With the introduction of English language, divers streams of renascent activities started in India. Political consciousness is one of these streams. Along with socio-economic regeneration of the country, political education and activity came to occupy a more and more obsessive position in the national life. English-educated people of India, especially the intelligentsia, had pondered over the lessons of British history, their policy of colonialism, the course of French Revolution, the War of American Independence, and the struggle for the Unification of Italy. A consciousness started pouring into the minds of Indian intelligentsia which ultimately led to the growth of political thinking and patriotism—Indian style.

The growth of this political consciousness in India can be traced from the dexterously alert beginning by Raja Rammohan Roy and other pioneering individuals, through the foundation of the British Indian Association of 1851 and the Indian Association of 1876, to the inauguration of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Indian mind at this time was more in favour of concentrating on a patriotic rediscovery of a national identity. People were learning English language with a divine sincerity. Western learning and knowledge thus started giving jolts to the Indian mind which eventually led to the birth of the spirit of nationalism—at once patriotic and political, liberal and revolutionary, infinitely sacrosanct and spiritual.
Although the plight of the widows, the darkness of superstition, the economic bankruptcy, the general backwardness of the country, all stirred Rammohun to action, yet he was well-aware of the political developments in the world and dexterously alert in so far as the political necessity of India was concerned. Liberalism, internationalism, and synthesis of the ideas of both East and West were some of the principles of his political thinking and writings. He wanted to bring a new integration of modern India's traditional strength with the scientific disciplines from the West. He begged, pleaded, argued or exhorted, as condition demanded, in his political writings. His was a logically expository and directly descriptive style of writing. For example, when the Napolitans were crushed back into servitude by the powers of Europe, Rammohan wrote:

"........ I consider the cause of the Napolitans as my own and their enemies as ours. Enemies of liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful" (1).

In this passage we find an internationalist Rammohan writing in a genuine tone of sympathy and with a clear intellectual understanding of the situation. The use of words like, 'enemies of liberty', 'friends of despotism', show his sharpness or alertness of mind in grasping the truth of the situation. The seed of the political awareness of India resulting in nationalist movement, it seems, was sown by Rammohan Roy as can be noticeable in the second sentence of the letter.

Further, Rammohan believed that a free press is one of

(1) Letters of Rammohan Roy; - dated 11th August, 1821.
the best safeguards of liberty. In fact, it was a political necessity. In 1823 the East India Company promulgated an ordinance restricting the freedom of the press by requiring all newspapers to be licensed under terms laid down by the government. Rammohan responded, as an alert intellectual would do, by drawing up a memorial to the governor-general on behalf of the politically conscious Indian community, in which he contended that their loyalty depended on the continuing enjoyment of those civil liberties which had reconciled them to British rule—an argument echoed later by many an Indian nationalist. He writes:

"............. Your Memorialists are persuaded that the British government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim so often acted upon by Asiatic princes that the more a people are kept in darkness, their rulers will derive the greater advantages from them; since, by reference to history, it is found that this was but a shortsighted policy which did not ultimately answer the purpose of its authors. On the contrary, it rather proved disadvantageous to them; for we find that as often as an ignorant people, when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their rulers, all sorts of barbarous excesses and cruelties have been the consequence; whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under a good government from which they experience just and liberal treatment, must become the more attached to it, in proportion as they become enlightened and the great body of the people are taught to appreciate the value of the blessings they enjoy under its rule."
Every good ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the World, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestricted liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established Law of Land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of government, which are effectually guarded by the same laws as to which individuals must look for protection of their reputation and good name .......

The style of the passage is obviously different from the style of to-day. Here sentences are periodic in pattern and periodic sentences are very much out of fashion today. But the extravagance of words and the unusual length of sentences do not mar the forcefulness of the style. This memorial has been regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian history. Although the passage, quoted above, has the Miltonic odour in so far as the style is concerned, yet it is full of original Ram Mohan approach, argument and appeal.

Again, with remarkable accuracy, Ram Mohan predicted the rise of Indian nationalism in a letter of 1828 to an English friend.

At the same time he indicated that by enlightened and democratic government the connection between India and Britain might be prolonged to their mutual advantage. He writes:

"Supposing that one hundred years hence the native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society? It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy.

In common with those who seem partial to the British rule from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing acts and regulations passed by government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that this people have had for more than half a century the advantage
of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge" (3).

The passage quoted above is another example of Rammohan's forceful style of the pre-Macaulay period. The analysis of the political aspect of British administration as well as of Indian life by Rammohan, as in the passage quoted above, was always accurate due to his keen observation and study of the perspective.

Again, in his petition against the Jury Act of 1827, Rammohan wrote:

"In his famous Jury Bill, Mr. Wynn the late President of the Board of Control, has, by introducing religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction among the natives in general, but has excited much alarm in the breast of everyone conversant with political principles. Any natives, either Hindu or Muhammadan are rendered by this Bill subject to judicial trial by Christians either Europeans or Native, while Christians, including native converts, are exempted from the degradation of being tried either by a Hindu or a Mussalman juror, however high he may stand in the estimation of society. This Bill also denies both to Hindus and Muhammadans the honour of a seat on the Grand Jury even in the trials of the fellow Hindus or Mussalmans. This is the sum total of Mr. Wynn's late Jury Bill, of which we bitterly complain."  

(3) ibid., (pp. xxiii).
In this extract (just quoted) we find Rammohan in his most scrutinizing temper, writing the sentences after much deliberation. The whole contents of the Jury Act of 1827 at once threw him into anger — an emotional upsurge was inevitable yet the very style indicates his dexterity in controlling the emotion. The sentence, '...... not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction .... , but has excited much alarm in the breast of everyone conversant with political principles ... ' is sufficient proof of his appeal and at the same time legalistic style of writing. Here too, the sentences are periodic in pattern but the spontaneity of spirit that has gone into the writing is undoubtedly the result of Rammohan's own thinking, feeling, and reasoning capacity.

