

pathetic with the people. The government is strictly autocratic. The masses of the people have nothing to do with it except to obey its mandates. In Civil Service there are only 65 Hindus employed as compared with 1200 Englishmen, or slightly more than 5 per cent. In fact the policy of the government is to prevent the idea of self-government arising among the people.

The United States came into the possession of the Philippine Islands and after some fifteen years of occupation sixty per cent of the Filipinos are educated according to the most improved methods. The product of their work formed one of the most superior educational exhibits at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Congress has definitely adopted a program which will lead in a few years to complete self-government in the Philippines. Industry there is being reconstructed according to most modern methods, and the Filipinos are looking forward to a career of prosperity and freedom.

On the other hand, after one hundred and fifty years of opportunity England has done nothing for India, and the land lies desolate in poverty and ignorance. During the past fifty years the Hindus have begged England to change her policy and begin to do something for India's benefit. Since the only response is the same old policy of pretense and suppression, they are at last rising in revolt. No promises of reform will be of any avail; the fire of liberty is spreading and sooner or later the country will be free.

## THE NEW NATIONALISM IN INDIA.

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY.

### I.

THE present revolutionary activities for the establishment of a republic in Ireland and the subsequent execution of its leaders including Sir Roger Casement has naturally made many think of the outlook in India, for the case of India is somewhat analogous to that of Ireland. India may be called the Ireland of Asia, and Ireland the India of Europe. The history of these two countries unfolds a parallel story of past prosperity and present poverty and helplessness. Both were conquered by blood and iron, and it is mortifyingly true that both Erin and India are kept under foreign domination primarily by disunion among the factious classes and

creeds that are not far-sighted enough to merge their minor differences for the larger interests of the respective countries.

But it is a healthy sign of the times that the New Nationalists of both these countries have learned to subordinate their provincial or creedal interests to that of the country as a whole. The self-denying devotion of the patriots of Ireland was most emphatically proven in the past revolution. These martyrs have indeed "raised Ireland to a tragic dignity," to use the words of John Quinn. Those that are acquainted with the current affairs in India cannot conveniently deny that that country, too, is animated with an unrest which increases, as days pass by, in intensity and extensiveness. The present fad in England and America to attribute the spirit of unrest in India to German agitation is certainly an insult to the intelligence of the people of India. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, on his return from a trip to India, thus wrote in the pages of *The Nineteenth Century and After* for August, 1906: "To the Briton, his master, the Indian is naturally reserved; to the American he is drawn by sympathetic bonds. That there is a strong and growing desire on the part of the educated Indians ultimately to govern their own country goes without saying. They would not be educated if the aspiration did not arise within them. Education makes rebels against invaders. Material benefits conferred by them, however great, count for little against the spirit of national independence. . . . The problem is internal, not external. It is within, not without India that the wolf lurks."

When Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India he wrote as follows in the same magazine for February, 1911: "All will agree, that whatever the proportions, depth and vitality of unrest (in India) it is in spirit near enough downright revolt to deserve attention."

Five months before the present European war began, Mr. Shaw Desmond wrote thus in the *London Magazine* for March, 1914: "England may some day have a terrible reckoning for her 'official versions.' The thousands in these islands who have relatives and friends in India may have to pay in blood and tears for them. The horrors of the Indian Mutiny may again be written scarlet across the history of India. . . . India is the powder magazine of the world, into which a spark at any moment may be thrown, followed by such an explosion as will reverberate around the globe. If English officialdom has any imagination, it will tackle the problem of India ere it be too late."

With all the alarming statements of Lord Morley, Shaw Des-

mond and numerous other English writers and statesmen we know that an organized armed revolt is an extremely difficult thing in a country that has been forcibly disarmed ever since the Sepoy war of 1857. And the constructive thinkers of India know that their motherland did not come to the present predicament in a day, and that the situation, however humiliating, cannot be relieved over night. The task of nation-building is slow and difficult in India or America, China or Persia, Ireland or Russia. But after all, the slow and secret work of the New Nationalists of India has begun to bear fruit. India may not be freed in a year or two, but it is a fact nevertheless that the spirit of New Nationalism in India may be oppressed, but can never be suppressed. When the spirit that animates the educated permeates the masses, as it is doing, the Hindusthanees will speak with an irresistible voice and will act to shatter the chains that fetter the motherland.

