THE EXTREMIST CHALLENGE

The Extremist Challenge

India between 1890 and 1910

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO LTD
48, GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON W 1
Associated companies, branches and representatives throughout the world

First published 1967

PRINTED IN INDIA
BY F. K. GHOSH AT EASTEND PRINTERS
3 DR SURESH SARKAR ROAD, CALCUTTA 14

To

Dr. Triguna Sen

Minister of Education,

Government of India,

with the greatest regard

for his contribution to

national education

PREFACE

THIS is the story of an idea, at once religious and political, which gripped the mind of a generation of Indian leaders in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. The interpenetration of religion and politics, confusing enough, was further confounded by the play of economic factors. To disentangle the various elements in the tale I have shunted between cultural and political history without losing sight of the economic forces at work. I have followed the idea where it led.

For the first time I have put the story in its proper perspective, i.e. the great intellectual debate between the East and the West that began with Rammohun Roy and continues even today. Religion was its major issue in the nineteenth century. The first generation of Indians that joined the debate found in the Upanishadic monotheism answers to some of the Trinitarian, utilitarian and rationalist charges against Hinduism. Even when palpable discrepancies between the ideal and the real forced it to undertake ethical and social reforms or when apparent contradictions among the authorities made a definite choice imperative, it looked for sanction in Indian *shastras* rather than in the canons of European enlightenment and egalitarianism.

Yet in re-learning the pristine truth of *Sruti* and re-discovering the precise meaning of *Smriti*, it was considerably modifying, and even purging, the medley that went by the name of Indian tradition with the help of Western historical-critical methods. This presupposed a keen insight into comparative religion, a strong grounding in the contending thought systems and a manly combination of receptivity and self-respect.

The next step was a heedless surrender to alien thought, the novelty and glamour of which proved irresistible with the spread of Western education and the shrinking of Sanscritic studies. The Derozians enthusiastically voted for Bacon and Locke, Paine and Rousseau, Bentham and Mill (not always for actual British administration), without caring to know what India had to offer or pausing to think whether

the new *gurus* had any limitations. They put a greater emphasis on the secular than on the spiritual, which destroyed their interdependence in Indian life. They expected all problems of the former to be solved by rationalism and all of the latter by Deism or positivism. They had discovered a new continent of knowledge of nature, society and psychology, and in the intoxicating absorption and dogmatic dissemination of that knowledge they sought the key to power and progress Their superficial egalitarianism challenged the basic Indian postulate of a spiritual hierarchy, their exclusion of emotions went against the grain of Indian character and their appeal to Deism or positivism failed to satisfy the Indian spirit which regarded intellect as a fallible tool and yearned after the direct realization of the Absolute. Even the knowledge the Derozians so admired could not be bodily transplanted in a colonial milieu nor made available to all people.

Yet with the pride of imported arms and the zeal of new converts these intellectual aliens stormed the citadel of traditionalism, which, if given honourable terms, might have crumbled from within. While they insisted on war *à outrance*, the traditionalists turned reactionary in self-defence. The schism in the Indian soul was further deepened by the divergence between the Western-educated few and the unlettered *canaille*.

The Derozians performed one good service—they stirred the sluggish pool of Indian thought. They were the priests of the new 'mystery' of modernity and their excesses often resembled the deliberate defiance of the Tantrics to the poses and pretensions of the believers in the Vedas. They were always honest and often humane and wherever they went they took the torch of English education and the English idea of freedom of debate. Their successors were far worse. Empty imitators of the Western form, they did not belong anywhere, East or West, and drowned the misery of rootlessness in exhibitionist hedonism or airy reformism. It was so crude and vulgar that even the most flashy of the Young Bengal group —Madhusudan Dutt—had to rebuke them remorselessly in a satire called *Ekei Ki Bale Sabhyata?*

Young men grow old and doubts set in. The rebels felt that, barring one or two, they had been an uncreative lot. And

they had not set the Ganges on fire. They had assiduously proved their claims to Western democratic rights (with appropriate quotations from the French philosophes and the British political theorists) without the slightest impression on the authority. Something somewhere had gone wrong. It was Madhusudan, again, who openly avowed the agony of disillusionment in 'Atmabilap'. Had not his hero Ravana's rebellion begun with a bang and ended in a whimper? What had the generation gained with its tremendous sacrifice of energy and self-respect? Wistfully it looked to Vidyasagar—a pundit who was no obscurantist, a reformer who was no Anglo-phile, a progressive who knew how to make old character integral in a new system of culture.

> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.

The old gods had gone and the new gods had failed. Though the ersatz Renaissance flourished, the ersatz Reformation languished in purgatory. The Brahmoism of Keshabchandra Sen moved away from the original Hindu-Brahminical-Advaitin mooring of Rammohun to be cast adrift in a sea of eclecticism which was assailed every day by the tempest of scepticism. It swung from the apotheosis of Christ, which was viewed with suspicion, to the apotheosis of Keshab, which was viewed with sarcasm. It was trying to draw oxygen from Scottish intuitionism while the water of Indian tradition went dry at the root. It alienated conservatives (like Debendra Nath Tagore) by its social reform programme and the liberals (like Sibanath Shastri) by the hasty abandonment thereof for personal expediency. The new Brahmos were overwhelmed by the gusts that blew from many directions (including that of Hindu revivalism) and, to conceal their inner spiritual tensions, resorted to evangelical emotionalism. Far from unifying all Indian creeds under the sceptre of monotheism they only fanned the fire of sectarianism. As Matthew Arnold wrote in 'Dover Beach', the ignorant armies clashed by night on the shore of a receding sea of faith.

This is our point of departure. The first chapter deals with the views of Bankimchandra, Vivekananda and Dayananda, who showed the generation of the Extremists several ways

out of the impasse, ways which were integral, indigenous and effective. I have taken pains to distinguish between their teachings and to clarify what the Extremists took from them as well as what they left out. Dayananda's particular position has been emphasized, since, unlike Bankim and Vivekananda, his was a total rejection of the Western tradition and his insistence on the Aryan model is germane to the subject of our study. While other scholars have been content with tracing influences, I have shown that Extremism was not a simple outgrowth of Bankim's or Vivekananda's ideas. The latter thought principally in terms of spiritual development through personal integration and social service (*atmano moksartham jagat hitaya cha*), the former in that of political freedom through exploitation of religious emotions.

In politics the debate was going the Western way. The Moderates were busy studying the morphology of European nationalism and hoping to transplant it in the Indian soil. It would be a *tour de force*, they admitted, for they agreed with the British that India lacked all the classic ingredients of nationalism, like unity of race, language and creed. There remained only the unity of history which the latter had imposed in the last hundred years. The British model was accepted on utilitarian principles. Rammohun had hailed the French Revolution of 1830, some of the Derozians had been unusually excited over Tom Paine, but the events of 1848 and the echoes of the Paris Commune disturbed the next generation. Respectable bourgeoisie, constitutionalists in training and lawyers in profession, the gradual evolution from precedent to precedent was something they could understand and work out without endangering the basis of property and leadership. The favourite heroes of the Moderates came out of the pages of the seventeenth century British or the eighteenth century American history. The Mazzini whom Surendranath Banerjee admired was not the Latin visionary who had inspired the Carbonari. Burke would have approved the way in which that fire-brand's wings had been clipped by the Moderates.

The second chapter explains the rise of Extremism in this political context. The failure of Moderate nationalism involved on its critics the search for an indigenous model. The

Extremists discovered it in the concept of *dharmarajya* as preached by Srikrishna (compare St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and the Puritan Commonwealth) and the Hindu *rastra* as evolved by Shivaji. They set up the Aryan spiritual type against the Anglo-Saxon materialist type, a *Satyajuga* against a scientific world-outlook. They saw in it the symbolic contest between the *devas* and the *asuras*. They exploited the power latent in Puranic Hinduism as practised by the masses, especially the Ganapati and the Sakti cults, without weakening it by alien reformism or devitalising it by over-intellectualism. In a way it involved a rejection of Bankimchandra's rationalist and Vivekananda's liberal-universal interpretation of Hinduism. A jugglery of emotive words and symbols, prompted by political motives, could not but end in an explosion that was anti-Western. The British policy from Lansdowne to Curzon helped the crystallization of the Extremist creed and this is analysed in detail.

The third chapter, based entirely on private correspondence, highlights one aspect of that policy—the Partition of Bengal—which contributed most to this process of crystallization. For the first time I have brought into focus the story of estrangement between the bureaucracy on the one hand and the Bengali intelligentsia on the other, over half a century preceding Curzon. I have shown that his policy was neither entirely his own nor too abrupt a departure. That the solution of a partition had been suggested as early as Lawrence should be kept in mind and that top-ranking Civilians were as much responsible as Curzon should never be lost sight of. The indifference of the Secretary of State was only slightly less culpable than Curzon's flamboyance for setting Bengal ablaze.

The fourth chapter deals with the course of this conflagration. It began with boycott and Swadeshi in which even the Moderates took part but ended in terrorism which many of the Extremists disavowed. The terrorists were all Extremists but not all Extremists were terrorists, and this basic distinction must not be ignored. The affiliation between the Moderate and the Extremist economic thought is shown and their differences, mainly qualitative, are clearly brought out. The special position of Poet Tagore is explained in some detail. The atti-

tudes of B. G. Tilak, B. C. Pal, Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghosh on boycott, Swadeshi, national education and Swaraj are compared as well as contrasted (for the first time) and Aurobindo is shown to be on the extreme left and Lajpat on the extreme right. The development of the Extremist challenge is shown along with its limitations (viz. absence of a no-rent campaign or real trade union politics).

The story takes us from Benares to Calcutta and from Calcutta to Surat, at which session the Extremists tried to capture the Congress. Gokhale had known for a long time that reconciliation with Pal ("a very unscrupulous man and inordinately ambitious") and Tilak ("has a matchless capacity for intrigue and is not burdened with an exacting conscience") was impossible (Gokhale to Natesan, 2 Oct. 1906). The Moderates decided on Rashbehari Ghosh's election as President, "to carry at least a part of Bengal with us", when the Extremists would attack them (Gokhale to H. S. Dixit, 11 Sept. 1907). Mehta succeeded in dropping boycott and national education at Bombay Provincial Conference. Wacha would not countenance Tilak's presidency and blamed the Extremists for insisting on "Either Tilak and the Congress or no Tilak and no Congress!!!" (Wacha to Gokhale, 27 Sept. 1907). C. Y. Chintamani reported head-on collision between the two factions over the reconstitution of the Executive Committee, i.e. election of President, at Nagpur (Chintamani to Gokhale, 28 Sept. 1907). After a talk with Dr. Moonje (Tilak's man), Wamanrao (Gokhale's man) realized that the Congress could not be held at Nagpur. Tilak was requested to settle matters but in vain (Chintamani to Gokhale, 10 Oct. 1907). Wacha thought of Madras as an alternative but she was not very willing to play the host (Wacha to Gokhale, 9 Oct. 1907). Then came an interesting communication from Alfred Nundy, who had just met Dunlop Smith at Simla. "After what has occurred at Nagpur our path seems clear. Could you not arrange for the Congress to be held elsewhere? I mean at a place where the influence of the Extremists is not so pronounced, or we may take a bold line and eliminate the Extremists from the Reception Committee, leaving them to hold their own separate Congress if they like." That was the only way to come to an understanding with the Government (A. Nundy

to Wacha, 11 Oct. 1907). On 26 October Wacha wired Gokhale: "Hopeless amicable settlement Nagpore people ... I propose inviting Standing Committee Bombay 13 Nov." On 14 November Wacha informed Gokhale that Surat's offer to be venue had been accepted by the A.I.C.C. and he was trying "to make Rashbehari Ghosh's presidentship pucca". Mehta and Wacha felt confident of swamping the Extremists in their own stronghold.

The story comes ultimately to be woven round the central figure of Aurobindo after the split of 1907. The terrorist outbreak is discussed in this as also in the last chapter, but only according to its relevance, though some interesting facts are given in App. C from the I. B. Records of the Government of West Bengal. Aurobindo's rôle in the terrorist movement is emphasized here and his views on the morality of means are shown to follow from the Extremist interpretation of the *Vedanta*, the *Tantra* and the *Gita*. An estimate of the Extremist and the terrorist achievements is attempted in which connexion the views of two Russian historians are especially discussed.

In the fifth chapter the story of the foundation of the All India Muslim League is put in the context of the growing alienation of the younger generation of the Moslem intelligentsia from the older generation, Morley's proposals for reforms and Minto's anxiety to build "a counterpoise to Congress aims". The growth of Extremism in the Congress exercised the mind of the ruling class more than that of the Moslems, who would have opposed any domination by the majority community, Moderate or Extremist. The Partition of Bengal had, however, created a sort of Moslem vested interest in the new province. The Swadeshi agitation for its repeal along with certain acts of coercion against those who refused to join it were played up by bureaucrats and Moslems alike to result in communal troubles (Gokhale to Wedderburn, 24 May 1907). The Extremists were prisoners of their own interpretation of Hindu religion. Their inability to understand the Moslem mind has been noticed. But their excesses should not be exaggerated. They did not occasion the foundation of the League, although they might have given excuse for its growth. I have been able to fill many gaps from the recently

published diary of Dunlop Smith (Martin Gilbert, *Servant of India*).

The last chapter deals with the British response to the Extremist challenge. The primary purpose of the reforms was to rally the Moderates. Hence the story of the reform idea has been told side by side with the story of the Extremist attempts to capture the Congress. The rôles of Morley and Minto are discussed phase by phase and the basic difference in their attitudes is brought out. While Morley was on the right track of mollifying men like Gokhale and Surendranath, Minto, not unaware of the need to grant limited concessions, was undecided about the Moderate *bona fides*. It was to Morley's credit that the talk did not founder on the outbreak of terrorism. But with the Civilians and the Moslems as his allies in India and the backing of the Conservative opinion in England, Minto could put his Chief's proposals in disarray. The growth of the communal electorate idea is discussed in detail and Minto's clever moves are clearly revealed. The chapter ends with a critical analysis of the Act and Regulations of 1909. In the Moderate disillusionment (Gokhale to Wedderburn, 3 Dec. 1909) and the Moslem separatism the author has seen the portents of a future crisis which would endanger the security of the Raj and the unity of India.

The footnotes have been made as full as possible. A wide variety of documents has been used, a few of which are: the private correspondence of the Governors General and the Secretaries of State, Parliamentary Papers, proceedings of different departments of the Governments in India, private correspondence of the Indian leaders, like Gokhale, Lajpat, Wacha and Surendranath, newspapers, memoirs and literary works. Statistical evidence has been adduced, viz. on imports and exports (to show the impact of boycott and Swadeshi), grain prices (to show connexion with Extremism) and incidence of crime (to measure terrorist activities), etc. The tables in the Appendices will, I hope, help the more inquisitive readers.

I am very grateful to Sri Ajoy Kumar Mukherji, the Chief Minister and Home Minister of West Bengal, for kindly permitting me to see all relevant documents in the Archives of the Intelligence Branch. I am especially indebted to Mr. S.

C. Sutton, the Librarian, India Office Library, and the Keeper of the Records at the British Museum for the use of most of the MSS. materials which have gone into the making of this book. I offer my thanks also to the Librarian, Cambridge University Library, the Director of the National Archives, New Delhi, and all others who have allowed me access to documentary sources.

To Professor C. H. Philips, the Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, I owe the deepest debt. Not only did a Senior Asian Research Fellowship at S.O.A.S. (1961-62) enable me to start this project but Professor Philips willingly put at my disposal much of the materials he had collected for his *Select Documents*. I know not how to reciprocate his kindness except by adopting his serene but sympathetic view of Indo-British relations. Professor A. L. Basham's kindness to Indian students has become proverbial and I take this opportunity to bear witness to it. I must thank Dr. N. K. Sinha, Ashutosh Professor of Calcutta University, for allowing me to use two long essays written by me for the *Bengal Past and Present* as also for constant encouragement. I am grateful to Mr. N. A. O'Brien, Manager, Oxford University Press (Cal.), for seeing most of the book in proofs and for suggesting some improvements. My wife has not only borne with me patiently during the trying days of authorship but has enlivened them with some astute observations on the nineteenth century Bengali culture.

15 August, 1967 A. T.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

EXTREMISM IN INDIAN POLITICS: IDEOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

EXTREMISM in Indian politics manifested a marked resemblance to what Toynbee would call 'archaism'. It was a response to the challenge of haphazard and superficial Westernization of Indian life, thought and politics, which seemed to upset the balanced synthesis of Rammohun Roy. It was a movement of resistance along three planes. Spiritually, it countered the threat to traditional Hindu religion, ethics and social values posed by Christianity and utilitarianism, and Brahmoism which was strongly influenced by both. Culturally, it resisted a mechanistic, materialistic and individualistic civilization, which seemed to be destroying or distorting the indigenous tissues of growth. Politically, it withstood a slow merger of Indian national identity in the vast and inchoate British empire, which, while boasting of the white man's burden, put it squarely on the brown man's back. A rebound from the mimesis of the West, it oscillated to another extreme—mimesis of ancient India. Born of a psychology of fear, it inculcated agressiveness in tone and temper. Repelled by the inferiority complex of the anglicized Indian, it bred the equally unhealthy superiority complex of the orthodox Indian. A reaction to the rational outlook in religion and politics, it was emotionally excitable and nostalgically romantic. Rejecting individualism and liberalism, the twin pillars of nineteenth century European civilization, planted by English education and fostered by English laws,[1] it proclaimed the ideal of ancient collectivism with a dogmatic zeal and a messianic ardour. In all the Extremist leaders we find the same appeal to Indian history (sometimes misconstrued), the same stand on Indian spiritual heritage (sometimes exaggerated) and the same desire to break out of the charmed circle of the Western Circe. Ever since Bankimchandra had written his *Krishnacharitra*, Srikrishna was their ideal hero. Tilak wrote a commentary on the *Gita* while Aurobindo started an introduction to it. Lajpat compiled an Urdu biography of Sri-

krishna, and Aswini Datta expatiated on *Bhaktiyoga,*[1] the central theme of the *Bhagavata* cult. Even Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, a Catholic, wrote *Srikrishnatattva,* and Bipinchandra Pal, a rationalist Brahmo, fell under the neo-Vaishnavite spell of Bijoykrishna Goswami to proclaim Srikrishna "the Soul of India".[2] Coming to more historical times, the whole age gathered to pray before the shrine of Shivaji. It began with Rameshchandra Dutt's *Maharasta Jiban Prabhat* (1878), rose to a climax in Tilak's Shivaji festivals, and was finally immortalized in Tagore's *Sivaji Utsav* (1904). While Western scholars unravelled the wonder that was India, the Extremists identified the motherland with the Divine Mother. But all this, like the Celtic Revival, the German Romantic Movement and the Slavophile Movement, betrayed an escapist mood which sought respite from the inexorable and gruelling debate with the Western culture, technology and material power in the protective womb of the past. A child, whose naive faith in the West had been repelled by cold indifference and whose new-found pride had been hurt by condescending arrogance, fled to the bosom of the materially poor (because plundered) but spiritually rich mother to seek self-assurance for a counter-attack. The Extremist should not be equated with the revivalist. While the latter returned to the *forms* of ancient Indian civilization, the former returned to the *spirit,* which would show itself again in a pervading return of spirituality upon life.

Bankimchandra and Extremism

Most Western scholars (Charles Himesath[3] being the latest) and many among the Indians have seen in Bankimchandra the source of religious revivalism and political Extremism.[4] The disavowal of the alien model in social and political transformation, the search for the roots of nationalism in existing or latent native inspiration, the stimulation of such nationalism by an appeal to religious and cultural *mores,* the revival of Hindu religion as the first step towards the creation of an Indian nation and the *mystique* of the motherland—all these have been traced in Bankim's thought. His essentially

Bengali ethos has been deplored, since it contradicted his national idea, and his exclusive Hindu tone and imagery have been condemned for offering Hindu communalism a defence and Moslem communalism an excuse. He is often made out to be the Loyola to Rammohun's Luther—preaching counter-reformation.

It is high time, however, to dispel the cobwebs of misunderstanding that hang around Bankim's thought. As for revivalism, he has himself warned us against its high priest, Sasadhar Tarkachudamani, in the *Prachar*.[5] He was no artificial amalgam of Mill and Manu. Nor was he an Indian incarnation of Herder or Mazzini. A detailed analysis of his works reveals a profoundly critical intellect, a deeply social conscience and an essentially religious temper coming to grips with higher criticism, rationalism, positivism, utilitarianism and evolutionary ideas which had been breaking upon the Christian West like waves since the early eighteenth century and which now confronted Hindu India. His response was as serious and as noble as Rammohun's had been in an earlier generation.

Bankim lived in an age which denied the universalist ideal of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Like Leopold Von Ranke, the historian, or Herder,[6] the German Romantic, he maintained that every historical period or civilization possessed a unique character of its own, so that any attempt to describe or analyse different ages or civilizations in terms of universal values tended to obliterate the crucial differences which constituted their uniqueness. While the German Romantics were fighting the universalist pretensions of the French Revolution, as embodied in the Napoleonic empire, Bankim was fighting the universalist pretensions of utilitarianism, as embodied in the British empire. What might be true of the Western civilization would not necessarily be true of the Indian, a fact the liberal reformers often forgot in their impatient haste to cast the Indian society into one uniform rationalist-utilitarian mould. Growth, Bankim insisted, was by its very nature nonconformist. Secondly, Bankim would rely on political and historical imagination as a tool for remaking society, because it took into account nature (climate), man (physical as well as spiritual character) and

history (the living tradition), as they actually were, rather than ideas which were *a priori* as well as alien. Thirdly, the proper subject of history, he thought, was the life of the community and not the exploits of individuals, though he never denied the latter's role in human affairs. He dealt with the Bengalis as a community, distinct from other Indians in their racial origin, cultural expression and linguistic characteristics.[7] Language expressed the collective experience of the community, and Bankim was a linguistic patriot who stubbornly fought both English and Sanskrit. He wrote in Bengali and on Bengal. Right from her conquest by Bakhtiyar Khilji (whose victory over Gaur by seventeen horsemen his innate historical sense refused to accept) to her subjugation under Warren Hastings, Bankim returned time and again to relate the saga of his motherland—her decline and fall and renaissance (who can ever forget the three images of Mother that Satyananda showed to Mahendra?)—till he identified her with the Divine Mother. Yet it should be noted that between 1880 (publication of *Anandamath*) and 1886 (publication of part I of *Krishnacharitra*) the Bengali was being transformed into an Indian and a more glorious dream had emerged from Bankim's study of the *Mahabharata* and the *Gita*, the dream of a united India under the leadership of a Superman like Srikrishna.) He was rational enough to discountenance the revivalist myth of pure Aryanism and courageous enough to admit the constitutional weakness of the Bengali physique.[7a] Fourthly, he was highly critical of the Western tendency to judge ancient societies in terms of modern values. Voltaire had first spotted this vanity of the Judeo-Christian outlook. Bankim went further. He purged the rationalist tradition of its anti-religious and anti-medievalist bias. The 'Gothic' helped him, as it helped Coleridge and Keats, "to send forward a transforming eye to the distant obscurity".[8] Fifthly, unlike the usual Romantic, who rejected limits imposed by measure or society and found validation of all individual desires in their strength and intensity, he accepted the notion of society as an organism. Life of the organism ranked above and had claims on the lives of the units. This explains his concern for the submerged *Sudras* (though he was a true blue Kulin Brahmin with the hallmark from Debibar himself[9])

and for the exploited peasantry (though he was a well-off bourgeois).[10] This, again, explains his harsh conservatism which sends Saibalini to hell for her bold, individualist war of passion on social norms. She has sinned in his eyes because she has asserted the independence and separateness of her ego. Bankim recognized in unbridled passion a threat to the rational order of law and society if it lured man (Pratap or Sitaram, Nagendra or Govindalal) to lose his self in it instead of challenging him to control it. The whole thing was, however, mellowed by an unfailing sense of beauty, humanized by a humorous acceptance of life and transfigured by poignant poetry. Except in his very last writings, where the thinker in him proved too strong for the artist, he emphasized the concrete as against the abstract, the experienced as against the generalized, a craving for spiritual self-determination as against a half-conscious drifting along the streams of uncriticized dogma. Self-expression he regarded as the essence of a human being which could come only from self-culture and self-integration. He was concerned throughout with a moral independence (whether of the individual or of the group) and a moral salvation, but not at the cost of clear sanity. He had that "sedate maturity and august quiet, which, according to Epicurus, is the true attitude of the gods and which the gods only give to those mortals, who, like themselves, have seen life steadily and seen it whole."

Bankim had a high regard for Bentham but would not accept utilitarianism as the whole truth or as a substitute for religion. He formulated 'good' in ethical rather than in materialist terms. Secondly, Bentham's calculus was possible only for a person who could weigh good against non-good rightly. "For James Mill, as for Bentham, the man of virtue is the good calculator."[11] In such matters, Bankim had faith neither in the arithmetical yardstick[12] nor in the artificial or selfish motives which James Mill provided as incentives to promote other people's happiness. In love for one's fellow-men Bankim found a basis of good action superior to any desire for heightening our own happiness or to any craving for public approbation. We do not love on account of joy, he argued, but we find joy because we love. If God were present in all beings (not only human) and there were no real dis-

tinctions between self and the other, promotion of other people's happiness would mean furthering individual happiness.[13] While John Stuart Mill started at the second commandment of "Love thy neighbour as thyself" without reference to the first, Bankim started with the first, "Love the Lord thy God," from which followed love for fellow-men. Thirdly, Bankim did not posit the Western ideal of 'happiness' against the ancient Indian ideal of 'liberation'. The two could be reconciled if we conceived 'liberation' as the highest expression of 'happiness'. Bankim firmly rejected the ideal of asceticism. He would have happiness here and now as well as in the world beyond (*paraloka*). Yet he was far from being a materialist. In one remarkable essay 'Amar man' in *Kamalakanter Daftar* we find him reviling the Western craze for material wealth which was invading India:

"হর হর বম্ বম্। বাহ্য সম্পদের পূজা কর। এ পূজার তাম্রশ্মশ্রুধারী ইংরেজ নামে ঋষিগণ পুরোহিত, এডাম স্মিথ পুরাণ এবং মিলতন্ত্র হইতে এ পূজার মন্ত্র পড়িতে হয় ··· শিক্ষা এবং উৎসাহ ইহাতে নৈবেদ্য, এবং হৃদয় ইহাতে ছাগবলি। এ পূজার ফল ইহলোকে এবং পরলোকে অনন্ত নরক।"

Bankim has often been called a social reactionary, an implacable enemy of liberal reforms and a blatant spokesman of the orthodox and the obscurantist who opposed progress. Such a view betrays ignorance or deliberate misinterpretation. Knowing much more about men and societies than his contemporaries, he anticipated the misgivings of the late nineteenth century about an endless linear progress along the rails of *laissez faire* towards a future golden age. He never made a fetish of the past (as some of the Extremists did). He never loved his tradition blindly. He would discourage the petty meddling of the priest in a vital matter like health. He would grant equal facilities for education to the male and the female and freedom of remarriage to the widow. Those who lightly conclude his orthodoxy from the sad fate of Kundanandini or Rohini should remember Suryamukhi's stand for marital rights and read *Samya:*

"কিন্তু যদি কোন বিধবা হিন্দুই হউন, আর যে জাতীয়া হউন, পতির লোকান্তর পরে পুনঃপরিণয়ে ইচ্ছাবতী হয়েন, তবে তিনি অবশ্য তাহাতে অধিকারিণী ··· বিধবার

চিরবৈধব্য যদি সমাজের মংগলকর হয়, তবে মৃতভার্যা পুরুষের চিরপত্নীহীনতা বিধান করনা কেন ?"

He challenged man's right to confine women within the narrow cage of the household:

"আর তোমার স্ত্রী, তোমার কন্যাকে যে পশুর ন্যায় পশ্বালয়ে বদ্ধ রাখ, তাহাতে কিছু অপমান নাই ? কিছু লজ্জা নাই ?"[14]

He paid homage to Vidyasagar and the Brahmo Samaj for their high-minded attempts to emancipate women. He did not spare society for its apathy to such projects. He courted Hindu criticism by calling Keshabchandra Sen, a Baidya and a renegade, an ideal *guru* for the Brahmins. While the so-called 'progressives' were firm believers in private property and could only think of the extension of Permanent Settlement as a panacea for all economic evils, Bankim dared to analyse the actual relation between the landlord and the tenant and to condemn its patent injustice. He alone saw the Malthusian spectre of rising population. Like John Stuart Mill, he strongly recommended a stricter restraint on birth and social control of the ownership of property.[15] Finally, he shuddered to see the gulf between the Western-educated few and the unlettered millions widen every day.[16] He had not only the foresight to grasp but the honesty to declare that individual prosperity or individual development did not necessarily mean social evolution. Grave social and economic tensions threatened the organic unity of the community while the Babus indulged in their pipe dream of Western progress.

He agreed with Herbert Spencer on the necessity for each to take due care of himself.[17] Self-preservation was directed by God for preservation of His creation. But did it not involve, asked Bankim, a similar duty to preserve others from destruction? Crude Darwinism would dictate that social and political science must recognize and adopt general truths of biology and must not disturb, distort or repress them by policies carried out in pursuit of erroneous conceptions. Like T. H. Huxley, Bankim challenged such views. Social progress means a checking of the cosmic process (or natural

religion) at every step and substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process.[18] If "natural selection implies no further morality than 'nothing succeeds like success'",[19] such a selection would be spurned by Bankim. While Darwin was against repression, Bankim was against indulgence, which, by unbalanced stimulation of faculties like sex or parental affection, destroyed the integration of personality. He was apprehensive of the extension of Darwinism to international relations, where nation ate nation, as dog ate dog, in the name of the 'survival of the fittest'. India should be immunized from the Western virus of predatory patriotism.[20] Under the spell of *Anandamath* we often forget that Bankim himself showed the utter futility of parochial nationalism at the end of that novel. Patriotism was never for him a substitute for religion as it would be for the Extremists.

This brings us to the core of Bankim's thought—religion—which was, and is still, much misunderstood. John Stuart Mill's *Three Essays on Religion* (1850-58) gave him much food for thought.[20a] "Like some ungifted Moses", Mill tried to strike water out of dry rocks—altruism out of self-love, liberty out of bondage and faith out of reason. Orthodox religion he rejected as intellectually undemonstrable. A religion of his choice would teach "that the paramount duty of mankind upon earth is to amend himself", besides amending physical nature. He asserted that "nearly every respectable attribute of humanity is result, not of instinct, but of victory over instinct" and it was only through *cultivation* (mark the word and compare it to Bankim's *anusilan*) that virtue became a second nature, stronger even than the first. The scheme of nature, which "the ingenious cruelty of a Nabis or a Domitian never surpassed", was evidently not the work of an omnipotent utilitarian Creator, aiming at the good of mankind. The world as it was proved the limitations of that power and the duty of man was to cooperate with it by a perpetual striving after the good. He came to the conclusion that "the essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires towards an ideal object, recognized as one of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire. This condition is

fulfilled by the Religion of Humanity in as eminent a degree, and in as high a sense, as by the supernatural religions even in their best manifestations, and far more so than in any of their others."[21] He refuted various arguments in favour of theism. Experience did not support the necessity of a First Cause, and matter had a greater claim in that respect than mind or spirit. Argument from design in Nature produced a Being of great but limited power and even suggested a dualism of the power of good and the power of evil. Revelation had no claim to be a historical fact. A positivist's religion could only be the Religion of Humanity.

Yet Mill could not do without a religion of hope. The belief in the existence of "a Being who realises our own best ideas of perfection", he confessed, "gives an increase of force to those feelings beyond what they can receive from reference to a merely ideal conception." In an astonishing aside Mill conceded, "And whatever else may be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left; a unique figure...." Christ might well be "not God,...but a man charged with a special, express and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue."[22] Should the noble and lofty ideal of Christ be given up because we have outgrown Christian doctrine? Why should not man in his perpetual endeavour "to amend himself" support his puny efforts by the example of Passion?

Where Mill still hedged, Bankim would have no hesitation in making the life of Srikrishna the core of his religion. But he also started with some of Mill's rationalist arguments against orthodoxy. He was aware that it was *deshachar* (custom) rather than *shastra* that ruled religious life in India.[23] He was no believer in Puranic miracles. He would ruthlessly cut through the jungle of pious myths that obscured the Reality. He would do with as few dogmas as possible. He, too, wanted religion to be useful. He was more interested in behaviour than in belief. He subscribed to the idea of man "amending himself" by control of instinct and perpetual striving after virtue till he directed his emotions towards one ideal object, "paramount over all selfish objects of desire".[24] But he would not accept the claim of scientific understanding to replace the insights of religious experience upon

which faith is founded. He would reject Mill's concept of a possibly benign but definitely limited God. Bankim's God is Creator, Protector and Destroyer—all in one. Man, who is part of nature, is imperfect but perfectible and even destined to life divine if only he is aware of the God immanent in him and strives enough to realize Him within and without, in knowledge as well as in action. To this striving he gave a special name—*anusilan* or culture.[25]

Positivist philosophy had a perennial appeal for Bankim. Comte's philosophy had two aspects—extension to all investigation of those methods which had been proved successful in the physical sciences and the condensation of all knowledge into a homogeneous body of doctrine capable of supplying a faith. Bankim's *Dharmatattva* was such a compendium. Comte was no mere "explainer" of phenomena, however, but "a reformer of thought for the sake of action", though action should never go against the fundamental law of continuous development. The existing evolution was the necessary result of a gradual series of former transformations and any deliberate break with the past (viz. the French Revolution) would create more problems than solve them. Herein lies the key to Bankim's opposition to thoughtless or precipitate reforms imposed from above out of turn. Reforms were not bad *per se*; only they should wait on moral and religious regeneration. That regeneration, again, should base itself on a clear understanding of the fundamentals of religion (as Bankim would say, *Dharmatattva*), which were more or less universal in character though differing in emphasis and details from race to race. So far Bankim and Comte would agree.

Bankim parted company when Comte substituted Humanity for God. Hitherto men had worshipped imaginary beings, vainly endeavouring to see without them what had no existence but within. Positivism offered a new Divinity which, instead of subsisting in "solemn inaction" like the Supreme Being, was alive and present and dynamic and which, moreover, depended for its very existence upon the love of its worshippers. Humanity differed from all previous gods in its very need of our service; in the positive religion alone, "the object of worship is a Being whose nature is relative, modifiable and perfectible." "Love, then, is our principle;

order our basis; and progress our end", declared Comte, and Bankim accepted this ideal in general. Love, yes, Bankim emphasizes *manusye priti* again and again. Order and progress—no one could value them more. But these were only the consequences of true religious experience, not its core. What would be the anchor of that order, the promise of that progress and the spring of that love? "Religion", Comte said, "in itself expresses the state of perfect unity which is the distinctive mark of man's existence both as an individual and in society, when all the constituent parts of his nature, moral and physical, are made habitually to converge towards one common purpose." Bankim considered this to be the best Western definition, but not good enough, when compared to the Hindu ideal. Should the common purpose be mere service of Humanity, where was the guarantee that it would spring eternal and unsullied in human breast? God is the focal point of existence; God is the middle term between man and man (*sutre maniganā ib*). We must ascend to Godhead before we can descend to Humanity. Only when we have orientated our love towards Him and dedicated our actions to Him, could we love our fellow-men and act for their good in the proper way. Bankim would accept no scientists' or philosophers' God, be it Spencer's "Inscrutable Power in Nature" or Comte's "Humanity".

When the Western sociologist failed, the Eastern seer led the way. Bankim turned to the *Mahabharata*, the *Bhagavata* and the *Gita* as Rammohun had once turned to the *Upanishads*. The fundamentals of religion, in his view, had been confused by the traditionalists and the rationalists alike. "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." The core of all religions, and, above all, of Hinduism, lay in *chittasuddhi*, purity of soul or, in more common parlance, *character*. Without this purity (Hindu) image-worship would be totemism and (Brahmo) prayer, mumbo-jumbo. Such purity arose from a comprehensive culture (*anusilan*) and integration of all human faculties, which manifested itself in peace of mind, love for fellow-men and devotion to God.

Could Upanishadic monism lead to it? No, said Bankim. "এই ধর্ম্ম অতি বিশুদ্ধ, কিন্তু অসম্পূর্ণ।" It was the fourth stage of religious evolution and still incomplete. Bankim found

fault with the Advaitins for having terminated religious evolution with the concept of a *nirguna* and *nirakara Brahman* and the identity of *Jiva* with Him. "Religion in its fullness cannot be found in the quality-less God of the Vedanta, because he who is without qualities cannot be an example to us....There can be no complete religion in the worship of a philosophical or scientific deity....The worship of an impersonal God is sterile; only the worship of a personal God has meaning to man."[26] The traditionalists, on the other hand, deviated from true religion when they worshipped a multiplicity of gods or confused it with ritualism. "হিন্দুধর্ম্মে ঈশ্বর ভিন্ন দেবতা নাই।" Hinduism must combine realization of the *nirguna Brahman* with devotion to the *saguna Isvara*. It must not only define faith but live it. It must obliterate all distinctions between the sacred and the secular and act in constant presence of Infinity. Religion is culture of which the product is the full-blown spirit.

The romantic in Bankim regarded the *nirakara* monotheism of the Brahmos as cold and abstract. The *Upanishads* needed to be concretized by the teachings of the *Mahabharata*, the *Gita* and the *Bhagavata*, if religion was to become an elevating emotional experience for the many instead of remaining the esoteric intellectual experience of the few. Granted that true Hinduism knew of no multiplicity of gods, which was a survival of the anthropomorphic-totemistic phase of human development and which drew its strength more from *deshachar* than from *dharma*, human mind was incapable of conceiving the infinite and the attributeless. Even the spiritually advanced worked up some form or other for the purpose of meditation. Did not the Brahmos call *Brahman* Father, Friend and Lord, which established human and, therefore, finite relationship? Should the common man, then, be deprived of his traditional deity, the only potential guarantee of his elevation to a higher plane in future?[27] The importance of the form was to be judged by the degree in which it expressed the ultimate significance. Moreover, *sakara* worship satisfied the poetic emotions and aesthetic tastes of the worshipper, as evidenced in the Vaishnava lyrics.

Bankim defended *avatarabada* which Rammohun and Debendranath so deeply abhorred. God, he asserted, did

from time to time assume an empiric form out of His own will (*ātmamāyayā*). Coming into the world with absolute knowledge of the Reality, He put on the ignorance and the weakness to which flesh is heir, so that He could, by transcending them, set an example for others. In Him the Word became flesh. The Buddha and Christ were *avataras*. But Srikrishna was the *avatara per excellence*.[28] He was the synthesis of the impersonal and the personal, the divine and the human, at once individual and universal. Bankim refused to present Srikrishna merely as the Puranic miracle of God manifested in man or descended into man. He emphasized the ascent of man into godhead through perfect cultivation, fulfilment and integration (*anusilan*) of all his faculties—physical, intellectual, active and creative—and through dedication of this unified, pure, full-blown and self-controlled personality to the good of the world (*lokasamgraha* or *sarvabhuta-hita*).[29] The *avatara* was not only the Divinity limiting Himself in space and time for some definite purpose but the symbol of divine consciousness, always latent in man and ready to respond to man's ceaseless endeavour at self-perfection. He was a "spiritual dynamo, from which emanated man-making and nation-making forces". He could transform the world because in Him idea became yoked to will, purpose and endeavour, because man attained in Him his fullest stature and glory. The author of *Mandukya Karika* calls Him *dvipadaṁ varaṁ*, the finest among men.

Placed between the scepticism of the positivist and the obscurantism of the orthodox, educated Hindus in general found in this humanistic and optimistic rationalization a great comfort. They derived pride as well. Srikrishna was Ecce Homo. If the Christian boasted of an historical Christ, the Hindu did not need to confine himself to a metaphysical abstraction or an anthropomorphic absurdity. He, too, could show an historical God in Srikrishna, who was no ascetic like the Buddha or Christ but a *grihi* with a zest for life.[30] He had not destroyed but transfigured its tensions. He belonged to this world and exhorted all people to fight the battles of this world as *dharmayuddha*, i.e. for righteous causes and without being involved. Srikrishna was no Deist's God, standing aloof, but a preserver of good and a destroyer of evil. His

loving hand steered the world through struggle to progress. Bankim laid special stress on His acumen as a soldier, strategist and empire-builder. Srikrishna saw the vision of a united India and deliberately procured the mutual destruction of the petty princelings at Kurukshetra for the establishment of a *dharmarajya*.[31]

This accent on *dharmarajya* was not missed by the Extremists, nor the militancy, albeit non-attached and called *dharmayuddha*. It was easy to equate *dharmarajya* with *swarajya* and passive resistance or terrorism with *dharmayuddha*. By '*dharmarajya*', however, Bankim meant not the nation state of the European variety, rattling its sabre for every possible self-aggrandizement. Bankim was no amoral defender of Wagnerian nationalism but the revealer of the religion of man, which was difficult to practise without political freedom but not entirely impossible. The inner struggle for freedom was often more bitter than the outer.[32] Srikrishna was *l'uomo universale* in the Renaissance Bankim hoped for in India, whose fulfilment lay not in perfection of self at the cost of or in indifference to others but in non-attached action for the good of mankind as a whole. The most important item in the curriculum of Bankim's *Emile—Debi Chaudhurani* (Book I, chapter XVI)—was training in non-attachment based on the sixth chapter of the *Gita*. Its core is *Bhakti* and its result work for fellow-men, born of love.[33]

Bankim reconciled for the *fin de siècle* the Upanishadic monism with the cult of Srikrishna, who combined the immutability of *Brahman* with the mutability of *avatara*. He discarded external asceticism for one which was internal and perennial. He acknowledged the secondary character of *sakara* but explained its need as a step to the higher plane of *nirakara*. He accepted *avatarabada* more as a promise of the ascent of man into godhead than as an example of the descent of god into man. He portrayed in Srikrishna the greatest ideal of the whole man and, in emphasizing its historicity, opened an endless vista of progress under the Hindu auspices (not under the auspices of French thought). Here there was an optimistic premium on human will and endeavour, working miracles by integration and self-control, and almost drawing down grace from on high. Bankim's daring and

cogent utilization of the weapons from the Western arsenal took the anglicized sceptic and agnostic by surprise while his rational, humane and universal exposition of the Hindu view awed the obscurantist into silence. The Hindu objective of *manusye priti* appeared to be more catholic than the Benthamite goal of the greatest good for the greatest number. Far from despising technology and science, he exhorted the Hindu to learn it in order to claim freedom, while at the same time he preserved India's self-esteem and sense of proportion by a controlled denunciation of the materialism of the West. He laid down the strategic bridgehead across which Vivekananda would march to invade the West in its own citadel.[34] At home, Arjunas, perplexed by the confrontation of the East and the West, enervated by an alien rule and economy, emasculated by an education which caused disharmonious development of personality and bred indecision and doubt, took heart.

Bankim blazed the trail for the Extremists in contemptuous criticism of the Moderates. No "place-hunting politician" or social reformer, this creator of "a language, a literature and a nation" was the precursor of these angry young men of the late nineteenth century who had no patience for the Moderate "policy of three P's" and their pathetic reliance on impotent meetings and verbose resolutions. It is from him that Aurobindo learned that "the future lies not with the Indian Un-national Congress or the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj."[35] It is he who bade the Extremists "leave the canine method of agitation for the leonine" and showed the vision of the puissant mother who "held trenchant steel in her twice-seventy million hands and not the bowl of the Mendicant." A generation had arisen who cared not for the Babu "who perorates on the Congress, who frolics in the abysmal fatuity of interpellation on the Bengal Legislative Council, who mismanages civic affairs in the smile of the City Corporation."[36] Bankim had sown in them a love for Bengal and her new glories and given them the *mantra* of Bande Mataram.[37]

Anandamath impressed Aurobindo and his generation profoundly. But Aurobindo's *Bhavani Mandir* is not entirely an inspired copy.[38] The Bhavani cult was an important element

in the awakening of the Marathi nationality under Shivaji. Aurobindo at Baroda must have breathed it in the air, surcharged further with the undertones of Tilak's Shivaji festivals. Aurobindo misinterpreted *Anandamath* (which is not unpardonable in a neophyte in the Bengali language, when historians continue to do so even today). He (and the Bengali Extremists) reckoned that Bankim's nationalism was essentially religious, Hindu in orientation and firmly rooted in Bengaleeness. In the dark, naked, awesome figure of Kali, Aurobindo saw written the sad history of a century of exploitation. In Satyananda's call to the *Santanas* he heard an invocation to the martial spirit of India against the *asuric* British rule.[39] He took the *Santana's* vow of struggle unto death, so that the mother, now a picture of misery, might by the sacrifice of her children be transformed into a vision of fullness and abundance—"Durga, triumphant over her foes, accompanied by fortune, learning, strength and success."

Yet Aurobindo as well as the Extremists (and their modern apologists) were misled because of their indifference to the prologue and the epilogue of this novel. They regarded sentiments expressed therein as an afterthought, a cautious civil servant's clever camouflage of a patently anti-British pamphlet. This is, however, a grave aspersion on Bankim's integrity and entirely inconsonant with the trend of his religious thought discussed above. It was God's providence, says the *guru* of Satyananda, which brought the British to India and which would keep them there till the Hindus purged themselves of impurities and reconciled *jnana* with *bhakti*, *dharma* with *karma*, renunciation with enterprise and welfare with peace. There is enough internal evidence to show that such a reconciliation had not been effected and impurities survived in spite of the sternest possible austerity. Does not the same Bhavananda, who sings Bande Mataram to Mahendra, succumb to carnal desire for Kalyani, Mahendra's wife? And is he not prepared to discard his *sannyasin's* vow for her? When we read *Anandamath*, along with two essays in *Bibidha Prabandha*—'Bharat Kalanka' and 'Bharatbarsher Svadhinata O Paradhinata'— we cannot but come to the above conclusion. Here is a sociological analysis of the causes of India's subjection. Bankim lays the blame fairly and squarely

on (1) the Indian's innate lack of any desire for independence and (2) dissensions in Hindu society which made any unity of counsel and endeavour impossible and atrophied the will to national self-assertion. The only attempts in recent times at national self-determination were those of the Marathas and the Sikhs. Bankim praises Britain for teaching India the notion of nationality and giving a fairer deal to the common people. Lastly, patriotism was not and could never become the religion of the author of *Dharmatattva* and was only but a means, albeit essential, to the end which was *jagatiki priti*, love for the whole of creation.[40] For the Extremists it was *the religion*, *the end*, at least till freedom was won.

The communal strain in Extremist thought was not imparted by Bankim, though Prof. Clark would have us believe so.[41] Bankim's target was not the upright Moslem but the decadent tyrant. The question of prejudice might have arisen if he had dealt unjustly with an Akbar or a Hussain Shah. But he was portraying an Aurangzeb and a Katlukhan. He was more severe with decadent Hindus. How often was the dream of a Hindu Kingdom shattered by failure or lack of Hindu character! Pasupati's ambition, Bhavananda's lust, Sitaram's obsession, Gangaram's meanness have been condemned with no less harshness than Moslem cruelty or oppression. What an unrelieved picture of degeneration is the court of Laksman Sen! It is not so much the Moslem *qua* Moslem who was disliked by Bankim. Wherever there was any lapse from his high standard of religion and morality Bankim's wrath struck. Tilak's anti-Moslem bias was not so detached. It was the historical legacy of a Maharastrian. Lajpat imbibed it from the tradition of the Arya Samaj, which itself was rooted in the Punjabi Sikhs' bitter memory of Mughal rule. As Bipinchandra Pal (an Extremist) says, "It was no small thing for the Hindu suffering for centuries under what the psychologists call now the 'inferiority complex', to be able to challenge aggressive Christianity and Islam by setting up the dogma of Vedic infallibility (of Dayananda) against their dogma of supernatural revelation...."[42] Hindu chauvinism was a reaction to Moslem chauvinism, born of the Wahabi movement and bred in the Aligarh school. Dayananda, not Bankim, countered Syed Ahmed Khan.

While Bankim's *dharmarajya* looked towards the future, to the evolution of developed, integrated and socially conscious personalities who controlled nature in the interests of human welfare, Aurobindo looked to the past. The ancient Indian polity was his *dharmarajya.* He would not compromise with Western values or accomodate the requirements of modern life. The West was decadent, he concluded with Spengler, and in India's rejuvenation lay the hope of the West. "And since the spiritual life of India is the first necessity of the world's future, we fight not only for our own political and spiritual freedom but for the spiritual emancipation of the human race."[43] Materialism was the outward symptom of the deadly disease from which the West was suffering—dualism, "resting now *on faith* paling off to superstition, and again *on fact* leading to oblivion of God."[44] Materialism expressed itself in "the industrialism that dwarfs the worker... the commercialism that floods the world with ugly and worthless wares... the piety that results in the sending of panoplied missions with more reliance on gunpowder than on God, the gluttonous earth-hunger... cloaked by the cunning of a mere word, imperialism."[44] Bankim, too, had warned us of materialism through the voice of that immortal opium-addict, Kamalakanta, but there was little of messianic ardour in him. With the greatest regard for the ancient philosophers of India, he would never suggest imposing their message on the schism in Europe's soul. In the Extremist thought we see more of a Slavophile strain, which, not content with merely resisting the superimposition of the Western pattern, decided to take the war into the enemy camp. There is a striking similarity between Aurobindo and the Russian Slavophiles, Nikolai Danilevsky, Nikolai Chernyshevsky, Dostoyevsky and Gogol. Danilevsky believed that Europe and Russia were separated by a deep and non-rational historical instinct; Europe had entered the stage of decay; Europe was heir to the Roman tradition of domination and violence, expressed in the spread of Christianity, the expansion of empires and the scramble for commercial profit. On the other hand, the Slav civilization had known neither force nor intolerance. He, too, condemned attempts to superimpose the Western pattern on Russian thought and society, and regarded Russian expansion as a

mission of peace. "We believe," wrote Chernyshevsky, "that we are destined to bring a new principle into history, to say our own word, and not to ape Europe's outlived ideas." "What is the strength and spirit of Russian nationalism," asked Dostoyevsky, "if not in its inspiration and its end goal of universalism and omni-humanity?...Let our nation be poor, but did not Christ travel through this poor land in the garb of a serf? Why then should we not contain His final word? ...Indeed beyond all doubt the destiny of Russia is Pan-European and universal." In the image of a thundering troika Gogol saw the vision of Russia "fly forward on a mission of God."[45] Aurobindo saw the same vision in Vivekananda's triumphal progress in the West.

Vivekananda and Extremism

There were three stages, according to Aurobindo, in the process which led up to the renaissance in India. "The first step was the reception of the European contact, a radical reconsideration of many of the prominent elements and some revolutionary denial of the very principles of the old culture. The second was a reaction of the Indian spirit,...sometimes with a total denial of what it (European influence) offered and a stressing both of the essential and the strict letter of the national past...." It involved "a vindication and reacceptance of everything Indian as it stood and because it was Indian." A more subtle assimilation followed, "for in vindicating ancient things it has been obliged to do so in a way that will at once meet and satisfy the old mentality and the new, the traditional and the critical mind." This in itself implied no mere return, but consciously or unconsciously hastened a restatement. "And the riper form of the return has taken as its principle a synthetical restatement; it has sought to arrive at the spirit of the ancient culture, and, while respecting the forms and often preserving them to revivify, has yet not hesitated also to remould, to reject the out-worn and to admit whatever new motive seemed assimilable to the old spirituality or apt to widen the channel of its larger evolution. Of this freer dealing with past and present, this preservation by

reconstruction, Vivekananda was in his life-time the leading exemplar and the most powerful exponent."[46] It had already begun with Bankim. Vivekananda was only a later contemporary of Bankim's generation which disconsolately sought in Mill, Spencer and Comte an answer to the human condition and a philosophy of human conduct. He neither revelled in applying the untested canons of imported European enlightenment nor gave way to the unrealities of effete and misunderstood rituals but took the middle path of the sage and the philosopher.

Vivekananda was the Michelangelo of the realm of spirit. "Every night when I went to bed," he often said, "two ideals of life appeared before me—great wealth and immense power was one and renunciation of a sage, the other". He felt within himself the tension between the spiritual-idealist outlook of India and the scientific-secular outlook of the West as Michelangelo felt the tension between classical harmony, neo-Platonic idealism and Renaissance realism. Mill had created in him disbelief in an omnipotent and benevolent creator; Hume and Spencer only settled it. The failure of Comte's Religion of Humanity to solve the problem of evil in man and nature brought him to the Brahmo Samaj, but its transcendentalism and intuitionism could neither still the doubts of his sceptic mind nor slake the thirst of his deep-yearning spirit. In this dark night of the soul Ramakrishna came to him like an angel and spoke with the voice of a mother. He dared to assert, what even Debendranath could not, that he had seen God, that religion might be sensed in an infinitely more intense way than the world of matter. Vivekananda's hardy reason revolted but his parched spirit rose to the promise of water in the rock. There was a strange ring of truth in the simple affirmation; and that magic touch which dissolved his ego in an all-embracing void, was it a hallucination or the opening of the doors of perception? Through six years he fought the Master at Dakshineswar for his individualist freedom of judgement. Little by little his resistance crumbled, at a song, a touch, an ecstasy, till he found peace in absolute surrender.

"Here is a true man of renunciation. . .he practises what he preaches, he has given up everything for God." Broad as

the sky, deep as the ocean, strong as adamant and pure as crystal, Ramakrishna appeared to him as the embodiment of all past religious thoughts of India. "His life alone made me understand what the *Shastras* really meant...."[47] The Master gave to him the experience of *advaita* as well as the vision of the Mother, which made him realize, as no European philosophy could, the unity of all existence and the play of the Infinite and the Finite. "I tell you, I clearly find He is the whole and I am His part.... Again sometimes I think that He is I and I am He." Viewed from this supreme height, no aspect of life or effort can appear false or erroneous, for from truth to truth we proceed. Universalism means neither imperialism of a tribal creed nor eclecticism in the form of a new creed. Creeds are like rivers flowing through different terrain towards a common destination. Sectarianism disappears when sects reach their destiny in God as rivers disappear in the sea. Here was a saint who rebelled at the talk of sin. How could any son of the Divine Mother be a sinner? He is eternal, pure, enlightened and free. Only he knows it not. Here was no "dry ascetic". Ramakrishna would sing and dance his way to liberation.

Out of the seething vortex of the world the Master released him into the limitless expanse of universal oneness. As objective concepts of godhead merged into the subjective awareness of the True Being, man appeared to be a manifestation; *Jiva* became *Siva*. The Master left a mission. Discrimination, detachment, devotion should all be geared to one great purpose—awakening and unfolding the Divinity in man. During his travels incognito from the Himalayas to the Cape, Vivekananda rediscovered God in the dusty and hungry plains of India, in the mangled and mutilated remains of a proud race which had given the message of freedom and immortality of self to the world at the dawn of civilization. Would he remain, a self-absorbed saint, immersed in his own spiritual quest, or worship this living God in man? Did not the Master tell him that he was not to be an ordinary recluse, enjoying beatitude for himself, that he was destined "to shake the world to its foundations"?

The score was still open when, at Chicago, he confronted the dynamo, symbol of the Promethean but soulless energy

of the West. (Henry Adams has left a sensitive record of the impact of the dynamo on his mind when he visited the Chicago Exhibition in 1893.) To the Parliament of World Religions he proclaimed the revival of the *Vedanta* and preached the Gospel of Ramakrishna. What would he proclaim and preach to his own countrymen, slaves of a foreign nation as well as of their own senses, suffering from hunger of the body no less than from hunger of the soul, divided by castes as well as by imperial devices? Vivekananda could never be a one way missionary. The supine self-pity of the soul-proud India withered before his *terribilita* as much as the acquisitive self-complacence of the science-proud West. In the midst of passing time stood the timeless witness of what was permanent and eternal in man—both East and West.

The heroic *Sannyasin* affirmed this world—"This is the great centre, the wonderful poise, and the wonderful opportunity —this human life." The world of work alone offered the greatest chance for man to outgrow work. Was not the scene of the *Gita* laid on a field of battle? He had warned the West against the excesses of *rajas*; now he warned the East against the excess of *tamas*.[47a] He hoped to transcend both in a universal Vedantic goal which combined the conquest of physical nature with the conquest of the inner nature of man. For the full manifestation of *Siva* in *Jiva*, for the realization of the Vedantin's identity of *Brahman* and *Atman* (*Tattvamasi*), India and the West needed each other.[47b]

In America and Europe he taught the arrogant despoiler and arrant materialist the tolerance of a mature India, the content of her unacquisitive soul, the calm of her understanding spirit and the gentleness of her love for all living things. In India he attacked her sloth, her mental and spiritual flabbiness, her lack of unity and moral courage. "We are great, we are great! Nonsense! We are imbeciles; that is what we are!" India had ignored the past too long. She had gone into her shell, as the oyster does, and refused to give as well as to take. She had built a wall of custom, whose foundation was hatred of others, round the nation, "the real aim of which in ancient times was to prevent the Hindus from coming in contact with the surrounding Buddhistic nations." The habit had grown and she had allowed

the world of Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution and Rationalism pass by. What for? Not certainly for religion, for, "we are neither Vedantists, nor Puranics, nor Tantrics. We are just 'don't-touchists'. Our religion is in the kitchen. Our God is the cooking-pot...." Vivekananda found *Bhakti* lolling in sentimentality, ineptitude clad in saffron, magic masquerading as *tapas*, knowledge perverted to cramming commentaries on commentaries, and history reduced to ancestor-worship.

"Religion is not for empty bellies" and the *Vedanta* must speak in accents of human welfare. Neglect of the masses he condemned as a national sin. "Neither under the Hindu kings, nor under the Buddhist rule, do we find the common subject people taking any part in expressing their voice in the affairs of the state. They pay for our education, they build our temples, but in return they get kicks....If we want to regenerate India, we must work for them....The only hope for India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead." "Where should you go to seek for God, are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak, Gods?" Our degradation, he said elsewhere, "is due to our calling women 'despicable worms', 'gateways to hell', and so forth....Writing down the Smritis, etc. and binding them by hard rules, the men have turned the women into mere manufacturing machines!"

What had been our response to the Western challenge? Cultural heresy, on the one hand, and obscurantist fanaticism, on the other. But "imitation is not civilization" and "every little village superstition is not a mandate of the Vedas." Physical fitness had been neglected. "You will understand *Gita* better with your biceps....What I want is muscles of iron and nerves of steel, inside which dwells a mind of the same material of which the thunderbolt is made. Strength, manhood, *kshatra-virya* and Brahma-teja." The Indians lacked faith in themselves (though the *Atman* is deathless, free and pure), self-help, obedience, organizing capacity, business integrity and, above all, love. "No man, no nation can hate others and live. India's doom was sealed the very day they invented the word *mleccha* and stopped from communion with others." Love makes man omnipotent. "Love opens the

most impossible gates...." (Only love could inspire the stupendous effort to regenerate India.[48]) Love would flow into service, faith into works, and both would forge character.

