Introduction

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century Bengal witnessed a religious movement which some critics have characterized as 'Hindu Revival'. The title has carried the implication that the movement sought to revive the superstitions and the many objectionable customs associated with Hinduism, which had begun to be looked upon as obsolete and otiose with the spread of the Western Enlightenment in India. A further implication has been the supposed undoing (by this alleged revival) of the many good things achieved by the reforming sects of the nineteenth century, notably the Brahmo Samaj, which had already rejected those customs and superstitions and had accepted the Enlightenment of the West as a basic ingredient of its creed.

Such criticisms, as noted later in this study, have been improper. The notion 'Hindu Revival' is of doubtful validity and a more appropriate title would be: 'The New Hindu Movement', - a phrase actually used by one of the sponsors of the movement, namely Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Bankim coined the term 'New Hindu' to distinguish his interpretation of Hinduism from practices that were popular and orthodox; but the New Hindu spirit was in fact a pervasive one. It was in fact the informing spirit of the whole epoch designated by the more popular title 'Hindu Revival'; and
the spirit was potent enough to outstrip the bounds of religion properly so-called and to irradiate at once the fields of Contemporary Literature, the Fine Arts, Music, History, Education and above all Politics. Actually, the New Hindu Movement had much to do with the Religious Nationalism of the Bengal Partition Movement (the Swadeshi Movement). Indeed, a clear understanding of Indian Nationalism requires a close study of the ideas that constituted the New Hindu Movement. The movement itself had a far larger scope - it was in fact the embodiment of a vision of the New India as it could be made. Seen in this light, the politics of the movement was only a by-product. Such a broad movement needs to be carefully studied.

The ideas that went to the making of the movement and those that justify the new title can be grouped under three heads: the idea of a Rational Religion, that of Personal Illumination through Religion, and that of an ancient Indian Civilization which was thought to be of paramount relevance to the India that was going the Western way. (1) The spirit of rationalism transmitted through Western education coupled with the challenge of evangelism of the Christian missionaries had shocked the Hindus with an awareness of the imperfections of the prevalent Hindu religious customs and beliefs. Hinduism had been criticised as an accretion of external ceremonials and social conventions. The application of the rational approach towards religion
had started with Rammohan Roy (1774-1833). Following his lead, later Brahmo leaders like Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905) and Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-84) had opted for a species of Intuitionism as the rational basis of the Brahmo creed of Vedantic Monotheism. But the doctrine that religious truths are intuitively self-evident had its pitfalls, as was evident from the career of Keshub Chandra Sen, in whose hands Intuitionism degenerated into a cult of subjective revelation apprehended by seers like Keshub alone - a reductio ad absurdum of Brahmo Rationalism and, by the end of 1860's, a new basis for religious faith was felt necessary. Also the Brahmo response to the challenge of European rationalism never faced the larger question whether religion had any satisfactory answer to the sort of rational scepticism that questioned the very basis of religion. Bankim (1838-94) was the first to grapple with this larger question. Bankim upheld that religion had a 'natural, a physical basis' and he approached the religious question from the standpoint of Humanism, that is to say, the doctrine that lasting happiness consisted in an organisation of human faculties to a state of balance without any appeal to superhuman agencies. Bankim, taking his cue from the Gita, which preached a way of surrender of man's action, man's love, and man's knowledge to God as the best means to lasting happiness, and, interpreting this surrender as the most satisfactory statement of the doctrine of balance attempted a humanistic solution of the religious question. The ration
alistic approach to religion was thus vindicated by an appeal to purely Hindu sources and a version of Hinduism was offered which answered most of the sceptical questionings of religious seekers who had received the new education of the West.