Signs are in evidence that men, women and children of all walks of life are being inoculated with the virus of New Nationalism. *Bandematarām* (Hail, Motherland!) is the slogan of India to-day. This rallying cry inspires and encourages the patriots of India under most trying conditions. But this little word is just as obnoxious to English ears as the Lord's Prayer is to those of Satan. The peaceful Hindus are assuming an aggressive attitude. The young men who ordinarily would feel qualms of conscience to hurt an insect are killing oppressive British officials and are most cheerfully hanging from the gallows with the word *Bandematarām* on their lips. Young men of respectable families are organizing themselves into parties to rob the rich men's hoarded treasures to gather funds for revolutionary activities. These bands of political dacoits are doing most daring deeds for their purpose in automobiles, boats or on foot. The Calcutta police have built drop gates in the main thoroughfares of the city to make the capture of the automobile dacoities easy, and yet these daring young revolutionists elude the special guards. This leads many people to think that a great many in the police department are working for the revolutionist propaganda.

Not long ago one such party invaded, in masks, the home of a rich man. The men of the family resisted, so they were confined in a room at the point of the pistol. In reply to inquiries about the key of the safe the young men were told that it was with the lady of the house. So the young men went to the lady of the house for the key. The lady hesitated, and one of the young men in the party said: "Mother, we are here to-night to gather money for the

liberation of our great motherland. It is just as much your work as ours. We keep accounts of everything we take from our people, and in that day of great adjustment you will get back a thousandfold what we take to-night." The lady smilingly blessed the party and cheerfully gave up the key and said: "My son, take all we have for the noble cause you represent, and tell us if we can do anything more." The young men, one by one, touched the feet of this noble patriotic woman in reverence and soon departed with a big booty of cash and jewels.

Political dacoities on land and water are the order of the day. Dozens of cases are reported every week. Assassinations of oppressive officers are quite common. Conspiracies with widespread ramifications to overthrow the British rule in India are not infrequent. The mutiny of the Sepoys at Singapore and the subsequent massacre of the Hindu and Mohammedan leaders, the riots of Ceylon with their bloody retribution, the massacre of the British officials in the fort of Jhansi, the open trench fighting between the revolutionists and the armed police in Orissa, the destruction of guns in the fort of Delhi are but a few instances of the growing spirit of revolt in India. And above all, the riotous disturbances of the Punjab were of such a serious nature that they barely escaped setting fire to the "powder magazine of the world." Even the English lieutenant-governor of the province has been constrained to make the following confession: "The crimes did create a state not only of alarm and insecurity but of terror and even panic, and if they had not been promptly checked by the firm hand of authority and the active cooperation of the people would have produced in the province, as was intended by the conspirators, a state of affairs similar to that of Hindusthan in the Mutiny—paralysis of authority, widespread terrorism and murder not only of the officers of the government, but of loyal and well-disposed subjects."

## II.

It was discontent with the British domination of India that brought about the unsuccessful Sepoy revolution of 1857. And it is discontent again that is heading that country toward another titanic struggle.

The English went to India for trade and commerce, and it was by the courtesy and the kindness of India's ruling potentates that they were able to spread their commercial interests in the beginning. They gradually gained territorial concessions. As in America, even so in India, the French were first in the ascendancy. The British

took the side of some of the princes of India, and the French of others, and in the struggle the British gained the upper hand. The princes that sold their birthright to be free for purely selfish reasons were discontented, and those that were vanquished were discontented, of course. The highhandedness of England's trade methods killed many of India's thriving industries. The country was fast going down the hill of prosperity, consequently the people became discontented. Finally the crime of British aggression as evinced in the constant annexation of the states of Indian princes brought about the Sepoy war of 1857.

It was not a mutiny of a few soldiers. It was rather an organized revolt of the people to free themselves from the growing tightness of the octopus-hold of the British. The British won the victory no doubt, but it was with the help of the renegade Hindu princes and their soldiers. But it plainly showed, however, that the British could not stay a single day in India to rule, were it not for the help of such moral invertebrates.