(The *Vedanta* must become dynamic and practical and its message was to be carried by monks who lived in the spirit of Indian religion like Ramakrishna and yet kept their minds open to the Western sciences (how close he is to Bankim's *Chikitsaka*, the guru of Satyananda!), who renounced all ties and yet dedicated themselves utterly to the service of their fellowmen. The money and the 'know how' would come from the West, for India had something valuable to offer in exchange—the message of the undying in-dwelling spirit. The West was corroded from within by the canker of materialism. Its wealth and glory had been achieved at the cost of inner richness and peace. It must be persuaded that, if India went under, it would follow sooner or later. Such sentiments became commonplace with the Extremists.)

("The going forth of Vivekananda," wrote Aurobindo in the *Karmayogin* (26 June 1909), "marked out by the Master as the heroic soul destined to take the world between his two hands and change it, was the first visible sign to the world that India was awake not only to survive but to conquer." The Extremists heard his clarion call of *abhi:* "Awake, arise, and stop not till the goal is reached." They responded to the summons of a man-making religion and rose like Lazarus to proclaim, "we are eternal, free and immortal." As this false life of *maya* must fall away (so that the real life of the spirit might prevail), so must go this false subjection to foreign rule.[49] A tremendous self-confidence and will-power gushed from his words which emboldened them to defy death because it existed not in metaphysical terms. "I have no fear of death: I never hunger nor thirst. I am it! I am it."(But the Extremists fastened upon Vivekananda's *exposé* of the ills of the West in the hostile spirit of a foe, not in the friendly intent of a healer. They could not forgive what they could not comprehend, they never felt his agony of self-criticism, they hastened to build the wall round the nation again. They were carried away by their hatred for Christianity (which they called the religion of empire) and never cared deeply to ponder on the

disintegration of Hinduism. Their patriotism gained in intensity but lost perspective.

For the first time Bankim's poetic symbol of the motherland took human shape in India's afflicted millions.[50] Indian society, Vivakananda affirmed, was the cradle of his childhood, the pleasure garden of his youth and the refuge of his old age. The clod of Indian earth was his very heaven. "This is the only god that is awake, our own race—everywhere his hands, everywhere his feet, everywhere his ears, he covers everything." He was destined from birth to be a sacrifice to this cause. The pledge which concludes his *Bartaman Bharat* reads like the vow of Bankim's *Santanas*. The Extremists drank deeply of this love and resolved on vicarious self-sacrifice. In the name of India the Moderates loved Europe. "We loved the abstraction we called India, but, yes, we hated the thing that it actually was." Love of India now meant "a loving regard for the very configurations of this continent, a love for its rivers and mountains, for its paddy fields and its arid sandy plains, its towns and villages however uncouth and insanitary these might be...a love for its sweating, swarthy populations, unshod and unclad,...."[51] Aurobindo went further. Others knew their country as matter, as a collection of fields, forests, hills and rivers. "I know my country as my mother, I adore her, I worship her."[52] This love found its most poetic expression in Tagore's Swadeshi songs.

But the Extremists refused to serve her in the way Vivekananda would have wished. "Eternal love and service free" follow logically from the most universal of all faiths—*advaita*—and the *Gita* preaches these in every verse. Vivekananda drew it also from the tradition of Rammohun, Vidyasagar and Bankim. The modern in him rebelled against man-made misery that seethed and surged around him. He was torn between the two spiritual poles of the absolute in *atman* and the relative in *jagat*, the *nitya* and the *lila*, as his Master would have called them. And often did he prefer the welfare of the latter to salvation in the former. "The individual's life is in the life of the whole, the individual's happiness is in the happiness of the whole." But neither the reformist humanitarianism of the Brahmos nor the godless Religion of Humanity

of Comte appealed to him. Reformism defeated itself (here he echoed Bankim), as it spent all its forces in denunciation of Indian society without a sociological analysis of its particular *mores* or a comprehension of the course of its evolution. "I do not believe in reform; I believe in growth."[53] Most of the reforms had been inconsiderate imitations of Western means and methods of work. The reformers did not know "that all evolution is only a manifestation of a preceding involution..., that the seed can only assimilate the surrounding elements but grows a tree in its own nature." They made the serious mistake of holding religion accountable for the horrors of priest-craft and superstition. Then, what credentials did the reformers themselves have? "Travelling through places of India these last ten years I observed the country full of social reform associations. But I did not find one association for them by sucking whose blood the people known as 'gentlemen' have become and continue to be gentlemen!" The inevitable reaction to reformism would be the repulsive revivalism of Sasadhar Tarkachudamani.[54] Let the spiritual forces working within be healthy and society would arrange itself accordingly. "Meddle not with the so-called social reform for there cannot be any reform without spiritual reform first."

Over the Waste Land the thunder said: *Datta, Damyata, Dayadhvam.* Where Bankim had proved too academic and Ramakrishna too other-worldly, Vivekananda, with the bitter experience of human misery burnt into his soul, offered a practical plan for social upliftment. Work for *daridra-narayana* was a platform on which all psychological types could assemble, all castes, creeds and classes could meet. It was not Christian charity at all. Vivekananda never forgot his *Gita: Uddharet ātmanātmānam.* It was helping people to help themselves. In feeding the poor, healing the sick and educating the ignorant ('ignorant' in the metaphysical sense as well) work would shed its element of self-interest and become a *yajna* or sacrifice to God. Such work alone could help the process of evolution without any recourse to the Darwinian struggle. More important than feeding or healing, however, was awakening in man the awareness of his true stature—*dharma dana.* "The ideal of all education, all training should be

man-making.... What we want are Western science coupled with Vedanta.... Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man. I look upon religion as the innermost core of education." There could not be any salvation for India till Indians regained a hold on the spiritual and secular education of the nation—"and it must be on national lines, through national methods, as far as practical."[55] No religion on earth preached the dignity of humanity in such a lofty strain as Hinduism and none trod upon the necks of the poor and the lowly so cruelly as Hinduism. This was because Hinduism had been misinterpreted and misapplied. It was the Pharisees and the Sadducees in Hinduism who invented the engines of physical and mental tyranny. Vivekananda meant to undo this evil by *dharma dana*. The monks of his mission would go from village to village, bringing religion to the doors of the poor, impressing on the minds of even the *Chandalas* that they, too, had the same right to religion as the Brahmins and the same freedom of judgement, for in all dwell the One Absolute. Without this strengthening of the national heritage, India's response to the West would result in a patchy imitation.

In the renaissance of the religion of the spirit lay India's salvation, and not in political freedom, social reform and economic revolution. These merely touched the fringe of the human condition.[55a] Liberty, equality and fraternity were but the millennial fanaticism of the West which the East was trying to emulate. "The political systems that we are struggling for in India have been in Europe for ages, have been tried for centuries, and have been found wanting. One after another, the institutions, systems, and everything connected with political government have been condemned as useless, and Europe is restless, does not know where to turn." "I have seen your Parliament, your Senate, your vote, majority, ballot; it is the same thing everywhere, my friend. The powerful men in every country are moving society whatever way they like, and the rest are only like a flock of sheep." Socialism in one form or another was coming. "But what guarantee have we that this, or any civilization, will last, unless it is based on religion, on the goodness of man? Depend on it, religion goes to the root of the matter. If it is right, all is right....Men cannot be made

virtuous by an Act of Parliament. And that is why religion is of deeper importance than politics...."[56] All the good things of life could not cure the inner emptiness of a sterile soul: "for to gain the whole world by losing the soul is to lose the world so gained." The civilization, that did not take note of the desire for spirituality, was built on sand. Let men make their choice of government and economy after *advaita* had inculcated in them faith in themselves, the universe and the *Brahman* who envelopes all. "Let them hear of the *Atman*—that even the lowest of the low have the *atman* within, who never dies and never is born."[57] Explosion of this nucleus in man would release energy before which empires, classes and castes would crumble into dust. All improvements (in the Western sense) would be effected not at the cost of the national asset (which was spirituality) but as flowing from it and leading towards it. Politics had a great demerit—where religion united, politics bound. "National union in India must be a gathering of its scattered spiritual forces." By getting mixed up with politics religion would be degraded to a species of divisive materialism. The spiritual need, again, was not confined to India. It was the common need of modern man, whatever his race or speech, whose rationalism had first destroyed faith in God and then hope in man, who had been gathering knowledge, which sowed confusion, and grabbing power, which sowed conflict. How could a solution affecting one aspect of personality (i.e. politics) or one nation (i.e. India) serve the perennial 'great hunger' of the universe? In developing one side of man it had every possibility of starving others and creating aberrations like aggressive nationalism and Western democracy, "that dance of the Devil in man."[58] Vivekananda, like Bankim, insisted on balanced growth and his perfect man was a whole man—"equally philosophic, equally emotional, equally mystic and equally conducive to action."[59] He was to be a union of the tremendous intellectual power of Śankara and the infinite compassion of the Buddha. Vivekananda himself was one such. "As in a quadriga he held the reins of all four ways of truth (four *yogas*), and he travelled towards unity along them simultaneously." Vivekananda, the true disciple of Ramakrishna, repudiated the partial and the particular for the total and the

universal. India's world objective could not be gained and world responsibility discharged otherwise.[60]

The Extremist approach was, however, a particularist one. Renunciation—yes. Service of the poor and the down-trodden —by all means. But would not these be best effected by the application of the spirit of *advaita* to politics? Politics, in Pal's words, was in India a spiritual movement. "It has its application in social, in economic, in political life of the sublime Philosophy of the Vedanta. It means the desire to carry the message of freedom... and we are to carry out that message, to realize that ideal in the social, economic and the political life. What is the message of the Vedanta? The message of the Vedanta is this: that every man has within himself, in his own soul, as the very root and realization of his own being, the spirit of God; and as God is eternally free, self-realized, so is every man eternally free and self-realized. Freedom is man's birthright."[61] In his Uttarpara Library speech Pal reiterated the same view of nationalism—"The ideal is that of humanity in God, of God in humanity, the ancient ideal of the *Sanatan Dharma* but applied as it has never been applied before to the problem of politics and the work of national revival. To realise that ideal, to impart it to the world is the mission of India." Aurobindo added, "Swaraj as the fulfilment of the ancient life of India under modern conditions, the return of the *Satyayuga* of national greatness, the resumption by her of her great role of the teacher and guide, self-liberation of the people for the final fulfilment of the Vedantic ideal in politics, this is the true Swaraj for India."[62] Political freedom being the life-breath of a nation, "to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance and futility." Vivekananda was putting the cart of spiritualism before the horse of freedom. "Spirit may be superior to body," rejoined Aurobindo, "but they are so intimately connected that the supremacy of one cannot be maintained by surrendering the other.... The recognition of one to the exclusion of the other is delusion and partial knowledge according to Shankar's interpretation of the Vedanta."[63] Vivekananda's philanthropical programme was only secondary, something that could be

better accomplished after the attainment of Swaraj. Freedom without, achieved in Europe, would help the achievement of freedom within (*moksha*), which was the Vedantin's goal. Freedom in the sense of political liberty was not the consequence but the pre-condition of freedom in the sense of liberation. "According to Hindu philosophy, self-knowledge and self-realization are the end of all religion. It is difficult to see how that greatest aim of human existence can be fulfilled, if influences from outside disorganise us and stifle our growth." Indians were deprived of an essential means of assimilating themselves to the universal. India could play her messianic role, so important for the spiritual health of the world, only if she first freed herself from political bondage. "India must have *Swaraj* in order to live for the world, not as a slave for the material and political benefit of a single purse-proud selfish nation, but as a free people for the spiritual and intellectual benefit of the human race... She has always existed for the humanity and not for herself that she must be great."[64] In *Bhavani Mandir* he made the Goddess exhort Indians to erect for her a temple whereby "you will be helping to create a nation, to consolidate an age, to Aryanise a world."

Dayananda and Extremism

If Rammohun appealed to the *Upanishads* (as also to reason), Bankim to the *Gita* (as also to tradition, if it contributed to purity of mind) and Vivekananda to the *advaita* of Śankara (though its rigours were mellowed by the teachings of Ramakrishna who reconciled *advaita* and *dvaita* as two modes of experiencing the *Brahman*), Dayananda, the last great religious thinker of the nineteenth century, appealed to the Vedas. "My conception of God and all other objects in the universe is founded on the teachings of the Veda and other true *Shastras*, and is in conformity with the beliefs of all the sages, from Brahma to Jaimini."[65] Here he talks of other *shastras* and of post-Vedic seers but the only text he accepts as revelation is the Vedic one, and excludes even the *Vedanta* (the *Upanishads* and the *Vedanta Sutras*).[66] As Harbilas Sarda, his

biographer, points out, he used non-Vedic scriptures in his teachings (viz. *Manu Smriti*) only when he felt they were in accord with the Vedic truth.[67] "Dayananda accepted the Veda as his rock of firm foundation, he took it for his guiding view of life, his rule of inner existence and his inspiration for external work, but he regarded it as even more, the word of eternal Truth on which man's knowledge of God and his relations with the Divine Being and with his fellows can be rightly and securely founded."[68] This journey to the fountain-head of Aryan truth denoted a sort of denial of the validity of later religious evolution in India.

The second striking difference from the earlier thinkers lies in the utter absence of the influence of European culture and thought on Dayananda. Rammohun knew his Locke and Bentham as Bankim knew his Mill and Comte, and Vivekananda his Hume and Spencer. They never thought of denying Western influence and imbibed as much as was worthy and assimilable. Dayananda, on the contrary, never had a formal Western education. He never passed through that gruelling debate of the soul where new, exciting, liberating, but alien, ideas contended for supremacy with the traditional—forcing purification, modification or re-interpretation in the context of a changed milieu. He was unfamiliar with comparative philology and the scientific methods to be worked out by Max Müller. He would not even accept Sayana's famous commentary. "While Western scholarship extending the hints of Sayana seemed to have classed it (the *Veda*) for ever as a ritual liturgy to Nature-gods, the genius of the race looking through the eyes of Dayananda pierced behind the error of many centuries and received again the intuition of a timeless revelation and a divine truth given to humanity."[69] Thus did Aurobindo (the Extremist) defend Dayananda's interpretation against charges of arbitrary fabrication of imaginative learning and ingenuity. The reproach did not lie in the mouth of Sayana who was no less arbitrary, whose learning was divorced "from direct seeing and often even from plainest commonsense" and who constantly fitted the text "into the procrustean bed of preconceived theory", nor, again, in the mouth of European scholars who snatched at doubtful indications as certain proofs and made the boldest conclusions

on the scantiest justification. Intrinsic evidence of the *Vedas* supported Dayananda's view that the Vedic hymns were chanted to one Deity under many names, names which were used and even designed to express His qualities and honours. Monotheism appeared as early as the *Ṛgveda* and was not a later development of the *Upanishads*. Granted this, the *Vedas* inevitably contain a large part of the psychology of the Divine Nature, the psychology of the relations of man with God, and a constant indication of the law governing man's God-ward conduct. Dayananda found in the *Vedas* not only the law of life given by God Himself but the law of creation and cosmos, i.e. the secrets by which the Omniscient made and governed the world. They contained the truth of religion as well as the truth of science.

Such an interpretation runs counter to the conclusions of Bankim and Vivekananda. Bankim wrote an elaborate analysis of the Vedic conception of gods in the *Prachar*[70] in which he challenged the idea of divine revelation of the *Vedas*[71] and showed how monotheism evolved gradually out of the ascription of consciousness to the forces of nature. The second step was the discovery of laws that guided these conscious forces (called *devas*). The law led to the law-giver, the *causa causans* of creation and destruction. This elevated concept of godhead (*Isvara*) coexisted with the previous and lower concept of *devas* and gradually the worshippers came to worship One God, calling Him by the many familiar names they had adored Him by, before. Indra, Baruna, etc., were called *Isvara*. (Max Müller coined a term—'henotheism'—for this stage.) The next stage was the merger of all gods in One Absolute Being who is Reality, Consciousness and Bliss. The *suktas* in the *Ṛgveda* which indicated this trend were the latest and, on the whole, *Brahmabada* was historically a later development. Attempts to reinterpret all the Vedic *suktas* in favour of monotheism or monism were natural to the monotheists or the monists and must not delude us as to the true character of Vedic religion. Bankim did not despise European scholarship because it was European. He quoted Max Müller and Roth in approval and refuted them equally. Comparative religion, comparative mythology and anthropology were all grist to his mill, for, with an historian's sure insight he put the Vedic religion in

the context of human development as a whole and Aryan culture in particular.[72] The Vedic religion, he concluded, might be the root of Hinduism but the root was not the full-grown tree. To Vivekananda all sciences including the *Vedas* were only *apara vidya*, i.e. derived from human experience in parts and aspects, while the *Vedanta* alone was *para vidya*, which was the fruit of experience in its totality. It is the *Vedanta* (meaning the *Upanishads* and *advaita* philosophy of *Brahmasutra*) which moulded all forms of Indian life and mediated between sect and sect, imparting to the rich variety of Indian religion its synthetic unity.

The *Satyarth Prakash* (Light of Truth), published by Dayananda in 1875, after significant meetings with Brahmo leaders of Bengal (Debendranath and Dwijendranath Tagore, Rajnarayan Basu and Keshabchandra Sen), bears an impress of dualist thought which had entered into Brahmo theology after Rammohun's death. Dayananda's refutation of *advaita* and *nirguna Brahman* distinguished him from Rammohun and Vivekananda as his refutation of *sakara* and *avatara* distinguished him from Bankim and Ramakrishna. He had many affinities with Debendranath. He, too, asserted that the empirical world was no illusion but had an independent, objective existence, that God created it and that *Brahman* and *Jiva* were distinct. But while Debendranath denied the revelationary character of the Vedas, Dayananda regarded this as the sheet anchor of Hinduism while Debendranath interpreted the *Dvā suparnā sayujā sakhāyā* text to posit Brahman and Jiva as distinct but inseparable, to Dayananda they were 'distinct and eternal', as matter (*prakriti*), of which God created the world (*jagat*), was distinct and eternal. Matter existed before the creation in an elementary form and God was the *nimitta karana* and matter was the *upadana karana* of this world. That is how worldly existence bore ungodly or evil elements and the problem of evil arose. Souls were eternal like God but not observers (*drasta*) like God, nor had they His power of creation, sustenance and destruction, nor, again, were they eternally free. They were enjoyers and sufferers (*bhokta*), free in their action (*karta*) but determined by God's law as soon as they committed any sin.[73] Dayananda's God was an active, creative God (consciousness meant action),

possessing illimitable knowledge and power, enveloping the world but not immanent, as the potter was not immanent in the pot. Souls were free to do good, when God would reward them, but were determined when they did evil, when God punished them. Dayananda's God was more the Old Testament God of Justice than the New Testament (or Debendranath's, Bankim's and Ramakrishna's) God of Love. Only those who acted under the inspiration of the Divine and as agents of the Divine could hope to escape the effects of virtue and vice. The Principal (i.e. God) would then enjoy the fruits of their action—a good escape clause for the intending militant patriot.

The way of emancipation was more ethical than spiritual. Worship might be *saguna* or *nirguna* as the devotee meditated on the positive or negative aspects of godhead. The preparation by *yama* and *niyama* (cf. *Yoga darshana*) was not novel, almost all sects preached it, nor were *pranayama* and *dhyana* which followed. *Manu Smriti* formed the basis of Dayananda's ethics for daily conduct. Religion had reference to the good life as well as to the soul; performance of righteous work (public good, justice, etc.) was as much its content as mastery of the senses. Dayananda had scant regard for irrational or inhuman customs of marriage, food, dress and caste. He was anti-caste but not anti-varna, for varna had the Vedic sanction and was based on the kind of life actually led. His attitude to women—their education, child-marriage, widow-remarriage, etc.—was in line with the social reformism of the century though he drew its justification from the Vedic texts, not the Christian or the rationalist code. He advocated vegetarian food-habits, as appropriate to the climate; he supported foreign travel for knowledge or trade. He insisted on *brahmacharya* for both men and women up to a certain age and intense training in Vedic schools. He was anti-clerical (irrespective of the Church) and anti-ritual (except those prescribed by the *Vedas*). In spite of his attacks on *advaita*, he anticipated Vivekananda in his insistence on a man-making religion, assertive, courageous, rugged, as puissant as the Aryans whose religion he was trying to revive.[74] Aurobindo credited him with more definite work for the nation.

Rammohun and Debendranath had been belligerent against Trinitarian Christianity once, but the former had borrowed gladly from Unitarianism and Islam and the latter from Transcendentalism and Sufism. Keshabchandra had a great reverence for Jesus Christ and his teachings. Ramakrishna sought the widest possible universality for his beliefs as all religions were roads that led to the One Absolute. The *advaitins* called Him *Brahman*, the *dvaitins*, Krishna or Kali, the Christians, God the Father, and the Moslems, Allah. The word for water might be different with different people but the same thing was meant, and God would respond equally if He was called Father in English, Sanskrit or Arabic. Dayananda was not so catholic. He could not forget the struggle between contending religions in India.[75] He would not admit in Ramakrishna's gentle spirit that all religions were true, though each claimed exclusive truth. Dayananda stood by what he thought to be the pure Vedic tradition and would have rejected Ramakrishna as a harmless eclectic.

In the process, however, Dayananda turned his face away from reality. How far did the scriptures of a people reflect its life in totality? What elements in it were utopian, and what actually realized? Could the whole thing be wrenched from its natural environment and transplanted three thousand years later in an altogether different setting? Where was that homogeniety in the Indian society of the nineteenth century to support the revival of the Aryan ideal of existence? New peoples and creeds, new techniques and tools, new horizons of thought and learning, new visions and aspirations of man had to be provided for at every step. In asking Syed Ahmed Khan to accept the authority of the *Vedas* Dayananda showed a *naïveté* of which Ramakrishna (who was more unworldly) would never be guilty. Was it not unhistorical of Dayananda to call the Upanishadic monism a fall from the Aryan ideal and at the same time derive details of the Aryan life from *Manu Smriti*, which was a much later production? The *Vedanta* was not only the last but the fullest efflorescence of the Vedic tradition. Its philosophy and its practical application in society could alone hope to succeed in sustaining the needs of a modern, progressive, hetero-

geneous India. Dayananda's attacks on Puranic Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity imply the Judaic idea of a "Chosen People", as if all outside the pale of Aryanism were worshippers of false gods.[76] Ramakrishna and Vivekananda saw men not as Aryans and non-Aryans but as potential life divine in different stages of evolution.

I have referred already to Dayananda's Hebraic attitude to God (a God of Law, not of Love). I may add that, in his insistence on the pure Word and rejection of all interpretations of the Word except his own, in his obsession with sin and punishment (which neither contrition nor faith could expiate), in his denunciation of the theory of universal progress and of reason and intuition as ways of apprehension of the Reality behind the appearance, in his blanket condemnation of all but the Aryan belief, Dayananda showed Judaic traits not seen before in the religious debate of the nineteenth century. Afraid of losing himself in the imperialists' religion of Christianity, the persecutors' religion of Islam, the rationalists' religion of scepticism and the universalists' religion of *aavaita*, Dayananda clung to his Aryan identity with all the fervour of his ardent soul. Intolerance was met with intolerance, bad history with mythology. Srikrishna and Arjuna were made to travel to Patala (U.S.A.!) in an aeroplane and were sent from Patala to Mithila via Haribarsha (Europe!).[77] Very interesting, though unconvincing, statistics were presented to protect the sacred cow. Hindu communalism later centred round his Gaurakshini Sabhas. Śankara's *advaita* was explained away as a debater's gambit, image-worship as a Jain deviation and a Hindu deception. Nanak and Kabir were brushed aside as dabbling in things beyond their intellectual reach. Even a list of Aryan kings was solemnly appended at the end of the eleventh chapter to clothe these prognostications with the dignity of history.

The Arya Samaj, however, betrays the organizational approach of the congregational religion of the West, derived directly through the patterns of the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj. The first Arya Samaj, established at Rajkot in 1875, had a short life. Others, founded in Western India, ran against Maharastrian orthodoxy. Strong traditions of

bhakti (Vaishnava and Sakta) and opposition from the Brahmo Samaj never gave Dayananda's movement a chance in lower Bengal. But the soil of Punjab proved congenial. The Brahmins had never dominated that region; the caste system was less rigid; Hinduism, infiltrated through and through with Sikhism and Islam, was less inflexible; English education was in its infancy. Between 1877 and 1881 Samajes were cropping up wherever Dayananda went. In them the virile Sikh and the Jath found a proud faith, free from alien influences, and a weapon to fight the enemy of the past—Islam—and the enemy of the present—Christianity. Ghosts of history came crowding in. The Mughal raids, the Afghan plunder, the British victories, often earned in dubious ways or imposed after unjust wars, still rankled. The Samaj was a psychological compensation to the defeated manhood of Punjab. The educated could rebel and yet remain Hindu. The aggressive could not only halt Hindu conversions but reconvert the renegade. The socially conscious could combine personal salvation with public welfare.[78]

Dayananda scrupulously eschewed politics. Foreign rule had been brought upon the Indians for their own failings (an echo of Bankim)—feuds, child marriage, carnal gratification, untruthfulness and neglect of the *Veda*. "It is only when brothers fight among themselves that an outsider poses as an arbiter." No open attack on the British rule would succeed till such evils were eradicated. The Samaj was prohibited from taking any active part in politics.

The split in the Arya Samaj movement over meat-eating and educational policy was really a split between the orthodox and the liberal followers of Dayananda. The first issue also involved the question of infallibility of the Swami—whether the Ten Articles of Faith devised at Lahore or the personal standards set by Dayananda should guide the Samaj. Equally crucial was the issue of Western education—whether it should be combined with the Vedic learning or altogether dropped as harmful. Lala Lajpat Rai has given a graphic account of the struggle between the College party and the Mahatma party.[79] J. Reid Graham concludes, however, from his study of the Arya Samajes that they were losing some of their early drive for social reform by the turn of the century

and moving closer to orthodox Hindu groups "to form a close politico-religious unity against Muslims and all non-Hindus."[80] The efforts of some Aryas to form an Aryan Brotherhood, distinct from the caste-ridden Hindu society, were frustrated, not without disturbing the Arya conscience about the inequity of the caste-system and the increasing conversion of low-caste Hindus to Islam and Christianity. Both the conservative and the liberal wings of the Samaj came to support reforms of the caste-system. *Suddhi* or ceremonial purification was utilized not only to give the low-caste Hindu a higher status but to bring back the apostate into the Hindu fold. In Dayananda's theory the Moslems and the Christians were really converts from Hinduism and, by purification, they were merely returning to their ancestral faith. It was a Hindu counter-crusade.

No wonder that the movement was gathering political undertones. In the view of Bipinchandra Pal who worked as a journalist at Lahore for some time in the 1880's, "The movement, at least in those days, seemed to me, in fact, far more political than religious or spiritual." Pal was a Brahmo and the militancy of the Aryas seemed to him to be in clear contrast to the piety of other monotheistic societies.[81] Was it only because it aimed at "the formation of a new national character on the fundamental basis of Vedic thought and Vedic life"?[82] Or was it because politically minded men like Lajpat Rai became leaders of the Samaj and used political-nationalist arguments to explain the Samaj's work in education, social reform and *Suddhi*? Chirol pointedly laid his accusing finger on the Arya Samaj as breeding some of the most seditious agitators of 1907.[83] In their access to the simple peasant folk (won over by measures of reform) lay their special danger. In their defiance of centuries of spiritual tradition was implicit their defiance of the authority of the day. The orthodox Samajists repudiated such involvement in politics in 1907. Others claimed that Lajpat or Hans Raj were advocates of constitutional agitation only and sedition had no place in their minds. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the Lieut.-Governor of Punjab, would not accept such an excuse and the Mohammedans waited for his cue to condemn the activities of a society which they disliked on non-political grounds.[84]

Aurobindo was greatly impressed by Dayananda's character and work. "Here was one who did not infuse himself informally into the indeterminate soul of things, but stamped his figure indelibly as in bronze on men and things. .. As I regard the figure of this formidable artisan in God's workshop, images crowd on me which are all of battle and work and conquest and triumphant labour." Aurobindo, the classicist, found his Homeric hero in "this warrior in God's world", who brought back "an old Aryan element into the national character." He was not feigning militancy and intransigency, while remaining fluid and opportunist. He would not allow the Indians "to grow vaguely". He was a granite vein in "India's Rock of Ages"—the *Vedas*. He caught the past "in the first jet of its virgin vigour, pure from its sources, near to its root principle and therefore to something eternal and always renewable." His legacy to the present was the master word of the *Vedas*—"truth in the soul, truth in vision, truth in the intention, truth in the act." In the clash of cultures, ideals and interests Aurobindo sought pure energy, high clearness, the penetrating eye, the masterful hand and dominant sincerity—and found all in Dayananda. Whether all these were there in Dayananda or not did not matter. Aurobindo's image of Dayananda reflects the highest ideal of many of the Extremists and as such has historical significance.[85]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. B. T. McCully, *English Education and the Origin of Indian Nationalism* (N. Y., 1940). L. I. Rudolph and S. H. Rudolph, 'Barristers and Brahmans in India: Legal Cultures and Social Change', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. VIII, no. 1, Oct. 1965.
2. Bipin Ch. Pal, *The Soul of India* (Cal., 1911), pp. 276-316.
3. Charles Himesath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Oxford, 1964).
4. "Of the new spirit which is leading the nation to resurgence and independence, he is the inspirer and political guru." Aurobindo, 'Rishi Bankimchandra', *Bande Mataram*, 16 April 1907.
5. Bankimchandra, 'Hindudharma', *Prachar*, I, pp. 15-23.
6. F. M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought. From Enlightenment to*

Nationalism (Clarendon, 1965). Also Sir Isaiah Berlin's article on Herder, *Encounter*, August/September 1965.

7. Bankimchandra, 'Bangalar Itihas Sambandhe Kayekti Katha', 'Bangalir Utpatti', 'Bangala Bhasha', etc., *Bibidha Prabandha*, vol. 2 (1892).

7*a*. Same, 'Bangalir Bahubal', ibid., vol. I (1887). Bankim saw no reason for pessimism if the Bengali (*pari passu*, the Indians) acquired enterprise, unity, moral courage and perseverance.

8. Supernaturalism appears in Bankim's very first work, *Lalita*, and its frequent reappearance amounts almost to an obsession. Most of his plots are taken from medieval history, where imagination would get the freest play.

9. Sachischandra Chattopadhyay, *Bankim Jibani* (1318 B.S.), pp. 9-12.

10. Bankimchandra, 'Bangadesher Krishak', *Bibidha Prabandha*, vol. 2; *Samya* (1879). Bankim's championship of the cause of indigo ryots at Khulna cost him dearly in official career. "At Ḳhulna", wrote Aurobindo in *Indu Prakash*, "this mild thoughtful Bengali wears the strange appearance of a Hercules weeding out monsters, cleaning augean stables, putting a term to pests."

11. John Plamenatz, *The English Utilitarians*, p. 100.

12. Bankimchandra, *Dharmatattva*, chapter XXII. *Dharmatattva*—part I—*Anusilan* was first published in *Nabajiban* (ed. Akshoychandra Sarkar) in 1291-92 B.S.

13. *Yathā mama sukham istaṁ tathā sarvapraninām sukham aṅukulam*, etc., Śankara's commentary on *Gita*, VI, 32. Also *Gita*, V, 25. See Bankimchandra, *Dharmatattva*, chapter XXI.

14. Bankimchandra, *Samya*. Srischandra Majumdar asserts that Bankim gave up these opinions in later life and refused to reprint *Samya*. *Bankim Prasanga*, p. 198.

15. Bankimchandra, 'Bangadesher Krishak', *Bibidha Prabandha*, vol. 2; *Samya*. In much of the discussion Bankim followed John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy*

16. Bankimchandra, 'Lokasiksha', *Bibidha Prabandha*, vol. 2.

17. Herbert Spencer, *Data of Ethics*, chapter XI.

18. T. H. Huxley and J. Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics, 1893-1943*, p. 81.

19. D. G. Ritchie, *Darwinism and Politics* (1889), p. 13.

20. Bankimchandra, 'Bharat Kalanka', *Bibidha Prabandha*, vol. 1; *Dharmatattva*, chapter XXIV; 'Kamalakanter Jobanbandi'.

20*a*. Same, 'Trideb Sambandhe Vijnan Shastra Ki Bale', *Bibidha Prabandha*, vol. 2, published as 'Mill, Darwin Ebam Hindu dharma', *Bangadarshan*, Vaisakh 1282 B.S. Bankim also discussed *Mill on Nature*.

21. John Stuart Mill, *Three Essays* (1874), p. 109.

22. Ibid., p. 255.

23. Bankimchandra to Binoykrishna Deb Bahadur, 27 July 1892.

24. Bankimchandra, *Dharmatattva*, krorapatra 'kha'.

25. Bankim may have got this idea from Prof. Seeley. Ibid. Affiliation with Mill has been shown above. Bankim acknowledged it in the foreword (Vijnapan) of *Bibidha Prabandha*, vol. 2. In an essay 'Manusyattva Ki', reviewing John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*, he started on the idea of *anusilan*, later developed in *Dharmatattva*. Note the close correspondence to Yung's idea of a period of "achievement" in man's life and a period of "culture". Ego dominates the former while social good inspires and informs the latter.

26. Bankimchandra, *Dharmatattva*, chapter IV; 'Hindudharma Sambandhe Ekti Sthula Katha', *Prachar*, 2, pp. 74-80.
27. The *Gita* considers the worship of the *Avyakta* or the unmanifest more difficult (XII, 2-5) and neither Buddha nor Śankara repudiates the popular belief in gods. Srikrishna confirms the faith of each (*Ye yathā mām prapadyante*, etc., or *Yo-yo yām-yām tanuṁ bhaktaḥ*, etc.). At the same time the *Gita* warns against our obsession with limited conceptions. Temporary would be the fruit for those who remained at the lower level of the manifest (*Gita*, VII, 23-25). Rammohun, like Śankara, was prepared to acquiesce in image-worship by a novice. On image worship, see Bankimchandra's controversy with Father Hastie, Principal, General Assemblies Inst., in the *Statesman*, Nov. 1882.
28. Bankimchandra, *Dharmatattva*, chapter IV; int. to *Krishnacharitra*, also part I, chapter XIII.
29. *Gita*, III, 22-25.
30. Bankimchandra, *Krishnacharitra*, part IV, chapter V. Bankim emphasized the humanity of Srikrishna because none other than a man could be a model for man. He quotes with approval Dr. Brookly of Boston who emphasized the humanity of Christ. This humanity was especially emphasized by Srikrishna's unity with nature and the animal world in Brajalila and his solicitude for Draupadi and Arjuna, whose charioteer he became in the great war. Swami Ranganathananda calls him "the perennial pied piper of the Indian heart" and "a synthesis of the classical and the romantic."
31. For a similar vision see Nabinchandra Sen's trilogy on Srikrishna—*Raibatak*, *Kurukshetra* and *Prabhas*. Between *Anandamath*, published in *Bangadarshan* (1287-89 B.S.), and *Krishnacharitra* (1886) Bankim's Bengali patriotism had undergone a marked change. It should be noted that the National Conference came in the year 1883 and the Indian National Congress in 1885. Bipin Ch. Pal accepted the interpretation entirely. See *The Soul of India*, op. cit., pp. 123-24.
32. *Gita*, II, 48-51, 64, 67.
33. *Gita*, VI, 10-47, also V, 2-10. This *bhakti* is not antithetical to *jnana* or *yoga*. Only the *yogi* can be so harmonized (see *Gita*, VI); only the *jnani* can surrender himself so utterly to God (see *Gita*, VII, 18 and 19). Together they mean the total transformation of human nature, which is a long process (*anekajanmasamsiddhaḥ* or *bahunāṁ janmanām antē*). Bankim never believed in any magical salvation—spiritual or material.
34. For Bipin Ch. Pal's reaction, see *Memories of My Life and Times*, vol. 2 (1951), pp. l-liii.
35. Aurobindo, 'Bankimchandra Chatterji', seventh and last article, *Indu Prakash*, 27 August 1894. Ref. is to 'Kamala Kanter Patra, dvitiya samkhya—Politics', *Kamala Kanter Daftar*.
36. Ibid. Ref. is to 'Babu', 'Ingrez Stotra', 'Bangla Sahityer Adar', *Lokrahasya*.
37. Ibid. Also *Bande Mataram*, 16 April 1907.
38. *The Sedition Committee Report*, 1918, p. 67 puts the year of publication as 1905 but Barindrakumar Ghosh states that it was written at the end of 1905 and published by him in February-March 1906. Also see C. E. Denham's Report (File no. IV, 959), I. B. Records, W. B. Govt. Aurobindo, however, says

that it was more Barin's idea than his and he did not bother about what came of it. *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and on the Mother*, pp. 85-86.

39. "আমি স্বদেশকে মা বলিয়া জানি, ভক্তি করি, পূজা করি। মার বুকের উপর বসিয়া যদি একটা রাক্ষস রক্তপানে উদ্যত হয়, তাহা হইলে ছেলে কি করে? নিশ্চিন্তভাবে আহার করিতে বসে ··· না, মাকে উদ্ধার করিতে দৌড়াইয়া যায়?" See fn. 52.

For the impact on Bipin Ch. Pal see his *The Spirit of Indian Nationalism*, p. 36.

40. Bankim follows Herbert Spencer in laying down an ascending order of love —*atmapriti* (love of self), *svajana priti* (love for kinsmen), *svadeshapriti* (love for motherland) and *jagatikipriti* (love for the whole creation). The lower is not to be sacrificed for the higher. *Dharmatattva*, chapters XXII-XXIV. The reason for India's decline he finds in lack of proper synthesis between love for motherland and love for the world.

The above interpretation of *Anandamath* is corroborated by (1) Bankim's advertisement in the first edition, (2) the interpretation of an experienced critic in the weekly *Liberal*, 8 April 1882 which Bankim quotes with approval in the second edition, (3) the article of R. C. Dutt on Bankimchandra in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition, vol. VI, p. 910) and (4) B. C. Pal's interpretation in Bankim Sahitya, *Nabajuger Bangla*, p. 179. The contemporaries understood what he strove to say but the future generations read in it a different meaning. For contrary opinion, see B. B. Majumdar, *Militant Nationalism in India* (Calcutta, 1966), App., where he draws our attention to the original text as published in *Bangadarshan* (April 1881-May 1882) and the variations introduced in the first and subsequent editions *to escape proscription and avoid official censure*. His arguments are interesting but not conclusive. Whether Jivananda's opponents were English (*Bangadarshan*, 1881, pp. 252-55) or Yavana (*Anandamath*, 2nd edn., pp. 93-94) does not invalidate Bankim's philosophy of life, as the deliberate change of venue of the Sannyasi rebellion or reduction of the number of British soldiers defeated by the Santanas does not take away from his patriotism.

41. T. W. Clark, 'The Role of Bankim Chandra in the Development of Nationalism', C. W. Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, pp. 439-40.
42. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, vol. II, int., p. xxxix.
43. Aurobindo, 'One more for the Altar', *Bande Mataram*, 25 July 1907.
44. Same, 'Swadeshism', *Bande Mataram*, 11 September 1907.
45. Danilevsky, *Russia and Europe*, etc. (1871); Feodor Dostoyevsky, *The Journal of an Author* (1880); Nikolai Gogol, *Dead Souls* (1842). See also A. Thun, *The History of the Revolutionary Movements in Russia*, pp. 1-32.
46. Aurobindo, *The Renaissance in India* (first published in August-November issues of the *Arya*, 1918), pp. 34-45. For similar views on the stages of Indian Renaissance, see Bipin Ch. Pal, *The Soul of India*, op. cit., pp 72-78.
47. Vivekananda to Ramakrishnananda, 1895, *Swami Vivekanander Bani O Rachana* (Udbodhan), vol. 7, p. 122.

47*a*. Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, vol. IV, p. 405.

47*b*. It is clear from his speeches at Salem (delivered before the address at the

Chicago Parliament) that he came to the States with the purpose of getting help for India's industrial regeneration. What a difference of feelings in the post-Parliament lectures! As Marie Louise Burke has put it, "He came with the purpose of telling the American people of his country's real needs and real genius, but he stayed only to give, pouring himself out for the sake of Americans, for he could not see hunger in any form, spiritual or physical, without filling it." *Swami Vivekananda in America: New Discoveries* (1958), pp. 36-7.

48. All quotations are from *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* (Advaita Ashrama), vols. III, IV, V, VI. Especially see Vivekananda, *Lectures from Colombo to Almora*, which was found, along with the lives of Mazzini and and Garibaldi and the *Gita*, in every gymnasium of the Revolutionary Party. Subhaschandra Bose, *An Indian Pilgrim*, p. 51; *The Sedition Committee Report*, op. cit., p. 17.
49. Compare Bipin Ch. Pal: "It is *mayā* and *maya*. And in the recognition of the *mayic* character of British power in India that lies the strength of the New Movement." *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 142.

    Compare Aurobindo: "We in India fell under the influence of the foreigners' *maya* which completely possessed our soul.... It is only through repression and suffering that *maya* can be dispelled and the bitter fruit of Partition of Bengal administered by Lord Curzon dispelled the illusion." Baruipur Speech, 12 April 1908. Also Nivedita, *Religion and Dharma*, p. 140.
50. On Vivekananda's burning love for India, see Nivedita, *The Master As I Saw Him*, pp. 49-50.
51. Bipin Ch. Pal, 'The New Patriotism', *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, pp. 19-20.
52. Aurobindo to Mrinalini Devi, 30 August 1905.
53. Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, vol. III, pp. 213-27, vol. II, pp. 384-85.
54. Same, 'Bhabbar Katha', *Swamijir Bani O Rachana*, vol. VI, pp. 45-46; *Complete Works*, vol. IV, p. 197.
55. For Vivekananda's views on education, see *Complete Works*, vol. III, pp. 301-303 ('The Future of India'); vol. V, p. 364 et seq ('Conversations and Dialogues'), p. 231 ('Interviews').

55*a*. This does not mean Vivekananda had any soft corner for the British rule in India. He was fully aware of its inhumanity and exploitative character and sometimes felt deeply depressed. See Vivekananda to Miss Mary Hale, 30 Oct. 1899, *Complete Works*, vol. VIII, pp. 475-78. Nivedita had suffered from this anti-imperialist spell of the Master the year before. See *Notes on Some Wanderings with Swami Vivekananda*.

56. Vivekananda, *The East and the West* (6th impression, 1963), p. 21 et seq.; *Complete Works*, vol. III, pp. 158-59, 188-98, 221-23, 287-88; vol. V, pp. 12, 62, 68, 122, 128, 140-45. See especially, 'My Plan of Campaign'. Some like his youngest brother, Bhupendranath Datta, would make Vivekananda an exponent of Socialism and the supremacy of the Sudras. This is not what he intended actually. While enunciating a cyclical theory of evolution, in which the four castes were to exercise the ruling power in succession, he wanted a synthesis of the ideal qualities of them all—"the knowledge of the priest, the culture of the military, the distributive spirit of the commercial and the ideal of equality of the last (i.e. Sudra) can all be kept intact, minus their evils." What he saw in socialism, anarchism and nihilism

was different—the Sudras, with their inborn nature and habits, not becoming in essence Vaisya or Kshatriya, but, remaining as Sudras, gain absolute supremacy. There is here no uplift to a higher spiritual or cultural level and hence no true evolution. *Complete Works*, vol. IV, pp. 449-69; vol. VI, p. 382. Cf. Rabindranath, *Rather Rasi*.

57. Vivekananda, 'The Mission of the Vedanta'.
58. "If you ever saw, my friend, that shocking sight behind the scene of acting of these politicians—that revelry of bribery, that robbery in broad daylight, that dance of the Devil in man, which are practised on such occasions (viz. elections),—you would be hopeless about man." Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, vol. V, pp. 461 62.
59. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 385-86.
60. For this *weltanschauung*, see *'Colombo speech'*, *Complete Works*, vol. III, p. 103 et seq.
61. Bipin Ch. Pal, 'The New Movement', lecture at Madras, 1907, *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 146.
62. Aurobindo, *Bande Mataram* (Weekly) 3 May 1908.
63. Same, ibid., 2 August 1907, 8 July 1907. See contradiction in Aurobindo's Baruipur speech: "The first thing that a nation must do is to realise the true freedom that lies within and it is only when you understand that free within is free without, you will be really free." (12 April 1908).
64. Same, ibid., 9 June 1907. The same sentiments were echoed by Sister Nivedita, while supporting Resolution XXII of the Benares Congress (1905), *Report of the Indian National Congress* (1905), pp. 95-96.
65. *Beliefs of Swami Dayananda Saraswati* (Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, U.P., 1912), pp. 1-3.
66. Rammohun upheld the revelationary character of the *Vedas* (including the *Vedanta*) but Debendranath denied it. Bankim believed in evolution of religious thought from a lower to a higher plane. Vivekananda considered the *Vedanta* to be the highest stage of Vedic thought. For Bipin Ch. Pal's view of religious evolution, see *An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism* (Cal., 1908), pp. 51-52. Puranic Hinduism he considers to be a distinct advance on the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* and regards Bhakti movements to be the highest universal stage.
67. H. B. Sarda, *Life of Dayananda Saraswati*, p. 407.
68. Aurobindo, 'Dayananda and the Veda', *Vedic Magazine*, 1916.
69. Ibid.
70. Bankimchandra, 'Debatattva O Hindudharma', *Prachar*, 1 and 2. First published in book form in *Sahitya Parishad* edn.
71. "আমি কোনো ধর্ম্মকে ঈশ্বর প্রণীত বা ঈশ্বর প্রেরিত মনে করিনা।" *Prachar*, 1, pp. 200-4.
72. In fact the scientific approach of Bankim could never have accepted any *a priori* conclusions, however flattering. For Bipin Ch. Pal's view of the evolution of Vedic thought, see *An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism*, op. cit., pp. 49-50. He definitely disagrees with Aurobindo and Dayananda.
73. *Satyarth Prakash*, (edn. of Banga-Assam Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 1947), saptama, astama and navama samullasas, pp. 186-277.

74. Ibid., for education of the young, esp. *Brahmacharya*, see tritiya samullasa; for marriage, chaturtha; for food, dashama.
75. Ibid., ekadasa samullasa; Dayananda to Madame Blavatsky, 23 November 1880, quoted in H. Sarda, op. cit., p. 544.
76. Ibid., ekadasa samullasa to chaturdasa samullasa.
77. Ibid., dasama samullasa, p. 284. Dayananda does not explain what Vyasa and Sukdeva were doing in U.S.A.
78. For ten principles laid down at the foundation of the Lahore Samaj (1877), see Sarda, op. cit., p. 180. J. Reid Graham's 'The Arya Samaj as a Reformation in Hinduism, etc.' should be specially consulted. For impressions of an Arya Samaj service, partly Aryan (homa) and partly resembling a Protestant service, see Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 123 and Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century*, 1857-1947, pp. 33-34.
79. V. C. Joshi (ed.), *Lala Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, pp. 62-72.
80. Cited in Charles H. Himesath, *Indian Nationalism and Social Reform*, op. cit. p. 299.
81. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, vol. 2, p. 71.
82. Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj*, p. 254; 'The Mission of the Arya Samaj', presidential address at the third Arya Kumar Sammelan, 1912, The *Tribune*, 24 October 1912.
83. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, pp. 111-17. Contra, Lajpat Rai, "Its influence is beneficially restraining. From the very nature of its religious teaching it can never lend its support to lawlessness or anarchy. It believes in and advocates discipline of mind and body, discipline in private life and discipline in public life, discipline in solitude and discipline in worldly life, in short, an all round life of discipline and self-control. As such it restrains all violent eruptions and outbursts." 'The Mission of the Arya Samaj', op. cit.
84. Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, vol. VI, encl., 13 June 1907 and ibid., 12 June 1907.
85. Aurobindo, 'Dayananda the Man and His Work', *Vedic Magazine*, 1915.

CHAPTER TWO

EXTREMISM IN INDIAN POLITICS: POLITICAL BACKGROUND

EXTREMISM was indebted to Bankimchandra, Vivekananda and Dayananda for its ideology in a qualified way but not for its political heredity. It was primarily a protest against the moderate politics of the day which had accepted the British mission in India at face value and hoped to get the best out of it through petition and agitation. The Moderates worked not to supplant the British Government in India but to supplement it. Trained in strict constitutionalism by British history at college and by British jurisprudence at the bar, firm in loyalty to the Raj of which they were as a class economic beneficiaries, unswerving in their faith in the sense of freedom and justice of the British people which proclamations and promises of half a century had instilled into them, the Moderates were far too practical to cry for the moon of self-government. Reformists in religious and social matters, they were reformists in politics as well. Most of their proposals, Lansdowne admitted in 1891, were "reasonable and moderate in tone" and had "reference to questions which have at one time or another been treated by the Government of India as subjects open to discussion."[1] Elgin knew that revolutionaries were not made of such staff as Pheroze Shah Mehta.[2] Even the very suspicious Lord George Hamilton conceded that, "Just now India is exploited for the benefit of the Civil Service", that the Congress Movement was "an uprising of Indian native opinion against, not British rule, but Anglo-Indian bureaucracy."[3]

In their struggle with this bureaucracy the Moderates hoped to find "the great English people" on their side. They valued English political institutions as the noblest monuments to human genius and claimed, as British subjects, a share of that "inheritance of freedom". Dadabhai Naoroji exhorted them again and again to take their stand on British charters and all that Burke or Bright, Macaulay or Munro had ever said on the British mission in India. "Nothing is more clear",

he assured, "to the heart of England—and I speak from actual knowledge—than India's welfare; and if we only speak out loud enough, and persistently enough, to reach that busy heart, we shall not speak in vain."

The Congress could not be accused of keeping silent during the first fifteen years of its existence. Its critics would accuse it rather of speaking too often and too much for too little. A victim of the authoritarian liberalism of the Indian bureaucracy, it proved to be the dupe of the democratic liberalism of the British parliament. When the Moderates appealed from the "mediocre" civilian without "interest in India as India and in the Indian people as our fellow subjects"[4] to the busy heart of the British nation, the appeal fell on deaf ears. The British radicals and pro-Indian members of Parliament criticized the apathy, the angularity and the rigidity of officialdom again and again but had little direct effect on public opinion. The members of the Commons, writes the biographer of W. S. Caine, habitually deserted the green benches "when Indian questions are under discussion, unless it is a matter of a frontier war. If a house of forty or fifty assembles, the faithful few who champion the cause of the Indian peasant are elated with success."[5] So it had been for years, with rare exceptions. The reformers themselves regarded it as one of their principal aims to convert—or at least to impress—the Indian Civil Service, against which India had been appealing. Caine considered it to be the ablest in the world. Samuel Smith was carried away by Curzon's efficiency and commented, "A benevolent despotism suits Asiatics best...what India wants is a modern Akbar."[6] The failure of the reformist party to obtain reforms was the most potent argument against its *raison d'etre.* The second generation of Congressmen questioned its moral right to lead and, in that process, the very assumptions on which it had so long led the movement. It was like Turgeniev's *Fathers and Sons*, the sons challenging the old, out-moded philosophy of life, so dearly held by their fathers, as nothing better than ridiculous illusion.

Judged by the standard of success, the Moderates had put up a poor show, indeed. The India Council was not abolished. Lord Cross's Act was a half-hearted measure which did not go even as far as the India Government desired.

Lord Ripon had suggested the introduction of an elective element as early as 1881.[7] The Congress had prayed for expansion of the Legislative Councils and election of at least half of their members. In November 1888 Dufferin had submitted his recommendations for the introduction of the elective principle, increase in the non-official element, grant of the right of interpellation and partial control of finance.[8] Lansdowne considered indirect election insufficient: "...by insisting upon nomination and selection, as distinguished from election pure and simple, we should alienate a great deal of support and disappoint those who, particularly since the publication of Lord Dufferin's minute, are looking for the admission of the elective principle."[9] Cross, as Secretary of State, and Salisbury, as Prime Minister, disliked such a radical experiment,[10] and the Indian Councils Act of 20 June 1892 provided for selection, not election, of some members. The non-official nominated members were amenable to official control as before. The Government set, in Gokhale's phrase, "minorities above the general public".

The simultaneous Civil Service examinations, pressed for by the Congress and even granted in a resolution of the Gladstonian House of Commons (2 June 1893), were disallowed by Kimberley as it might imperil the predominance of the European element.[11] Only a score of Indians in the I.C.S. were too many 'competition-wallahs' for Curzon who was vexed to see the covenanted posts "being filched away by the superior wits of the Native."[12] Yet in the very same breath Curzon was complaining of the inertia of the European Civilians, "a sort of caste apart, separated from all other elements in the community...and profoundly impressed with its own wisdom and importance", shelving questions and allowing administration to get into a rut.[13] The Conservative Party, in spite of inner doubts, was emphatic that representative institutions or the diminution of the existing European establishment would endanger the Raj. The Irish Home Rulers had been such a 'nuisance' in the Commons that any proposal for extension of the elective system to India was vigorously opposed.[14] A decade of Moderate agitation (the Extremists would call it 'mendicancy') failed to find a single chink in the armour of the Conservative inhibition and we

find Lord George Hamilton repeating the same old cliches of Sir Charles Wood after forty years.[15] The Whigs were being ridiculed for their romantic hopes about India. A free press, civil courts, literary education and competitive examination, which had once been paraded as the blessings of British rule, were now regarded as evil portents of disintegration.[16] An element of brutality had entered into race relations, which went on increasing in spite of disapproval from the highest quarters.[16a]

The Moderates had fared no better on minor counts. Their protest against the increase in military expenditure (1885, 1891) had been turned down by Kimberley. The policy of defraying the expenses of the Indian contingent in Suakim out of Indian revenues had been opposed by Elgin in vain. The cost of the Consulates in Persia, subsidies to Muscat, the upkeep of Boer prisoners and remittances on the exchange equalization account had more than cancelled the meagre relief offered by the Welby Commission.[17] When the India Office proposed to pass on the charges of a reserve force to be trained and kept in India for use in South Africa or elsewhere as need arose, Curzon stood up: "But if India is thus to be drawn upon for troops to fight the battle of the Empire in future, then the case becomes stronger, and not weaker, for the plea (of the Congress, 1892) that England should accept a portion of the charge."[18] Such arbitrary and unfair treatment "does quite as much to shake the moral bases of our dominion in India, as does any unrighteous or tyrannical conduct of our officials upon the spot."[19] While Elgin's countervailing excise duties still rankled, Joseph Chamberlain's fiscal policy completely ignored India. Lord George Hamilton resigned the office of the Secretary of State in protest.[20] "This sort of indifference", warned Curzon, "sinks down, and it gnaws at the roots of loyalty and contentment which we are all doing our best to inculcate."[21]

The Tariff and Cotton Duties Acts of 1894 and 1896 were an important ingredient in the growth of Extremism. On the plea of financial need the Government of India subjected cotton fabrics and yarns to an import duty of 5% in 1894 and, at the same time, imposed a countervailing excise duty of 5% on yarns of the counts 20's or above produced in Indian

textile mills. The latter was not for the sake of revenue but "to remove an element of protection", and Westland, the Finance Member, did not like the look of it.[22] The *Mahratta* of Tilak joined the *Bengalee* of Surendranath in vociferously denouncing it.[23] At the instance of the Manchester manufacturers, the Government enacted two more laws in February 1896, which abolished import duties and excise duties on cotton yarns, reduced the import duty on woven goods from 5% to 3½% and simultaneously imposed a corresponding excise duty of 3½% on Indian mill-made goods. "Never before", thundered Tilak in the *Mahratta*, "since the Government of this country was transferred from the East India Company to the Queen Empress was perpetrated an act of injustice as flagrant as the readjustment of the cotton duties in favour of Lancashire."[24] R. C. Dutt, the leading economist among the Moderates, characterized it as "an instance of fiscal injustice... unexampled in modern times." The Indian National Congress passed strong resolutions condemning the excise duty in 1902 as well as in 1904.[25] "There is no doubt", said Gokhale, "that this duty is really paid by the consumers, which means by the bulk of our poorer classes."[26] The *Mahratta* was not content with blaming Lancashire alone. The basic economic policy of Britain in India had been revealed: "...the manufacturer of England wants that India should remain agricultural, or that we should always remain producers and England should continue to be the manufacturer." "Surely", wrote Tilak in the *Kesari*, "India is treated as a vast pasture reserved solely for the Europeans to feed upon."[27] The *Indu Prakash*, with which Aurobindo was associated, asked the Government to abdicate in favour of the Secretary of State and do away with the sham of Legislative Councils. The political conclusion drawn by Tilak from the controversy on tariffs is very significant: "Sceptical English opponents of Young India have always been crying themselves hoarse that India can never be a nation. Let this terrible crisis make us one.... All private differences must be sunk for the national cause and natives and Anglo-Indians must alike unite to face the common enemy."[28] It was around this issue that the idea of boycott was first put into practice. The *Mahratta* exhorted people to abjure the use of Lancashire cloth. "If

the insatiable greed of Lancashire is to rule India let the heroic determination of India ruin Lancashire." Associations were formed in various places in Bombay to organize the boycott. Mass meetings were held to secure pledges of Swadeshi. Public burning of British clothing was resorted to.[29] Tilak played a very prominent role in this movement.[30] A formal proposal for endorsement of the campaign for Swadeshi was submitted before the Congress in 1902 and, though it was rejected by the Subjects Committee, it continued to reverbrate in the mind of the Indian people.[31] The time was not yet ripe for using it as a political weapon. But, as Naoroji predicted in the 1880's, if the mass of people began to despair of any amelioration and "if educated youths, without the wisdom and experience of the world, become their leaders", it would be a very short step to turn the course of indignation from English wares to English rule.

Curzon admitted that the countervailing excise duty had been imposed "in order to placate the Lancashire members".[32] He was himself helpless against political pressure in the matter of countervailing import duties on bounty-fed sugar from Germany and Austria in 1899. In a despatch of 5 May 1898 the Government of India had asserted that imported continental sugar had not materially affected the grower of sugarcane and refused to levy countervailing duties on it. The Secretary of State, however, forwarded memorials from the Mauritius planters asking for protection in India against bounty-fed continental sugar.[33] Curzon's first reaction to Chamberlain's importunities on behalf of the Mauritius planters was hostile. Was he expected to pull the Colonial Secretary's chestnuts out of fire? He claimed later to have arrived at the decision to impose countervailing import duties independently of the pressure of the Colonial Office.[34] That was not entirely true. The minutes of the conference of Salisbury, Chamberlain and Brodrick were sent to the Finance Department of the Government of India and must have influenced Curzon's decision.[35] Many in India, like Ranade and Ananda Charlu, defended the measure in good faith and even Tilak was befooled. One Bengali, Prithvischandra Roy, attacked the policy, however, for what it really was: not in the interests of the Indian sugar industry or the Indian

consumer but British planters in distress.[36] When the Blue Book on the subject was published, the letters of the Secretary of State revealed the hand behind the measure. The game was known and when Curzon proposed additional countervailing duties in 1902, he was met with a cold rebuff. Ranade might still believe that the policy of protection, once adopted by the Government of India in 1899, was the thin end of the wedge into *laissez faire*, but the *Mahratta* slyly demanded protection against all foreign sugar, including that from the British Colonies.[37]

Curzon's *bona fides* were always in doubt. If he were really solicitious of Indian interests, he could not have blithely offered loans to Persia out of Indian revenues, held the costly Delhi durbar (nearly £180,000) and refused to accept Lord George Hamilton's suggestion for reducing the salt tax.[38] He would not disturb the land revenue system, the oppressive character of which had been under discussion for half a century and recently revealed in R. C. Dutt's *Open Letter* and to which the Secretary of State had himself alluded in a sympathetic vein. While Dadabhai Naoroji had been piling data upon data to prove Indian poverty under "the un-British rule", Curzon made the most vigorous effort to show an improvement of per capita income and to refute the charge of 'drain'. All pretensions to economy and benevolence were rendered ridiculous by the unnecessary Bengal partition (which doubled the expenditure of administering Bengal by one stroke) and the aggressive Tibetan venture.