Rammohan did never try to create an effect by his language. His deep understanding and keen intellectual analysis of the given political situation always enabled him to put forward a detailed description of the 'feeling'. He felt for the Napolitans, for the liberty of the press, for the injustice done by the Jury Act of 1827, and wrote with the attitude of a 'humanist politician'. Being a shrewd man of affairs, he was neither too hard on political mismanagement of the Britishers nor too slavish to remain silent. He was a man of liberal thought, a wide outlook on life and humane sentiment and his lightening-like swiftness of thought and expression, combined with a most iron self-control, became for the later political thinkers an example to follow.

The style of Rammohan's political writing is sober. It is a quiet prose, but has the beauty of clear light and air. His sentences though periodic in pattern, are not without spontaneity, for his feelings as well as intellect are always involved in all his political writings. The style may have a flavour of extravagance but the presence of legalistic approach and descriptive aspect makes the style smooth, clear, and forceful.
(b) **DADABHAI NAOROJI**

The seed of political consciousness of the Indians under British rule was sown by Raja Rammohan Roy. The new political order attracted able Indians anxious to improve their status and the new English education provided them opportunities to read and know the world's political developments. The emergence of a new middle-class, the economic frustration, the Mutiny of 1857, the proclamation of Queen Victoria, and the establishment of Indian National Congress 1885 — all followed one another in the political developments of India after Rammohan. The idea of nationalism began to take root in the minds of intelligent and energetic Indian; and Mr. A. O. Hume, a Scotsman sympathetic to their aspirations, made possible the first meeting of the Indian National Congress, which was intended to serve as a forum for the discussion of political reforms and patriotic political projects; and Congress quickly transformed itself into an all-India nationalist organization. But soon the Congress was divided into two groups — the Moderates, and the Extremists.

Dadabhai Naoroji belonged to the Moderates. He is popularly known as the 'Grand old man of India'. The strategy of the first generation of leaders who organized the Congress was, to concentrate on peaceful propaganda and persuasive petitioning, to show the obvious disparity between Britain's prosperity and India's poverty, and to believe in the providential character of British rule and in the gradual evolution of India toward enlightenment and self-government under that rule. Naoroji being the first of the long series of such leaders, drew the plans and laid the foundations for India's self-government. Starting his career as a Professor of Mathematics in 1855 at the Elphinstone Institution,
he transformed himself into an intellectual politician with the outlook of a true nationalist, and left India for England at the age of thirty. His aim in moving permanently to London, the heart of the British Empire, was not to gain wealth, but to enable himself to appeal directly to the British public for a better understanding of India's problems. He sought to interpret to Great Britain the needs and aspirations of his countrymen through his various writings in English-prose.

His was a 'practical prose' meant for practical purposes — simple, straightforward and reasonably emotion-propelled. Compassion and boldness, both had a successful marriage in his writing. In Naoroji, the mind has the complete mastery of matter.

The famous book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (first published in 1901) (*) includes the Grand old man's scattered papers and pamphlets, correspondence with officials, evidence before Committees and commissions, and speeches and addresses, in which he tried to draw attention to the misery of his poverty-stricken countrymen and the evils of the despotic system of Government in British India which, he maintained, was destructive to Indians and un-British and suicidal to Britain. This pioneering and creative work of Dadabhai Naoroji has two major aspects — economic and political. On the economic side, with his famous theory of "the drain" of India's wealth to Britain, Dadabhai sounded the keynote of Indian economic nationalism. He dealt with the burning problems of his time, namely production and distribution, taxation, railways, foreign-trade and wages, currency and exchange, public debt and income. On the

(*) *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*: Dadabhai Naoroji
political side, he deals with the goal of British policy in India, the failure of the bureaucracy to implement the solemn commitments made by the British Crown and Parliament in respect of the admission of the Indians to higher grades of the civil and military services and the need to include the representatives of the people in the Indian legislature.

He lays emphasis more upon laborious collection of statistical data and figures to offer a comprehensive picture of the drain of wealth from India than upon the deliberate consideration of the measured style of expression in his writings on economic problems. But his political writings are compact, aristocratically simple and without any literary mannerism. Here, he is intensely easy, concerned always to avoid impatience and irritability, a concern for style no doubt—but spontaneous and not laboured.

In fact, Dadabhai Naoroji was a statistician, economist and politician—all fused into one. Therefore in all his political writings there are neither flamboyant exaggeration nor any deliberate use of language to create an effect. To Dadabhai, politics and economics are interrelated; and in his style we find the mixture of the manner of a thoughtful and devoted politician and restrained and all-observing economist.

The following passage has been chosen from Dadabhai's monumental work Poverty and Un-British Rule in India:

"...... The drain of India's wealth on the one hand, and the exigencies of the state expenditure increasing daily on the other, set all the ordinary laws of political economy and justice at naught, and oppressive devices to make the two ends meet, and to the
principles of Asiatic despotism, so contrary to English grain and genius. Owing to this unnatural policy of the British Rule of ignoring India's interests, and making it the drudge for the benefit of England, the whole rule moves in a wrong, unnatural and suicidal groove. Nature's laws cannot be trifled with, and so long as they are immutable, every violation of them carries with it its own Nemesis as sure as night follows day." (4).

This concluding comment reveals Naoroji's power of scrutinising mathematically all the data, figures, and tables of economic conditions of India which were in a precarious state. It is an example of 'bold prose'. The arrangement and the order of words are consciously made and the writer uses the plain language to convey his sharp statements. In the last sentence of the passage, the writer expresses himself a little emotionally. The rhythm is not broken but it moves easily and with a substantial dignity.

Commenting on the treatise written by Dadabhai and published in the Journal Of The East Indian Association, January 1883, Mr. Edward B. Eastwick, Chairman of the Council, wrote in its prefatory Note — "In REPRINTING the following documents as an extra number of the journal the Council of the Association desire to point out that, while the author's (Dadabhai Naoroji) statements and conclusions must be taken as his personal responsibility, the fact set forth and the arguments are entitled to most

(4) Poverty and Un-British Rule in India: Naoroji.

London. 1901 (pp. 109)
careful consideration alike by statisticians, economists, and politicians.

The Memo. No. 2. treats of the Moral Poverty Of India, deepened as the author seeks to show, by the people of the country being so largely excluded from the higher walks of administrative work and responsibility. This essay is well-worthy of close examination by any thoughtful politician into whose hands these papers may fall.

