

LECTURE ON PATRIOTISM

BY

Srj. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

GENTLEMEN,

Patriotism is a charming word. It is in the mouth of every one from the Viceroy down to the school-boy. Every one wants us to be patriotic in his own way. There is that theory of "composite patriotism" started by Lord Curzon. From that down to the school-boy's idea of patriotism, you have various grades; and it is indeed very difficult to speak on the subject, without, if not offending, but contradicting the views of some of these gentlemen. What is patriotism? It comes from *Pater* which means father, and would literally mean our duty towards our father whether natural or adoptive. That is not however the meaning in which the word is used. The word father is used metaphorically in the word patriotism and it means the love of your father-land whether native or adopted, and it is not merely the love of the father-land but zealous work for the progress of that father-land. Patriotism includes love and work combined for the good of one's father-land or one's nation. Patriotism pre-supposes the idea of nationality. If there is no nation, there is no patriotism. If there is already a nation, then to work for the good of that nation is patriotism. I am speaking of *Indian Patriotism*. It may happen that there is no nation and that you have to make one. That also is the duty of a patriot. He has to make a nation and see that it occupies an equal place and an equal rank with the other nations of the world. You will ask what a nation is. It is rather difficult to define exactly with the logical precision what a nation is. But for our present purposes we can define it as an independent political unit so far as the affairs of this world are concerned. Of course there are nations that have created empires and there

are others that have not created empires. But whenever you find in the affairs of this world an independent unit which has to be reckoned with, it is a nation. Work for the good of that nation means patriotism.

2. You must have read the lives of persons that made England, France, America &c. They are called the makers of nations. And these makers are otherwise called patriots. Patriots are those who, where there is no nation, make one, but if there is already one, lead it on to occupy a higher and higher position in this world. We shall presently see what that higher position is. I am not going so deeply into the subject as to place before you what the ideal of an English patriot or an American patriot or a French patriot ought to be. We are concerned more with India and ourselves. I shall speak of the duties of an Indian patriot, about the lines in which he ought to work and about the nature of his work and of course, in doing so, I shall have to touch upon the ancient history of this land.

3. The definition of a nation which I have given you, is with reference to the other nations of the world. If we look at our ancient history, we find that India was a secluded country. India then was what present writers call "A conjuries of nations", and a group of so many different nations in the modern sense of the word. If you look at the map of India, you see in the north-west there were six Mahammadan Kingdoms established. There was the Rajaput Kingdom. Then down below, the kingdoms in the "Maharashtra" and further down in Southern India there were the kingdoms of Pandyas and Cholas. I am not going to say whether these people who administered these Provinces were without any higher non-egoistic ideal.

4. Patriotism is non-egoistic virtue. It is altruistic in its operation. When we go to the Ancient history, what we have to look at first is, was there any ideal which the administrations of these petty kingdoms placed before themselves—an ideal which was higher than the family or individual ideal? If you go to that history, you find that there were such ideals. There

were empires also, but empires meant in those days quite different things from what they mean to-day. An empire now means one rule from Himalayas to Cape Camorin, and the subject races are governed by the same rules, same regulations and the same laws, be they of whatever kind. An empire of that kind never existed before. The older idea of an empire which was also the Chaldean idea was that out of the several kingdoms which made up India, the ruler of one province, by his policy and sagacity, distinguished himself and made the rulers of other provinces his subordinates. In that way, they paid tribute to that ruler. But besides this tribute, there was no other mark of subjection. There was complete autonomy in each of these provinces, but only as a mark of subordination, a tribute was levied, from the other minor provinces. An empire then did not mean an assumption of the internal administration of a province by the Sovereign power. What was the idea of nationality? What was the idea of patriotism? The ideas of men are found by their surroundings and if you look to the surroundings of those times, the administrators, the learned men and the statesmen were not devoid of any ideal higher than the individual. And beyond the family, those statesmen looked to the province. It may be a particular province in the case of a particular man, but there was that ideal. Beyond the ideal of a province, there was no ideal of the whole country. But the higher ideal that was found then, was the Vedantic ideal for the good of all humanity. That higher ideal in the state of circumstances then existing, rose from the provincial ideal. The idea that the country consisted of so many provinces, and all those provinces had a single interest and a single ideal to look to was not conceived because it was not necessary to conceive that idea in those days. It was not the intellectual fault of our ancestors. Practically each province had a Government of its own. All of them no doubt were united by a certain tie. There was a kind of unity. There were ties which bound those provinces together. But those ties were not conceived as constituting a national tie, because the country was differently circumstanced in those days. That being the case, take the ideal of Vijayanagaram dynasty.

Later on, take the ideal which to a certain extent inspired the Mahrattas, to found a kind of Mahratta nation only about two hundred and fifty years ago. Now if you consider all these ideals, you find that they were non-egoistic.

5. The extent, the scope and the limits of those ideals were more or less provincial. When Sivaji made the conquest, it was for the Mahratta nation. The Mahratta nation was in a certain way distinguished from the Bengal nation and from the Southern nations and the endeavour of the Mahratta statesmen and especially Nana Farnavis was to do everything in his power to keep the prestige of the Mahratta nation, its influence and its importance. Now in our present circumstances, I admit that that ideal looks narrow. But you must not look to the limits of the ideal merely: you must look to the spirit which inspired those men to form those ideals at the time. The limits were not the necessary adjuncts of those ideals. They were only imposed at the time. They were not the essentials. The essence of those ideals was the spirit which governed and inspired those administrators to lay down a policy by which for the time being at least one of the provinces in India assumed an importance and spread an influence which in those days, was felt towards the length and breadth of this land. When we go on celebrating the festivals of those heroes, it is to be remembered that the ideals must be extended though the spirit should be the same. When we come to the present circumstances, we are entirely different. Those provincial and racial ideals will not serve our purposes in these days. We should extend the limits, make them broader, more liberal and to a certain extent as Lord Curzon has said, "composite". The circumstances are now altered, and the alteration is due to the establishment of the British rule in this country.

6. Any one who thinks upon this subject must not stop with the ancient ideals but proceed to realize the ideal introduced into our land by western literature, western arts and western sciences which accompanied the establishment of British rule in India. When you come to consider all these, the first

question that arises, of course, is that from Himalayas down to Cape Camorin, what was geographical India once, has become a single administration, under the control of the British Government. That is a chief factor. It would not do to revive the old ideals except that their spirit must be continued. The present condition is that the whole country has become subject to one rule, and our aspiration should be to make one nation out of the different provinces. All these provinces should live as one man and should entertain as one man certain ideals and determine upon certain methods for the realisation of these ideals.

7. I have already told you that the idea of patriotism involves the idea of nationality. I pass over the minor points and touch upon the leading ones to determine what constitutes a nation. There is the ethnological element, the element of language, the element of religion, the element of literature, and the element of tradition. All these taken together—men coming from one ethnological race, moved by the same traditions, same ancient history, same ideals and professing the same faith, and socially living in the same style, make up a nation.