His politics more than his economics, however, alienated India. He was the Old Testament Prophet, the Divine Right King and the Enlightened Despot rolled into one. The proud pro-consul who treated his officials "as if they were serfs" and had to be advised (without result) to use his "rare powers of expression in making things pleasant and smooth" to those whom he overruled or dominated,[39] who lost no opportunity in combating the India Office or complaining to the Prime Minister of a real or supposed injury,[40] could not be expected to understand his subjects, far less to sympathize with them. He considered himself to be the symbol of England's imperial mission "to rule the lesser breeds without the law." He had come to relight the fire that Kipling found sinking

"on dune and headland", to see that the pomp of yesterday did not vanish the way of Nineveh and Tyre. The staggering vanity of his claims as a reformer had to be seen to be believed.[41] He took too much on his shoulders with very little faith in the local governments and the Indian Civil Service, and the consequence was over-work that bred petulance. In his lonely eminence ("no friends, no colleagues in the English sense of the term"[42]) every dissent seemed to be a challenge to his supreme authority, every criticism ignorant, if not *mala fide*.[43] The ceaseless work, the exaggerated poses and the dramatic gestures, all signified not only an overweening ambition that bordered on megalomania but a childish desire to show the other boys at home how to run a government properly. Emotional identity with "a strange people, these natives"[44] was out of the question.

Yet imagination, discernment, tact—the very qualities he lacked—were more than necessary in a Viceroy at the beginning of the twentieth century. Curzon would have done extremely well as an enlightened despot but, then, the times were sadly out of joint for a Frederick the Great. "If I were asked to sum it (the work in India) up in a single word, I would say 'efficiency'. That has been our gospel, the key note of our administration." Efficiency, however, was no alternative to statesmanship and, if heartless, might exacerbate rather than assuage feelings. Aware of a new dimension in the Indian political situation,[45] he knew not how to tackle it. He started on the wrong foot—a low opinion of the character, honesty and capacity of the Indian intelligentsia. "It is often said why not make some prominent native a member of the Executive Council? The answer is that in the whole continent there is not an Indian fit for the post. You can see therefore how difficult it is to keep the natives loyal and contented, at the same time that one absolutely refuses to hand over to them the keys of the citadel."[46] His high sense of duty would not permit him to associate the administration with people whom he considered to be inferior or inefficient and never "absolutely straight".[47] Hamilton flirted for some time with a vague idea of weakening the younger (the Extreme) elements of the Congress by allying with the older (the Moderate). Curzon never vacillated from his hostility to the Congress.

His intelligence reported to him of the sad state of decline in which the Congress had fallen. "My own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise."[48] In trying to do two incompatible things—to retain the respect of the reforming party and to keep in with the extreme men—the Congress was committing the blunder of Parnell, which failed utterly. "I do not think that the enterprise is likely to be more successful in India."[49]

Curzon queered the pitch for the Moderates as no one else could. He cut down the representation of the natives in the Calcutta Corporation not only to reduce it "to more manageable and less garrulous proportions"[50] but to give the British residents an influence "which will not place them completely at the mercy of a Baboo majority."[51] The elected members were numerically equal with the nominated, and the official Chairman ensured a standing majority for the official block. Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee criticized the fundamental principle of three co-ordinate authorities—the Corporation for the purpose of deliberation, the Chairman for the purpose of execution and, interposed between the two, a General Committee. The arbitrary system of assessment was, in his view, inconsistent with political economy. Was Curzon out to put the clock of self-government back?

Curzon introduced the issue of educational reform with a diatribe on the Indian educational system in the pre-British days—"narrow in its range, exclusive and spasmodic in its application, religious rather than secular, theoretical rather than utilitarian, in character." He meant well and, in spite of his irony and extravagant rhetoric, made useful points against "the too slavish imitation of English models", the exclusive emphasis on examination which encouraged the students to stuff "their brains with the abracadabra of geometry and physics and algebra and logic, until after hundreds, nay thousands, have perished by the way, the residuum who have survived the successive tests emerge in the Elysian fields of the B.A. degree." Tagore said the very same thing in *Sikshar Herfer* and *Tota-kahini*. Curzon expatiated on the decline of elementary education, the folly of neglecting the vernacular medium of instruction, the travesty in the name of technical

education, the unwieldy Senates filled with persons without academic interests, the private colleges run for profit, and law classes which bred unemployable (hence seditious) lawyers.[52] Few of the Moderates would have taken offence had he not excluded them altogether from the Simla Education Conference.[53] Since only the officials were invited, the Moderates concluded that education to Curzon was one more field for exhibiting the mechanics of improved administration in which management was more important than purpose and direction more desirable than result. Distrust bred distrust and few fell for his promise: "I do not want anything that will turn the university into a department of state, or fetter the colleges and schools with bureaucratic hand-cuffs." They were further incensed when the University Commission was composed without a single Hindu educationalist.[54] Curzon's mind, like his body, wore a steel corset; it could never unbend. Wrapped up in his ego, he went on wounding the susceptibilities of others (eager to assist him) in the supreme unconcern of a child. By repudiating the Western-educated intelligentsia he was weakening the tenuous link of loyalty that still bound India to Britain.

Curzon touched their pockets as well. The Raleigh Commission recommended abolition of second grade colleges which formed the bulk of colleges in Bengal and were run on proprietary lines. It recommended abolition of law classes which had been a profitable concern to many including Surendranath Banerjee. It asked for a minimum rate of fees which would hit middle class guardians and might even threaten the very existence of private educational enterprise, financed by fees. Restriction of the number of Senators would deprive Indians of useful status symbols. Fellows, now to be appointed for five year terms, would be more amenable to Government control than when they had been appointed for life. The Education Department might promulgate new regulations without the consent of the Senate. Above all, European ascendancy in the Senates was assured. "...it is desirable", ran a departmental directive, "to avoid the appearance of giving an undue preponderance to the representatives of official and departmental interests. We must, however, have a working majority in favour of our views." The Senate of

the Calcutta University, for example, was to consist of 100 fellows of whom 9 were to be ex-officio, 71 nominated and 20 elected. Of 71 nominated, 41 were to be Europeans and 30 Indians. The Viceroy had thus the nomination of 80 fellows (71 *plus* 9) in his hands. It was further stipulated to obtain a European block of 54 (41 nominated *plus* 4 elected by the Faculties *plus* 9 officials) against an Indian block of 46.[55] As the Sadler Commission commented, "the Indian universities under the new Act were the most completely governmental universities in the world." The Syndicate was entrusted with wide powers of affiliation and disaffiliation by which the Government might manipulate the fate of private colleges, hostile or disloyal, according to the susceptibilities of the bureaucrats.

Were the Indian elite, accepted on sufferance in the Legislative Council and the Indian Civil Service, now to be deprived of their control of the Corporation and the University? Were the Indian students, poor and aspiring, to be denied entry into the legal profession, while higher employment opportunities were well-nigh closed to them? Would enhancement of college fees block even the road to clerical and teaching jobs in a period of falling incomes from land? Aversion to lawyers was undisguised in the Commission's report—an aversion which Curzon shared with his bureaucrats—and the Moderates, mostly lawyers, responded with the hostility of a guild. Even Sir Gurudas Banerjee, the mildest of the Lord's creatures, recorded a strong dissent to its proposals to narrow the popular basis of higher education. Surendranath organized a meeting in the Town Hall (Calcutta) and drafted a vigorous memorial. The Home Department resiled from its opposition to second grade colleges and Surendranath saved the law classes at his own college (Ripon College), but those elsewhere were axed. Ashutosh Mukherjee and G. K. Gokhale continued to oppose the Universities Bill on the floor of the Council. On Raleigh's motion to refer the Bill to the Select Committee Gokhale said, "There can be no room for doubt, that the first and most obvious effect of the passing of this measure will be to increase enormously the control of Government over University matters and to make the University virtually a Department of State." He entered a minute of

dissent to the report of the Select Committee and when Raielgh moved for consideration of the Report, added, "It fills me with great sadness to think that after fifty years of university education in this country, the Government should have introduced a measure which instead of associating the Indian element more and more with the administration of the universities, will have the effect of dissociating it from the greater part of such share as it already possessed."[56]

Curzon's reactions to the opposition of the intelligentsia were characteristic. "The Town Hall and the Senate Hall of the University", he commented with irony, "have been packed with shouting and perspiring graduates and my name has been loudly hissed as the author of the doom of higher education in India." He failed to understand the anxiety of the socially progressive and the politically ambitious middle class, which had been trying to convert an aristocratic institution into a popular one and suddenly found Curzon barring the way. Once more he had made the Moderates look foolish, and their failure undermined the assumptions of their faith in the British rule and brought grist to the Extremist mill. The idea of national education, so long confined to a few, caught popular imagination.[56a]

The Indian Official Secrets Amendment Act of 1904 made Curzon more unpopular with the Indian Press than Lytton had been for the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. It extended the provisions of Lansdowne's parent Act of 1889 from "military and naval affairs" to "civil affairs". Matilal Ghosh, editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and a supporter of the Extremists, contended that Curzon's amendment would not only keep the erring and oppressive officials "beyond the pale of public criticism", but also threaten the freedom of the Press. When an appeal to Curzon to exempt the Indian journalists from the operations of the Act (a privilege their counterparts enjoyed in England) fell on deaf ears, the Bengali Press retaliated with deliberate hostility to Government measures. Curzon thus dropped an effective machinery of propaganda into the willing hands of the Extremists.

While disillusionment after disillusionment enervated the Moderates and weakened their cause, the victories of Japan over Russia (1904-5) sent a thrill of enthusiasm through Asia.[57]

Even the tone of Digby and Dadabhai Naoroji changed. The British rule was referred to as "dishonourable, hypocritical and destructive". Hamilton and Curzon were specifically blamed for having taken matters from bad to worse, and Indians were urged "to claim unceasingly their birth right and pledged rights of British citizenship, of self-government."[58] Lalmohan Ghosh, as President of the Madras session of the Congress (1903), had criticized the Universities Bill and the Official Secrets Bill and the costly *tamasha* of the Delhi Durbar while millions were starving. Sir Henry Cotton, President of the Bombay session (1904), laid down the Moderate goal as "establishment of a Federation of free and separate states, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing colonies...under the aegis of Great Britain." "Is it not astonishing", commented Curzon contemptuously, "to find a presumably sane man (i.e. Cotton) deluding an audience with such claptrap?"[59] The audience, however, was not fully deluded. The Extremists of Maharastra were by now organized under Tilak. His views had already caused sufficient stir to merit a mild censure from Dadabhai. "I learn", he wrote to Tilak, "that your writings tend to drag it (Congress) from its high pedestal. If it once gets weakened and bruised, it would take long for it to recoup. A split in the Congress at this stage means a disaster for the country and a triumph for the Anglo-Indians."[60] H. P. Mody, the biographer of Pherozeshah Mehta, mentions "a mild revolt" against the high command led by Tilak, who succeeded in persuading the Subjects Committee to draft a constitution long overdue. Ignoring this cloud in the Congress horizon, at first no bigger than a man's hand, Curzon went on blithely with his plan for the partition of Bengal, which ensured the crystallization of the Extremists as a national party. The aim of colonial self-government was laughed out of court and Swaraj took its place. The Russian Revolution of 1905 had broken out on the crest of October strikes. The citadel of the Tsarist bureaucracy was tottering. The Tsar announced a Duma, civil liberties and a constitution on 30 October. An adult Congress (twenty-one years old) could no longer continue the baby talk of self-government nor confine itself to baby tantrums of petition and agitation. It claimed its birth

right of freedom in a manner befitting the militant youth of a nation reborn to its old greatness.

Crystallization of a Creed

Extremism was an attitude and it is impossible to pinpoint its beginnings. The seed-time was the early 1890's. Tilak quarrelled with the Sudharaks (the reformers) over the Age of Consent issue in 1891 and introduced the Ganapati festival in 1893. Aurobindo published 'New Lamps for Old' in the *Indu Prakash* between 1893 and 1894. The challenge to Social Conference came in 1895.[60a] The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was captured from the Moderates in the same year. The Shivaji festival was first held on 15 April 1896. With the foundation of the Deccan Sabha (4 November 1896) the division between the Moderates and the Extremists was well-laid in Maharastra. Bipinchandra Pal was still a Moderate. "I am loyal to the British government", said he in 1897, "because with me loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country; because I believe that God has placed this Government over us for our salvation...."[61] It would be 1902 before he wrote, "The Congress here, and its British Committee in London, are both begging institutions."[62] It was no politician but a poet who gave voice to the pent up feelings of Bengal in the 1890's. Rabindranath's classic exposition of the inhumanity of bureaucracy and sound analysis of the deteriorating relations between the rulers and the ruled, published in the *Sadhana* (1893-94),[63] must be taken as the articulate protest of the new generation against the Moderate policy of mendicancy. Tagore took the theme from Bankimchandra but his manner of playing upon it indicated the gravity of the situation. While Bankim's mouthpiece was Kamalakanta, the immortal opium-addict who spoke half in jest and half in earnest, Tagore lent to these essays all the seriousness at his command and all the insight he was capable of. Lajpat Rai was uninterested in Congress matters. "Between 1893 and 1900 I did not attend any session of the Congress." He felt, but vaguely, that "the Congress leaders care more for

fame and pomp than for the interests of the country."[64] The austere Arya Samajist had no love for "holiday patriots" uttering "plausibly worded platitudes and well-disguised commonplaces."

At the beginning the Extremist ideas were more or less localized in character. I would not say that Tilak's nationalism was Maharastrian, rather than Indian, nationalism, nor that Aurobindo refused to look beyond Bengal. But Tilak could not afford to view things except in the particular context of Maharastrian politics of his day or to declare war on Maharastrian prejudices, if he recognized any. His adolescent memories harked back to Vasudeo Balwant Phadke (1846-83), who tried to organize an armed revolt, to Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi (1828-80), who made Swadeshi his life's ideal, and to Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar whose *Nibandh-mala* (1874) awakened in him the first moral wrath against foreign rule. For similar reasons Aurobindo remembered Bankimchandra and, later, Vivekananda. On a practical plane, Tilak had to establish himself against Ranade and Agarkar, Pherozeshah Mehta and G. K. Gokhale. The whole of the first part of his political life was devoted to self-development and to a rigorous propaganda for the reawakening and solidifying of the national life of Maharastra. He had to talk in a language that Maharastra could understand.[65] Aurobindo had to make his mark against "the Bonerjis and Banerjis and Lalmohan Ghoses" and thus to reckon with trends in Bengali urges and nuances of Bengali sentiments.[66]

The Extremists had little time and less patience to look deeper into the causes that crippled Indian society as a whole. The concrete presence of the British rule was enough to explain her socio-economic malaise, the Curzonian measures enough to shake faith in the British people, and the emasculating policy of the Congress enough to exhibit the utter futility of the Moderate nationalism.

A deceptive simplification, no doubt, and Tagore raised his warning voice against its self-complacence, but useful, if the Extremists wanted to organize an all-India front. Even this simple explanation had to be couched in the language of the masses—the language of religion. The Western concept of nationalism had to be remodelled, nay, transfigured, into

Hindu nationalism. The nation, the Extremists asserted, existed in latent form among the Indians, who recognized their common heritage as a single religious community. It could be raised to a conscious level only on the basis of a revival of Hindu ideas which would at once strike a chord in the racial memory of the people and receive a spontaneous response of struggle and sacrifice. "The common factor in Indian society", said Tilak, "is the feeling of *Hindutva*...we say that the Hindus of the Punjab, Bengal, Maharastra, Telengana and Dravida are one and the reason for this is only Hindu dharma."[67] This was an echo of Vivekananda, who wrote, "The one common ground we have is our sacred traditions, our religion. That is the only common ground and upon that we shall have to build. In Europe political ideas form the national unity. In Asia religious ideas form the national unity."[68] B. C. Pal, the Brahmo, could not easily accept the concept of Hindu nationalism, however, and coined a new term—"Composite Patriotism"—appropriate to a nation composed of various races, cultures and creeds.[69] But he, too, admitted that Hinduism was "the original stock and staple of it."[70] During his college days Lajpat had fallen under the influence of two ardent Arya Samajists—Guru Dutt and Hans Raj. In his own words, "One result was that my outlook began to take on a nationalistic colour. The soul nurtured in Islam in infancy and beginning adolescence by seeking shelter in the Brahmo Samaj began to develop a love for the ancient Hindu culture...." The Hindi-Urdu controversy of the late 1880's "taught me my first lesson in Hindu nationalism. My mind took a turn at this time and there was no turning back hereafter." He joined the Arya Samaj in 1882 and "became wedded to the idea of Hindu nationality. It was in those two years (1880-82) I learnt to respect the ancient Aryan culture which became my guiding star for good."[71] The Arya Samaj was moving closer to orthodox Hinduism "to form a politico-religious unity against the Muslims and all non-Hindus". Lajpat was in the vanguard of the Suddhi movement. He would not allow Christian missionaries to get hold of Hindu orphans. Munshi Ram accused him of perverting the aims of the Samaj—"The Vedas are the truth for all the world; Lajpat Rai and D.A.V. leaders

are localizing and nationalizing a universal movement."[72]

Even the Catholic Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav, who had denounced Vivekananda's neo-Hinduism as "infernal error",[73] and hailed Pope Leo XIII as "the greatest man of our time",[74] felt the impact of the *Vedanta*[75] and was converted into a Hindu missionary.[76] His political transformation was still stranger. In 1900 he wrote, "Our faith obliges us to look upon the English dominion as a glorious manifestation of the Divine sovereignty. The insurrection that we advocate is against the ascendancy of European thought over Hindu thought...."[77] At the end of 1901 he considered the Raj to be "a blessing conferred upon a down-trodden people by the All-merciful."[78] But the protest against the dominion of European thought led inexorably to a revolt against the political dominion of the Feringhee. Between the naïve loyalism of *The Twentieth Century* and the fiery denunciation of the *Sandhya* (first published in December 1904) Brahmabandhav had passed through the ordeal of the Curzon regime.[79]

Aurobindo had come home with European ideas of nationlism. "If there was attachment to a European land as a second country, it was intellectually and emotionally to one not seen or lived in this life, not England, but France."[80] He had studied with interest revolutions which led to national liberation, "the struggle against the English in medieval France and the revolts which liberated America and Italy." He "took much inspiration from these movements and their leaders, especially Jeanne d'Arc and Mazzini."[81] Mazzini's reconciliation of liberalism and nationalism, praise of religion as the ennobling element in man and identification of religion with the principle of social service, and faith in 'Unity in Humanity' appealed strongly to him. The 'New Lamps for Old' he wrote for the *Indu Prakash* (1893-94) betray the deep impression of French revolutionary thinking. The French were compared with the Athenians who held in the ancient world the secrets of freedom. What is greater praise than this from a classicist? In refreshing contrast to the Moderates he turned his back on the precepts of English history. What were Pym and Hampden to Danton and Robespierre? He referred to "the vast and ignorant proletariat of France" who "blotted out in five terrible years the accumulated oppression

of thirteen centuries" after a "purification by blood and fire."
This is language worthy of a Michelet, redolent with romantic idealization. The only difference is—where Michelet had used the term 'People', Aurobindo used the more fashionable term 'Proletariat'. He accused Mehta (and the Moderates) of ignoring the Proletariat, "the real key of the situation", and of "playing with bubbles" like the Legislative Council and simultaneous Civil Service examinations (which, by the way, he never cared to ride through). But the waters of the great deep were being stirred and a sweeping flood might arise at any moment. Would a messiah like Napoleon appear on its vortex "to control the masses and to become the master of the future"?[82]

Desire for freedom had been sown in Aurobindo at fourteen (1886) and it was deep-rooted already at eighteen (1890).[83] It was to be won through revolution and not through "our weaknesses, our cowardice, our selfishness, our hypocrisy, our purblind sentimentalism", symbolized in the "un-National Congress" of the Bonnerjees and Bannerjees, "a generation servilely English and swayed by Keshabchandra Sen and Kristodas Pal."[84] While Aurobindo was at Baroda, one Thakur Saheb (a noble of Udaipur) was in overall charge of revolutionary activities in Western India. The army was the main field of his exertions. It was through his inspiration that Aurobindo joined the revolutionary society of Bombay and made a special journey into Central India "to meet and speak with Indian sub-officers and men of one of these regiments." In 1902 he took up on his own responsibility the task of propagating the society's objects in Bengal, as the prelude to an armed insurrection.[85] His emissary, Jatin Bandyopadhyay, met P. Mitra, who presided over a secret society, called the Anusilan Samity. It had been founded a short while ago by several students of the General Assemblies Institution who were greatly influenced by Bankim, Vivekananda and Jogendrachandra Vidyabhushan (the author of several books on Mazzini and Garibaldi). The name itself bore Bankim's imprint. Baroda and Bengal joined hands and Aurobindo himself came down later in 1902 to initiate Hemchandra Kanungo, Satyen Basu and others of Midnapur. He hints at this visit in a lecture at Bombay ('The Present Situa-

tion') on 19 January 1908. Regular classes were held on theoretical and practical aspects of revolution by Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, P. Mitra and Jatindranath Bandyopadhyay throughout 1903.[86] The French Revolution and the Italian nationalist struggle were held up as models. The arrival of Barindrakumar, Aurobindo's youngest brother, heralded inner party bickerings, however, and Aurobindo came for a second time (?) in 1904 to support Barin against Jatin in the contest for leadership.[87] Aurobindo slurs over this ugly episode and only reports that he "found a number of small groups of revolutionaries that had recently sprung into existence but all scattered and acting without reference to each other." Bengal as a whole was apathetic to such activities and Aurobindo decided to work behind the scenes till the opportune moment for public appearance came. "Secret action was not likely to be effective if there were not also a wide public movement which would create a universal patriotic fervour and popularise the idea of independence as the ideal and aim of Indian politics." Partition of Bengal created that public movement. "It is only through repression and suffering that *Maya* can be dispelled", he said later at Baruipur, "and the bitter fruit of partition of Bengal administered by Lord Curzon dispelled the illusion." "Swadeshism began", he said at Uttarpara, "and I was drawn into the public field."

(There was very little of Hinduism in Aurobindo's activities so far. Robespierre, Mazzini and Parnell loomed large in his thought till 1904. But India was absorbing Aurobindo in her slow and effective way as she had absorbed so many strands of foreign ideas before. She had already spoken to Aurobindo in the voice of Bankim. In Bankim's nationalism (so far as he understood it) he saw an irrefutable counter-argument to Moderate politics. Like Bankim he had to be himself—a Bengali in dress, speech and thinking. Bengal was the France, nay, the Athens of India.) Why should not the Bengali Hindu attempt what the Greek had achieved? He, too, should leave "the canine method of agitation for the leonine."(Aurobindo felt irresistibly attracted to the Mother of Bankim's vision)who "held trenchant steel in her twice-seventy million hands and not the bowl of the mendicant."

(The Hindu soon began to obscure the European in him. We

find him fascinated by Nivedita's *Kali the Mother*, and worshipping *Bagala*, a manifestation of *Sakti*, usually propitiated for destruction of the enemy. In 1905 he wrote *Bhavani Mandir*, though it was more Barin's idea than his, and was inspired not only by *Ananda Math* and *Kali the Mother*. The glorification of Bhavani had been an important element in the awakening of Marathi nationality under Shivaji. Aurobindo must have imbibed it at Baroda in the heyday of Tilak's Shivaji utsav. He invoked Bhavani later in a ballad on Baji Prabhou, published in the *Karmayogin* (Feb.-March 1910):

> "We but employ
> Bhavani's strength, who in an arm of flesh
> Is mighty as in the thunder and the storm.
> Chosen of Shivaji, Bhavani's swords
> For you the gods prepare . . ."

Religion, however, was not yet the overpowering master, it was only a useful ally. Like other Extremists he still valued its untapped source of elemental energy which, once released, would engulf the *mlecchas* (heathens) and the Moderates together. He took to *Yoga* at this time. "I came to Him (God) long ago in Baroda some years before the Swadeshi began." "Yoga was not to clarify his ideas", he wrote on himself later, "but to find the spiritual strength which would support him and enlighten the way."

While Aurobindo was being forced to seek in religion an ally for revolutionary politics,[88] Tilak had successfully effected the alliance in Maharastra. The soil of Maharastra was more congenial to orthodoxy and Ranade's Prarthana Samaj was a weaker opponent than the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal. Yet Tilak's opposition to the Age of Consent Bill did not prove him to be a social reactionary. He had signed in 1890 a pledge advocating a higher age for marriage. Like Bankim, he had faith in organic growth from within and an innate aversion for superimposed reforms. At the root of India's misery lay not the age of marriage nor the disabilities of caste, but the loss of freedom. Reforms, thrust from above by alien rulers, were a slur on the national honour and, by securing the support of a small but highly influential group

of intelligentsia, would rivet, rather than loosen, the national bonds.) Ranade's reply demands equal attention. The social reform movement was in the great Hindu tradition of which Rammohun was the last towering spokesman. It was no slavish imitation of the West but a restoration of the pristine purity and catholicity of Hinduism. Legislation would not constitute an imposition of alien rules on Hindu society but would reinstate the ancient social regulations which had disappeared because of "the predominance of barbarous influences and by the intolerance of ruthless conquerors."[89] Tilak would not allow any debate. He knew his strength and would not hesitate to utilize prejudice if it helped him to isolate and oust the Sudharaks from the political life of Maharastra.[90]

(The controversy over the age of consent ultimately boiled down to the true interpretation of Hindu religion and, deeper still, to the attitude of India towards Western culture and Western rule. Hume supported the bill wholeheartedly but a considerable body of Congressmen was opposed,) though many did not like "committing themselves to a course which would hopelessly discredit them in the eyes of many of their English sympathizers."(The Government won the day skilfully.) It neither accepted the advanced Malabari programme nor proposed to interfere with Hindu religion.[91] The tragic Phulmani case gave it the exact opportunity to deal with a delicate question. The inhumanity of the husband was so patent that Sir Andrew Scoble, who piloted the Age of Consent Bill, preferred "to be wrong with Professor Bhandarkar than to be right with Pandit Sasadhar Tarkachuḍamani and Mr. Tilak."[92]

(Tilak's arguments against the National Social Conference were, again, not entirely groundless. By insisting on social reforms the Congress was splitting itself into warring factions, depriving itself of mass support and delaying the day of final deliverance. The association of social with political reforms was premature and harmful to both. Ranade countered that political and social reforms were inter-dependent and must be tackled simultaneously.) How could the lower castes and the womenfolk join the national political movement, unless assured of a juster deal? (Tilak organized anti-conference

meetings and countenanced, if not actually instigated, strong arms method against the reformers.[93] In the interests of unity Ranade was forced to stop the Social Conference, scheduled to follow the Congress session at Poona (1895).[94] Tilak had secured patrons among the merchant-money-lender groups, who were staunchly orthodox, and young admirers who were prepared to intimidate the Sudharaks.[95]

To be politically useful, reckoned Tilak, Hinduism must develop a congregational character. So long it had remained personal. The Brahmos might be congregationalists but they were renegades. Why should the Brahmoized reformer, again, impose his devitalized monotheism on the people? While the Brahmos turned for inspiration to the *Vedanta* and Bankimchandra to the *Gita*, the Extremists turned to the *Puranas* and the *Tantras*. The Puranic gods, said Pal, belonged to a later stage of the religions evolution—the imaginative stage. They should be regarded "not as idols, but as what may be called 'ideols', not gross material images, but refined spiritual imageries." In the Puranic and Tantric systems Aurobindo saw "a lifting up of the whole lower life and an impressing upon it of the values of the spirit." Later Vaishnavism was "in its essence the taking up of the aesthetic, emotional and sensuous being into the service of the spiritual." Religion should be made to impart *Sakti*, strength and self-confidence—*Sakti* to take possession of the modern influence, no longer to be possessed or overcome by it. If the heart of Maharastra responded to the worship of Ganapati or that of Bengal beat to the cult of Kali, it was supercilious of the reformers to deplore it as lowering the spiritual level. Did not Ramakrishna see the *Brahman* in the Mother and through the Mother, and proclaim *sakara* to be as valid as *nirakara*? Did not Vivekananda, the great *advaitin*, ultimately accept Kali the Mother and exhort his countrymen to embrace death as her caress?

> Who dares misery love,
> And hug the form of Death,—
> Dance in destruction's dance,
> To him the Mother comes.[96]

Did not Nivedita write in comment, "No coward's sigh of

exhaustion, no selfish prayer for mercy, no idle resignation there! Bend low, and you shall hear the answer that India makes to the Eternal Motherhood, through all her ages of torture and despair.... 'Though thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee' "?[97] India knew she could pull down the mighty from their seats and exalt the poor and the oppressed.

The Greeks used their festivals to promote national solidarity. Why should not the Extremists exploit local cults to rouse mass political enthusiasm and martial ardour? Ganesa, the legendary conqueror of the demon *Gajasura*, became a symbol of the struggle against *mlechcha* (foreign) rulers. "The Motherland is no other than Divinity itself," declared Aurobindo, "the Motherland in all her beauty and splendour represents the Goddess Durga of our worship."[1] Even Pal, the Brahmo, saw in Durga "a visible representation of the eternal spirit of Bengali race."[2] *Sakti* is the soul of the Divine Will, energy in cosmic life, the dynamic element in ethical consciousness, Providence in history and the spirit of nationality in national life and evolution. She is different according to different stages of evolution—*Jagaddhatri* in the stage of jungle-clearance, *Kali* in the stage of fierce tribal conflicts, and *Durga* in the stage of organised rivalries between colours and cultures. "The spirit of nationality is here fully developed. ...Our history is the sacred biography of the Mother." This apotheosis of race-spirit and national organism, Pal hastened to add, was organically related to the highest concept of Humanity, represented in Indian thought by Narayana. As the Mother's original seat was on the lap of Narayana, the nation's place was in the bosom of Humanity.[97a]

Needless to say, the Ganapati and Durga (or Kali) festivals were an instant success with people in general and even Moslems joined at first. Behind the scenes in Maharastra training in arms was imparted by Chapekars' 'Society for the Removal of Obstacles to the Hindu Religion'.[3] In this way, says Wolpert, "Militant Hinduism's first modern cadre was born." The *Birastami* celebration was already popular in Bengal. The secret societies had no difficulty in continuing that tradition in appearance while imbuing it with a different spirit *in camera*. Religious emotionalism was further heightened by the reaction of the upper class Moslems, who looked

askance at this sudden outburst of revivalist energy in the Hindu camp. If the Hindus paraded so obtrusively their new-found identity, e.g., opposed the killing of cows for ritual or food[98] and worshipped their gods in so exhibitionist a manner, the Moslems had to kill more cows or call for a greater restraint on music before mosques, to assert theirs.[99] The Government took the easy way out by blaming both parties,[100] but Lansdowne would not pass special legislation against cow protection societies. He even asked the local governments to forbid cow-killing except under rules.[101] Communal riots, however, broke out in Calcutta (1891), followed by more in Bombay (1893).[102] There was a widespread Hindu upsurge in U.P. where troops had to be sent.[103] The only official of rank who sensed danger in the pro-Moslem prejudice of the local governments was MacDonnell.[104] Lansdowne himself associated the agitation with anti-British motives and even with the Congress.[105] "The advanced wing of the Congress party", reported Lansdowne, "which is profoundly disloyal to us, has found in this fanatical and popular movement a means of establishing a connection between itself and the great mass of the Hindu population. . . The subterranean connection which has now been established between the Congress and the Cow will, unless I am mistaken, convert the former from a foolish debating society into a real political power, backed by the most dangerous element in the native society."[106] This, in spite of the Bombay Government's admission that "we hesitate to adopt the opinion that the cow-protection movement is the principal cause of these riots." No wonder Tilak blamed the Government for instigating them, in the columns of the *Kesari*. Mutual misunderstanding flourished on absence of dialogue.

Religious emotionalism got a further spurt from the Bombay Government's anti-plague measures. The devitalized peasants and artisans of Bombay Deccan, who had been rebelling against landlords and *soucars* (money-lenders) since the 1870's, fell an easy prey to the epidemic, which came on top of famines in 1896. The India Government gave Bombay extensive powers to check the spread of infection, as the Secretary of State, anxious to maintain trade at the port, asked it to stop the fatal disease "somehow". The plague thrived on

slums and bad sanitation, poverty and starvation. Without going to the root, the Bombay government tackled the bitter fruit with more and more stringent measures for segregation of the patients and destruction of the infected things. Walter Charles Rand, "suspicious, sullen and tyrannical" (in Tilak's words), was appointed to supervise the activities of the Plague Committee. In overzealous haste he rode roughshod over orthodox sentiments at a time when personal tragedy and mortal fear had made men more prone to superstition. Between February and April (1897) Tilak wrote in favour of segregation and domiciliary visitation and ridiculed irresponsible rumours about hospitals. He also co-operated in the establishment of a Hindu hospital. He only wanted measures to be more palatable, deprecated the use of soldiers, and expressed desire for a Native Committee. Suddenly from 4 May he switched on to a different strain, condemning soldiers for every sort of excess (*zulum*) and for needless oppression. As Tilak's *Kesari* boomed invectives on Rand, the Hindus of Poona were blamed by Dr. Lawson for their obscurantist touchiness. In this connection we should remember that the Moslems of N. W. Provinces reacted in the same way to anti-plague measures. MacDonnell warned Elgin that the Moslems of Lucknow might rebel if domiciliary visitations (for compulsory removal of the suspected victims) affected their *purdah*. The Viceroy himself compared the cases of Poona and Lucknow and concluded, "One cannot be too cautious in India."[107] When Rand and Ayerst were waylaid and murdered by the Chapekars on their way back from a reception in celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (27 June 1897), the Bombay bureaucrats cried for Tilak's blood. He had been already marked for his no-rent campaign and, now, he had made a speech at Shivaji utsav (13 June) and published it in *Kesari* (15 June 1897), which, they alleged, directly incited the crime. Elgin, however, kept his head: "Nor must the horror of this deed prevent us from recognising that a special cause for the murderous outbreak existed in the recent plague operations."[108] He opposed the trial of Tilak without jury, and the prosecution was mainly the doing of the Bombay Government.[109] Elgin opposed even the Secretary of State when, in panic, the latter insisted on sedition

laws. There was no apprehension of a revolt; such law would not assist in the punishment of the criminal; no strong case existed for Lyttonian measures. Some restraint might be necessary but who would think of banning the Congress?[110] No press law, again, was called for with only twelve out of two hundred newspapers reported to be offensive. Elgin was right. Bombay allowed Tilak to be a martyr and if his brave defence at court (like Trotsky's in 1906) was the first Extremist manifesto, his short incarceration was an invitation to Hindu intransigence. The amendments to Section 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code and Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code were passed against Elgin's better judgement and after pressure was put on the native members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.[111] This brought further discredit to the Moderate policy of petition and agitation. By strengthening the Extremists' argument it also enhanced their popularity.

Next to an appeal to Hinduism came an appeal to History. As Professor Hans Kohn says, "Each new nationalism, having received its original impulse from the cultural contact with some older nationalism, looked for its justification and differentiation to the heritage of its own past, and extolled the primitive and ancient depth and peculiarities of its traditions in contrast to Western rationalism and universal standards." The nationalists "created often, out of the myths of the past and the dreams of the future, an ideal fatherland...devoid of any immediate connection with the present...."[112] This "ethnocentrism" was no doubt an abstraction, but, asked the Extremist Pal, was not the Moderate love for India and Indian tradition equally an abstraction? "Pym, Hampden, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Kossuth and Washington were then the models of Young India. The annals of the English Rebellion, the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, all these furnished us with our ideals of civic freedom."[113] The Moderates wished India to be a prototype of England of which they had read in Hallam, Burke and Macaulay. Aurobindo turned his face from this Anglo-Saxon model and went back to the Aryan *mores* of Indian civilization, infinitely richer and nobler than any of the barbarians of the German forest. "The culture of the Anglo-Saxon is the very antipodes of Indian culture.... His ideals are of the earth, earthy. His

institutions are without warmth, sympathy, human feeling, rigid and accurate like his machinery, meant for immediate and practical gains." Greece, Aurobindo argued, developed to a high degree the intellectual reason, the sense of form and harmonious beauty. Rome founded firmly on strength, power, patriotism, law and order. Modern Europe raised to enormous proportions practical reason, science, efficiency and economic capacity. "India (in contrast) developed the spiritual mind working upon the other powers of man and exceeding them, the intuitive reason, the philosophical harmony of the Dharma informed by the religious spirit, the sense of the eternal and the infinite."[114] The *Vedas*, whatever Sayana and Max Müller might say, were not mere "ritual liturgy to nature gods but the intuition of a timeless revolution and a divine truth given to humanity." They were "a law of life given by God to man as well as a law of creation and cosmos—the truth of religion and the truth of science."[115] They already contained the most characteristic idea of Indian spirituality—"the one existence who manifests the individual and the universal from his supraconscious being." On this bedrock was built the many-splendoured thing called the Indian civilization. The life of *Karma* and *Artha* was highly developed but always with a reference to *Dharma* and never losing sight of *Moksha* or spiritual freedom, the supreme goal. Even the Puranic and the Tantric stages were a gallant effort to raise the level of the popular mind to the higher and the deeper range of spiritual experience through knowledge, works and love. Tilak was equally carried away and found for the Aryans an Arctic home and for the *Vedas* a date not later than 4000 B.C.[116] The culmination of the Vedic civilization being the *Gita*, Aurobindo wrote an introduction to it, Tilak, a full-fledged commentary (*Gita Rahasya*), Lajpat, an Urdu biography of Srikrishna, Brahmabandhav, *Srikrishnatattva* and Aswinikumar Datta, *Bhaktiyoga*. All bear the influence of Bankim and underline the Extremist concern with the presentation of an historical image of the Aryan culture they idealized. The Aryan myth, like the Celtic myth or the Slavonic myth, was a good counter to the Teutonic myth, which itself had once countered the Romanist myth of the Revolutionary Europe.

For proper hero worship, which always lies at the root of

"nationality, social order and religion", no dim, distant hero, however outsize, would do. Tilak, being practical, appealed to more recent and regional history. Memories of Shivaji and his times were not dead embers. With a little stirring by Ranade and Romesh Dutt they glowed in the depths of Hindu India's consciousness. The Moderates, like Surendranath and Madanmohan Malaviya, sought in Shivaji's career inspiration to patriotism, not exemplification of revivalist politics. Tilak, however, utilized Shivaji's legend just for this latter purpose.

The stunning guerilla swoops which swept the Mughals like an avalanche, the daring night raids which broke like thunderclaps over Bijapur castles, the touch-and-go ruses which completely outwitted the unscrupulous enemy, the religious fervour ready at all times for self-sacrifice,—Shivaji's life was constant high drama. It relieved the dull monotony of middle class life. It compensated for the emptiness and impotence felt by a brave people who had once held the Emperor of Delhi to ransom and who had watered their horses in all the rivers of India. And how much more was the memory to the listless but ambitious scions of the Chitpavan Brahmins who had actually handled the reins of power! As Shivaji's heirs, the Marathas had inherited his struggle for *Swarajya*. Only the antagonists had changed. No means were too ignoble to attain it.[117]

Shivaji was not the sign and symbol of a mere political revolution. As Pal said, he "was the symbol of a grand idea, the memory of a noble sentiment, the mouth-piece of a great movement. That idea was the idea of a *Hindu Rastra*, which would unite under one political bond, the whole of the Hindu people, united already by communities of traditions and scriptures." Contrasted with "the ugly, ignoble, unrighteous and ungodly" imperialism of Curzon (prototype of Aurangzeb), Shivaji's imperialism was holy and divine, "the imperialism not of self-assertion, but of self-effacement, the imperialism not of hate, but of love...."[118] Here was a new kind of hero for India, not the hero as *Rishi* or *Sannyasin* but the hero as nation-builder and empire-maker. It was not a secular nation of the Western type that he built but a *dharma-rajya;* Shivaji ruled as the servant of Ramdas, his spiritual guru.

Tagore forgot the horror of Bargi raids and set the seal of poetical approval on this new image of Shivaji in 1904.[119] For some time hero-worship swept India. The Punjabis revived the memory of Ranjit Singh, the Bengalis of Pratapaditya and Sitaram. Even Sirajuddoula passed muster not only in the hands of a popular dramatist but of a gifted historian. "We too should seek to set up", declared Pal, "a truly National Walhalla of our own."[120]

Aryan against Anglo-Saxon; Hindu *rastra* against utilitarian-authoritarian-secular state; a Valhalla of home-made heroes against a Valhalla of the vanguards of Western nationalism. But a general assertion was not enough. The Hindu political genius must be proved in detail. The Extremists pointed to the village self-government and the concept of *dharma* which checked all arbitrary power by laying down the sacred law of group life. The Hindu village was the counterpart of the Slavonic *Mir* and the nucleus of Hindu *rastra*. It had withstood all the vicissitudes of anarchy and foreign rule till the British destroyed its economy and autonomy completely.[121] Its destruction severed the link of the present with the past and of the people with the government. Above the village level Tilak found "more or less developed constitutional forms of government." The manuscript of the *Artha Shastra* was discovered and Shama Shastri published some of its parts in 1905, which proclaimed to the world Hindu genius for the elaborate regulation of political, social and economic life. Very few questioned whether it was entirely theoretical in character. It was hailed as "a mirror for the princes" from Chandra Gupta Maurya down to the last Peshwa. "In the olden time", wrote Pal, "we had, in common with other branches of the great Aryan family, more or less developed constitutional forms of government among us. Besides the Brahminical Councils in whom were vested, practically, the legislative authority of the Hindu state, mention is made in ancient books of popular assemblies...."[122] In the middle ages the vigour of political life was gone but "we had a feudal ideal and organization which cultivated a spirit of interdependence among the different sections of the community, and thus kept up a noble spirit of unselfishness and altruism among the people."[123] Aurobindo found "institutions that

present a certain analogy to the parliamentary form" in the republics of Yaudheyas and Licchavis which enjoyed "a larger and more settled history of vigorous freedom than republican Rome," and that without Rome's aggressive spirit.

More important than the outward form, however, was the inward character of the Indian *polis*. "The obedience owed by the people was due to the law, the *dharma*, and to the edicts of the king in council only as an administrative means for the service and maintenance of *dharma*." The king was but "the head servant of the demos." The caste system was the framework of "a communal self-determined freedom"—"a training ground for the education of the human mind and soul and its development through the natural to the spiritual existence." Originally it was the distribution of functions in society. It depended on a man's *dharma*—his spiritual, moral and practical duties—and his *dharma* depended on his *svabhava*—his temperament and inborn nature. It was more humane than the European class system, based on cash nexus. It had a spiritual and moral basis while class was material in principle and object.[124] In Pal's view, the inevitable pride of office and, later, of birth, which resulted from the caste system, were modified by the social discipline of *ashrama* which trained minds in the habits of self-detachment. "This caste-and-order law sums up the whole soul and spirit of ancient Hindu culture. Through the establishment of this law, the Aryans brought the divergent races and cultures of India within their own fold."[125] In India, says Aurobindo, institutions were not blinded by fixed habits of life. "If it (India) was obliged to stereotype caste as the symbol of its social order, it never quite forgot, as the caste-spirit is apt to forget, that the human soul and the human mind are beyond caste. For it had seen in the lowest human being the Godhead, Narayan. It emphasized distinctions only to turn upon them and deny all distinctions." Even Tagore rationalized the role of the Brahmin. The Brahmin was the ideal type, the *leader*, who preserved and enlarged upon the unique message of India, unity amidst diversity, by his exemplary renunciation of material affluence. He stood aloof from the conflict of selfish interests, did good for its own sake, and kept burning the flame of his inner freedom amidst the winds of change.[126] Tilak, deeply proud of

his Brahmin (Chitpavan) ancestry, would take up this *noblesse oblige*. Aurobindo decried the *Baniya* (bourgeois) spirit of the British rule and invoked the Brahmin in India. "I am not going to fight", he wrote to his wife, "with the sword or the gun.... The spirit of the Kshatriya is not the only spirit, there is such a thing as the spirit of the Brahmin. That spirit is founded on wisdom."[127] This did not mean disparaging the martial spirit of the Kshatriya which supported wisdom with strength. The gradation of social respect was "accidental, external, *vyavaharik*." "Essentially there was between the devout Brahmin and the devout Sudra, no inequality in the single *Virat Purush* of which each was a necessary part."[128] In the dualistic atmosphere of Latin Christianity nationalism could never transcend the individualistic inspirations of the French Revolution and personality could never rise above subjection to social obligations. Hindu polity alone constitutes a "supra-social" state where personality realizes itself through larger and larger social associations till it gets attuned to the universal. As Hinduism was not one religion, like Christianity or Islam, but a federation of many cults and cultures, Hindu society was not a unit but a federation of many units. "The freedom and integrity of the parts inside the unity of the whole, is the very soul and essence of the federal idea."[129]

A generation of scholars, K. P. Jayswal, R. K. Mukherjee and R. C. Majumdar, found still other virtues in the ancient Indian polity and more telling parallels with the West. The emphasis was on the existence of a lively democratic tradition in India which the British so assiduously denied. If the cult of Swadeshi blurred some historical perspectives, and scientific scholarship bowed occasionally before nationalist vanity, the fault lay as much in the British insistence on India's incapacity for self-rule as in our characteristic love for hyperbole. Newton's third law of motion operates in human relations as much as in physics, especially when the relations are between foreign rulers and their subjects. If it was bad history, so were Freeman's theory of the German 'mark' and Stubbs' theory of Parliament growing out of the *Witenagemot*. Each age has its own pet historical illusion and the Extremists would boycott not only Manchester but Westminster.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lansdowne to Cross, 28 January 1891, Lansdowne Papers, Eur. MSS. D. 558/IX/III, no. 5.
2. Elgin to Hamilton, 25 August 1896, Elgin Papers, Eur. MSS. F. 84/14, no. 34.
3. Hamilton to Curzon, 20 Oct. 1899, Hamilton Papers, Eur. MSS. C. 126/1, pp. 361-62. Hamilton called it "an indoor bureaucracy rather than out-of-door capable administrators and statesmen." Same to same, 1 May 1902, ibid., C. 126/4, p. 162.
4. Curzon to Hamilton, 21 May 1902, Hamilton Papers, Eur. MSS. D. 510/9, p. 189.
5. J. Newton, *W. S. Caine, M.P.*, pp. 243-44.
6. Samuel Smith, *My Life-work*, pp. 442-43.
7. Ripon to Hartington, 31 December 1881, Ripon Papers, Brit. Mus., I.S. 290/5, no. 70.
8. Despatch of the Govt. of India, Home Dept., Public, no 67 of 1888, dated 6 November 1888.
9. Lansdowne's note on reforms of Provincial Legislative Councils, 4 May 1889, encl. in Lansdowne to Cross, 6 May 1889, Cross Papers, Eur. MSS. E. 243/26, p. 172.
10. Cross to Dufferin, 21 December 1888, ibid., vol. 18, pp. 224-27.
11. Kimberley to Lansdowne, 9 June 1893, Lansdowne Papers, Eur. MSS. D. 558/IX/V, p. 44.
12. Curzon to Hamilton, 23 April 1900, Eur. MSS. D. 510/5, p. 7. Hamilton was equally apprehensive. Hamilton to Curzon, 17 May 1900, Eur. MSS. C. 126/2, p. 169.
13. Curzon to Balfour, 31 March 1901, Add. MSS. 49732, Brit. Mus. Hamilton agreed on this point, too. Hamilton to Curzon, 1 May 1902, Eur. MSS C. 126/4, p. 162.
14. Cross to Lansdowne, 23 January 1890, Eur. MSS. E. 243/19, p. 236; 7 March 1890, ibid., pp. 260-61. Tagore saw through the inner doubts, see 'Rajnitir Dvidha' (1893), *Raja Praja*.
15. Hamilton to Curzon, 14 April 1899, Eur. MSS. C. 126/1, p. 92.
16. Same to same, 9 January 1901, ibid., vol. 3, p. 9.

16*a*. Curzon to Hamilton, 24 July 1901, Eur. MSS. D. 510/8, p. 253. In the case of the molested Burmese woman and in the 9th Lancer case (where two soldiers wantonly killed an Indian cook) Curzon took severe punitive measures, which remind one of Lytton's stand in the Fuller case. In the Bain case (where a coolie and the manager of a tea garden in Assam were involved) Curzon's sympathy was for the underdog. See Curzon to Hamilton, 9 September 1903, Eur. MSS. D. 510/14, pp. 312-13. Most of the offenders belonged to the army or the planter community. For Indian reaction see Tagore, 'Apamaner Pratikar', *Raja Praja*. About the inequity of the contract system, the maltreatment of coolies in Assam tea gardens and the inoperative character of Act I of 1882, see 'The Conditions of Labourers in the Planations of Assam' by W.R.L., 20 Aug. 1888, encl. in Dufferin to Cross, 24 Aug. 1888, Eur. MSS. E. 243, vol. 25.

17. Curzon to Hamilton, 23 April 1902, Eur. MSS. D. 510/10, p. 452; Curzon

to Cranborne, 18 November 1901, Letters and Telegrams, England and Abroad, 1901-4, Brit. Mus.

18 Curzon to Hamilton, 15 October 1902, Eur. MSS. D. 510/12, p. 99.

19 Same to same, 22 July 1903, Eur. MSS. D. 510/13, p. 199.

20. Hamilton to Curzon, 16 September 1903, Eur. MSS. C 126/5, p. 325.

21 Curzon to Brodrick, 15 November 1903, Letters to Secretary of State, etc., 1903, Brit. Mus.

22 Legislative Council Progs. 1894, vol. 33, pp. 381-84.

23 *Mahratta*, 16 December 1894; *Bengalee*, 22 December 1894; *Indu Prakash*, 31 December 1894; *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. 29 December 1894.

24. *Mahratta*, 9 February 1896 Once again the *Bengalee* agreed (8 February 1896).

25. D. E. Wacha's speech at I.N.C., 1902, *Report of I.N.C.*, 1902, pp. 142-43.

26. G. K. Gokhale, *Speeches* (2nd edn., Madras, 1916), p. 77.

27. *Mahratta*, 17 March 1895; *Kesari*, 28 January 1896. Tagore used almost the same imagery in 'Ingrez O Bharatbashi', *Raja Praja*.

28. *Mahratta*, 9 February 1896.

29. *Times of India*, 17 March 1896. The *Bangabasi* had already (1890) started preaching Swadeshism in Bengal. *Confidential Annual Report on the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Lower Provinces and Assam in 1891.*

30. Home (Public)—Confidential, October 1899, Progs. 29 (Deposit), p. 14. The *Mahratta* reported on 17 May 1896 the positive gains of the Swadeshi movement—13 new cotton mills—in the Bombay Presidency. Rabindranath also urged Indians to set up cotton mills.

31. Prominent in the Bengal movement for Swadeshi were Jogendranath Basu, editor of the *Bangabasi* and Krishnakumar Mitra, editor of the *Sanjivani* (to be deported as an Extremist in 1908). Surendranath saw it as "protection by the fiat of the national will' since protection by legislative enactment was impossible. Presidential address, I.N.C., 1902.

32. Curzon to Brodrick, 28 October 1903, Letters to Secretary of State, etc., 1903, Brit. Mus.

33. Parl. Papers, 1899 (H. of C.), vol. 66, C. 9287, Despatches of 25 August 1898 and 26 January 1899.

34. Curzon to Hamilton, 14 June 1899, Eur. MSS. D. 510/2, p. 22.

35. Same to same, 28 June 1899, ibid., p. 58.

36. P. C. Ray, *The Indian Sugar Duties* (Cal., 1899).

37. *Mahratta*, 25 May and 8 June 1902; *Kesari*, 3 June 1902.

38. Hamilton to Curzon, 14 February 1901, Eur. MSS. C. 126/3, p. 49. Curzon himself proposed the reduction at the Delhi Durbar. To play the role of an oriental monarch he deprived the Secretary of State of the credit that was due to him.

39. Hamilton to Curzon, 16 September 1903, Eur. MSS. C. 126/5, p. 329.

40. The Prime Minister philosophically suffered an old friend's irascibility. Balfour to Curzon, 12 December 1902 and 15 June 1903, Balfour Papers, Add. MSS. 49732, Brit. Mus.

41. Curzon to Balfour, 5 February 1903, ibid.

42. Same to same, 31 March 1902, ibid.

43. Curzon to Hamilton, 28 May 1902, Hamilton Papers, vol. 23, no. 24. Hamilton

to Curzon, 25 June 1902, attempts an interesting psycho-analysis, ibid., no. 33.

44. Curzon to Hamilton, 25 January 1900, Eur. MSS. D. 510/4, p. 73 et seq.
45. Curzon to Balfour, 31 March 1901, Add. MSS. 49732, Brit. Mus., f73. Also Curzon to Hamilton, 4 June 1903, Eur. MSS. D. 510/14, p. 65 et seq. "The leaven of our education, with all the ideas that it inculcates of individual rights and the equality of one man with another, is fermenting in the Indian mind, and cannot be expected to produce no results."
46. Curzon to Balfour, 31 March 1901, op. cit., f74.
47. Curzon to Hamilton, 12 September 1900, Eur. MSS. D. 510/5, p. 381 et seq.
48. Same to same, 18 November 1900, Eur. MSS. D. 510/6, pp. 293-94.
49. Curzon to Wedderburn, 15 August 1902, Letters and Telegrams, Eng. and Abroad, 1901-4, Brit. Mus.
50. Curzon to Hamilton, 9 March 1899, Eur. MSS. D. 510/1, p. 137.
51. Same to same, 16 March 1899, ibid., p. 211 et seq.
52. Curzon's speech, encl. same to same, 4 September 1901, Eur. MSS. D. 510/7, pp. 341-56. But the Government's post-Hunter Commission policy must get its due share of blame. For this, see Despatch to Secretary of State, no. 64, 15 March 1887 and Resolution no 10/309 of 23 October 1884 in Home Department. The annual reports called for by the resolution began to come in from 1888. Sir Alfred Croft's (D.P.I., Bengal) report for the first year should be read along with these documents. The government expenditure on public instruction being roughly 75 to 80 lakhs each year, private enterprise on a large scale was inevitable.
53. Surendranath Banerjee, *A Nation in Making*, pp. 174-75.
54. This was done against Hamilton's advice. See Hamilton to Curzon, 19 September 1901, Eur. MSS. C. 126/3, p. 396 et seq. Sir Gurudas Banerjee was later associated with the Commission. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., p. 175.
55. N. K. Sinha, *Asutosh Mukherjee, A Biographical Study*, (1966) pp. 61-62. Ref. to Simla Record 1, 1904, Govt. of India, Home Dept., Education A. The ratio between European Fellows and Indian Fellows was maintained up to 1914. Ibid., pp. 67-68.
56. T. V. Parvate, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, pp. 161-66. For similar reactions of Lajpat Rai, see his memorandum to Raleigh Commission, *The Tribune*, 1 and 3 May 1902.

56*a*. Perhaps the first reference to the term 'national education' was made in connection with the foundation of Hindu College Patsala (June 1839) by Prasannakumar Tagore. *General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1843-44*. Fresh efforts were made in Tattvabodhini Pathsala (1840) and Hindu Hitarthi Vidyalaya (1846) under the inspiration of Debendranath Tagore and Akshoykumar Datta. Rajnarayan Basu, Bankimchandra, Gurudas Banerjee and Rabindrath took the lead at the end of the century.

57. The reaction of the Asiatics can be well imagined if that of the great Russian, Lenin, could be: "Progressive, advanced Asia has dealt backward and reactionary Europe an irreparable blow.... Europe defended its prior and primal right, sanctified by centuries, to the exploitation of the Asiatic

peoples. The reconquest of Port Arthur by Japan is a blow against the whole of reactionary Europe.... Not the Russian people but Absolutism has suffered a shameful defeat." *Vpered*, 14 January 1905.

58. *India*, 10 June 1904, pp. 281-82.
59. Curzon to Brodrick, 29 December 1904, Letters to Secretary of State, etc., 1904-5, Brit. Mus., p. 13.
60. N. C. Kelkar, *Tilak*, vol. 2, p. 183.
60*a*. G. S. Khaparde writes in his unpublished diary (in Marathi) that Tilak opposed it as early as 1891.
61. Bipin Ch. Pal, *The National Congress* (1887), p. 9.
62. Same, 'The Test of Patriotism', *New India*, 17 July 1902.
63. Rabindranath Tagore, 'Ingrez O Bharatbashi' (1893), 'Rajnitir Dwanda' (1893), 'Subicharer Adhikar' (1894), later collected in *Raja Praja*, *Rabindra Rachanavali*, vol. XII (1348 B.S.).
64. V. C. Joshi (ed.) *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, pp. 86-91. Also Lajpat Rai, 'The Coming Indian National Congress—Some Suggestions', *Kayastha Samachar*, Nov. 1901. V. C. Joshi traces this to the influence of his Arya Samaj friends, in particular Rai Mul Raj, who considered "the Congress not merely useless but detrimental to the interest of India." Lajpat himself refers to the safety valve function of the early Congress. V. C. Joshi (ed.), *Lala Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches*, Int., pp. XXI-XXII.
65. Aurobindo, 'Bal Gangadhar Tilak', Int., *Speeches and Writings of Tilak* (Natesan, Madras, 1918).
66. In 'New Lamps for Old' and the series of seven articles on Bankimchandra, published in the *Indu Prakash*, Aurobindo expressed again and again his pride in Bengal as the *avant-garde* of revolution. Bengal, to him, was the Athens and the France of India. See *Indu Prakash*, 30 October 1893 and 27 August 1894. In his introduction to Tilak's *Speeches and Writings*, 1918, he wrote, "The Indian people generally with the possible exception of emotional and idealistic Bengal, have nothing or very little of the revolutionary temper...." See also speech at Bombay, 19 January 1908. Compare encomiums on French character by Jules Michelet (1846). Jules Michelet, *Le Peuple* (translated by C. Cocks), pp. 240-44.
67. B. G. Tilak, *Journey to Madras, Ceylon, and Burma* (Marathi), p. 3, ref. to in Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale*, etc., p. 135. See also Tilak's speech at Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, ibid., pp. 178-79.
68. Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, vol. V, part III, p. 287.
69. Bipin Ch. Pal, 'Composite Patriotism', *New India*, 27 May 1905 (also *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, pp. 11-12; 16-17).
70. See the very first issue of *New India*.
71. *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, op. cit., pp. 26-28.
72. J. Reid Graham, *The Arya Samaj as a Reformation in Hinduism with Specific Reference to Caste*, p. 431.
73. *Sophia*, February 1897, p. 11. For attack on Ramakrishna, see ibid., October 1897.
74. Ibid., July 1897.
75. See articles published in *The Twentieth Century* throughout 1901.
76. For Brahmabandhav's lectures at Oxford and Cambridge on Hinduism

(1903), see *The Blade*, p. 114 et seq., also *Vilatjatri Sannyasir Chithi*, August 1906.

77. Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav, 'European Dominion,' *Sophia*, 18 August 1900, pp. 6-7.
78. Same, *The Twentieth Century*, January 1901, p. 1.
79. It is interesting to note that Upadhyaya had now fallen under the spell of Srikrishna. See 'Srikrishnatattva', *Sahitya Samhita*, vol. V, 1311 B.S.
80. *Sri Aurobindo On Himself and On the Mother*, pp. 18-19.
81. Ibid., p. 33. Mazzini also inspired Surendranath Banerjee. But while the Moderates deliberately kept silent on the revolutionary role of the leader of the Resorgimento, as well as on the 'Carbonari', the Extremists fastened on to it. Jogendranath Vidyabhusan wrote Bengali biographies of Mazzini and Garibaldi, which became very popular with the young generation and were often found in the gymnasia of the terrorists. *Sedition Committee Report*, p. 17. Lajpat Rai wrote an Urdu biography of Mazzini which aroused suspicion of the Punjab Government.
82. These quotations are from 'New Lamps for Old' published in the *Indu Prakash* between 7 August 1893 and 5 March 1894. Ranade was so irritated that he warned the publisher and advised Aurobindo to write on prison reforms. Aurobindo, *Kara Kahini*, 3rd edn., pp. 44-45.
83. Aurobindo to Mrinalini Devi, 30 August 1905. In his farewell address to National College Students on 22 August 1907 he talks of "the mission that I have taken up from my childhood."
84. Aurobindo, seven articles on Bankimchandra, published from 16 July to 27 August 1894 in the *Indu Prakash*. First edition in book form, 1954, Sri Aurobindo Ashram. Quotation from 'Our Hope in Future', *Indu Prakash*, 27 August 1894.
85. *Sri Aurobindo On Himself and On The Mother*, p. 30, p. 35. Dr. B. B. Majumdar has misinterpreted the text to show that Aurobindo joined Thakur Saheb in 1902-3 after he had already started revolutionary work in Bengal. See *Militant Nationalism in India*, etc. (Cal., 1966), p. 99.
86. It is interesting to note Sister Nivedita's contacts with the Samity. She fell under the spell of Kropotkin in 1901 and was tortured by an inner anguish: "And I belong to *Hinduism* more than I ever did. But I see the *political* need so clearly too!" She met Okakura early in 1902 and edited his *Ideals of the East* with an introduction. She renounced formal ties with the Ramakrishna Mission in July 1902. She met Aurobindo at Baroda on 20 October 1902 and, as Aurobindo says, "We spoke of politics and other subjects." They also talked of her *Kali the Mother*. When he tried to unite Bombay and Baroda in a single organization under P. Mitra, the Central Council was designed to include Nivedita. (*Sri Aurobindo on Himself, etc.*, p. 116). Nivedita often visited the Samity, addressed its members and gave her rich collection of books on revolution to its library. Madame Lizelle Reymond's claim that Nivedita led Aurobindo from behind the scene is unfounded (ibid., et seq.). Nivedita was friendly to all who worked for the regeneration of India—political, economic or cultural. She was pained to see the gulf between the Moderates and the Extremists widen after 1906. See Pravrajika Atmaprana, *Sister Nivedita* (1961), chapter 37.
87. For these inner party bickerings, see Hemchandra Kanungo, *Bangalaya*

Biplab Prachesta, pp. 19-22, 37-38. Jadugopal Mukhopadhyay in *Biplabi Jibaner Smriti* (p. 198 et seq.) says, Aurobindo managed to patch up a short-lived truce, but P. Mitra, embittered by Barin's backbiting, discarded Jatin unjustly. Both authors thus make Barin responsible for the split.

88. This was the interpretation of *Bhavani Mandir* by the Rowlatt Committee who called it "a remarkable instance of perversion of religious ideals to political purposes." Hemchandra Kanungo has accepted this interpretation. Aurobindo had failed in his first attempt (1902-4) because it had been secular. Hence the religious garb of the second. Aurobindo himself refuses to give the book such importance. It was Barin's idea and he was neither concerned with its implementation nor perturbed over its collapse.
89. M. G. Ranade, *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 70-86. Also R. G. Bhandarkar, *A Note on the Age of Marriage and its Consummation according to Hindu Religious Law*.
90. The Age of Consent of Bill raised in Bengal a storm of protest but except for Matilal Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and Jogendrachandra Basu of the *Bangabasi*, it had little to do with Extremism. The opposition of Sir Romeshchandra Mitra, Raja Benoykrishna Deb, etc., was on purely orthodox lines. Rabindranath alone maintained that early marriage was unhygienic for women on scientific grounds but legislation was unnecessary since changing economic conditions tended to discourage it. See 'Hindu Bibaha' (1294 B.S.), *Samaj*, *Rabindra Rachanavali*, vol. X (1349 B.S.). Sir Charles Elliott, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, prosecuted the *Bangabasi* under sec. 124A, I.P.C. The *Bangabasi* apologized. See Lansdowne to Cross, 4 August, 1 September and 15 September 1891, Eur. MSS. E. 243/31, pp. 16, 53, 66 and 71.
91. Lansdowne to Cross, 14 and 21 January 1891, ibid., vol. 30, p. 18. For general attitude of Congress, same to same, 4 February 1891, ibid., p. 32.
92. Legislative Council of Governor General, Progs., 1891, p. 83.
93. Palande (ed.), Damodar H. Chapekar, *Autobiography, Source Material for A History of the Free Movement in India*, vol. II, pp. 979-80, p. 985.
94. S. N. Banerjee's presidential address (1895) praises Ranade's wisdom which averted "a crisis which might have proved disastrous."
95. Wolpert, op. cit., chapter III.
96. Vivekananda, *Kali the Mother*.
97. Nivedita, *Kali the Mother* (second edn., 1953), pp. 34-35 and *The Master as I Saw Him* ('The Swami and Mother worship').

97*a*. For an elaboration of this Sakti symbology, see Bipin Ch. Pal, *The Soul of India*, op. cit., pp. 162-94.

98. Cow Protection Societies had been started in the seventies at the inspiration of Dayananda. Tilak was an enthusiastic supporter of the movement for he saw in it political possibilities.
99. Note on the history of the agitation by D. F. McCracken, 9 August 1893, Home Dept. Pub., January 1894, part B, Progs. no. 309-414; also note of J. P. Hewett, 12 August 1889, Home Dept. Police, September 1889, Progs. no. 12B. See Tagore's analysis in 'Subicharer Adhikar' (1894), *Raja Praja*.
100. C. J. Lyall, Offg. Home Secretary to Col. Ardagh, 17 September 1889,

Lansdowne Papers, series VII, vol. 2, part I, no 211. Also Lansdowne's speech at Agra, October 1890.

101. Circular Letter from Home Dept., Govt. of India, no. 1460-64, 4 October 1893.
102. There were 91 instances of communal rioting during Lansdowne's Viceroyalty. Home Dept. Despatch 49 of 26 September 1891, Home Dept. Pub., September 1894, Progs. no. 345-64. In its confidential despatch to Secy. of State, 26 October 1893, the Bombay Govt. blamed the Moslems for starting riot at Bombay.
103. F. H. Skrine, The Religious War in Sahabad, July to October 1893.
104. MacDonnell to Lansdowne, 4 August 1893. Lansdowne Papers, op. cit., vol. 10, part I, no. 86.
105. Lansdowne to Kimberley, 15 August 1893, Eur. MSS. D. 558/IX/V, p. 121. See Rabindranath, 'Subicharer Adhikar' and 'Ingrajer Atanka', *Raja Praja*.
106. Lansdowne to Kimberley, 22 August 1893 (no. 52), Eur. MSS. D. 558/IX/V, p. 127. Kimberley was heartened by the rift between the Hindus and the Moslems. Kimberley to Lansdowne, 25 August 1893 (no. 53), ibid., p. 73. Trouble over cow-slaughter went on for some time. See Elgin to Kimberley, 19 December 1894, Eur. MSS. F. 84/12.
107. Elgin to Hamilton, 24 March and 31 March 1897, ibid., vol. 14, p. 281, p. 287. Same to same, 7 April 1897, ibid., p. 382.
108. Same to same, 29 June 1897, ibid., vol. 15, p. 54 of Appendix.
109. Same to same, 13 July 1897, ibid., pp. 60-61 of Appendix.

For a history of Shivaji Utsav and an elaborate discussion of the case, see *Charge to the jury in the case of Queen Empress v. B. G. Tilak and K. M. Bal in the High Court of Bombay revised* and *corrected by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Strachey with App.* Tilak was prosecuted under sec. 124A, I.P.C., for (1) an article, in the form of a poem, on Shivaji ('Shivaji's Utterances') and (2) a report of certain speeches, including Tilak's, made at Shivaji festival, 1897—both published in *Kesari*, 15 June 1897. For quotations from (1), alleged to have roused disaffection, see pp. 34-46. These bewail the lot of Mavla peasants, the incarceration of Brahmins, the slaughter of sacred cow, the frequent shooting of Indians, improper treatment of women-folk and humiliation of native princes by the *bania* British.

The second article reproduces Prof. Bhanu's justification of Shivaji's killing of Afzal Khan on utilitarian grounds (pp. 55-56), Prof. Jinsivale's justification on analogy with Napoleon and Revolutionary leaders of France (p. 60) and Tilak's justification on Srikrishna's example (p. 63 et seq.).

110. Elgin to Hamilton, 20 July 1897, Eur. MSS. F. 84/15, pp. 63-67 of Appendix.
111. Same to same, 24 November 1897, ibid., p. 130.
112. Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, Macmillan paperback, p. 330.
113. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, pp. 17-19.
114. Quotations are from the *Arya*, 1918-21, later published under the title, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*. Besides this ingrained spirituality ("the master-key of the Indian mind"), Aurobindo also mentions "an inexhaust-

ible vital creativeness and gust of life and, mediating between them, a powerful, penetrating and scrupulous intelligence combined of the rational, ethical and aesthetic mind each at a high intensity of action." *The Renaissance in India*, op. cit., pp. 9-18.

115. Aurobindo, 'Dayananda and the Veda', *Vedic Magazine*, 1916.
116. B. G. Tilak, *The Orion* (1st edn., 1893) and *The Arctic Home in the Vedas* (1st edn., 1903). In the former he added a few thousand years to the Vedic antiquity, in the latter he interpreted certain passages in *Rig Veda* in the light of geology to establish Polar attributes of Vedic deities: "the primitive Aryan home was both Arctic and inter-glacial." (*The Arctic Home*, 2nd edn., 1956, p. VI). He claimed a high level of Aryan civilization before 8000 B.C., "on strict scientific and historical grounds."
117. Tilak's first article on Shivaji was published in the *Kesari*, 23 April 1895. The first Shivaji festival was celebrated at Raigarh on 15 April 1896 (birthday of Shivaji), the second, on 13 June 1897 (when he was crowned *Chhatrapati*). On the latter occasion Tilak commented on the morality of Shivaji's killing of Afzal Khan (*Kesari*, 15 June 1897) which might have inspired the Chapekars. (See fn. 109).
118. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, pp. 73-83.
119. Tagore wrote *Shivaji Utsav* for *Shivajir Diksha* of Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar (1904). It was also published in *Bangadarshan*, Asvin, 1311 B.S.
120. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 79.
121. Ibid., pp. 31-34. See K. A. Ballhatchet, *British Policy and Social Change in Western India*. See also Aurobindo, 'Unity and British Rule', *Bande Mataram*, 2 May 1907; speech at Palli Samiti, Kishoreganj.
122. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 37.
123. Ibid., p. 31.
124. Aurobindo, 'Caste and Democracy', *Bande Mataram*, 21 September 1907. This is an echo of Vivekananda who wrote, "the original idea of *jati* was the freedom of the individual to express his nature, his *Prakriti*, his *Jati*, his caste.... The present caste is not the real *Jati*, but a hindrance to its progress. It really has prevented the free action of *Jati*, i.e. caste or variation." *Complete Works*, IV, p. 372. Also Nivedita, *Civic and National Ideals* (4th edn.), pp. 44-46.
125. Bipin Ch. Pal, *The Soul of India*, op. cit., pp. 108-12.
126. Rabindranath Tagore, 'Brahman', *Bangadarshan*, Asarh, 1309 B.S.
127. Aurobindo to Mrinalini Devi, 30 August 1905. See also his *Karakahini*, p. 88, where he emphasizes *Brahmatejas* and *tapaskshamata*.
128. Aurobindo, *Bande Mataram*, weekly edn., 8 December 1907. Nivedita considers Brahminism too exclusive to constitute a nationality. "It is only, therefore, when there is within Hinduism itself, a counter centre to the Brahmin, that Hinduism can suffice to create a nationality. Kshatriya is that counter centre." *Civic and National Ideals* (4th edn.), p. 32.
129. Bipin Ch. Pal, *The Soul of India*, op. cit., p. 66.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

"THERE is no doubt," wrote Curzon to Max Müller on 26 July 1899, "that a sort of quasi-metaphysical ferment is going on in India; strongly conservative and even reactionary in its general tendency.... What is to come out of this strange amalgam of superstition, transcendentalism, mental exaltation, and intellectual obscurity —with European ideas thrown as an outside ingredient into the crucible—who can say?" Curzon was vaguely disturbed about this strange phenomenon of Extremism but could not give it much thought. The North-West Frontier called for greater administrative attention; Muscat, Koweit and Persia posed graver issues of imperial strategy; and, nearer home, as many as ten problems, ranging from education to irrigation, cried for closer scrutiny, if not instant solution.[1] Though a storm was about to break over the amended Calcutta Municipal Bill, he expected little trouble from the Congress. Wedderburn's journal, *India*, languished for lack of funds[2] and only a few princes and zemindars subscribed to the Congress coffers.[3] No tinkering with sedition laws was necessary as no evidence of the complicity of Natu brothers with the murder of Rand and Ayerst had come forth, "and I fancy that the existence of a conspiracy itself, at any rate as a political movement, is now disbelieved."[4] He even advised Sandhurst, Governor of Bombay, to release the Natus, for it might help Gokhale, "the reclaimed prodigal", to defeat Tilak in the coming election to the Bombay Legislative Council. According to police reports the Lucknow Congress had a limited success; only 900 delegates were present and some had to be induced to attend.[5] When Wedderburn tried to extract from him some pronouncement favourable to the Congress, he declined forthwith, as "my own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise.... the composition of the Congress, at any rate in recent years, had deprived them of any right to pose as the representative of more than a small section of the

community."[6] The Lahore Congress complimented him but expressed aspirations which "he would have to shatter."[7]

The genesis of the partition of Bengal had nothing, therefore, to do with Curzon's determination to crush a seditious Congress. It had its origins in the anti-Bengali prejudice among the Civilians, growing to monstrous proportions in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and in the administrative necessity imposed by the geographical and demographical expansion of Bengal under the British rule.

In his famous Education Minute Macaulay had expressed the hope that the English-educated Bengali middle class would one day be "interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in colour and blood, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."[8] The happy consequence, predicted Charles Trevelyan, would be "full and harmless employment" of the national activity in "acquiring and diffusing European knowledge, and in naturalising European institutions", so that even if the day of parting came and the British rule ended, "we shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies.... Trained by us to happiness and independence, and endowed with our learning and political institutions, India will remain the proudest monument of British benevolence."[9] In two decades this noble dream had vanished like the sunset glow. When Beadon proposed to grant stipends on a higher scale to deserving students, Sir Charles Wood (then President of the Board of Control) acidly commented, "I do not care about young Bengalees reading Bacon and Shakespeare, at the expense of Government and being paid for learning it."[10] The competitive Civil Service examination was to be held only in London, for, as Wood insisted, "the only place where an education could be acquired that would fit a person for employment in India was at Haileybury.... It could not be gained in India."[11]

Then the Sepoy Mutiny burst like a thunder cloud and, for a few months, the familiar political landmarks were enveloped in black fury. The memories of Meerut, Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow drew an indelible line of blood, suspicion and fear between the Englishman and the Indian. Wood confessed in 1860 the blunder of having reduced "to

one low and dead level all that is native." It seemed most desirable to him now "to attach to our rule what remains of the upper and middle classes in India." But could it be done, as Perry said, by introducing competitive examination in India? "I have no doubt of your obtaining plenty of native talent. What we want in natives is moral character, which no examination can test; and taking people from the better classes in such a way as to attach those classes to us."[12] It was not so much ability as "honesty and character" that he needed and he found it more in the Talookdars of Oudh than in the "highly crammed Baboo in Calcutta."[13]

When honours and preferments were distributed for loyalty at the end of the Mutiny, Canning forgot the Bengalis who had proved their attachment to the Company with the pen, if not with arms. The native princes received back their right of adoption, the Talookdars, their forfeited estates with police powers to boot, and the Punjab sirdars, permission to consolidate scattered jagirs. Yet the meagre demand of the Bengali middle class—introduction of a simultaneous Civil Service examination in India—was rejected. Surendranath Banerjee, one of the few fortunate Bengalis, rich enough to try their luck in the London examination and intelligent enough to win a place in the successful list, was unceremoniously dismissed from the service on a minor and technical offence. Salisbury reduced the upper age limit for appearing in the Civil Service examination from 22 to 19, apparently to ensure for the successful candidates a university education in England (an inferior substitute for Haileybury) and to permit the considerable failures to strive for an alternative profession at a still tender age,[14] but actually to tilt the balance more in favour of the public-school-trained British boys. The idea of appointing Indians to any office in the Civil Service, though accepted by Parliament by an Act (33 Vict. c. 3), was resisted by Argyll and Salisbury as Secretaries of State and Northbrook as Viceroy.[15] Lytton's plan for a close native Civil Service ran into similar opposition. Salisbury insisted on an aristocratic character of the service.[16] The lowering of the age limit rankled in the mind of the middle class and Ripon acknowledged its injustice: "up to the year 1883 only one Native has been successful in the English competitions

since the limit of age was reduced."[17] Salisbury knew that the British bureaucrats "look upon their posts and their prospects as porperty which they have won with their bow and spear" and yet yielded to their unfair pressure.[18]

From the 1860's this vested interest began to spread canards about the Bengalis to which even the Viceroys contributed. "No doubt," wrote Lawrence to Northcote, "the present arrangements operate as a bar to natives in any number entering the service... But even in this (Judicial Department) we ought not to have many natives in the superior grades. As it is now, the Bengallees (sic) are the race who have most benefited by education, because they have had the greatest opportunities, and also because that, as a rule, their intellects are more subtle and acute than those of the people of any other part of India. But such men, however intellectually capable, however highly qualified to succeed in a competitive examination, have not the stuff in them which makes good rulers and administrators. The courage, the activity, and self-reliance, which makes so many Englishmen good administrators are generally wanting in the Bengallee (sic)."[19] The Punjabis, and Lawrence's opinion of them was accepted as gospel truth, would rather be ruled by the English than by the Bengali, whose "physique is poor and weak", and whose "heart is feeble and timid."[20] The "vigorous races", "the hardy races" (like the Punjabis and the Pathans) were now frequently distinguished from "the effeminate" Bengalis—"foreigners of another Indian country, however intellectually acute those foreigners may be." G. O. Trevelyan, son of Charles, who had such high hopes about the Bengalis, even complained of their lack of veracity,[21] which was corroborated by Lord Roberts in *Forty-one Years in India* (1897) and by Curzon in his Convocation address (1905). The author of *The Letters from a Competition Wallah* (1865) puts up in contrast the glorious image of the young, fair-haired, Anglo-Saxon Tom, giving "the law to the lesser breeds" in the Deccan or Rajputana.

While the Punjab school continued to harp on Wood's theme of "the highly crammed Calcutta Baboo", the British planters and merchants began to pour on him vials of wrath. In Harishchandra Mukherjee and the *Hindu Patriot*, in Dina-

bandhu Mitra and *Nil Darpan*, and in the support which Bengali zemindars and *jotedars* lent to luckless indigo ryots, who, in Wood's own words, were yoked to "a system of forced labour", the planter-merchant saw only a rebellious brood hatched by English education. J. F. Stephen's authoritarian liberalism began to replace John Stuart Mill's democratic liberalism as the guiding principle of the India government. Gobineau's pseudo-scientific theory of the racial superiority of the Europeans was swallowed hook, line and sinker. The newly appointed British Civilians were soon accustomed to think of themselves as Platonic *Guardians*, destined by imperial mission to play father to the poor and the oppressed. They and they alone stood between the helpless people and the rack-renting landlord, the foreclosing money-lender and the exploiting lawyer. Like Prospero they held the magic wand over Ariel as well as Caliban, the good native and the bad. Those few idealists, who still kept up the liberal tradition, A. O. Hume, William Wedderburn and Henry Beveridge, for example, were treated with a disdain worthy of cranks. No important position of honour or power, especially the position of the district magistrate, was ever entrusted to a Bengali, who, Strachey warned, hated the British most.[22] What future lay before the Babu, asked Lytton, who had learned to simulate but had not the capacity to emulate? He represented nothing but the social anomaly of his own position.[22a] These anti-Bengali prejudices exploded in the ugliest possible manner during the anti-Ilbert Bill agitation. Bankimchandra replied for the whole nation in his famous skit—'Bransonism'. The Bengali might have remarked with Walter Scott how the lesser gentry of Scotland sent their younger sons to India as automatically as they sent their black cattle to market in the south. The fair-haired Anglo-Saxon Tom of Trevelyan *fils* might be "committing errors of the most irritating kind with an incredible amount of assurance and conceit." *Apropos* the virile Moslem of Lawrence and Strachey and the mystic Moslem of Disraeli, he might have pointed to Thackeray's "Young Mr. Bedwin Sands". A systematic defamation of national character had been let loose in Ireland and India. "Men do not allocate a secondary and subordinate place to other men without developing a contempt for them." And

this contempt was considered to be "the most searing of all forms of bondage."[22b]

The pretensions of these people to local self-government were unbearable to men of Strachey's ilk. Baring was prepared to allow the Bengali Baboo "to discuss his own schools and drains". Far from subverting the empire, it would afford him "a safety valve."[23] Strachey, however, had neither Baring's sense of humour nor his sense of reality. He blazoned the code of imperial "calling" on the face of the *Times* and followed it up with an angry denunciation of Gladstonian liberalism in the *Nineteenth Century*.[24] A superstitious, fatalist, ignorant and divided people, on the one hand, and a conquering, civilized and progressive race, on the other, could and should produce an absolute government. Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary in 1895, assured his listeners that there was no idea "of handing back to barbarism such territory... as we may recover for civilization". Lord Salisbury, who disliked the noisier style of imperialim that painted the map red, still had no doubts, as a good Christian, that the civilized nations had a mission to perform in the world. Their paternalism was best expressed through authoritative rule. They would protect, equip, and educate but would not allow the right of self-determination till their clients acquired a self to determine. The very success of the British was the reward of virtue. Nature had selected them because they were the fittest to survive, not only physically but morally. The coloured man might be brought out of his darkness into the white man's light, but never into the white man's seat. Even a great classicist and life-long liberal like Gilbert Murray could say that white men were superior to black, brown and red; "that is to say, that on the whole the first mentioned colour tends to rule, and the other colours to obey". Curzon dedicated his *Problems of the Far East* (1894) to "those who believe that the British Empire is, under Providence, the greatest instrument for good that the world has ever seen."[24a]

The Bengali was all the more suspect when Surendranath founded the National Conference and predominated over the deliberations of the National Congress. Lord Cross distrusted the leaders of the latter institution, "who are clamouring for their own advancement, and only use the masses as a

lever for their own ends...."[25] Dufferin called Surendranath's group "a more violent and less respectable party" within the Congress, which was comparable to the Irish Home Rulers. He found in it "a very real and bitter element" of "bastard disloyalty"[26] and drew attention to the signs of the Mohammedans "rising in revolt against the ascendancy which they imagine a rival and less virile race is desirous of obtaining over them...." How could the British transfer power to "a microscopic minority" who neither represented the aristocracy nor had sympathy with the masses?[27] Lansdowne's report on the House of Commons resolution of 1893, allowing simultaneous Civil Service examinations, apprehended that any system of unrestricted competition would practically exclude from imperial service "Muhammedans, Sikhs, and other races accustomed to rule by tradition and possessed of exceptional strength of character, but deficient in literary education". Curzon merely recounted the arguments of British statesmen from Wood to Dufferin when he spoke on the Indian Council Act (1861) Amendment Bill on 28 March 1892.[28] Six years before his appointment as Viceroy of India, Curzon had come to be initiated into the prevailing anti-Bengali, anti-Hindu and anti-Congress philosophy of government.

If this formed the psychological background of the partition, there was also an administrative background. The Bengal Presidency had been the political, commercial and financial base of the Empire. It had grown unwieldy by constant acquisitions. Its frontiers moved like the American West till by 1854 (when it was made a separate province under a Lieutenant-Governor) it embraced the whole of northern India barring Punjab and N. W. Provinces. In 1867 a devastating famine struck Orissa and the difficulty of administering this over-grown charge was grievously felt by Lieut.-Governor Beadon. Some suggested putting Bengal under a full-fledged Governor, as in Bombay and Madras, who, now assisted by an Executive Council, would be better able to tackle complex problems affecting conglomerate races. "Considering its long connection with and its subordination to the Government of India", Lawrence opposed this proposal. He rejected also Grey's idea of giving the Lieut.-Governor a

Council of his own. "Some kind of despotism" was essential "to give unity, force and consistence to Government." He opted for the policy of reducing the size of Bengal districts, for it would establish better personal contacts between the Collector and his people, while maintaining concentration of power. "It is the system which now prevails in Oudh, the Punjab, the C.P. and, in a lesser degree, but still to a considerable extent in the N.W.P. of Bengal." "I am also", wrote Lawrence, "in favour of a severance of Assam from Bengal, and the appointment of a Chief Commissioner, dividing the province into 3 commissionerships." It might not be financially viable but it would relieve Bengal Government of some work and stimulate the development of Assam.[29] In a subsequent letter he indicated his willingness to give Assam "outlying districts of Bengal which may dovetail with it." There was not, he added, the slightest ground for change in Bihar and Orissa.[30] Thus was laid the genesis of the partition of Bengal.

The first Census to be held in India (1872) enumerated a population of 67 million for the Bengal Presidency. Campbell informed Northbrook (the Governor-General) that no administration worth the name was any longer possible. The Government had just then imposed a local cess and the zemindars had been vigorously resisting it. If the sizes of the districts were not reduced to enable direct contact between the Collector and the ryots to be established, it would not be possible for the former to see whether the burden of the cess had been shifted by the zemindars to the ryots or to prevent further cases of shifting where these had actually occurred. He suggested, *inter alia*, that 20 million of Hindi-speaking people might be separated from Bengal.[31]

Assam, instead, was separated with 2 million souls in 1874. But no experienced or ambitious Civilian agreed to stay on in Assam, which had no separate cadre and where chances of promotion would be few. "The interests of the Civil Service", succinctly put Surendranath, "with which undoubtedly the interests of the province were to some extent bound up, demanded that Assam should be a self-contained province." However, everybody soon realized that it had been an ineffectual gesture against the rapidly rising population of

Bengal. In 1896 Sir William Ward prepared a scheme of partition whereby Chittagong division and Dacca and Mymensingh districts of Bengal would be added to Assam to form a Lt.-Governor's province. Sir Henry Colvin opposed it on the ground of unnecessary expenses involved without its being any help either to Bengal or to Chittagong.[32] There had been little clamour when three Bengali-speaking districts (Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara) went to Assam in 1874. In 1897, however, public opinion was becoming a power and it found a forum in the reformed Legislative Council. The proposal of Ward was dropped in view of the protest of Chittagong, backed by the rest of Bengal.[33]

Though it "lingered in the subterranean depths of the official consciousness", Curzon did not bother about it in the first year of his Viceroyalty. It was during his Assam tour in March 1900 that the tea-planters emphasized the need of a port nearer than Calcutta, which would reduce the prohibitive freight charges made by the Assam Bengal Railway.[34] The problem of Assam was resurrected nearly two years later when he had to solve that of Berar. Curzon always put his problems in a larger context and asked, almost himself, "Bengal is unquestionably too large a charge for any single man. Ought Chittagong to continue to belong to it, or ought we to give Assam an outlet on the sea? Is Orissa best governed from Calcutta? Ought Ganjam to belong to Madras?"[35] The whole question of provincial boundaries was thus reopened by the issue of adding Berar to C.P. and the Viceroy's thoughts were still nebulous.

Then came to his desk a scheme of Sir Andrew Fraser, about a year and half old already in transit from the base to the apex of the official pyramid. Bengal's population had reached 78 million and Sir Andrew proposed that Orissa should be separated immediately and incorporated in C.P. Curzon's first reaction was an imperial fit of rage which produced the famous "Round and Round Note" against red tape. If he ever prayed at any altar, it was at the altar of efficiency. Defined as the most expeditious and intelligent discharge of duty, it was to him the sole criterion of good government and the unanswerable argument for empire. And what was happening under his very nose? A snail could

have travelled faster than that file of Fraser! He would show them how one should work. He raised the problem at once from its local context and informed it with a larger vision. The frontiers of Bengal, Assam, C.P. and Madras would all be discussed together. "I should like to fix the provincial boundaries (which are at present antiquated, illogical, and productive of inefficiency) for the next generation."[36] Still no question of dismemberment, he was only thinking of giving Chittagong to Assam.[37]

The same Andrew Fraser was asked to prepare a full scale plan of redistribution of boundaries. To avert Jove's wrath, he hastily put up Sir William Ward's old scheme (of 1896) with slight additions. Curzon was kept unaware of the trouble it had run into and on its basis he drew up an extensive minute on 1 June 1903. It secured the assent of the Secretary of State and was published as Risley Paper on 3 December 1903.[38] Chittagong Division, Hill Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh districts of Bengal were to go to Assam. Chota Nagpur would be added to C.P. Bengal would receive Sambalpur from C.P. and Ganjam from Madras. The population of Bengal would be reduced from 78.4 million to 67.5 million, enabling district magistrates to look more closely to the grievances of the people under their charge. The eastern districts would be freed from "the pernicious influence of Calcutta" and their Moslem population would get a juster deal. Assam tea would have a cheaper outlet at Chittagong. All Oriya-speaking people would be brought under one administration and communications would be much improved.[39]

The whole thing was a typical example of how the Indian officialdom forced the hands of the Viceroys and even the ablest was no exception. More a plan of Fraser and Risley, the first scheme of partition was a counterblast to Extremism. Fraser was convinced that certain districts of Bengal had become "a hotbed of the purely Bengali movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character." The Calcutta leaders, like the Calcutta newspapers, had established a tyranny in those areas, which should be immediately scotched.[40] Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India, believed that the preponderance of the Bengalis in provincial politics

was "most desirable" to diminish.[41] It could best be done by dividing them. "Bengal united is a power. Bengal divided will pull several different ways. That is what the Congress leaders feel: their apprehensions are perfectly correct and they form one of the great merits of the scheme. . . . *It is not altogether easy to reply in a despatch which is sure to be published without disclosing the fact that in this scheme as in the matter of the amalgamation of Berar to the Central Provinces one of our main objects is to split up and thereby to weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule.*"[42] And most cynically he added, would not the populous districts of Eastern Bengal now be able to swallow Assam?

A tumult of protest arose all over Bengal.[43] Since the new province would be placed under a Chief Commissioner, many Bengalis would be deprived of the privileges and facilities of possessing a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue and of being under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. Cotton, then a top leader of the Congress, suggested that it would be better to separate the Hindi- and Oriya-speaking people from the Bengalis. It would reduce Bengal's size, the ostensible ground for partition, while maintaining the integrity of the Bengalis. The Risley scheme was denounced by the Congress (1903) as "presposterous" for it would undo the unity of India and might endanger communal amity. Moreover, the effect would be ridiculously incommensurate with the expenses likely to be incurred and the interests surely to be injured. Would the administrative convenience, resulting from separation of only 11 million people, be worth the cost, financial as well as human? Were it not better to make Bengal a Governor's Province, enjoying an Executive Council, which could help the Governor in details of administration? Thus two alternatives were offered to the Risley scheme—(1) separation of Bihar and Orissa and (2) conversion of Bengal into a Governor's Province like Bombay and Madras. The officials rejected the former outright and only two, C. C. Stevens and C. E. Buckland, supported the latter. Like Lawrence in an earlier period, Risley opposed it strongly. The Governor would come from Britain, Risley reckoned, and, being an influential member of the British ruling party, would care very little for the prejudices and interests of the I.C.S. As soon as he

would have an Executive Council, the Bengalis would clamour for a seat. It would be a mess, bristling with unknown snags.

The government sought to persuade and to conciliate ruffled opinion by conferences at Belvedere under the presidency of Sir Andrew Fraser, Lt.-Governor of Bengal. Surendranath kept aloof, hoping that the Bengali case was safe in the hands of Ashutosh Chaudhuri. He fondly hoped that the government would bow to public opinion and a sudden blackout on the scheme lent countenance to his view.[44] Actually, however, Curzon was no less adamant than Risley. The turmoil over redistribution of boundaries he poohpoohed as "artificial description". 'The whole question had been kept boiling for a long time but as soon as he attempted a rational solution, "at once a prodigious outcry is raised by all the parties whom it is proposed to take away from Bengal, that they are being torn from the bosom of their ancestral mother, and that the act of spoliation is both a blunder and a crime. Dacca and Mymensingh, which it was proposed to incorporate with Assam, are rending the air with piteous outcries. ...So far, in the hundreds of articles and letters that I have read upon the subject, at any rate of the partition of Eastern Bengal, I have not found one single line of argument; there is nothing but rhetoric and declamation; and one almost begins to weary of attempting anything in the nature of a positive administrative reform in a country where so few people will ever look ahead, where public opinion is so unstable and ill-informed and where sentiment overrides almost every other consideration."[45] Why should he have to listen to "a stale rehash of belated cries and obsolete platitudes" coming from "untaught and unteachable" Congress leaders? Moreover, the very hysteria of the Congress and the Bengali leaders was proof that his bureaucracy was on the right track, that the partition of Bengal was politically desirable. In a revealing letter to Brodrick, he writes, "The Bengalis, who like to think themselves a nation, and who dream of a future when the English will have been turned out and a Bengali Babu will have been installed in Government House, Calcutta, of course bitterly resent any disruption that will be likely to interfere with the realization of this dream. If we are weak enough to yield to their clamour

now, we shall not be able to dismember or reduce Bengal again; and you will be cementing and solidifying, on the eastern flank of India, a force already formidable and certain to be a source of increasing trouble in the future."[46]

In such a frame of mind Curzon set out on his historic tour of Eastern Bengal in February 1904. Suddenly in Mymensingh he gave out hints of a much wider version of the Risley plan. He proposed to include in the new province the whole of Rajsahi division (minus Darjeeling but plus Malda), Dacca division and Chittagong division. His speech at Dacca makes the underlying motives of this surprising elaboration clear. One of the reasons for partition, he told the Moslem audience, was "to invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussulman Viceroys and Kings."[47] Creation of a Moslem majority province on the flank of Bengal had become a political necessity and, once again, the argument had been put into the mouth of Curzon by three Civilians—Andrew Fraser, Lt.-Governor of Bengal, Bampfylde Fuller, Chief Commissioner of Assam (and the first Lieut.-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam after partition), and Sir Herbert Risley, Secretary to Home Department, India Government. Sir Andrew had no qualms about parting with Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur, but he would not give up Chota Nagpur. Risley generously added to the list of expendable districts—Rajsahi, Dinajpur, Malda and Cooch Bihar.[48] Fuller briefed Curzon as to the administrative necessity of enlarging the size of Assam, without which no experienced senior Civilian was likely to opt for it.[49] Risley supported Fuller's contention and further advised Curzon to build the new province on the foundation of communalism.[50] Curzon fell in with these suggestions. He roped in Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca by promising him a loan of £ 100,000 at nominal interest and the latter had little difficulty in assembling a huge gathering of Moslems to cheer the Viceroy's plan for a Moslem province.[51]

We should remember that not all Moslems had been won over by Curzon. Men like Abdul Rasul and Liakat Hossain marched with the Hindu opponents of the partition and suffered equally. At the Town Hall meeting of 18 March 1904 the communal implications of the second plan were

thoroughly exposed. The Congress of 1904 registered its protest again. Its President, Cotton, asked for an interview with Curzon, who had just returned from a short sojourn in England for a second term. Cotton wished to persuade him to drop the plan and put Bengal under a Governor instead. But Curzon refused to accept this olive branch. "Everyone is now agreed", he assured Godley, "to the former (i.e. partition) except the Congress Party, who see in the sub-division of Bengal a weakening of Bengali influence in the future and a cruel postponement of the day when Cotton's ideal of an emancipated Bengal, under a Babu Lt. Governor will be realised."[52] His next letter on partition is very important. It utters the usual justifications but, while decrying the political motive behind the agitation against the partition, lays bare his own for it. "Calcutta is the centre from which the Congress party is manipulated throughout the whole of Bengal, and indeed the whole of India. Its best wirepullers and its most frothy orators all reside here. The perfection of their machinery, and the tyranny which it enables them to exercise are truly remarkable. They dominate public opinion in Calcutta; they affect the High Court; they frighten the local Government, and they are sometimes not without serious influence on the Government of India. The whole of their activity is directed to creating an agency so powerful that they may one day be able to force a weak government to give them what they desire. *Any measure in consequence that would divide the Bengali-speaking population; that would permit independent centres of activity and influence to grow up; that would dethrone Calcutta from its place as the centre of successful intrigue, or that would weaken the influence of the lawyer class, who have the entire organization in their hands, is intensely and hotly resented by them.* The outcry will be loud and very fierce, but as a native gentleman said to me—'my countrymen always howl until a thing is settled; then they accept it.' "[53] To Curzon it was a very simple equation: Congress = Calcutta leaders. And he knew also, like his Indian confidante, that the Bengalis lacked "proportion, moderation or sanity", that "these petty volcanoes scream and screech from one year's end to the other and throw their torrents of mud into the air."[54] Curzon's superficial and supercilious knowledge of the Bengali character

misled him. A man of flamboyant but little true imagination and even less of human understanding, he failed to gauge the depths of feelings stirred by his policy, which he admitted in private correspondence to be more actuated by devious political motives than by mere administrative expediency.

His Convocation address at the Calcutta University only rubbed salt into the wound. He meant to say some "plain truths" on the dangers in the surroundings and national character—"somewhat plainly, but not unkindly."[55] It was not his unkindness but his indifference which offended, and his love of rhetoric and exaggerated statements was not always excused by a people who themselves had a similar failing. "I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim", he said in course of the address, "when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception." He might not have meant that all Indians lacked honesty and integrity but his claim for the West sounded hollow to people on whom he had himself sprung the painful surprise of the enlarged plan of partition. "The revised scheme", said Surendranath, "was conceived in secret, discussed in secret, and settled in secret, without the slightest hint to the public.... Indeed, so complete was the lull after Lord Curzon's visit to East Bengal before the storm actually burst, that the idea gained ground that the project of a partition has been abandoned".[56] Moreover, no such claim would be entertained by a generation which had read deeply of Bankimchandra and followed with avid alacrity and pride the triumphal progress of Vivekananda through the West. Curzon forgot that he was addressing not the Young Bengal of the early nineteenth century but the Extremist Bengal of the early twentieth. He lulled himself into a false sense of assurance that it was merely a Bengal affair. "Bombay is silent. Madras, though cogitating, is mute: no body else seems to take the faintest interest; and the Calcutta Congress, after thus exhausting one more damp squib from their pyrotechnical armoury, will presently be sitting down to arrange for the eighth meeting to denounce the Viceroy for the dismemberment and destruction of Bengal".[57] The Benares Congress would not be such a tame affair.

The final despatch on partition, mainly written by Curzon

himself, sailed for England on 2 February 1905. St. John Brodrick, the Secretary of State, had already heard of the intense bitterness aroused by the plan. But he scarcely applied his mind to it. He would have liked to see the districts separated before hazarding a conclusion. Yet "seeing the strong view you take upon this, I will back the whole of your scheme, as far as it lies in my power, and I hope it may emerge from Committee and Council without very material amendment."[58] The India Council, however, took the matter more seriously. Sir Alfred Lyall opposed the scheme of partition and suggested putting a few districts of Bengal, say Chota Nagpur and Orissa, under a Commissioner, "having a position like that of the Commissioner of Sind, and invested, as may seem necessary, with powers of a Lt.-Governor". The idea was to relieve the Lt.-Governor of Bengal and provide personal administration to underdeveloped districts, not to punish the Bengalis for dangerous opinions. The Secretary of State, under pressure of his Council, wanted to know whether Curzon had considered such an alternative before he sent the despatch of 2 February 1905.[59] Curzon vehemently protested against the suggestion of the India Council, "which was not seriously considered by us, because we deemed it absolutely impracticable." It would give "a quite...inappreciable (sic) and wholly inadequate relief" to the Bengal government. A merely nominal withdrawal of only 12 million from Bengal would leave the problem untouched. It would preclude the expansion of Assam and "stereotype misfortune of its dependence on foreign service." "*It would tend to consolidate the Bengali element by detaching it from outside factors and would produce the very effect that we desire to avoid. The best guarantee of the political advantage of our proposal is its dislike by the Congress party.*" Lastly, if it was rejected at this stage, the prestige of the India Government would be seriously impaired.[60]

We know from the records of the India Council that the opposition of the Councillors was allayed by Brodrick and Godley with some difficulty.[61] Brodrick himself was not wholly convinced by Curzon's arguments. In his return despatch on partition of 9 June 1905 he not only mentioned the arguments of Lyall and others but expressed his own qualms of (a some-

what tardy) conscience: "That a large and upon the whole homogeneous community of 41½ millions, with Calcutta as their centre of culture and political and commercial life, should object to the transfer of ⅜ of their number to a new administration with a distant capital, involving the severance of old and historic ties and the breaking up of racial unity, appears to me in no way surprising".[62] An Indian may legitimately ask, why, then, did the Secretary of State have to knuckle down to Curzon's impetuous, and apparently unjust, measure? In bowing before a more forceful personality, Brodrick really abdicated his duty, though his Councillors made him amply aware of it.

Curzon and Andrew Fraser wanted to give immediate effect to the partition. The former drafted the resolution himself and it was published on 19 July 1905. The anti-partition agitation took some time to gather momentum. The *Sanjivani* gave the first call to boycott on 22 June but the *Bengalee* accepted it on 12 August. Narendranath Sen moved a lukewarm resolution at the historic Town Hall meeting of 7 August. The Moderate motto was still "Defence, not Defiance." The British government published the papers on partition (after judicious pruning) on 10 October against Curzon's opposition and requested him to postpone its promulgation for another three weeks. He was not, however, prepared to brook any more delay. As the partition was made effective on 16 October, Bengal inscribed Bande Mataram on her national banner. Tagore was the poet of this new nationalism, inspiring the anti-partition agitation with a noble and delicate evocation of the land and people going to be divided, breathing through every note a warm, nostalgic and poignant love which dedicated life and soul to the cause of the motherland. A perceptive foreign visitor, Ramsay Macdonald, wrote in the *Daily Chronicle* how Bengal was creating India "by song and worship", largely the songs of Tagore, of which "the music, much of it new, and all so unlike our own, cling round our hearts and stole again and again all that day into our ears...."[63] "Tagore", said Ezra Pound, "has sung Bengal into a nation." In his presidential address at the Benares Congress (1905) Gokhale described the scheme as "concocted in the dark and carried out in the face of the fiercest opposition

that any Government measure has encountered during the last half a century" and "a complete illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule—its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people...its cool preference of service interests to those of the governed...." But it had a brighter side. "The most outstanding fact of the situation is that the public life of this country has received an accession of strength of great importance, and for all this India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal...." 1905 had already acquired in people's mind the status of "a landmark in the history of national progress."[63a]

Reference to a few letters of Lord Hardinge, found among the Crewe papers in the Cambridge University Library, may fittingly conclude this chapter of bitter Anglo-Indian relations, the bitterest since 1857. One of the letters recapitulates for Crewe, the Secretary of State, a short history of the partition. While the need for administrative relief was genuine, "the desire to aim a blow at the Bengalis", Hardinge confesses, "overcame other considerations in giving effect to that laudable object." He concludes that "the results anticipated from the partition have not been attained". The Mohammedans had secured some advantage but "the political power of the Bengalis has not been broken.... The Bengalis are born agitators and there is no doubt...that they will never cease to agitate until they have attained a modification of the partition."[64] The reason was clear. In the Legislative Councils of both the provinces (Bengal and the newly created Eastern Bengal and Assam) the Bengalis found themselves in a minority—being outnumbered in one by the Biharis and the Oriyas and in the other by the Mohammedans and the Assamese. "As matters now stand, the Bengalis can never have in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and education."[65] Hardinge was a more consummate politician than Curzon. He exploited the weakness of Bengali sentiments to the uttermost. The partition was annulled at the Delhi Durbar in 1911. Bihar and Orissa were taken out of Bengal and Assam from the Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Exe-

cutive Council, however, drew the boundaries of united Bengal in such a way as to leave the Mohammedans with a slight majority. It was the obvious price for the Mohammedan approval of the annulment.[66] Crewe heartily approved of the Mohammedan majority. Destiny wrote that day of another and more tragic partition to come, but the Bengali Hindus, exulting over the apparent success of their parochial nationalism, failed to read the ominous writing on the wall.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Curzon to Secretary of State, 23 March 1899, Eur. MSS. D. 510/1, p. 216. The list was later increased to twelve.
2. Hume and Wedderburn on behalf of the British Committee of I.N.C. to Secretary and Members of Standing Congress Committee, ibid., vol. 3, pp. 396-97.
3. Bayley's note on Congress support, 18 June 1899, ibid., vol. 2, pp. 63-67 and Bolton's letter on Congress support, 18 July 1899, ibid., pp. 227-30.
4. Curzon to Secretary of State, 14 June 1899, ibid., p. 25.
5. Same to same, 1 February 1900, ibid., vol. 4, p. 87.
6. Same to same, 18 November 1900, ibid., vol. 6, pp. 293-94.
7. Same to same, 3 January 1901, ibid., vol. 7, p. 6.
8. Macaulay, Minute on Education, 2 February 1835, H. Sharp (ed.) *Selections from Educational Records*, part I, 1781-1839, p. 107 et seq.
9. C. E. Trevelyan, *The Education of the People of India*, pp. 192-95.
10. Wood to Halliday, 24 July 1854, Wood Papers (India Board), vol. V, p. 214; Wood to Dalhousie, 8 June 1854, ibid., p. 118.
11. Speech of 22 July 1853, *Hansard*, CXXIX, p. 685.
12. Wood to Trevelyan, 9 April 1860, Wood Papers (India Office), vol. III, pp. 1-10; Wood to Canning, 18 April 1860, ibid., p. 28.
13. Wood to Canning, 27 August 1860, ibid., vol. IV, p. 84.
14. Secretary of State to the Government of India, 24 February 1876, Parliamentary Papers, *The Selection and Training of Candidates for the I.C.S.* (1876), C. 1446, pp. 324-26.
15. Argyll considered a large proportion of British functionaries essential for the stability of the *Raj* and was very much reluctant to give effect to 33 Vict. c.3. See Secretary of State to the Government of India, 22 October 1872, Parliamentary Papers, *The Admission of Natives to the Civil Service of India* (1878-79), C. 2376, no. 14.
16. Secretary of State to Government of India, 7 November 1878, ibid., no. 16 in reply to Government of India to Secretary of State, 2 May 1878, ibid., no. 15. See also Lytton's Minute of 30 May 1877 and Lytton to Salisbury,

10 May 1877, Lytton Papers (I.O.L.), Series 518, Eur. MSS. E 218, Letters Despatched, vol. 2, pp. 357-9. The reduction of age limit had rendered it "a matter of exceptional difficulty" for natives of India to compete successfully in England.

17. Ripon's Minute, 10 September 1884, Parliamentary Papers, *Correspondence on the Age at which Candidates are admitted for Competition in England* (1884-85), C. 4580, encl. 3 of no. 4.
18. Salisbury to Lytton, 27 October 1876, Eur. MSS. E. 218, Series 516, vol. I
19. Lawrence to Northcote, 17 August 1867, Lawrence Papers (I.O.L.), Eur. MSS. F. 90, vol. IV. For similarity of views see John Strachey, *India* (London, 1888), p. 358-61; Sir Richard Temple, 5 June 1876, quoted in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *British Paramountcy and the Indian Renaissance*, vol. I, p. 789.
20. Lawrence to Cranborne, 8 November 1866, Lawrence Papers, op. cit.
21. Speech in House of Commons, 5 May 1868, *Hansard*, CXCI, col. 1845. He was only echoing Cornwallis (L. S. S. O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service*, 1601-1930, p. 16) and James Mill (*History of India*, 2d. edn., vol. II, p. 195). It was not surprising for the author of the *Letters from a Competition Wallah*.
22. Strachey's Minute, 17 December 1868, Printed Notes no. C 114-427. Also Lawrence to Northcote, 17 August 1867, op. cit.

22*a*. Lady Betty Balfour, *Personal Letters of Robert Earl of Lytton* (1906), vol. II, p. 21.

22*b*. A. P. Thornton, *Doctrines of Imperialism* (N.Y., 1965), p. 158.

23. Baring to Mallet, 25 September 1882, Add. MSS. 43605, no. 196, encl., Brit. Mus.
24. Letter to *The Times*, 1 March 1883; 'The foundations of the Government of India', *Nineteenth Century*, October 1883, pp. 548-61.

24*a*. Tagore in this connection remembered the Athenian reply in the Melian debate. 'Imperialism', *Bharati*, Baisakh, 1312 B.S.

25. Cross to Dufferin, 8 September 1886, Dufferin Papers, microfilm (I.O.L.).
26. Dufferin to Kimberley, 26 April 1886, Eur. MSS. E. 243/21, p. 12; Dufferin to Cross, 17 August and 29 October 1888, ibid., vol. 25; St. Andrew's Day Dinner Speech, 30 November 1888.
27. Dufferin's Minute, November 1888, India Public Letters, vol. 9, 1888, pp. 1195-1200.
28. Parliamentary Debates on Indian Affairs, 1892, pp. 125-32.
29. Lawrence to Northcote, 30 July 1867, Lawrence Papers, op. cit., vol. IV.
30. Same to same, 22 January 1868, ibid., vol. V.
31. Campbell to Northbrook, 8 and 18 September 1872, Eur. MSS. C. 144, Correspondence between Lord Northbrook and persons in India from 8 March to 31 December 1872.
32. Public Letters from India and General Letters from Bengal, 1897, vol. XXIV, pp. 465-68.
33. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 184-85.
34. Curzon to Secretary of State, 11 March 1900, Eur. MSS. D. 510/4, pp. 167-68.
35. Same to same, 30 April 1902, ibid., vol. 11, p. 63.
36. Curzon to Godley, 17 June 1903, Correspondence with Secretary of State, etc., 1903, Brit. Mus., p. 201.
37. Curzon to Secretary of State, 30 April 1903, Eur. MSS. D. 510/13, p. 407.

38. Secretary to Government of India to Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 December 1903, no. 3678. Sir Herbert Risley was Secretary to Government of India in Home Department, hence the term.
39. Parliamentary Papers, 1905, C. 2568.
40. Off. Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal to Home Secretary, Government of India, no. 2556 J of 6 April 1904, Home Dept Pub. A, Progs. February 1905, no. 155-67, p. 159.
41. Risley Note, 8 February 1904, ibid., p. 7.
42. Risley Note, 6 December 1904, ibid., p. 47.
43. For petitions and memorials against the partition plan, see letter of Commissioner of Dacca Division, no. 217 J, 15 February 1904, encl. in Bengal Government letter no. 2556 J, 6 April 1904, Home Dept. Pub. A, Progs. February 1905, no. 156; *Further Papers relating to the Reconstruction of Bengal and Assam*, H.C., 1906, vol. 81, C. 2748. Rabindranath saw in these petitions nothing but another example of pathetic faith in the British and Bipinchandra, the utter futility of political mendicancy.
44. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 185-86.
45. Curzon to Brodrick, 31 December 1903, Correspondence with Secretary of State, etc., 1903, Brit. Mus., pp. 452-53.
46. Same to same, 17 February 1904, Curzon Papers, vol. 163, part 2, no. 9.
47. Speech at Dacca, 18 February 1904, Parliamentary Papers, 1905, C. 2746, p. 222. The letter to Brodrick quoted above was written on the previous day.
48. Sir Andrew Fraser's suggestions in Macpherson's letter no. 5063 J of 21 December 1903, Letter from Bengal Govt. no. 2556 J of 6 April 1904, and Letter to Govt. of Bengal no. 1902 of 13 September 1904, Home Dept. Pub. A, Progs. February 1905, nos. 155-59.
49. Fuller to Curzon, 5 April 1904.
50. Ampthill to Curzon, 19 September 1904, Ampthill Correspondence, Eur. MSS. E. 233/37, p. 214; see also notes of Sir Andrew Fraser, 21 April 1904 and Bampfylde Fuller, 5 April 1904—much of which contain materials which could not be exposed in formal official correspondence.
51. Nawab Atiquallah Khan's speech at the Congress session of 1906, confirmed by Hardinge's letter to Crewe, 24 August 1911, see fn. 66 *infra*.
52. Curzon to Godley, 5 January 1905, Correspondence with Secretary of State, etc., 1904-5, Brit. Mus. pp. 20-21.
53. Curzon to Brodrick, 2 February 1905, ibid., pp. 51-52. Ital. ours.
54. Curzon to Brodrick, 23 March 1905, ibid., p. 92. As Denzil Ibbetson commented, "the native will quickly become accustomed to the new conditions." Note of 8 February 1904.
55. Curzon to Godley, 2 March 1905, ibid., p. 75.
56. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., p. 186.
57. Curzon to Godley, 16 March 1905, Letters to Secretary of State, etc., 1904-5, Brit. Mus., p. 90.
58. Brodrick to Curzon, 3 March 1905, Letters from Secretary of State, etc., 1904-5, Brit. Mus., p. 60.
59. Secretary of State to Curzon, 20 May 1905, Telegrams between Secretary of State and Lord Curzon, Brit. Mus., no. 237.

60. Curzon to Brodrick, 24 May 1905, ibid., no. 284. Ital. ours.
61. Brodrick to Curzon, 2 June 1905, Letters from Secretary of State, etc., 1904-5, Brit. Mus
62. Despatch no. 75 (Public), 9 June 1905, Home Dept. Pub. A, Progs. October 1905, nos. 163-98. This passage was omitted in the papers presented to Parliament.
63. *Modern Review*, VIII, p. 458 et seq. Most of these Swadeshi songs of Tagore were published in *Bhandar*, Bhadra and Asvin, 1312 B.S. and *Bangadarshan*, Asvin and Kartik, 1312 B.S. They were collected in *Baul* about the middle of Asvin. For Tagore's part in *Rakhibandhan utsav* see Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyay, *Rabindra Jibani*, etc., vol. 2, enlarged edn., 1355 B.S., p. 126 et seq.

63*a*. Nivedita seems to have a hand in persuading Gokhale to take this forthright stand. Nivedita to Gokhale, 20 September 1905, V. V Pendse, 'Sister Nivedita's Letters to Gopalkrishna Gokhale,' *Sister Nivedita Birth Centenary Souvenir*, October 1966.

64. Hardinge to Crewe, 13 July 1911, Crewe Papers, Camb. Univ. Lib.
65. Note by Viceroy, 20 June 1911, ibid.
66. Hardinge to Crewe, 24 August 1911, ibid.

The Nawab of Dacca would not oppose, wrote Hardinge, as he was "hopelessly in debt to the Government of India", provided for by Curzon earlier to secure his approval of partition.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXTREMISM IN ACTION

THE economic thought of the Extremists was not original. They built on the well-known Moderate shibboleths of Dadabhai Naoroji, M. Govinda Ranade and Romeshchandra Dutt. They played on the same themes, though in a more strident key—Home Charges that 'bled' India white and 'drained' away her resources, free trade which strangled nascent industry after having killed ancient handicrafts, extravagant railways which catered to the cotton interest at the cost of the Indian taxpayer, and excessive land revenue which crippled the peasantry and exposed them to recurrent famines. Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar's *Desher Katha* (published in 1904) was an angry denunciation beside Dadabhai's cool analysis of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*.[1] "Without the *Economic History* (of R. C. Dutt)", admitted Aurobindo, "and its damning story of England's commercial and financial dealings with India we doubt whether the public mind would have been ready for boycott. In this one instance it may be said of him that he not only wrote history but created it."[2] On the controversy over landlord-state relations and on the crying need for a fair deal for ryots the Extremists did not improve upon R. C. Dutt.[2a] Ranade's challenge to the universal applicability of the postulates of classical economics and insistence on relativism of economic policy provided for the Extremist as well as the Moderate a conceptual framework. The Moderates remained subjectively loyal but, objectively, "they too cut at the roots of the empire they considered Providential—they were in fact the fountain-heads of 'disloyalty'."[3] They clearly grasped that the essence of empire lay in the subservient role of Indian economy, that the symbol of this subordination was 'drain' and its manifestation—poverty. They did not merely advocate the loosening of the economic chains; they planned also the foundations of independent economic growth. They would gear policies in foreign trade, tariffs, currency, finance and even agriculture to the supreme necessity for an industrial revolution. They did not look for sectional gains only, as

has often been alleged. They agitated for a reduction of salt tax and rent no less than for a reduction of income tax and excise duty on cottons. True, they did not take up the class demands of the peasantry and the labourers *per se*. Nor did the Extremists, for the matter of that, except in a vague manner. Economic regeneration, they believed, was bound to benefit all classes. They fought for economic justice for the nation, not for economic justice between 'the haves' and 'the have-nots'. They would not divide the society when the need for unity was the greatest. It would be a mistake to identify them with the middle class and their patrons with the commercial and industrial magnates. The Bombay textiles group refused to support the Moderate Congress, which had to depend a great deal on the munificence of the princes and the landlords. The difference between the Moderates and the Extremists was not one of class but one of objective and priority. Both cast the blame for Indian poverty on the British (or 'un-British' as Naoroji would say) rule. But while the Moderates remained suspended at the stage of suspecting the *bona fides* of the Raj, the Extremists decided to get rid of it before the national economic regeneration might properly begin. To Surendranath the only aim and purpose of boycott "was to call attention of the British public to Bengal's great grievance (the partition) and, when the partition was modified and the grievance was removed, the boycott was to cease".[5] It declared a temporary cold war on Manchester that would thaw at the first breath of sympathy from Whitehall. In Gokhale's words, it was a political weapon, used for a definite political purpose. Both of them were afraid of alienating the well-wishers among Englishmen. Not so Lajpat. "Admitting that Englishmen at home have the power to set matters right how are you to force their attention to the state of things in India except by directly threatening their pockets? ... The British people are not a spiritual people.... It will be like throwing pearls before swine to appeal to them in the name of higher morality or justice or on ethical grounds. They are a self-reliant and haughty people, who can appreciate self-respect and self-reliance even in their opponents".[5a] To Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo boycott had double implications. From a material point of view it was to be an eco-

nomic pressure on Manchester producing a chain reaction on the India Government. From a spiritual point of view it meant the dispelling of *maya* or illusion of British power and a necessary sacrifice for Swaraj. Tilak called it "the Yoga of bahiskar", a religious ritual of self-punishment. Swadeshi had primarily an economic message for Gokhale—the message of industrial regeneration imparted to him by M. G. Ranade. "The Swadeshi Movement", wrote Surendranath, "was in spirit a protectionist movement". It appealed to the masses because they had the sense to perceive it would "herald the dawn of a new era of material prosperity for them". To Tilak and Lajpat it was a moral training in self-help, determination and sacrifice as well as a weapon of "political agitation". To Aurobindo Swadeshism was even greater. It was not "the mere secularity of autonomy and wealth" that Swadeshism aimed at but a return to the faith in India's destiny as the world-saviour.