When peace followed the horrors of this war, the people became, through strain and despair, hungry for peace and rest. So the candid proclamation of Queen Victoria encouraged the people. She pledged before God and man: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territory by the same obligations of duty which bind us to our other subjects, and these obligations by the blessings of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." The Hindus, with their characteristic credulity, believed every word that their English rulers used to flatter their vanity with. The most dangerous of such pledges was the promise of British citizenship and training the people for self-government. The Hindu made no allowances for political expediency. He did not for a moment doubt the integrity of his rulers' intentions.

But as time went on the platitudes of Queen Victoria's historic proclamation began to show themselves in the hideously true diplomatic colors. The leaders of Indian thought slowly began to realize the abnormal state of India's political and economic relationship with England. So men like Mahadev Govind Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Woomesh Chandra Bannerjee and Balgangadhar Tilak became impatient to do some constructive work for the political salvation of India.

The Indian National Congress was the outcome of this desire, and it met for the first time in Bombay in 1885. The principal object of this institution was to present, as a political body, India's griev-



ances to the rulers of the country, and to bring India's political workers in personal contact with one another.

The Congress, year after year, passed the same resolutions to petition the government for the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, for the expansion of the imperial and provincial legislative councils and the introduction into them of elected members, simultaneous civil service examination in England and in India (even to-day the Hindusthanees has to go to England to pass an examination to enter the civil service of his own country), trial by jury, free and compulsory system of primary education, expansion of facilities for scientific and technical education, introduction of a volunteer system among the people (an ignorant and illegitimate Eurasian may serve the army as a volunteer, but not an educated Indian), curtailment of military expenditure, repeal of the Arms Act which disarmed the people after the Sepoy revolution and still keeps them in the same condition and denies them the protection from robbers and wild animals. Other kindred resolutions were passed to better the administration of the country. This goes to show how the minds of the educated Hindusthanees were being animated with the ideas of larger economic and civic liberties and juster laws.

But the congress failed to secure any concessions from the government. On the contrary, the British government labelled the congress leaders as seditionists. The government officers were barred from taking part in the congress. Though maligned in season and out of season the political workers were patient enough not to lose faith in England. They sincerely believed that India's wrongs were bound to be righted when the English people came to know of the deplorable state of affairs in India. But the greatest disillusionment came to the credulous Hindusthanees during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, that "proud peacock of imperialism." As the official representative of the Queen he had the frank hardihood publicly to declare that the Queen's proclamation was nothing more nor less than a diplomatic lie—a makeshift, and that it was beyond the bounds of practical politics to carry out the proclamation in spirit. This gave a rude shock to the Hindu mind. Skepticism took the place of faith, and hope vanished behind the veil of disappointment. Distrust followed disappointment and discontent distrust.

Lord Curzon's highhandedness as an administrator considerably added to the volume of unrest in India. With a stroke of his pen he robbed the city of Calcutta of its local self-government. By the

Universities Act he sought to check the progress of higher education in India by making it more expensive and by discouraging the study of sciences. The climax of his autocracy was reached in his arbitrary partition of the province of Bengal in two to break the solidarity of politically the most progressive province of India. The partition scheme was carried into effect on the 16th of October, 1905, in the teeth of tremendous opposition. And the day may rightly be called the birthday of the new Indian nation. It was indeed a sad day for Bengal. We went about clad in the garb of mourning, and fasted all day long. But in the sorrow of Bengal were sown the seeds of closer unity between the different provinces of India. It was on this rather auspicious day that India threw off her old apathy and saw a larger vision and entered into a life of newer activity and self-sacrifice. The New Nationalist of India was officially born on this great day.



### III

The cry of the French Revolutionist was "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," and the cry of the Hindusthanee Nationalist is *Shiksha* (education), *Swadeshi* (economic prosperity by industrial development), and *Swaraj* (unalloyed self-government).

As for *Shiksha*, it is really a bitter irony of fate that the people of Hindusthan who have contributed most sumptuously toward human culture have to beg their British overlords for the privilege of free primary schools and be denied this one of the first necessities of human society. It stands to reason that those that deliberately refuse to open the gates of learning are guilty of a more heinous crime than those that bombard undefended coast towns and kill a few men, women and children, for perpetuation of ignorance and illiteracy in the long run kills infinitely more than a few shells can do. In the second decade of the twentieth century eighty children of school age out of a hundred are growing up in India without any schooling at all. Out of one hundred men only ten know how to read or write their names, and out of a thousand women only seven are literate. In forty years' time America has educated 70 per cent of her recently freed negro slaves. In about the same time Japan has educated all but 5 per cent of her people. In about sixteen years America has dotted the Philippine Islands with free public schools and crowded the country with American teachers. About three years ago Gopal Krishna Gokhale introduced a bill in the Viceroy's legislative council for the introduction of free primary schools for India's children, but the British-Indian government that is arduously

