances against an alien imperialism and the political desire for autonomous self determinate existence but the evolution of the soul of a

culture is demonstrated in the phenomenon of nationalism. In India this spiritual side of nationalism has been stressed by Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda, Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bipin Chandra Pal and Gandhi. On the other hand, a more secularistic conception of nationalism was emphasised by Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale. But although essentially based on the subjective experience of the common psychological and spiritual bonds of unity, nationalism also needs its objective adjuncts. Festivals are symbolical adjuncts of nationalism. Flags, celebrations of independence day's and observance of festivals are thus the symbolisations of deep sentiments. As a leader, Tilak wanted to create a solid nationalistic following in Maharashtra and for the purpose he wanted to symbolise the permanent religious and historical tradition of the people. The Ganpati and the Shivaji festivals were the symbols of the rising nationalism in Maharashtra and later on to some extent in other part of India also.

He did want to substantiate the nationalistic movement in India by a strong cultural and religious revival of Hinduism, but he also accepted the economic arguments for nationalism.¹² Dadabhai Naoroji made famous the ' Drain Theory ' in Indian economics. Both Tilak and Gokhale accepted that foreign

imperialism resulted in the enormous ' drain ' of India's resources. On this issue Tilak wrote articles in Kesari. His article " Aanche Udyogdhande Kase Budale " was very famous. He emphasised the economic dimension of the Swadeshi movement which indicates his awareness of the economic root of Indian nationalism. The Swadeshi movement in India assumed a spiritual and a political character. It became a movement for the liberation of the spiritual energies of the nation for the sake of the political emancipation of the land. Tilak exhorted the nation to work for the concrete realisation of the resolutions on Swadeshi, boycott and national education which had been passed at the congress session of 1906 at Calcutta.

GANPATI'S FESTIVAL :

To strengthen the nationalistic attitude of people Tilak started annual Ganpati festival. The Ganpati Utsava was an old institution and is traditional in Maharashtra. In former times the great Chiefs and Sardars of Maharashtra used to give donations for its celebration. The ingenuity of Tilak and his colleagues consisted in giving a public character to a festival which was so long celebrated on a private basis. This public aspect could intensify the bond on nationalism because there would occur the reinforcement of feeling's

evoked by participation in a common religious festival. It is also true that the public orientation was imparted to the Ganpati festival after the Hindu - Muslim riots in the Bombay presidency. The idea of the public celebration of the Ganesh festival originated in a private discussion between Tilak and some of his colleagues like Namjoshi. The Hindu-Muslim riots had demonstrated the utter necessity of the strengthening of the foundations of Hindu-solidarity and the Ganesh festival could be of great service in this connection. " In the year following the outbreak of communal violence in Bombay city, Tilak, joined with the traditional leaders of Poona to reshape the annual festival in honour of the popular elephant - headed deity, Ganpati. By enlarging the scope of the festival, Tilak attempted to insert politics into a religious festival in order to bridge the gap between Brahmin and non-Brahmans, and between the congress and the traditional masses. By effectively mobilizing support for the cause "Tilak hoped to answer those critics from the administration who denigrated the Brahman Community." 13

The ambiguous nature of Ganpati made him an ideal symbol for the transitional leader who wished to play a mixed role. The god was a syncretistic figure, combining the elements of high Hinduism, asceticism and wisdom, with the values of

village Hinduism, devotion and pleasure. Unlike the popular regional god Vithal, who was closely tied to the apolitical bhakti tradition, Ganpati had links with the three broad tradition of Indian philosophy ; devotion, asceticims and action. Since one part of his personality derived from Shiva, the potent warrior, Ganpati had the potential for a political career.

Ganpati's political elevation was closely linked to the rising political stock of the Chitpavan community in modern times, with the accession of the Peshwas, Ganesha enjoyed official patronage, and in the reign of Madhavrao the celebration became a lavish public affair which lasted six day's.¹⁴ During the nineteenth century public celebration continued to be held in the Maratha princely states such as Baroda and Gwalior.¹⁵ As the titular deity of the Peshawas and important Chitpavan families, such as the Patwardhans, Ganpati benefited from the improved circumstances of the Chitpavan community in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Patwardhans of Sangli and Tasgaon establish^{ed} big temple of Ganpati and gave him official states. In this region Ganpati festival became famous.