The second idea was that of Personal Illumination through religion. The Brahmo way of interpreting Hinduism, while satisfying intellectual curiosity to a certain extent, had failed to answer a deeper need. The careers of Keshub Chandra Sen and Bijoy Krishna Goswami, both of whom had started as staunch champions of the Brahmo cause, illustrate most signally a phase in the religious quest of a people, in which a purely reforming creed, such as the Brahmo creed, comes to grief by failing to provide illumination to earnest religious consciences. Keshub ended by creating a private religion which he called "The New Dispensation." Bijoy Krishna leaned towards a Hindu cult (the cult of Chaitanya), but failed to carry his educated countrymen with him. Vivekananda, the disciple of Ramakrishna, wrested the initiative from Brahmo hands by investing the Vedantic doctrine of Personal Illumination with a new intensity by giving it a social message - the message of service as a sacrament but withholding none of its appeal as a way of spiritual enlightenment.

The third idea was the telescoping of a vision of Indian civilization into the present and the future. The vision of a glorious ancient civilization of India was conjured up
by Bankim, Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore and they attempted to recapture the vision so as to re-enact it on the contemporary Indian stage.

Such ideas, which thus constituted the essence of the new movement, were not calculated to be passively contemplated by their recipients, but carried with them a positive activist message. Bankim's emphasis on Rational Faith and Vivekananda's emphasis on Personal Illumination, though operating on two very different planes, converged on a single point - that of service: in the first place, service of humanity as a sort of sacrament aiming at the realisation of the unity of all creation as preached in the Vedanta and in the second place the service of India through the sort of selfless (patriotic) action as preached in the Gita. The former, in its turn, led to the notion, of what Vivekananda called the 'raising of the masses' and of the womankind of India as the two foremost social programmes of the age; the latter, to a new conception of patriotism which proved to be a vital force behind the Bengal Partition Movement. The vision of an ancient Indian civilization provided an ideology to the political aspiration of the age - the ideology of Dharmarajya (the Kingdom of Righteousness) - to be taken up, in due course, by Mahatma Gandhi in his formula of the Ramraj, but without Mahatma's insistence on non-violence. Dharmarajya was sought to be founded by the method of 'revolutionary terrorism' of the Swadeshi days, but it actually fell a victim to the same
terrorism' in its career of conspiratorial politics. The Partition of Bengal was annulled (1911), but the religious movement that considerably inspired the Swadeshi movement gradually died away.

This movement, in its successes as well as its failures certainly the most powerful religious movement of 19th century India, has yet had no authenticated history. The present work is an attempt at that. First of all, it is necessary to assign the chronological limits of the period we intend to study. The period covered here is 1866 to 1911. The New Hindu Movement cannot be said to have really started before the year 1882, which witnessed the controversy on Hindu idolatry in the pages of the Statesman between Reverend W.W. Hastie (the then Principal of the General Assemblies Institution of Calcutta) and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (under the pseudonym Ramchandra). The controversy created a stir among the educated Hindus of Calcutta, and it became clear that English-educated Hindus no longer regarded Brahmo theism as the only answer to their dissatisfaction with traditional Hinduism. Other writings of Bankim followed through the medium of two Bengali journals, 'Navajivan' and 'Prachar'; and the publication in 1888, of his monumental 'Dharmatattva', in which he gave the most systematic exposition of his version of Rational Hinduism, was followed by his no less monumental second edition of 'Krishnacharitra' in 1892. In direct progression of these
events came. Swami Vivekananda's defence of Hinduism in the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893. The progress of the new movement was thus continuous from the year 1882 onwards. But actually the dissatisfaction of the English-educated Hindus with the religion preached by the reforming sects had come to the surface as early as 1866, when the Brahma Samaj split into two distinct groups, the one emphasizing their Hindu identity and the other aiming at a clean sweep of the superstitions of Hinduism. The rift in the Brahma Samaj resulting in the parting of ways between the 'conservative' Debendranath Tagore and the 'progressive' Keshub Chunder Sen was ostensibly on certain social questions like intercaste marriage and the wearing of the 'sacred thread' by Brahma priests; but there are signs that the disenchantment with the religion which considered worship without idols as the only test of a true religious life had already been widespread amongst the English-educated section. Consequently 1866 may conveniently be looked upon as the year ushering in a new phase in the religious history of nineteenth century Bengal.