engaged in the tremendous task of "civilizing the heathen Hindus" rejected the bill outright. And it was claimed by the official protagonists that the Hindusthanees were not fit for free education yet. Our point is that if after ruling over a country for more than a century and a half the people governed have not been made fit even for education, not to speak of liberation, then that government automatically forfeits its claim to rule over that country any longer.

But we know that there is a method in England's madness. The English authorities know that education brings in its train enlightenment, and enlightenment makes rebels against conquerors. So it is to check the growing number of Indian Nationalists that England wants and thus condemns India to ignoble illiteracy and its inevitable concomitant, delusion. This gives the British politicians a chance to say that the masses of India do not want self-government. Well, they do not refuse it either. Their negligence in demanding *Svaraj* is due to no love for their *Mlecha* rulers, but to their ignorance of the stakes at issue. The masses of India may die of famine but through sheer ignorance they blame their fate and not the economic forces that truly bring about famine, starvation and death. The masses may suffer from leprosy, but they blame their fate, and not the 1000 per cent tax on salt which is so strictly monopolized by the government that human beings and cattle are deprived from taking a sufficient amount of salt to preserve health. The masses in India may not demand self-government, but they need it more than the classes there. And in every country the enlightened speak for the masses.

That the government must emphatically discourage scientific and industrial education is most amply illustrated in its throttling policy toward the Scientific and Industrial Association—an association that used to send many students to America, Japan and Europe for scientific education—and also toward the Tata's Scientific Research Institute. Rabindranath Tagore was recently constrained to speak to an English special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in Tokyo: "The Japanese have made remarkable progress, but, given equal opportunity, India would do as well. We are not inferior intellectually to the Japanese. . . . They have been free to educate themselves and to send their young men to all the universities of the world to acquire knowledge. But every Indian feels, and every candid student of India must admit, that you have conceived it to be to your interest to keep us weak and have discouraged education. In the laboratories you dislike us to acquire science and to pursue research.



"The Tata Foundation is an illustration. Here, at last, we thought, India's opportunity had come. But the government has taken control of it and killed it, and that splendid gift is now barren and worthless. . . . It is hopeless for us to try to educate ourselves or develop ourselves. Your government in India is so perfectly organized that you can render all such striving futile. But it is bad for you as well as for us. When one nation keeps another in subjection, when its authority is so perfect and complete that it can execute its arbitrary will with effortless ease, it saps its own love of liberty, its own vigor, its own moral strength. It discovers this when it comes into conflict with a virile nation."

In spite of the open and secret opposition to the spread of education in India, the men and women of the country are undergoing all kinds of privations to be able to educate their children. Instances without number can be quoted where men have sold their properties and women their jewels to educate the young men and women of India. One woman in the city of Dacca amassed a vast fortune by selling her body, and when the country first came under the influence of the New Nationalism, she gave all her property for the furtherance of education in India. Many self-sacrificing beggars in different parts of India have most generously (of course in proportion to their means) contributed toward the funds for education. In a mass meeting in a public park of Calcutta there was an appeal for funds for educational activities. The rich gave generously, but there was a poor beggar in the audience who had nothing to give. He at last took off his threadbare coat and offered it as his contribution. That coat was at once auctioned and sold at an incredibly high price.

#### IV.

The *Swadeshi* movement is the movement for the revival of India's defunct industries and the introduction of new ones to the exigency of the day. It is a well-known fact to the student of world commerce and economics that India's fabulous wealth which attracted the cupidity of India's invaders and conquerors from beyond the seas, emanated from the flourishing condition of her industries. These industries, like those of the North American colonies and Ireland, stood in the way of England's trade expansion; hence it was necessary to "strangle" them by political power. Laws were passed in England to regulate the trade in India. Laws were of course passed to make the export of India's manufactured goods to the British Isles extremely difficult. The following schedule of

tariff on Indian goods exported to England as given in the report of the Select Committee of the East India Company reveals a shocking state of affairs:

Asafetida 233 to 622 per cent; pepper 266 to 400 per cent; sugar 94 to 393 per cent; calicoes and dimities 81 per cent; manufactured cotton 81 per cent; hair or goat's wool manufactured goods 84 per cent; lacquered ware 81 per cent; mats and mattings 84 per cent, etc., etc.

