Introduction :-

A discovery of the New World has resulted in the formation of ‘the empire’, and export of various European languages to New learners. Subsequently, under the garb of appropriative process the Empire “dispossessed or exterminated”[1] the natives. Till the late twentieth century the power dynamics of colonization has remained on the margins of epistolary evaluations. One can survey the post-colonial paradigms along with other permanent modes of writings which represent various facets of nation construction. The freedom struggle of India has been celebrated almost through all the possible forms of presentations. It is a kind of an opportunity to celebrate such event of the world which initiated the process of (power) paradigm shift from the West to the East. In the process one can observe that how as being the direct mode of writing epistolary writing differs from other direct as well as indirect modes of writings . Specifically, in case of Indian independent movement how the epistolary writings of Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose and Aurobindo Ghose are helpful in deconstructing the concept of ‘Benevolent Empire’. With the help of letters written by Indian freedom fighters one can explore how the epistolary writing unearths the facts that has not been touched by other indirect modes of writings such as memoirs, photography, films, architecture and other famous of art.

Since the days of Indian struggle of independence several artists have tried to celebrate the zeal of constructing the nation with the help of their multifaceted arts. The writings of several fighters of Indian independence such as the Diary by Mahadev Desai, My Experiments with Truth, Hind Swaraj, The Discovery of India, by M.K. Gandhi Uncompleted Autobiography of Subhas Chandra Bose, Aurobindo’s

Bhavani Mandir, (the temple of the holy mother), Vartaman Rananiti (the technique of Modern Fighting) and Mukti Kon Pathe (Which Way Freedom!), Karma Yogin and Dharma. Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak’s Kesari, Shrimadbhagvat Geeta Rahashya, The Need for A National Hero, The Mahratta, Joti Rao Phule’s Shetkaryacha Asud, (the cultural whipcord), Tarabai Shinde’s A Comparision of Men and Woman 1882. Jail Notes of Bhagat Singh, Tagore’s Nationalism, Greater India, Ms. Golwalkar’s Bunch of Thoughts, Not Socialism But Hindu Rashtra, Babasaheb Ambedkar’s The National Dividend of India, Provincial Decentralization of Imperial Finance in British India, The Problem of a Rupee, Annihilation of Caste, What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables? Who were the Shurdas? The Untouchables and Thoughts on Linguistic States Raja Gopalachari’s Satyam Eva Jayate and Rammonmar Lohia’s The Caste System tried to make their contribution in the form of books. Movies like Oscar winning Gandhi, Birth of a Nation by D. Griffith, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose: The Forgotten Hero, The Legend of Bhagat Singh, Sardar, Veer Savarkar, Kranti, Indian, Gandhi – My father, Saheed, Veera Puthran, etc. provide glaring examples of the best creative arts to animate the memories of freedom struggle on the screen. At the same time the architectures and monuments maintained and embellished such as Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad; Gandhi Ashram, Vardha; Kochrab Asharam; Red Fort, Delhi; Cellular Jail, Andaman and Nicobar Islands; Jalianwala Baugh, Amritsar; August Kranti Maidam, Mumbai; Anand Bhavan, Allahabad; Saradar Smarak, Ahmedabad; Statue of Unity, Statues of Bhagat Shigh, Sukhdev and Rajguru at Ludhiana and Hussainiwala can also be considered as artistic attributes to the patriotic zeal of the creative brains of India.

Lalas Hardayal’s Ghadar (Rebellion), Annie Besant’s New India, Common Weal, How India Wrought for Freedom?, Collections of poems by Sarojini Naidu
such as *The Golden Threshold*, and *The Feather of the Dawn*. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay’s *Anand Math*, Raja Rao’s *Kantha Pura* And Mulk Raj Anand’s *The Untouchables* represents the writers and their writing that have contributed their responsibility through the mediums of literary writings.

At the same time it becomes essential to investigate that epistolary writing occupies the central stage amongst the other direct modes of writings such as speeches, articles and books. The Indian independent movement witnessed several memorable speeches such as delivered by Mahatma Gandhi at Banaras Hindu University on 4th February 1916, *Quit India* on 8th August, 1942 and *Satya aur Ahimsa*; by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose: ‘*Give me blood and I will give you freedom*’ on 4th July 1944 at a rally in Yangon address to *Indians in East India*; An address to *Haripura congress*; by Jawaharlal Nehru *The Light has Gone Out* and *A Tryst with Destiny*; by Sardar Patel, *On Internal Peace* provides some of the best examples of speeches that awakened the soul of India.