In some definite cases of exploitation the Extremists showed special interest, e.g. Lajpat in the plight of the Chenab colonists or Aswinikumar Datta in that of Barisal peasants. Tilak had led a no-rent campaign before he was sent to jail for sedition. But Surendranath Banerjee and Krishnakumar Mitra (a Moderate in spite of his deportation) showed equal zeal for the tea-garden labourers. The Indian Association memorialized on this issue twice, in December 1886 and May 1888.[6] The difference lay not in the number of cases taken up by either party but in their respective attitudes. The Moderates were pragmatists, confining themselves to concrete grievances and limited solutions, while the Extremists, especially of Aurobindo's following, would not tinker with temporary palliatives. They would not suppress the symptoms but eliminate the septic focus of foreign rule.

The ideas of boycott and Swadeshi were not new. The first rumblings of boycott had been heard in 1881; it almost burst in 1896. Gopalrao Deshmukh of Poona had advocated Swadeshi as early as 1849. Nabagopal Mitra, influenced by Rajnarayan Basu, the grand old man of Bengali national consciousness, had preached it through Hindu Mela from 1867.[7] The cry was again taken up in Maharastra by M. G. Ranade, G. V. Joshi (Sarvajanik Kaka) and V. Phadke.

Bholanath Chandra wrote a long and perceptive article on Swadeshi in the *Mookerjee's Magazine* between 1873 and 1876 in which he called upon his countrymen to use the weapon of "moral hostility" (or boycott) to recover the ground lost through indolence and indulgence of the princes, zemindars and Babus. "Nought but our active sympathy has helped the cause of Manchester. The contrary of that sympathy is sure to produce a contrary effect."[8] The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (8 December 1881) demanded social ostracism of traders in foreign manufactures. The idea passed from persons to public associations when Industrial Conferences and Provincial Conferences took it up in the 1890's. It was bruited in the Congress by Lala Muralidhar in 1891 and 1894 and it was blown into a tempest by the tariff policy of the Government from 1894 onwards. The Tagores lent their full support to the use of Swadeshi goods. Rabindranath started *Swadeshi Bhandar* in 1897 and Sarala Devi *Lakshmir Bhandar* in 1903. The Dawn Society ran a Swadeshi store from June 1903. J. Choudhury was the pioneer of Swadeshi in its industrial aspect and it was due to his efforts that an industrial exhibition was held in connexion with the Calcutta Congress (1901) which became an annual feature. By Swadeshi Ranade meant nothing less than an Indian industrial revolution for which a radical alteration of social institutions was the condition precedent, and an imbibing of the Western spirit of capitalism.[9]

The Extremists enlarged upon these ideas quantitatively as well as qualitatively. First, Aurobindo and Bipinchandra used a more comprehensive concept than boycott—passive resistance. Boycott would not merely be confined to non-consumption of British goods but would embrace in its purview the whole field of government. It would "make administration under present conditions impossible by an organized refusal to do anything which shall help either British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it...." Passive resistance would have four facets—economic, educational, judicial and administrative.[9a] Secondly, the concept gathered a religious undertone not unnatural in a country where every measure sought a religious sanction. While Surendranath initiated the Swadeshi vow, the *Sandhya* talked of Liverpool salt and Mauritius sugar

being refined with bone-dust. Swine and kine were alike mentioned in this connection so that the Moslems and the Hindus would rather go without these than risk the loss of *dharma*. It was an ominous echo of the greased cartridge affair of the Mutiny days. Tilak raised the issue to a higher plane and called boycott 'political Yoga'. "As in Yoga, so in boycott even a little of this dharma saves us from a mighty peril." Pal crossed swords with Gokhale for interpreting boycott merely as a method of political warfare to arouse the conscience of the British people to the legitimate grievances of the Indians. It was an aspect, like Swadeshi or national education, of passive resistance to alien rule. It was an assertion of the will of the nation "against the great wrong, economically, politically, morally and spiritually, that the domination of one people on another universally inflicts."[10] Both Tilak and Aurobindo were in favour of substituting German, Austrian or American goods for those made in Britain. Total boycott of foreign goods was considered impracticable by all the Extremist leaders. Nor did they think it desirable, as free India would need to export her manufactures which others would like to pay for with their own. Boycott of British goods was not total, either. It was confined in the beginning to cloth, sugar, salt and enamel. Pal would not extend it to railways or tramcars, English books or electric lights, for that would be a lapse into barbarism.[11]

It was a qualitative challenge to Curzon's conception of empire where "exploitation and administration are parts of the same duty in the Government of India", where "the Government House extends its hand across the street to the Chamber of Commerce."[12] Politics and economics were indissolubly linked under the Government which was "like the mythical mermaid, half-trader and half-ruler". So would be the response of the Indians in boycott and Swadeshi. Boycott would be extended to municipalities, legislative councils, lawcourts, honours of and associations with the Government. "In this Boycott and by this Boycott we propose to create in the people consciousness of the *Pararaj* on the one hand, and the desire for *Swaraj* on the other."[13] By striking at the root of British prestige it would dispel its *maya*, which was more potent than its military power. The psychological reaction to bene-

volent despotism was to be "benevolent indifference". It would not only help to protect native industry (at which point Ranade and Gokhale stopped), but to protect the manhood of the nation and the spirit of self-sacrifice for the ultimate national welfare. The Extremists never viewed it as a negative weapon and never justified it on realistic economic grounds To them it was a positive exertion of moral will and bore a built-in ethical sanction.

A critical voice was heard—that of Tagore:

"বয়কট দুর্বলের প্রয়াস নহে, ইহা দুর্বলের কলহ। ... আমাদের সৌভাগ্যক্রমে, দেশে স্বদেশী উদ্‌যোগ আজ যে এমন ব্যাপ্ত হইয়া পড়িয়াছে, বয়কট তাহার প্রাণ নহে। ... এই যে স্বদেশী উদ্‌যোগের আহ্বানমাত্রে দেশ এক মুহূর্তে সাড়া দিয়াছে, কার্জনের সঙ্গে আড়ি তাহার কারণ হইতেই পারে না; জগতে কার্জন এত বড়ো লোক নহে; এই আহ্বান দেশের শুভবুদ্ধির সিংহদ্বারে আঘাত করিয়াছিল বলিয়াই আজ ইহা এত দ্রুত সমাদর পাইয়াছে।"

Tagore would not countenance boycott though he was all for Swadeshi, which for him connoted *atmasakti*, something more spiritual than self-reliance. It was a call upon the dormant social conscience, which, once aroused, would not only provide employment to the weaver, relief to the poor and education to the illiterate, but restore the broken relationship between Brahmin and Sudra, zemindar and peasant, Hindu and Moslem, producer and consumer. It would combine welfare with unity and, without openly challenging foreign rule, quietly establish a parallel government of the people, by the people and for the people.[14] If the villages had craft-training schools, common granaries, co-operative farms, banks and stores, and, above all, an uplifted morale that could stand up to the landlord, the money-lender, the court-clerk and the policeman, the political problem would solve itself. But boycott Tagore's creative soul abhorred as a negative gospel of hatred and coercion. He not only shrank from the certain retaliation of vested interests that wielded the ruling power, but foresaw the divisive effect it would produce in a country which had achieved a mechanical but not yet an organic unity. It would be unfair to deny cheap British cottons to the poor before comparable Swadeshi cloth had been produced by the native mills and,

coming from the Hindu agitators, might arouse the resentment of the Moslems.[15] Such resentment might also be aroused by the powers that be, since the seeds of division were already there.

"একথা আমাদের সম্পূর্ণ নিশ্চিতরূপে জানা আবশ্যক ছিল, আমাদের দেশে হিন্দু ও মুসলমান যে পৃথক, এই বাস্তবটিকে বিস্মৃত হইয়া আমরা যে কাজ করিতেই যাই না কেন এই বাস্তবটি আমাদিগকে কখনোই বিস্মৃত হইবেনা। একথা বলিয়া নিজেকে ভুলাইলে চলিবেনা যে, হিন্দু মুসলমানের সম্বন্ধের মধ্যে কোন পাপই ছিলনা, ইংরেজই মুসলমানকে আমাদের বিরুদ্ধে করিয়াছে।"[16]

As early as 1894 he had turned our attention to the injustice and inhumanity implicit in our relations with the socially inferior and the economically dependent.

"আমাদের সমাজ স্তরে স্তরে উচ্চে নীচে বিভক্ত; যে ব্যক্তি কিছুমাত্র উচ্চে আছে সে নিম্নতর ব্যক্তির নিকট হইতে অপরিমিত অধীনতা প্রত্যাশা করে। ... ভদ্রলোকের নিকট 'চাষা বেটা' প্রায় মনুষ্যের মধ্যেই নহে। . . আমরা অধীনস্থ লোকের প্রতি অত্যাচারী সমকক্ষ লোকের প্রতি ঈর্ষান্বিত এবং উপরিস্থ লোকের নিকট ক্রীতদাস হইতে শিক্ষা করি।" [16a]

With all these inner contradictions, any revolt would fail. And revolt *per se* was neither the main condition nor the principal means of national regeneration.

"গড়িয়া তুলিবার বাঁধিয়া তুলিবার একটা স্বাভাবিক প্রবৃত্তি যাহাদের মধ্যে সজীবভাবে বিদ্যমান, ভাঙনের আঘাত তাহাদের সেই জীবন ধর্মকেই তাহাদের সৃজনী শক্তিকেই সচেষ্ট সচেতন করিয়া তোলে। এইরূপ সৃষ্টিকেই নূতন বলে উত্তেজিত করে বলিয়াই প্রলয়ের গৌরব। নতুবা শুদ্ধমাত্র ভাঙন, নির্বিচার বিপ্লব কোনোমতেই কল্যাণকর হইতে পারেনা।"[16b]

The British rule, he said, was but the symptom of a greater slavery we bore within ourselves. National co-operation in creative work would lead to national integration which alone would prepare us for national liberation.

While Tagore insisted that the struggle for freedom could not begin by depriving people of freedom (to buy foreign

goods) and that the fragile character of our mechanical unity would break down under the impact of internal (e.g. Hindu-Moslem) tension, while he drew attention to the path of integration (as against a forced and expeditious unity), toleration (as against impatience), love (as against a sense of missionary zeal) and universal service of man (as against a race for political power), Aurobindo began to defend the philosophy of total boycott (or what he called 'the Doctrine of Passive Resistance') in a series of essays in the *Bande Mataram* (11-23 April 1907). It was no gospel of hatred. "It was no mere outcome of resentment, spite or pique, but an act of the people in fulfilment of a deep-felt yearning, to the birth and growth of which the poet-prophet himself had so much contributed."[17] It was the only way in which a disarmed people living under all the difficulties of an alien autocracy could identify themselves with the cause of their country. "When therefore we declared the Boycott on the Seventh of August (1905), it was no mere economical revolt we were instituting, but the practice of national independence; for the attempt to be separate and self-sufficient economically must bring with it the attempt to be free in every other function of a nation's life; for these functions are all mutually interdependent."[18] When a free country felt the need for industrial protection, she got it (as the U.S.A. had done) through an act of the legislature. The sanction was the organized power of the state. When a subject race desired the same thing (as the American colonies had done), she declared a boycott and the sanction was the moral coercion of the recalcitrant minority who were guilty of "treason to the nation". Aurobindo not only justified it but extelled it as "the superior, humaner sanction".[19] Tagore's exhortations on internationalism were copy book maxims, meant for the special benefit of the underdog. "No nation, so runs the cant, can thrive on hatred and ill will,—though from the facts of History one might much more cogently argue that no nation has ever yet in its international relations thriven on love and philanthropy and cosmopolitanism." Those who denied liberty had no right to appeal to the higher feelings, "for they are trying to perpetuate for their own selfish ends an essentially immoral condition of

things". It was God's law which made strife the straight rough way to peace and enmity the father of union. "Every redeemer or redeeming force has always been compelled to say in the first stages of his mission, 'I come to bring among you not peace but a sword'."[20] Aurobindo was already possessed of a messianism that saw in terms of a battle royal between *devas* and *asuras*, the forces of good and light and the forces of evil and darkness. "Politics is especially the business of the Kshatriya."[21] He had (in April) spoken of three alternatives—passive resistance as in Parnell's Ireland, aggressive resistance as in the Nihilist Russia, and armed revolt. The last two were not ruled out. "It is the nature of the pressure which determines the nature of the resistance; when the life of a nation is attacked, when it is sought to suppress all chance of breathing by violent pressure, *any and every means* of self-preservation becomes right and justifiable." Mere abrogation of the partition had now become "the pettiest and narrowest of all political objects". Forms of self-development, like Swadeshi and national education, had become secondary. Aurobindo had not only left Tagore but Pal and Tilak far behind. From his lonely eminence he was already viewing the necessary carnage of Kurukshetra.[22]

It is interesting to note that the boycott never developed into a no-rent campaign. In *New Lamps for Old* Aurobindo had spoken feelingly of the widening gap between the rich and the poor and of the imminence of a revolution from below. He had referred to the Indian *Ancien Regime* in Michelet's metaphors and prophesied violence restoring equality between the classes. We do not hear any more in that vein in 1906-7. The primary reason for this was that Aurobindo never made any attempt to establish real contact with the proletariat, urban or rural. Isolated from it, like the class to which he belonged, by origin as well as culture, his earlier solicitude had been academic, something he had imbibed from his European environment. Secondly, many of the patrons of the Extremists were zemindars and some, like Maharajah Suryakanta Acharya Chaudhuri (Mymensingh) and Brojendrakishore Raichaudhuri (Gauripore), were very prominent. They had seen in the partition a pretext to the

revision of the permanent settlement. In Assam to which Eastern Bengal, where the greater part of their estates lay, was to be joined, land was temporarily settled and revenue was subject to a thirty-year revision. Though Curzon assured them that no such changes were intended, they were fidgety,[23] and they would never have tolerated from the anti-partitionists any invasion of their vested interests. 'Raja' Subodhchandra Basumallik might be generous with his millions but not likely to entertain from his most gifted protégé a harangue on utopian socialism. Yet Aurobindo was too much of an idealist to be moved by any consideration for his supporters' economic susceptibilities. In the 1890's he was a materialist, fresh from Europe, the cradle and the citadel of materialism. His ears still rang with the battle cries of the socialist, anarchist and populist movements of Europe. A decade in India (and Vivekananda's India at that) wrought a metamorphosis. He was transformed into a *yogi* who saw happiness not in the acquisition or equitable distribution of wealth but in the renunciation of desire for it. India's manifest destiny to be the world-saviour imposed on her the ideal of self-abnegation. Class conflict appeared to be the acutest symptom of the materialist virus and Aurobindo would not call upon the peasant to imitate the vice of the landlord. The contemporary Marxist reading of historical evolution from feudalism through capitalism to socialism and insistence on capitalism as an inevitable stage in that evolution was rejected by him because he hated capitalism as it had developed in the West. Might not India show the world a way of by-passing Western capitalism to a better and more humane order? The village he read of in the history of ancient India became the archetype of native socialism. Its collectivism and corporate feeling indicated a primitive socialism of character and psychology which might be revived after the British *raj* had been eliminated from the scene. Aurobindo was a spiritual Narodnik, compared to whom Rabindranath was a progressive realist. The latter's presidential address at the Pabna Provincial Conference (1907) outlined at least some positive views on co-operative farming and mechanization of agricultural and dairy production. There could not be a greater condemnation of the permanent settlement and its

products than his 'Mukherjee *Banam* Bannerjee' (1898) or 'Ultra-conservative' (1898). The self-criticism of a zemindar is worth all the criticism from other classes. Oblomovism can be best condemned by Oblomov himself. Aurobindo's qualities remind us of Dostoyevsky—brooding introspection, morbid saintliness, terrible compassion and a compulsive urge to self-immolation. Rabindranath had affinities with Turgeniev and the realistic, pre-conversion Tolstoy.

(The Bengal Extremists looked to the idealized 'people' and impatiently expected them to rise. When they did not (which was only natural), despair led some of the Extremists to the path of individual terror. They thought, again mistakenly, that through terror it would be "easy to bring the ideas of revolution home to the common people." As Barin stated in his trial (1908), "We never believed that political murder will bring independence. We do it because we believe the people want it." All that the people wanted was their daily bread and to be left alone. The sudden interest of the Babus in their lot was viewed by many with suspicion. Attempts at mass-contact by the Samitys were sporadic. It was only in Barisal that the volunteers came close to the people. Aswinikumar Datta's Swadesh Bandhav was a power to reckon with as he alone among the Hindu leaders could communicate with the Moslem peasants of Barisal. Pulin Das's Anusilan was soon entangled in secret terrorist activities. Aurobindo showed his inability to enter into the mind of the peasants of Mymensingh when he condemned the Mymensingh and Jamalpur riots as inspired by the unholy alliance of the British bureaucrats and the Dacca Nawab. The superficial cause might very well be Mulla incitement and British machinations but the seeds of communal poison could not have been sown unless the soil had been prepared beforehand by decades of landlord-money-lender exploitation. His solution was to adopt the Comilla pattern, that is, to resist force with force, which was really no long term solution.[23a] Tagore was right when he said in humble self-criticism:

"শনি তো ছিদ্র না পাইলে প্রবেশ করিতে পারেনা ; অতএব শনির চেয়ে ছিদ্র সম্বন্ধেই সাবধান হইতে হইবে। আমাদের মধ্যে যেখানে পাপ আছে শত্রু সেখানে জোর করিবেই . . "।

(The infection spread more in the ranks of factory clerks, workers and artisans. The clerks of Burn Iron Works, the I.G. and B.G. presses and the Settlement Department in Barisal went on strike in the last months of 1905 and the first of 1906. The East Indian Railway strike of July 1906 heralded the percolation of Extremist propaganda beyond the lower middle class groups.)[24] The railway workshop at Jamalpur and the workers of Clive Jute Mills Company followed suit next month.[25] There were three successive strikes at Fort Gloucester Jute Mills (Bowreah) in the first half of 1906. The *Bande Mataram* supported the cause of the jute mill labourers. A year later bigger strikes swept the East Bengal Railway and the Oudh and Rohilcund Railway. The Calcutta Telegraph employees were strike-bound in April 1908. Industrial enterprises and the port of Calcutta were paralysed for a time for coal shortage. (One foreign observer witnessed, 'Strikes of mill hands, Government printing press employees, and railway men have become the order of the day.')[26] The agitators had hard things to say about the employers (as they had also to say about Babus and zemindars),[27] but vented their wrath more on the Feringhees.[28] (The Extremists of Maharastra utilized the labourers for the cause of national liberation by skilfully mixing politics with philanthropy and exploiting caste prestige.[29] The powerful hold of religious and feudal tradition and the spell of Shivaji's name over the masses were duly capitalized on. The authorities feared a general strike, which very nearly materialized after Tilak's trial, and congratulated themselves on timely action against Tilak.) A comparison with the methods of the Russian Revolution of 1905-7 is, however, superficial. That a mill owned by the British (like Fort Gloucester Jute Mill or Greaves, Cotton & Co.) was chosen as the first target shows the true character of the Extremists' activities among the workers. (The strike was an explosion of anti-imperialist hatred, not the awakening of a class-conscious proletariat. The *Bande Mataram* saw in the labour movement the hand of God.[30a]

"Thus mutually stimulated, Swadeshi and boycott will advance with equal and ever more rapid steps, until the shrinkage of the foreign import reaches the point where it

is no longer profitable to import it." So much boycott meant so much sure market for Swadeshi goods and so much capital realized from the sale thereof to be invested in the production of Swadeshi goods.[31] Herein lies the naive Extremist theory of a self-sustaining process of growth. Some went further and envisaged an industrial revolution under Indian auspices, though on a modest scale at first. Swadeshi textile mills, improved handlooms, steamship concerns, match and soap factories, potteries and tanneries began to sprout.[32] The Swadeshi spirit permeated the great J. N. Tata who founded the modern Indian steel industry. The entire capital of Tata Iron and Steel, £ 16,30,000, was subscribed by 8,000 Indians within three months.[33] Swadeshi stores sold Swadeshi goods in retail and student volunteers peddled them, often from door to door. The Anti-Circular Society and the National Volunteer Organization set themselves to this task with genuine fervour and, sometimes, with childish innocence of the market rules. L. S. S. O'Malley, author of the Bengal District Gazetteers, remarks that the cottage industries of Bengal would have been extinct but for the impetus of Swadeshi.

Did Swadeshi really imply a technological revolution? The curriculum vitae of the Bengal National College and the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education might prompt us to give an affirmative answer. While the study of ancient Indian history, culture and religion was expected to restore our links with the past, the study of technology was expected to forge our links with the future. Both featured in the integral scheme of national education.[34] There could not be self-government without economic self-sufficiency. The heights reached by the Hindus in positive sciences bore every promise of success to their modern heirs. The example of Japan was there to inspire as well as to instruct.

The scheme formulated by the National Council of Education in 1906 was indebted to suggestions from Sir George Birdwood, famous for his conscientious census of Indian industries and crafts. "It is to modern Europe", he wrote to the Editor of the *Dawn* in 1898, "that you must directly look for your scientific culture.... But for your literary and artistic and your philosophical and religious—in a word, your spiritual

culture, you already possess your own—the indigenous growth of 4,000 years of Aryan supremacy in India; and you must never surrender it...." Satishchandra Mukherjee, the Editor, began to develop Birdwood's ideas. The Hindu ideal of education viewed intellectual development of the student as a means to an end, "the end being the development of the higher, the spiritual nature of man." It was a perpetual regulation of conduct and restraint of passions—not a training in the race for worldly enjoyment and power. The object of British education in India was primarily political and secondarily administrative. It had been directing the ambitions of young Indians along the narrow line of official patronage and professional advancement. It had even denied Indians a wider appreciation and assimilation of the Western culture.[35] Tagore in a penetrating essay, *Sikshar Herfer*, drew attention to the artificiality of the prevalent system which affected adversely our "intellectual metabolism". The alien grammar and the arid dictionary were more a hindrance than a help in the assimilation of the Western thought process; what was worse, they destroyed the little joy the child felt in learning from nature and native tradition. It had created a hiatus between reading and thinking; it had assembled all sorts of building blocks but known not how to teach building. We came to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in the realm of knowledge; our backs were broken by the burden of unintegrated information that we could never use in free thought nor translate into creative action. Our life and learning flowed in different channels without a chance of cross-fertilization till an incomplete education and an unfulfilled life mocked at each other. The mother tongue and national literature alone could bind the two in a purposeful harmony and a joyful synthesis. They alone could mediate between the West and the East and one Indian province with another.[36] Tagore founded the Brahmacharya Ashram at Bolpur in 1901 to give an institutional form to this ideal. In desert solitude (and with primitive amenities) a few students and teachers tried to live as in the days of the Upanishads, attuned to nature and God.

The Report of the Indian Universities Commission coincided with the foundation of the Dawn Society (July 1902).

Intended to remedy the deficiencies of the existing system of higher education and to impart patriotic impulses, the Society was the earliest step to National Education. The Indian Universities Act (1904) quickened its growth and the partition of Bengal forced an early bloom. The votaries of Swadeshi boycotted the Government-controlled Calcutta University (Brahmabandhav called it *Goldighir golamkhana*, i.e. the house of slaves at Goldighi).[37] The Carlyle Circular[38] added fuel to the fire and the Anti-Circular Society was born (4 November 1905) in response to the Government's direct challenge to the self-respect of the student community. Krishnakumar Mitra (later deported as an Extremist) presided over its activities and Tagore was a great but critical sympathizer. Even the Moderate leaders (Surendranath Banerjee, Bhupendranath Basu and Ashutosh Chaudhuri) joined hands with the Extremists (B. C. Pal, Brahmabandhav and Motilal Ghosh) to call for a National Council of Education.[38a] Its funds came from prominent zemindars and leading lawyers. The Bengal National College was founded on 14 August 1906, largely due to the selfless labour of Satishchandra Mukherjee of the Dawn Society, and his young lieutenants formed the nucleus of its teaching staff. Education was to have as its goal not merely the acquisition of knowledge but the development of a national and modern outlook. Vernacular was to be the chief medium of instruction but foreign languages were not neglected. Scientific and technical education were calculated "to develop the material resources of the country and to satisfy its pressing wants." This strictly utilitarian aim was embroidered, however, with a pious intention to imbibe scientific truths embodied in oriental learning. There was a welcome return to the Indian environment. "We have been taught to botanise the oak, to botanise the elm, to botanise the beech to the neglect of our banyan, our mango grove"[39] and the Gangetic delta was less familiar than the Nilotic. The Humanities were now to incorporate "the best oriental ideals of life and thought with the best available ideals of the West." As many as three courses were offered on European history and civilization though the emphasis fell rightly on the history of resurgent Asia. Islamic philosophy featured as an alternative to Hindu systems. National education

was not an obscurantist revival of Hindu scholasticism. It was never guilty of the governmental philistinism that replaced Burke by Lee Warner's 'Bible'. It was "exclusively under national control", "not in opposition to, but standing apart from, the existing systems of Primary, Secondary and University education." The parent Council could not unfortunately retain its unity. The Moderate group, headed by Taraknath Palit, set up a rival organization called the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education which founded a college called the Bengal Technical Institute (25 July 1906). National schools were started in many parts of the country with more dreams than resources.

To Pal and Aurobindo, the object of national education was not purely academic. In Pal's words it was "the realisation of the national destiny." It was meant more primarily to produce historians, philosophers, painters and original scientists (like Jagadishchandra Bose) than merely to impart the knowhow of industrialization. To Aurobindo national education was "giving India back the long lost treasure of her race, the passion for self-knowledge."[40] It would show that salvation lay within, that the promise of the future lay in the revelation of the past. What would be the desirable fruit of such education? "It is only by growing to know herself that she can learn to spurn like deadly poison all those misnamed ideals so dear to the West," e.g. industrialism, commercialism and imperialism. The reasoned presentation of Liberty to the people was the most important work of Nationalism. National education was accessory to this work. It prepared the cultural soil on which Liberty could thrive. "What we want here", said Aurobindo to the National College students on his resignation of Principalship, "is not merely to give you a little information, not merely to open to you careers for earning a livelihood, but to build up sons for the motherland to work and to suffer for her." Thus a new and jarring note was sounded by the Extremist leaders to the basic purpose of the movement and it was not surprising when the first Principal of the Bengal National College (Aurobindo) failed to adjust himself to its utilitarian curriculum and to its Governing Body which disliked the political activities of the students. C. R. Das, his counsel at the Alipur Bomb Trial,

gave evidence of his differences with the authorities over the issue of mixing education and politics, and Pal more than hints at it in his essay on Aurobindo in *Character Sketches*. The circular of 17 December 1908, issued by the National Council of Education, warned the local units to shun association with politics. Aurobindo fully perceived the logical irrelevance of machine in the politico-ethical world of the Extremist. An industrial society would surely gravitate towards the Western type. It would be *ipso facto* hostile to the Extremist ideal of a republic built around the village panchayet, cherishing wisdom more than wealth. Swadeshi could only mean to him the resurrection of indigenous crafts which accorded well with ancient India's communal values, and technical education, the training of small artisans.[40a] The spinner, the weaver, the bell-metal worker, the village smith who forged the rude plough and the peasant who drove it, they all fell in one pattern, which would be disturbed and even destroyed by the introduction of the machine. Protect them from unequal foreign competition by all means, but expose them not to a similar competition from within the gates. The machine, like Mephistopheles, was tempting the Indian Faust and many Extremists felt its lure. But not Aurobindo. "Other nations", he warned, "have sought wealth for its own sake; India alone sought it...for not its own sake but for the sake of what it called self. For us to enter into the almost universal industrial conflict of modern humanity with a view to secure to ourselves as much of the world's riches as we can, would be an act of suicidal folly.... It is from us, we claim, that the message of the economic salvation of the world must go. We are called upon to reconstruct our own economic life upon a highly spiritual basis, subordinating the body and its wants to the needs of the spirit...."[41] The classicist remembered the fate of the Roman Empire where "there was material development, there was industrial progress, but industrial progress and material development did not bring life to the Nation. When the hour of trial came...these nations were not alive. No, they were dead and at a touch from outside they crumbled to pieces." Tilak grieved over the transformation of the bold peasantry of Maharastra and the hardy race of Konkan cultivators, who had figured in

the cavalry and the navy of the Peshwas, into slaves of machines and dwellers in slums![42] Even Tagore would not introduce complex machinery and the elaborate factory-system as prevailed in the Western capitalist countries. Japan was the model with her simple machines and decentralized production.[42a]

(In fact, boycott or Swadeshi or national education were all means to the single great end—Swaraj. It was the central focus of the Extremist thought, while others were peripheral.) It was the running theme, while others were variations. "Our nation is like a tree", Tilak wrote in the *Kesari* after the Calcutta Congress (1906), "and to the original trunk of *Svarajya*, two huge branches have emerged in the form of *Swadeshi* and boycott. Our nation is a man. His main body is *Svarajya* and *Swadeshi* and boycott are the arms and the legs of that body."[43] (As boycott and Swadeshi lost their "first fine careless rapture" and failed to bring the expected surrender of "the nation of shop-keepers" and as the handful of national schools struggled against popular apathy and lack of resources, the Extremists clung to Swaraj with all the fervour of the *devot*.)

By Swaraj the Extremists meant different things. Tilak meant possession of Indian control over the administrative machinery but not the severance of Indian connections with Britain.[44] "Our remote ideal", he declared, "is a confederacy of the Indian provinces possessing colonial self-government with all imperial questions set apart for the central government in England." Provinces were to be reorganized on linguistic and ethnological considerations. On princely states he was not very soft. What form self-government would take nobody knew now. "It will be decided in thirteen or fourteen years hence." He could only say that it would mean neither the expulsion of Englishmen nor breaking away from the Empire.[45] His difference with the Moderates, he often said, was not so much about the objective as with the methods of agitation.[46]

Pal did not share this view. In his Madras speeches he showed the impossibility of "self-government under British Paramountcy." These two concepts were irreconcilable. If it were said that colonial self-government worked well in Canada and Australia, "the one answer to this,—England is

white, Australia is white, Canada is white. We are black and brown." Had not Professor Bryce admitted at an Oxford lecture that the colour sense of the Anglo-Saxon was one of his strongest senses? Morley was unwilling to grant (to Gokhale) self-government even within the Empire. It was not a practical thing either. "It would mean—either no real self-government for us or no real overlordship for England." If Britain controlled India's foreign policy, she would have to control the Indian army, which would entail control of the Indian purse, a negation of autonomy. A self-governing India, on the other hand, with fiscal rights and financial control, would mean the end of British capitalism. England would be simply absorbed in an Indian empire. India would be "the predominant partner in this imperial firm". Swaraj did not mean good government to Pal, which only increased the *maya* of the people and kept them blind to the difference between national self (*swa*) and not-self (*para*). It did not mean expansion of Legislative Councils or the Indianization of the Civil Service. "One swallow does not make the summer. One civilian, 100 or 1000 civilians in the service of the British Government, will not make that Government Indian. There are traditions, there are laws, there are policies to which every civilian, be he black or brown or white, must submit, and...as long as those principles have not been amended, as long as that policy has not been radically changed, the supplanting of European by Indian agency will not make for self-government in this country." Swaraj was "autonomy absolutely free of British control" and it was for all Indians, not any particular section or sections thereof. He visualized a democratic, federal, united states of India comprising republican states (i.e. provinces of British India) and constitutional monarchies (i.e. native states), though he called it a mere fancy, a consideration of historical possibilities.[47] He even envisaged a middle stage of dictatorship as in Revolutionary France. When free, he would impose a heavy tariff "upon every inch of textile fabric from Manchester, upon every blade of knife that comes from Leeds". He would not allow British capital to be invested. "But we shall apply for foreign loans in the open market of the whole world", guaranteeing the credit of the Government.[48]

Aurobindo equated Swaraj with absolute political independence—"a free national government unhampered even in the least degree by foreign control."[49] British supremacy was an incubus like the Turkish despotism on the Balkan Christians or like the Austrian tyranny on the Italians. It had reduced the native princes with the help of the zemindars and, then, disorganized the village community. It had broken the power of the zemindars with the help of the bourgeois or middle class (to Aurobindo they were equivalent), and once more it was setting about to crush the power it had itself raised, "to destroy the sole remaining centre of national strength and possible revival."[50] The only relations with England could be those between equals in a confederacy. "To be content with the relations of master and servant or superior and subordinate, would be a mean and pitiful aspiration unworthy of manhood; to strive for anything less than a strong and glorious freedom would be to insult the greatness of our past and the magnificent possibilities of our future."[51]

Aurobindo defended national separatism in the interests of humanity. It was similar to the lofty aspiration of Mazzini and Garibaldi, undertaken not out of hatred and hostility to other nations "but in the firm conviction that we are working as much in the interests of all humanity, including England herself, as in those of our own posterity and nation." India could not fulfil her destiny and work out her mission, "overshadowed by a foreign power and a foreign civilization." "*Swaraj* as the fulfilment of the ancient life of India under modern conditions, the return of the *Satya yuga* of national greatness, the resumption by her of her great role of the teacher and guide, self-liberation of the people for the final fulfilment of the Vedantic ideal in politics, this is the true *Swaraj* for India...."[52] It was not, therefore, a sort of European ideal, political liberty for the sake of political self-assertion, which became a common feature of European history since the French Revolution. Aurobindo turned his back to the West to postulate a Vedantic view of national freedom. "The world needs India and needs her free" so that she could redeem its sin of misconceived nationalism. He would have nothing to do with the democracy that England was introducing in her colonies, for it was "the most sordid possible, centred on

material aims and void of generous idealism." Europe would not profit by imposing her civilization on India, "for if India, who is the distinct physician of Europe's maladies, herself falls into the clutch of the disease, the disease will remain uncured and incurable and European civilization will perish as it perished when Rome declined, first by dry rot within itself and last by irruption from without."[53] Breach with England and the British type of democracy was necessary on value considerations. It underlined rejection of Western materialist civilization whose *untergang* he visualized in Spenglerian fashion.

To Aurobindo the Extremist movement for Swaraj was "not a mere economic movement, though it openly strives for the economic resurrection of the country...not a mere political movement, though it has boldly declared itself for absolute political independence...." But it was "an intensely spiritual movement having for its object not simply the development of economic life or the attainment of political freedom, but, really the emancipation, in every sense of the term, of the Indian manhood and womanhood." The spirit was the bedrock of the movement which would transform individual class antagonisms and the fixed, hereditary, anti-democratic caste-organizations somehow "into the pliable, self-adapting democratic distribution of function at which socialism aims". "The King whom we follow to the wars today is our own motherland, the sacred and imperishable; the leader of our onward march is the Almighty Himself. Lajpat Rai is nothing, Tilak is nothing, Bipin Pal is nothing! These are but instruments in the Mighty Hand that is shaping our destinies and if these go, do you think that God cannot find others to do His will?"[54] We almost hear in these words the old Hebraic Prophets, and it is no strange coincidence that Aurobindo ends the exhortation with a quotation from the Psalms:

> The Lord is my rock and my fortress,
> and my deliverer;
> My God, my strong rock, in Him
> will I trust.

A Spengler speaking with the voice of the Psalmist would

have little qualms about the morality of means. "He was the stuff that dreamers are made of", comments Nevinson, "but dreamers who will act their dream, indifferent to the means." Nevinson contrasts this with "the shrewd political judgement of Poona Extremists".[55] This is too simple an explanation. Aurobindo thought of a series of methods to be adopted, successively or in unison, according to circumstances. Over passive resistance Pal and Aurobindo had no difference. The next step was to capture the Congress machinery and make it an instrument of revolutionary action—non-violent, according to Pal, but violent, if necessary, according to Aurobindo.[56] Pal and Aurobindo attended the Barisal Conference (14 April 1906) and, after it was broken up by the police, toured East Bengal, defying magisterial prohibition at some places.[57] They met Tilak in connection with the Shivaji festival at Calcutta (4-12 June 1906) and decided on pressing for his presidentship at the coming session of the Congress The plan was upset by the Moderates who invited Dadabhai Naoroji to take the Chair.[58] Lajpat condemned Barisal, hailed Swadeshi and boycott, and saw "no reason why the old leaders should be so suspicious of Mr. Tilak". At the same time he confessed that he was "sorry that the new party, called the party of Extremists in Bengal, should have allowed the real truth to be clouded even for a time by the comparatively paltry question of who should be the President of the next Congress or by the occasional use of rather extravagant language which cannot certainly be justified by the existing condition of things in the country.... If the old leaders fail to go with the times, their leadership itself may be in danger.... The party of action need neither curse nor bless.... The object is one and indivisible, viz. to unite and win our liberty. Some differences of opinion is bound to exist with regard to it. ...Let us read history with profit and try to avoid magnifying these differences by adopting an acrimonious attitude towards each other."[58a] Lajpat wanted to keep himself above the battle and depended on expediency to guide the *modus operandi*. He was satisfied with the election of Dadabhai as that alone could stop the unnecessary bickering.[58b]

At the Calcutta Congress (1906) the New Party (or the Extremist Party) was born. Aurobindo claims to have

persuaded the Bengal group to accept Tilak as the national leader of the Extremist faction.[59] The Moderates and the Extremists had not yet diverged far and they tried to reconcile differences at pre-Congress meetings held at Darbhanga House.[60] Lajpat cast himself in the role of peacemaker but ruefully admitted that his "temperate counsels" were altogether "ignored by the Extremist Bengalis",[61] whom his Punjabi colleague, Ajit Singh, had joined. Pal walked out of the open session with the Bengali delegates. The Calcutta Congress would have anticipated Surat but for Dadabhai's tactful handling. While Lajpat belonged to the extreme right of the new faction, Pal stood at the centre after his quarrel with Aurobindo's group over the latter's support of Swadeshi dacoities and terrorist outrages.[62] "No one outside a lunatic asylum", said Pal, "will ever think of or counsel any violent or unlawful methods in India, in her present helplessness, for the attainment of her civil freedom." Tilak was equivocal, now threatening Sinn Fein methods[62a] and now insisting on a bloodless revolution. Aurobindo was on the far left. He not only took over the editorship of the *Bande Mataram* from Pal but fully cooperated with the *Yugantar*, the organ of the violent revolutionaries, which had came out in March 1906 and of which his younger brother, Barindrakumar Ghosh, was the mentor. Hemchandra Kanungo associates Aurobindo with the *Yugantar* group's programme from the first, e.g. with attempts on Bampfylde Fuller's life, Swadeshi dacoities and propagation of terrorist activities.[63]

In May 1907 Lajpat Rai was deported for his alleged part in Punjab unrest.[63a] "If the rulers adopt this Russian method", Tilak warned in the *Kesari* (21 May 1907), "then the subjects in India will have to imitate the subjects in Russia." In June 1907 Aurobindo wrote a stirring poem, 'Vidula', for the *Bande Mataram*, where the mother of a defeated and unnerved prince exhorts him to:

> Blaze out like a firebrand even if for a moment
> burning high,
> Not like the poor fire of husks that smoulders long,
> afraid to die.

Better is the swift and glorious flame that mounting
dies of power,
Not to smoke in squalid blackness, hour on wretched
futile hour.
...Sunjoy, Sunjoy, waste not thou thy flame in
smoke! Impetuous dire,
Leap upon thy foes for havoc as a famished lion leaps,
Storming through thy vanquished victors till thou
fall on slaughtered heaps.

Aurobindo certainly did attack. First, the Moderates. To Minto's great delight, Surendranath had come to the Viceroy's house to persuade him to take steps against Pal in March 1907. Surendranath had earned the Extremists' hatred for this 'journey to Canossa'. Aurobindo led the Extremist faction against him at the Provincial Conference held in Midnapur. This was a rehearsal of Surat. Surendranath accused him not only of forcing a split in the Bengal Congress but of an attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life,[64] while he accused Surendranath of bringing along the District Superintendent of Police to terrorize the Extremists.

More dramatic events were in the offing. Aurobindo planned the wrecking of the Congress the venue of which the Moderates had deliberately shifted from Poona to Surat. Since Pal was then in jail for refusing to give evidence as to the identity of the real editor of the *Bande Mataram*, Lajpat, a martyr and a national hero after his return from Mandalay, was proposed president of the Congress by the Extremists. In consternation Surendranath wrote to Gokhale to request Lajpat to stand down.[64a] Embarrassed by the request of a man who had fought with Minto for his release as well as by his own unenviable position between the two camps, now ready for battle, Lajpat declared that he was "the last person to allow himself to be made the reason or the occasion of any split in the National Camp". He pledged Gokhale cooperation "in your noble efforts to preserve harmony" and, at any rate, to do his best "to reduce the number of irreconcilables".[64b] Aurobindo called Lajpat's refusal of the Extremist nomination a "fatal blunder".[65] The Bengal group now avoided Lajpat, who had also declined to support their proposal

of a parallel Congress at Nagpur, and began to concert with the Marathi delegates led by Tilak and the Punjabi group led by Ajit Singh. But even Tilak was not told what the Bengali Extremists and their Marathi-Punjabi compatriots would do if they failed to swamp the Moderates. Tilak and Khaparde promised not to oppose the presidential candidature of Rashbehari Ghosh (a nominee of the Moderates) if the resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education, passed at the Calcutta Congress, were kept unchanged. The Moderates did not play their cards honestly. They had changed the venue, they had out-manoeuvred the Extremists in the selection of the president, and they now put forward vitally altered resolutions on these subjects, hoping to pass them by a contrived majority. The comprehensiveness and force of the original Calcutta resolutions were deliberately restricted by the use of new wordings. The Russian Consul General reported that the Bengalis, aware that a separate Congress of their own would be much too little representative, were prepared to make some concessions to reach a compromise agreement on the Calcutta resolutions. Their olive branch was spurned.[67] As the attitude of Mehta, Gokhale and Malvi hardened next day (27 December 1907), Tilak resolved on moving an amendment to the presidential election. Meanwhile, Aurobindo had been vilified in vulgar language and his group was spoiling for a fight. The lifting of a Gujrati chair, while Tilak moved his amendment (of which he had given previous notice) and Ghosh read his address at the same time, gave the signal to the flying Marathi shoe and Nevinson caught glimpses of the Indian National Congress "dissolving in chaos".[68] One of the wreckers, Barin, vividly describes the scene for us:

"সবারই কাঁধে দক্ষযজ্ঞনাশী পিনাকীর এক একটি দানা সওয়ার হইয়াছে, সবাই পুরাতনের কালা পাহাড়! নূতনের নেশাঘোর নবাম্বাদিত শক্তি সুরার মাতাল।"

While Lajpat decided to remain with the Moderates and entreated the Extremists "not to be impatient on the slowness of age and the voice of practical wisdom",[68a] Tilak suggested that the Extremists should sign the creed prepared by the Moderates and capture the Congress afterwards from within.

It was a typical Marathi ruse. Aurobindo, however, refused to entertain it. "The breaking-up of the Congress at Surat was God's will...." He had other plans than Tilak's 'responsive cooperation'. He had already thought of setting up a central revolutionary body—a sort of parallel Government—creating institutions, increasing the tempo of passive resistance and forcing the Government to unleash extreme repression which would whip up further resistance in civil disobedience. The last act would be an open revolt, of which the volunteer corps would form the cadre and the *Yugantar* group, the spearhead. Pal had toyed for some time with the idea of a transitional dictatorship but it remained "a mere fancy" and he was in jail. Aurobindo never ruled out aggressive resistance of the Russian type as a supplementary to passive resistance.

His divergence from Tilak became more pronounced. In a significant letter to his wife (17 February 1907) he had confessed that, no longer a free agent, he was but a toy in the hands of God. In an editorial ('Boycott and After') in the *Bande Mataram* (15 July 1907) he wrote of the Divinity that had been shaping India's ends. After the split he spoke more often in the same strain. "If you are going to be a Nationalist", he said at Bombay, "if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of God." He began to hear inner voices.[70] He depended no more on reason nor had faith in boycott and Swadeshi. "It is not by any mere political programme, not by Swadeshi alone, not by Boycott alone, that this country can be saved."

He saw the birth of the *Avatar* in the nation; he assured his associates that it was God who would lead the host in war. "They have nothing to do. They have simply to obey that Power. They have simply to go where it leads them" with faith, selflessness and courage. "What is there that you can fear when you are conscious of Him who is within you ?" Srikrishna "who has now hid himself in Gokul, who is now among the poor and despised of the Earth, who is now among the cow-herds of Brindaban, will declare the God-head, and the whole nation will rise, filled with Divine power,...and no power on earth shall resist it...."[71]

O my son, believe me, he whose victory brings the common gain
And a nation conquers with him, cannot fail; his goal is plain
And his feet *divinely guided*, for his steps to Fate belong.
(Vidula)

He did not openly say 'no' to Pal's efforts at reconciliation with the Moderates (speech at Panti's Math, 10 April 1908) but he had already given up all hope of an orderly evolution to self-government. "A nation cannot afford to haggle with providence or to buy liberty in the cheapest market from the Dispenser of human fate ... A sacrifice of which the mightiest Yajna of old can only be a feeble type and far-off shadow was to be instituted.... The greatest must fall as victims before the God of the sacrifice is satisfied...." The disappearance of the old Congress announced the end of the preparatory stage and "the beginning of a clash of forces whose first full shock will produce chaos."[72] Moral force was ruled out, rather, "the morality of war is different from the morality of peace." "What the Mother needs is hard clear steel for her sword...tough substance and true for the axle of her chariot.... For the battle is near and the trumpet ready for signal."[73]

When the tyrant sees his conquered foemen careless grown of death,
Bent on desperate battle, he will tremble, he will hold his breath
...he will parley, give and take for peace.
(Vidula)

Where passive resistance had failed to bring reason to the British, terrorism might succeed.

His decision grew firmer and on the day before the Muzaffarpur bomb episode he wrote in the *Bande Mataram* (29 April 1908), "we could have wished it otherwise. But God's will be done." He heard of the attack on 1 May and was arrested the next day. The Maniktala garden house was raided and the *Yugantar* group was found to have set up there the secret headquarters and arsenal of the revolutionary

party.[74] Perhaps we should not use the word 'arsenal', for it consisted of 11 revolvers, 4 rifles and 1 gun. Some more arms and explosives were found in other centres of the party. The total was not promising; secrecy had been thrown to the winds with a gay abandon, possible only with persons drunk with the idea of self-sacrifice; the police interest in their goings on, though noticed, was ignored. The confessions that the majority made before the police magistrates were playing to the gallery. Characteristically, Aurobindo kept silent (as also Hemchandra Kanungo). But the government received a rude shock[75] and the country was electrified. Tilak regretted the tragedy, especially as it involved innocent victims, but held that "so long as the causes which give rise to it are allowed to remain, it will be impossible to prevent its repetition." The bomb had put a potent weapon in the hands of the people and, if repression continued, it might spread to other parts of India. "Only Swaraj", Tilak concluded, "is the means to get rid of the bomb in India."[76] Tilak was committed for these articles at Minto's instance and deported to Mandalay for six years. The Alipur Bomb Trial commenced at the Magistrate's court on 19 May. C. R. Das, then a rising barrister (and a member of the New Party for some time), pleaded eloquently on behalf of his client (Aurobindo) ignorance of revolutionary preparations at Maniktala and the outrage at Muzaffarpur. He was unconditionally released by the sessions judge and came out of prison on 6 May 1909.

The historian must view with circumspection the plea of the defence counsel who was trying to save a hero from the gallows. It is Aurobindo's equivocal attitude, his silences more than his speeches, which are intriguing. Did he or did he not know what was brewing in the Maniktala gardens? Did he or did he not order Khudiram Bose and Profulla Chaki to assassinate Kingsford, who, for his savage sentences on the revolutionary newspapers and flogging of Sushil Sen (how like Trepov!), had been marked for terrorist reprisal?[77] What was his role vis-a-vis Barin, his younger brother, and the *Yugantar* group he led? Barin had valiantly tried to exculpate Aurobindo and take all the blame on himself but others in his group, Hemchandra Kanungo and Upendranath Banerjee, for example, regarded Aurobindo as their real

leader, though he acted from behind the scenes and signed all orders as 'Kali'. The *Bande Mataram* regularly printed excerpts of incendiary articles from the *Yugantar* and was first prosecuted for that. What about his own articles over the years, especially of 23 and 29 April 1908? Shyamsundar Chakravarti, Hemendraprasad Ghosh and Bejoy Chatterjee shared with him the writing of the editorials of the *Bande Mataram*. Shyamsundar caught something of Aurobindo's style. But the quotations from the *Bande Mataram* given above have been identified as Aurobindo's by Hemendraprasad himself. Then, even if we give him the benefit of the doubt, so far as these articles go, what about 'Vidula', better incendiary than a thousand editorials? The public records, as collected by Andrew Fraser, make him the undisputed leader of the Bengal revolutionaries. As Baker wrote to Minto, "He is not a mere blind and unreasoning tool, but an active generator of revolutionary sentiment...." In *Aurobindo on Himself and on the Mother*, published long afterwards, Aurobindo admits that he had been intimately connected with organizing revolutionary activities as a preparation for open revolt, "in case passive resistance proved insufficient for the purpose."

Apart from all this, his attitude to violence must be considered. He did not prefigure the Mahatma, the apostle of non-violence, and he was distinct also from Pal and Tilak. He had been familiar with Irish revolutionaries in England and written a moving poem on Parnell's death in 1891:

> "Deliverer lately hailed since by our lords
> Most feared, most hated, hated
> because feared,"

He even claimed to have *anticipated* the Sinn Fein's tactics in India. We find him instigating the army to revolt under Thakur Saheb's influence. Nivedita's *Kali the Mother* made him view violence from a new angle—as play of *Sakti*. Life and death were but footfalls in the cosmic dance of the Mother who created as well as destroyed. "Knowest thou not that Her toy is a thunderbolt, charged with power to shatter the worlds, at the turn of her wrist?" When Aurobindo came to the *Vedanta*, love and hatred, good and evil lost their em-

pirical difference, for all such seemingly opposed categories were mere illusion of the self. When he arrived at the *Gita*, he realized that divine action was not bound by the code of bourgeois morality. *Buddhiyukto jahātīha/ubhe sukṛtaduṣkṛte/ tasmād yogāya yujyasva/yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam* (II, 50). One, who is rid of selfishness and has yoked his intellegence with the Divine, rises higher than the ethical status with its distinction of good and evil. *Kālo'smi lokakṣayakṛt pravṛddho/lokān samāhartum iha pravṛttaḥ* (XI, 32). God is *kāla* or controller of time, perpetually creating and destroying. Being beyond time, He knows how events are taking shape. Causes have been at work for years and are now moving towards their natural effects, viz. the destruction of the British and, maybe, many of those who would fight them. The British had willed the Empire and must suffer its consequences. This law of cause and consequence is an expression of the Divine mind. This is an irrevocable, impersonal fate, a general cosmic necessity, *moira*, which is an expression of a side of God's nature and so can be regarded as the will of His sovereign personality. Against it all protestations of self-determination (as of Arjuna) are of no avail. God has decreed the destruction of the British and, even if Aurobindo refused to act as His instrument, He would have His terrible way. Rather than work by his own imperfect judgement, he, Aurobindo, should be *nimittamatram*, the agent in the working out of a mighty evolution. The decision is made already. Aurobindo can do nothing to change it. He is a powerless tool in God's hands. He must understand the supreme design and be content to serve it.[77a] Why should we erect a God of goodness and justice according to our own moral pre-conceptions and refuse to see "in the beneficent Durga the terrible Kali?" "We must acknowledge *Kurukshetra;* we must submit to the law of life by death before we can find our way to the life immortal; we must open our eyes, with a less appalled gaze than Arjuna's, to the vision of our Lord of Time and Death and cease to deny, hate or recoil from the Universal Destroyer." The most important thing is "inner askesis". One had to purify oneself of all attachment and wait for the divine command, to feel the destiny of mankind was calling one "as its God-sent man to assist its march and clear its path of the

dark armies that beset it". The British rule was that dark army, the destiny of mankind called for freedom of India, and Aurobindo was the God-sent man. Since the British rule was *Asuric* (i.e. materialist), abstinence from hindering it under the plea of non-violence meant helping it. The very passivity of the spiritual man under violence (of the British rule) awakened tremendous forces of retributive action for which he must take ultimate responsibility. Violence by the God-possessed, the master man, done impersonally for the sake of the advance of the world spirit, was really a sacrifice to God, as worthy as Jesus' self-sacrifice for the restoration of moral harmony.[78] This explains why the *Gita* was a constant companion of the revolutionaries. In their hands, it was a more terrible weapon than the bomb. It steeled them for the killing, which was God's will and ordained decree, and it assured them of salvation through death in God's service. The *Gita* provided a better philosophy of tyrannicide than Bakunin.[79] As Professor Haller said about Puritanism, it supplied a superb fighting morale. It gave men courage to fight, if necessary alone.

Aurobindo was not alone. Had not Tilak once offered some such justification for Shivaji's assassination of Afzal Khan? "Great men are above the common principles of morality.... Shrimat Krishna's teaching in the Gita condones even the killing of one's teachers and kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap the fruits thereof.... Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well; get out by the penal code, enter into the extremely high atmosphere of Srimat Bhagvad Gita and then consider the actions of great men".[80] But Tilak had become more cautious with age and Aurobindo, always romantic and messianic, believed more and more in violence. Only one question he did not ask himself. Had his chosen lieutenants passed through the inner askesis, which was the absolute precondition of violence that the *Gita* speaks of? Had they become fit vessels that could hold the divine command? In his own words, the divine obligation presupposed reposing of mind and understanding, heart and will, in God, self-knowledge, God-knowledge, world-knowledge, a perfect equality, a perfect devotion and an absolute self-giving. Had

Barin or Upen or Ullaskar acquired it, or even he himself? Only one of Srikrishna's unique spiritual state could condemn the instinctive shrinking of flesh and conscience from violence (*kripa* as opposed to *daya*) and could perform "the most enormous and violent action". Herein lay Aurobindo's fundamental weakness; he clothed the Populist-cum-Irish revolutionary strategy with the philosophy of the *Gita* and the two would not combine. At best we are bewildered Arjunas, groping our way in the world of action. Aurobindo's withdrawal from politics was the admission of this human frailty. Tagore had warned of it in 'Deshahit' in no uncertain terms.[81]

Aurobindo came out "a new man" from the Alipur jail. The secret police records in August 1909 his "new pose as an incarnation of Srikrishna". That, however, was either a deliberate attempt to make him appear ridiculous or a genuine misunderstanding of the complex process of the change he underwent. Anybody who reads *Karakahini* will see that he saw Narayana in everyone, including the British Magistrate, and in everything, including the prison bars.[81a] In his Uttarpara speech we hear him say that nationalism was no longer his religion but that religion (*sanatan dharma*) was his nationalism. God had not only cured him of scepticism, his European heritage, but given him a message in yoga: "When you go forth, speak to your nation always this word that it is for the *Sanatan Dharma* that they arise, it is for the world and not for themselves that they arise.... When therefore it is said that India shall rise, it is the *Sanatan Dharma* that shall rise.... It is for the dharma and by the dharma that India exists." The British, in opposing, were also doing God's work. "In all your actions," the message continued, "you are moving forward without knowing which way you move. You mean to do one thing and you do another. You aim at a result and your efforts subserve one that is different or contrary." It was a distinct call to a new life. He disavowed terrorism in the *Karmayogin* (27 November 1909) and criticized Jackson's murder in the *Dharma* (12 Paus 1316 B.S.). He fought "the drag of moderation on one side and the disturbance of the ill-instructed outbreaks of terrorism on the other...." The secret police records the resentment felt by the senior educated

men of the Extremist party for this strange behaviour. Surendranath approached him for help to capture the Congress from the Bombay Moderates. The Morley-Minto reform proposals forced Aurobindo to take a stand. He rejected them, for "this was not a real reform, but reaction." He called the Moderates—*Bibhishanas*, i.e. traitors. He demanded an end of repression. But 'An Open Letter to My Countrymen', which appeared in the *Karmayogin* on 31 July 1909, preached no more than lawful passive resistance and absolute unity among the resisters. He explained this as a mere trick to avoid deportation the rumour of which Nivedita had brought him. Or was it the beginning of a new life, a feeling that Extremism was now a spent force, that, anyhow, it had gone out of his control? Was it "a time to draw back a little in order to make a continued political action possible; *reculer pour mieux sauter*"? The second open letter that appeared on 25 December, he says, expressed his real wishes—rejection of reforms and reorganization of the movement. Even if we accept his words, it was but a flicker before extinction. He suddenly received "a command from above" to go to Chandernagore and thence to Pondicherry, when he heard that this second letter was to be made the subject of a prosecution. In this tame end were writ large not only the exhaustion of the Extremist party but also the inevitable recoil from an unnatural blend of religion and politics, which had come over Aurobindo. He was on the threshold of a new life—the Life Divine.

Why did the movement begin with a bang and end with a whimper? Repression does not explain everything, though harassment of picketers, clamping of punitive police, ban on meetings, censorship of the press and savage prosecutions and sentences must be considered as great deterrents to the first large scale popular movement in India, which had still to find its feet and learn the appropriate technique of struggle. Nor should we exaggerate the extent and incidence of repression. The Parliamentary Report of 1909 listed 10 cases in Bengal and 105 in Eastern Bengal and Assam where prosecutions were actually instituted; about half were successful, the accused getting short prison terms.[82]

The effect of boycott on British imports has been inflated

also.[83] The *Annual Reports on the Maritime Trade of Bengal* give the following statistics of imports of boycotted commodities at Calcutta Port:

In crores of rupees

	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8
Cotton goods	15.59	18.66	21.44	18.62	23.73
Salt	0.52	0.55	0.53	0.52	0.62
Sugar	1.83	2.09	2.53	3.34	3.78

A comparison of quantities would have been more reliable. Even as it is, sugar actually increased in value. The fall of salt was marginal and more than recovered in 1907-8. The fall in the value of imported cotton goods between 1905-6 and 1906-7 should not be made much of, as the figures for 1906-7 were almost the same as those for 1904-5 and they rose sharply in 1907-8, the year of the terrorist outbreak. How much of this fall was normal, i.e. due to exigencies of trade, and how much was extraordinary, i.e. due to boycott, is very difficult to say. In his *Review of the Trade of India in 1908-9*, Frederick Noël-Paton explains the decline by over-trading and over-production of the previous quinquennium and the stringency of world trade in 1908.[83a] The setback was very temporary. Boycott would have been more successful if it was adopted outside Bengal with equal zeal. Maharastra alone followed suit under Tilak's able leadership. The boycott resolutions of the Congress gave other provinces option in this matter. Most of them were under the thumbs of the Moderates who responded lukewarmly, if at all, to this method of struggle. Scarcity of Swadeshi goods dampened the ardour of many and instances of cornering and blackmarketing of the indigenous wares were not rare. Rabindranath's opposition has already been noticed. Many avowed like him conscientious objection to boycott. The poet's warning about its effects on Hindu-Moslem relations proved prophetic. Riots broke out between the two communities partly due to the instigation of local

officers but partly also due to the Extremist excesses. Instances were known of naibs of Hindu zemindars seeking private vengeance on recalcitrant Moslem tenants by forcing boycott on them. Only 25 secondary and 300 primary national schools had been set up, which proves a negative hatred of the government but little genuine desire for education on national lines. The Calcutta University might be "the house of slaves" but its degrees had a hallmark in the world market which a job-orientated people could hardly forego.