".... The Council would wish to take this opportunity of expressing their estimation of the ability, zeal and labour which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has devoted to the composition of his valuable and important treatise." (5). This comment of the Chairman of the Council of the Association is enough to show the success achieved by Naoroji as a thoughtful politician expressing the hard facts of India's at that time with irrefutable arguments based on statistics and observations on the one hand, and genuine devotion of a true nationalist on the other.

Dadabhai writes in the Memo. No. 2 entitled 'The Moral Poverty Of India and Native Thoughts on the present British Indian Policy':

"In this Memo. I desire to submit for the kind and generous consideration of His Lordship the Secretary of State for India, that from the same cause of the deplorable drain, besides the material exhaustion of India, the moral loss to her is no less sad and lamentable.

With the material wealth go also the

(5) ibid., (pp. 127)
Europeans occupy almost all the higher places in every department of the Government, directly or indirectly under its control. While in India they acquire India's money, experience, and wisdom, and when they go, they carry both away with them, leaving India so much poorer in material and moral wealth. Thus India is left without, and cannot have, those elders in wisdom and experience, who in every country are natural guides of the rising generations in their national and social conduct, and of the destinies of their country —— and a sad, sad loss this is! (6).

Again,

"....... This most deplorable moral loss to India needs most serious consideration, as much in its political as in its national aspect. Nationally disastrous as it is, it carries politically with it its own nemesis. Without the guidance of elderly wisdom and experience of their own natural leaders, the education which the rising generations are now receiving is naturally leading them (or call it misleading them, if you will) into directions which bode no good to the rulers, and which, instead of being the strength of the rulers as it ought to and can be, will turn out to be their great weakness. The

(6) ibid., (pp. 180, para - II )
fault will be of the rulers themselves for such a result. The power that is now being raised by the spread of education, though yet slow and small, is one that in time must, for weal or woe, exercise great influence. In fact it has already begun to do so. However strangely the English rulers, forgetting their English manliness and moral courage, may like the ostrich, shut their eyes by gagging acts or otherwise, to the good or bad influences they are raising around them—this good or evil is rising nevertheless.

The thousands that are being sent out by the universities every year find themselves in a most anomalous position. There is no place for them in their motherland. They may beg in the streets or break stones on the roads, for aught the rulers seem to care for their natural rights, position, and duties in their own country. They may perish or do what they like or can, but scores of Europeans must go from this country to take up what belongs to them, and that, in spite of every profession for years and years past and upto the present day, of English statesmen, that they must govern India for India's good, by solemn acts and declarations of Parliament, and above all, by the words
of the August Sovereign herself. For all practical purposes all these high promises have been hitherto, almost wholly, the purest romance, the high reality being quite different......" (7).

Further,

"The educated find themselves simply so many dummies, ornamented with the tinsel of school education, and then their whole end and aim of life is ended. What must be inevitable consequence? A wild, spirited horse, without curb or reins, will run away wild, and kill and trample upon everyone that came in his way. A misdirected force will anywhere and destroy anything. The power that the rulers are, so far to their credit, raising, will, as a nemesis recoil against themselves, if with this blessing of education they do not do their whole duty to the country which trusts to their righteousness, and thus turn this good power to their own side. The nemesis is as clear from the present violence to nature, as disease and death arise from the cleanliness and rottenness. The voice of the power of the rising education is, no doubt, feeble at present. Like the infant, the present dissatisfaction is only crying at

(7) Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings (on Indian Policies) of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji.

the pains it is suffering. Its notions have not taken any form or shape or course yet, but it is growing. Heaven only knows what it will grow to! He who runs may see, that if the present material and moral destruction of India continues, a great convulsion must inevitably arise, by which either India will be more and more crushed under the iron heel of despotism and destruction, or may succeed in shattering the destroying hand and power. For, it is from my earnest prayer and hope that such should be the result of the British rule." (8).

And, finally:

"....... It is useless for the British to compare themselves with the past Native rulers....... The thoughtless past drain we may consider as our misfortune, but a similar future will, in plain English, be deliberate plunder and destruction....... I have thus given a general sketch of what is passing in many Natives' minds on several subjects." (9).

In almost all the passages quoted above, Naoroji is clearly concerned more with making his statements clear, convincing, and appealing to the Britishers than with the conscious

(8) ibid., (pp. 465-67)

(9) Poverty & Un-British Rule in India : Naoroji
Pub. by - Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd.
London. 1901 (pp.192).
planning and ornamentations of his words and sentences. But he is thinking out in coherent and well-ordered language. The last sentence of the first passage, in particular, has a deliberate balance and a controlled rhythm with an exclamation ending which shows the writer's total involvement. The similar use of exclamation can also be found in the third passage, " .........

Heaven only knows what it will grow to! ........ " The frustration felt by the swelling ranks of educated Indians who were excluded from government positions is well expressed in the passages, just quoted. A veiled threat is easily perceptible in all of these passages. The rising tide of Indian nationalism and Indian politics found its symbol in the English writings of Dadabhai and became more pointed and sharp. His prose was therefore, precise to a certain extent to produce the required impact on the readers. The beauty of Dadabhai's prose-style lies in his restrained way of expression.

Dadabhai Naoroji's political writings came out in the moment of India's growing sense of nationalism — a moment of incessant emotional exuberance and revolutionary upsurge. But it was Dadabhai's speciality to avoid the hysteria and excitement that such a moment might inspire or encourage. And Rammohan's political writings came out when the whole of India was covered by the general backwardness which compelled him to be a little exuberant in his prose-style and periodic in sentence pattern in order to convince the English 'masters' and to awaken the sense of patriotism among the people of India. Rammohan's India was in a state of slumber, but Naoroji's, in a state of growing consciousness.

Dadabhai's balanced mind shows both his fairness in recognizing the good the British had done, and his persistent criticism of the crushing cost to India of their rule. He writes:

" The present advanced humanitarian civilization
of Britain could not but exercise its humane influence to abolish the customs of Sati and infanticide, earning the everlasting blessing of the thousands who have been and will be saved thereby.