For the proper understanding of the epistolary writing which has been designated as “not a genre but all genres, literature itself,” one can refer to ancient writings like *Mahabharat, Iliad* and *Hippolitus*; for historical letters- a letters of Isocrates to Alexander, of Henry-IV to Geoffrey Chaucer; for family letters of Oliver Cromwell’s letter to his wife, of John Keats to George and Thomas Keats; for the letters written in exile and prison a letter from Thomas More to his daughter, of Francis Bacon to James I; from the literary sphere- a letter written by John Milton to Thomas Jure, by John Von Goethe to Friedrich Von Schiller, by Charles Lamb to Coleridge. Similarly for epistolary fiction one can examine *Chion of Heraclea*,

---


At the same time it is interesting to analyze the process of nation construction through the medium of epistolary writing of Indian freedom fighters. The first chapter of this research discusses about the concept of nation and nationalism. Here with the help of varieties of ideologies one can analyze the identity of the Nation. For the characteristics of the Nationalism one can enumerate the view of Earnest Renan, Joseph Stalin and Gellner. For Renan, Nationalism is not a natural phenomenon but it is the outcome of human ‘will’ and ‘memory’. At the same time Joseph Stalin takes the cultural aspect of nationalism and emphasis upon the ‘psychic formulation in a historically constituted community of culture’\(^3\). Whereas, Geller explains that such process creates the nationalism, especially through ‘ideologies.’ He explains the process of nation emergence from the perspective of human development from agrarian culture the industrial modern world. For him Nationalism is a kind of ‘A pyramid at whose base are primary schools’.\(^4\)

Likewise the idea of nationalism leads us to evaluate that there were two predominant nationalisms in the mid-1960s. The first would depend upon the national history and the sentiment associated with the nation. Such sentiment would gradually lead to ‘broad narrative histories of individual nations’\(^5\). It ultimately links to a typology such as that between Western and Eastern nationalism. From the modern (second) approach to nationalism it would seemed to be irrational doctrine which is

---


\(^5\) Ibid. P.XX.
capable of generating nationalist sentiment and even nation state. At the same time there must be proper distinction between the state and the nation. With the help of Gellner’s definition one can try to find distinction between them.

For proper understanding about the rise and growth of nation and state it is beneficial to analyze it from agrarian revolution. At the same time ninety-nine percent of human civilization could sustain without state. It was the need to divide the labour during the first agrarian society which ultimately saw the seeds for the state. Consequently, the period of industrial revolution strengthened and vitalized it for modern nation state. Similarly, it is easy to observe that some of preconditions for nation states had been actualized during the agrarian period. From the prospective of western society one finds that there was no cultural affinity between the rules and the ruled, such changes resulted in the bigger fractionalization of the societies.

The winds of industrial society challenged the constancy and continuity of pre-modern world. As the sequels of it one finds continuous economic and cognitive changes in human life. The gradual emergence of educated society under the rule of empire inculcated the awareness about the exploitation. Consequently, the language (which has been thought) played the role of a chain which brought together various layers of the nation on one level. Similarly, due to education there opens various opportunities throughout the nation which transformed the stationed society into mobile society to remove the high culture and as a result of which there remained no loyalty to the rules from the subject.

Now the question arises that if such was the process of emergence of the nation state than each and every nation of the world faced same such process of emergence. Then why there is no single nation in the world? This unique question
would be discussed in detail in the chapter-1 of the research with the example such as no simultaneous spread of industrialization and education in the world.

At the same time talking about the kind of nationalism we would try to evaluate how they emerged gradually and due to that how they are not same in their forms and shapes. We would evaluate market and protest as the major factors behind their evolutions. In the process we would like to see how on the basis of relationship between the states and high cultures Gellner represents four different types of nationalism in Europe. To explore various routes to nation states there must be discussion about the difference between gradualist and nationalist aspirants. Following that we would like to see how many types of nationalisms have been experienced by India such as, territorial, anti-colonial national movement and break away one.