The testimony of Prof. Horace Hayman Wilson, the historian, in Mill's *History of India* is significant on this point. He says: "It was stated in evidence (1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to that period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufactures. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

The methods that the British used in India in the homes of the artisans and in the public factories are pathetic enough even to dry the heart of God. Even to-day for the crime of manufacturing cotton goods in our own mills set up with our own money and worked by our own men, we have to pay the penalty of a domestic revenue of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This is of course meant to offset the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent import duty that is charged on cotton goods of foreign manufacture. England, of course, has the lion's share in this business. The destruction of India's industries has driven the artisans to farming. And the farmers are so highly taxed that "they do not know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." "There is no more pathetic a figure in the British empire," writes Mr. Compton who is certainly not a partial friend of India, "than the Indian peasant. His masters have been

unjust to him. He is ground down until everything has been expressed except the marrow of his bones." So the farmer dies in famine by the millions.

There is a famine now in different districts of India. Home papers are full of heart-bleeding tales of suffering and death in the stricken districts. Millions of India's hard-earned dollars are being forcibly pumped out of India for England's war charges while millions of our men, women and children are starving in the country. In the last century, according to Sir William Digby, about 33,000,000 of benighted heathens in India died of famine and starvation in spite of America's most generous contributions to the famine relief funds. Certainly the horrors of India's famine can most favorably vie with the horrors of the present war. In the last nineteen years about 9,000,000 have perished of a purely poor man's disease, the bubonic plague. In malaria and other kindred diseases village after village is being wiped out of existence.

India is handicapped not only in her industrial development but in almost every department of influence and affluence. Foreign masters of capital, mostly English, monopolize the railways, the shipping, the telegraph, the land, the forests, the manufactures, the joint-stock companies, the minerals, the irrigation work, the highest and most lucrative positions in the civil and military services (out of 1318 civil servants that hold responsible positions in India only forty-six are Hindusthanees and the remaining 1272 are British). In short, India is for the most part helplessly and ruthlessly enslaved economically. Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, the present United States minister to China, writes thus in his *Political and Intellectual Currents in the Far East*: "The present situation in India illustrates some of the unfortunate results of the political dependence of a civilized people. Not only politically, but also in economic matters, India is kept in a state of dependence on the metropole. But the most helpless feature of the situation is that the men who would naturally be leaders in government and enterprise, find themselves excluded from opportunities for exercising legitimate power in their own country. Such a decapitation of an entire people is a great sacrifice to impose, even in return for the blessings of peace and an efficient policing of the country. The continuance of this policy would mean either the total destruction and degradation of Indian national life, or the end of the British Raj."

And yet, utter despair has given birth to a new hope for an industrial regeneration in India. His Highness, the Gaekwar, the progressive prince of Baroda, has rendered an invaluable service to

his motherland by constantly dinning into the ears of the leaders of India the necessity for an industrial awakening. The propaganda for the boycott of English goods in Bengal and other provinces has strengthened the hands of the *Swadeshi* workers. Millions have taken the sacred vow not to buy or use anything made in England. The boycott of English goods was inaugurated in Bengal on August 7, 1905, as a protest against the proposed partition of Bengal. Many firms that dealt in English goods went into bankruptcy, and many new firms were opened to sell exclusively the home-made goods. In this struggle not a few English magistrates and missionaries openly acted as the agents of British merchants.

Pure boycott could not supply the goods necessary for daily life. So joint-stock companies were started to manufacture the things that the country needed most. The almost defunct handloom industry thus received a tremendous impetus. The English merchants and the press were alarmed at this new spirit of industrial nationalism in India. *The Englishman* of Calcutta, that most rabid English daily, thus spoke out in wrath: "The question however is, what is the government going to do about it? Boycott must not be acquiesced in, or it will more surely ruin British connection with India than armed revolution."