The introduction of English education, with its great, noble, elevating and civilizing literature and advanced science, will forever remain a monument of good work done in India and a claim to gratitude upon the Indian people. I need not dwell upon several consequential social and civilizing benefits. But the greatest and the most valued of all the benefits are the most solemn pledges of the Act of 1833, and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, 1877 and 1887, which if "faithfully and consciously fulfilled" will be Britain's highest gain and glory and India's greatest blessing and benefit. (10).

The passage has been written in a direct style using the most suitable words conveying the sum-total of Britain's gifts to India. The first sentence of the second para, "The introduction of English .......... Indian people", — shows the typical Indianness of the writer's style because of the extravagance in the use of adjectives, — such as 'great', 'noble', 'elevating', and 'civilizing' — literature. The language of the writer, it seems, springs from the Indian

(10) Poverty & Un-British Rule In India: Naoroji
(pp. 11). Ch. 'Introduction'
manner of expression, abstract, and yet suffers no distortion because all the adjectives used are quite perfectly conceived and appropriate to be used before 'English Literature'.

Further, Dadabhai writes on the despotic nature of British rule:

"..... There is great injustice that every expenditure incurred even for Britain's interest is charged to India. Under the recommendation of the late "Royal Commission On Indian Expenditure and Apportionment" the British has done a very small justice in refunding about £250,000 a year. Even for such trifles justice, we are thankful, and hope that this may lead to further justice. But it is necessary for us to have the help of recognition and voice of the British public to ensure this .......... .......... I need only say that the people of India have not the slightest voice in the expenditure of the revenue, and therefore in the good government of the country. The powers of the Government being absolutely arbitrary and despotic ........, the effect is very exhausting and destructive indeed." (11).

The style of the passage is the style of an indignant intellectual nationalist. The writer feels the pinch of political exploitation through economic hardships, and expresses his opinion in a direct manner. His words have control and dignity and the sentences are logically ironical. The style faithfully reveals

(11) ibid., (pp. v - vi) Chapter - Introduction.
the courage and honesty of Dadabhai's character.

Dadabhai Naoroji impressed upon the British people in all his political writings that a great and glorious future for Britain and India lay ahead if the British authorities fulfilled their promises and are awakened to a sense of justice and fairplay. The British would, he pleaded, gain more by trading with a prosperous and friendly India than by impoverishing her. His famous book *Poverty And Un-British Rule In India* is the result of this constant research in the cause of India's impoverishment.

His is the style of an economist turned nationalist. It is easy and plain — conveying the exact ideas in lucid English. He faithfully reflects, the strivings and aspirations of the Indian masses of his time in all his writings, maintaining a consistent style — a style which is cultured, full of civilised ironies, and graceful. In Naoroji, it is the matter that comes first and with the help of a perfectly balanced mind he controls his expression and conveys the required emotion in a balanced and logical manner so that the writing can be more convincing and serve the very purpose for which it was designed and also represent the new world of Indian nationalism.
The militant section of the Indian National Congress, known as the Extremists, started an uncompromising hostility to foreign domination. Sri Aurobindo belonged to this group of the Extremists. The agitation against the partition of Bengal in 1905 drew into public life one of the most fascinating figures modern India has produced—a completely westernized intellectual who became a fanatic nationalist and ended his days as an accomplished Yogi. He spent only four years in active politics, but in that brief span his passionate devotion to the national cause won him renown as an Extremist leader. His fascination for Hindu culture, combined with the sense of patriotism, naturally led Aurobindo to sympathize with the Extremist politicians. The Extremists like the Moderates believed in the use of a common "national" language, English, and through it enjoyed the opportunities for political agitation provided by the press, the schools, and the Indian National Congress on the one hand and, on the other they were able to draw on the newly formulated ideals of reascent Hinduism and marriage between these ideals and the concepts of patriotism and national unity.

Dadabhai Naoroji sounded the keynote of Indian economic nationalism and Sri Aurobindo initiated the Indian revolutionary nationalism. In April, 1906 Sri Aurobindo attended the Barishal Political Conference and took the final plunge into politics at last. Naoroji was not harsh while criticizing British rule but still a veiled threat was perceptible in his political writings. But by 1890, the tone changed somewhat, and behind the soothing words that still expressed faith in British justice, harsher notes too were heard. After 1890,
the 'Age of Innocence' was definitely dead. For example, during 1893-94, Sri Aurobindo who had just returned to India from England and found service in Haroda wrote a series of articles concerning politics under the general title 'New Lamps for Old' in *Indu-Prakash*, a journal of Bombay, of which Mr. Ramade was the proprietor, charging the Congress with timidity and ineptitude. These articles were more political dynamites than pieces of journalism. "This title (New Lamps for Old) did not", in Aurobindo's own words, "refer to Indian civilization but to Congress politics. It is not used in the sense of the Aladdin story, but was intended to imply the offering of new lights to replace the old and faint reformist lights of the Congress". These anonymous articles had created a stir at the time and Ramade feared that they were too much in advance of the times and Government might pounce upon the paper "Indu Prakash" if they were not discontinued. The three aspects of Aurobindo's programme published in *Indu Prakash*, during 1893-94—(a) "driving the British away". (b) "giving up the selfish middle class moderation of the Congress", and (c) "the building up of a positive Indian outlook",—were all inter-related and formed the basis of his later political activities. Fiery in approach, practical in direction, and 'periodic' in sentence construction—the articles of Aurobindo in *Indu Prakash* were leaning towards the tradition of Sir Thomas Browne, a famous writer of the early seventeenth century, in style. But in spite of this, the very spirit and the very approach of all these articles were Indian—perfected by the inveterately Indian feelings that were never retarded or distorted by an alien grammar and phonetics.
Bandemataram, the vehicle of the new spirit—inspired by Bankim Chandra's renovating conception and calculated to promote an enthusiastic and all—conquering faith in Indian Nationalism, developed before long, under the able editorship of Aurobindo Ghose, into the premier organ of revolutionary nationalism in India, giving most powerful expression to the growing will of the people, and sketching their ideals and aspiration, striving and dedicating the spirit with the greatest fidelity to the national soul. A master/stylist, Sri Aurobindo magnificently blended India's traditional mythology, European revolutionary history, and the aspirations of awakened India in essay after essay, in article after article, and the message went home. The matter was politics but the style and the language had the fervour of religion. For example, as he writes in an article in Bandemataram in the month of April, 1907—

"Our attitude is a political Vedantism, India free, one and indivisible, is the divine realisation to which we move—emancipation our aim; to that end each nation must practise the political creed which is the most suited to its temperament and circumstances, for that is the best for it which leads most surely and certainly to national liberty and national self-realization. But whatever leads only to continued subjection must be spewed out as mere viliness and impurity. Passive resistance may be only the final method of salvation in our case or it may be only the preparation for the final Sadhana. In either case, the sooner we put it into full and perfect practice, the nearer we
shall be to national liberty " . (12) .