8. If you look to the other nations of the world, you find these different factors which go to make up the idea of a nation. By the method of difference and agreement you might eliminate some of these factors, but even if you do so, it would be difficult to distinguish or to separate the influence which one of those factors has upon the idea of nationality as distinguished from the influence which another factor may have. The first duty of an Indian patriot now is to see whether we are of a nation. It may be self-love or self-deception. I do not say nay or it may be anything but the answer that comes to our lips is that India is one nation. We may not be able to argue or point out that every one of the factors that I have mentioned as going to constituting a nation exists in India. Perhaps the wish is father to our thought. We wish that India is one nation. We say that India is one nation. Hope is the very salt of patriotism. If you have no hope and if you do not expect India to be a nation she

will never be a nation. It is not for a patriot to be disappointed. He should love and work quite independently of the results which that work may produce. If you work with that spirit the result may be late in coming but it will come and it is sure to be beneficial in the end. It is with that confidence that a patriot should set to his work. One who cannot command that confidence and whose nature is suspicious will not be a fit person to carry on any patriotic work. He may write, speak or discuss but if he has no confidence in the good result of his work it is impossible that he can work as a patriot.

9. When you go to consider the question whether India can be a nation, various considerations crop up in connection with it. One man says, that unless the whole of India comes to profess one faith or unless they all become Christians or Muhammadans or Hindus for the matter of that there cannot arise one nation from the heterogeneous committies. Another man says that it is our social customs that keep us behind and down and unless we cast them away there is no salvation. Our industrial friend says that unless the Indian industries are revived and unless the country accumulates more wealth—for wealth is power—there can be no salvation for India. Each man has his own view and pushes it forward. But when we consider the subjects from all points of view it must be admitted that all these views are more or less one-sided. When we consider the question of nationality and national progress we cannot afford to look at it only from one stand point of view. We must look for progress all along the line and understand the mutual relations of the different parts so that in our enthusiasm for one we may not kill or come in conflict with others. When I place before you these three or four factors I do not mean to say that they are not the ideals but all I mean is that any one of them cannot be taken to constitute the sole ideal. We must observe their co-ordination and subordination and in that case we must for the time being at any rate keep aside the other ideal which conflicts. When we raise this question and speak of these ideals there are opponents of course. There is not a

doctrine in the world which has not its opponent. These opponents point out the hopelessness of Indians being able to form themselves into a single nation. They point out the differences in languages and climatic conditions existing in the various provinces and ask how it is possible for men different in so many respects coming together and working for the realization of a certain ideal. It is impossible to have a reconciliation they say. Then as if to disappoint us further they say that even if all these differences were obliterated for the time being, yet the vastness and the extent of the country is such that these differences will crop up again within a few years and that if they crop up the state of things will be the same.

10. Supposing India were to accept Christianity, even then, there will be different Churches quarrelling between themselves: the Bengal Church will quarrel with the Bombay Church and the Madras Church will quarrel with Travancore Church and so on in the same way as *Sivites* and *Vaishnavas* were quarrelling once. Our critics want us to be contented with being in the present state looking for a small social comfort here or a little family comfort there. Of course there is also the other side to be considered and that side is the circumstances that India is divided. There are no doubt differences of language and we do not want to ignore them. But at the same time there are certain factors which if properly developed and cultivated will eventually lead to one nationality. Now take for instance the Hindus by themselves. So many of them are at least governed by the *Shastras* held sacred all over the country: there are no doubt minor differences. But there is agreement in this, *viz.*, that all Hindus whether they be in Bengal or *Maharashtra* or Madras are actuated by ideals pointed in our *Puranas* and *Vedas*. They have the same history, they live in the same land though they do not speak the same language and they are under the same Government which is a new factor introduced and their grievances are the same. So in that way the British rule itself contributes one factor, an important factor indeed, which in the evolution of nationality is likely to be a predomi-

nant and chief factor. There is thus a common element between the Hindus and Muhammadans and between Parsis and Christians. When you find your worldly interests bound up together—interests which can be promoted or furthered only by a common cause or by making up a common cause by the adoption of some means or some methods,—then there is certainly one reason, why we should all work together and share in the benefits which are sure to be conferred by our joint action. That being the case there are one or two elements which if properly worked up and developed will go to make up a nation. The very first thing we have to do is to consider what factors there are which will help us in building a nation. We should at the same time discover those factors the existence of which will be prejudicial to our work and we should find the means to curtail or minimise, if not to altogether destroy the influences of those factors. These are exactly the questions for a patriot to consider. He has first to make a nation in the modern sense of that word and then lead on that nation further in the path of progress and civilisation. That is the ideal of an Indian patriot.

11. Just look at the growth of the last 50 years—I will not say a hundred years. Very many of you know of the work done by the Indian National Congress and other Associations. But in some quarters I have noticed at any rate a sort of impatience at the slowness of the growth or progress that we have made. However look at the difficulties. Our task is not so easy that we can have it done in a day or a year or a decade or even one or two scores of years. Taking into consideration the disadvantages under which we have to work and realizing the importance of the difficulties and also perceiving the significance of the factors I have already indicated, the progress that we have made will, I am confident, appear to be more satisfactory than what these critics appear to think or for the matter of that even ordinary men appear to think (Hear, hear). The difficulties of the task are very great. In the same proportion that they are great must be our resolve to surmount them. A patriot is not to be daunted by the difficulties he has to face. If the task

more difficult the better it is for him, for the development of character consists in conquering difficulties. A nation that has difficulties to encounter would be a nation containing a useful set of men. It is difficulties that test a man and educate a man. If you go to one of the scenes described in the Mahabharata, Yudhishtara is represented there as saying "Let me have difficulties always". Difficulties give you a training which you cannot expect in the circumstances of an easy situation. The existence of difficulties in the performance of a task for the good of the country is no argument why there should be any hesitation or halt in the performance of that duty. The difficulties must be overcome they are of human creation and the creation of the antecedents of our *Karma* and *Karma* can be wiped off by *Karma* alone (Hear, hear).

12. The very circumstance that there are difficulties in our way ought to inspire us to a nobler *Karma* of such efficacy that it will destroy the previous *Karma* and create new surroundings for us. That is the ideal which every one of us should place before us and when this is done even in the new circumstances the work that we are called upon to do will appear to be noble and refreshing. I have already referred Lord Curzon's theory of "composite patriotism" and to the different races that inhabit this land. The ethnological element is the same, their mother country is the same, the same blood runs in the veins of the people belonging to the various races. It is of course usual to talk of Aryans, Semi-Aryans, Dravidians and non-Aryan aboriginals, &c. and historically this is a very good division. Aryans intermixed themselves and the race that inhabits this land now is ethnologically a mixture. There is no question about that. To go back to the old division of races is simply a matter of history. The races have become mixed up in course of time, and to speak the truth there is no real *Sudra* as there is no real Brahman (Cheers). Both stand ethnologically on the same level and to rake up the divisions now and tell one class of people that they are of such and such race and inferior to certain other race is the height of absurdity even historically consi-

dered. The ethnological element ought to help up in bringing all these people together. Knowing history by the recent researches, if we utilize that knowledge we ought to be able to see that India is now inhabited by one race. Whatever the differences in religion, whatever the differences in languages or whatever other provincial differences and social customs may be, they are not the essentials. They are something like the dress in use. Your turban or *dhowati* may be different from mine and we may put them on in different ways, it matters not in which way we use them. The inner man is the same. He is actuated more or less by the same feelings. So long as ethnologically the race continues to be the same in India, the existence of that element will work on the salvation of the country.