Marxist historians, like E. N. Komarov and A. I. Levkovsky, have offered an explanation for this failure. They see in the intensification of capitalism and colonial exploitation at the end of the last century the objective conditions for the rise of the Extremist thought. They equate the Moderates with that section of the bourgeoisie which had ties with British capital and the feudal landlords and which at the same time favoured the development of native capitalist enterprise. To be more specific, they equate the Moderates with (1) the gentry who had adapted themselves to the conditions of expanding commodity production, invested agricultural profits in money-lending and re-invested the interest that accrued back again in lands, sometimes buying out the debtors altogether; (2) the gentry, originally connected with commerce, investing surplus rent in trade and re-investing commercial profits in land; (3) the intelligentsia arising out of (1) and (2), who were mostly lawyers and public servants; and (4) the industrial bourgeoisie itself. To them Swadeshi had a limited meaning—economic autonomy. They were satisfied with political collaboration with the British as the senior partner. The class-wise breakdown of the Extremists runs as follows: (1) the motley group of petit-bourgeois intelligentsia who came from the ranks of small landowners, who were often affected by the large landowners' attempts to raise rents, the literate (priestly) castes of the village society and the landless middle class in search of employment in cities; (2) the small commercial bourgeoisie and middlemen who were crushed by the British capitalist enterprise in India; (3) the lowly paid clerks, teachers and professors who suffered most from the high cost of living; (4) artisans and handicraftsmen, turned out of land and craft alike by the British policy; and (5) the

student community whose educational expenses Curzon's policy had pushed up but whose employment opportunities lagged far behind the actual need and living conditions far behind any civilized standard.

In Komarov's and Levkovsky's views the Extremist intellectuals caught the spirit of rebellion from the peasants and handicraftsmen, who had revolted in the Deccan and Pabna in the 1870's, and from the factory workers, who had gone on strike in 1892-93 and 1901. They developed it on their own class grievances till it was whipped to fury by famine, plague, high prices and Curzonian imperialism. The upsurge of the masses at the call of boycott infused fresh strength into the Extremist views and encouraged them to a trial of strength at Surat. The individual terrorist attacks in Bengal were, in contrast, "an incorrect, petty bourgeois method of struggle, which in the final analysis hampered the growth of mass movement. The terrorists erroneously believed that acts of individual terror could assist in promoting mass actions against the colonial authorities." It distracted many of the best patriots from participation in the mass struggle and thus isolated them from the people. Lenin's approval of the Bombay general strike is quoted as the final judgement on Extremism—what it could have been but for the petty bourgeois romanticism of the Extremists and, perhaps, their instinctive fear of the masses.[84]

This analysis cuts every way. It uses the Tawney thesis to explain Moderate politics and the Trevor Roper thesis to explain Extremism. But how does it explain the presence of some very big landlords of Northern and Eastern Bengal among the patrons of Extremism? Is it only because they apprehended in the partition a challenge to the Permanent Settlement? Official statistics from six Buckergunj police stations underline the considerable participation of talukdars and sons of zemindars.[84a] Lala Lajpat Rai's *Autobiographical Writings* suggest that the Canal Colonies Bill affected the interests of zemindars who, then, financed and organized the agitation in Punjab. Of the two leaders who approached Lala for guidance, Mian Saraj-ud-din was the editor of the *Zamindar* and Chaudhury Shahab-ud-din worked for the Zamindar Association. Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt, patron of the more extreme

Ajit Singh, owned considerable estates. Those who addressed the Rawalpindi meeting on the eve of Punjab disturbances were mostly lawyers who either came from or were professionally tied to the gentry. Confronted with a similar contradiction, Trevor Roper had to distinguish between two classes among the Puritans—the rich Whigs, like Pym and Hesilrige, and the poor Independents like Cromwell. Is it suggested by the Russian authors that such a contradiction existed and weakened the Extremist movement? Did the landed gentry withdraw their support when it became too violent for their liking? We need to go into the individual records of these zemindars before we can come to any definite conclusion as to why actually they joined and when they broke away. Their presence, though well-established, is ignored in the analysis. Secondly, is it true that small commercial bourgeoisie and middlemen suffer in a period of rising prices? Thirdly, were the small ('Pygmy' was the term which Paul Baran used) landowners entirely precluded from passing on the increased (if at all) burden of rents to the shoulders of the peasantry? That, at least, was not the experience of the greater part of the nineteenth century. They might very well have been affected by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 and similar tenancy legislation elsewhere; their profits might have been curtailed by the extra expenses on law suits against the tenants, but, still, such points should be properly investigated. Those who farmed on their own had been suffering from a rise in agricultural wages. But whether and how far the higher cost of production was offset by the rise of prices we do not know. Le Mesurier's memorandum on the economic discontent of the middle *jotedars* of Bengal is scrappy, though their conditions in areas like Buckergunj (a seat of Extremism) were certainly bad. In areas of gentry-concentration, like Bikrampur in East Bengal and Harinabhi in West (again, centres of Extremism), land had always been scarce and new employment opportunities were dwindling. Economic discontent may not fully explain recruitment to the Extremist ranks, it explains the support and sympathy they enjoyed in Dacca, Buckergunj and Faridpur districts. The fact is that neither the gentry nor the peasantry was a homogeneous class and we need a Lefebvre to break them down into a number of

components, the incidence of price rise and general economic condition on whom differed significantly from one to another. Very recently an American scholar, Morris David Morris, has suggested that "the career of the Indian agriculturist in the nineteenth century may not have been one long secular slide downward toward increasing misery, as Dr. Patel (S. J. Patel, *Agricultural Labourers in Modern India and Pakistan*) would have it. Instead, it could have been a condition of cyclical fluctuatious against which no definite long run tendency or even a slight upward secular movement might be projected." Even in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the village was far more differentiated and complex, suggests Dr. Dharma Kumar (*Land and Caste in South India: Agricultural Labour in the Madras Presidency during the Nineteenth Century*).

Discontent among lower grade clerks, school teachers, etc. is better documented. Scales of pay, adequate twenty or thirty years before, lagged behind the cost of living index number. While a lower grade clerk earned Rs. 15 a month and a *chaprassi* Rs. 6 to Rs. 7, his household consumed 6 lb. of grain daily, i.e. required Rs. 9 a month for the major item of its budget. House rent had doubled and even quadrupled at places. According to Chirol 2,100 out of 3,054 school teachers in Bengal earned under Rs. 30. Altogether the salaries had risen by 33 to 50% and cost of living by 150%.[85] Even if we reject the allegedly prejudiced computation of per capita income by Digby (though largely based on Lord Dufferin's enquiry of 1888), the more scientific computation of V. K. R. V. Rao puts the increase of per capita income between 1868 and 1895 as Rs. 7 or Rs. 8. Wadia and Joshi worked out a per capita income of Rs. 44 for 1913-14. Compare with this the behaviour of the weighted index number of 100 articles since the base year of 1873 and especially after 1905. Things began to be normal only from 1909.[86] The statistical tables in App. B will show that Buckergunj, Calcutta, Dacca, Midnapur and Rangpur in Bengal, Amritsar and Rawalpindi in Punjab, Bombay and Ahmadnagar in W. India and Nagpur in C. P., i.e. areas most affected by Extremism, had been the greatest sufferers from the rise of food prices. Chirol refers to the discontent foolishly roused by the Public Service Com-

mission of Dufferin (1886-87) when it separated Europeans and Indians in the Education Department.)"To pretend that equality was maintained under the new scheme is idle, and the grievance thus created has caused a bitterness which is not allayed by the fact that the Commission created analogous grievances in other branches of the Public Service."[86a] The condition of teachers in private colleges was naturally worse. "Speaking generally", reported the Director General of Public Education, "it may be said that the qualifications and the pay of the teachers in secondary schools are below any standard that could be thought reasonable; and the inquiries which are now being made into the subject have revealed a state of things that is scandalous in Bengal and Eastern Bengal...." The appalling description of student-life in Calcutta, given by Dr. Garfield Williams (at Missionary Conference in 1909), may be a little exaggerated but there is no denying the fact that "whilst the skilled artisan, and even the unskilled labourer, can often command from 12 annas to 1 rupee a day, the youth who has sweated himself and his family through the whole course of higher education frequently works in vain for employment at Rs. 30 and even at Rs. 20 a month." The number of unemployed educated youngmen in Bengal was estimated to be 40,000.[86b] The rank and file of the sympathizers of the Extremists must have mainly come from the clerks, the teachers, the students and the middle or lower middle class unemployed who could not fall back on land. Of such stuff no revolution could be made. Workers in Calcutta and Bombay and peasants in Barisal and Punjab made some significant contributions but, for the most part, they brooded, silent and aloof. The great failure of the Extremists was the failure to enthuse the working class and the poor peasantry. They could not rouse them in spite of all talk of 'appeal to the masses' because they had nothing yet to offer them. Tilak and Aurobindo put too much faith on the students and on the magic of Hinduism. The students represent youth and dream, vigour and selfless dedication, but they have little patience, less perseverance and no real economic roots. They are a fleeting community, not a continuous entity. Instead of uniting the country, Hindu fanfare alienated the most substantial minority.[87] Instead of

two parties in the contest for freedom, there were now three, and the British cleverly kept one on their side.

It is wrong, again, of the Russian authors to dismiss the religious and ideological factors as mere superstructure. Christopher Hill committed that mistake once with regard to the role of Puritanism in the Civil War of the seventeenth century. He admits his mistake now. It will not do to put Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo 'objectively' on the side of the bourgeoisie, even in a qualified manner. They were not spokesmen of "the whole class of nascent national bourgeoisie, a class interested in the broad and rapid development of capitalism, the chief obstacle to which was economic and political oppression of the British colonialists." Capitalism scarcely explains the Protestant ethic, nor does it account for the Extremist psychology and ideology. Extremism is Calvinism in the colonial context. Its 'calling' is different. It never relaxes the strict spiritual discipline on the economic appetites of man. It never stoops to adjust its sights to the requirements of a modern, industrial society. Like William Morris, Aurobindo (and, to a lesser extent, Tilak) pined for the golden sunlight of that long summer afternoon when time paused on the edge of eternity. The cult of the natural, the spontaneous and the individual, the eagerness to court suffering that sets man free of the senses, Kropotkin's talk of "the higher delights" and the philosophic equilibrium conquering death, Prudhon's praise of poverty and an incessant metamorphosis of spirit (not an unceasing progress of material wealth), all these elements could be traced in Extremism. It was Populism without people and socialism without machine. It was a sort of spiritual Narodnism, suspended between the lodestones of an idealized past and an idealized future. The greatest of our classical scholars, Aurobindo, would have replied like Plato's Socrates, when Glaukon charged him with building a city that nowhere existed on earth, "But perhaps it is laid up in heaven for an example, for him who will to see, and seeing it to build himself as a city. But it makes no difference whether it exists, or ever will exist; for he will work the works of that city, and of no other."

"Objectively", the Marxist might say, "you are glorifying India's backwardness and concealing from yourself that

capitalism has set in. Your communal village has disintegrated long ago; you imagine an elementally socialist peasant mind while it is no better than petty-bourgeois; you seek for a non-capitalist path to progress as it has shown evils in the Western world." "Objectively", the Extremist might reply, "you are exposing India to the pitiless law of capitalism that has proletarized the peasants in the West and destroyed its village society. Socialism will hasten it so that you may have the pleasure to create a brave new world of sheep-like men who worship not God but the Moloch of materialism. Capitalism and socialism are both of the West, one evil hatched by another, and India will call 'a plague o' both your houses' and return to her *satyajuga* of spiritual values. Call it escapism, if you like, but your way lies the greater death (*mahati binasti*) of the soul."

Ever since Lenin had rejected the individual terror of the Narodniks, the Marxist feels inhibited in its evaluation. But Marx and Engels held that revolutionary terror had a special justification in Russia. Engels disliked Plekhanov's intolerant attacks on the revolutionary wing of the Narodniki who were always more aware than the Social Democrats of the agrarian problem. Lenin himself was an 'opportunist' in this regard even before the London Congress (1907). All his life he treated objections to individual terror *on principle* as 'pedantic' and 'philistine'. In the Indian case, Tagore's criticisms are more appropriate, for he comprehended its nature better. The subconscious, Tagore meant to say, had played a trick on the Extremists and they were really Indianizing the aggressive nationalism of the West. That is why he made Gora Irish in origin. In spite of all his love for the wonder that was India and the glory that was Hinduism, Gora is incapable of establishing a psychological contact with the common people. His tragedy reflects that of the Extremists. Somehow or other they never become real in the life of the masses and never find deep roots. As far as the use of force is concerned, Tagore shows his attitude in *Ghare Baire*. Sandwip has imbibed its philosophy from the West. It has a great attraction for Bimala. She is almost swept away from her moorings. Then there is a sudden revelation. The glamour of the superman fades; the mean, the sneak, the greedy and the

petty tyrant comes out of his borrowed plumes. But the novel does not end in her disenchantment. As she stares out over deserted fields, a picture of forlorn grief, the fatally wounded husband, Nikhilesh (whom she almost betrayed for Sandwip), is brought in. While Sandwip has talked big of the Nietzschean struggle, here is a humble, poetic dreamer who has the courage to stake his life for the spiritual conviction that truth must prevail, that man must not fight man and that man's eternal freedom of soul must not be bartered for the temporal freedom the Extremists have in view. If this were a noble struggle, the means must be worthy of the end. India's mission is not to contend but to co-operate with the West so that the Religion of Man might prevail everywhere.

(They might be wrong.) But as Yeats asked about the Easter risers:

> "And what if excess of love
> Bewildered them till they died?"

(And was such sacrifice altogether in vain? The land brooded over the Martyrs' memory. The lonely *Baul* sang of Khudiram's hanging and it shed sullen tears.) Satyen and Kanai embraced the gallows like bridal garlands and its imagination was stirred to its depths and the apathy of centuries disturbed. (The suffering of unknown peasants and workers, teachers and students, lawyers and clerks, sustained the humble masses who could not hope to imitate the immortals. When Gandhi gave his call to a more arduous struggle, more arduous because it was non-violent, India was ready. She rose from her villages and cities, no longer afraid to die, for her men and women had learnt the mystery of life and death from the men of 1905-10.)

To you who desire to cross this threshold, do you know what awaits you?

I know, replied the girl.

Cold, hunger, abhorrence, derision, contempt, abuse, prison, disease, and death!

I know, I am ready, I shall endure all blows.

Not from enemies alone, but also from relatives, from friends.
Yes, even from them...
Are you ready even to commit a crime?
I am ready for crime, too.
Do you know that you may be disillusioned in that which you believe, that you may discover that you were mistaken, that you ruined your young life in vain?
I know that, too.
Enter!
The Girl crossed the threshold, and a heavy curtain fell behind her.
Fool! said some one, gnashing his teeth.
Saint! some one uttered in reply.[88]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For recent discussions on Dadabhai Naoroji, see B. N. Ganguli, *Dadabhai Naoroji and the Drain Theory* (Asia, 1965), Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, (People's Publishing, New Delhi, 1966). Rabindranath could not like all of *Desher Katha*. See his comment, *Banga-darshan*, Sravan, 1311 B.S.
2. Aurobindo, *Bankim-Tilak-Dayananda* (2nd edn., 1947), p. 67, first published in *Karmayogin*, 4 December 1909.

2a. Compare Tilak and Agarkar in support of the Bengal Tenancy Bill of 1883 (*Mahratta*, 21 October 1883 and 6 January 1884) with R. C Dutt (Speeches, vol. II, p. 170). Ranade wanted capitalist farming (*Essays on Indian Economics*, p. 287). The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* took up the cause of intermediaries and *jotedars* (8 January and 10 March 1885). S. N. Banerjee was pro-tenant (*Bengalee*, 15 January and 2 April 1881, 22 November 1884; *Speeches*, vol. II, p. 17).

3. Bipan Chandra, op. cit., pp. 744-45.
4. C. S. Bayley's note on Congress support, 18 June 1899 and C. W. Bolton's letter on Congress support, 18 July 1899, op. cit. Maharajah of Darbhanga was the largest single contributor.
5. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., p. 192.

5a. Lajpat Rai, 'The Swadeshi Movement', *Indian Review*, vol. VII, pp. 333-36. Also "This (boycott) in my opinion is the most effective way of bringing the Government to its senses and will be most telling on England." 'Our struggle for freedom: How to carry it on', *Hindusthan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, vol. XIII, p. 356.

6. See encl. Dufferin to Cross, 24 August 1888, Eur. MSS. 243, vol. 25.
7. Rajnarayan Basu, *Atmacharit*, p. 227 and *Sekal ar Ekal* (first published 1874);

Shivnath Shastri, *Men I Have Seen* (Cal., 1919), pp. 199-200. Rajnarayan was the maternal grandfather of Aurobindo.

8. *Mookerjee's Magazine*, vol. II—vol. V; for the quotation, see vol. V, p. 12.
9. M. G. Ranade, *Essays on Indian Economics* (Bombay, 1898), pp. 25-26 and p. 207; *The Miscellaneous Writings* (Bombay, 1915), p. 231. Ranade had been much influenced by the German relativists, especially Frederich List, and Cliffe Leslie. Industrialization came only through direct state help and protection and, if these were not forthcoming, Swadeshi might contribute by affording an indirect protection. See Bhabatosh Datta, *The Evolution of Economic Thinking in India* (1962), pp. 13-18.

9*a*. For a striking similarity with Sinn Fein, See Arthur Griffith, *The Sinn Fein Policy*, p. 7, p. 20.

10. Bipin Ch. Pal, 'Boycott', *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 219.
11. Ibid., pp. 234-35.
12. Ibid., pp. 236-37. See Rabindranath, 'Rajkutumba': "এখন ম্যানচেষ্টার রাজা, বার্মিংহাম রাজা, নীলকর রাজা, চা-কর রাজা, চেম্বার অফ কমার্স রাজা . . . " *Bangadarshan*, Baisakh 1310 B.S.
13. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 241.
14. Rabindranath, (*a*) 'Swadeshi Samaj' (*Bangadarshan*, Bhadra 1311 B.S.), (*b*) 'Samasya' (*Prabasi*, Asarh 1315 B S.), (*c*) 'Sadupaya' (*Prabasi*, Sravan 1315 B.S.).
15. Same, (*a*) 'Path O Patheya' (*Bangadarshan*, Jaistha 1315 B.S.), (*b*) 'Sadupaya', op. cit., (*c*) *Ghare Baire* (first published serially in *Sabujpatra*, 1322 B.S.).
16. Same, 'Samasya', op. cit., 'Byadhi O Pratikar' (*Prabasi*, Sraban 1314 B.S.).

16*a*. Same, 'Apamaner Pratikar', *Sadhana*, Bhadra 1301 B S.

16*b*. Same, 'Path O Patheya', op. cit.

17. Aurobindo, *Bande Mataram*, 30 July 1907. Tagore's self-criticism and universalism came under attack of B. C. Pal, *Bangadarshan*, Chaitra 1312 B.S. and Asarh-Sravana 1313 B.S. and of Ramendrasundar Trivedi, *Prabasi*, Aswin 1314 B.S. Aurobindo had to fight with modernist liberal criticism of Swadeshi excesses.
18. Aurobindo, *Bande Mataram*, 6 August 1907.
19. Same, ibid., 18 September 1907, 26 April 1907.
20. Same, ibid., 7 August 1907.
21. "To impose in politics the Brahminical duty of saintly sufferance is to preach *varna somkara*" (e.g. confusion of duties). Aurobindo's tone has undergone considerable change since 30 August 1905 when he extolled *Brahmatejas*.
22. Same, articles on Passive Resistance published in *Bande Mataram*, 11-23 April 1907, later published in book form—*The Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (1948). For Government's comment, see Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Pol. Deposit), Progs. July 1907, no. 3.
23. *Further Papers relating to the Reconstruction of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam* (London, 1905), p. 97 and p. 226.

23*a*. Aurobindo, 'The East Bengal Disturbances', *Bande Mataram*, 25 May 1907. Also fn. 87 *infra*. For 'criticism, Rabindranath, 'Byadhi O Pratikar' (1907) and 'Sadupaya' (1908), op. cit.

24. *The Times of India*, 28 September 1906. The India Jute Mills (Serampore) struck work in the same month.
25. Ibid., 1 September 1906.
26. Quoted in Reisner and Goldberg (ed.), *Tilak and the Struggle for Indian Freedom* (People's Pub. House, 1966), p. 279.
27. See the pamphlet *Who Rules Us*, quoted in *The Times*, 4 April 1906.
28. *The Times of India*, 21 September 1907.
29. V. Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, p. 53.
30. A. I. Chicherov, 'Tilak's Trial and the Bombay Political Strike of 1908', Reisner and Goldberg, op. cit., pp. 545-626.
30*a*. Aurobindo, 'Why This Cry for Freedom', *Bande Mataram*, 7 September 1907.
31. Same, 'Graduated Boycott', *Bande Mataram* 26 April 1907.
32. Surendranath, op. cit., chapter XXI. See *Prabasi*, Kartik 1313 B.S., for a list of such activities. Between 1905-6 and 1910-11, 60 textile mills were registered in Bombay, 2 in Bengal (Banga Laksmi Cotton Mill and Mohini Mills). Rich zemindars set up a National Fund to finance weaving schools. Though capital was not forthcoming for more cotton mills in Bengal, banking attracted some landlords and merchants. The Bengal National Bank was started with an authorized capital of Rs. 50 lakhs and the Cooperative Hindusthan Bank with that of Rs. 2 crores. From the same source came capital for the Cooperative Steam Navigation Limited, the Eastern Bengal Mahajan Flotilla Company Ltd., the India Equitable Life Insurance Co. Ltd. and the Hindusthan Cooperative Insurance. It is interesting to see the names of Maharaja Suryakanta, Manindrachandra Nandi, Raja Pearymohan Mukherjee and Raja Sreenath Roy appear again and again in the lists of directors. Surendranath, Aswini Datta, Abdul Rasul and Asutosh Chaudhuri, actual leaders, figure in a small way. See *Bengalee*, 2, 19, 20 January 1906; 3, 4 January, 11, 14 and 28 October and 25 December 1908. While Acharya P. C. Ray developed the Bengal Chemical, Nilratan Sarkar financed the first chrome tannery and Rashbehari Ghosh, the Bande Mataram Match Factory.
33. F. R. Harris, *J. N. Tata* (1958), p. 190.
34. For history of National Education Movement see Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, *The Origins of the National Education Movement*, Jadavpur University, 1957.
35. *The Dawn*, September 1898, pp. 207-13, September 1899, pp. 33-34, January 1900, p. 188.
36. Rabindranath, 'Sikshar Herfer', *Sadhana*, Paus 1299 B.S., also 'Prasangakatha', ibid., Chaitra 1299 B.S. Tagore refers to birth of German nationalism as a result of replacement of French by German. For ideas of Gurudas Banerjee on vernacular medium, see Upendra Chandra Banerjee (ed.), *Reminiscences, Speeches and Writings of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee* (Cal., 1927), part II, pp. 82, 91-92, 118. For other ideas on national education, see ibid., pp. 206, 210, 232; part I, p. 249 and Gurudas Bandyopadhyaya, *Jnan O Karma* (1910).
37. Benoykumar Sarkar captured the fervour of those days in *Benoy Sarkarer Baithake*, vol. I (2nd edn., 1944).
38. Circular No. 1679 of 10 October 1905 issued by R. W. Carlyle, Offg. Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal. Extraordinary circulars, based on it, were issued by the District Magistrates to the heads of schools and colleges

in the mofussil, interdicting student participation in anti-partition agitation on pain of forfeiture of grants-in-aid and even disaffiliation. Alexander Pedler, the D.P.I., demanded expulsion of college boys implicated in the boycott disturbances of 3 October 1905 by a letter No. T-292 of 21 October 1905. The first victims of Carlyle Circular were the students of Rangpur Zilla School. On 8 November 1905 P. C. Lyon, Chief Secretary to the newly created Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, issued an education circular and a Bande Mataram circular. The former was similar to the Carlyle Circular, the latter prohibited shouting of Bande Mataram in public in Dacca division. See *Statesman*, 22 October 1905 and *Sanjivani*, 16 November 1905. See also Rabindranath, 'Sikshar Andolaner Bhumika', *Bhandar*, Agrahayan, 1312 B.S., special number, *Rabindra Rachanavali*, vol. XII, p. 523 et seq.

38*a*. Surendranath never took his college out of the Calcutta University and was roundly condemned by Bipinchandra for it in a speech, 24 November 1905, at the Field and Academy Club and by Aurobindo in *Bande Mataram*, 28 May 1907.

39. Bipin Ch. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 263 et seq.

40. Aurobindo, *Bande Mataram*, 11 September 1907.

40*a*. Same, *Bande Mataram*, (weekly), 12 April 1908.

41. Same, 'The Bed-rock of Indian Nationalism—1', *Bande Mataram* (weekly), 14 June 1908.

42. *Mahratta*, 30 May 1897.

42*a*. Rabindranath, *Bharatbarsha*, 1312 B.S.

43. *Kesari*, XXVII, I, 1 January 1907.

44. Tilak, "The Tenets of the New Party", Calcutta speech, 2 January 1907, I.O.L. Tract 1010; *Kesari*, 22 January 1907.

45. Same, "Our Present Situation", Allahabad speech, 4 January 1907, I.O.L. Tract 1010.

46. Henry Nevinson, *The New Spirit in India* (London, 1908), pp. 72-75.

47. Bipin Ch. Pal, 'The New Movement', 'The Gospel of Swaraj', 'Swaraj: Its Ways and Means' (Madras speeches), *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, pp. 117-218.

48. Quoted by V. Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, p. 13.

49. Aurobindo, *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (1952 edn.), p. 17.

50. Same, *Bande Mataram*, 30 April and 2 May 1907.

51. Same, *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance*, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

52. Same, 'Ideals Face to Face', *Bande Mataram* (weekly), 3 May 1908.

53. Same, 'Indian Resurgence and Europe', *Bande Mataram*, 14 April 1908. For rejection of Western political pattern and aggressive nationalism, see Bankimchandra and Vivekananda, chapter I *supra*; Bipin Ch. Pal, *Nationality and Empire*, chapter II; Rabindranath, 'Bharatbarsher Itihas' and 'Prachya O Paschatya Sabhyata', *Bangadarshan*, 1308-9 B.S.

54. Aurobindo, *Bande Mataram*, 11 May 1907.

55. Nevinson, op. cit., p. 226. Chirol's *bête noire* was Tilak and he saw in Aurobindo only a brilliant disciple.

56. Their quarrel over the pamphlet *Sonar Bangla* (written by Satyen Basu and Khudiram Bose) exposes this difference. Pal left the editorial staff of the *Bande Mataram* after condemning use of violent methods in 'The Golden Bengal Scare', *Bande Mataram*, 3 Oct. 1906.

57. *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and on the Mother*, p. 78.
58. This move was severely criticized by the *Bande Mataram*, 12 and 14 September 1906.
58*a*. Lajpat Rai, speech at the Punjab Political Conference, reproduced in *The Panjabee*, 10 October and 13 October 1906.
58*b*. Lajpat Rai to Gokhale, 4 October 1906, Gokhale Papers, op. cit.
59. *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and on the Mother*, p. 76.
60. Dunlop Smith's note, 1 January 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 10, pp. 4-5. See chapter VI *infra*.
61. Joshi (ed.), *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, op. cit., p. 112 et seq.
62. Influence of Bankim's *Debi Chaudhurani* is traceable. We See a striking similarity with Lenin's policy of 'expropriation' of the bourgeois, which Martov and the Mensheviks so persistently condemned. Was Aurobindo's group, so long financed by the well-to-do liberals and parlour pinks among the zemindars, short of funds? Were its patrons losing their taste for revolution or withholding funds under threat of Governmental coercion? Pal, like Mortov, looked on hold-ups and assassinations as demoralizing adventurism, unworthy of an idealistic movement and likely to alienate liberal, democratic public opinion.
62*a*. *Kesari*, XXVI, 5, p. 4.
63. Hemchandra Kanungo, *Banglaya Biplab Prachesta* (1928), pp. 118-48, 156-59. Also Aurobindo to Bhupal Basu (his father-in-law), 8 June 1906. *Bande Mataram* translated seditious articles from *Yugantar* regularly. For examples of writings published in *Yugantar*, see Chirol, op. cit., pp. 91-96; *The Report of the Sedition Committee*, pp. 16-17.
63*a*. Joshi (ed.), *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, op. cit., pp. 123-62. See chapter VI *infra*.
64. S. N. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 235.
64*a*. Surendranath to Gokhale, 12 December 1907, Gokhale Papers, op. cit.
64*b*. Lajpat Rai to Gokhale, ibid., letter no. 296.22.
65. *Bande Mataram*, 20 December 1907.
66. *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and on the Mother*, p. 81. Also Barindrakumar Ghosh, *Barindrer Atmakahini* (*Dhar Pakarer Yug*), 1329 B.S., chapters IV and V. As Aurobindo states that the Moderate delegates numbered 1300 and the Extremists over 1100, normal voting procedure would not have served his purpose. Aurobindo disparaged it as "a local majority", i.e. artfully contrived, which, presumably, he was free to circumvent by similar artful means. See 'United Congress', speech at Panti's Math, 10 April 1908.
67. Reisner and Goldberg, op. cit., pp. 295-96. Tilak, too, would have been satisfied if certain changes in the wording of the resolutions had been removed. Gokhale handed over the resolutions too late for a negotiated settlement. Nevinson, *The New Spirit in India*, pp. 247-58.
68. For Surat Congress, see M. R. Jayakar, *The Story of My Life*, vol. I pp. 78-84; I.O.L. Tract 1042; Nevinson, *The New Spirit in India*, pp. 247-48, Aurobindo, 'United Congress', speech at Panti's Math, 10 April 1908; Amvika Charan Mazumdar, *Indian National Evolution* (Natesan, 1917), pp. 104-13.
69. Barindrakumar Ghosh, op. cit., p. 22. See Tagore's criticism of both the factions at Surat in '*Tajna-bhanga*':

"মধ্যমপন্থী ও চরমপন্থী এই উভয় দলই কংগ্রেস অধিকার করাকেই যদি দেশের কাজ করা বলিয়া একান্তভাবে না মনে করিতেন, দেশের সত্যকার কর্ম্ম ক্ষেত্রে ইঁহারা প্রতিষ্ঠা লাভ করিতে থাকিতেন—দেশের শিক্ষা-স্বাস্থ্য-অন্নের অভাব মোচন করিবার জন্য যদি ইঁহারা নিজের শক্তিকে নানা পথে অহরহ একাগ্র মনে নিয়োজিত করিয়া রাখিতেন . . . এবং দেশের জনসাধারণের সঙ্গে কায়-মনোবাক্যে যোগ দিয়া দেশের প্রাণকে দেশের শক্তিকে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে উপলব্ধি করিতেন তাহা হইলে কংগ্রেস-সভার মঞ্চ জিতিয়া লইবার চেষ্টায় এমন উন্মত্ত হইয়া উঠিতেন না, কংগ্রেসে হার হইলেও দেশের মধ্যে হার হয় না, ... ।"

69*a*. Lajpat Rai, address as President of the All India Swadeshi Conference, December 1907, reproduced from *Surat Congress and Conference*, 1907.

70. According to Barin, Aurobindo's *guru* in *yoga*, Lele, warned him of the voice of the devil and advised against revolutionary violence. See Barindrakumar Ghosh, op. cit., pp. 38-43, Upendranath Bandyopadhyay, *Nirbasiter Atmakatha*, pp. 28-30, Hemchandra Kanungo, op. cit., p. 247 et seq. Note Aurobindo's observations on the influence of Ramakrishna and many unnamed sadhus and sannyasins on the Nationalist movement in Bengal. "If you ask who influenced Babu Bipinchandra Pal, it was a sadhu. . . ." Speech at Bombay, *infra*.

71. Aurobindo, 'The Present Situation', speech at Bombay, 19 January 1908. Also *Sri Aurobindo on Himself, etc.*, p. 108.

72. Aurobindo, 'New Conditions', *Bande Mataram*, 29 April 1908 (it was the day before the Muzaffarpur bomb attack).

73. Same, ibid., 23 April 1908.

74. For the whole semi-comical episode, see Barindrakumar Ghosh, op. cit., chapters IX and XI. For Tagore's comments, see Rabindranath to Nirjharini Sarkar, 23 Baisakh and 17 Jaistha 1315 B.S. and 'Path O Patheya', op. cit.

75. Minto to Morley, 6 May 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 14, p. 45. Also A. Fraser's confidential note of 19 May 1908.

76. *Kesari*, 12 May and 9 June 1908.

77. This has a striking similarity with Trepov case in which Vera Zasulich won renown for shooting at Trepov, Governor General of St. Petersburg, because of the flogging of a fellow-student.

77*a*. *Gita*, II, 50; XI, 29, 32, 33.

78. Aurobindo, *Essays on the Gita*, first series, p. 46 et seq. Though written after the events of 1908-10, these essays sometimes seem to be a reflection on them, even a justification for them.

79. For the Dostoyevskian defence of murder, see Ivan Karamazov's talks with Aloysha in *The Brothers Karamazov*. In *The Possessed* Dostoyevsky made fools of men like Nechayev.

80. *Kesari*, 15 June 1897.

81. See Parisista, *Raja Praja*. Tagore criticized the methods of terrorism again and again, especially their impact on the integrity and creativity of man. See *Ghare Baire* and *Char Adhyaya*. In similar circumstances in Russia terrorism earned Tolstoy's strictures. It is interesting to note that neither Marx nor Engels condemned Narodnik terrorism and Lenin would not completely rule it out in spite of Menshevik criticism. Stalin was himself a terrorist leader under the pseudonym of Koba.

81*a*. Aurobindo speaks of a similar experience of B. C. Pal, when he came out of Buxar jail. See Uttarpara speeches of both and compare.

82. R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. II (1963), p. 49. Compare statistics of outrages in Bengal given below:

Year	Bomb outrages	Murder	Dacoity	Misc.	
1907	—	1	3	3	(train wrecking)
1908	6	9	8	—	
1909	1	2	10	1	(theft of arms)
1910	—	1	7	1	

The Sedition Committee Report, 1918. See Appendix C for correct details.

83. R. C. Majumdar gives some desultory statistics from the *Statesman*, the confidential report of the Collector of Customs, Calcutta, 8 September 1906 and a letter from the Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal to Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, 27 June and 7 October 1908. He has noted the decrease in the import of Liverpool salt by 1,40,000 maunds but ignored the increase in import of Aden salt from 48,000 to 77,000 maunds. See the statistical tables in App. A for a correct picture.

83a. "Production overtook consumption in the world's markets and this condition made them so sensitive that in 1907 certain secondary influences brought about a collapse." Among these secondary influences Noel Paton mentions crisis in U. S., strikes and lock-outs in U. K. cotton industry and engineering industry and premonition of deficit in the Home Exchequer. C. W. E. Cotton reports return to normalcy in *Review of Trade etc. in 1909-10* (Cal., 1910, p. 1).

84. See articles of E. N. Komarov, A. J. Levkovsky and A. I. Chicherov in Reisner and Goldberg (ed.), op. cit. Also I. M. Reisner's summing up, ibid., pp. 659-61.

84*a*. Home Political Deposit, 1906, October, Progs. no. 91. Out of a total of 8,500 volunteers (extremist cadres) in E. B. and Assam in June 1907, Dacca and Buckergunj contributed about 2,500 each.

85. R. C. Craddock, Chief Commissioner of C. P. to Private Secretary to Governor General, 27 November 1907 and to Governor General, 17 June 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 16, pp. 45-48. The pathetic scale in the army pay should be noted. One of the seditious pamphlets began, "Oh Indian sepoys! Your value is Rs. 9, and this is the price of an ass in Europe." Annexure A, Minto to Morley, 22 January 1908. For Bengal, see *Administration of Bengal under Andrew Fraser*, 1903-8, p. 30 and Chirol, op. cit., p. 227.

86. See statistical tables in App. B.

86*a*. The treatment of Sir Jagadishchandra Bose, the eminent Physicist, is a case in point. The 'Bose War' proved to be a turning point in Sister Nivedita's career. She, who had once fought for England with Vivekananda, said in disgust, "England, or all that was noble in her, at least, seems dead." See also Rabindranath, *Chithipatra*, vol. VI (Cal., 1957).

86*b*. V. Chirol, op. cit., pp. 216-28.

87. For Aurobindo's comments on the Comilla and Jamalpur communal riots, see *Bande Mataram*, 6,15 & 18 March, 27 April, 7 & 9 May 1907. Also *Yugantar*, 5 May 1907.

88. Ivan Turgeniev, 'The Threshold'.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOUNDATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

(While the Extremists) (and, above all, poet Tagore whose path crossed that of the Extremists for a while between 1892 and 1906) (saw in Indian history the unfolding of a spirit of unity, the British administrators and their Moslem protégés increasingly played upon the theme of diversity.)(In course of the debate on the Indian Councils Bill of 1861, Sir Charles Wood said, "we have to legislate for different races with different languages, religions, manners and customs", and established for all time an alibi for the continuance of British control. This was further accentuated by the Civilians like Colvin and Hunter, who called for a fair deal to the Moslem *qua* Moslem, and by the Moslem leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who sedulously fostered the differences between the Hindus and the Mohammedans.) Sir Syed might have modelled his speech on C. P. Local Self-Government Bill in the Governor-General's Council on that of Wood.[1] He even introduced the two-nation theory in his Meerut speech and invited the British to remain in India for her peace and progress "for many years—in fact for ever."[2] Lord Dufferin's Committee on the Provincial Councils (October 1888) underscored this division and advised the use of the Government's reserve of nomination for adjusting marked inequalities among the communities. Dufferin rudely challenged the right of the Congress to represent the dumb millions of India and, more particularly, the diverse ethnic and cultural groups of India. "To hand over, therefore, the Government of India", he wrote in his Minute of 1888, "either partially or otherwise to such a body as this would simply be to place millions of men, dozens of nationalities, and hundreds of the most stupendous interests under the domination of a microscopic minority.... Already it looks as if the Mahommedans were rising in revolt against the ascendancy which they imagine a rival and less virile race is desirous of obtaining over them...." In view of India's "multifarious and violent latent forces, its wondrous mosaic of nationalities", "a strong, external and

independent element" was necessary "to preserve a just equilibrium between its heterogeneous constituent parts."[3] The cue was well taken by the India Office. (In his speech on the Indian Councils Act Amendment Bill (which later passed as Lord Cross's Act, 1892) Curzon expressed solicitude for the various great religious denominations in India and provided for representation of their views in the proposed Legislative Council. Lord Cross's Act introduced the communal electorate in an incipient form.) Lord Lansdowne was satisfied that it would produce Councillors "who will (rightly, in his view) represent types and classes rather than areas and numbers."[4]

(No wonder Curzon, as Viceroy, would continue thinking in the same line.) (Conceived at first in the interests of administrative efficiency, the scheme of the partition of Bengal gathered in the hands of the Civilians an anti-Bengali prejudice and an anti-Extremist bias and, ultimately, a communal tone. It was to be a double-edged weapon. By creating a Moslem majority province it would render the Bengali Hindus, the most persuasive leaders of the Moderate Congress and alas! also the most ardent recruits to the Extremist views, innocuous. They would be a religious minority in Eastern Bengal and Assam and a linguistic minority in the truncated Bengal. A separate administration, a separate High Court and a separate University at Dacca would give extra opportunities to the Moslem middle class to emerge from their backward state and weaken the economic base of the Hindu middle class. The Hindu zemindar patrons of the Congress would find the Moslem peasantry ranged against them, secure in support of the Dacca Secretariat. It would divide the nationalist ranks once and for all, while gaining for the government the loyalty and the gratitude of the Moslem community. The first partition, though annulled in 1911, sowed the seeds of jealousy and ill-will between the Hindus and the Moslems, as anticipated. It strengthened the separatist spirit of the Moslems, a legacy from their Wababi days. It whetted as well their ambitions for an independent entity.

The anti-partition movement concealed this cleavage for the time being. Moslem leaders like Abdul Rasul and Liakat Hossain joined heart and soul with Surendranath Banerjee,

Bipinchandra Pal and Aswinikumar Datta in their crusade to unsettle "the settled fact" of Morley. The Moslem residents of Calcutta strongly disapproved of the repressive measures that broke the Barisal Conference at a mass-meeting on 13 May 1906. Already inspired by Moslem revolutionary activities in Egypt, Iran and Turkey, Abul Kalam Azad came into contact with Shyamsundar Chakravarti of the *Bande Mataram*, met Aurobindo twice or thrice, and joined one of the revolutionary bodies.[4] "During this period," writes Azad in his memoirs, "I had also started to work among Muslims and found that there was a group of youngmen ready to take up new political tasks." He not only dissipated the anti-Moslem suspicions of the revolutionaries but helped in extending their activities outside Bengal and Bihar.[5]

Denison Ross, Principal of Calcutta Madrassa, and Risley, the Secretary in the Home Department, took some pains to belittle the importance of Moslem participation. Abdul Rasul, President of the Barisal Conference, they explained, was a briefless barrister, currying in this odd way the favour of Hindu attorneys. Hasan Jan, president of the Calcutta meeting, was a mere student politician, "in the pay of the Swadeshi Party." But diehard bureaucrats, like Lawrence (private secretary to Curzon), and shrewd journalists, like Valentine Chirol and Sidney Low, seemed to read the writing on the wall. They promptly warned Minto, newly arrived, of the danger of Hindu-Moslem accord. Theodore Morison, Principal of the Aligarh College, who was regarded as an expert on Moslem affairs, warned the Home Government against "the possibility of Mahommedan sympathies by and by going over to the Congress party."[6] "Be sure", Morley solemnly warned Minto, "that before long the Mohammedans will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you...." In the hot months of 1906 Minto was advised by all knowledgeable people to win over the vacillating Moslems by some particular favour.

Minto responded almost at once. Sir Bampfylde Fuller had been openly preferring Moslems to Hindus in the public service of the newly created province on the specious plea of restoring the balance between the two communities, even though, in Curzon's view, the former stood to the latter

"in the ratio of 50 to 100."[7] He called the Moslem community—his favourite wife (*suo rani*). As his successor, Hare, perceived, he was really "playing off the two sections of the population against each other."[8] Those who benefited by this policy naturally raised a hue and cry (blown up by bureaucracy) on Fuller's dismissal and Minto used it as a context for his pro-Moslem move. "I have always had great hopes of the Mohammedan population. They have not the Bengali gifts of eloquence and comparatively one hears little of them. But...now that they are becoming somewhat alarmed at what they consider Bengali successes, the justice of our safeguarding their interests will become all the more apparent, and ought to be of real assistance to us in dealing with much of the one-sided agitation we have to face."[9] The Hindu agitators unwittingly gave the pro-government Moslem faction a handle by the forcible imposition of boycott in rural areas. In Comilla, for example, two Moslem landlords were boycotted for declining to receive Pal and to subscribe to his fund. A similar handle was there, ready for use, in the old oppressive ways of the Hindu zemindars (more, of their bailiffs) and Marwari businessmen. The Moslem upper classes countered the slogan of Swadeshi with that of *Swajati*, urging purely Moslem commerce, industry and education.[10] Hare reported genuine anti-Hindu feelings, though the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* imputed these to official instigation. It was easier for Minto to pose as the protector of the underdog and thereby isolate the agitators as Hindus rather than nationalists.

Meanwhile, Morley's budget speech gave hints of forthcoming constitutional reforms. The Moslem leaders were alarmed, for a simple increase in the membership of the Legislative Councils by election would tilt the balance greatly in favour of the Hindus. They had received a favoured community treatment since 1892. Would it now be withdrawn by the Liberal Government? Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Secretary of the Aligarh College, poured his anxiety into the willing ears of the Principal Archbold.[11] A somewhat angrier response came from S. H. Bilgrami. "I am afraid", he complained, "Mr. Morley knows more about Voltaire and eighteenth century literature than the condition of contemporary

India."[12] Archbold was requested to arrange a Moslem deputation to the Viceroy. Minto was inclined to receive one, as "there is no doubt a natural fear in many quarters lest perpetual Bengalee demands should lead to the neglect of other claims to representation throughout India, so that we must be very careful in taking up these questions to give full value to the importance of other interests besides those so largely represented by the Congress"[13] He had been seeking for a "counterpoise to the Congress aims." Here was an admirable counterpoise which could be built into the reforms.

The letter of Mohsin-ul-Mulk is very interesting. It frankly deplored the inability of the old guards to keep young Moslems away from the Congress "and this speech,"[14] he added, "will produce a greater tendency in them to join the Congress." The Moslem youth complained of the political inactivity of the Aligarh school: "they say that we do not suggest any plans for preserving their rights, and practically do nothing and care nothing for them beyond asking for funds to help the College." They were afraid that, if elections were introduced on a more extensive scale, they would hardly get a seat, "while the Hindus will carry off the palm by dint of their majority, and no Muslim will get into the Council by election." This is conclusive proof that the old guards were frantically seeking a *pourparler* with the authorities and a show of favours so that they might confront their rebellious juniors with an evidence of political success. The reception of the Moslem deputation by Minto would raise the prestige of the Aligarh men and might even save them from doom.

Archbold played the role of saviour, though from "behind the screen." We see him requesting Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary of the Viceroy, to sound Minto about a deputation. He referred to their "widespread nervousness and uneasiness as to the future, a fear lest they should be left out in the cold". He especially mentioned the uneasiness of Dacca Mohammedans. He suggested that "it would... quiet things if some reassuring statement could be made to the deputation."[15]

The Viceroy immediately consented and some of his Councillors saw the point of alienating young Moslems

from the Congress.[16] Archbold drew up a formal request on behalf of the deputation. "As you know, they are rather backward in the arts of political agitation, and the danger is that they may go wrong through ignorance."[17] Mohsin-ul-Mulk did not like all of it, especially the assurance to keep out of political agitation and the demand for nomination instead of election, since many felt "that the Hindus have succeeded owing to their agitation and the Mohammedans have suffered for their silence." We see a hint in this letter that some Moslems at least were thinking of organizing a political association: "it is yet impossible for anybody to stop them." The feelings of Dacca Moslems, led by Syed Nawab Ali Chowdry, were particularly strong. They had been let down over Fuller. Unless Minto made substantial concessions, the Aligarh group might be deserted by the fire-brands.[18] Archbold was in constant touch with Bilgrami and the Nawab of Dacca. All were soon more or less agreed on the draft address.

The meeting was hastened by the reports of Hare, now Lieut.-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Dunlop Smith had kept him informed of the goings on.[19] Hare advised the Viceroy to accept the delegates as representative of the feelings of the Moslem community. "Mr. Morley may ask, do these Mohammedan representatives really represent Mohammedan opinion? I answer most certainly they do. The Hindu papers may talk of the three Tailors of Tooley Street, and no doubt in Eastern Bengal Mohammedan leaders of position and distinction are few; but unless these leaders go counter to the Moulavies... the Mohammedans will follow their leaders without question, and to a man almost. *As a matter of fact, all political agitation must be engineered.*"[20] If, however, the India Government failed to assuage Moslem feelings, they would surely get up an agitation which might lead to communal riots. He apprised the Viceroy of Moslem counter demonstrations to Swadeshi movement, fomented by the Nawab of Dacca, whose Hindu creditors were putting pressure on him for repayment at the instance of the Swadeshi agitators.[21] To checkmate his creditors, the Nawab had turned communal. "There are", Hare's veiled threat ran, "a thousand *badmashes* in Dacca ready to take advantage of any disturb-

bance." They would boycott Hindu landlords (who were persecuting them in the name of boycott). The military could not be asked to collect rents over such a large area. The suffering peasantry of Mymensingh and Sylhet and the poor members of the professional classes were ideal grist to the mill of Moslem communalism. The Viceroy alone could retrieve the situation by a show of sympathy for their hopes and aspirations.

The Viceroy decided to receive the deputation at Simla on 1 October. He thought it would be a capital opportunity to clarify the official position towards the Moslems: "and the line I shall try to take", he intimated the Secretary of State, "will be exactly as you say in the direction of indicating our entire and resolute impartiality between races and creeds."[22] He would touch neither partition nor Fuller but simply assure the deputation that "Britain aimed at recognizing and safeguarding the welfare of all."[23] The deputation included not only the Aligarh group but people who had in the past opposed the pro-British stand of Sir Syed Ahmad.[23a] The Aga Khan was to lead the deputation. From 1892 onwards the Aga Khan had been mixing with the Congress Moderates. He shed the influence of Pherozeshah Mehta and Badruddin Tyabji, however, as soon as he visited Aligarh in 1906. "By 1906 Mohsin-ul-Mulk and I, in common with other Muslim leaders, had come to the conclusion that our only hope lay along the lines of independent organization and action and that we must secure independent political recognition from the British Government as a nation within the nation."[24] He met the Viceroy earlier.[25] Assured beforehand of a favourable hearing, the deputation presented arguments, which had been mainly formulated by Archbold, except for one item. While Archbold had supported nomination, Bilgrami and Mohsin-ul-Mulk, with an eye on the younger generation, called for election, though it was hedged with safeguards and was to be on the basis of religion. They said that they were a distinct community and they did not like the idea of placing their interests at the mercy of "an unsympathetic majority" (i.e. Hindus), who would never back any but pro-Hindu Moslems. In short, this was a demand for separate and communal electorate. Secondly, their represent-

ation should be "commensurate not merely with their numerical strength but also with their political importance, and the value of contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire", consideration being paid "to the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago...." In short, besides their share of seats on numerical basis, they demanded weightage so that their representatives would never be an ineffective minority as they often were in Punjab, Sind and Bengal. It should be noted, thirdly, that the separate Moslem electoral college they talked of would consist of landowners, lawyers, merchants, fellows and graduates of universities and members of district and local boards. In short, they would not be representatives of the middle or the lower middle classes nor of the peasantry.[26]

Minto reported exultantly that his reply to the address was "an immense success." "I was very anxious", he informed Morley, "to avoid appearing to take sides, while yet wholeheartedly acknowledging the soundness of Mahommedan aspirants."[27] In fact, he did the latter better.) He accepted Hare's advice "as pointedly as I could in the direction of recognizing the deputation as a thoroughly representative body...."[28] He praised the Aligarh school for loyalty and patriotism and he allayed the Moslem fear that the partition would be undone.[29] He expressed doubts about the suitability of "the political machinery of the Western world among the hereditary traditions and instincts of Eastern races." He was convinced that "any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities...." He assured the deputation that "their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative re-organization with which I am concerned."[30] In a private conversation with Mohsin-ul-Mulk he stressed that Moslem political activities should aim at achieving community representation (which he guaranteed in the projected reforms) so as to combat growing Hindu influence.[31]

Dunlop Smith had well earned his thanks from the Moslem community,[32] for he was a vital link between them and the Viceroy. So was Archbold, the Principal of the Aligarh College.

It was not, however, "a got up affair" as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote, "fully engineered by interested officials."[33] The initiative came from the Moslems themselves and shrewd officials naturally exploited it. The shade of Sir Syed must have been present at the Simla Conference on that fateful October day. He had sown the dragon seeds and they were sprouting at Simla—to yield the dragon harvest of Pakistan fortyone years later.

Morley had suggested in June 1906 that, to prevent nationalist demands from getting stiffer, Minto should immediately introduce talks on reform.[34] The Simla talks were a sort of probing operation. He volubly praised the Viceroy's reply but felt anxious about the Hindu response.[35] He recognized the difficulties of political tight rope-walking. One accepted Bampfylde Fuller's resignation and the Moslems raged; one received the Moslem deputation and the Hindus raved.[36]

The Moslem deputation strengthened Morley's hands against the anti-partition agitation[37] and the radical parliamentary opposition: "...it has completely deranged the plans...of our Cottonians (i.e. radical M. P.s favourable to the Congress); that is to say, it has prevented them from any longer presenting the Indian Government as the ordinary case of bureaucracy versus the people." The emergence of a third party, and that from among the Indians. would lessen the weight of the Congress in the British public opinion and would give the government room for manoeuvring.[38] To conciliate the Moslems further he thought of taking Theodore Morison into his Council and rejected Antony MacDonnell who had the temerity to declare that the Viceroy's policy had been a mistake, "the Hindus being the real people."[39] Morley saw at last "the latent strength of the Mahometan element" and promised to do full justice to them.[40]

For some time this 'latent strength' was being patent in Eastern Bengal. Armed with Minto's assurance and Hare's support, the Moslems clashed with the Swadeshi agitators. Minto was happy to comment, "They have been most fortunate and have really done much to save the position, for, as you say, they will be a useful reminder to the people in England that the Bengali is not everybody in India, in fact the Mohammedan community, when roused, would be a

much stronger and more dangerous factor to deal with than the Bengalis."[41] (The monster of communalism raised its hundred heads and showed its fangs in ugly riots. Those of Comilla and Jamalpur were especially hideous, contributing no little to the outbreak of terrorism against the Civilians who had either kept neutral or openly sided with the Moslems.

The Moslems did not fritter away all their energy in effervescent demonstrations. They institutionalized it in a political party, called the All-India Muslim League. The Aga Khan states in his *Memoirs* that he and the other Moslem leaders assembled at Simla "had come to the conclusion that our only hope lay along the lines of independent organisation and action, and that we must secure independent political recognition from the British Government as a nation within a nation."[42] "I have asked", he wrote to Dunlop Smith, "all the Members of the Simla Deputation to form into a permanent committee." Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was to be its Secretary and he was to obtain full approval of the Government before taking any move.[43] At the same time (Ameer Ali emphasized in the *Nineteenth Century* the need for a political party) Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca took the initiative and circulated a letter containing a scheme for "the Muslim All-India Confederacy."[44] These proposals were accepted with some modifications by a Moslem conference at Dacca (under the chairmanship of Viquar-ul-Mulk) on 30 December 1906. The shorter name of the All-India Muslim League was adopted and Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viquar-ul-Mulk were elected joint secretaries.[45] The League had the following objectives: "(1) to promote loyalty to the British government, (2) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of Mussalmans of India and respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to Government, and (3) to prevent the rise among Mussalmans of any feelings of hostility towards other communities *without prejudice to the other objects of the League.*"[46] There can be no better example of double talk than the last objective. The League started by declaring the partition as beneficial to the Moslem interests and condemned all methods of agitation like boycotting. Hence it would never really have to fulfil the third pious wish. Sir Syed's legacy was safe in the hands of the Aligarh and Bengal Nawabs. It would be

pro-landlord and pro-British and anti-bourgeois and anti-Hindu.

Minto's policy of outflanking the Swadeshi movement was successful. He could now convince the Home Government and Parliament that it was merely a Hindu affair, not a national concern. The League in Eastern Bengal was dominated by the Nawab of Dacca, who himself was held by the golden chain of a million-pound loan that Curzon had provided him for his support of the partition plan. Hare proposed that the India Government should grant him another loan to enable him to secure his share of the Ashanullah estate from the machinations of the agitators.) Hare feared that Minto's refusal "will be a great blow to the prestige of this Government and of my personal influence with Muhammedans."[46a] (Thus petted and patronized, the Nawab lost no time in instigating or exploiting communal rancour. Riots at Comilla and Jamalpur presaged the shape of the things to come.) The argument between Dunlop Smith and Matilal Ghosh (of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*) over the source of trouble in Comilla is interesting. (While the *Patrika* and the *Bande Mataram* made the Nawab's agents provocateurs responsible, Dunlop Smith put the blame on the Hindus.) Was not the person killed a Moslem? And was not the person, seriously injured, the secretary of the Dacca Nawab?[47] (It is not perhaps surprising that Smith would take care of the baby he had helped to be born.) Replies from the Provincial Governors and the Chief Commissioners) to Minto's query on Hindu-Moslem relations are revealing. Most of them (admitted that the Moslem peasants had not yet learned to regard the Hindu zemindars as oppressors and they were living more or less in amity. (Not so Hare, the Lieut.-Governor of the new province. He was even worried that Bipinchandra Pal might strengthen the unity of the two communities by exposing their common sufferings under the British rule.[48] If Hare was circumspect, many of his subordinates threw propriety to the winds and openly took sides.[49] Three prominent Moslems—Abdul Rasul, Nawab Amir Hussain and Saiyid Shamsul Huda—who met Minto after the Comilla riot, complained of the Moslem bias of the district magistrates. (Maharajah of Darbhanga tried his best to bring the menace of communalism to Minto's notice and,

through him, to persuade the provincial governors to warn their subordinates.[50] But in vain. Minto exulted over his creation which in its second conference at Aligarh (1908) adopted a resolution welcoming the partition of Bengal and condemning the Swaraj and the Swadeshi Movements.[51]

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2. Meerut speech, 14 March 1888, see Philips (ed.), *The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858 to 1947: Select Documents* (O.U.P., 1962), p. 188.
3. India Public Letters '9, 1888, pp. 1195-1200.
4. Lansdowne's speech, 16 March 1893, Progs., Legislative Council of Governor-General of India, XXXII, 1893, pp. 105-11.
5. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Cal., 1959), pp. 4-5.
6. Encl., Morley to Minto, 22 June 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/1.
7. Curzon to Hamilton, 27 December 1900, Eur. MSS. D. 510/6.
8. Minto to Morley, 15 August 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/8, p. 22. Hare himself attempted the same thing. Same to same, 19 December 1906, ibid., vol. 9, p. 73.
9. Same to same, 15 August 1906, op. cit.
10. Countess of Minto, *India: Minto and Morley*, 1905-10, pp 30-40.
11. Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 4 August 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/8, p. 19.
12. S. H. Bilgrami to C. S. Bayley, Resident at Hyderabad, 24 July 1906, Minto Papers, Letters and Telegrams, 1906, vol. 2, no. 25.
13. Minto to Morley, 8 August 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/8, p. 17.
14. Morley's budget speech referred to above.
15. Archbold to Dunlop Smith, 9 August 1906, Minto Papers, Correspondence, vol. 2, no. 40.
16. Ibbetson to Dunlop Smith, 10 August 1906, ibid., no. 41.
17. Archbold to Dunlop Smith, 20 August 1906, ibid., no. 50. Also see Archbold to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, 10 August 1906 quoted in Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, pp. 106-7.
18. Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 18 August 1906, encl., Archbold to Dunlop Smith, 22 August 1906, Minto Papers, Correspondence, vol. 2, no. 55.
19. Dunlop Smith to Hare, 24 August 1906, Minto Papers, Letters and Telegrams, 1906, vol. 2, no. 54.
20. Hare to Dunlop Smith, 1 September 1906, encl., Minto to Morley, 10 September 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/8, pp. 52-53. The last sentence is very suggestive. Ital. ours.
21. Hare to Minto, 2 September 1906, ibid., p. 54.
22. Minto to Morley, Telegram, 31 August 1906.