Again ,

" ............ The work of national emancipation is a great and holy yajna of which boycott , swadeshi , national education , and every other activity , great or small , are only major or minor parts . Liberty is the fruit we seek from the sacrifice and the Motherland the goddess to whom we offer it ; into the seven leaping tongues of the fire of the yajna we must offer all that we are and all that we have , feeding the fire even with our blood and lives and happiness of our nearest and dearest ; for the Motherland is a goddess who loves not a maimed and imperfect sacrifice , and freedom was never won from the gods by a grudging giver . But every great yajna has its Rakshasas who strive to baffle the sacrifice , to bespatter it with with their own dirt , or by guile or violence put out the flame . Passive resistance is an attempt to meet such disturbers by peaceful and self-contained Brahmatej ; but even the greatest Rishis of old could not , when the Rakshasas were fierce and determined , keep up the sacrifice without calling in the bow of the Kshatriya . We should have the bow of the

(12) The Doctrine of Passive Resistance - Sri Aurobindo
Pub. in — ' Bandanabora ' ( pp. 78-79) (Between April , 11th and April , 23rd , 1907).
Kshatriya ready for use, though in the background. Politics is especially the business of the Kshatriya, and without Kshatriya strength at its back, all political struggle is unavailing ............ " (13).

The style of the passages, quoted above has vitality and vigour though not simple and lucid. Here revolutionary urge mixed with an unflinching faith in national self-reliance drives the pen of the writer. The use of words like 'Vedantism', 'Sadhana' (in the first extract), and 'Yajna', 'Rakshasas', 'Brahmatej', 'Kshatriya' (in the second extract) — show the writer's tendency to Indianize the English he is using. (14). The sentiments that have been expressed through these writings are purely Indian.

Mr. H. A. Stuart, the then Home Secretary to the Government of India described them as "rather a remarkable series of articles", and "are very well-written and the tone is wonderfully restrained for Bengali locubrations". Further, Sir Harvey Adamson, the then Home Member of the Governor-General's Council, also considered them to be "well worth reading, as a complete exposition of the doctrine of passive resistance, its limitations and its ultimate methods of reaching the goal 'India for the Indians'" (15).

(13) ibid., (pp. 77-78)

(14) 'Sadhana', 'Vedanta', 'Yajna', 'Rakshasas', 'Kshatriya' 'Brahmatej' - these words are taken from Sanskrit. The use of these words in English with perfect ease to express a certain feeling indicates the originality of the writer's style — and it is conspicuously different from any other English style in any other country. Hence, it is Indian in style not because of the infusion of Indian feeling that has gone into the language through the use of these words, but because of the perfect Indian 'usage'.

(15) Vide Govt. of India's Home Deptt. (Poll. Deposit) - Proceedings for July, 1907, No.3.
Again, in the editorials that he wrote out, for the English daily Bandanataram during the year 1906-08, Sri Aurobindo not only preached with unflinching candour the ideal of complete independence for India, one and undivided, but formulated in clear logical terms a complete programme of political action including in its embrace both violence and non-violence for realising the ideal. His articles in English also reveal him as a true prophet of nationalism, as an original political thinker (16), and a great lover of humanity. These journalistic writings of Aurobindo are valuable not only as historical documents but also as compositions of high literary value and as examples of polemical political prose. The Statesman once commented, "The paper Bandanataram reeked with sedition patently visible between every line but it was so skilfully written that no legal action could be taken". To this Aurobindo gave the following rejoinder:

"......Certainly the writer ............need not disown his handiwork or evade his responsibility, for he has brought the art of safe slander to its utmost possible perfection".

The following extracts on Passive Resistance are from a sequence originally published in the Bandanataram in the month of April, 1907:

(a) "We desire to put an end to petitioning.

Such a strength is created in the country.

(16) In Aurobindo matter and expression are parts of one: style is a thinking out into language. So, by 'original political thinker', I mean, his objective use of English language to express original political thinking into writing. Hence, the style of his prose writing is original—covering and reflecting his personality; it is Indian—and "rises out of a special soil and flicker with a spirit of the place".

that a petition will only be a courteous form or demand. We wish to kill utterly the pernicious delusion that a foreign and adverse interest can be trusted to develop us to its own detriment, and entirely to do away with the foolish and ignoble hankering after help from our natural adversaries. Our attitude to bureaucratic concession is that of Laocoon: "We fear the Greeks even when they bring us gifts". Our policy is self-development and defensive resistance. But we would extend the policy of self-development to every department of national life; not only Swadeshi and National Education, but national arbitration courts, sanitation, insurance against famine or relief of famine—whatever our hands find to do or urgently needs doing, we must attempt ourselves and no longer look to the alien to do it for us. And we would universalize and extend the policy of defensive resistance until it ran parallel on every line with our self-development. We would not only buy our own goods; not only have our own schools, but boycott government institutions; not only organize our league of defence, but have nothing to do with the bureaucratic executive except when we cannot avoid it .......

(b) "......... Morally and mentally India has been brought to the verge of exhaustion and decay by the bureaucratic rule and any further acquiescence

in servitude will result in that death-sleep of centuries from which a nation, if it ever awakes at all, awakes emaciated, feeble and unable to resume its true rank in the list of the peoples" (18).