Since before the thirteenth century, an annual one - and - a half day festival has been held in honour of the God. If it was primarily a private affair, it did have a group

aspect, Although non-Brahmans worshiped gods other than Ganpati chiefly Khandoba, Bhairav, Hanuman and Bhavani, they freely took part in the annual festival to Ganpati.¹⁶

In order to reshape the festival, Tilak popularized a number of innovations in the 1894 festival. Large public images of the God were installed in pavilions. Each street, each peth or market, collected subscription for a Sarvajanic Ganpati which became the object of collective worship for the unit involved. A more important change was the introduction of the mela movement of singing - parties which were attached to the public Ganpati. According to the Times of India, these innovations were not entirely novel; melas had existed in one form or another in Deccan towns for two or three centuries. Bombay citizens were familiar with the dancing-parties of the Bankotis who annually paraded from house to house. What distinguished the Ganpati melas from their prototype was their "better organization and impromptu songs."¹⁷

Another important innovation was the insertion of topical political songs. The verses sung by the mela's of 1894 exhorted Hindus to boycott the Muslim Muharram celebration and make common cause in their own festival. A typical verse was.

Oh ! why have you abandoned today the Hindu religion ?

How have you forgotten Ganpati, Shiva and Maruti ?

What have you gained by worshipping the tabuts

What boon has Allah conferred upon you.

That you have become Mussalmans today ?

Do not be friendly to a religion which is alien.

Do not give up your religion and be fallen.

Do not at all venerate the tabuts.

The Cow is our mother, do not forget her.¹⁸

The 1894 Ganpati festival was promoted as a counterpart to the Muharram procession. By copying certain aspect of the Muharram and by urging Hindus to boycott the Muslim festival, the organizers hoped to wean away those Hindu artisans, musicians, and dancer's who had freely participated in the Muharram in previous year's.¹⁹ In the same year Tilak capture the mass and involved them in Ganpati's festivals.

The middle class and the petty bourgeoisie originating mainly from the high castes were basically opposed to all social reform as they had so much to lose and little to gain from it. Tilak depended on the support of these classes and his open hostility to social reformers can not be explained in any other terms. However as other additional strata of the population realised the importance of the new social values, the basic contradictions in the ideology of revivalistic nationalism came to the surface.²⁰

In 1893 there occurred the first Hindu-Muslim riot in Poona. Tilak openly defended the Hindus against the Muslims and blamed the Government for its favouritism towards the Muslims. Much against the advice of Justice Ranade, he organised a large public meeting of the Hindus to support the demands of the Hindus against the Mohammedans. Traditionally the Hindu festivals were organised around the temples, each sect or caste organising its own festival separately. But many Hindus fraternised with the Muslims when big processions of floats were organised on Moharrum day. To dissuade the Hindus from joining such processions, Tilak's followers organised Ganpati immersion processions on similar lines.²¹

" By encouraging Hindus of all communities to join in a common Quasipolitical festival, Tilak was challenging the British thesis that Hindu society was divided and that the elite Brahmans were out of step with their society.²² It was Tilak's intention to expose the British partiality for Muslims. By the Ganpati's festival Tilak brought Brahmans and non-Brahman community together.

There was less possibility that the festival would politicize the non-Brahman communities, who were largely unaware of the burgeoning conflict between the British and the Brahmans.

Tilaks Kesari Articles might be construed as a long term pious hope that Marathas might eventually close ranks with the Brahmans. The reorganized festival was extremely popular in Poona. Hindus who had previously flocked to the Muharram festival, were absent in 1894. In this year 69 Sarvajank Ganapati installed in Poona. The next year enhanced the reputation of the God. In Poona there were an additional thirty melas and a similar increase in the number of Sarvajank Ganpaties. Following the example of Poona, Bombay initiated its own Mela movement and had thirty-five Melas in 1895 and sixty-eight in 1896. Nasik and had twelve Sarvajank Ganpaties and thirteen Melas in 1895, Ahmednagar had thirty-two Melas in 1896 and forty-nine in 1898, Satara had thirteen Melas by 1900 and Dhulia had fifteen in same year.²³ People of Nasik, Bijwada Nagpur, Pulgaon, Shirpur, Pen, Kallayan, Chalisgaon, Shahapur, Hubli, Dharwar, Asthe, Ratnagiri, Mahad, Nagar, have also celebrated Ganpati's festival in 1896.²⁴ Ganpati festival was become popular in Maharashtra. Tilak was able to attract to the Ganesh Mandal some of the conservative and orthodox figure heads of Poona. Tilak also obtained support from a second group, the college graduates from Poona and outside.