The year 1911 was the one of the annulment of the partition of Bengal. This event marked the end of a phase of political agitation in India; and as that phase of political agitation drew its inspiration from the religious ferment, and as the new religious impulse seems to have totally exhausted itself in the process of sustaining the
political struggle, the end of that struggle may also be said to have been the end in a certain way of the religious movement.

In view of the usual characterization of this movement as 'the Hindu Revival', it is necessary to examine this. Brahmo historiography and latterly, Marxist historiography have been unanimous in treating this religious 'revival' as a term of derogation. With them, religious revivalism and social reaction are synonymous terms. According to Bipin Chandra Pal (a one time Brahmo leader), to whom we owe a great deal for our knowledge of the time, this movement "set up a new defence of those social institutions and religious and spiritual tendencies that had previously been openly repudiated as false and harmful." In support of his argument, he explained how the Hindu revival had put up a defence of 'Hindu idolatry', 'system of caste' and 'child marriage.' Being inspired by its revi-valistic and reactionary thought", he continued, "this movement declared war upon all the fundamental progressive ideals of the Brahma Samaj," and "offered an effective check, for a time, to the religious and social reform movements."

The Missionary historian, J. N. Farquhar perceived in the

Ramakrishna Movement an attitude of apathy to social reform and an illustration of 'full defence of the old faith' in almost every particular. In the opinion of a Marxist historian, R. Palme Dutt, the movement was based on "the most antiquated religion and religious superstitions" which held in high esteem and veneration "every form of antiquated tradition." To him, the movement was a retrograde one as the insistence on orthodox religion and the "proclamation of the supposed spiritual superiority of the ancient Hindu civilization ................. inevitably retarded and weakened the real advance of the national movement and of political consciousness."

It is unnecessary to answer these criticisms author by author. We shall content ourselves by taking up the charges instead. The charge against idolatry implies a canon of criticism which is essentially Christian or Quranic. Such a canon is hardly called for by historical objectivity. From the standpoint of Judaeo-Christian (or Quranic) theology, idol worship is certainly crass heathenism. The New Hindus were at pains to point out that Hindu's idolatry, unlike pagan idolatry, did not ever presuppose a multiplicity of anthropomorphic gods, but viewed the idol as embodying a certain

attribute of the Deity. There is scarcely any evidence that in the fields of morality, education and politics the effects of the New Hindu Movement amounted to a negation of what had been achieved by the labours of the reforming sects of the preceding decades, notably the Brahma sect.

As for social reforms like widow re-marriage etc., the New Hindu attitude to them was indifference rather than any concerted opposition to them. The New Hindu attitude was epitomised in Swami Vivekananda's assertion that the greatness of a people (or a religion) was not to be judged by the number of widows it allowed to remarry. This assertion was of a piece with Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's impatience with the contemporary idolization of 'reformers.' In his view, the New Hindus were to aim at the "moral and political regeneration" of contemporary Hindu society, - a work, which in his opinion, was the essential prerequisite to necessary social reforms. This attitude was hardly one of antagonism to social reform; it only emphasized a certain order of priorities - the priority of religious and political reforms over social reform. Actually, Swami Vivekananda's invectives against child-marriage - to take only one issue that agitated the minds of contemporary reformers were far more unequivocal than those of many of the reforming sects. The precise nature of the New Hindu attitude to particular social reforms was much too complicated to be treated adequately in this introduction. But to condemn it as reactionary in the sense in which the
conservative opposition in the days of Raja Rammohan was reactionary would be wrong. Certainly the New Hindus never founded an institution in the manner of Raja Radhakanta Deb's (1784-1867) Dharmasabha set up (in January, 1830) with the express object of reviving the custom of burning newly widowed women nor even one to agitate against their re-marriage. If they had not agitated either for the abolition of child-marriage - or any other social evil for that matter - the reason must be sought elsewhere.