(c) "...... The bureaucracy depends for the success of its administration on the help of the few and the acquiescence of the many. If the few refused to help, if Indians no longer consented to teach in government schools or work in the government offices, or serve the alien as police, the administration could not continue for a day ........ " (19).

(d) "......... The double policy of self-development and defensive resistance is the common standing-ground of the new spirit all over India. Some may not wish to go beyond its limits, others may look outside it; but so far all are agreed. For ourselves we avow that we advocate passive resistance without wishing to make a dogma of it. In a subject nationality, to win liberty for one's country is the first duty of all, by whatever means, at whatever sacrifice; and this duty must override all others considerations.

.............. " (20).

The style of all the passages quoted above is marked with a forceful spontaneity — full of verve and action. A dynamic

(18) ibid., -: dated April, 1907.
(19) ibid., -: dated April, 1907.
(20) ibid., -: dated April, 1907.
spirit is easily perceptible in this style. It is not soft like the style of Naoroji, neither there is any attempt on the part of the writer (Aurobindo) to create an effect by his language. Here, in all the passages, sentences follow one another like the waves of a turbulent river. The phrase 'death-sleep of centuries' (extract - b) comes near to being a cliche, but this may be excused by its aptness in the context. One can easily mark the sinuosity and balance, the trenchancy and sarcasm in the style of all the passages.

Writing in the Manchester Guardian, in 1950, S.K. Batcliffe, the British editor of The Statesman, Calcutta, during the Swadeshi days, wrote: "We know Aurobindo Ghose only as a revolutionary nationalist and editor of the flaming newspaper which strike a ringing note in Indian daily journalism — full of leading and special articles written in English and with brilliance and pungency not hitherto attained in Indian press. It was the most effective voice of what we then called nationalist extremism" (21).

According to Aurobindo, 'Evil cannot perish without destruction of much that lives by the evil', and some of Aurobindo's writings, published in Bandemataram during 1907 point to this truth and these were penned in the heat of active political activities as editorials or special articles.

Throughout Sri Aurobindo's political period — a matter or four or five years — there was always the attempt to charge the 'secular' activity of politics with the deeper urgencies of religion. He used images and concepts familiar to Hindus and Hinduism, but on a closer look it would be

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(21) 'Sri Aurobindo' - by, S.K. Mitra.
Indian Book Company.
New Delhi, 1972. (pp. 80).
found that these have no narrow credal, dogmatic or ritualistic limitation but only a wide-arching, enriching and all-embracing spiritual connotation. " While Sri Aurobindo did not make 'religion' and 'politics' incompatible with one another, he also raised both to a level where they could be cleansed of their vitalistic and egotistic associations" (22). Thus in an article in the Bandemataram on 2nd August, 1907, he wrote:

"No artificial or ceremonial ways of preparing the soul can approach in effectiveness the spiritual process of merging one's hope, desires and one's very life in a wilder individuality such as that of one nation. The very foundation of the Gita is Sri Krishna's exhortation of Arjuna to forget his petty affectations for a greater good".

Three months later (9th November, 1907), in an article on 'Politics and Spirituality', Sri Aurobindo returned to the theme, ridiculed the view that spirituality was associated with cowardice, and added, —

"Spiritual energy is not on this earth a thing apart but reposes and draws upon physical energies —— It was an ebb in the spiritual sentiment which resulted in a complete physical nervousness with Arjuna on the eve of the great battle of Kurukshetra, and one spiritual ideal worked out in Gita is that if you allow any

(22) 'Sri Aurobindo Circle' — Sri Aurobindo Birth Centenary (Special-Twenty-eight number)
Pub. by - Sri Aurobindo Society.
Pondicherry, 1972. (pp. 43-44)
physical timidity to intervene between you and
your duty; all spiritual possibility is gone". More than four months later (28th March, 1907) in an article on 'Spirituality and Nationalism', Sri Aurobindo referred to the unique example of Ramkrishna Paramahansa, who had been able in his extraordinary life to re-enact the inner drama of all religions, thereby exemplifying their oneness in the spirit. A 'religion of man' was possible, although it was still only an ideal to be realised in the future. "India's resurgence, however, held out the hope that the possible would become the actuality" (23). Sri Aurobindo wrote:

"Sri Ramkrishna gave to India the final message of Hinduism .......... A new era dates from his birth, an era in which the people of the earth will be lifted for a while into communion with God and spirituality becomes the dominant note of religious life. What Christianity failed to do, what Mohomedanism strove to accomplish in times as yet unripe, what Buddhism half accomplished for a brief period and among a limited number of men, Hinduism as summed up in the life of Sri Ramkrishna has attempted for all the world. This is the reason for India's resurgence .......... The movement of which the first outbreak was political, will end in a spiritual consummation."

(23) off.cit. (pp. 44).
The language of religion is apparently used in all the passages, but the emphasis is on the nation — its reviving strength, and its hope and regeneration. The use of images like, 'Sri Krishna's exhortation to Arjuna', 'Spiritual ideal worked out in the Gita', 'Hinduism as summed up in the life of Sri Ramkrishna' — are all familiar to Hindus. Hindu names, such as, 'Sri Krishna', 'Gita', 'Arjuna', 'Kurukshetra', 'Sri Ramkrishna', are used more as symbols of the spiritual realities behind the religious facades.

In fact, Bandemataram's bold attitude, its vigorous thinking, its clear ideas, its chaste and powerful diction, and its scorching sarcasm and fierce refined witicism, were unsurpassed by any journal in the country, whether Indian or Anglo-Indian. Long extracts from it commenced to be reproduced week after week even in the exclusive columns of the Times in London. It was a force in the country which none dared to ignore, however much they might fear or hate it; and Aurobindo was the leading spirit, the central figure, in the new journal. In short, Aurobindo's political gospel was Indian — and his voice too was Indian — the voice of a soul genuinely dedicated to devour the evils of foreign yoke.