Nine of the most important of *Swadeshi* workers were deported by the justice-loving British government without a trial, and were kept imprisoned for fourteen months and maltreated at pleasure. The police arrested, under concocted charges, many *Swadeshi* shopkeepers, and the British judges sentenced them to different terms of imprisonment with hard labor. But they came out of prison as national heroes and were given ovations by men, women and children of all castes and creeds.

For a time the spirit of boycott rose to such a pitch that priests, barbers, washermen and even cobblers refused to do any work for the people that used English goods. Women broke their glass *churis* and burned their *bilati saris*. Children gave up eating ice cream made with foreign sugar, and the students gave up playing football, for footballs were manufactured in England. *Biri* took the place of cigarettes; and the pickpockets and the hooligans of Calcutta found work in manufacturing various kinds of goods, and so became conspicuous by their absence.

The *Swadeshi* spirit has given an impetus to cottage industries in India. Our best thinkers wish to avoid the horrors of the western factory system by making cottage industries profitable, and they can be made profitable only with the help of science. Hence the

great cry for scientific education which is most systematically denied the people for obvious reasons. The present European war however is substantially helping the development of our industries.

The *Swadeshi* has come to stay, and it means work for the unemployed, food for the hungry, and a home for the homeless. In other words, the first decade of the twentieth century saw the birth of an economic movement in India, and it is destined to play a prominent part in the politics of the world.

V.

The cry for *Swaraj*, self-government, is the crux of the entire situation in India. Politics is to society what air is to the human body. Politics surrounds us on all sides. Education, sanitation, commerce and industry, food, shelter and transportation, even birth, marriage and death are most vitally affected and controlled by politics, either for good or for evil. A society is prosperous or poor in proportion as its political conditions are good or bad. The New Nationalist of India finds that where the British government frowns at education he cannot open schools for the education of his children. And when it is against the interests of the alien rulers, it is extremely difficult to do anything for the economic development of the country. And again, when he finds that in the making of laws that raise taxes, disburse finances and shape the destiny of the country, it is the British overlords from beyond the seas, overlords that have been rightly called by Edmund Burke "birds of passage and of prey," that have the controlling power, he naturally cries out for a government in India that shall be a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and not a government, as it is to-day, of India, by the British and for the British.

It is for this that the cry of *Swaraj* is heard on all sides. Militancy has become the dominant note of the erstwhile dormant India. The words of the Bhagavat Gita where Krishna urges Arjuna to righteous war are heard from the lips of young men and women. And the prophetic words of America's Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death," are being muttered by the people of India on the banks of the Ganges as well as in the gardens of Ceylon, in the deserts of Katiwar as well as in the rice fields of Bengal.

But the British have already begun to show signs of nervousness at this new spirit of restlessness in Nirvanic India. Young India flatly refuses to acknowledge the constitutionality of the British rule in India. Hence this conflict. Had it not been for the internal dissensions between the different political parties, this conflict would



have resulted in a victory for India during the present war in Europe. The fossilized conservatives still cling most tenaciously to their old worn-out policy of petitioning John Bull for the redress of India's wrongs; and they glibly vouchsafe that they would reach the highest pinnacle of their ambition if their conquered motherland were granted a position in the empire of her conqueror like that of Canada or Australia.

So one section of the New Nationalists say: "Hence with your colonial form of self-government! Who wants to live in a harem? Canada is not our ideal. There is a loftier ideal to aspire to. Our ideal is the United States of America. We have promised ourselves to work unselfishly for the establishment of the United States of India. We have no use for men who have faith in begging for political favors. We must rely on ourselves. Our national salvation must be worked out from within and not from without. But we do not, however, believe in shedding human blood to gain our end. By strike and boycott, in other words by passive resistance, we shall be able to bring the British Raj to an end."

"You are mistaken," retorts a more advanced section of the New Nationalists. "To establish the United States of India you must adopt the same means as did the North American colonists in the days of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to establish their great and glorious republic. Passivity is the dream of the idlers. The moment your passivity would threaten to dislocate the mechanism of their administrative machinery, or substantially affect the commercial interests, their guns would blow you into eternity. You must use force to win a struggle like this. India was conquered by blood and iron, and it must be conquered back by blood and iron. Christian John Bull understands only the logic of the lance and the parable of the gunpowder. We are perfectly within our moral rights to declare war publicly and simultaneously publish our Declaration of Independence. But we must not by any means pollute our sacred cause by the blood of individual assassinations."