13. There are people who say that mass education is quite necessary, i.e. that unless every one in India begins to read and write it is not possible to make one nation. That is one view. I do not mean to say that the masses do not require to be educated. By all means give them as much education as you possibly can. But it should at the same time be remembered that the education that is required for nationality is not mere reading and writing. You must avail yourselves of all occasions by which people of different provinces and belonging to different sects will come together and be moved by one ideal and people should be required to take part in movements which are more or less universal and common to all the different sects. Unless people are accustomed to act in this way we cannot expect the inhabitants of any country to form themselves into one nationality, by merely asking them to learn to read and write.

14. We are required to be moved by one ideal. Have we anything of the kind? Have you not got an ideal for the attainment of which the whole of India can go in? Have you not got an ideal where the people of different provinces can join? Again have you not got an ideal for which the men belonging to one religion at any rate may join? It is for the leaders of the country to find out such ideals and educate the people to join them and

not merely to join them but to learn to work in the furtherance of the movements started with such ideals. That is what I mean by real education which must be of a kind which though introduced into different provinces and part of the country may even tend to meet in the same focus. The circumstances may appear to be divergent at first but if that kind of education is imparted to the masses and of course imparted for a number of years, it must bear its fruit. /

15. The industrial ideals of which I spoke to you is movement we all of us can join in and if we find that the proportion that is allowed to us is not enough to keep us convenient, it is the duty of every one of us to work in order to obtain the share of national produce which will enable us to live decently. Our aim should be the same in the matter of social and political matters. Merely social reform for the sake of social reform and industrial reform for its sake will not help us in working up the idea of nationality. There are also individual comforts to be looked to. Take for instance the big question of female education. There are certain families that grant it. But if you lose sight of the fact that that education is given for one ultimate object which is common to the whole nation, that object cannot be achieved and not only that, your efforts in a particular direction will bear no fruit. Every one of these movements has a common basis which requires to be remembered by every one of us. There may be differences of opinion. But all of us are bound to work with one aim, one object, one goal, and if we do work in that way we shall very soon find that minor differences do not stand in our way.

16. When we come to Muhamadans, Christians or Europeans we are told by the highest authority in the land that our idea must be composite. We must of course include in the scope of our work the different races that inhabit the country. Not only that but the ideal of all ought to be to form a part of the British Empire (Hear, hear). That is how it was put forward by the Viceroy himself. Howsoever we may condemn his ut-

terances at the Convocation, that ideal of "composite patriotism" was put forward at the end of the Convocation address. It may be that I do not myself approve of some of the utterances but it is not for me or for you to approve of them, that is beside the question. When we come to the practical side of the question, patriotism or the spirit of patriotism must work within practical limits. You cannot hope to wage war against those factors some of which are fixed for you by a hand the workings of which we men with our limited capacity are not able to divine. It is not necessary to go into broader questions. There is so much work to be done that a patriot here may safely accept the present situation. He has no reason to complain against that situation. He need not take into consideration the effect of these movements in course of time. It is not for the practical patriot or statesman to look to the far-reaching effects of his efforts, probable, possible or imaginary. He must have confidence in the goodness of the methods he employs and when he has that confidence, then surely no one can say that good work eventually leads to evil results. Good must lead to good as evil must lead to evil. When you are once convinced by the study of history and the circumstances of the country that certain methods of work that you adopt in the interest of the country are good methods, you need not be afraid of or take into account the criticisms of the opponents who say that these methods may lead to uncertain or undesirable results—undesirable from their stand point of view.

17. I for one perfectly accept the idea of patriotism suggested by Lord Curzon. The days are gone when Mahrattas can work for the Mahratta nation, the Bengalis for Bengal, Rajputs for Rajaputana or for the matter of that the Madrasis for Madras. We must be more liberal, more broadminded and include in our programme work for the good of all the various races living in the different provinces of the country and in that sense it is a "composite patriotism". As regards political results we may take the definition for the present that we have to work under the restriction that our work should be conducive to maintain the

relation between India and England or in other words our work should be conducive to the growth of the British Empire (Hear, hear). That position being admitted there is enough scope for work. When we speak of nationality and for national or political work, we are quite willing to be members of the British Empire. Only, we are not willing to be dead members of that Empire (Hear, hear). We do not want to hang as a dead weight. We want to be living men. If there is to be a difference let that difference be as between the right hand and left hand. Both have to co-operate in the work. We want to be members but members on the same footing as between partners even supposing that there are predominant partners and other partners in the glory of the Empire. Has that been the case? Are we such members? If not, it is our duty to become such members. If you look to the present circumstances, what do you find? We are not such members of the British Empire. Accepting the definition of "Composite patriotism" of Lord Curzon I do not accept the partnership between a master and a servant but quite prepared to accept a partnership as between a predominant partner and another partner. Even with that limitation what do we find? Even a subordinate partnership is denied us—denied not in one department not only in Government service but industrially, commercially, socially, intellectually and I may add emotionally. In every department of life there appears to be a line drawn for you and you are told "Thus far and no further." Well, it is for Indian patriots to see that this line is pushed forward until every member of the British Empire is brought on the other side of the line (Hear, hear). It is for us to work in that direction and we are ourselves to blame if we do not exert ourselves to do that. The line is drawn for us already.

18. Take the hundred years of the British rule in India. Surely there is not such an intellectual famine in India that a period of a hundred years should not be able to produce a poet, a philosopher, a scientist and that during such a long period we should not learn to make our own matches and pencils. What is this position due to? Due, I say not to Government but to

our own ignorance. When you cast the blame on Government you should consider the position of Government. Is it the position of Government to lead you on in every direction or simply to maintain peace in the country and leave the rest to you? As at present understood the duties of our rulers are confined to the maintenance of peace in the land, to frame good laws for you and to carry on the administration of the country with impartiality, and with the performance of these duties their business ends. Of course, if you show energy in any direction—energy which is compatible with the safety of the Empire—they may now and then help you. But the view that appears to be taken is that it is the duty of Government to make the nation progress on all the different lines much in the same way as Japan has been doing during the last thirty years. There is a difference between the Japanese Government and our Government which we ought not to forget. That difference is patent to us all. Instead of casting all blame on Government let us take this work out of their hands, no, you need not take it out of their hands, for, they have never taken it into their hands (laughter). If you find there is an obstacle in the way it is our duty to see that the obstacle is removed. We ought to have a determination to work on all the different lines and see that our work results in success, if not within the next few years, at any rate in the next generation or even in the generation that may follow.