Following that it is fruitful to evaluate the forms of nationalism on the basis of various definitions. Here one can examine that how it is capable to bring people from various dimensions under one roof with the feeling of ‘cultural sensibility of sovereignty’6. At the same time it is useful to analyze the elements that constitute the national identity. On the other hand, factors such as development of printing in vernaculars, relation among nation and culture and similarly between symbols, rituals and festival are also responsible in creating national consciousness. As sequence to it one should discuss the theories of nationalism such as, social communication, economic and political/ideological. Consequently, it is useful to evaluate rise and growth of nationalism in Europe, America and India comparatively. At the same time it become necessary to see how global capitalism and free markets are playing their significant roles in changing for which Michael Mann opines that it ‘is a modern

---

phenomenon though it’s rise has been widen with complexity of factors.” In addition to that it is beneficial to evaluate different approaches to nationalism such as liberal humanitarian, Expansionist, Marxist, Fascist and anti-colonial approaches.

Further more, it is interesting to evaluate the concern of Benedict Anderson about ‘an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.’ For comparative studies of nationalism one can discuss four prominent prototypes of nationalism such as the concept of nations by global community, Europeans, official nationalism and subsequently one should evaluate Homi Bhabha’s concern about nation and its narration. Along with Said and Spivak, Bhabha counteracts the cultural and material domination of the empire. The study reflects his analysis of ideological base of colonial dominion. He discusses about Janus-faced ambivalence of language, experience of migration and language of metaphor. Further he emphasizes upon the comparison between nationalism and enlightenment. To strengthen his agreement he refers to major thinkers from the world over such as Raymond Williams’ distinction between residual and ethnographic description of the narrative splitting, Foucault’s ‘marginal integration of individuals,’ Renan’s notion of existence of a nation as a daily plebiscite, Marx’s reserve army of labour and John Berger’s description of the difficulty that a Turkish worker faces in Germany.

The second chapter would focus upon the emergence of nationalism in India. The contribution of various social, cultural and economical thinkers of the nation exemplify the diverse concepts of nation building in India. At the same time it becomes significant to observe that in which way these thinkers evaluated the ‘drain

---

theory’ of empire. To give voice to the thoughts of thinkers John Keay in his *India: A History* observes that instead a being supported Indian economy ‘was being drain away by the ruling power’\textsuperscript{10}. As a result of which elite mass of Indian middle class started comparing their situation with that of French and American Revolutions. Consequently they could observe the systematic exploitations by the Empire. Such thinkers also observed that such exploitation is extended from the village economy to the foreign trade of India. The empire squeezed the strength of India with its cunning policies. The Indian subject could experience the special provisions for the missionary activities and prejudice against the native soldiers. At the same time the defects in Punjab and Afghan wars disclosed several weaknesses of the so called Empire.

The changes after 1857 on Indian political firmament provide sufficient evidences that England is now no more benevolent towards the Indians. The end of long rule of East India Company in the form of Proclamation of the Queen reflects the strength of Indian revolutionaries. For whom there were special provisions under the Indian Council Act. At the same time special policies were introduced for Indian Princely states. The greater significance was given to the policy of divide and rule. Along with the policy of racial discrimination the Vernacular Press Act unmasked the hidden agendas of the Empire. For which one of the most prominent social reformers of India Raja Rammohan Ray observed that in the history of the world there is no revolution took place because of ‘the Free Press’. On the contrary ‘where no freedom of the press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredeessed, innumerable revolutions have taken place.’\textsuperscript{11} At the same time the unjustified scissors on the age limitations of the competitive exams added fuel to

burning fire against the unjustifiable introduction of the European constitution in India. On the other hand spiritual leaders like Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda, Ishwarchandra Vidhyasagar and Raja Rammohan Roy laid the foundation of cultural reformation though religious movements like Ram Krishna Mission and Brahma Samaj. Similarly spiritual leaders like Swami Dayananda Saraswati can be recognized as the founder of Indian Nationhood. Following them some other movement also raised such as Deoband, Singh Sabha, Prarthana Sabha and Radhaswami Movement etc. Consequently, the contribution of the British Rule by introducing legal system, education system, railways, telegram and of course by postal services played the significant role in spreading the winds of change throughout the nation. The same changes of winds stand our object of research, for it is this change that promoted most of the ideas in base of nation making process of India in more than one way.

