

Hindu awakening in the Maharashtra and elsewhere. It was the same partiality for efficiency, the same tradition of strong personal rule, the same disregard for popular opinions which Lord Curzon displayed, that brought another famous national awakening in India. It is thus that history repeats itself: and the autocrats prove virtually, in spite of themselves, the founders of the great movements of their times. Lord Curzon will no doubt go down to posterity as the maker of the Indian nation.

5. *GROWTH OF AN ANTI-BRITISH FEELING.*

The Partition of Bengal was only a signal for the national outburst: there was in preparation for a long time a movement in the minds of men which made them more and more discontented with things as they were. There was a certain disloyalty, a certain type of sedition, a kind of political and economic unrest, long before the Congress was born—a feeling which from time to time found expression in the Vernacular Press. Sir Richard Temple wrote in his Administrative Reports of the leanings of the Vernacular Press towards “political observations of an evil tendency, of the increasing disposition to complain of everything that exists,” and he wrote after his retirement: “this uneasiness and restlessness all the more irksome as arising from no definable cause, and not being susceptible of any specific remedy—found vent in the Vernacular Press. Of these utterances, some were certainly disloyal, or even worse, while others were merely captious, peevish, fractious, petulant.” That there always was a certain amount of extremism there, is clear from a remark made by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of January 23, 1875, in an article tending to justify the attempt to poison Col. Phayre at Baroda, “Surely to poison...an obscure Colonel is by far a lighter crime than to emasculate a nation, that the government may rule without trouble!”

This political and economic unrest is the result of foreign domination. This foreign domination always creates a gulf between the rulers and the ruled. This gulf is widened by the gratuitous display of racial and official arrogance on the part of at least some members of the ruling caste towards the 'natives'. And the natives of Hindusthan—both Hindus and Mahommedans—have their pride of race, consciousness of a distinctive culture and an aristocratic tradition. It is so difficult for them to swallow all at once the display of racial insolence by the members of the white community in India. Sir Theodore Morison writes with reference to this spirit of caste arrogance: "Englishmen of the baser sort say with considerable logical consistency 'Let Government take up a courageous attitude. We are the dominant race and intend to remain so. All the privileges of conquest should be reserved for us.' These are the men who will not allow a native to carry an umbrella over his head in their presence, and insist that every native shall salaam to them, though such men have rarely the courtesy to acknowledge the salute. A case acquired a certain notoriety of late, and is said to have gone up to the Secretary of State in which an Englishman thrashed an old native school-master, not because he had neglected to salute him, but because the salaam was not performed with that inclination from the vertical which the Englishman thought was due to the dominant caste."

A second important cause is the failure of the bureaucracy in India and the British democracy at home, to respond to the needs of the occasion at the right moment, in the right way. The British Government has been always slow, halting, cautious, and intensely conservative. There has been all along a failure of statesmanship—a want of real grasp of the situation and a disposition to meet it. The British Government has never been able to advance beyond its stereotyped methods of administration; and is never tired of repeating the same old age-long formulæ from

generation to generation as regards the eternal necessity for the maintenance of law and order. To the British bureaucrat, the Indian people is born to be an eternal baby—a case of perpetual infantilism—of arrested development. There can be no progress, no growth in this people. Marks of progress are condemned often as rank sedition, unrest, poisonous discontent, and so on. As Bernard Houghton puts it, “To deprive a people by conquest of its political independence is an evil, for it wounds its self-respect and enfeebles its vitality: but it is an evil which material prosperity may to some extent counterbalance. But to maintain them after conquest in a state of perpetual tutelage, to treat them as children who shall have no will of their own, whose chief glory shall lie in servile obedience to commands—that is more than a wrong: it is a sin against humanity..... For, the stultification of national and personal ideals which results from a despotic system is nothing short of bedwarfing inspiration in a nation’s manhood. Nations advance; a people becomes great not through docility and submission, but by the full play of aspiration and thought, liberty to advance along all lines of legitimate progress, in a self-respecting independence of spirit. That is the very anti-thesis of the bureaucratic ideal. Efficiency of the machine, not the living organic growth of a people; progress, if such there be, on the initiative of the Government, not progress on the initiative of the people, such are its watch-words.” The Nationalist movement of Tilak is nothing but the protest of the nation against the theory of perpetual tutelage.