The New Hindu Movement was in essence a movement aiming at the resurgence of the whole Hindu society and as such its primary concern was its spiritual awakening. This they sought to achieve by purifying their own religion by means of ideas derived from itself. These ideas included a new conception of Bhakti, which included selfless action (Nishkam Karma), for one's country and for humanity at large as a central truth of religion; they included "love for all creation" as the fundamental ethical truth of Hinduism; and they showed a way in which to attain "personal illumination" through the practice of religion. They did not denounce other religions as false but looked upon their own as true enough and broad enough to include them all - in other words, as being the most universal of them all. This was the root idea behind Vivekananda's conception of 'aggressive Hinduism' by means of which Hinduism was sought to be propagated all over the

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world without attempting to suppress any other religion. This was a programme far more ambitious in its scope than the programme of the reforming sects, which at its best, was one of eradicating some particular evils in Hindu society. Whatever verdict we may pass on the success of this aspect of the New Hindu programme, there is no way of underrating the fact that it was primarily Vivekananda's preachings—anticipated by Bankim in such essays as "Bangadesher Krisak" (The Peasants of Bengal) — which roused the consciousness of the whole of India to the two prime questions of reform in our national life: that of 'raising' the masses of India, and bringing the women of India to the forefront of the national life. Whatever success the New Hindu Movement may have achieved in the actual working out of these programmes, it was primarily to its credit that it released the Indian mind from its obsession with petty social reform schemes and roused it to the consciousness of these larger programmes. It created a consciousness of national life and national needs which the reformers had failed to do.

In this connection, it must be remembered, that Bipin Chandra Pal covered in his work the period - 1880 to 1890, thereby excluding Vivekananda from his discussion. He also lumped together Bankim, the New Hindu with the pseudo-rationalist Sasadhar Tarkachudamani who had come to prominence during the period in question. He therefore did have some justification for his charges, for Sasadhar's approach to Hinduism was wholly reactionary as we shall see.
in Chapter-I: What, however, Bipin Chandra Pal failed to perceive (or what he perceived but faintly) was that Bankim's true connection was with the rationalistic tendencies of the Brahmo thinkers before him and Vivekananda after him. It is true that Pal's criticism of Bankim was half-hearted and not wholly disparaging but his failure to perceive the distinction between the approach of such reactionaries as Sasadhar and that of Bankim (and Vivekananda after him), can only be explained by his obsession with Brahmo reformism. As for J. N. Farquhar, he was a Christian Missionary, and his whole work, devoted to the religious movements of the nineteenth century, is presumably wholly influenced by his particular attitudes to Hindu thought in general and Vivekananda's thoughts in particular. The same remark applies with more or less appositeness, to R.P. Dutt, whose Marxist prepossessions against religion prevented him from making a critical analysis of a complex movement such as the New Hindu Movement (which movement he has never directly mentioned by name but contented himself with the usual innuendos against the so-called 'Hindu Revival'). He has made free use of such epithets as 'antiquated', 'obscurantist', 'reactionary' etc, in his characterization of the Hindu revival, but has furnished no single instance of any truly reactionary action or thought of any genuine New Hindu thinker. The assertion that the insistence on orthodox religion and proclamation of the spiritual superiority of the ancient Hindu Civilization inevitably retarded and weakened the real advance of the
national movement and of political consciousness - will be examined in our discussion of the Swadeshi Movement (chapter IX).

We now indicate how we have developed the arguments of this study. In the first chapter, we have explained the religious scene in Bengal in 1870s. The period - 1867 to 1882 - marks a phase of acute religious uncertainty in the history of the religious movements of the 19th century; this unrest was something quite different from the mere revolt against the abuses of Hinduism in Rammohan's time. Keshub Chandra Sen and Bijoy Krishna Goswami were representative figures of this phase of spiritual unrest. Keshub Chandra Sen and broke out from the Brahmo faith as early as 1866. It was ostensibly on the ground of social reform as to which Keshub sought to adopt a more radical line than the Brahmos of the older generation. But by the end of 1867, it was clear that Keshub was dissatisfied with the earlier Brahmos' doctrinaire obsession with Vedantic monism and what to him appeared their comparative neglect of the deeper aspects of religion as a pathway to personal illumination. Keshub thus became the central figure of a phase in the religious life of Calcutta - a phase which we have termed the 'Spiritual Unrest' of the 1870's and which was characterised by some sort of a hesitant deviation towards Hinduism on the part of some Brahmo leaders of whom Keshub was the most influential. Religious chauvinism was another side of this unrest. Sasadhar Tarkachudamoni and his circle exemplified
this side. The Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society were straw in the wind.