" Measured against the expressed hopes of its publicists, the reorganized Ganpati festival was a mixed success. Although it proved a means of politicizing Brahmans it is questionable whether it added many non-Brahmans to the congress rank."²⁵

" It was Tilak, rather than Ganpati, who benefited most from the reorganized festival. Ganpati's political stock was highest in 1894-96, and again in 1905-10, but by then he was a limited political force. The man Tilak used the God Ganesh as a stepping stone to a bright political career. In the final analysis God Ganpati proved a diminutive recruit to the congress cause."²⁶ Richard I Cashman call to Tilaks reorganization of Ganpati festival as " THE POLITICAL RECRUITMENT OF GOD GANPATI".²⁷

THE SHIVAJI FESTIVAL :

Tilak thought that unity could be brought about among our people through the recollection of our history, the examples/^{of}our leader s their courage and heroic deeds. This was the way in which people could be united emotionally and inspired to emulate the example of the heroesof the past by participating in the struggle for national freedom. Tilak sought to revive the memory of Shivaji by celebrating the Shivajayanti that vibuti immemorised the name of Maratha and Maharashtra in India.²⁸

Shivaji had established swaraj in Maharashtra 300 hundred years ago by waging heroic and relentless war against the Mughals. He could succeed in his mission because of his strong determination and military skill. He respected people of different Dharma and castes and looked after them equally. He appointed persons on different posts in his kingdom according to their abilities but not according to their religion or caste. Sarvadharmā samābhav was Shivaji's ideal.

Therefore Tilak felt it necessary to place the ideal of Shivaji before the people. The qualities of Shivaji were now essential to our countrymen for the achievement of swaraj and for creating the feeling of brotherhood among our people of different Dharmas and different castes. Tilak first started the Shivaji Utsava for creating political awakening among the people. It afterwards became a social feature as well.

Just as it was a European who was responsible for the birth of the Indian National Congress, so also the first impetus to the reconstruction of the grave of Shivaji came from Europeans.²⁹ Since 1885 several newspapers stressed the necessity by rebuilding the tomb of Shivaji at Raigrah. Some high government officials visited the place and recommended that it should be repaired. Lord Reay also recommended that the grave

should be saved from its dilapidated condition. The Kesari in an article of 23rd April, 1895, called upon the people of Maharashtra to vindicate the honour of the historic name of Shivaji. It also referred to the remark of Lord Harris who had said that Shivaji made his name famous in history. On 30th May, 1895, Tilak and Dabhade had convened a public meeting. This meeting elected a governing body to take step for the construction of a Shivaji monument. Tilak's idea was that Shivaji memorial should be built by the contributions of all the people of Maharashtra in order that it could become a national institution.

The Shivaji movement came to have two aspects. First, there was a plan to build this umbrella over the grave of Shivaji. Secondly, festivities and celebrations were to be held at Raigarh and other places in honour of Shivaji. On the 29th December, 1895, a public meeting was held in Poona at the Reay Market grounds. Surendranath Banerjea and Pandit Malaviya spoke on the historic significance of Shivaji. In 1896, the Shivaji festival was celebrated at Raigarh. Some of the local authorities had objected to the meeting, but Tilak who was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council obtained the permission of Lord Sandhurst. Tilak delivered the concluding address at the three-day celebrations. Soon the movement began to spread outside Poona. In Bombay, D. A. Khare, Chimanlal Setalwad and

M. G. Deshmukh formed a committee for the spread of the Shivaji festival movement. Another significant thing that was taking place at this time was the reinterpretation of Shivaji's character and achievement. In a sense, there began a process of historical re-evaluation. Tilak regarded Shivaji as a " Vibhuti ", in the language of the Gita. A Vibhuti is a man gifted with creative powers of divine nature. After Tilak's release from prison to which he had been confined for sedition, a magnificent Shivaji celebration was held in 1900, at Raigarh. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Shivaji festival movement spread even to Bengal and Japan. Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar took the lead in the Shivaji celebrations in Calcutta and was strongly supported by Motilal Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal. Before Tilak's arrival in Calcutta in June, 1906, the Shivaji festival was celebrated on Western lines by summoning a meeting and delivering speeches. But after Tilak's arrival in June, 1906, a Hinduzation process began. Now for three days the religious worship of Bhawani was performed and even the statue of Ramdas Swami was put in the Mandap.