The consequence was a complete loss of faith on the part of the more realistic Indian politicians in the faith and professions of the British Government. The Extremists were merely the children of the Moderates; they had learnt all their lessons at the feet of the Moderates; they were a little more logical and drew conclusions from the premisses

laid down by the Moderates. This is the real difference between them. The fundamental assumptions upon which the Moderate party had based its faith in its ideal and in the method of its attainment, seemed to be falsified more and more by events: what then was more natural than to ask for a radical revision of these, and of the whole creed in the light of experience? Even the *Bengalee*, a leading journal of the Liberals, wrote, "We have come to the conclusion and even sceptics have been converted to the view that the principles of Liberalism are not meant for India, and that to us it is immaterial whether Liberals or Conservatives are in power. There is but one party which governs India—in which all distinctions between Liberals and Conservatives and Unionists are merged—it is the party of reaction, the party of prestige and of "settled facts"—the party which will not reconsider a mistake, admitted as such, on the ground that it is a settled fact, and which will not hesitate to set at naught the elementary principles of justice and in the name of State emergency, to trample under foot one of the most sacred of personal rights, the right of the subject to be heard before he is condemned. The disillusionment has come. We have to recast our estimate of English politicians and of English public men. The shock is great. It cannot fail to breed an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion, and create misgivings in the public mind even with regard to the measures of Government initiated with the best of motives. To-day we stand in the unhappy position of having lost all faith in both the political parties in England. If Mr. Morley can act so, what may we not expect of others, of men who have never cared for principles in politics, and who have made office the aim of their ambition? This is the one sentiment which is now uppermost in our minds. It is a great wrench when old-standing and long-cherished ideals are torn from their roots and cast aside as images of clay. But to-day this is the mental attitude of the educated class throughout India."

The bolder front assumed by the new leaders was partly a result of the development from within and partly of the wider movements in Europe and particularly Asia and Africa. European nationalism became more pronounced at the end of the nineteenth century: but the whole course of European history, since the time of the Reformation, was an object of keen interest to the Indian nationalists. The rise of the national movement since the Reformation, the great effort of the American colonies to be free from the domination of Great Britain and the Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution and the consequent re-construction of Europe, the slow and orderly movement for a better representative system in Great Britain, and more particularly the dramatic movements for unity of Germany under Bismarck and of Italy under Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi, very naturally stirred the blood of the ardent nationalist and created in him similar ambitions for his own country. The European democratic movement soon spread to Asia: and the events in Turkey, Persia, Egypt could not but move profoundly the Indian mind. The myth of an unchanging East was exploded: and the myth of an invincible West was equally exposed by the defeat of Italy at the hands of Abyssinia, and, above all, by the defeat of Russia by Japan. The emergence of Japan as a great power, which could hold its own as a military and industrial country with any of the great powers of the world, has exercised more influence on the Indian mind than any other external event. Japan was a small, obscure, and, above all, an Asiatic country. If Japan could successfully imitate Europe and beat Europe by European methods, why should India continue to cherish the legend of her intrinsic inferiority and radical incapacity? "The rise of Japan was regarded as a Divine dispensation, heralding the dawn of a new era of freedom and power for all the enslaved nations of the Orient." In the Congress, Surendranath Bannerjee said in 1902, "Our pupils have out-distanced us: and here we are,

hesitating, doubting, calculating, casting up moral results to satisfy ourselves that our gains have been commensurable to our sacrifices. Such indeed has not been the royal road to political enfranchisement. The triumphs of liberty have not thus been won. Japan is an object lesson which thrusts itself upon the view. Read her history : note her wonderful self-sacrifice, her marvellous power of adaptation, her patience, her fortitude, her indomitable energy and persistency, and let the most ancient of Eastern nations derive inspiration and guidance from the youngest, which has solved the riddle of Asiatic life, and has harmonised the conservatism of the East with the progressive forces of the West."

6. *THE SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE.*

There had been growing within the Congress slowly but surely a tradition, somewhat different from the usual tradition of the Liberals to look to Britain as a friend, and even saviour. This tradition was trying to divert the Indian mind from this policy of dependence upon the Empire to a new policy of self-help and self-reliance. This is the very essence of new nationalism. The report of the third Congress says: "Words are not enough. You must be up and doing." Dadabhai Naoroji said in the ninth Congress: " We must show that we believe in the justice of the cause by our earnestness and self-sacrifice: otherwise we can never succeed with the British people by mere declamations." Mr. Alfred Webb, as the President of the tenth Congress said: "Let it be your individual care to carry back from these Congresses into everyday life and everyday occupations, true elevation of mind, belief in your future, and your power to mould your future. This future depends more upon yourselves than upon any political or financial changes." Another speaker said: " You will achieve the real good, if you win the people for yourselves as others have