The second chapter explains the birth of a vision which was telescoped into the future. With the publication of Bankim’s *Banga-Darsan*, (in 1872) there began an assessment of the civilization of India, as a counterblast to the wholesale rejection of it by the English-educated literati of Bengal which had started with the founding of the Hindu College (in 1817). Bankim’s universalist approach precluded any denigration of the European Civilization, but was actuated by a desire to counterpoise its obsessive hold on our literati by reminding them of our heritage, which was portrayed in numerous essays on our ancient civilisation.

The third chapter explains the birth of the New Hindu Movement in the context of the controversy between Reverend W.W. Hastie and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. The fourth chapter gives an exposition of Bankim’s ideas. From 1882, till his death (in 1894) Bankim busied himself with a rationalistic exposition of Hinduism. Brahmo rationalism had degenerated into ‘Intuitionism’ preached by Keshub and the theory of "Jnānojvalita Viśuddha Hṛdaya" (‘a heart that was pure and that was irradiated by knowledge’) taught by Devendranath. Bankim started from the basis of Empiricism and instead of concentrating on points of doctrinaire theology (as the Brahmos had done) concentrated on ‘conduct’, and shewed how the best conception of conduct, conducive to ‘lasting happiness’ and
arrived at empirically from an analysis of man's faculties, called for the pre-eminence of Bhakti over all other human faculties in order to obtain a 'balance' of all these faculties, - a 'balance' which constituted the perfection of 'manhood' and conduced to 'lasting happiness' even from the standpoint of empiricism. But Bhakti, in the sense of the 'balancing' human faculty, was Bhakti as explained in the Gita, which sought a balance of human 'actions', human 'love' and human 'charity' by means of Bhakti towards a pantheistic Personal God (Saguna Brahma) as distinct from the Transcendent Personal God of Brahmo and Christian Theology. It is not clear that Bankim quite succeeded in giving a rationalistic justification of this conception of God. But with this concession to doctrinaire theology, Bankim satisfactorily explained the basic tenets of Hindu ethics: (1) The 'Activism of the Gita' in the sense of service of humanity without any desire for the fruits of one's actions (Nishkam Karma), (2) love for all creation and love of one's country in so far as it was consonant with the former; also charity to all creation. These and their connection to (3) the theology of Personal Pantheistic God were Bankim's contribution to the religious debate of the 19th century; - and these three were the basic points of religion which were going to be discussed in the ensuing years. Brahmo obsession with Vedantic monotheism (i.e., the doctrine of formless transcendent God) was not refuted, but was rendered ätiose.
That Bankim's thoughts attracted general notice is proved by the stir created by the Hastie-Bankim Controversy (1882), the Brahmo's attack on Bankim (1884); the discussion in Ramakrishna's circle on Bankim's books and essays. The new interpretation of the Gita as a gospel of activism, which has since been generally accepted as the central doctrine of Hindu ethics and which has received general currency through the efforts of Tilak, Aurabindo and Mahatma Gandhi has to be ultimately traced to Bankim.

In the fifth chapter the Brahmo attack on Bankim is discussed. An attempt is also made to assess the extent of Western influence on Bankim.