23. Same to same, 10 September 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/8, p. 49.
23a. See list of signatories in Syed Razi Wasti, *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1905 to 1910*, Appendix II.
24. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, p. 33.
25. Minto to Morley, 4 October 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/8, p. 70.
26. The Moslem Address of 1 October 1906, Morley Papers, I. O. L.
27. Minto to Morley, 4 October 1906, op. cit.
28. Minto to Hare, 1 October 1906, Minto Papers, Letters and Telegrams, vol. 2, no. 71.
29. Dunlop Smith to Hare, 2 October 1906, ibid., no. 73.
30. Minto's reply to Moslem Address, Morley Papers, I. O. L.; Countess of Minto, op cit., chapter V, pp. 45-47; *Memoirs* of Aga Khan, p. 76; Ameer Ali, 'Dawn of a New Policy in India', *Nineteenth Century*, November 1906, p. 823.
31. *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 22 April 1908; Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League, Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Agra, 1954), pp. 39-40.
32. Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Dunlop Smith, 7 October 1906, Minto Papers, Correspondence, vol. 2, no. 109.
33. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 4 October 1906.
34. See chapter VI *infra*.
35. Morley to Minto, 5 October 1906, 11 October 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/1, p. 203 and p. 211.
36. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2 and 3 October 1906; *Bengalee*, 3-6 and 9 October 1906. Some of the Moderates like R. C. Dutt did not see anything wrong in it.
37. Morley to Minto, 11 October 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573/I, p. 212.
38. Same to same, 26 October 1906, ibid., p. 224.
39. Same to same, 27 December 1906, ibid., pp. 280-81.
40. Same to same, 24 January 1907, ibid., vol. 2, p. 18.
41. Minto to Sir Arthur Godley, 17 October 1906, Minto Papers, no. 24; also Minto to King Edward VII, 12 December 1906, Letters to His Majesty, no. 17.
42. Aga Khan, op. cit., p. 76.
43. Aga Khan to Dunlop Smith, 29 October 1906, Minto Papers, Correspondence, vol. 2, no. 126.
44. *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 2 January 1907.
45. Ibid., 1 January 1907. Lal Bahadur, op. cit., p. 4.
46. *Pioneer*, 2 January 1907. *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 9 January 1907. Ital. ours.
46a. Hare to Minto, 27 April 1907, Minto Papers, Correspondence, 1907, vol. I, no. 219. The loan was granted. See Minto to Morley, 8 May 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573/10, p. 103.
47. Note of Dunlop Smith, 15 March 1907. Contra, Nevinson, op. cit., p. 16.
48. Hare to Minto, 26 March 1907. Minto suggests action against Pal in Minto to Morley, 2 April 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573/10, p. 67.
49. Minto to Morley, 8 May 1907, ibid., p. 103. Also R. C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement, etc.*, vol. 2, p. 120 et seq; Nevinson, op. cit., pp. 192-202; C. J. O'Donnel, *The Causes of the Present Discontent in India*, pp. 67-73. It was never known who wrote and published the *Lal Ishtahar* (Red Pamphlet) which virulently attacked the Hindus and openly incited the Moslems.

50. Note of Dunlop Smith, 13 March 1907.
51. Rajendra Prosad, op. cit., p. 115 For the whole discussion see Y. V. Gankovsky and L. R. Gordon—Polonskaya, *A History of Pakistan, 1947-58* (Nauka Pub. House, Moscow, 1964), though based on secondary materials.

CHAPTER SIX

MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS

In August 1905 Lord Minto, lately Governor-General of Canada, was offered the Viceroyalty of India by A. J. Balfour. Great-grandson of the first Earl, who himself had been Governor-General of India from 1807 to 1813, Minto was educated at Eton and Trinity, in keeping with the tradition of a Patrician Whig. He saw active service in India under Roberts, fought for the Turks against the Russians and governed Canada till November 1904. He was known as "the gentleman rider", a soldier rather than a politician, but Balfour had had enough of the latter in Curzon. "Talking to a friend of mine the other day", Morley confided in Minto, "Balfour named the letting Curzon go back to India in 1904 as one of the two or three errors of his administration."[1] Minto had no philosophy of government and the nearest he had, he expressed in the language of the turf at his farewell dinner: "Many a race has been won by giving the horse a rest in his gallops." For years Curzon had ridden the horse of Indian administration hard and the new Governor-General proposed to give it a respite. Sense and Sensibility, remarked a witty Civilian at Calcutta, replaced Pride and Prejudice.

Before Minto settled down in India, Balfour had resigned and Campbell-Bannerman formed a Liberal Government in December 1905. The Unionists were trounced in the General Election of 1906 (January) and the Liberals romped home with 377 seats, an over-all majority of 84. John Morley remained the Secretary of State for India. The Secretary of State had a reputation as the historian of the French Revolution and he was a biographer of considerable merit. He had paid a monumental homage (in three volumes) to his erstwhile hero and chief, Gladstone, which, though a little long-winded like Gladstone's budget speeches, was acknowledged to be a standard work. But more delightful to read is his private correspondence which reveals an astute, though weak, politician who saw through all "quackery and cant" involved in the Indian scene. "Good friends of mine in this office

often say: 'Ah, you don't know India', which is true: but then they proceed to impress upon my innocent mind, principles of government that would justify Trepoff at Petersburg, or the Orange Ascendancy, who have made such a detestable mess in Ireland."[2] He never forgot that he was a Liberal of the Gladstonian school, who had fought for Irish Home Rule. Moderates like Surendranath Banerjee hailed him as their 'political Guru'. But, as Lord Acton rightly averred, he had "the obstinacy of a very honest mind." In spite of his devotion to Burke, he had a lot of the Cromwellian spirit in him.

(The coincidence between "the uneasy stir there" (India) and "the ascendancy here (England) of parliamentary groups all agreeing strongly in a general temper of reform" did not escape Morley. And Minto had by now grasped the cause of "the unhappy stir". It was the partition of Bengal—"a sad mistake."\ "I cannot but think", he wrote to Morley, "there is much more genuine feeling in the movement (against partition) than the official mind is prepared to admit. . . I cannot help suspecting that local feeling has been treated with some want of sympathy. . . . If the East Riding of Yorkshire was for the best possible administrative reasons handed over to Lincolnshire, I think we should hear a good deal about it. . . ."[3](Most of the Bengali leaders thought that the partition would have been much more beneficial if, instead of Eastern Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had been cut off and handed over to U.P. and C.P. respectively. The tone of Curzon had been harsh and acrid, adding insult to injury, and his deliberate refusal to consult the interests likely to be affected, even more galling.[4] Minto did not commit the supreme political blunder of Curzon—the underrating of the Congress.[5] He accepted Bampfylde Fuller's thesis that the Moslems were in favour of the partition and it would eventually further economic development of Eastern Bengal and Assam. But he condemned Bampfylde Fuller's mismanagement of the Barisal affair. Shouting of Bande Mataram could possibly have no disastrous effects and Fuller had merely played into Surendranath Banerjee's hands.[6] His circular on education and dealings with school-boys, especially the infliction of "absolute exclusion from government service", seemed to be "petty and undignified".)

(The Government should no doubt have "a sympathetic hand". But it should also have "a just hand". The Congress was being dangerously dominated by the Bengalis, who could imitate Western political manners glibly and talk plausibly and had succeeded thereby in attracting the greatest attention in England. They were, however, looked upon with contempt by the more manly races of India.[6a] The Bengali press, moreover, stopped little short of sedition. "I have been thinking a good deal lately", wrote the worried Viceroy, "of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims",[7] which the imperious policy of his predecessor had whipped into a fury. The danger of importing English political institutions was real. In a radically different context their defects were sure to be magnified by imitation. He would venture with no more than an Indian member in his Executive Council, a Council of Native Princes and a Council of landowners and influential people.)

Morley had by now worked himself up against Bampfylde Fuller. "The British Raj must be a poor sorry affair, if it tremble before a pack of unruly Collegians."[8] Dacca needed patience, coolness and tact to allow the Congress to blow off gas in talk and writing. The temperament of Fuller was a misfortune that crowned the original blunder of the partition. The partition had been a disagreeable pill. "Well, that is all the more reason why we should take any chance of gilting it."[9] His suggestion for removal of Fuller was resisted by Ibbetson and Minto but Fuller dug his own grave. He had requested the Syndicate of the Calcutta University to withdraw recognition from two schools in Serajgunge involved in the anti-partition agitation. On Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee's advice that the University be allowed freedom to deal with the disaffected schools, Risley had asked Fuller to withdraw his letter to the University. Fuller made a prestige issue of it and resigned. Minto promptly accepted the resignation to Morley's unconcealed delight.[10] It had been impossible for some time to carry both partition and Fuller on his back.

(The Secretary of State was busy that summer interviewing Gokhale and was encouraged to think that the Congress had not been completely corrupted by the Bengalis, as Minto feared, and, if rightly handled, it was prepared to help. He

agreed with Minto and his Councillors about the unsuitability of English political institutions in India. But Parliament and, especially its Radical components,[11] would surely insist on the application of the spirit of English political system in India. Resistance to the same process had broken down in Ireland and Gokhale knew of it. Any attempt to back cast-iron bureaucracy on the plea of Extremism would end in playing the agitators' game.[12] Moreover, if not met halfway, the Congress demand would widen into a national cause of mighty proportion. Minto should, therefore, consider extension of the Indian element in the central and local legislative councils, grant of full time for discussion of the budget and right to move amendments. The supremacy of the Executive and the official majority would, no doubt, be retained. He apprehended hostility from the Civilians and 'European-Indians' to Minto's notion of a native member for his Executive Council.[13] He had also doubts about Minto's other proposal for a Council of Princes, which Curzon had once fancied as a good counterpoise to the Congress party.[14] The Princes were always bickering among themselves.

About the goal of the Congress, or at least the Moderate faction of the Congress, he had a talk with Gokhale (his fifth and final talk that summer). The latter had set his heart on the status of a self-governing colony. "I equally made no secret of my conviction, that for many a day to come—long beyond the short span of time that may be left to me—this was a mere dream."[15] Morley also refused to reconsider the question of the partition after the Moslem reaction to Fuller's resignation had come to his knowledge.

Minto's acute mind had already seen the possibility of finding in the Moslems a counterpoise to the Congress aims. Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter to Archbold, soliciting a deputation to the Viceroy, Hare's report on the anti-Hindu feeling in East Bengal (roused by Fuller, in Hare's own admission) and a sense of frustration felt by the Moslems at Fuller's resignation strengthened the Viceroy's determination to exploit the situation against the Congress.[15a] Morley knew what was afoot and 'keenly' looked forward to a detente with the Moslems.[15b] He would not wreck it to oblige Gokhale and the anti-partitionists.

(Gokhale's mission to England had a purpose.) The Bengal partition had at first drawn Gokhale and Tilak together in support of the position of the Bengali nationalists. Tilak hailed the threat of boycott since "government will not shed its pride unless we do something to make government angry."[16] Gokhale called the partition "a great political blunder" (later, "a cruel wrong"), and justified the resort to boycott by a desperate people. "The only way to attract attention... is by this boycott, which should make the people of Lancashire pay attention to the question."[17] This alliance was not approved of by the old guards like Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha, who were still a force in Bombay politics. (A split was narrowly averted at the Benares Congress (1905), over which Gokhale presided, by a compromise.) The delegates from Madras stood up to the Bengalis (with whom a large number of Punjabis and Marathis had joined) when the latter opposed a congratulatory message to the Prince of Wales. On an appeal from Gokhale, Lajpat and Tilak promised to abstain from attending the open session while the resolution welcoming the Prince of Wales would be moved, on the condition that it would not be declared to have been passed unanimously.[17a] As the Bengali delegates still demurred, Lajpat had to engage them in argument while the objectionable resolution was being passed. Of all persons, Surendranath opposed the boycott resolution and had to be brought round by R. C. Dutt. The Congress adopted no resolution on boycott as such but passed one demanding the annulment of the partition and another against repressive legislation, justifying by the way Bengal's "resort to boycott of foreign goods as a last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people." Gokhale justified it under the circumstances and admitted its effectiveness but, somewhat intimidated by the attitude of the Bombay politicians, cautioned the Congress against its misuse: "It is bound to rouse angry passions on the other side..., as it had got unsavoury associations and conveyed a vindictive desire to injure....

But a weapon like this must be reserved only for extreme occasions".[18]

(He realized, however, the weakness of the Moderate faction at the Benares Congress. To retain leadership it must achieve some spectacular success. He went to England to wheedle out of Morley the annulment of the partition and a promise of colonial self-government. On his ability and luck depended the position of the Moderates. Tilak had no illusion about Morley, who, in his view, had "mortgaged the bag and baggage of his principles". He predicted failure of the mission.[19])(As the summer months wore on, Tilak was convinced that he had proved the true prophet. Though Gokhale was sanguine about the result of his meetings with Morley and called for "more patience and more indulgence on our part",[20] Tilak regarded it as a slap on the face of the Moderates, who, shamelessly or madly, still sang the virtues of begging. As Fuller went on taking measure after harsh measure against popular liberties, insulting highly esteemed leaders like Aswini Datta, banning student participation in Swadeshi meetings and singing of Bande Mataram, and quartering military and punitive police on Barisal, the Extremists called for a more vigorous drive towards Swadeshi and boycott in preparation for the first anniversary of the partition. They began to canvass for Tilak's election to the presidency of the next Congress.) The successor of Fuller reported on the subversive activities of Bipinchandra Pal who had been calling the British *Feringhees*, asserting Hindu might and exhorting the young to take to lathi and wrestling. Surendranath was losing popularity with the student community and Bhupendranath Basu was definitely on the defensive.[21] R. C. Dutt informed the Secretary of State of the growing influence of the Extremist faction. "I hope a period of increasing crimes, of coercion, and misery is not in store for my country", wished that worried statesman.[22](Having analysed revolutionary psychology as a student of the French Revolution and Irish anarchism, Morley grasped at once the Moderate impasse: "The only question is whether by doing what we can in the Moderate direction, we can draw the teeth of the Extremists. This depends on local conditions of all sorts....")[23]

Minto was coming to the same conclusion in India.)(He

had already launched a small committee under the chairmanship of Sri A. T. Arundel ("a liberal unionist") to go through all proposals of reform but keeping within a severely prescribed limit. Any talk of withdrawal of the partition "... would be construed as weakness—it would poison our whole rule here" and raise "a Mohomedan storm". Secondly, representation should be "a representation of races, creeds and interests"—the same as formed the basis of the Report of Sir C. Aitchison's Committee in 1888 and of the Reforms of 1892.[24] Thirdly, any proposal for increased representation must guard the interests of the hereditary nobility and the landlords, the trading, professional and agricultural classes, the planters and the British commercial community, and stable administration. Minto's audience with the Mohammedan Deputation on 1 October 1906 had been "an immense success" and he had every hope of winning over the Mohammedans to the loyal fold. But the Extremists posed a graver problem. Tilak's growing ascendancy in the Congress politics worried him, for the Maratha leader was "irreconcilably hostile to British rule." He, too, realized the predicament of the Moderates. "I think myself," he chimed in with Morley's sentiments, "much can be done in India by recognising the honesty of the 'moderates', even though we may not agree with them.... Our friendly recognition of a Moderate Congress might, I believe, do much good. If the extremists such as Tilak and B. C. Pal, gain the ascendancy, it will be impossible to deal with them, and the Congress itself will split up.... The extremists here are aiming at impossibilities."[25] Herein lies the genesis of the policy of "rallying the moderates". It had been suggested by Morley and now Minto made it his own. He had gone a great way in rallying the Moslems to the British rule. Would not he be equally successful with the Moderates in the Congress, who were in obvious distress after the failure of Gokhale's mission?

Hard pressed by the Extremists, they were already 'oiling' him.[26] Surendranath had no love for Pal to whom his followers were deserting. Mehta and Wacha threatened that if Lajpat or Tilak were elected president, "Bombay will reconsider its position—meaning, apparently, withdrawal from the Congress".[27] Gokhale was afraid that an Extremist victory

might adversely affect Morley's sympathetic views on reforms. The Moderates ultimately had recourse to a subterfuge. They skilfully manoeuvred Dadabhai Naoroji to the presidential chair at the Calcutta session (1906).[27a] The Extremists had the good sense to yield but behind the scenes dissension ran rife.) Khaparde writes in his unpublished diary that Pal called a conference of the Extremists over which Tilak presided. It decided to move amendments to official resolutions in the open Congress session if it failed to prevail in the Subjects Committee.(Aswinikumar Datta and Tilak countered the propaganda of Gokhale and Mudholkar among the delegates from different provinces. The ubiquitous Dunlop Smith reported on ungainly squabbles at Darbhanga House. Khaparde (Maharastra) and Pal (Bengal) were irreconcilable.)They had no faith in the British and, therefore, in colonial self-government, which, in any case, Morley had no intention to grant. Tilak and Lajpat Rai were inclined to yield on certain points but generally stuck to this position. Matilal Ghosh made common cause with them. Lajpat advised caution and deliberation but "these temperate counsels were altogether ignored by the Extremist Bengalis." (Gokhale worked hard to persuade the Extremists to refrain from putting their resolution to vote. If voting were decided, Pal would have swamped the Moderates "with a horde of his own creatures".[28] In the open session Dadabhai used an ambiguous phraseology which revealed the disunity in the Congress ranks. The goal of the Congress was to be "self-government or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies." It kept the Moderates satisfied and yet allowed Tilak to interpret '*Swaraj*' in a militantly nationalist manner. What was innocuous Swaraj to Gokhale was '*Swarajya*' to Tilak, which in every Marathi ear sounded like the battle cry of Shivaji. The next fight was on Resolution VII,(whether the Congress should resolve on a general boycott of everything British—education, service, honours—and whether, if boycott of goods alone were to be decided, to propagate it all over India. The Congress resolution (as amended by Lajpat) was a victory for the Moderates.)It ran on the line of the Benares Congress: "this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement, inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest

against the partition of the province, was, and is, legitimate." Bipin Pal and the young Bengali Extremists, opposed by G. R. Aiyar of Madras, M. M. Malaviya of U.P., G. K. Gokhale of Maharastra and Ashutosh Chaudhuri of Bengal, walked out. On Resolution VIII the Extremists clamoured for "*Swadeshi* at any sacrifice" but the Moderates toned it down to "even at a sacrifice".[29] Maharaja of Darbhanga (Dunlop Smith's informant) asked the Government to decide whether the Congress should remain Moderate or go the Extremist way, which would be choosing anarchism. Lajpat Rai claims, "There is little doubt, that if Dadabhai had not occupied the chair, and had I not intervened, all that happened at Surat next year would have happened at the Calcutta Congress". This cannot be fully accepted. Some of the Punjab votes might have been cast for the Moderates but Ajit Singh's faction would have supported the Bengali Extremists *en bloc*.

Though Minto did not fully share Darbhanga's gloomy view, he could not retain his composure after inflammable articles began to appear in the Indian newspapers, like Lajpat Rai's *The Punjabee*, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya's *Sandhya* and Bhupendranath Dutt's *Yugantar*. Much of it was a direct instigation to the people to revolt. More alarming still, newspapers (like *The Gaelic American* and *The Indian Sociologist*), circulars and leaflets, produced by the Indian and the Irish residents of England and the United States and calling upon the army to mutiny, found their way into Punjab and Frontier cantonments.[29a] Following the conviction in *The Punjabee* case, assaults were made upon Europeans in Lahore and riots broke out in Rawalpindi.[29b] Ibbetson (Lt. Governor of Punjab) wired to the Home Department for power to prevent seditious meetings and to issue warrants for the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. These two leaders were cleverly exploiting the general dissatisfaction over heavy land revenue assessments in Punjab, grievances of the ryots against the money-lender-gentry and the disaffection of the settlers of the Chenab colony over the Colonization Act.[30] "We have plenty of the blackest sedition to deal with", wrote Minto, "but unfortunately the leaders of that sedition have been able to call to their aid real grievances, the existence of which we cannot deny."[31] It was from this class that the Indian army chiefly

drew its recruits, and by taking up their cause the Punjab Extremists had cleverly hit at the loyalty and the morale of the army.[32] The soldiers themselves were comparing their poor salaries with high wage-rates outside. Lord Kitchener was positive about wide-spread discontent in the Sikh regiments. Plague, scarcity and a bad cotton harvest added grist to the sedition-mongers' mill. Even U.P. was not unaffected.[33]

Minto's response was sympathy for the distressed but sternness for the politicians who 'misguided' them. The extreme faultiness of the Colonization Act and the absurdity of the red tape regulations were recognized, the prestige plea of the Punjab Government was brusquely swept away and the Act itself vetoed by the Governor-General against the majority of his Council. But Lajpat and Ajit were deported,[34] an ordinance was proclaimed over Punjab and a military press act was proposed at the instance of Kitchener.[35] Deportation of Bipinchandra Pal was sought for, as Sir Andrew Fraser, Lt.-Governor of Bengal, doubted if any jury in Calcutta would convict him under section 124A of the I.P.C.[36] A series of prosecutions was started against the seditious press—the most important culprits being the *Sandhya*, the *Yugantar* and the *Bande Mataram*, which had flouted the Home Department resolution of 3 June 1907. Over and above this, communal riots, partly engineered by bureaucrats, broke out in East Bengal. The Moderates' nerves failed. We see Surendranath Banerjee, Ashutosh Chaudhuri and Narendranath Sen performing their "journey to Canossa". Minto had the wry consolation of listening to "the King of Bengal sitting on my sofa ... asking for my assistance to moderate the evil passions of the Bengali, and inveighing against the extravagances of Bepin Chandra Pal."[37]

To all of Minto's suggestions for repressive measures the liberal Secretary of State returned an angry 'no'. He had been eagerly waiting for definite proposals from the Government of India, which would take the reforms out of the party lines in England. He had even inserted a paragraph on reforms in the speech from the Throne, expecting that something could be done in the present session of Parliament. To his regret the Government of India was taking an unconscionable time, Kitchener, Ibbeston and Richards having

opposed the native member and the whole Executive Council wished to review the findings of the Arundel Committee.[38] "But time is one thing, and eternity is another."[39] It was a disgusting example of bureaucracy's fear that their 'perquisites' would diminish if an Indian outside the Indian Civil Service was appointed an Executive Councillor. As Arundel and Baker had cogently put it, "We regard the admission of a native of India to the inner councils of Government not as the introduction into the citadel of an enemy to be feared, but as the addition to the garrison of an ally...." Had he not himself suggested earlier that the admission of an Indian in the Viceroy's or the Secretary of State's Council or in both "would be the *cheapest* concession ...", for it "would leave executive power as strong and as absolute as it now is..."?[40]

Morley's bad temper can be explained by the opposition to reforms in and outside his own Council.) "How frightfully stiff", he wailed, "are the joints of the veteran steeds with which I have to do my share of our chariot race."[41] The opposition was concentrated, as in India, on the native member.) A liberal like Ripon considered the Reforms Despatch to be "a trifle too polemical". Fowler discredited talk of a new age and a new spirit as "anything but Fudge". Bampfylde Fuller impishly desired not one but two Indians in the Executive Council—the Nawab of Dacca and Gokhale—to quarrel perennially between themselves![42] The India Council would not even hear of an Indian colleague. The Cabinet response was no warmer.[43] Ripon, Fowler and Elgin shuddered to think of the native member handing out Executive Council secrets. They preferred an Indian member of the Civil Service to be taken in later. To this suggestion Minto vigorously reacted: "... the Indian of the Civil Service is not the man we want and no one knows it better than the Service itself."[44] The real object was to ensure "a counterpoise to extreme Congress doctrines".[45] The Civilian would hardly meet the demand of the politically non-committed.

In the midst of all this stormy discussion on the Reforms Despatch of 21 March 1907 the Punjab news broke like a thunder clap. Morley's despatch of 17 May 1907 had disposed of the native member issue for the time being on the ground that such an appointment did not involve any material

innovation "either in law or principle" and thus no Parliamentary act was necessary.)(His announcement in the Commons of 6 June 1907 was silent on this proposal though it held out a vague promise of introducing Indians into his own Council.)He was now apprehensive of the repercussions of the Punjab occurrences on the reforms. "It is an old and painful story. Shortcomings in government lead to outbreaks, outbreaks have to be put down; reformers have to bear the blame, and their reforms are scotched, reaction triumphs; and mischief goes on as before, only worse."[46] He would, however, support reforms against the sedition-mongers as well as the law-and-order people, "who are responsible for at least as many of fooleries of history as the revolutionists are". The City (of London) was so ignorant that it thought Fuller's dismissal had led to the Lahore and the Pindi riots. It was pressing for what Morley called, in obvious reference to the Russian Revolution of 1905, 'the Grand Duke policy' in India. But he would have none of it, not only for the sake of liberal principles ("I should like to set an examination paper to all candidates for government office out of the writings of the great Burke....") but for obvious political realism. The radical opinion in England would not tolerate drastic press laws. In a division in the Commons on the deportation question, the Irish, the Labour and a fair number of ordinary members would vote against the government.[47]

He managed the House on Lajpat issue with difficulty and warned the India Government to take care on future occasions. Ibbetson was told that the deportations of Lajpat and Ajit were only preventive and they should be released, preferably with the announcement of reforms.[48] Morley soon had the satisfaction to hear Minto confess that he had acted on Ibbetson's plea too hastily, and Lajpat, "a man of high character", had no intention to tamper with the loyalty of the army.[49] Pal's offence, in Morley's view, was trivial and irrelevant and prosecution or deportation would be "foolish and impolitic".[50] Deportation was to be inflicted "when there is solid reason to believe that the detained man's activity, if left at large, would lead directly and immediately to grave and violent disorder."[51] The Cabinet was not impressed by Kitchener's case for a military press act which Morley

considered to be deliberately alarmist.[52] It was only for Minto's insistence on security grounds that he painfully agreed to a general press law. The Meetings Bill he ordered to be recast so that men like Ibbetson and Hewett could not abuse it at will. Strafford's idea of government would not do in the twentieth century. "They do not realise that by trying to force me into defence of overdose repression—idiotically called firmness—they sap and strike my influence in House of Commons."[53] Keir Hardie and Hyndman had now lent their strident voices to the liberal and the radical demand for a new deal in India.

("Everyday", commented the Reformers' Year Book of 1907, "that the British Government delays to meet the wishes of the moderates, carries over to the camp of the extremists an additional number ... (of Congressmen)". The reforms issue gained urgency with growing schism within the Congress.)

(Minto was exasperated with Gokhale for not having come forward against sedition.) He even suspected Gokhale of tampering with the army. "I am thoroughly disappointed in Gokhale.... As an honest moderate he has lost a great opportunity of discountenancing rank sedition...."[54] To be fair, however, Gokhale was not doing anything of the kind. He lamented the outbreak of violence and agreed that disorder must be put down with a firm hand. But deportation of Lajpat he could not acquiesce in. "You", he wrote to Dunlop Smith, "with the information that has been supplied to the government of India believe him to be guilty. I, with my intimate knowledge of the man—his work and his methods—firmly believe him to be innocent. I feel, therefore, bound, as an old comrade of his, to work for his release." To bracket Lajpat with Ajit was monstrous, for the latter had openly denounced the former as a coward and a traitor because he would have nothing to do with Ajit's unscrupulous propaganda.[55] (In Gokhale's view the deportation of Lajpat had nullified all the good effects of Morley's budget speech promising reforms. An undue harshness had been shown to Punjab, while Pal of Bengal was softly treated and the seditious articles published in the *Sandhya* went unpunished.) "Beadon Square should have been silenced long ago." (The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (passed on 1 November 1907) had

unfairly lumped the Moderates with the Extremists without weakening the latter's influence. The Government must also do something "to show that they do not look on Mahommedans as their pets, and reject the idea that all Hindus are disloyal...." (Gokhale) supported Swadeshi but emphatically repudiated the boycott movement and deplored the work of agitators among the students. Yet he advised the annulment of the partition which had trampled on Bengali sentiments and thus touched off terrorism. He had not denounced it so far as he could not risk an immediate split with the Extremists.[56] (His minimum pre-conditions for reforms included release of Lajpat, annulment of the partition and appointment of at least one Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Indian members, chosen for the Secretary of State's Council, he feared, would rather adopt the Civil Service point of view.[57]

(Again Minto confessed) that the trouble in Barisal was not all due to political agitation and that behind it lay a long history of agrarian unrest. Aswini Datta, like Lajpat, was perhaps revolutionary in ideas but still honest according to his lights and amenable to reason.[58] (There was a lull in Punjab, and Bengal, except Barisal, kept quiet. This was the golden moment, and might be the last one, to rally the Moderates.)

But who was the real leader of the Moderates? Gokhale was unselfish but "he is weak and not of the stock that breeds leaders of men."[59] Would he be able to pull the Congress with him? "He (Gokhale) says that it would be impossible for him to express moderate views in an extremist atmosphere, that it would all fall flat and that he would do no good."[60] He was as disappointed as the Extremists with the Government's scheme of representation by interests and communities which he might not be able to control. His letters to Wedderburn indicated "that...he (Gokhale) has lost the game and feels that our recognition of political interests other than those of the party he represents has for the present scotched his wheel."[61] This uncharitable view was shared by Morley: "Gokhale as a party manager is a baby. Gokhale is too often whining, just like the second rate Irishman between O'Connell and Parnell."[62] Tilak would have gladly concurred with this view and Wilfrid Blunt actually did.[63]

"A mildest revolutionary leader who does not want a revolution—but cannot abdicate nor break off from the people who do want one...",[61] this comment of Morley aptly sums up Gokhale's position in the Congress at the end of the year. The New Party (as the Extremists called themselves) had thrived under repression. "If the rulers adopt this Russian method", wrote Tilak in the *Kesari*, "then the subjects in India will have to imitate the subjects of Russia."[65] Tilak and Pal had given a call for passive resistance to the British rule at the utmost personal sacrifice: "Though downtrodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power in making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so.... If one Lala Lajpat Rai is sent abroad, another ought to be found to take his place as readily as a junior Collector steps into the shoes of a senior."[66] The Indians should realize that a handful of Englishmen could carry the burden of administration only because they secured assistance from the Indians themselves. "The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house, and not merely one stranger turned out of it ... what the New Party wants you to do is to realise the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands."[67] Sensing the imminence of a show-down, Morley hoped against hope that there would be no open breach between the Moderates and the Extremists in which case Gokhale would lose his usefulness to the Government. He made some gestures to extricate the former from their unenviable predicament. The first instalment of reforms was timed with this object. In August Morley appointed two Indians—K. G. Gupta and G. H. Bilgrami—to his Council. "Their colour is more important than their brains."[68] Lajpat and Ajit were released. But it could not avert the inevitable split. The Extremists refused to be placated and denounced the Council of Chiefs, the official majority and the communal seats. The Surat Congress went to pieces amidst ugly scenes and open violence which Nevinson has so picturesquely captured for us. Mehta's manoeuvres to shift the venue of the Congress from Nagpur, Tilak's stronghold, to Surat, his own, and to force the candidature of Rashbehari Ghosh to the presidency of the session only precipitated the crisis as Gokhale had anticipated.[69]

But he was no less responsible than Mehta. Gokhale made important verbal alterations to the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress on Swaraj, Swadeshi and boycott. Swaraj was to mean now "the self-government enjoyed by other self-governing members of the British Empire". Swadeshi would henceforth imply the stimulation of "the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference where possible over imported commodities". On boycott the new Moderate resolution ran—"This Congress is of opinion that the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that province, was, and is, legitimate", that is, it limited boycott unequivocally to foreign goods and to Bengal.[70] Even without unseemly personal bickerings, the Extremists would have flatly refused to accept such diluted decisions as these. The result would have been the same, disintegration of the Congress, though it would have been brought about in a more civilized manner.[71]

Minto gleefully interpreted the Surat split in the Government's favour: "... So far everything points to the disappearance of the extremists and to some responsible recognition by the moderates of our intentions ... it is a great triumph for us."[72] Gokhale was relieved in a way, "as it cleared the air." The Extremists, he confided to Dunlop Smith, never had any hold in U.P. and Madras. In Bombay and C.P. their influence was limited and in Punjab their activities had suffered a setback after the deportations. Eastern Bengal was now their only stronghold and the Government might undermine it by sympathy.[73] But we know from the records that the Moderates were not a happy family either. Gokhale called Matilal Ghosh 'a sneak' and Surendranath 'pompous and inefficient'. Matilal returned the compliment and confessed to the existence of two factions within the Moderate ranks.[74]

They were united enough to make a change in the Congress constitution which proclaimed its goal to be "attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members". Swadeshi was upheld but boycott was watered

down. The Moderates now regarded Minto as their mainstay.

Before the Viceroy could gloat over the dissensions within the Congress, however, the second blow of terrorism fell.[75] Attempts were made on the lives of Sir Andrew Fraser, Lt.-Governor of Bengal (on 6 December 1907), and B. C. Allen, District Magistrate of Dacca (on 23 December 1907). The more famous Muzaffarpur bomb episode followed on 30 April 1908, when two innocent ladies were killed by a bomb intended for Kingsford, erstwhile Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, who had tried cases against the *Sandhya* and the *Yugantar* with more zeal than justice, and sentenced a boy, Sushil Sen, to flogging. The discovery of bombs at Maniktala added fuel to Minto's ire. "A conspiracy has been disclosed aiming at the furtherance of murderous methods hitherto unknown in India which have been imported from the West, and which the imitative Bengali has childishly accepted. . . ."[76] Lt.-Governor Andrew Fraser gathered a full account of the terrorist party and its "able, cunning, fanatical" leader—Aurobindo Ghosh.[77] His brother Barindra's confessions revealed the ramifications of its activities. As the *Yugantar* continued preaching violence,[77a] Minto brought forward a stringent press law. He would neither accept election nor take a 'Congress wallah' into his Council, not even Gokhale or R. C. Dutt.[78]

Morley at first considered the limited representation ('by classes and interests') envisaged by Minto insufficient for the purpose on which they had set their hearts, viz. winning the educated Moderates.) The outbreak of terrorism had made little impression on him. Random repression he condemned heartily. "Kingsford's floggings stink" and seven years' imprisonment for a pamphlet smacked of "Cossack rule".[79] It was only after the discovery of bombs and firearms in the Maniktala garden-house and prosecution in that connection of Aurobindo Ghosh, his brother Barindra, and others[80] that Morley agreed to a press act (which was passed on 8 June 1908).[81] He was bitter about the trial of Tilak, which followed, for articles in the *Kesari* of 12 May and 9 June 1908.[82] "The present is not a time", wrote Minto, "to give a well-known agitator like Tilak the benefit of any leniency; and I certainly think that we should call the serious

attention of the Bombay Government to the possibility of proceeding against his press in respect to the article in the Kesari of the 9th June." Morley was far from convinced by Minto's plea for prompt and drastic action against Tilak. "Of course, they will get a conviction because the jury is much obviously a packed jury." The sentence, again, would be heavy (it was six years in Mandalay). But would it not cause exasperation in the Moderate mind and "make the Moderate game much harder to play"?[83] To maintain their influence, if not existence, the Moderates would be bound to denounce the conviction (as they did in Lajpat's case) and it would prejudice the cause of reforms. It would be a 'boomerang', opined the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court. On a lesser level, the one year sentence for the stone-throwers of Bombay and transportation for the offenders of Tinnevelly and Tuticorin were monstrous. "We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary, it is the path to the bomb." Should a Whig like Minto and a liberal like Morley "go down to our graves as imitators of Eldon, Sidmouth, the Six Acts...?"[84]

Strong words, indeed! But Morley meant business. He pressed for a statesmanlike view of reforms. "We must make the thing interesting", to be acceptable to the radicals and the Labourites in Parliament, whom Lajpat Rai and Bipinchandra Pal were courting at that moment, and, of course, acceptable to the Moderates. He cavilled at the slow pace of the India Government. "At this pace, Lord Grey's Reform Bill of 1832 would have become law in 1850 or 1860, and Nottingham and Bristol blazing all the time."[85] Moreover, to hold their own against the Extremists, then visiting England, the Moderates were insisting on immediate introduction of the Reform Bill.[86]

When the Reforms Despatch of 1 October 1908, mainly the work of Minto and Risley, actually arrived, Morley was disappointed to find that the India Government had postponed the creation of Executive Councils for the Lieut.-Governors and the introduction of Indian element in the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras on the plea that the times were not normal. Minto kept the question of the native member in the Viceroy's Executive Council out of the

Despatch as Morley had assured him beforehand that there was no need to pass any law to effect such a change.) (Minto's fad—a Council of Chiefs—was there. Minto mentioned but did not press for Advisory Councils. Official majorities were retained in both central and local Councils, though in the Provincial Councils it could be reduced to the narrowest limit by making the number of officials and non-officials equal (but leaving the casting vote to the head of the government). But election was not conceded. Minto stuck to his first conviction that Parliamentary institutions were not suitable for the Indian people and only some individuals "of known loyalty and ability" should be given a greater share in law-making.[87] With the enlargement of the Imperial Council, the Government should see that the electorate did not work advantageously in the interest of only the professional middle class as it had done under the Reforms of 1892. New constituencies must be formed to provide for the under-represented Moslem, Indian mercantile and land-holding interests, which would supply "the requisite counterpoise" to the excessive influence of the professional classes. He proposed to admit into the Imperial Legislative Council 28 members by election, of whom 12 would be chosen by the Provincial Legislative Councils, 7 by the landholders of the principal provinces, 5 by the Mohammedans (actually 4 elective and 1 nominative till a suitable machinery for election was devised), 2 by the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal and Bombay and 2 by the representatives of Indian Commerce. Three seats were to be filled by pure nomination from the minorities and the special interests. The constituencies of the Provincial Councils would be formed by (1) the municipal boards in larger cities, (2) similar boards in smaller cities along with the district boards, (3) the landholders, (4) the Chambers of Commerce—European and Indian, (5) the universities, (6) the Mohammedans and (7) the representatives of special interests like tea and jute.[88] "We have gone as far as we can in the direction of increased representation and greater opportunities for debate."[89] "No election", admitted Morley in his announcement of reforms in the Lords (17 December 1908). "The nearest approach to it is the nomination by the Viceroy, upon the recommendation of a majority of votes of certain public bodies."

A reference to the context of the Reforms Despatch would explain why Minto was in no mood for reforms. He was chagrined by the manufacture of bombs in Lahore and Calcutta, conspiratorial correspondence between C.P., Bengal and Baroda, a central terrorist authority at Calcutta, preaching violence in the *Yugantar* even after the arms-haul at Maniktala [90]. The Europeans were demanding deportation of the ring leaders and his own Government was seeking permission for an Explosives Act and a more vigorous and comprehensive Press Act. Minto had some satisfaction in seeing Tilak, "the archleader of sedition", convicted for six years without appeal. But he fretted at the dilatoriness of the judges in Khudiram's case and the "weakness" of the Chief Justice. He grieved over hostile Commons criticism of repressive policy: "... any disapproval at home of severe sentences or any evidence of sympathy with political criminals will most certainly prolong the crisis we are passing through...."[91] He was losing the sense of priority of reforms which Morley had ever been instilling into him: "I am afraid I must utterly disagree. The Raj will not disappear in India as long as the British race remains what it is, because we shall fight for the Raj as hard as we have ever fought if it comes to fighting...."[92] Hyndman and Hardie were dancing to the tune of Gokhale and Dutt, who were "not entitled to speak for India", and Minto was not going to strengthen such men by reforms. Gokhale was not enough of a Moderate: "He is too a Mahratta Brahmin, which means a great deal."[93] In Minto's views reforms were for "those with a real stake in the country" (like Nawab of Murshidabad, Maharajah of Burdwan, Maharajah of Gidhaur, Pradyotkumar Tagore and Manindrachandra Nandy, who had signed a petition to Andrew Fraser for anti-terrorist measures). It is quite clear that Morley and Minto meant different things by reforms and different men for whom the reforms were being proposed.

Morley gave more importance to economic and political grievances than to bombs, which were only symptoms of a deep-seated disease. "Discontented tenantry must be a political force for unrest, of the strongest value...", commented the historian of the *Jacquerie* of 1789.[94] "And in Bengal, I am given to understand that the middle classes from which the

politicians come, have in most or many cases fixed incomes, e.g. wages of Government and Zamindari services, and these people have been hard hit by the rise in prices...."[95] The Cabinet refused to be intimidated by terrorism and decided to continue the work on reforms. The India Government was advised to outgrow the narrow grooves of bureaucratic thought. Official majority in the provinces was inconsistent with the whole tenor of the scheme, especially as the local governments had been armed with a veto. The Council of Chiefs, again, would go against the grain of the Congress, though it should not be unceremoniously dropped, thereby offending the Native Princes.[96] While the India Government provided a separate electorate to the Mohammedans, who would elect to a certain number of reserved seats in the Imperial and the Provincial Councils,[97] Morley, apprised of Hindu opposition to separate electorate, proposed instead a Mixed Electoral College the members of which, chosen by various interests (substantial landowners, members of local and district boards and members of municipal corporations), would be of such number that a minority, if unanimous, could be certain of electing its own representatives. A fixed proportion of Hindus and Moslems in the ratio of population would be returned to these mixed electoral colleges and the latter would elect to the Provincial Legislative Councils representatives of the two communities in like proportion.[98] Morley extended the freedom of discussion by allowing supplementaries in addition to the right of formal interpellation granted by the Act of 1892. He wanted to raise the membership of the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras to 4, one of whom should in practice be always an Indian.[99] As for repressive policy, the India Government should feel itself lucky that Lajpat, Tilak and Pal were "mild Whigs" in comparison with the Russian anarchists. And the Liberal-Unionist-Radical group in Parliament must not be alienated by unnecessary drastic measures like deportaton (of Subodhchandra Mullick, Manoranjan Guha Thakurta, Krishnakumar Mitra, Aswini Datta, Shyamsunder Chakravarty and Pulin Das, etc.) on mere suspicion that could not be proved in a law court.[100]

So long Morley had been true to his liberal tenets. But

now descended on London a Moslem Delegation, led by Ameer Ali, which, with the help of a section of the British Conservatives and influential papers like *The Times*, built up a formidable pressure on the Secretary of State, deflecting him from the right course of action. The Ameer Ali Delegation principally came to persuade Morley to drop the idea of the mixed electoral college. Once election had been conceded, Morley adopted MacDonnell's scheme whereby the Hindus and the Moslems would vote together. To Ameer Ali, who belonged to the Aligarh school of thinking,[101] there was, however, no one Indian nation. Had not Sir Syed Ahmad, its founder, and Principal Beck, his *éminence grise*, dinned into Ali's ears the theory of two nations? Had not they resisted election on the plea that the minority community would be swamped by the majority? Minto had already been putting pressure on Morley to scrap his electoral college scheme. He had reported the hostile response of the Muslim League at the Amritsar Session: "... the Mahommedans are taking exception to it.... It is feared that the cleverness of the pleader class may enable them to manipulate the machinery of the electoral college so that whatever representatives of minorities are elected they will be, whether Mahommedan or otherwise, as a matter of fact representatives of the pleader political section....[102] He shared the Moslem doubt himself: "... an examination of the conditions which must affect their (Moslems') election as advised (by Morley), will, it seems to me, certainly establish the reasonableness of their objections." The elected Mohammedan might never represent *bona fide* Mohammedan interest. Secondly, the loyal old-fashioned Mohammedans might be passed over by "the younger Mahommedan generation that is being drawn into the vortex of the political agitation".[103] Thirdly, it did not provide for safeguarding of their interests as a *community*, which Minto had promised to the Aga Khan Deputation in 1906. Dunlop Smith was reporting to Minto dissatisfaction among prominent Moslem leaders, like the Nawab of Dacca and Muhammad Shafi. He had kept them quiet by saying that Morley's proposal "was only a suggestion." Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, threw over the communal representation idea in his reply to the Deccan Provincial Muslim

League (23 September 1908), only to arouse discontent considerable enough to be noticed by the President of the All-India Muslim League in his address.[104] Minto was not alone. He was supported by Adamson and Andrew Fraser. The local governments fell into the Viceroy's line one by one, often prodded on by the Viceroy himself.[105] Minto was even able to whip up royal opposition through his Conservative friends.

Heartened by support from such high quarters, the Ameer Ali Delegation demanded withdrawal of the mixed electoral college, provision of weightage for the Moslems for their "services to the Empire", and a native adviser to the Viceroy instead of a native member in his Council. The cue for the last demand came from Curzon, Lovat Fraser and Lansdowne. If, however, a Hindu member was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, a Moslem member should join him to keep communal parity.

Morley never put up any real resistance. We get from Andrew Fraser's letter to Minto of 29 January 1909 a notion that even before meeting the Ameer Ali Delegation on 27 January 1909, Morley had "no disposition to stand strongly by the idea of the Electoral College". At the meeting Morley made light of his scheme, which he called a 'suggestion' and "not a direction of the Medes and Persians stamp". We find him conceding all demands except that for a membership of the Executive Council.[106] Minto, otherwise so solicitious for the Moslem cause, also denied it. Minto had already told the Moslems that he was not appointing a native member *qua* native member. "I don't want to have an Indian on my Council because he is an Indian...."[107] It was only to remove the disability of an Indian to hold a certain appointment because he was an Indian. It was not race representation but refusal to admit race disability. Minto avoided appointment by statute, which would have been an "admission of the necessity for racial representation, which would create rival claims for such seat amongst the many nationalities, religions, and castes of India".[108] Minto chose Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee at first for the portfolio of law but, as Mukherjee was not socially acceptable to the Europeans for his orthodox habits and dark complexion (!) and as he was

not a barrister-at-law, he was passed over for Sir S. P. Sinha.[109] (Most of the Conservatives agreed with King Edward VII that the appointment of a native member was unfortunate, even dangerous, and the King consented under protest.[110])

(Morley was well aware of the repercussions of his concessions to the Moslem community. "We have to take care that in picking up the Mussalman, we don't drop our Hindu parcels", he warned the Viceroy when he abandoned the plan of the mixed electoral college.[111] Yet he failed to heed his own misgivings. In February he swallowed double-voting by the Moslems. During the second reading of the bill at the end of that month he conceded weightage as well.[112] He did not even have all his way about election. The India Government and the India Office were at cross purposes over the definition of the term. The former was against territorial representation and even election of any sort. Out of 338 non-official members, who had been appointed members of the Provincial Councils since 1893, 36 per cent had been lawyers and 22 per cent landowners. If the system of 1892 could give such pre-eminence to the lawyer class (the bogey of Minto and his I.C.S.), any extension of that system would virtually complete its predominance over the more stable elements in the country. Minto, therefore, wanted to create an additional electorate for the landlords and the capitalists as a counterpoise to the lawyers.[113] (Here Minto was definitely misled) by a *bête noire*. No sociologist would regard the lawyers as a class. (Many of the lawyers were landlords or connected by professional and other interests with the landlords. The additional electorate would help rather than hinder the influence of lawyers in the reformed legislatures.[114]) Anyway, as late as February 1909, when the Indian Councils Bill was introduced in Parliament, Minto understood by elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council no other than persons nominated by him from a list recommended by the unofficial members of the Provincial Councils, who were themselves selected by certain public bodies. "We have thought it best that the Viceroy should retain this power. To abolish it would certainly necessitate the creation of electoral machinery which does not now exist, and in view of the great step forward we are making, it has seemed to us wiser to retain the power

vested in the Viceroy to refuse to nominate, till we have had some experience of the probable working of the increased representation we have inaugurated." Further, Minto was for adding one (instead of two) member each to the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras and was not insisting on their being Indians since the Governors, Clarke and Lawley, did not like them to be Indians. "These Councils embody the real government of India which we cannot afford to weaken."[115]

Minto fought a rearguard action against the principle of election even after Morley's strong stand for it was intimated to him.[116] He introduced a new argument—political disability. He doubted if disqualifications by Regulations alone would enable the Government to provide against infiltration of the Extremist element into the Councils. He demanded a veto power in this regard.

Meanwhile, the Reforms Bill had been introduced in the Lords on 17 February 1909. "If I were attempting", Morley assured the Conservative Lords, "to set up a Parliamentary system in India, or if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily up to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it."[117] Yet, after a vehement opposition of the Conservatives, clause 3 was thrown out in the third reading.[118] The Secretary of State knew he could turn the table on the Conservatives in the Commons. Minto felt bound in honour to reciprocate and, after some prodding, a joint meeting of Hindus and Moslems in the Town Hall (8 March 1909) appealed to the Lords to restore clause 3. Minto insisted on an Executive Council for Bengal immediately.[119] Morley ultimately got the clause through by promising to create Executive Councils by proclamation which should be laid before Parliament for formal sanction.[120]

The difference over political disability continued. Minto demanded a veto power to debar dangerous elements from the reformed Councils. When Morley yielded a qualified veto, he reacted sharply.[121] He was furious over Hobhouse's promise to Parliament that exclusion would not be added to deportation. Should the released deportee, then, be allowed to discredit British administration? "Political disqualification in England and in India only just awakening to political life,

and governed largely by the mere prestige of British authority, cannot be judged by the same standard ... the election of Lajpat Rai to the Viceroy's Legislative Council would set India in a blaze."[122] Minto would have a veto *prior* to and not *after* election. Morley and Asquith still wavered, partly in deference to American opinion and partly in fear of putting a barb in the Extremists' hands. The Regulations ultimately promulgated on this issue ran—"No person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Council if such person ... has been declared by the G.G. in C. to be of such reputation and antecedents that his election would, in the opinion of the G.G. in C., be contrary to the public interest." Morley saved his liberal conscience by omitting the offensive term 'deportee'.[123] Actually he was granting more powers of exclusion than the India Government had ever demanded.[124]

Morley's troubles were not over with the passing of the Reform Bill on 25 May 1909. He was now pestered by the Moslem leaders in London—Aga Khan, Bilgrami and Ameer Ali—to drop the idea of general electorate altogether. Minto's telegram of 12 April 1909 had been misinterpreted as putting the general electorate first and the separate Mohammedan electorate as a sort of second chance. Minto clarified it by another telegram of 20 May 1909 where he put the separate Mohammedan electorate first. Seats gained by Mohammedans from this electorate would be supplemented by those obtained in the general electorate and through nomination. The divergence between these two telegrams was now deliberately exploited by the Moslems to make the most of the Viceroy's reply to the Aga Khan Deputation of 1 October 1906. They demanded a larger number of seats than that envisaged in the Despatch of 1908—all by separate electorate—and they wanted separate electorate all through, down to the local boards. "Ameer Ali is a conceited egotist and windbag", lamented the Secretary of State.[125] But Ameer Ali was citing Minto's pledge. Minto called the Aga Khan a barbarian with an European veneer —"a better authority on *cafe chantants* than Indian Reforms" —and angrily denied having ever made any such preposterous promise. "To put it vulgarly—the Mahommedans appear to have got hold of the wrong end of the stick." At the Simla meeting (1906) it never occurred to him for a moment

that he was pledging the Moslems for all time "confinement in water-tight compartments shut off from the public life of the country". He only accepted the principle in general terms when the reforms question was still in a fluid state and there was no detailed scheme before the Government or the public. The method of election could not be predetermined. It varied from region to region. In Punjab the Moslems had a separate electorate for representation in municipal and district boards as religious feelings ran high but there were signs against separation elsewhere.[126] "The pith of our recommendation as to Mahommedan representation has always been separate Mahommedan electorates in the first place, which were to secure for them their proper proportion of representation and beyond that again was their chance of winning seats in the general electorates, and also nomination." This was more than they deserved, "and if we give them too much, we shall raise a Hindu storm."[127] Surendranath had already "taken up cudgels on the grounds of over-representation for Mahommedans." The Muslim League was quite satisfied with it in October 1908 as it estimated that the Moslem share in the reformed Imperial Legislative Council would be 11: (*a*) 5 through separate and (*b*) 5 through joint electorates with (*c*) at least 1 by nomination. The Reforms Act limited the number of seats and "we cannot alter the Mahommedan proportion to the detriment of other interests. Besides, the Mahommedans have got quite their fair share of the cake."[128] Minto even advised Morley to exploit the differences that had arisen on this issue between two factions of the Muslim League—one led by Ali Imam and the other by Ameer Ali. "Both Ameer Ali and Agha Khan impress me as individuals who like to hear the sound of their own voices, which carry a certain amount of weight in England,[129] but might be courteously disregarded."[130] Minto's stand was corroborated by K. G. Gupta in his comment on Theodore Morison's note on the so-called "Pledges" of Minto at Simla. In Gupta's view, the Moslem leaders and men like Morison and Lovat Fraser, who backed them, were taking advantage of the loose language used in and out of Parliament to magnify the Moslem claim: "but true statesmanship requires that no undue favour is shown to one community at the expense of

another."[131] On the third reading of the Bill, Balfour declared that separate communal electorate went against the grain of representative government and was likely to open the flood-gates to fissiparous tendencies. "If any of the communities now included in the comprehensive title 'Hindu' should in future claim a separate representation in excess of their numerical strength, the Government would be bound to consider their request as favourably as in the case of the Mahommedans." When Ronaldshay justified the Moslem cause by reference to the preponderance of Moslems in Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan, even the philosophical Balfour ironically commented that no theory of representative government taught that a particular section of people should be allowed weightage because its religion was professed widely outside the country to which it belonged.[132] At least one Conservative had more of sense and conscience than the Liberals.

(To outflank Ameer Ali's London offensive Minto met some Moslem leaders at Simla.[133] They demanded 6 reserved seats instead of 5 to which they had agreed earlier and they promised in return not to agitate for an entirely separate electorate.[134] Ameer Ali's scheme would give the Moslems 7 reserved seats, which Minto considered to be "very considerably above what they are entitled to by their numerical proportion to the population", though they would also lose by throwing away general seats, "to say nothing of the political loss to their community due to its separation from general outside competition". Such a concession, again, would inevitably rouse Hindu hostility. He, therefore, plumped for the Simla agreement—i.e. 6 fixed seats, some more out of the general electorate and nomination.[135])

An irritating intervention by Lord Kitchener at this stage helped the Moslem cause. Ignorant of Hindu as well as Moslem positions, he suddenly turned a patron of the latter and demanded on their behalf 8 fixed seats plus general electorate. The Executive Council turned it down but not before it was forced by the Commander-in-Chief's unwise political venture to guarantee 2 seats through nomination. (It is clear from Ali Imam's letter to Dunlop Smith (14 July 1909) and his presidential address at the League's Lucknow session that the Moslems hoped to win (1) 6 reserved seats

(Bombay, Madras, E. Bengal and Assam, Bengal, U.P. and Punjab), (2) (at least 2 general seats) (one from Punjab and one from E. Bengal and Assam) (out of 12 to be elected by the non-official members of the Legislative Councils of 6 provinces and) (3) (at least 2) (one from Punjab and one from Bombay) (out of 7 representatives to be elected by the landholders of 6 provinces and C.P. Over and above this they expected the Governor-General to nominate one Moslem from North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Minto showed that, with the prospect of the Moslems winning more than 2 seats through the general electorate, 6 reserved and 2 nominated seats should convince anybody that the Moslems had been "magnanimously treated".[136] The Aga Khan's and Ameer Ali's plea for separate electorate at the municipal and district levels he rejected outright. It was purely a local question and communalism should not mar the character and purpose of local self-government.

(Meanwhile, the Ameer Ali Delegation in London,) as always assisted by Theodore Morison, "a much more effective Mahometan partisan than Bilgrami" (continued to clamour for satisfaction of what they called Minto's pledge of completely separate electorate all through.) Minto had already yielded his "pound of flesh" but Morison demanded two. The irritated Secretary of State exploded, "I incline to rebel against the word 'pledge' in our case. We declared our intention and our view at a certain stage.) But we did this independently, and not in return for any 'consideration' to be given to us by the M's (the Moslems), as the price of our intentions."[137] K. G. Gupta ably fought Morison in the India Council. The Council was evenly divided on the India Government's despatch of 22 July 1909 but Morley "threw the sword of my casting vote into the scale, and all's well that ended well."[138] Minto's interpretation seemed to have won.

That did not bring down the curtain on this sordid affair, however. (Ali Imam, prompted by Minto, came over to England to advise moderation to the Aga Khan who still tugged at the other direction.[139] There was the likelihood of a split between the moderate and the die-hard Moslems) which, like the split in the Congress, might hamper the working of reforms. The die-hards found fault with the Re-

gulations drafted by the India Government because S. P. Sinha, a Hindu, had presided over the Regulation Committee. They received influential backing not only from Chirol of *The Times*, "ready to explode in full Mahommedan blast", but also from the opposition in Parliament. They went so far as to call Morley "a modern Aurangzeb".[140]

Minto succumbed before this onslaught because Morley fumbled and faltered and failed to give him adequate support. Morley took the plea of not leaving "a ragged edge in the Mahometan quarter" but actually he was in full retreat. In his July Despatch Minto had assured 8 seats to the Moslems in general terms, because he fought shy of giving any more "pledge" after what had happened over the unfortunate use of that word at the Simla parley.[141] Up to September he was firm in his resolution not to yield any more. Morley's weakness, however, loosened the ground on which Minto stood and at the end of that month we find the latter thinking about giving 'a guarantee' (another term for 'pledge') of 8 seats (6 reserved and 2 by nomination).[142] The draft regulations did not openly mention it because, "in the present state of political tension", tactful phraseology was imperative. Minto was uneasy. "The Mahomedan claims have been so much pushed at home, and generally without a broad consideration of the whole position in India, that Hindu interests and influence have for the moment been rather lost sight of. But whilst fully recognising the solidity and strength of the Mahomedan minority we might by exaggerated favouritism of it raise a storm to which the vapourings of Ameer Ali and the Agha Khan would be as nothing."[143] He felt humiliated for having to yield to pressure from home. Morley, he complained, should not have exaggerated the importance of the opinions of Ameer Ali, "actuated to a great extent by personal reasons", the Aga Khan who "carries little if any weight at all in India" and Chirol, "one of the most prejudiced critics of Indian affairs".[144] To Morley's gibe that it was Minto who had started "the Muslim hare",[145] he could have answered back that it gave Morley no excuse to throw at him Moslem representation with a vengeance. Out of a total of 27 elective seats in the Imperial Legislative Council the Moslems secured as many as 11 seats through separate and joint electorates.