Following that one finds numbers of nationalistic associations which laid foundational stones for the strong nationalistic awakening in India. The associations such as East India Association (1866) founded by Dadabhai Naoroji, Pune Public Conference (1870), Indian League (1875), Indian Association (1876), and Mahajan Sabha (1889) all of them accumulatively prepared the base for Allan Octave Hume’s concept of All India Congress. The main objective of Hume’s vision have been to curb the dissatisfaction of Indian Nationals by satisfying their demands about general right in their own country. The arrival of Balgangadhar Tilak brought the congress more close to the people while with the efforts of Mr. Gandhi it assumed its ultimate national character. The period of 1885 to 1905 has been considered for Indian nationalism as the period of moderate nationalism. Following that period we find ideological rise in revolutionary trio namely Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Ray
and Bipinchandra Pal. They expressed their dissatisfactions through extremist activities.

On the other hand it becomes necessary to evaluate the major factors behind the rise of nationalism in India. First of all it is the rude and unjustified behavior of the British Rule which was exhibited at the association such as Delhi Durbar and other exhibitions. On the other hand the invigorating influences of spiritual leaders such as Ram Krishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda, Dayananda Saraswati and Sri Aurobindo rejuvenated the demanded self respect and self confidence of India. In one of his most encouraging style Swami Vivekananda opines that,

India will be raised, not with the power of flesh, but with the power of the spirit; not with the flag of destruction, but with the flag of peace and love.\textsuperscript{12}

Likewise the international events such as the defeat of Italy against Abyssinia (Ethiopia in 1896) and of Russian empire against the smaller Asian country like Japan (1904-1905) provided sufficient moral boost up for Indian citizens to stand up against the Empire. At the same time issues like increasing racial discrimination, indentured laboring and the biased Press Act functioned as fuel to the fire.

On the other hand the Empire divided Bengal for its political advantages under the façade of administrative inconveniency. The plague of Pune also added to the grievance of Indian people because Government did not play its responsible role for its subject. In such aggrieved situations radical leaders like Chapekar and Savarkar brothers, Syamji Krishna Verma, Sardarsinh Rana, Madam Kama and Madanlal

Dhingra tried to convey the voice of discontented Indian people to the Empire through all possible means. Similarly Lala Hardayal in America by forming his Ghadar party and Raja Mahendra Pratap by establishing his government while being in exile at Kabul, represent some of the best examples of neo nationalist movement in India.

On the ground works performed by all such nationalistic leaders for years (especially after 1857) strengthened the concept of nationalism for the next generation of Indian leaders. One can employ the epistolary writing of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo and Subhas Chandra for finding out the bedrocks behind the foundation of struggle of independence fought and won by India.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s concern about India in general and its depressed class in particular makes him unique leader of the entire world. In a sense he raised his voice for slaves of the slave (slave of Indians) one can say for ‘subalterns’. He inspired several leaders of the world be he is Martin Luther King Jr., Nelson Mandela or Barak Obama. The indomitable spirit with which he emancipated the depressed classes of India inspired several people thought the globe to remove social and class discrimination from humanity. One can evaluate his contribution to the field of education, social protest for untouchables, the use of Satyagraha for civil rights, and the demand of separate electorates and constitution reforms of India.

The greatest contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has been his challenge to the age old discriminatory social structure of India. With the help if Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha or Federation of Depressed Class he gave tongue to the dumb sections of India. For his unique contribution to India as an Indian Ananya Vajpeyi has rightly observed that,
For whatever Ambedkar might have claimed about his desire to break entirely with Hindu India, ultimately we cannot but regard the man as straining to build India a new, in such way as to redefine the very basis of what it was to be India…

At the same time while walking on the path of Jotiba Phuley Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar could carve out several significant maps for humanity and contribution to ‘build India a new’. In the year 1922 the national environment of Indian national politics was alive with the vision of patriotic zeal. In the same year congress constituted one sub-committee for empowerment of untouchables. The epistolary conversation between Swami Shraddhanand and Motilal Nehru makes us aware about the actuality behind forming such committee. The suppliant reply of Motilal Nehru provides evidence for status of then Indian politics.

Dr. Ambedkar was firm believer in Hindu symbols and ancient Indian mythologies. His desire to support the down trodden class of India has been reflected in the form of Constitution of Modern India. His economic acumen and understanding of Indian market has been reflected in his Doctoral research. He was perhaps the only nationalist leader who could argue against not giving separate electorates to the Dalits. Mr. Gandhi’s fast unto death and opposition to Dr. Ambedkar reveals some of the unexplored area of India politics. But at the end his leniency to let India remain united against divisional policies of Britain elevates his stature as the architect of independent India. The letter written and received by him strengthens this argument.