It was during his detention in the Alipur Jail (1908) that Sri Aurobindo transformed himself from an Extremist Nationalist into a Mystic Patriot. His high-spirited nationalism became a collective sadhana of the awakened India, the India of the spirit, to realise the God-head in man. It was not fit for the vital mind agitating only for the scanty achievements of the ordinary politician or the socialist.
His was not a physical or a chemical force but the intensity of the Divine force. He laid the foundation of freedom upon the ever-free soul of India. He abandoned the revolutionary path because it was limited and useless in his discovery of the common unity that ruled over creation. His interests were more humanitarian, universal and celestial. On June 19, 1909, he launched a weekly paper Karmayogin in English through which he revealed truths of Indian nationalism from a larger vision, a vaster perspective. In the leading article of the first issue he wrote:

"We believe that God is with us and in that we shall conquer. We believe that humanity needs us and it is the love and service of humanity, of our country, of the race, of the religion that will purify our hearts and inspire our action in the struggle........."

"......... The task we set before ourselves is not mechanical but moral and spiritual. We aim not at the alteration of a form of government, but at the building up of a nation of that task politics is a part, but only a part. We shall devote ourselves not to politics alone, nor to theology or philosophy or literature or science by themselves, but we include all these in one entity which we believe to be all important, the Dharma, the national religion which we also believe to be universal. There is a mighty law of life, a great principle of human evolution, a body of spiritual knowledge and experience of which Indis has always
been destined to be guardian, exemplar and missionary. This is the Senatama Dharma, the eternal religion ............"

These words are not the rhetoric of a political enthusiast but the words of a political revolutionary turned national prophet. Here the language is the language of the prophet of Nationalism, awakening the nation to a faith in its divinity, to a faith in the Mother, faith in God, in unity, self-help, self-reliance. The style has spontaneity and force and the energy of a devoted mystic-patriot.

In fact, his aim in the Karmayogin was to look at all life's problems from the spiritual angle and to prepare the country to race the task of the future. The political articles in the Karmayogin lacked nothing of the force and logic of the earlier Bandenataram editorials. That spirituality must be the hearth and altar of Nationality, that India should lead humanity with the splendour of her spiritual energism (Brahma Teja) was the striking message of the Karmayogin which in its essence was a prelude to the Arya. The Karmayogin serialised a number of Aurobindo's writings, such as, 'A system of National Education', 'The Brain of India', 'The National Value of Art', etc.

Aurobindo's political writings in prose were out and out patriotic which quite rightly inspired loyalty to Indian ideals, morals, social life and spiritual outlook. The dauntless attitude, irrefragable logic, faultless vision, full-voiced independence, inimitable diction, penetrating sarcasm and refined wit of these writings compelled admiration of the country from the Cape to the Mountain. The messages of these writings sank deep into the heart of the nation.
The Romantic, Victorian, Georgian and Modernist tradition — all pressed into service in the writings of Aurobindo, the literary giant of India, for laying a bridge to make an intensely Indian experience or vision, communicable in English. His political prose-writings led him to no romantic, defeatist escape from reality but to an organisation of his experience of reality, to the attainment of self-possession and the adjustment of his emotional, spiritual and intellectual selves to the shifting, confusing and fleeting course of events. A man of action by nature, Sri Aurobindo retained his introspection. His innate aristocracy and urbanity kept him away from boring insistence on petty personal details. Because the details of his personal life were constantly correlated to the peripheral areas of the life of the nation and of the world at large.

He came to India in the year 1895. The political condition of the country at once made him a revolutionary with the spirit of a 'Communalist' and the style of his political writings had fiery fervour. But soon he transformed himself into a 'Nationalist' with the ardour and devotion of a spiritual thinker and the style too became spiritual in import but with a practical purpose (unlike the 'practical prose' of Naoroji); inspiring and deep by the year 1909. But the common factor 'spirit of action' was always there in all his political prose writings. (24) Therefore the style of his political prose can be termed as the divinely traditional, actively aspiring Indo-European where in spite of having the

(24) Although the language for self-expression used by Aurobindo was English and not his mother-tongue but the very spirit of 'action' that was infused into the language was 'Indian'. The intrinsic quality of his style quite necessarily reveals his urbane, cultivated, cultured and sensitive personality.
similarity of language and grammar with those other countries of the world, it differs in respect of its involvement in the life around it — in the spirit of the place.

Uniting in himself the heritage of India's past, burning political problems of captive India's present (under British rule) and the creative vision of India's future, embodying in himself the total consciousness of both East and West, Sri Aurobindo may be said to incarnate the Guru-personality of India, with the authority to speak to the world. And it is this personality, at first politically revolutionary and then spiritually political, that manifested itself in all his political prose writings.
The end of the First World War brought India on the threshold of a new era — an era of concentrated action in the field of national liberation movement. The pre-occupation of our early nationalist leaders was to throw off the British yoke at all cost and they spared no one and nothing that came in the way of realisation of their sacred goal. The long line of leadership beginning from Rammohan was prompted by their relentless dreams of Swaraj. Rammohan sowed the seed of nationalism which crossed many hands — sometimes becoming moderate in approach, sometimes violently revolutionary and ultimately this onerous baton was passed by the pioneers to their heirs who faced a changed context and a new set of realities that called for a correspondent formulation of priorities. All the new leaders had their own daily or weekly papers in English to present the national and political viewpoint with varying degrees of individual emphasis. There was a change of scene, and a change too in the political personalities. Dadabhai was no more and Sri Aurobindo was a recluse at Pondicherry. In 1920 India stood at the cross-roads. Constitutionalism was dead, armed revolution was sheer madness. The country was looking tired but grouping for a new method and looking for a new leader. Then there sprang up India's man of destiny — M.K. Gandhi, who had been bidding his time all these years and quietly preparing himself for the great task left by Sri Aurobindo. He knew himself — he knew his country's needs and he knew also that during the next phase of India's struggle, the crown of leadership would be on his head.
"Gandhi was no writer, properly so called, nor was he at any time particularly interested in the art of writing: ............" (25). But he had to write out of an urgent necessity — and the necessity was how to gain political liberty. Harmony between thought and deed meant far more to Gandhi than consistency between one thought and another. Because his mind, operated on two different levels — the religious, with its insistence on absolute perfection and purity, and the political, with its emphasis on practicality and expediency. Summing up the conflict between these two sides of his nature, he once remarked, "Men say I am a saint losing myself in politics. The fact is I am a politician trying my hardest to be a saint" (26).

