

colleges, to western science than to western literature, more attention to our past history, to our religious and secular literature, to our national habits than to those of other countries. It will be in complete sympathy with and a faithful reflection of the inner spirit of the people, their thoughts and aspirations. It will respect, revive, and cultivate our arts and industries, our literature, our music, our sports, and pastimes. It will inculcate habits of simplicity, greatness, reverence, and charity. It will inspire the minds of our youths with reverence for our ancient and immortal sages and for their teachings. It will expound the divinity of our Mother and the hallowed land of our Rishis and Munis, the first preceptors of mankind, and instil a feeling of the profoundest reverence for her person and name and a filial gratitude for her unspeakable suffering and sacrifice for her multitudinous children and for the tenderness with which she has nursed them on her vast bosom during centuries of trouble and turmoil. Such is national education as I understand it. It is impossible that we can receive such education from foreigners. In their hands it has made us a nation of quill-drivers and coolies. Our educated classes have added neither to the wealth of the country, nor to the moral strength of the nation. We have reason to feel ashamed of some of our educated countrymen in official service. They are corrupt, cowardly, and unfaithful to the mother that gave them birth. They have sold their soul for a mess of pottage. They deliberately injure their country and bring trouble to their brothers simply that they may be in the good graces of their official superiors...To perpetuate such a state is the inner meaning of the policy of the present system of education."

23. *INNER SIGNIFICANCE OF HINDU
NATIONALISM.*

During the troubled years from 1905 to 1910, India

passed through a great phase of her history. She experienced one of those storms which every nation, as it passes from childhood to adolescence, experiences. These were the birth-pangs of the new movement. These outward symptoms—the Partition of Bengal, the deportation of leaders, the resignation of a Lieutenant-General, the use of bombs and revolvers, press prosecution and the Reforms of 1909—belong to this period called the period of “Indian unrest.”

A movement like this is not to be judged by concrete results. Nor is it to be laughed out as the outcome of a few maniacs. There were some very great men behind it; and the work which they have done has left a permanent mark on the nation's history. They have generated those forces which make for the re-birth of this nation. They were the path-breakers; they partly led; but they were partly carried away by the storm; and want of experience betrayed them into some fatal mistakes. All their reasonings may not have stood the test of time. But the great ideas upon which they built have permanently become the foundation-stones of the revised Indian nationality of to-day and to-morrow.

What is their greatest contribution to the cause of Indian culture and progress? They revived and emphasised this great idea that India is a single country, that she has a great and glorious past, that her present and future culture can only grow on the basis of that great past, that the Indian nationality is not a body of heterogeneous atoms brought together to some extent for the first time and given some element of culture for the first time by the British people; that the Indian nationality is there from times immemorial and it will assert itself only in its own way in this modern world and once more proceed to develop itself on lines peculiar to its genius, marked out by its history, by its environment, and by its past culture.

The examination of the concept of nationality in its application to the peculiar problems of India and its precise meaning is a task bequeathed to us by this movement. That Hindu nationalism is a distinct and characteristic phenomenon from the Muslim nationalism and that Indian nationalism is equally destined to be a characteristic and independent phenomenon from English imperialism—these are the lessons of the whole movement. The Indian nation constitutes or ought to constitute an end in itself. It cannot be treated as a mere means to an end external to itself, viz. the life of the British Empire. Such is the claim of this movement. This claim is addressed both to the imperial Britain and to the vast multitudes of India. The claim to an autonomous existence will be justified only if there is something more in the cry of separation than the mere desire of a few restless patriots to get rid of the domination which does not suit them. The Swaraj is not so much a right or a claim as a duty. Swaraj is Swadharma. It is a duty to realise ourselves to the full measure of our capacity in the wider interests of the culture and civilisation of the world. “We feel that loyalty for us consists in loyalty to the ideal of an Indian nation, politically, economically, and intellectually free, that is, we believe in India for the Indians; but if we do so, it is not merely because we want our own India for ourselves, but because we believe that every nation has its own part to play in the long tale of human progress, and that nations, which are not free to develop their own individuality and own character, are also unable to make the contribution to the sum of human culture which the world has a right to expect from them.” *Bande mataram!*