19. I may divide this work into two heads—internal work and external work,—something like the Home and Foreign Departments of the Government of India. The internal work consists in bringing the people of the different provinces together, improving their morals, educating them and making them act as one individual. How that is to be done is a vast question again. The external work means our relations with foreign countries and with our Government. Take the commercial reform for instance. There is a depression of trade at present. Commercially our relations with other countries are not satisfactory. Is it a satisfactory state of affairs that we should always export raw

produce and import manufactured articles? Should it be our ideal that all discoveries should come to us from America, France, Germany and England? Should there not arise a class of intelligent people who will devote themselves to modern discoveries and to the advancement of sciences introduced in the Nineteenth century? Should it not be the ideal of our patriots to see what constitutes the real cause of the progress made by the other nations of the world and even by an Asiatic nation like Japan? Should they not find out the ways and means by which similar causes may be developed in this country? That is the ideal, that is the patriotic work that we Indians have to do. That ideal is essentially non-egoistic. By temperament, by history and by tradition we are a nation who are not strangers to non-egoistic ideals.

20. There is a belief in some quarters that the old *Vedantic* ideals conflict with patriotic ideals. I for one cannot see that the difference so pointed out is logical in any way. *Vedantic* ideals never conflicted with the provincial ideals of the statements of the old days, there was then no stage or halt, and properly there could not be any conflict between the two. In fact, what for did Sri Krishna preach *Bhagavat Gita* to Arjuna? He showed that the higher included the lower, that the whole included the part. If the *Vedantic* ideal is higher it necessarily includes the national ideal which is lower. The two are not irreconcilable if you know how to reconcile them. The two are not opposed to each other. One includes the other much in the same way as thousand includes five hundred. If any one says that *Vedantic* ideal does not include national ideal I will say that he is ignorant of the most elementary principles of *Vedantic* ethics and morals just in the same way as a man who says that thousand does not include five hundred should be considered to be ignorant of the elementary principles of arithmetic. The two ideals are mutually consistent and both of them demand a kind of self sacrifice and self control. Both of them require in addition to self control and self sacrifice a kind of higher altruistic feeling by which man is impelled to ignore selfish con-

siderations and to work for persons or for objects which do not in the least savour of any egoistic aim. That feeling is one of love for humanity, for the equality of man before God and it is the spirit of that feeling that governs the two ideals—Vedantic and National.

21. If you are a rich man and your mind ennobled by *Vedantic* conceptions you are for that reason a fitter person to work for national union. Instead of disqualifying your riches makes you better qualified for the performance of a national duty. If I refer to Vedantism in that manner I am not telling you anything strange. If our ancestors did not attempt to reconcile the ideals which came into existence centuries after they were born it is for us to make the reconciliation now. In the progress of a nation such reconciliations do occur. It is no argument to say that the ideal is not found in the ancient books. If it is not found in the ancient books it is our duty to incorporate it there but in the same spirit. That is what the evolution theory teaches us. A tree is contained in a seed and similarly we can raise new ideals. Certain old ideals have to be revised. We have to study them and fit them in with a new state of things, and when this is done then alone progress is possible and not otherwise. Progress means adapting yourselves to changed circumstances at each time. If you cannot adapt yourselves well, it must be said that you do not make a human organization. Living organizations do adapt themselves. It is only inanimate things that do not adapt themselves, though even that proposition is now disputed. Society is a living organization and if it does not adapt itself to the changed circumstances and to suit itself to the altered surroundings, then it must be said that that organization has become dead. There can be no other explanation and I dare say that none of us here or for the matter of that anywhere are prepared to admit that our social or national organization is a dead organization.

22. To-day in the beginning a passage was recited by Mr. Ramamurti that India was not dead but slumbers. Sleep is no death. It may be that the sleep is long but we hope that

that sleep will not last long and that there will be an end to that. We shall no doubt wake her up and we are confident that we shall succeed in waking her up. When we do realize that fact then our path is quite plain. Our path ought to be one which leads the whole nation on progressive lines. Nationality is our ideal—Nation-formation is our goal. In the adoption of means to ends we may make mistakes. We are all human. Here and there we might stumble but we must be conscious that we are walking on the path of duty. In spite of our stumbling and failures, the following of this path is sure to lead us to the goal which we all desire. If you work with confidence like that, on truly patriotic lines realizing what those lines are and what their end should be and that patriotism presupposes the idea of nationality, then there is very little to deter or hinder us in our progress and very little to disappoint us in our aims.

23. To sum up—patriotism involves nationality and bringing all races together. Patriotism must be composite. The limits must be widened, and when we widen those limits we accept the composite patriotism of Lord Curzon that we are members of the same Empire. But our goal must be that we shall be worthy members of that Empire—members having the same rights and privileges as the other members, helping each other, co-operating with each other and working together towards the same goal and for the glorification of the British Empire (Loud and continued cheers).



Welcome Address.

**Address of Welcome presented to
Sri Bal Gangadhar Tilak by the
members of the Bellary
Literary Society.**

To,

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK Esq., B. A., L. L. B.

RESPECTED SIR,

We, the members of the Bellary Literary Society, beg leave to unite our voice with the chorus of welcome with which you have already been greeted in this town, and approach you with this, our humble address, and though the faults therein might be thick as dust in vacant chambers, we could trust your kindness. Our anxiety not to let slip this golden opportunity of your condescending visit to this town, is our only excuse in taking advantage of it to beg of you for a few words of valuable advice and blessing.

You have earned for yourself a name never to be forgotten by the future Historian of India as one of the makers of Indian nation. We feel incompetent to adequately appreciate your profound erudition and striking genius, but we are certain that this meeting could not but be a great benefit to us as the poet says "Even to look on noble forms, makes one noble." Long before we have heard of you and your sturdy patriotism of which it might be appropriately said as what was once said of the great English Schoolmaster "He was attached to his family as if he had no friends, to his friends as if he had no family, to his country as if he had neither friends nor relations." Life is unfortunately for many no well arranged story, but a conquered affair of shade and sun, and if it is true we live in deeds not years, in thoughts not breath, you have accomplished more in your time than what falls perhaps to the lot of many greater men.

Our Society was started in 1892 by a few students of the High School and College Departments with a view to their mental and moral improvement and last year our society was amalga-

mated with the Students Education Society, which was formed in 1899 and we have been regularly holding meetings and doing our work ever since.

Sir, at a time when disinterested, public men are at a great discount, the appearance now and then of such ardent patriots like yourself, brings a hope to us, that after all a bright aspect seems to dawn in this country. For, you are a band of heroes who have dedicated their lives as it were to the cause of their country and truth—heroes whom not all calamity's hugest waves conformed, who seem a promontory of rock, that in the mid ocean meets the surging shock, tempest buffeted, citadel crowned and whose motto seems to be "Better not be at all, than not be noble"

We devoutly pray that the Almighty will be pleased to bless you with more strength and skill to carry on your work so that it might be said of you that yours is

"A life in civic action warm,
A soul on highest mission sent,
A pillar steadfast in the storm."