Minto added one by nomination.[146] One Calcutta evening paper compared the Government's position in the reformed Council with that of the Light Brigade:

> Moslems to right of them
> Moslems to left of them
> Moslems behind them
> volleyed and thundered.[147]

If the Secretary of State had gained respite from the admittedly annoying Moslem nagging and bought his peace with the London opinion he set such store by, it was at the tremendous, and politically decisive, cost of Hindu estrangement. The majority of the Congress lost faith in the Liberal Party and read in its reforms the proverbial imperial policy of divide and rule. Loss of confidence in Liberalism meant the eventual elimination of the Moderates from the Congress scene and hardening of the Extremist opposition. Instead of an automatic trust in the British proposals there was now to be an automatic suspicion. The Moslems were encouraged to pursue an openly separatist and communal line. They would soon think of themselves as Moslems rather than as Indians. They knew that, however unreasonable and intransigent their demands might be, they would receive ready backing and wide publicity from powerful pressure groups in England whom even the redoubtable Asquith Government felt impelled to conciliate. This trump in Moslem hands caused natural jealousy in Hindus and, raising the Moslem bid, made Hindu-Moslem accord difficult. The breach between the Congress and the Raj was further widened by Minto's attitude on the deportation issue and on the eligibility of the released deportees. While the Moslems had all the good things in this world—separate electorate, general electorate, nomination and comparatively easy educational and property qualifications,—the Hindu Extremists were to be shut out by Minto's ban and eminent Hindus debarred by unconscionably high educational and property qualifications. Hindu alienation boded ill for the continuity of the British rule as Moslem alienation did for the unity of the nation.

Minto took terrorism very seriously after the Maniktala

arms-haul in the middle of 1908, which revealed to him the plan of "organized simultaneous outrages throughout India."[148] As we know now, it was a false scare, and pre-war Bengal terrorism would peter out in sporadic personal attacks on officials and informers. Barindrakumar Ghosh, the leader of the Maniktala group and younger brother of Sri Aurobindo, had himself confessed to the childish arrangements made by the conspirators and to the absence of any revolutionary spirit outside Bengal. The Bengal group of terrorists were more or less playing to the gallery and their court confessions deliberately exaggerated things so that the imagination of an inert country might be captured and inflamed.[149] Minto, misled by an inefficient intelligence service, before the very nose of which the Maniktala group carried on subversion and which, once caught napping, blew up the conspiracy to avoid justified strictures, girded himself up for crushing the incipient revolt with all the means at his disposal. With bombs flying about, assassination of Naren Goswami (the approver in Maniktala case) in Alipur jail and incendiary articles in the *Kesari* he would not don the robe of 'clemency Canning'.[150] He denounced the dilatory criminal procedure and the provision for perpetual appeals. He favoured special tribunals and heavy sentences. He decided to scotch the Samitys (revolutionary organizations) and the student associations and deport the ringleaders—Aurobindo and Barindra. And all these were to be done before the reforms were introduced. "We must give the medicine first, and then do all we can to take the taste away."[151] The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill was passed in a single sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council, though, we now know, many Executive Councillors opposed it and the Moderates like Rashbehari Ghosh took a critical stance for the sake of appearance.[152] Nine Bengali leaders, including Krishnakumar Mitra and Aswini Dutta, were deported. On an appeal to the High Court against death sentence, Barindra, Upendranath Banerjee and Ullaskar Datta got transportation to the Andamans for life. Kanailal Datta and Satyen Bose, hanged for their murder of Naren Goswami, had already become legends. In January 1909 Anusilan Samity of Dacca, Swadesh Bandhav Samity of Buckergunj, Brati Samity of Faridpur and Suhrid Samity

and Sadhana Samity of Mymensingh were declared unlawful associations. On big and small fry alike descended the wrath of Elysium Row. One could not rule India "by namby-pamby sentimentalism" and though powers under Regulation III of 1818 were "not pleasant ones to wield", they were extremely effective. By May 1909 Minto could report home that only hysterical students now manned secret societies here and there, dispirited and leaderless.[153]

Morley could not but dislike this counter-terror. Though Minto deported the nine after consulting Fraser, Baker and Adamson, Morley saw the hand of the police behind it: "If we press to the bottom of things, I conjecture that the active men in this chapter of business must be Stuart or Plowden or somebody of the police."[154] He was not moved by further terrorist outrages, triggered off by the murder of Asutosh Biswas on 10 February 1909.[155] But Minto remained obdurate. While Morley quoted the radical denunciation of the deportation policy as "the principle of Bastille", Minto, sure of the Conservative support at home, pressed for publication of their respective views.

Throughout August and September (1909) went on a wordy duel between the two over the expediency of releasing the deportees simultaneously with the announcement of the Regulations. Minto considered it "the most inopportune moment", for the released deportees, sure to be put forward as candidates for election to the new Councils, would swamp the very Moderates whom the government wanted to rally. He would then have to veto their elections as contrary to the public interest and thereby incur greater unpopularity than he would have incurred by postponing their release till after the elections.[156] Surendranath, now in London, appealed to the Secretary of State for the release of Aswinikumar Datta and Krishnakumar Mitra prior to the announcement and Morley wryly commented that "their continued detention makes a mockery of the language we are going to use about Reforms."[157] He rejected the political grounds mentioned by Minto, i.e. bad effects on loyalist opinion, and quoted Gokhale to argue "that continued detention would give a trump card to the extremists."[158] Gokhale explained Surendranath's predicament in a private letter which fell into Morley's hands.

It read: "No doubt the position of the constitutional party in Bengal has been rendered practically impossible by the Government's refusal to reconsider partition, and by the continued incarceration of the deportees. The feeling is generally throughout the country that most of these deportees, if not all, are innocent men, deported simply because Government wanted to make an exhibition of force."[159] Minto swept aside Gokhale's views as "perfectly valueless and misleading" and declined to accept the consequence of releasing Mitra and Datta. They "are the most dangerous of them—as having organized and financed revolutionary organizations—and if they were released now, the members of the proclaimed Samitys of which they were the chief supports would at once again crystallize around them."[160] Surendranath commented, more in sorrow than in anger, that Minto's obduracy was "a great political blunder.... It served no useful purpose; it did harm; it frightened none; it added to the political uneasiness and excitement."[161] Minto refused even to proclaim the date of their release in advance.[162] The assassination of Curzon-Wyllie in London (July 1909), the attempt on his own life (November) and the murder of A. M. J. Jackson, Collector of Nasik (December), played into his hands. It was only after the elections to the new Councils, and then with the Press Act (passed on 8 February 1910 "to guard against", as Risley said, "the Protean changes of identity" undergone by the Extremist papers) and the extended Seditious Meetings Act (13 January 1910) in his hands, that he ordered the release of the deportees and cancelled a further list for deportation recommended by the Bengal Government.

It is clear from this part of their private correspondence that they meant different things by the term "Moderate". While to Minto it denoted the loyalist element outside the Congress, to Morley it denoted the moderate element in the Congress, led by Gokhale and Surendranath. In spite of his mistake in the case of Lajpat Rai, Minto lumped the Extremists with the terrorists and wrote off the Moderates as a spent force, which the Government could hardly use as an instrument of containment. Hence he could rock the boat of Surendranath so cavalierly and made Moderate cooperation impossible. Morley had the intellectual power and political

perspicacity to distinguish between men like Tilak, Pal, Lajpat Rai and Aswini Datta, on the one hand, and men like Aurobindo and Barindra, on the other. The Extremists, he realized, had little to do with the cult of the bomb. Lenient treatment, liberal reforms and the annulment of the partition, might have neutralized them, if not actually brought them over to the Government's side. Morley's failure was a failure of character. It lay in not acting according to his conviction and conscience. The annulment of the partition came all the same, two years later, but he could have, with the bold sagacity of a statesman, synchronized it with the Reforms. He shied, however, from the possibility of a strong Moslem reaction and a Conservative row in the Lords, while the dispute between the two Houses was in the most acrimonious stage over the constitutional position and legislative powers of the Lords. He had dropped the scheme of the mixed electoral college at the first show of opposition, much of which he knew to be due to Moslem intransigence and Minto-Risley prejudice, and though he would surely have got unanimous support from the Congress. He failed to support MacDonnell and K. G. Gupta against Morison and Bilgrami. He fought shy of the adverse criticism of Lovat Fraser and Chirol. He allowed himself to be carried away by Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan, though distrusting their motives and disliking their manners. Morley did not live up to the great liberal tradition of Gladstone who had risked his political career for the Irish Home Rule. Too academic in approach, too weak to stand firm against bluff and bully, too unrealistic to convert his ideas into workable institutions, he yielded to Morley's who had the courage of his Conservative conviction, and to the Moslems, who knew how to play their hands.

The Reforms of 1909 "rallied" very few. The Congress at its Madras session (1908) had supported Morley's scheme of mixed electoral colleges. Malaviya had suggested that "we should leave Lord Morley's proposals as they stand in this matter and not ask that any different principle of representation should be introduced."[163] Gokhale, alone in thoughtless generosity, seemed prepared to concede separate electorate in order to alleviate the "unjust fear" of the Moslems that "they would be swamped by Hindus."[164] When Morley

dropped the mixed electoral college scheme during the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill and seemed to move to the other extreme, i.e. separate electorate in all stages (as in Cyprus or Bohemia),[165] and even Asquith lent him support in the Commons,[166] the Congress could not but register a vigorous protest. Surendranath and Madan Mohan disapproved of the "innovations" as dangerous. The Hindus viewed the whole agitation as an Anglo-Indian move backed by *The Times, The Times of India* and *The Statesman.* Minto protested, too, as it was never his intention to debar the Moslems from taking part in the general electorate. He had pledged separate representation and weightage but not committed himself to the form it should take.) We have already noted K. G. Gupta's adverse comment or Morison's formulation of the pledges and his presentation of the mixed electorate as an additional boon to the Moslems.[167] Minto repeatedly referred to "Hindu dissatisfaction". The Congress never liked the separate representation, even though its exclusive offensiveness had been softened in the Rules and Regulations, published in November 1909. (In its Lahore session (1909) the Congress recorded "its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion" and objected to "the excessive and unfairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion; the unjust, invidious, and humiliating distinctions made between Moslem and non-Moslem subjects of His Majesty in the matter of the electorates, the franchise and the qualifications of candidate ..., the wide, arbitrary, and unreasonable disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to Councils; the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole course of the regulations; and the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majority in Provincial Councils rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes."[168] Surendranath and Madan Mohan, who so enthusiastically welcomed the Secretary of State's despatch of 27 November 1908, condemned the discrepancies between it and the final measure passed a year later. Gokhale himself expressed to Wedderburn the disquiet he felt over "the not only unjust but monstrously unjust" representation granted to the Moslems.[169]

"If it could be said," candidly declared Lord Morley, "that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it." True it is that under these Reforms the strength of each Provincial Council and the Imperial Legislative Council was increased. Among 60 additional members at the Centre, 27 were to be elected (6 Moslems seats reserved) and 33 nominated of which no more than 28 could be officials, 1 must be from the Moslems and 1 from the land-holders of Punjab (likely to be a Moslem). Official majority was retained at the Centre as Morley and Minto had both desired. The membership of most of the Provincial Legislative Councils was raised to 50 (Punjab and Burma had 30 each), non-official majority was assured in all, while Bengal was to have an elective majority. But this was merely an eyewash, for the nominated members in the Provinces were more likely to vote with the officials than with the elective group.[170] The four members representing British commercial interests in Bengal, who created there the illusion of elective majority, would also vote with the bureaucracy on major issues. Asquith admitted that it was meant to "give Indians the feeling that these legislative councils are not mere automatons." Except for the Moslems, the landlords and the Europeans there was to be secondary election, i.e. election by the delegates chosen by the members of municipal and district boards and university senates. The minimum land revenue fixed for the eligibility of landlords in their constituencies varied between the Hindu and the Moslem and shut out the middling gentry. Indian commerce depended upon the Vice-regal nomination. In most constituencies a substantial property qualification and the possession of a residence were required. The graduate status demanded of the Moslems was in some cases substantially lower than that demanded of the Hindus. The age limit was 25 years and women were specifically excluded. The regulations on the exclusion of undesirable persons ran—"No person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Council if such person...has been declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of such reputation and antecedents that his election would, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, be contrary to the public interest."[171] The

Viceregal veto made a mockery of the high hopes that the country held of the reforms. Not to speak of the Extremists, many Moderates, whose views or independence of thinking the bureaucracy disliked, were excluded from Morley's "new dispensation" that boasted of providing increased scope of association of the Indians with the Indian administration.[172]

Curzon's fears that the new Councils would inevitably become "parliamentary bodies in miniature" were belied. Functionally, the new Council was no better than a durbar. In 1908 Gokhale hoped, "we shall have fair opportunities of exercising influence in matters of Finance and Administration by means of debate and we shall have got full management of the local affairs ... under this new scheme the Government of India will recede more and more in the background and the Provincial Government will come more to the front and loom larger in our eyes, and we shall have all the opportunities we require of influencing the course of provincial administration ...."[173] What a poor prophet Gokhale proved to be in the course of one year! To insulate officialdom from the attacks of seasoned opposition debaters, supplementaries were limited. Only the member, who had asked a question, was allowed to follow it up. Existing limitations on the powers of the Council to deal with matters affecting the public revenues and debt and the relations with foreign and native states were extended to discussion of matters of public interest by way of resolution. A similar ban was laid on resolutions affecting the internal affairs of states, matters still in discussion between the central and the provincial governments and matters that were *sub judice*. There was also a general power of disallowance on the ground that a resolution should have been moved in another place. At the Indian Moderates, clamouring like the subjects of James I for freedom of speech and discussion on the weighty problems of state, the Governor-General or the Governor might hurl back the Divine Right of Regulations.

Gokhale might have liked to take a big hand in the framing of the budgets but the new regulations offered him little scope. Before 1909 estimates prepared for the provinces were submitted to the Government of India, minutely checked and

often altered by the Finance Department, and incorporated in the budget for the whole country. This was discussed in the Imperial Council (with Gokhale taking the lead in criticism) and extracts relating to the Provinces were similarly discussed in the Provincial Councils. But no resolution could be moved and no votes taken. Under the new reforms the draft budget of each province, after examination by the Government of India (which fixed the limit of expenditure on new projects at Rs. 5,000/-), was discussed by a small committee of the Provincial Council (at least half the members of which were elected) and their views were considered. The draft for the whole of India was then placed before the Imperial Council, members of which could move resolutions affecting proposals for new taxation for grants to the provinces or items of imperial (but not provincial) expenditure. Any changes made were communicated to and a similar procedure was followed in the Provincial Councils. No nation-building activities could be undertaken in such a financial strait-jacket.

Gokhale honestly offered his "responsible association" but he succeeded precious little in changing the spirit of the regime. He moved a resolution advocating free and compulsory primary education (18 March 1910) and called for a commission to draft a bill for implementing it. He was advised by the Home Member to withdraw his resolution and draft a bill in its place. He did so in the following year. It was a purely permissive legislation which envisaged that two-thirds of the expenditure was to be provided by the Imperial Government. By the end of 1911 he realized "that my Bill will be thrown out by the Supreme Legislative Council next cold weather. I also understand confidentially that most of the members of the India Council in London are strongly opposed to the measure." The Civil Service diehards were active as before. A chastened Gokhale, while calling upon the Council to refer the Bill to a select committee, admitted, "I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes.... I have always felt and have often said that we, of the present generation in India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures...." Gokhale fared no better with his resolution to deny the South African Colonies permission to recruit indentured labour from India. All his criticism of the Seditious

Meetings Bill (6 August 1910)[174] and of the harsh enforcement of the Press Act fell on deaf ears. Any doctrinaire stand on "active loyalty" to the Government was made impossible by the Government itself. The prince of the Moderates ruefully acknowledged the inadequacy of a philosophy he had held during the best part of his political life. "Just as the right of free speech is an abstract right, so also the proposition that all loyal citizens must rally round the executive in maintaining law and order is an abstract proposition, and its value as a guide for practical conduct must depend upon the circumstances amidst which it is sought to be applied."[175] This agonizing reappraisal sounds the depths of the Moderate disappointment with the spirit of Reforms. "The Canadian furcoat" (of colonial self-government) was not for Gokhale's native Deccan.[176] Eager to apply the whole of the British liberal tradition, the Moderates had walked into a kind of political blind alley.

Another Moderate, Surendranath, who kept out of the first elections as Bengal's grievance over the partition had not been met, had no more favourable reaction to the Reforms. "The scheme contains," he said, "no concessions which have not been in some form or other repeatedly asked for. So far from the scheme being lavish, I will say that it does not come up to our expectations in regard to many matters of vital importance. For instance, we want the power of the purse. We want definite control at least over some of the great departments of the State: over Sanitation, Education and the Public Works Department .... We want the power of the purse and a definite and effective measure of self-government. That we have not got. All that the Reform scheme does—and let me be perfectly candid in this matter—is to provide the machinery by which the representatives of the people would be in a position to bring to bear upon the Government not anything like direct influence but indirect moral pressure."[177] The following statistics belie even the evidence of that indirect moral pressure. 59 per cent of the laws passed the reformed Council without discussion, only 8 bills roused serious opposition and only 5 private bills got through. "Constant necessity of having to refer to the Centre and accept its decisions tended to give their (Provincial Councils')

proceedings an air of unreality."[178] The silent official phalanx overbore all opposition at the Centre and bulldozed through legislation favourable to the executive control. It was a sterile opposition and sterility caused frustration. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report had to admit that "Minto-Morley reforms cannot justly be described as embodying any new policy. The change was one of degree and not of kind." It merely extended a system introduced in 1892 of representation by special interests. But in that process it ignored the rapid awakening of Asia and the increased political expectations of the Indians. It weakened the Moderate opinion of the country which alone stood ready to offer it a hand of co-operation against Extremism and terrorism. "They (Moderates) stood ready to serve," comments Prof. C. H. Philips, "but were in effect fobbed off."[179] Therein lies the tragedy of Morley-Minto reforms. Fate would not offer Britain a more congenial opportunity of putting Indo-British relations on a stable basis at such a low cost. The victory of bureaucracy in 1909 was a Pyrrhic victory. With the dramatic turn given to the Indian nationalist movement by Gandhiji and the World Wars the transfer of power could only be total and tragic.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Morley to Minto, 22 March 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 2, p. 57.
2. Same to same, 3 May 1906, ibid., vol 1, pp. 98-99.
3. Minto to Morley, 13 December 1905, ibid., vol. 6, pp. 1-2.
4. Same to same, 20 December 1905, ibid., p. 5.
5. Same to same, 3 April 1906, ibid., p. 66.
6. Same to same, 25 April 1906, ibid., vol. 7, p. 31.

6a. This is an echo of the Lawrence-Strachey argument of the 19th century. Bureaucracy had long been a prey to anti-Bengali prejudice and had succeeded largely in infecting the highest executive as well. See chapter III, *supra*.

7. Minto to Morley, 28 May 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 7, p. 76.
8. Morley to Minto, 19 April 1906, ibid., vol. I, p. 93.
9. Same to same, 3 May 1906, ibid., pp. 97-98.
10. Fuller to Minto, 15 July 1906, ibid., vol. 8, p. 7; Minto to Morley, 25 July 1906, ibid., p. 4; Morley to Minto, 2 August 1906, ibid., vol. 1, p. 159 et seq.
11. The Indian Committee of the House of Commons consisted of 150 members.

Though Morley jeered at Cotton, its leader, "that wonderful *fine fleur* of the vaunted Indian bureaucracy", the Committee proved at times to be an embarrassingly strong lobby.

12. Morley to Minto, 6 June 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. I, pp. 119-22.
13. Same to same, 15 June 1906, ibid., p. 129. In his *Recollections* Morley calls this letter the serious commencement of reforms talks. *Recollections*, vol. II, p. 176.
14. Same to same, 22 June 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 1, p. 135.
15. Same to same, 2 August 1906, ibid., p. 160.

15*a*. Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 4 August 1906, ibid., vol. 8, p. 19; Minto to Morley, 8 August 1906, ibid., p. 17 and 15 August 1906, ibid., p. 22. See chapter V, *supra*.

15*b*. Morley to Minto, 26 September 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 1, pp. 198-99 and 26 October 1906, ibid., p. 224.

16. *Kesari*, XXV, 15 August 1905, 33, p. 4. Between 15 August 1905 and 10 October 1905, the *Kesari* published many editorials on this theme.
17. Gokhale's interview with the *Morning Post, India*, XXIV, 6 October 1905, p. 163.

17*a*. V. C. Joshi (ed.), *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, p. 111.

18. *Gokhale's Speeches* (Madras, Natesan), pp. 690-91.
19. *Kesari*, XXVI, 10, 6 March 1906, p. 4.
20. Gokhale to Dravid, 3 August 1906, quoted in S. A. Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale*, etc., op. cit., pp. 185-86, also in Parvate, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, pp. 212-13.
21. Hare to Dunlop Smith, 19 September 1906, encl. Minto to Morley, 19 September 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 8, pp. 65-66. Morley refers to these incidents in his meeting with Gokhale on 2 August 1906.
22. Morley to Minto, 5 October 1906, ibid., vol. 1, pp. 203-4.
23. Same to same, 11 October 1906, ibid., pp. 212-13.
24. Minto's minute on proposed reforms, 15 August 1906, ibid., vol. 8, p. 25; Minto to Morley, 22 August 1906, ibid., p. 29 and 29 August 1906, ibid., p. 34.
25. Same to same, 4 November 1906, ibid., vol. 9, pp. 18-20.
26. Same to same, 19 December 1906, ibid., p. 72.
27. Wedderburn to Gokhale, 8 August 1906, Gokhale Papers, Poona.

27*a*. *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, op. cit., pp. 112-13.

28. Dunlop Smith's note, 1 January 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 10, pp. 4-5; unpublished Khaparde Diary used by his son in *Sri Dadasaheb Khaparde Yadhe Charitra* (1962). Khaparde says that Surendranath was close to the Extremists at this time but Gokhale was "nagging like a woman" for an unanimous but whittled down decision. He refers to a verbal duel between Tilak and Mehta which anticipated the Surat split.
29. *Report of the 22nd Indian National Congress, 1906*, pp. 11-111.

29*a*. *The Gaelic American*, 9 December 1905, 26 May 1906 and 18 May 1907. Report of C. J. Stevenson-Moore, Offg. Director of Crim. Intelligence, Government of India, 12 July 1907, Home. Pol. Progs., August 1907, nos. 243-50. Shyamaji Krishnavarma's *The Indian Sociologist* began to play a part from now on.

29*b*. *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, op. cit., pp. 140-46. For his comments on government measures, see *The Punjabee*, 8 May 1906.

30. Minto to Morley, 15 July 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 11, p. 47. Lajpat Rai says that he played no active role in the anti-Canal Colonies Bill agitation though he wrote in the press against it. He refers to Ajit Singh's activities among the peasantry. *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, op. cit., p. 119. See also Popham Young's Note on the Administration of the Chenab Colony, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 11, pp. 37-40; F. A. Robertson, Judge, Chief Court, Punjab to Gordon Walker, Offg. Lt. Governor of Punjab, 11 July 1907, ibid., pp. 54-55.
31. Minto to Morley, 5 June 1907, ibid., p. 2.
32. Same to same, 8 May 1907, ibid., vol 10, p. 103.
33. Government of U.P. to Risley, 23 May 1907, Minto Papers, 1907, vol. I, no. 14/N/32.
34. Minto to Morley, 8 May 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 10, p. 102.
35. Kitchener's note on the influence of the native press on the army, 5 June 1907, ibid., vol. 11, p. 5.
36. Minto to Morley, 27 June 1907, ibid., p. 14.
37. Same to same, 19 March 1907, ibid., vol. 10, p. 53.
38. The Report of Arundel Committee, Public Letters from India, 1907, no. 35.
39. Morley to Minto, 22 February 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 2, p. 36.
40. Same to same, 23 November 1906, ibid., vol. I, pp. 249-50.
41. Same to same, 17 April 1907, ibid., vol. 2, p. 79.
42. Ibid., p. 81.
43. Same to same, 2 May 1907, ibid., p. 95.
44. Minto to Morley, 17 April 1907, ibid., vol. 10, p. 88 et seq.
45. Same to same, 2 May 1907, ibid., p. 100.
46. Morley to Minto, 9 May 1907, ibid., vol. 2, p. 97.
47. Same to same, 16 May 1907, ibid., p. 107.
48. Same to same, 18 July 1907, ibid., p. 166.
49. Minto to Morley, 5 November 1907, ibid., vol. 12, p. 35.
50. Morley to Minto, 4 September 1907, ibid., vol. 2, p. 245.
51. Same to same, 21 June 1907, ibid., p. 137.
52. Same to same, 15 August 1907, ibid., p. 201.
53. Same to same, 3 October 1907, ibid., p. 256.
54. Minto to Morley, 7 August 1907, ibid., vol. 11, p. 57.
55. Gokhale to Dunlop Smith, 10 June 1907, ibid., pp. 99-101. Ajit Singh used to get regular subventions from Lala Lajpat Rai up to a little before the Calcutta Congress (1906). The rift began some time in December that year though the secret police reports Ajit getting Lala's help till April 1907. Read Home Pol. Progs., December 1907, nos. 44-56 along with *Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings*, op. cit., p. 119.
56. Dunlop Smith's note on conversation with Gokhale, 29 October 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 12, pp. 28-29.
57. Gokhale to Wedderburn, 18 October 1907, Gokhale Papers, Poona.
58. Minto to Morley, 5 November 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 12, pp. 35-36.
59. Dunlop Smith's remark, not Minto's, but it had Minto's approval. Ibid.
60. Minto to Morley, 5 November 1907, op. cit., p. 37.
61. Same to same, 30 November 1907, ibid., p. 62.
62. Morley to Minto, 31 October 1907, ibid., vol. 2, p. 270.

63. W. S. Blunt, *My Diaries*, part II (1900-14), pp. 219-21.
64. Morley to Minto, 29 November 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 2, p. 305.
65. *Kesari*, XXVII, 21, 21 May 1907, p. 4. Compare the *Gaelic American*, 18 May 1907, op. cit.
66. R. R. Srivastava (ed.), *Speeches of B. G. Tilak*, pp. 171-72.
67. Speech of 2 January 1907, B. G. Tilak, *Speeches and Writings* (Madras, 1918), pp. 37-50.
68. Morley to Minto, 13 June 1907, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 2, p. 131.
69. Gokhale to Wedderburn, 11 October 1907, Gokhale Papers, Poona.
70. See chapter IV, *supra*. Also Amvika Charan Mazumdar, *Indian National Evolution* (Natesan, Madras, 1917), pp. 104-113.
71. One of the leading Bengali litterateurs, Pramatha Chaudhury, wrote a satirical skit on it called *Nillohiter Saurastralila*.
72. Minto to Morley, 15 January 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 13, p. 22.
73. Dunlop Smith's note on a conversation with Gokhale, 15 January 1908, ibid., p. 24.
74. Dunlop Smith's note on Matilal Ghosh, 14 January 1908, ibid., p. 26.
75. Swadeshi dacoities and the manufacture of bombs had begun in 1906. See chapter IV, *supra*.
76. Minto to Morley, 6 May 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 14, p. 45.
77. Confidential note of A. Fraser, 19 May 1908, Minto Papers, Correspondence, 1908, vol. I, no. 239.

77*a*. The *Yugantar* commented on the Muzaffarpur episode thus: "If in an attempt to destroy the enemy a woman is accidentally killed, then God can have no cause of displeasure like the English. Many a female demon must be killed...in order to extirpate the race of *Asuras* from the breast of the earth." Quoted in speech of Sir Henry Adamson, Progs., Council of the G. G. of India, April 1908 to March 1909, pp. 10-11.

78. Minto to Morley, 11 June 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 15, p. 19.
79. Morley to Minto, 7 May 1908, ibid., vol. 3, pp. 147-48.
80. Home Pol. Pub. Progs., January-December 1908, no. 7875.
81. (Incitement to Offences) Act VII of 1908. See also Morley to Minto, 7 May 1908, op. cit.
82. "We, on our part, do not think that our duty ends with condemning the Muzaffarpur outrage. We regret the occurrence, but we are of opinion that so long as the causes which give rise to it are allowed to remain, it will be impossible to prevent its repetition.... Reform in the administration is the only way to kill this new *upas* tree". *Kesari*, 12 May 1908.

"The Bengal bomb-thrower has got more in common with the Portuguese patriots, who assassinated Don Carlos for suppressing their Parliament, and with the hot-headed Russians who committed bomb outrages in desperation owing to the Tsar's refusal to convene the Duma than with anarchists pure and simple.... The bomb, however, has put a potent weapon into the hands of the people, and it has lessened the respect for the military prestige of the Government.... It is still a secret in India, but if a policy of repression succeeds in adding to the number of hot-headed persons in the country, the knowledge will in no time spread to other parts of India from Bengal....

The grant of the important rights of Swarajya is the means to get rid of the bomb in India." *Kesari*, 9 June 1908.

It is interesting to note that Morley expresses the same sentiment in his letter of 30 July 1908, fn. 84 *infra*.

83. Morley to Minto, 16 July 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 3, p. 215.
84. Same to same, 30 July 1908, ibid., p. 230.
85. Same to same, 10 August 1908, ibid., pp. 243-44.
86. Same to same, 12 November 1908, ibid., p. 331.
87. Minto to Morley, 2 September 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 16, p. 51.
88. Despatch of 1 October 1908.
89. Minto to Morley, 29 September 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 16, pp. 92-94.
90. Same to same, 14 May 1908, ibid., vol. 14, pp. 56-57
91. Same to same, 5 August 1908, ibid., vol. 16, p. 2.
92. Same to same, 27 May 1908, ibid., vol. 14, p. 93.
93. Same to same, 11 June 1908, ibid., vol. 15, pp. 19-20.
94. Morley to Minto, 24 September 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 3, p. 287.
95. Same to same, 9 January 1909, ibid., vol. 3b, pp. 9-10.
96. Same to same, 27 November 1908, ibid., vol. 3, p. 341.
97. This is Sir Lee Warner's scheme (see Reforms Despatch, 21 March 1907). Theodore Morison approved of it. See his Note of 18 April 1907 on Lee Warner scheme, Minto Collection, Edinburgh.
98. Secretary of State's Despatch, 27 November 1908, East India, Advisory and Legislative Councils, C. 4426, 1908. This is MacDonnell's scheme.
99. Ibid.
100. Morley to Minto, 31 December 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 3, pp. 362-66; 9 January 1909, ibid., vol. 3b, p. 10.
101. "His Troop, as I am told, represented the Aligarh breed of Mussulman". Morley to Minto, 28 January 1909, ibid., vol. 3b, p. 21. For a list of the Executive of the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League, founded on 6 May 1908, see I.O.L. Tract 1113(a). Besides Ameer Ali and S. H. Bilgrami, the name of Md. Iqbal appears.
102. Minto to Morley, 24 December 1908, ibid., vol. 17, p. 116.
103. It was primarily this fear which prompted the Moslem old guards to ask for the Simla Deputation, see Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 4 August 1906, encl. Minto to Morley, 8 August 1906, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 8, p. 19. Minto had allied with the older generation of Moslem leaders, not with the younger and the rebellious generation.
104. Speech of Ali Imam, President of All India Muslim League, 31 December 1908; Minto to Morley, 31 December 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 17, pp. 128-30.
105. Minto's telegram to Morley, 15 January 1909.
106. Morley to Minto, 28 January 1909, Eur. MSS. D, 573, vol. 3b, p. 23. Also telegram, 2 February 1909.
107. Minto to Morley, 6 January 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 18, p. 3.
108. Minto to King, 4 March 1909, ibid., pp. 77-80.
109. "Moreover, please do not think me terribly narrow, but Sinha is comparatively white, whilst Mukherjee is as black as my hat!" Minto to Morley, 9 November 1908, ibid., vol. 17, p. 50.

110. King to Minto, 22 March 1909, Lee, *King Edward VII: A Biography*, II, pp. 386-88. We find the King unreconciled to the native member till the end of the year. See Philip Magnus, *King Edward the Seventh*, p. 426.
111. Morley to Minto, 28 January 1909, op. cit
112. Parl. Deb., H.L., 1909, vol. 1, col. 14-18.
113. Government of India's Despatch of 21 March 1907 and 1 October 1908.
114. Government of Bengal to Government of India, no. 1746A., 29 February 1908, Public Letters from India, 1908, vol. 37.
115. Minto to Morley, 9 February 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 18, pp. 41-45.
116. Morley's telegram to Minto, 10 February 1909.
117. Morley, *Indian Speeches*, p. 91.
118. Clause 3 empowered the Governor General to create Executive Councils in any province under a Lieut.-Governor.
119. Minto to Morley, 23 March 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 18, p.112 and 1 April 1909, ibid., vol. 19, p. 9.
120. Same to same, 6 May 1909, ibid., vol. 19, p. 48.
121. Minto's telegram to Morley, 12 April 1909.
122. Minto to Morley, 21 April 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 19, p. 32.
123. Morley's telegram to Minto, 11 May 1909.
124. Minto's telegram to Morley, 3 May 1909.
125. Morley to Minto, 21 May 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 3b, p. 109.
126. Minto to Morley, 29 April 1909, ibid., vol. 19, pp. 40-41.
127. Same to same, 20 May 1909, ibid., p. 66.
128. Same to same, 10 June 1909, ibid., pp. 83-84.
129. *The Times* was printing Ameer Ali's letters and Ronaldshay's letters supporting them.
130. Minto to Morley, 10 June 1909, op. cit., Minto ridicules Ameer Ali's letter in *The Times*, 20 May 1909. Same to same, 17 June 1909, ibid., p. 96.
131. "Note upon the pledges given to the Mahommedans" by T. Morison and note upon it by K. G. Gupta, 10 August 1909, Morley Papers, I.O.L.
132. *The Indian Spectator*, 22 May 1909.
133. Nawab of Dacca, Ali Imam, Rahimtoollah of Bombay, Abdul Majid of Allahabad, etc.
134. Minto to Morley, 1 July 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 20, p. 1.
135. Same to same, 15 July 1909, ibid., pp. 25-26; Ali Imam to Dunlop Smith, 14 July 1909, ibid., pp. 38-39.
136. Minto to Morley, 22 July 1909, ibid., p. 34.
137. Morley to Minto, 6 August 1909, ibid., vol. 3b, p. 168.
138. Same to same, 26 August 1909, ibid., p. 187.
139. Same to same, 22 September 1909, ibid., p. 215.
140. Same to same, 29 October 1909, ibid., p. 235.
141. Minto to Morley, 22 July 1909, ibid., vol. 20, pp. 33-34.
142. Same to same, 21 September 1909, ibid., vol. 21, pp. 39-40. The India Office suggested it in a telegram of 20 September 1909.
143. Minto to Morley, 21 September 1909, op. cit.
144. Same to same, 11 November 1909, ibid., pp. 79-80 and 7 October 1909, ibid., p 51.
145. Morley to Minto, 6 December 1909, ibid., vol. 4, p. 255.

146. Minto to Morley, 6 January 1910, ibid., vol. 22, p. 7. See note of Dunlop Smith, 6 January 1910, ibid., p. 10.
147. Minto to Morley, 30 December 1909, ibid., vol. 21, pp. 119-21.
148. Same to same, 8 July 1908, ibid., vol. 15, p. 69; 17 December 1908, ibid., vol. 17, p. 105; 21 January 1909, ibid., vol. 18, p. 17.
149. Barindrakumar Ghosh, *Barindrer Atmakahini* (1329 B.S.), op. cit., chapters IX and XI; Aurobindo Ghosh, *Karakahini*, op. cit.; Hemchandra Kanungo, *Banglaya Biplab Prachesta*, op. cit., p. 268 et seq. All quoted *supra*.
150. Minto to Morley, 14 September 1908, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 16, p. 71.
151. Same to same, 1 December 1908, ibid., vol. 17, p. 79.
152. Same to same, 17 December 1908, ibid., pp. 102-4; memo. of conversation with R. B. Ghosh, encl., ibid., pp. 111-14.
153. Same to same, 6 May 1909, ibid., vol. 19, p. 51. The forces Aurobindo had unleashed were now too strong to control. He despaired of the possibility of restraining the Government from repression and the terrorists from violence, and left politics. (*Dharma*, 4 Magh and 18 Magh, 1316 B.S.). The Government of Bengal was unhappy at his escape in the Alipur Bomb Case. "Yet it is beyond doubt", wrote Baker to Minto, "that his influence has been pernicious in the extreme. He is not a mere blind and unreasoning tool, but an active generator of revolutionary sentiment. He is imbued with a semi-religious fanaticism which is a powerful factor in attracting adherents to his cause: and I attribute the spread of seditious doctrines to him personally in a greater degree than to any other single individual in Bengal, or possibly in India." (Baker to Minto, 19 April 1910). Morley refused to believe the charge against Aurobindo, based on a newspaper article (Morley to Minto, 5 May 1910). Minto still pressed for action against Aurobindo—"one of the prime instigators in the Maniktollah murders (sic)"—with an unfortunate influence on the student class (Minto to Morley, 26 May 1910). He gave a green signal to Baker to arrest Aurobindo but, informed beforehand, the latter escaped to French Chandernagore and thence to Pondicherry (*Udbodhan*, Bhadra, 1352 B.S., pp. 230-31, contra *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and on the Mother*, pp. 95-96). Ruthless repression did not render the terrorists entirely 'leaderless' as Minto thought. New leaders, like Jatindranath Mukherjee and M. N. Roy, tried to reorganize the ranks, the former, with considerable success (Jadugopal Mukhopadhyay, op. cit.). Abroad, V. D. Savarkar was still active (*History of Freedom Movement, Bombay*, vol. II, pp. 441, 524-25, 527). See App. C.
154. Morley to Minto, 6 January 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 3b, pp. 5-6.
155. Home Pol. Progs., January-July 1910, no. 8430.
156. Minto to Morley, 9 September 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 21, pp. 23-24.
157. Morley to Minto, 20 October 1909, Minto Collection, National Library of Scotland.
158. Morley to Minto, telegrams, 27 and 31 October 1909, ibid.
159. Same to same, 14 October 1909, no. 59, 1909, ibid.
160. Minto to Morley, 21 October 1909, Eur. MSS. D. 573, vol. 21, p. 65.
161. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., p. 253.
162. Minto to Morley, telegram, 5 November 1909.
163. *Report of The Indian National Congress*, 1908, Resolution II, p. 46.

164. Ibid., p. 137; 'Hindus and Muslims', Speech at Deccan Sabha, 11 July 1909, Gokhale Papers, Poona.
165. Morley's speech in Lords, 23 February 1909, Hansard, H. L., vol. I, col. 125.
166. Asquith's speech, 1 April 1909, Hansard, H. C., vol. III, col. 500, col. 533; again, Hobhouse's speech, 26 April 1909, ibid., vol. IV, col. 5.
167. See fn. 131, *supra*.
168. *Report of The Indian National Congress*, 1909, Resolution IV, p. 47.
169. Gokhale to Wedderburn, 3 December 1909, Gokhale Papers, Poona. For Aurobindo's criticism, see *Dharma*, 6 Agrahayan, 1316 B S.
170. *Speeches of Gopal K. Gokhale*, 3rd ed. (Madras, 1920), p. 983. Poor Gokhale hoped to gain through non-official majority a "preventive control" over provincial legislation! Ibid., pp. 717-18.
171. Morley to Minto, telegram, 11 May, 1909.
172. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., p. 255.
173. *Speeches of Gopal K. Gokhale*, op. cit , pp. 717-18.
174. Ibid., pp. 317-18.
175. Ibid., pp. 320-21.
176. Viscount Morley, *Indian Speeches*, pp. 35-36. The reference is to Morley's Arbroath speech.
177. Surendranath Banerjee, op. cit., p. 277.
178. R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem*, 1833-1935, p. 44.
179. *New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XII, p. 215.

APPENDIX A

VALUE OF IMPORTS OF PRIVATE MERCHANDISE FROM U. K. INTO BRITISH INDIA BY SEA

Year	Value (£)
1906-07	48,198,645
1907-08	57,772,091
1908-09	50,731,542
1909-10	48,890,579
1910-11	52,724,948

*VALUE OF DIFFERENT ITEMS OF IMPORT FROM U.K. (£)

Year	Cotton manufacture, twist and yarn (1)	Woollens (2)	Iron (3)	Steel (4)	Copper (5)
1906-07	25,575,455	866,696	2,390,911	1,170,735	592 880
1907-08	30,066,192	1,139,052	2,644,132	1,482,847	962,424
1908-09	23,366,190	1,049,028	216,600	255,187	1,156,580
1909-10	24,198,576	901,965	187,562	193,782	999,667
1910-11	27,443,965	1,273,711	161,832	238,502	1,391,585

Year	Machinery & Millwork (6)	Hardware (7)	Apparel (8)	Provisions (9)
1906-07	3,777,617	1.054,507	239,472	651,537
1907-08	4,209,807	1,218,013	258,034	706,850
1908-09	4,214,085	1,188,741	270.396	730,741
1909-10	3,259,153	1,079,339	281,547	759,716
1910-11	2,894,799	1,156,876	338,768	823,810

*The spectacular fall in import of iron from U. K. since 1908 is due to stiff competition from Belgium and of steel since 1908 is due to same from Belgium and Germany.

QUANTITY OF IMPORTS OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF PRIVATE MERCHANDISE FROM U. K.

Article	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11
Cotton twist & yarn (lb.)	37,673,288	37,315,737	41,524,055	40,300,460	32,503,657
Piece goods (yds.)	2,319,630,659	2,534,055,795	1,994,211,223	2,194,734,136	2,310,565,751
Iron & steel (tons)	523,726	617,088	610,986	602,283	642,751
Copper (cwt.)	209,437	312,475	492,350	503,120	728,400
Salt (tons)	467,949	558.684	588,887	498,448	480,777
Sugar (cwt.)	11,104,188	11.179,940	12,078,384	12,609,683	14,782,376
Woollens (yds.)	15.322,617	19,680,790	19,788,721	15.849,751	24,319,524

DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORT TRADE AMONG PRINCIPAL PORTS (£)

Calcutta	28,003,970	35,085,917	24,491,484	31,081,033	32,360,483
Bombay	25,369,752	29,870,068	26,939,843	26,349,752	31,560,832
Madras	5,090,096	5,739,629	6,454,544	4,953.692	5,696,958

From Statistical Abstracts relating to British India from 1906-07 to 1915-16, No. 51 (1918), C. 9132.

APPENDIX B

AVERAGE ANNUAL RETAIL PRICES CURRENT OF COMMON RICE IN BENGAL (Rs. per md.)

Year	Buckergunj	Calcutta	Chittagong	Dacca	Dinajpur	Midnapur	Murshidabad	Rangpur
1905	3.192	4.706	3.281	3.132	2.963	2.755	3.077	3.271
1906	5.115	5.070	4.376	4.932	4.662	4.061	4.440	5.249
1907	5.882	6.098	4.566	4.957	5.148	4.790	5.442	5.874
1908	5.175	6.309	4.768	4.872	5.319	5.479	5.908	6.070
1909	4.420	5.155	3.933	4.215	4.479	3.763	4.510	5.602
1910	3.850	4.890	3.524	3.770	3.019	3.190	3.320	3.992

AVERAGE ANNUAL RETAIL PRICES CURRENT OF WHEAT (Rs. per md.)

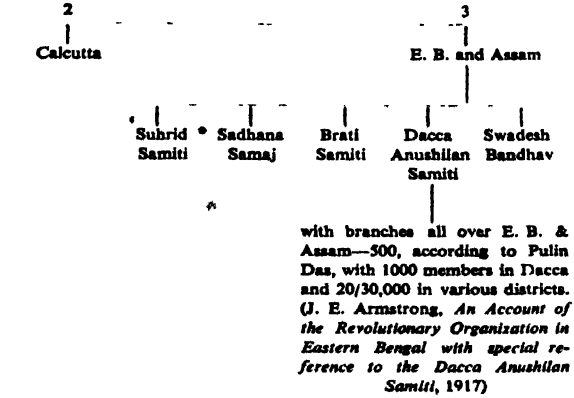
Year	Amritsar	Rawal-pindi	Delhi	Bombay	Ahmad-nagar	Nagpur
1905	2.551	2.549	3.089	4.802	2.930	2.730
1906	2.569	2.717	3.167	4.237	3.945	3.276
1907	2.807	2.772	3.568	4.260	4.237	3.342
1908	4.218	4.479	4.831	6.079	5.122	4.884
1909	3.880	4.077	4.278	5.814	4.440	4.197
1910	2.987	3.177	3.413	5.882	4.242	3.347

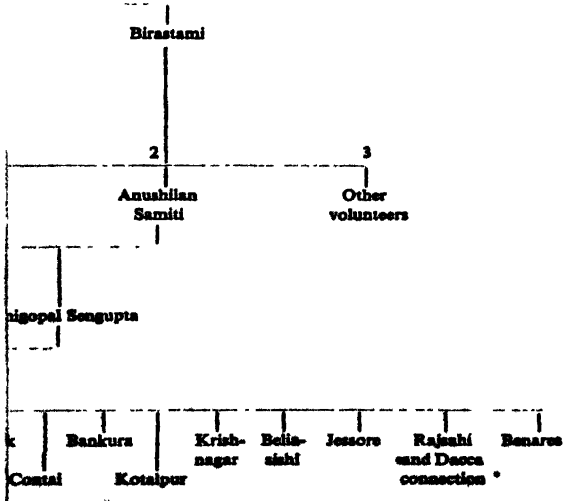
VARIATIONS IN THE AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS AT SELECTED CENTRES. 1873=100

Year	Rice	Wheat	Gram	Jawar	Bajra
1905	169	139	131	137	146
1906	213	159	169	173	174
1907	238	165	171	162	151
1908	256	225	252	219	208
1909	222	201	185	176	168
1910	197	169	139	159	159

From Statistical Abstracts relating to British India from 1906-07 to 1915-16, No. 51 (1918), C. 9132.

evi, Okakura—
i, Calcutta

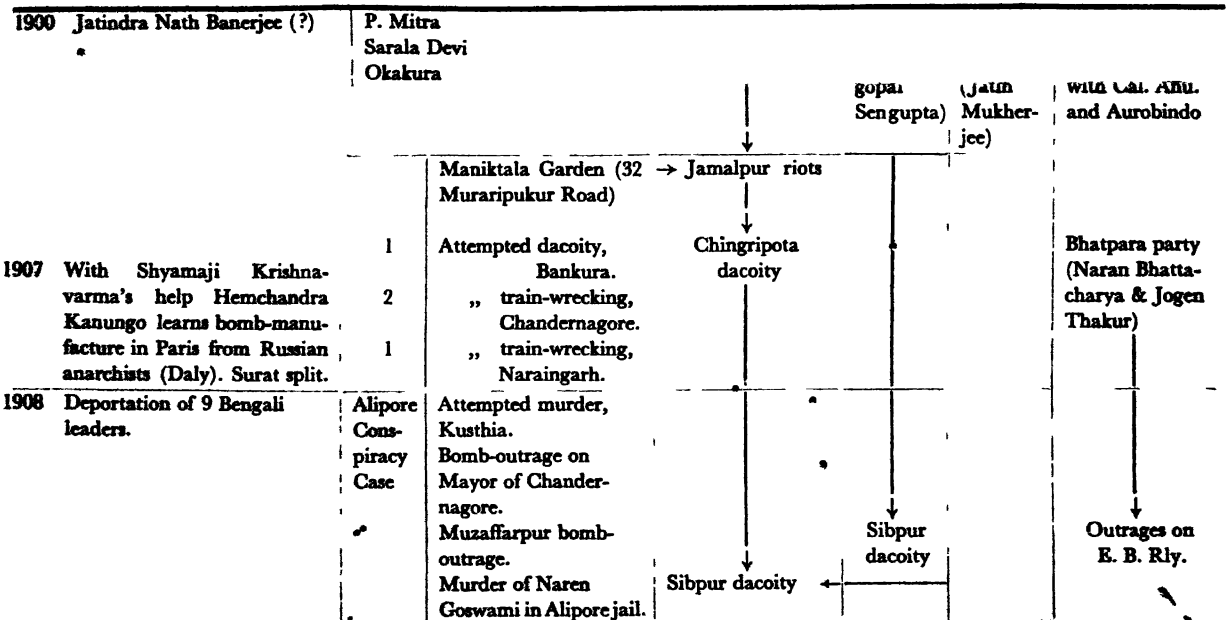




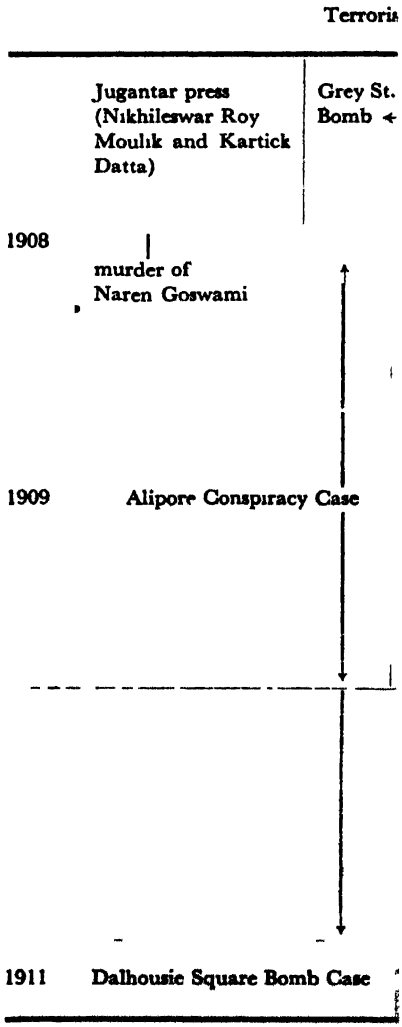
n J. C. Nixon, I.C.S., *An Account of the Revolutionary Organization in*

CHART II

Interconnections of terrorist societies and terrorist activities in Western Bengal up to 1908



After J. C. Nixon, I.C.S., *An Account of the Revolutionary Organization in Bengal other than the Dacca Anusilan Samiti*, Cal., 1917, p. 12. See next chart for remnants of Jugantar, Howrah & Bhowanipore parties.



After J. C. Nixon, ibid., p. 30.

CHART IV

Samitis in E. B. & Assam and their activities

1900	Founded as a benevolent institution for physical culture.					
1904	Suhrid Samiti (Mymensingh)		Pulin learns lathi and sword play at Sarala Devi's akhara from Prof. Murtaza.			
1905	Visited by Sarala Devi	Bhakta Sampradaya	Dacca Anushilan Samiti —founded on 3 Nov. 1905? Connected with Calcutta Anushilan, inspired by Aurobindo. Leader—Pulin Das. Site of hq.—50 Wari, Dacca, later—'Bajrapuri', 452 South Maisundi (Armstrong).	Swadesh Bandhav (Barisal) — President Aswini Kumar Datta		Brati Samiti (Faridpur)
1906	Visited by Aurobindo, Subodh Mallik, B. C. Pal. Leader—Kedar Nath Chakrabarti		Founded in Sept. 1906 when Aurobindo and B. C. Pal visit Dacca (Bird)? Arms procured from Satish Bose or Jugantar group with 37 others in Dacca Conspiracy Case.	→ Narendra Ghosh Chaudhuri infuses violence Sub-centres at Comilla. Sylhet.	→ Sevak Samiti (Tipperah)	

After J. C. Nixon, ibid., J. E. Armstrong, *An Account of the Revolutionary Organizations in Eastern Bengal with special reference to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti*, 24 April 1917, and L. N. Bird, *History of the Political Agitation and Bhadralog Crime in the City of Dacca from 1905 to 1913 (inclusive)*.

A table on terrorist outrages in Bengal

Year	Attempted dacoity	Rioting	Murder	attempted murder	Stabbing	Robbery	Dacoity	Train-wrecking	Attempted train-wrecking	Misc. bomb outrages	Bomb explosion	Theft of arms
1906	2											
1907	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	—	3	—	—	—
1908	5	—	6	3	—	—	11 (including 1 with murder and 1 with arson)	—	—	5	1	1
1909	6	—	6	—	—	1 (+1 attempted robbery)	12 (including 1 train-dacoity and 2 with arson)	—	—	2	—	1
1910	1	—	1	1	—	—	8 (including 1 with murder)	—	—	—	—	1

From Index to Notes on Outrages Compiled in 1917 by Mr. J. C. Nixon, I.C.S., Vol. IX.

A Table on Bhadralog Crime in Bengal

The following information has been obtained from *Bhadralog Crime Directory* (complied up to and including 1915).

District	No. of bhadralog criminals	Profession	Rough amount of annual income Rs.
Buckerganj	55	Vakil with landed property	8000
		Doctor ,,	1000
		Petty talukdars	800-200
		Tahsildar with joint property	10,000
		Tahsildar of talukdars	240-180
		Custom office clerk	480
		Teacher of National School	1,200
		Teacher dependent on rich father	—
		Village doctor	—
		Shop-keeper	—
		Jatra party-owner	600
		Students dependent on father, brother, etc.	—
Calcutta (information of situation after 1910)	21	Mostly students, those of M.Sc. classes being conspicuous.	
Chittagong	9	Clerk	360
		Private tutor	240
		Teacher	360
Dacca	305	Talukdar with jute business, mica-mines etc.	6000-4000
		Muktear	6000
		Doctor	5000
		Talukdars with agencies of Insurance Co., pensions, teaching job, job in R.S.N. Co.	4000-1200
		Petty talukdars	900-500
		Pettier ,,	200-80
		Asst. manager, teagarden	—
		Timber and jute merchant	—
		Money-lender and cocoanut dealer	—

District	No. of bhadralog criminals	Profession	Rough amount of annual income Rs.
		Contractor	—
		Teachers	600-300
		Clerk, Judge's Court	600
		Clerk, S.N. Co./peshkar	360
		Jute office, tea garden, bank-clerks, amins, tolly-clerks, tehsildars	240-180
		Zemindar's clerks	300-120
		Homoeopaths and Kavirajes	200
		Priests	—
		Students dependent on affluent fathers or brothers (like Govt. pleader, mahajan or tea-planter)	—
		Students dependent on poor fathers or brothers (like teachers, post-masters, muktears, sub-overseers, etc.)	—
Dinajpur	4		
Faridpur	103	Zemindar	8,000
		Doctor	—
		Jotedars	—
		Pleader with landed property	—
		Teachers	480-180
		Primary school teacher	72
		Shop-keeper	—
		Mohurrer	—
		Steamer clerks, employees of E.B.R., etc.	180
		Tahsildar	120
		Muktear	—
		Kaviraj	—
		Poor and dependent students	—
		Priests	—
Hooghly	16		
Howrah	25		

District	No. of bhadralog criminals	Profession	Rough amount of annual income Rs.
Jessore	34	Homœopaths	—
		Teachers	—
		Clerks	240
		Employees in piecegoods firms.	—
		Rly. contractor	—
		Kaviraj	—
		Vakil of Cal. High Court	—
Khulna	32	Petty land owners	—
		Teachers	—
Malda	12	Zemindars	10,000-6000
		Teachers	—
		Students dependent on fathers or brothers with lands or mango-groves	—
Mymensingh	76	Zemindars	20,000-4000
		Medium talukdars	6000-2500
		Petty talukdars	800
		Petty talukdars with some job	1200-1000
		Zemindar's clerks	—
		Teachers	—
		Doctor	—
Nadia	58	Petty talukdars with jobs or money-lending business	—
		Compounder	—
		Cultivator	—
Noakhali	16	Teacher	—
		Cloth merchant	—
Pabna	23	Vakil	—
		Muktear with land	—
		Pleader	—
		Bank-clerks	—
		Teachers	—
		Dependent students	—
Rajshahi	6	Zemindar and money-lender	—
		Clerks	—
		Teacher	—

District	No of bhadralog criminals	Profession	Rough amount of annual income Rs.
Rangpur	23	Jotedars	—
		Muktear	—
		Zemindar's clerks and other clerks	—
		Compounder	—
		Dependent students	—
Tippera	32	Zemindar	10,000
		Petty talukdars	700-600
		Pleader	150
		Doctor	
		Gurugiri & property	1600
		Zemindar-merchant	—
		Talukdar-pressowner	—
		Teachers	—
		Zemindar's clerks	—
24 Parganas	42	Clerks	800-240
		Overseer	—
		Ticket-collector	—
		Shop-keeper	—
		Doctors & homoeopaths	—
		Teacher & vegetable gardening	680
		Compounder	—

APPENDIX D

Translation of the Bengali passages quoted in the text

P. 6. "Hara Hara Bom Bom! Worship material wealth. The English sages with copper-coloured beards are the priests of this cult. One has to chant its prayers from Adam Smith's *purana* and Mill's *tantra*. Education and energy are offered at its altar and feeling is the sacrificial goat. The consequence of this worship is eternal damnation here and hereafter."

Pp. 6-7. "And if any widow, be she a Hindu or of any other faith, wishes to remarry after her husband's death, she is certainly entitled to do so... If eternal widowhood of a widow be good for the society, why do not you prescribe eternal widowerhood on a person who has lost his wife?"

P. 7. "And is there no ignominy when you confine your wife and your daughter like beasts in a menagerie? Or no shame?"

P. 11. "This religion is very pure but all the same it is incomplete."

P. 12. "There is no deity but God in Hindu religion."

P. 42, fn. 39. "I regard my native land as my own mother, I adore her, I worship her. What does the son do when an ogre sits on the mother's breast, ready to drink her life blood? Does he quietly sit down to his meal....or rush to rescue his mother?"

P. 44, fn. 71. "I do not regard any religion to be created by God or revealed by God."

P. 112. "Boycott is not the effort of the weak, it is his pique. Fortunately for us, boycott is not the heart of the Swadeshi movement which has spread so widely. A quarrel with Curzon can never be the cause of the great response the country has made to the call for Swadeshi enterprise; Curzon is not so big a person in this world; the call has received such a momentous welcome because it has aroused the good sense of the country."

P. 113. "We should have known it in full certitude that whenever we wanted to do anything ignoring the reality of the differences between Hindus and Moslems of our country, the reality would not ignore us. It will not do to delude ourselves in thinking that there was no evil in Hindu-Moslem relations and that the British have set the Moslems against us."

P. 113. "Our society is stratified into high and low; the person who is placed a little bit above expects unlimited submission from those below. To the gentleman 'the peasant chap' is almost outside the pale of humanity... We learn to be despots to subordinates, jealous of equals and slaves to superiors."

P. 113. "The shock of destruction awakens and enlivens the life-force and the creative power of those who feel in themselves the vital presence of an inherent inclination to build and bind. Chaos is glorious only because it excites creation with a new force. Otherwise, destruction pure and simple, revolution without any discrimination, can never be beneficial."

P. 117. "The devil cannot enter unless he finds a hole to enter through; so we should be more cautious about the hole than about the devil. The enemy will exert his force wherever there is sin within us."

P. 131. "On the shoulders of each (of us) rode a ghost of Siva, the destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice. All were fired with an iconoclastic zeal, crazy for the new, drunk with the freshly tasted wine of power."

P. 150, fn. 12. "Now it is Manchester which is the king, Birmingham which is the king, the indigo-planter who is the king, the tea-planter who is the king, the chamber of commerce which is the king..."

P. 154, fn. 69. "If both the Moderates and the Extremists did not regard the capture of the Congress as work for the nation, if they continued to establish themselves in the field of real work, if they always employed their energy in various ways and with a concentrated devotion in removing the want of education, health and food in the country, and if they realised in a direct manner the soul and the strength of the country in full cooperation with their countrymen in general, then they would not have been madly trying to capture the stage of the Congress association. A defeat in the Congress does not imply defeat in the country..."

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INDEX

CORRIGENDA

Page 88, line 40, for *Hindu Patriot*, read *Hindoo Patriot*.

,, 101, line 32, for Macdonald, read MacDonald.

,, 130, line 23, for Poona, read Nagpur.