The sixth chapter studies the inner life of Vivekananda and his teachings. Bankim's method was rationalistic. But meanwhile the spiritual unrest of the 1870's, symbolised in the career of Keshub Chandra Sen, and which looked for 'personal illumination', irrespective of the social aspects of religion was getting intenser. Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, who harped on 'personal illumination' as the only end of religion came in contact with Keshub. Keshub's own development was towards creating a private religion of his own, which failed to survive its author (Keshub died in 1884). Ramakrishna's emphasis was on 'personal illumination' through mystical experience as taught in Hindu scriptures. The search for such 'personal illumination' was manifested in the career of Vivekananda with the greatest tragic intensity. An intense desire to serve humanity and to 'raise the masses and women of India side by side with a similarly intense desire...
for 'personal illumination' gave rise to a career of ceaseless travel through the world - spreading the message of the Upanisads, influencing men and women and literally wearing himself out to the uttermost limits of exhaustion. The message preached by Vivekananda was not unlike Bankim's, though reached through quite different methods. His argument was something like this: (1) Personal illumination through mystical experience presuposed the divinity of the soul which in its turn, presuposed an impersonal God (Nirguna Brahma) who was the sumtotal of all souls; but who could as well be worshipped as a Personal God (Saguna Brahma) as a step towards reaching the Impersonal; (2) the existence of such a God led to the ethical doctrine of love for all creation; and (3) service through 'action' without any desire for its fruits purified the heart and rendered it fit for personal illumination.

The seventh chapter deals with New Hindu attitude towards social reform and their programme of reform and regeneration. The social programme which followed from Vivekananda's thoughts consisted in the 'raising' of the (i) Sudras and of (ii) the women of India. This language was Vivekananda's, who impressed these programmes on the Indian mind, with irresistible force, by juxtaposing his schemes against those of contemporary 'social reformers', who had been clamouring for reforms like widow remarriage by means of (i) legislation or by invoking (ii) Shastric
Vivekananda found fault with both these schools of reformers - the School of B. Malabari as well as that of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Here again Vivekananda was anticipated by Bankim, whose objection to both these Schools was much more closely reasoned. Briefly stated, Bankim's objection to the Vidyasagar school was that it invoked Shastras, thereby rendering any rational progress impossible and keeping the door open for many objectionable Shastric injunctions. On the other hand, the reformers of the School of Malabari struck at the root of Hindu society by representing the majority of Hindus as rapists and 'child-molesters', as Malabari had actually done while clamouring for the abolition of child-marriage. Bankim sought to replace 'reform' by 'regeneration' which implied reformation by the appeal to the essence of Hinduism. Thus Bankim pleaded for sea-voyage (as Vivekananda did) on the ground that even if it militated against 'Shastric' injunction, it was consonant with the essence of Hinduism which defined 'Dharma' as that which supported society and therefore could hardly be averse to such a vehicle of progress as sea-voyage. He approved inter-caste dining and inter-caste marriage in principle as the Hindu ethical creed of 'non-discrimination' amongst men and castes made room for such measures. But he would not make a reforming issue of them as such reforms led to the sort of 'sensationalism' which (amongst Derozians of an earlier generation) had seen in liquor-drinking the only way to India's salvation. Following the same line of thought,
Bankim was content to raise the conception of 'womanhood' amongst Hindus, rather than plead after a contemporary fashion, for the so-called equality of men and women.

Bankim's creed of 'regeneration' was thus educative rather than legislative - an appeal to the essence of Hinduism, rather than to a call of fight for 'rights'. Vivekananda's creed of 'growth' was identical, - with this difference that his exposition of Hinduism would allow women the right to abstain from marriage if and when they chose to do so, and to participate in all expressions of the national life.