BELLARY,
22-4-09.

We beg to remain,
Respected Sir,
Your most obedient students,
The Members of the Literary Society.

MR. TILAK'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS.

(ADVICE TO STUDENTS).

I thank you sincerely for the address you have presented me and for the invitation therein to say a few words of advice to the members of this club and to the students who have come here in numbers. It is impossible to condense advice to students in an address of half an hour or an hour. Looking at the ancient books, the *Smritis* and *Sutras* contain advice which was always conveyed by a *Guru* to his disciples. Take a *Smriti* text or any *Sutras*. There is always a chapter which contains advice to students from a *Guru* after completing

their initiation. That kind of advice was well suited at the time or to the time when it was given. That task has not been attempted in these days, and not being so attempted, it is impossible to condense in an half-hour address the leading points that ought to go in an advice of that kind.

2. What is it that a student is expected to do after he completes his education in College? That is a very difficult question to deal with. In the very first place I would point out, of course, my experience in that line is not very extensive but I have spent some years as a teacher in schools and colleges—that the education that you receive in your schools and colleges is one-sided and defective. You should not become elated with your education, that being incomplete. If my thirty years experience goes for anything, all I can say is that that education is as much defective and one-sided as the education which the old *Shastries* received from their *Gurus*. We often laugh at the education which a *Guru* or *Shastri* gave to his pupils and say that they are not taught history or geography or science &c. We call them one-sided and orthodox. Sometimes we are unreasonable in our charges. My own opinion is that the same thing may be said of the education given in our English Schools. I do not say that the defects are identical, but they are identical in the sense that both kinds of education are one-sided. The whole education is secular. When you come into the world after leaving your Colleges, you find yourselves confronted with so many problems which you try to solve merely by the aid of logic or by the aid of arguments which are purely secular.

3. Religious education most of you do not receive. Most of you do not receive any training as to how to conduct yourselves in society except by placing yourselves in rude opposition to old social customs and habits. That is a defect marked in the students that go out of our Universities.

4. You know nothing about the industrial development. You know very little about the political ideals by which your life ought to be governed, I mean the broader political ideas.

At best your idea is very hazy on that point. You know very little about the history of other nations, how they were built, how they are being built up, what characteristics are necessary for building them up and what your duties are towards your fatherland. With so many defects in the education that is imparted to you, you go into the world. You find yourselves naturally in opposition to the various surroundings. I know of cases where boys coming out of Colleges and for the matter of that, girls going up into the family life find themselves uncomfortable. The whole style of life is unsuited to them. A man cannot get on with his mother or father or sisters or his wife and he finds himself in a strange atmosphere altogether. The reason for that strange situation is that you have been educated according to ideals and according to a taste which are entirely different from the ideals and taste which govern your society. I know of instances like that and I need not go into particulars. A priest comes to help in the performance of a certain ceremony in the house. You look upon it all as a mockery. Your beliefs are not settled, they are either sceptical or atheistic. I am not taking any individual cases. I am describing the ordinary circumstances applicable to a majority of you though not all of you. None need therefore take offence at what I say. Your tendencies are more or less sceptical or atheistic. You know nothing about the ceremonies performed in your houses. You know nothing about the ancient history of your land except such ideas as are found in Mr. Dutt's book on India and I am not sure whether this is a text book in the schools in this part of the country. The same state of things prevails in social matters. As regards industrial affairs, you are prepared to take anything from the market, be they native or foreign. You have picked up certain principles in political economy and if you are asked to purchase an article you go to purchase in a cheaper market.

5. You do not take into consideration any of the factors which go to build up a nation. Doubtless you have read English history or Roman history and the first idea with which you come out of the Colleges is that the principles enunciated in English

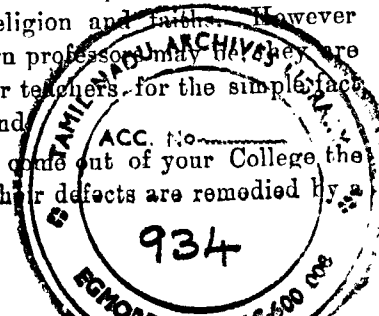
history will be applied to Indian politics as they are. You have heard the word "Constitutional" in history and you ignore the fact that the Government of England is a Government direct or indirectly conducted by the people of the country. Here in India, the Government is in foreign hands and the people have no voice in the administration of the country. There are limitations and qualifications to be placed on doctrines which you find enunciated in your books on history, political economy or political science. Of course, the whole society in India, Hindu or Mohammedan, has not imbibed the same principles. They are conservative and governed by old traditions. You come fresh from Colleges and Universities, take your places in Society and find that everything around you is unreasonable. This is the attitude with which you begin to move in your society. That has been the experience of every student who has come out of his college and that is the experience of my twenty or thirty years' life after leaving my College. Gradually you have to reconcile yourselves with this society. You have to live in it, and if you want to improve it, you have still to live in it. There must be 'give and take'; otherwise you will be uncomfortable. New ideas which are very good in College rooms and acceptable to you and to your professors cannot be applied to the Society in which you live and move all at once. Society does not move by logic. Logic is not the only foundation of the action of society. Logic has its place but a very subordinate place in the evolution of society. There are other factors to be considered and to these factors your attention has not been drawn before. You go on struggling like that and experience, some of these men go back to the old orthodoxy and so far as religion is concerned become *Vedantists* or *Theosophists*. There is a kind of revolution at the particular period of life and you feel that the methods are not the right methods. That feeling comes by experience. This is about religious affairs. Regarding social matters the position is the same. I may even add that so far as politics are concerned you come pretty nearly to the same conclusion.

6. What is this the result of? I say that this is the result of the education in your schools and colleges being given by

teachers who are not the members of your society. You receive education at the hands of teachers who are foreigners having no idea of your difficulties and who by their life and conduct cannot supply you with examples as to how to behave in after-life. The difficulties which we have to contend with, are unknown to European professors and they are never realised by them to the extent to which we realise them when we leave our schools and colleges and begin to move in society. That is the reason why the education of our children is desired to be kept in the hands of our own people. That was the object with which the Ferguson College was established in Poona. There was a time when even Government recognised the soundness of that principle and Lord Reay while he was Governor of Bombay was even prepared to hand over the management of Deccan College to the Ferguson College.

7. All that has now been reversed. The predominant idea of Government is that the education of Indian youth should be kept under European control as much as possible and that Colleges under private management should not be allowed to deviate from the lines chalked out for them by Government. I hope that this policy will not be permanent and that it may change in course of time. I do not blame your foreign teachers and professors nor do I mean any reflection upon their work; they throw their heart and soul into their work; but what good results can you expect from an institution which is defective? There is no country in the world where the education of the youth is so entirely in the hands of the foreigners as in India. In the beginning when a new College is opened, it is no doubt necessary to employ foreign professors. Japan, for instance, did so, but the work was afterwards taken up and continued by natives of their own country, religion and faith. However noble and sympathetic your foreign professors may be, they are not the proper persons to be your teachers for the simple fact that they are foreigners in this land.