As a political activist in 1936 he found the Independent Labour Party and had vibrant result in the election of 1937. The complex issues such as that of Jat Pat

---

13Ananya, Vajpayi, Righteous Republic; The Political Foundation of Modern India, Cumberland; Howard University Press, 2012, PP. 208-209.
Todak Mandal reflect the amount of struggle he had to face. Later on he had to convert Independent Labour Party into All India Schedule Class Federation. He also becomes a member of Governor General’s Executive Council from 1941 to 1946. With reference of C. R. Das he appreciated the status of Dominion status in true sense. For him it should benefit every constituent of commonwealth. Along with Mr. Atlee he put his efforts to empower the schedule casts of India. The most significant characteristic of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has been his moderate way and prudent political acumen to gain right for the Dalits without breaking unity of the nation. He refused the offers of Empire and ultimately contributed to his motherland a unique constitution for which he opines that,

However good a constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it happen to be bad lot.14

At the same time by ignoring the reflection of the Hindu Sanatani, taking the reference from Hindu Smritis Babasaheb introduced Hindu Code Bill as being the chairman of a committee constituted to draft Indian constitution. Along with that he also expressed his worries about deplorable conditions of Dalits in Pakistan.

On the other hand similar such compassion for the down trodden of the society can be found in the heart of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who can be recognized as the chief architect of Indian independence. With the help of epistolary writing one can clear several unsolved puzzles of Indian independent struggle. It reveals his belief in political path for emancipation, role of media in national building, his inheritances from the senior leaders, faith in truth and non-violence, erudition from Indian

mythologies, faith in Satyagraha and Khadi, significance of epistolary writing as the medium of communication, efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity, Women empowerment, the necessity for educational advancement, social engineering for untouchability, wealth and hygiene and strong faith in better tomorrow of India.

Mr. Gandhi strongly believed that the independence of India is possible only through the medium of political path. For his strong belief he sacrificed his family. At the same time he tried to synthesize various sections of the society. To correct the injustices done by the British Government he strongly emphasized upon the way of self correction. In the same way he provided an example that politics also can be a mean to serve humanity. On the other hand Mr. Gandhi can be considered as one of most proficient users of media to deliver his patriotic services. He was proficient user to cover his nationalistic concerns to the masses through Indian Opinion, New India, Swarajya, Andhra Keshari or Hindu. Similarly, whatever it was required he stood against the government whenever it tried to gag the freedom of speech. In one of his letters to Lord Reading, the Viceroy and Governor General of India, he expressed his worry that,

The immediate task before the country; therefore is to rescue, from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press.15

Such preciseness for Political practice was lessons learned from various political leaders of India, who bestowed Mr. Gandhi with lessons of politics, social understanding and spirited matters of India. Mr. Gandhi himself acknowledged the contributions of Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak,

15 Gandhi, M.K., "To the Viceroy, lord Reading".1st February 1922. Letter. Young India, 9th February 1922.
Leo Tolstoy, Rabindranath Tagore, C. Rajagopalachari and Henry David Thoreau for his understanding of India. He never hesitated to consider himself as, ‘yet inexperienced and young and therefore quite liable to make mistake’.16

Mahatma Gandhi’s greatest strength as the national leader lies in his strong faith in non-violence. He inculcated such nectar of humanity from the ancient Indian literatures. Under such path he led the entire nation for service of mankind with the self confidence in the light of the truth. He had firm faith in the base of truth. Along with truth Mr. Gandhi also stood for the ancient Indian quality of non-violence. He practiced and preached the message for entire humanity. He also emphasized upon the improvement of prison houses as well so that from there the message of non-violence would be disseminated to the people who need it the most. The Noble Peace Prize winner Martin Luther King Jr. in his speech at the time of receiving the Noble observes that,

…Non-violence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our times..17

Mr. Gandhi can be recognized as the rarely found religious politician of the world. He not only inherited the lessons from Indian mythology but also colored the entire world of politics in the color of that vision. Since his childhood, his mother taught him the lessons of non-violence from *Ramayan, Mahabharata, and Bhagawat Gita*. In the young age he was fascinated by the thought of Gautama Buddha. These lessons made him comfortable to stand in the whirlwind of international politics.

---

The form of epistolary writing stood by him as the supporting pillar to his political career. In the third chapter one can find a unique analysis of his application of various salutations and greetings. The entire analysis would lead us to understand that how he employed such skills of communications for the sake of his mother land. It is with the help of such letters only one can find his message for youth and their responsibility for the nation. The letters reveal Mr. Gandhi’s concerns about all pervading equal development of the nation through letters only.