On the 14th April, 1896, the article entitled " The Great Festival of Shivaji " appeared in the Kesari. Shivaji (1627-1680) was regarded there in as "the great man who laid the foundation of our empire, who maintained our Hinduism, and who

gave a particular direction to our religion ". It supported the conception of Shivaji festival by giving illustrations from the histories of the Greece and Rome the Olympian and the Nymian games. In a triumphant spirit of Hindu nationalism he wrote , " He who will not desire that our would be festival of to-morrow should attain such importance may well be said to be no Hindu at all." ³⁰

The article contained several references to the concept of " Swarajya ". Although in those days this word had primarily a historical connotation and referred to the Maratha polity of Shivaji, still the word had momentous suggestions associated with. It, and these were dangerous from the standpoint of the bureaucracy, and the latter was soon to take steps to fight this danger.

In some of his articles and speeches after 1898, Tilak had discussed in great details the sociology of the Shivaji festival. Tilak had a sacred conception of the festival. He felt that it was imperative duty of the posterity to pay respects to the ancestors and heroes, and it was as ridiculous and superficial to enquire into the advantages to be derived from it as from the Shraddha of the ancestors. Another very important point stressed by Tilak, in an article in the Kesari of the 9th, April 1901, was that while the Congress movement aimed at the immediate acquisition of some specific rights, the Shivaji festival

was like an invigorating tonic which strengthened the foundations of the body politic. Nationalism, according to Tilak, is not a visible and concrete entity but is a kind of symbol, an idea, and in generating and intensifying this idea the historical memories of the great figures of a country play a significant part. Shivaji had in his mind the sentiments of the good of the people, and he did not think in narrow terms of local sub divisions and social segments and in virtue of his great achievements it was not an exaggeration to say that he was a Vibhuti and an incarnation of the divine being. To say that Shivaji was an incarnation appeared crude and demagogic to the social reformers but Tilak was a bold and fearless man and he would not hesitate to tell the truth that was in his mind.

It is true that behind the scheme of the propagation of the Shivaji festival Tilak had a philosophy of nationalism. He rightly felt that the roots of Indian nationalism must lie not in the mere intellectual appeals to the theories of the Western liberal writers but in the sentiments and emotions of the Indian masses, and hence, he felt that the memories of Shivaji would serve to reinvigorate nationalistic emotions of the common people. Shivaji was the symbol of resentment and resistance of the people against oppression and injustice. Tilak tried several times to refute the charge of anti-Moslemism against this festival. He was

very careful and emphatic to point out that he never wanted the resumption or the actual revival of the specific methods and technics of Shivaji, but he wanted only the emulation of his fundamental spirit. Shivaji symbolized the spirit of resistance. In the seventeenth century, he fought the Moslems because they were the oppressors. Now there was no question of fighting the Moslems. During the anti-partition days Tilak said that both Hindus and Moslems should assert their rights against the bureaucracy that was trying to crush all legitimate criticism of its arrogant and oppressive measures.

Bipin Chandra Pal has given a spiritual interpretation of the Shivaji festival. According to him this festival was not a mere demonstration but a sacrament. The movement of Shivaji and the Maratha confederacy was an essentially spiritual movement based on righteousness and Dharma. Like Hegel and Aurobindo, Pal also thinks that representative men are the vehicles of the national idea. Shivaji was an essential political spiritual element in the manifestation of the achievements of the Hindu people. Shivaji represents the idea of the Hindu Rashtra and he was making an experiment in nation-making According to Pal:

" Shivaji lived in troubles times. He was faced with the problems that a decayed and decaying empire had called upto the surface. Our times are different. Our situation is different.

Our problems are different. Our methods must also be different. But there is an essential unity in the ideal-namely, the realization of our national unity ... In honouring, Shivaji, we honour that Hindu ideal. But in doing so we do not desire in the least to separate ourselves, from the other Indian communities. We do not forget that Modern India belongs not merely to the Hindus, nor to the Hindus and Mohammedans alone, but to all the different races that compose its vast and varied population today." ³¹ Pal was greatly inspired by Tilak and during the anti-partition agitation was a valued colleague of his, and hence, his interpretation has value.

As a person he had intense pride in Hindu religion and culture. As a political leader he wanted to preserve the legitimate interests of the Hindu people and would not approve cowardice and surrender. But it is wrong to say that he was a mere Hindu nationalist and was opposed to the Muslims. ³² Zacharias says that Tilak was the spokesman of anti-Muslim retaliation. A British historian Powell Price says " The Muslim, league was an answer to the Indian National Congress, necessary because the possibility of self-government raised the spirit of seperation which the intolerance of Tilak had emphasised. Chirol says that due to Tilaks extreme orthodoxy the Muslim members of the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha resigned from that body. R. Palme Dutt blames

Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh because their identification of national awakening with the revival of Hinduism cut off the Muslim masses from the national movement. But all these propositions are partial and even incorrect interpretations of the political thought and action of Tilak.³³ Many Muslim leaders call Tilak as a guru and was responsible for Indian nationalism.³⁴ Nalini Pandit in her paper 'Tilak and Indian Nationalism says "The revivalist nationalism which he fostered still has a stronghold on the mind of high caste intellectuals and the petty-bourgeoisie in Maharashtra. It was worked as constant source of stress and strain in the relations between the different communal and caste groups. It has lent itself to being a powerful weapon in the hands of the conservative forces to divide the oppressed groups and frustrate all attempts of social reform. Tilak is admired by millions in India even to this day for the parity of his private life, his militant outlook and the great sacrifices he made for the cause of the national freedom. But the political tradition which claims him to be its source and inspiration is proving to be its source and inspiration is proving to be main object of hatred of the radical youths of all backward castes in Maharashtra."³⁵

No doubt, Tilak was responsible for the growth of Indian nationalism but it was more based on religious and

cultural than the economic foundation. Valentine Chirol says in his Indian Unrest, " It was a Hindu gentleman and a Brahman who told me that if I wanted to study the psychology of ' Indian Unrest ' I should begin by studying Tilak's career " Tilak's onslaught in Poona upon Ranade, his alliance with the bigots of orthodoxy, his appeals to populism, superstition in the new Ganpati celebration, to racial fanaticism in the ' Anti-Cow-Killing Movement', to Mahratta Sentiment in the cult which he introduced of Shivaji, his active propaganda amongst school boy's and students, his gymnastic societies, his preaching in favour of physical training, and last but not least his control of the press and the note of personal violence which he imparted to newspaper polemics, represent the progressive stages of a highly-organized campaign which has served as a model to the apostles of unrest all over. " This was a valuable piece of advice, for, if any one can claim to be truly the father of Indian unrest, it is Bal Gangadhar Tilak."³⁶

Further Chirol says " Tilak commanded the allegiance of barristers and pleaders school master's and professors, clerk's in Government office - in fact, of the large majority of the so called educated classes, largely recruited amongst his own and other Brahman castes, and his propaganda had begun to filter down not only to the coolies in the cities, but even to

the rayatas, or at least the head-men in the village ... His House was a place of pilgrimage for the disaffected from all parts of India. His prestige as a Brahman of the Brahmins and a pillar of orthodoxy, in spite of the latitude of the views which he sometimes expressed in regard to the depressed castes, his reputation for profound learning in the philosophies both of the west and of the East, his trenchant style, his indefatigable activity, the glamour of his philanthropy, his accessibility to high and low, his many acts of genuine kindness, the personal magnetism which, without any great physical advantages, he exerted upon most of those who came in contact with him, and especially upon the young, combined to equip him more fully than any other Indian politician for the leadership of a revolutionary movement." 37

- 1) Varma V. P. : Political Thought and Leadership of Lokmanya Tilak, (Ed) Inamdar N.R. p. 5.
- 2) Ibid., :
- 3) Samagra Tilak, : Vol. 7, p. 435.
- 4) Ibid., : p. 641.
- 5) Say Theodore L : The Legacy of the Lokmanya, p. 92.
- 6) Samagra Tilak : Vol. 7, p. 632.
- 7) Ibid., : p. 633.
- 8) Say Theodore L : Op., Cit., p. 92.
- 9) Tilak B. G. : Speeches and writing of Tilak, p. 277.
- 10) Desai A. R. : Social Background of Indian Nationalism p. 295.
- 11) Varma V. P. : Op., Cit., p. 6.
- 12) Ibid., : p. 12.
- 13) Cashman Richard : The Myth of Lokmanya Tilak and Mass I politics in Maharashtra, p. 75.
- 14) Karandikar J.S. : Shriganeshotsavachi Sat Varse (Poona 1956) p. 8.
- 15) Ibid., :
- 16) Cashman Richard : Op., Cit., p. 76. I
- 17) Times of India : September 2, 1895.
- 18) B. G. Judicial : Vol. 287, p. 263-64. (1894) Quoted in Cashman Richard I. Op., Cit., p. 78.

- 19) Cashman Richard : Op., Cit., p. 78.
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- 20) Pandit Nalini : Tilak and Indian Nationalism (Ed)
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p. 29.
- 21) Ibid., : p. 30.
- 22) Cashman Richard I : Op., Cit., p. 79.
- 23) Ibid., : p. 81.
- 24) Samagra Tilak : Vol. 4, p. 26.
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