8. That being so, when you come out of your College the very first requisite is to see that their defects are remedied by a



kind of private teaching, private reading and private study. Literary Societies like yours would do practical service by having a settled scheme for the instruction of students who have just left their Colleges something like post-graduate course to fit them for the society in which their lot is cast. If we are not allowed to take the education of our youths in our own hands, the next step is to start societies like yours where the youth may receive the supplementary education that is needed to make him a good citizen, a good father, a good brother and a good husband in the society. Societies like yours can silently and quietly supplement the work which Government has not been doing.

9. The policy of Government is not to train you up in your religion or according to your social customs. Those problems are left to you, they cannot give you moral instruction which you must derive from domestic discipline and from religious instruction and training. All these factors are wanting in schools and colleges open to students of all faiths, and teachers profess a religion different from that of the students. Mere intellectual education does not move the heart of a student and according to the current policy of Government it is impossible to give more or religious instruction in Government schools. This could be done in some other method by employing best Indian teachers in our schools. That experiment is being carried on in Benares by Mrs. Besant in the Central Hindu College there (cheers). Another experiment of a similar kind in which religious instruction is imparted is conducted at Lahore in the Dayanand Vedic College. These are the two Colleges where an attempt is made to supplement the secular education by a course of religious instruction and moral lessons, and how far that experiment will succeed is yet to be seen. Those friends whom I have consulted say that the Dayanand College is doing good work and is likely in course of time to give such education to its students as is necessary to supplement the instruction given in Government schools.

10. I have passed through all the states of thought and experience. Do not look upon me as an outsider. I have passed

through the same stages of thought which you will pass through or you are now passing and I have found by thirty years of experience that it is quite necessary to lead the youth after they leave Colleges to certain ideals, and it is the duty of the leaders of India to devise means for the purpose. According to the new rules, much of the liberty that was once accorded to private colleges, has been taken away and I hope that in course of time that liberty will be restored to them and that the Colleges started by private bodies will show better results.

11. The object of the Government is to train you for certain posts in the administration of the land and all the education imparted in schools and Colleges is imparted with that main object in view. They want Assistant Engineers, they want Assistant Surgeons, they want clerks or Tahsildars or Deputy Tahsildars from the arts Colleges. In fact all the Arts Colleges, the Engineering and Medical Colleges are conducted on the principle and with a view to supplying certain officers to the administration of the land. Higher education is a hand-maid to ordinary education in this country and it is not an independent factor and the result is, although our Colleges have been in existence for a number of years and although it is now more than 50 years since our Universities have been established, still there is not a single student found who may be taken as an authority on any one of the branches of study taught in our Colleges. You have not a Surgeon or a Physician whose voice can be heard throughout the country; you have not got a Historian, a Philosopher or a Poet; you have not produced an Engineer who can design a bridge. All the higher stages where originality or research is required have been kept from you. No opportunities are allowed for students to acquire this kind of higher knowledge. It is only now after so many years that TATA proposed a Research University and the Government was somehow or other forced to accept the scheme and give some help to it, not adequate but completely inadequate. But their hands were forced to a certain extent. They would have been better pleased if they had been

able to throw the whole scheme altogether overboard, but somehow or other they have accepted the gift and are doing something to give effect to the scheme. Whose fault is this situation due to? That fault is of course our own as that of our Government though a larger portion of it goes to Government, for when new knowledge is brought to the country it is the duty of the rulers to see that that knowledge is imparted to the students of the country in fullness and in every detail. I do not think that we are intellectually or physically inferior to the Japanese. Japan has provided schools and colleges where students are trained to become specialists in the various branches of higher knowledge, and not only that, the Japanese nation has during the last 30 years turned out from its institutions several famous specialists in Scientific and Agricultural Researches. There is a man there who has invented a new formula for gun-powder. That is what is called living education.

12. The education that you receive in the Indian schools and colleges is not a living education. The education you receive is for a particular purpose and that purpose is to fit you for administrative service. With so many defects in the education that has been given you, your first outlook is to find employment for you. Your Government prepared you for that and yet the Government takes you to task for seeking employment in Government service and you can only reply "you have given us the training needed only for Government service and we are only following the inclinations you have prepared us for and now give us the service". However, in the Convocation address the Chancellors of the Universities advise the graduates not to depend solely on Government service. Certainly, why does the Government train students for Government service? You sow one kind of seed, and do still expect to reap a different kind of harvest. That is impossible. When Chancellors come and tell us from the Chancellors' chair that an Indian graduate ought not to look up for Government employment, I accept that proposition with a corollary that Government should not con-

duct institutions solely with the aim of preparing students for administrative service. That being the case I do not mean to say that service under Government is not a good profession—what more nobler—I use the word deliberately—employment there is for the youth of the country than do service in the administration of his own country conducted on good lines and for the progress of the nation? It is not at all derogatory to accept service and to be able thereby to do what little one can do for the advancement of one's country:—One way of advancing the interests of work allotted in an honest and faithful manner.

13. But there is the other side to the question. This is an argument borrowed from the history of countries which are independent. Unfortunately for you, in this country, it is not the case, that your abilities or intelligence can be utilized to the best advantage in the administration of land. You must feel content with the present state of things—with occupying a very subordinate place in that administration—so subordinate that you have only to carry out the orders passed by higher authorities not of your nationality but of a different nationality from yours. A man just out of a College seeks for an appointment and gets it. He goes there with some ideas of independence. He has learnt those ideas from the history taught to him in college. The very first remark that is applied to him by his superior officer is that he is impertinent. If you make a suggestion to your superior in the performance of your duty, you are told that it is not your business to make such suggestions and that your business is to obey orders. In that way the Government service although a noble profession yet owing to the circumstances of the country is not as noble in India—of course it is not ignoble—as it is in other countries. It is a problem as to how to conduct yourselves in that service. Have you any right to express an opinion, to take the initiative or to make a suggestion? These are questions that crop up every day before the eyes of the members of the subordinate service. There are various solutions to that question. It must be acknowledged in

the first place that Government wants very smart hands for service but not self-assertive subordinates. So at present, the profession that is open to you is a profession where self-assertiveness is, at a discount. Smartness is no doubt appreciated but it is that kind of smartness which is not coupled with an individuality of character.

14 The result of it is that in this subordinate service, men who come to the top are indeed very smart men, men who had taken honours in the University Examinations and men, who if they were ever self-assertive, have forgotten to assert themselves in the course of that experience and service. When Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji tells you that confining a whole nation to subordinate service demoralises the people, it is this demoralisation that he refers to demoralisation of character. When Mr. Puranjipi returned from England a meeting was held and Justice Candy is reported to have said that Indians could beat Englishmen in intelligence but not in character. If you cannot beat Englishmen in character, it is because they do not want it. You do not grant us opportunities to show character. You place character at a discount, and how is it possible for a tree to grow under shade? When the Government of the country keeps under its control and in its hands all appointments where force of character is required, where originality is required, and where initiation on one's own responsibility is wanted, how then do you expect that members of the subordinate service who are trained in the traditions of that service would come to the front and show that strength of character which is found in the higher officials of the administration? It becomes under these circumstances a very difficult problem for a man to know how to behave himself in that service. There are various ways by which it is solved. There is one class of public servants who say "If our originality is not required and if our intelligence is of no use, then why trouble ourselves? They obey the orders of their superiors whether they are right or wrong and even when they are wrong they carry out the orders but murmur at home.

the second class of service is that in which the servants make suggestions of their own accord and again there is a third class of service in which the subordinates make suggestions asked.