The task of women empowerment was made the mission of life by Mr. Gandhi since his childhood. For which he realized that entire society needs to improve itself for equal rights of the woman. In some of his significant letters he enumerates man’s responsibilities towards woman and also the importance to improve the status of prostitutes in the society by providing them opportunities to improve. In the sense he was concerned about the complete picture of humanity in real sense. At the same time being the chief architect of the free India he could realize the need of an hour such as emancipation of the untouchables. He emphasized upon the worship of Daridranarayan and on the basis of which he could design the seamless, strong structure of country called India.

At the same time his vision for education also proves him a unique leader of the nation. Some of his letters reveal his goal for education as to build a strong character which would ultimately help in building the strong nation. In his considerations vernaculars are appropriate mediums for ordinary citizens to import the knowledge. He believed in Ashram way of teaching and learning system.

With the help of his letter we would try to see Mr. Gandhi’s concern about the communal harmony amongst Hindus and Muslims in the nation. Till the last breadth
he preached for such harmony. His letters to Jinnah and Maulana Abdul Kalam reveal the intensity of his desire. With the help of his letters one can analyze how he predicted the tension between India and Pakistan would ultimately lead to the tension of international politics.

The most appropriate persons to be called an international politician during Indian freedom struggle than he would be Subhas Chandra Bose. As the prominent leader he could explore the ‘intersections among subjectivity, economics, and politics.’\textsuperscript{18} He has been perhaps the only Congress president who believed in theory of armed resistance against the empire till his last breadth. In a sense he has been a unique leader who believed in the powerful resistance for Indian independence. War time British Prime Minister Clement Atlee acknowledges the role played by the Mr. Bose that it was the impact of activities promoted by Subhas Chandra Bose in the form of Indian National Army that shook the very foundations of the British Empire in India by Weakening the British ruled India.\textsuperscript{19}

With the help of his epistolary writing one can try to analyze the significance of epistolary writing itself, his inspiration from Indian Renaissance, his self experiences of having illicit intervention of the British government, his faith in the \textit{Élan vital}, inspiration from seniors, his abilities to deal with international issues, his political excellence, and along with all that his curiosity to construct a unique self dependent nation.


\textsuperscript{19} Unpublished, Public Relation Officer, London. War Officer, 2081761A; James L.
Various letters by him reveal his innate qualities such as his letters addressed to his mother reveal his love and devotion for the nation, to his brother Sarat reveal turmoil of his life, to Bivabati Bose, Dilip Kumar Roy and Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay exemplify his keen observation of art, music, literature, nature, education, folklore, civic affairs, criminology and politics; similarly his letters addressed to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru reveal his strength and sharpness as politician, on the other hand his letters to Emilie Schenkl disclose the depth of his heart as a human being.

Subhas Chandra Bose could explain the significance of epistolary writings in the best possible way. He had experienced the British imprisonment for several times. During those times the medium of epistolary writings was the only mean to communicate with the outside world. Most of the significant events in the life of Mr. Bose were communicated through epistolary writings only. Whether it was the matter of Dadabhai Naoroji’s victory or his resignation from ICS, all of them were communicated through epistolary writings. In his letter to C. R. Das he confesses the benefits to communicate through epistolary writing. Several intimate issues related to his life such as his ‘strange illness’, sympathies of followers in various forms, expulsion from the post of Congress president even though after being democratically elected could be communicated through the medium of letters only. At the same time some of his personal letters reveal unjustifiable interventions of the British Government. Some of his letters addressed to his brother Sarat reveal the deliberate delays in delivery of the letters sent by Subhas Chandra Bose. Similarly, some of his letters also reveal the threat of discontinuity due to authorities’ man handling. One of his letters addressed to Basanti Devi, wife of Deshbandhu provides strong evidence of
Colonial intervention in the matter of the communication made by their prisoners. Subhas Chandra himself mentions that,

I wish to say so much—there is so much to say— but the time for that has not come yet. I set down to write even this letter after much hesitation—because it will pass through other hands. 20

Similarly, several other letters containing criticism of colonial power “pass through” the hands of authorities. Perhaps it may be one of the reasons why all the letters are not available for the purpose of research today. On the other hand it was the experience of jails only which brought Subhas Chandra very near to the legends of the movement of Indian independence. He could generate creative and energetic spirit from their experience and at the same time he was motivated by these leaders only to establish the cause of nation above anything else in the life of true patriot.