The eighth chapter deals with a significant aspect of the New Hindu Movement which was an attempt at vindication of the civilisation of India by a method which was more rigorous than the one tried by Bankim in his Banga Darshan essays. This method was on the one hand that of historical research into the dawn of the Hindu Civilisation by Bankim himself and the discovery of a new 'canon of civilisation' by Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore, in the light of which they compared the civilisation of India with that of the West. In his 'Krishnacharitra', Bankim sought to unfold a glorious period of India's civilisation - the period supervening between the age of the Veda and that of the Buddha. The characteristic feature of that civilisation was the building of a 'Kingdom of righteousness' by the King Yudhisthira under the guidance of Krishna. The ideal of that civilisation was the heroic Kshatriya ideal of fighting to
the last for the sake of 'righteousness'. Bankim showed weighty reasons in favour of his belief that such a civilisation was no mere figment of the poets' imagination, but had the support of good historical evidence. Vivekananda and Tagore modified the ideals preached by Bankim to a certain extent by taking in their sweep the whole length of India's history instead of confining their attention to a single epoch as Bankim had done. According to Vivekananda, the highest ideal of India's civilisation was monastic rather than Kshatriya, but the latter ideal had to be emphasized as well as the former in order that the balance which had been attained in the Mahabharata epoch could be restored. Tagore also spoke of such a balance but instead of seeing in the Indian historical ideal a balance between monasticism and Kshatriyahood, he sought it in the descriptions of the 'ideal of the forest' in the literature of ancient India. According to him the Kshatriya of the city and the Brahmin of the forest - these two together and in co-operation constituted the ideal of India's civilisation.

The last chapter studies the political results of the New Hindu Movement. The ideas as mentioned above, which in the case of Tagore as well as of Vivekananda, had no ostensible purpose except that of increasing India's self-consciousness as to her heritage and of incorporating some noble elements of that heritage in the construction of a new Civilisation in India, proved to be of great political significance. The leading spirit in that direction was
Bankim whose dissertation on the Civilisation of an ancient epoch had been interspersed with such phrases as 'political regeneration', which, in his opinion was Krishna's aim. In *Krishnacharitra* Bankim explicitly contrasted that aim with the contemporary social reformers' obsession with petty schemes of social reform. Against those schemes he pitted the programme of founding a 'Kingdom of righteousness' by means of a righteous 'war of restoration.' In the Swadeshi Movement this programme was taken up as a contemporary political creed. Bankim's secular writings attacking the policy of 'mendicancy' and 'loyal patriotism' pursued by contemporary political agitators paved the way for such a creed by being construed by such leaders as Aurabindo as a gospel of extremism. Bankim's novel *Anandamath*, in its turn, preached the theme of restoration in an Indo-British context. His rationalistic exposition made room for patriotism as a sacred duty and a part of religion. Aurabindo construed it as being the whole of religion. Bankim's doctrine of 'righteous war' was perverted to the creed of 'terrorism.' The creed of 'Swaraj' was closely connected to Bankim's doctrine of *Dharmarajya* (Kingdom of righteousness). Aurabindo and Bipin Chandra Pal, developed the notion to a certain extent by incorporating some of Vivekananda's ideas. The creed of 'Swadeshi' was explained in Tagore's speeches and essays on the lines of his thoughts on the civilisation of India. The creed of 'National Education' followed from the thoughts of Bankim,
Vivekananda and Tagore. The creed of boycott merged with the doctrine of terrorism. Thus the whole Swadeshi Movement (1905-11) was to a considerable extent an offshoot of the New Hindu Movement. It achieved some sort of 'political regeneration' of the country. The partition was annulled. A far more important gain was the desire for political independence which began to be felt throughout the country and the stage was set for Mahatma Gandhi's arrival. The 'terrorists' set an example of reckless courage and the stigma of 'effeminacy' which had come to be attached to the Hindu name was effectively removed. But Dharmarajya was not founded; National Education failed; Swadeshi remained confined to some indigenous industrial undertakings; Boycott degenerated into political murder. The religious movement which had given rise to the political movement itself expired.

The last chapter attempts an assessment of the New Hindu Movement. The movement, on the plane of action, was only a partial success. The New Hindu thinkers by an interpretation of India's past civilization historicized the Indian past and stimulated a consciousness of history. They also discovered the essence of religion of Hindus. The movement again provided the ideology of social and political actions. What is more, the movement considerably contributed to the development of some aspects of Bengali culture.
A new literature was evolved breathing new life into the language and into the conception of family life, vital with a new sense of beauty and with a new awareness of the possibilities of the old, taboo-ridden personal relationships in a Hindu family. There was a Renaissance of Art with new ideas quickening the artists' vision. The Rama-krishna Mission, a New Hindu institution, gave expression to a humanitarianism which was raised to the level of a sacrament.