15. My advice to those who wish to enter the service of Government is of course, under the present circumstances this, when a higher kind of work will not be entrusted to you. Whatever work is entrusted to you, do it without showing any signs of insubordination or disobedience but do not in any way compromise yourselves by accepting without protest anything that you are called upon to do when such a thing is in your opinion against the interests of the country (cheers) There is an old saying which says that it is very difficult to please two masters. Your two masters are the country and the Government. Of course the Government exists for the good of the country; it is also said that the King and the Government can do no wrong. Nevertheless, there are occasions when the two interests conflict and as servants of Government you may be called upon to do things which you may not like or which you may think to be prejudicial to the interests of the people. In such cases try to state your views boldly at the same time executing the orders, for the execution of which you have been allowed to enter the service. Without meaning insubordination much can be done by Government servants. I quite see the justice of the recent circular that Government servants should not take part in the National Congress Meetings. If I have a servant I would not naturally like that he should go over to the camp of my opponents and see what they are doing. You may be serving the Government of the country but the interests of the country are above those of Government. You are asked to renounce your Nationality simply because you have joined Government service. You have not sold yourself and your principle to Government for the salaries you get, you have been given some independence and you should not compromise that independence. It is very difficult to compromise the two interests. I know of certain officials who go on

praising the measures of Government because by flattering their superiors they might get some promotion. Excuse me for plain speaking. Your conduct ought not to be of that kind. We, who are outside the service and are trying to do some good to the country, are not enemies but their best friends. Our friends and relations are in service. We know that they are in the subordinate service and some of our relations will have to join that service but the interests of Government and the interests of the country can be compromised in a way satisfactory to both parties. It is no business of Government servants simply for the purpose of pleasing their superiors or showing that they are very zealous followers of the Government measures, to misrepresent not only the people but themselves, because I know that at heart they do not like it. They misrepresent themselves and the people, to gain some paltry benefits for themselves. It is a question which doubtless will occur to many of you, if you join the Government service how to make the two interests consistent, compatible and reconcilable with each other. For instance, I know of cases where Tahsildars are required to report on the conditions of crops in times of famine. Mind that these Tahsildars are all Indians and that is sometimes made the ground of *reply that is given to us*. What do these Tahsildars do? Somehow or other—I do not know whether correctly or incorrectly—they ascertain the wishes of their Collector unofficially pronounced. Those views gradually pervade the District. One subordinate officer writes to the other and it becomes an open secret and when the reports are sent to Government they say that the crops have not failed to the extent requiring grant of remission. The Tahsildars know that their reports are not correct. Nevertheless they send such reports. I know that the reports submitted on principles other than these were returned to the officer for reconsideration. It is circumstances like these that deter other people from reporting the true state of things to Government.

16. My advice to those who wish to enter the service of Government is of course, under the present circumstances a higher kind of work will not be entrusted to you. Whatever work is entrusted to you, do it without showing any signs of insubordination or disobedience but do not in any way compromise yourselves by accepting without protest anything that you are called upon to do when such a thing is in your opinion against the interests of the country (cheers). There is an old saying that it is very difficult to please two masters. Your two masters are the country and Government. Of course the Government exists for the good of the country; it is also said that the King and the Government can do no wrong. Nevertheless, there are occasions when the two interests conflict, and as servants of Government you may be called upon to do things which you may not like or which you may think to be prejudicial to the interests of the people. In such cases try to state your views boldly at the same time executing the orders for the execution of which you have been allowed to enter the service. Without meaning insubordination, much can be done by Government servants. I quite see the justice of the recent circular that Government servants should not take part in the National Congress Meetings. If I have a servant I would not naturally like that he should go over to the camp of my opponents and see what they are doing. You may be serving the Government of the country but the interests of the country are above those of Government. You are asked to renounce your nationality simply because you have joined Government service. You have not sold yourself and your principle to Government for the salaries you get you have given some independence and you should not compromise that independence. It is very difficult to compromise the two interests. I know of certain officials who go on praising the measures of Government because by flattering their superiors they might get some promotion. Excuse me for plain speaking. Your conduct ought to be of that kind. We who are outside the service and are trying to do some good to the country are not enemies but their best friends. Our friends and

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17. Do your duty boldly if you accept service under Government and serve the interests of your master. But at the same time do not sacrifice your individuality or independence of opinion. If you follow this line of conduct you will be doing great good to your people, to the country and also to the Government.

18. Taking social questions, there are new ideas about personal convenience and household management. You

enter your house and find that everything around you is so queer if not unreasonable. It was Mr. Justice Ranade who said that each of us had to lead a double kind of life. We borrow our ideals from English and foreign literature and history but our life is cast in the old Indian society. We are charged sometimes with want of moral courage and independence and with that kind of weakness resulting in the doing of one thing when we think of another thing. But what consistency of conduct can we expect from the nature of the education imparted to you? Sir Henry Cotton recently described the position of an Indian in London. "You take the youth away from his family, educate him without paying the slightest attention to his surroundings and you drop him into the family again. Evidently he finds himself a strange man amidst strange surroundings; his wife is not to his taste, his mother is not to his taste, and his father is not to his taste; and he thinks every thing must be reformed and that there is no salvation for India until there is reform. I do not blame you for this situation and I am rather speaking with a view of giving instructions from a higher platform.

19. You have to choose your line. What line you would select? It must be one of compromise and compromise on the lines of least resistance. You cannot expect the Society to change with you in a minute however your logic may be. Logic has no effect upon society—or I may say that logic has as much effect on the society as rain has on a mountain. You cannot expect instantaneous improvements. That is the state of society which we call Conservative or Inertia. That inertia is a factor in progress which has to be reckoned with and taken into account in all that we do. It is forgetfulness of that factor that makes us precipitate in, our actions and makes us odious to our people and result in our feeling disappointed with the slow progress. That is how the Society is moving at present and how to move in such a society is a problem which every one of you will have to solve. I would advise you in such cases to study your ancient institutions and ancient books with that kind of sympathy which

can be expected only from a native of the land. Y. Hindus or nobodies. You cannot expect that India as a nation should be completely disassociated from the past and imbibe new traditions. Among you, educated people are only a few. The masses are governed by other forces. You must analyse and realise those forces and shape your action upon them. We have a past civilization of which we may very well be proud. In fact a nation that has no past cannot expect to prosper in future. It is not a clean sheet of which you have to write and you have not got to write a new line. In these matters you must study your ancient institutions, pay attention to the religious traditions of the past and shape your action accordingly.