At the same time to sustain such patriotic zeal Subhas Chandra in some of his letters mentions the Élan Vital which energies him whenever got dejected from the blows of empire. In some of his personal letters addressed to his relatives’ one finds his excellent sense of humor to laugh upon the dire situation such as inside the prison. Similarly, he had good understanding about the various forms of art. For him the art of the music stood as the Ananda. To explain the fun of art he brings a Sanskrit term Raso Bai Saha that means ecstasy in every element. On the other hand, he has great knowledge about the importance and benefit of physical exercise as well. For art of writing he explains it as process of enlightenment.

20 Unpublished, Bose, Subhas Chandra, to “Basanti Devi “ 23rd January 1926, letter. (original written in Bengali)
New Delhi: National archives.
Similarly, for the inspiration to walk upon the path of Indian independence Subhas Chandra got inspiration from the senior freedom fighters. He had a feeling of devotion for Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak, Deshbandhu, and Bhagat Singh. Likewise his letters to Mr. Gandhi reveal his tergiversating relationship with the father of nation. Whereas some of his letters reveal his reverence for Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo for their contribution such as process of man making and on the basis of that constructing a nation.

On the other hand, there is no danger in calling Subhas Chandra Bose as the international Indian in more than one sense. He could observe the role of Empire exploiting his nation from various corners of the globe. Not only that, he could critically evaluate the presence of various European countries in India as well. He could calculate and evaluate their administrative activities to commercially exploit the nation with proper evidence. Some of his letters reflect examples of such observation. As an Indian he could personally experience the prejudice against Indians both at home and abroad. That may be one of the reasons which led him to represent India at the international level. Similarly on finding wrong inspiration of India at the international level he could represent the true identity of India in front of the world. Moving one step ahead he could also visualize that how a country like India would help the international communities. In one of his most inspiring addresses Subhas Chandra clarifies that,
We who are fighting for political freedom of India and other enslaved countries of the British Empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British people as well.  

The concern about economic emancipation of ‘the British people as well’ (those who are economically not sound) reveals his unique quality to observe painful existence of civilians of the country which had mesmerized the entire world with the façade of grandeur and pomp.

Likewise, his arrival on the stage of national politics brought several shifts and changes. To improve the status of Indian politics Subhas Chandra, an ICS candidate had unique understanding about the then political scenario of the world. He had pragmatic observations of political events of the world. With the help of resources available to him, he could evaluate and analyze internal as well as external political turmoil of the countries those who were struggling for its emancipation such as Ireland, China and Japan. This stand points provided him the positions from where he could evaluate the political matrix of the British Empire from the disinterested angle. Some of his epistolary communication with prominent leaders of India reveals his genuine concern for future of Indian politics. One of his significant letters addressed to Jawaharlal Nehru reveals the spirit of politics in India with its futuristic trajectory as,

If one takes the election controversy as a whole, one would have thought that after the contest was over the whole episode would be forgotten, the hatchet would be buried and, as happens after boxing-

---

21 Bose, Subhas Chandra, “Haripura Congress”, presidential address at the fifty first session of the Congress, Haripura, 19TH FEB. 1938, Address.
bout, the boxers would smiling shake hands. But in spite of truth and
non-violence, this did not happen.\textsuperscript{22}

Such ‘smiling shake hands’ is not possible today. In a sense Subhas Chandra
had forecasted the future of Indian politics well in advance. Along with that he did not
only introduce various political theories in India but also implemented them on the
practical fields as well.

Similarly, his vision to construct India is one of best dreams that our freedom
fighters had. The only difference with him is that he visualized the future of the
nations on the basis of factual data. In one of his most effective discourses upon the
‘Free India and its Problems,’ he reveals his concerns as,

If Culture, Civilizations, administrations and economic prosperity were
possible in India before British rule – they will also be possible after
British rule. In fact, under British rule, the culture and civilizations of
India has been suppressed … a land that was formerly rich and
prosperous has become one of the poorest in the world.\textsuperscript{23}

Similarly, he also analyzed the political standards for the future generation as
well. There are end numbers of incidents where he has discussed upon the matter of
Indian Constitution, democracy and solutions for local problems. At the same time his
vision for defense mechanism of the nation actually lays the foundations for national
defense mechanism in India since first half of the twentieth century.