"Your plan," replies the extreme wing, "of conquering our independence is exactly what it should be. If you cannot establish a republic by force of arms, a Russia, a Germany or a Japan may step in, and you shall be simply jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. But we believe in striking terror into the hearts of the arrogant Englishmen by simply removing by a bomb or a bullet the oppressive British officials. You know there is nothing wrong in killing a tiger, a crocodile or a cobra, even so there is nothing wrong in killing those that stand in the way of human progress by keeping

one-fifth of the total population of the world under the iron heel of alien despotism. So kill them singly whenever an opportunity presents itself, and organize to be fully prepared to kill them *en masse* in our next war. Follow America. You should not waste time quarreling over the methods. Use any and every method as long as it serves our end—the independence of the Motherland.”

## VI.

The critic is apt to ask, “Well, if the people of India are so much discontented, then why are they helping the British with men and money? Is it not a fact that about 150,000 of India’s best soldiers are fighting in the different zones of the present war? Is it not also a fact that India’s princes have pledged their lives and states to help the British out of the present predicament?”

Yes, this is all true; but there are two sides to every question. The presence of India’s soldiers in Europe is no sign of India’s loyalty to England. They fight because they come from hereditary fighting classes and also because they are paid to fight. To-day they fight for England, and to-morrow they would fight against her on behalf of the Hindusthanee revolutionists. And some of the princes are loyal, no doubt, but they are so for selfish reasons. For if the British rule ends in India these flattering sycophants and ignoble vampires would be called upon to give an account to the Nationalists for all their crimes against society. Some of India’s prominent men profess loyalty to the British Crown, for it is their profession to be loyal. Some have loyalty forced upon them, and there are others who have to profess loyalty for the sake of efficiency in ultra-radicalism. But let it be known once for all that the heart of India is not loyal to England. It cannot be. It is against the law of nature. The conquered can never be loyal to the conqueror.

There are abundant proofs to show that the English statesmen know in their heart of hearts that India is not loyal to England. They do not trust India. They have persistently refused to enlist the educated young men of India to serve in the war. They feared a second Sepoy war in India at the outbreak of the present war, so they took the great majority of Sepoys out of India to fight in the cold countries of Europe, while they were replaced by British territorials from cold Australia and a colder Canada. Not long after the beginning of the war India was placed under martial law. And the English minister who introduced the bill in the Viceroy’s Coun-

cil openly admitted that the political condition of India was rather serious.

About forty-eight Hindusthanees have been hanged from the gallows for the crime of conspiring to overthrow foreign rule. Thousands have been interned and a few hundred imprisoned for the same crime. British-Indian officials are searching the homes of the prominent men, and are discovering, in some instances, rifles, cartridges and revolutionary literature in unexpected quarters. They have in the past deported, and are still deporting, men without a trial. They have gagged the press, and during the first ten months of the war about 200 newspapers have been suppressed, and the money deposited on hundreds of printing presses has been confiscated by the government. They have restricted the privilege of public political gatherings and have also, in more instances than one, interfered with religious processions. They make it a crime to sing our national songs or to play our patriotic dramas. They have closed many gymnasiums where young men were wont to gather for the development of the muscles of their bodies. They are so nervous at the growing feeling of the unity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, that they are uselessly conferring special privileges on the latter to sow the seeds of jealousy and disunion between the two great communities of India. They are saddling punitive police forces on the people of the progressive districts of India to nip the militant spirit in the bud.

The policy of reckless persecution as adopted by the British-Indian government is helping the cause of New Nationalism, instead of hurting it. And in spite of all attempts of the government to the contrary, social, educational, economic and religious forces are at work that are welding the heterogeneous masses and races of that vast country—a country as large as the whole of Europe without Russia, and with a population more than three times that of America,—into a homogeneous whole. Living under one paramount power, smarting under the galling yoke of the same barbarous despotism, goaded by the examples of Japan and China, inspired by the same ambitions, the entire country is gradually being animated with a new national consciousness that it never knew before. And it is not too much to expect that, sooner or later, peacefully or forcibly, India is bound to take her rightful place amongst the free nations of the world. A free India, like an emancipated China, would be an asset to humanity, and emphasize the great movement for human liberty that began in this blessed land of Washington, Franklin and Lincoln.