20. Above all do not feel discontented that your brethren are slow to move. You are not working for the Chinese nation or the English nation but for India which is your motherland. You have to live among Indians, move with them and work for them. Such being the case, what is the good of despising them? They are the people with whose lot your lot is indissolubly wound up, and if you despise them, you will be the only sufferers on that account. It is your duty to move in the society in which you have born and to love it. After receiving the best education, you have to see what the society ought to do, to educate the masses and to bring round gradually all of them to your view. There are people who shrink from this task and they live as it were apart from the society and their conduct is allowed to be uninfluenced by the work of the society. But this state of things does not last long. Many of us have found difficulties. If you are single you may live outside the pale of society but if you are married and have children and they must be married. Somehow or other whether you will or no, you come in contact with the society. What do you do then? You yield to the society but you do not yield with a conviction. You yield as a matter of convenience but the yielding has no effect on society. The life of such a man, his education and the position that he occupies is all lost to the society. He is not one of those forming the society but is an isolated unit, a unit that is out

the orbit and being out of the orbit is sure to come down as meteoric sun which may burn for a time but when it reaches earth is completely extinguished. In these circumstances the advice that I give you in regard to social matters is that here also you must make similar compromise. Society has lost its control over the way by which it can work for the good of the country. Jagat Guru has no power. Your priests have no power. You have your own Ideas and you despise society for not following you immediately. It is remarked—and the remark is true—that the English educated classes of this country are gradually losing their hold upon the lower classes. In the old times all went to priests for guidance. Brahmans were the religious head of the whole society. Your education at present does not befit you to be a religious sect. You have no faith in astrology. Is there any one who takes the place of the old religious head? Yes, the Missionary. I dare say that some of the missionaries are not less educated than you are. Some of them are graduates of Universities. They have received the same liberal education that you have received. They do not think it beneath their dignity to move among the masses, be it for the purpose of preaching their religion and getting people converted. The old Sadhus like Tukaram moved among the masses. Is there a graduate in these days who has this ideal? Reform the religion of the masses and open Samajams everywhere. The work that is carried on by Arya Samajams and Brahmo Samajams is quite good. I may or may not like the principles of those Samajams but the methods which they are following are certainly methods which deserve to be copied everywhere. The responsibility of reforming the religion of the masses and their social customs rests entirely on the educated classes and if you do not fulfil that responsibility, you do not deserve to be the leaders of the masses, and you have no claim to any leadership. If you do not move with the masses and sympathise with their grievances, if you do not collect funds for the relief of any evils or miseries to which they become subject, and if you do not take them into your confidence, then you do not deserve the education that you

have received (Hear, Hear). A hundred years of education has not produced a Hindu Missionary. How many Vivekanandas have you got and how many Dayanandas have you among you. An educated man takes glibly of the education of the masses but he would not move an inch, he would not give up his home and wander about the country as an ascetic and he would not come in contact with the lower classes and try to reform them by his conduct, instruction and personal example. How many of you will do that? The whole work in this direction is lying before you unlooked for. A part of that work is being done by Missionaries to whom I give credit though I do not approve of their intention.

21. You may perhaps read in history what happened in Rome when Christianity was introduced there. Christianity was introduced gradually into lower classes and thus the foundation of society was snatched away. The higher classes could not stand without the lower classes and they fell of themselves with the eventual result that the whole Roman nation became Christians. That is a lesson you derive from history. You perhaps have not created an organisation because you have no funds to do it but you have got a heart if you only see that that heart is yours. There is a saying in Sanscrit which says that as much importance is not to be attached to physical strength as to mental attitude. There is another saying in Vedas which shows that it is the mind which helps you on to salvation. Many of you cannot be expected to enter the Government service. Why not some of you organise a religious institution, go about villages and secure the sympathy of the masses by opening educational institutions, hospitals and other charitable associations just as the Christian Missionaries are doing. Consider what the state of your country would become if Missionaries from foreign countries with their forces are working in this direction with their men and money and you sit with your arms folded and look on with the interest of a Philosopher? Therefore supplement that work of the Missionaries by some knowledge from outside, go and instruct the masses and spread education

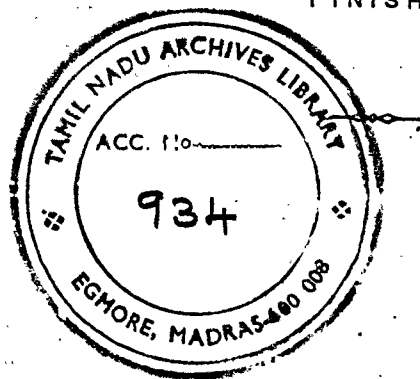
amongst them according to the Western principles and western civilization to secure their advance and with their advance the advancement of the country. The masses ought to be on your side. If you do not move, there are other forces that will drag them to the other side and the society will lose its foundation.

22. The education that you receive does not develop the emotional part of your nature. You who are educated have no settled ideas about your religion but the masses cannot go without a religion. Atheists may be found here and there. But I know of no nation which has been a nation of atheists. Those of you who have imbibed atheist tendencies may remain silent but there are others who do not think that atheism can be accepted by the whole nation and they must come forward and work like the real Sadhus of old. Is there any reason why there could not be a Sadhu among you? We have been finding fault with our leaders to a certain extent. Many of you who have received western education are not prepared to co-operate. Some of you if you have the capacity and the will, can do much work in your own way. But there is a strength of conviction that is wanting that you have a duty to perform and that it must be performed at any cost. The sooner it is performed the better. It is that kind of conviction that is wanting in you. The same remarks apply to industrial matters. All the twenty-four hours are not required for earning the means of livelihood. There is always a portion of time left which if you do not spend idly you may utilise for doing something in the direction of realising any of the higher ideals of your country. Some of you may spend this spare time in idle talk, in playing out-door games or in playing cards (Laughter). Your first duty is to find out what you can do for your country. Each of you can do a little. You should show your sympathy with all the movements in the country and secondly take a little portion of the work and do it during your life time. Take the instance of an independence-loving country like England. Even Lord Salisbury had his special work for moments of recreation. Lord Balfour is a

scientist. Men of business and Statesmen have certain idea before them. If every graduate in India placed a small idea before him, consider what an amount of work can be turned out. You keep absolutely no ideal, expect perhaps one of promotion if you are in Government service. There is, for instance, the industrial development. One man can make pencils and another matches. It is not difficult for one man to collect all information to make an Oil-Factory and work it successfully. Each one of you can do a little and that little is never paid attention to. It devolves upon a few people. I wish that when you go into the world after your College career you remember that you have a duty to your country and that you should perform it however imperfectly is not for you to consider. When you do that to the best of your ability leave the rest for the future generation. The means at your disposal should be fully utilised in realising some particular ideal. You should find out what ideal the country is suited for, think deeply, resolve promptly and act fearlessly. With these few words I take your leave, thanking you once more for your address of welcome.

(Loud Cheers).

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