\textsuperscript{22} Bose, Subhas Chandra, ‘To Jawaharlal Nehru’ 28th March 1939. Letter. \textit{The Essential Writings of
P.244.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid. P.288
On the other hand his vision for enlightened India also reflects in his views about the educational policies in India. In this way Subhas Chandra’s views about significance of epistolary writing, inspirations from Indian renaissance, illicit intervention of the British government, élan vital, the inspirations from senior leaders, awareness about international politics and curiosity to construct can be evaluated with the help of his epistolary writing.

As a unique patriot of Indian motherland Aurobindo Ghose has created his niche in the temple of service of one’s own motherland. He combined nationalism with spiritualism. Even though he excelled in Western education system he had strong inclination for Indian tradition. One of his contemporaries Sister Nivedita opined about him that,

The true seer is he who carries his vision into action, regardless of the consequences to himself; this is the doctrine of the Gita repeated again and again.24

Similarly, this ‘seer’ sacrificed whatever he had regardless of the consequences. He has been considered as one of the pioneers who dreamt the total independence of India before everyone in the first half of the twentieth century.

As a nationalistic leader Sri Aurobindo’s vision to construct a nation extends from the process of divine man making to the multi-dimensional development of the nation. For such development he made base of the natural low of creation. His views about the foundation of the nation are more emphatic than that of many other leaders of that time. His desire to reconstitute culture, social and economic India reflects in one of his letters to Mohit Kumar Roy as,

---

As you well know, I am identifying myself with only one kind of work or propaganda as regards India, the endeavor to reconstitute her culture, social and economic life within larger and freer lines that the past on a spiritual basis.\textsuperscript{25}

At the same time he gave similar emphasis upon the role of education in the process of nation construction. The reason behind it might have been his strong faith in the unique quality of Indian minds. He had clear cut vision for Indian politics under the British Raj as well. He was perhaps first among those who thought that media would also be helpful to us in the construction of the nation. At the same time on the basis of few of his letters we would try to see that why he was unwilling to construct the nation without proper foundation.

In the history of India the name of Aurobindo Ghose can be counted amongst those gifted sons of soil who contributes to three different fields of life; such as to the field of words, to the field of deeds (as a revolutionary) and to the field of arts (because of his unique literature). At the same time he can be counted from generation which started looking towards the Raj with the skeptical gaze. As a nationalist patriotic leader he strongly believed in the nation first theory. With the help his letters we would try to see that how he personified the nation as a living body.

At the same time he also reveals the significance of epistolary conversation in the process of emergence of a nation. One should observe his use of different codes employed in his letters. Likewise, it would be an interesting study to observe that how many doctrines were pioneered by Sri Aurobindo as a nationalist leader. Along with

that it is significant to observe that a person like Sri Aurobindo had unflinching admiration for Indian tradition be it is magnanimity of Sanskrit, Indian philosophy, faith in spirituality or tradition of sages.

Similarly, his ideological affinities with other Indian freedom fighters makes the journey of Indian independent struggle more interesting. His principle of never to appeal, Gospel of *Ahimsa*, Passive Resistance, erudition of *Bhagawat Gita*, edification of *Atma Sanyam*, the idea of indigenous industrializations and faith in the greatness of mother India brings him not only closer to other Indian freedom fighters but also confirms his unique role in composing the theme for freedom struggle.

Sri Aurobindo strongly believed in the role of media in nation making. For him it is perhaps the only source to know the ‘real India’. He strongly opined that it is the ultimate path in the given circumstances and perhaps the strongest weapon to be used against the colonial rule. Likewise, Sri Aurobindo also had logical argument for *Chatur Varma Parampara* which will help the nation to gain the most after independence.

In short, the epistolary writings of all these four freedom fighters provide us a unique standpoint which equips us to analyze the vision of different nations which we are having in one. It becomes even more interesting to compare and contrast them with each other. At the same time evaluating their personal statements given in their letters make it possible to reach at very genesis of the concept. On the basis of which India as a nation came into existence. Even the constantly changing positions of our political leaders in their personal communications would be helpful in understanding how socio, political or even economic conditions compelled them to act in a particular pattern. With the help of some of unpublished letters it is expected that one may reach
at the unexpected horizons of Indian independence. With the help of them the
tolerance towards co-existence of various nations would be more strengthened. The
innate Indian element to learn best from all possible elements from all the dimensions
would enrich the nation with the necessary forgotten, misplaced or easily not
available lessons of its pioneers.