Gandhi's strength as a political leader, and the key to his compelling personality, lay precisely in his saintliness, his transparent honesty, and his constant willingness to see new points of view, to admit mistakes, but above all to be faithful to the truth as he saw it at the moment.

The great bulk of Gandhi's political writings was in the form of editorials or short-essays for his weekly newspapers. In 1903, in South Africa, he launched the English and Gujarati weekly newspaper, Indian Opinion. In India, in 1919, he helped establish the English language Young India and its

Gujrati edition, Navatilvan. In 1933 Young India became Harjjan — Gandhi's word for the untouchables.

He led an austerely simple life and devoted himself to all the highest principles of love for his fellow-beings and truth and justice. Indian humanity reached its high water-mark in him and purity of the means, evolved his creed of non-violence. He was neither a Moderate like Naoroji nor an Extremist like Aurobindo. He brought to the task a Moderate's abhorrence of violence and willingness to arrive at compromises, together with an Extremist's passion for action and quasi-religious appeal to the masses. He was, in fact, a symbol of original Indian simplicity. His political prose writings are the faithful reflections of his simple life's non-violently devoted energy. There are no periphrasis or twists and turns in his prose; all is set clearly and effectively. It is the model of clear and simple style. Ideas and states of mind are made as concrete as possible by limpidness of his personality through his writings. According to Horace Alexander, "Gandhi's whole life was 'a kind of dialectic', first preparing his people for freedom and then helping them to attain it" (27). An absolute simplicity almost Biblical, is the consistent style of his political prose writings. Being the product of non-western civilization, Gandhi has the honesty of genius which throws a genuine national tone in his writings. As he writes in one of his articles entitled, 'The condition of Labor', published in Young India, dated 1st June, 1921:

Dennis Dobson,
(pp. viii) Ch. 'Introduction'.
"Two paths are open before India to-day, either to introduce the Western principle of "Might is right" or to uphold the Eastern principle that truth alone conquers, that the strong and the weak have alike a right to secure justice. The choice is to begin with the laboring class. Should the laborers obtain an increment in their wages of violence? Even if that be possible, they cannot resort to anything like violence, howsoever legitimate may be their claims. To use violence for securing rights may seem an easy path, but it proves to be thorny in the long run. Those who live by the sword die also by the sword ..........

The passage is an example of Gandhi's simple, homely and direct style. There is no ornament, no love of fanciful fondness for word-play. Here the sentences are arranged logically and with utmost sincerity conveying clearly the purpose of writing. Gandhi is concerned mainly with the non-violent means to ameliorate the condition of the labourers. The use of the interrogative sentence (in the passage just quoted) faithfully shows his capability in the juxtaposition of sublime (his inner urge for non-violent means) with the familiar (his use of words like, 'increment', 'wages').

Gandhi saw that the sentimental and nationalistic bent of mind of the Indian masses of his time needed the sweet simplicity of the subject-matter and clear light in the manner of expression. While dealing with hard and serious subject in his English prose writing, Gandhi was quite conscious of
the growing need of the Indian masses and thus made his
prose-writings as much simple as possible freeing it from

evasions and ambiguities. His emphasis was always on
character rather than on scholarship. As he writes in one
article on 'strike' published in Young India, dated
16th February, 1921,:

" .......... Strikes are the order of the day.
They are a symptom of the existing unrest.
All kinds of vague ideas are floating in the
air. A vague hope does not take definite
shape. The labor world in India, as elsewhere,
is at the mercy of those who set up as
advisers and guides. The latter are not always
scrupulous, and not always wise even when they
are scrupulous. The laborers are dissatisfied
with their lot. They have every reason for
dissatisfaction. They are being taught, and
justly, to regard themselves as being chiefly
instrumental in enriching their employers....
The political situation too is beginning to
affect the laborers of India. And there are
not wanting labor leaders who consider that
strikes may be engineered for political purposes.
In my opinion, it will be a most serious mistake
to make use of labor strike for such purposes.
I don't deny that such strikes can serve
political end. But they do not fall within the
plans of non-violent non-co-operation."
Here the writer is dealing with a serious subject like 'Strike'. But the manner of expression is simple yet logically convincing. There are many short sentences in the passage. The simplicity of its style lies not in the mere use of short sentences but in its admirable achievement of the purpose. Here the purpose of the writing is to convince the people of 'the plan of non-violent non-co-operation' rather than on strikes for achieving political purposes. And the purpose is well served by the kind of style which is quite consistent with the subject-matter. A delicate political matter like labor strike needs a clear and comprehensive approach and Gandhiji is quite conscious of the fact.

Again, in reply to Tagore's manifesto entitled 'The Call of Truth', published in the Modern Review in October, 1921, where he detected excesses and faults in Satyagraha campaign, Gandhiji promptly answered in an article in Young India on October 13, 1921. An extract of the article will show how Gandhi's disciplined mind always provided facility to him in writing English prose with magnetic simplicity. He writes:

"......... I therefore think that the poet has been unnecessarily alarmed at the negative aspect of non-cooperation. We have lost the power of saying "no". It had become disloyal, almost sacrilegious to say "no" to the Government. This deliberate refusal to cooperate is like the necessary weeding process that a cultivator has to resort to before he sows........ The Nation's Non-Cooperation is an invitation
to the government to co-operate with it on its own terms as is every nation's right and every good government's duty”.

The passage is another example of simple style. Here sentences are short and perfectly conceived. The fourth sentence is very much 'Indian' in its conception for the use of 'simile'. This also shows the writer's Indianness of mind as it is quite in conformity with the traditional agricultural base of Indian life and Gandhi is an Indian — pure and simple. The second sentence, '........... we have lost the power of saying "no" ......', — brilliantly expresses Gandhi's dogged patriotism and the spirit as self-criticism is the best method of self-love. Here the sentence has a pure ring of sincerity.

In fact, Gandhi developed his writing faculty as part of his communication with people. Understanding the people and to make them understand were more important to him than becoming a celebrated author. As Mr. J.H. Holmes writes, unlike his great contemporary, Rabindranath Tagore, and his accomplished successor, Pandit Nehru, the Mahatma had no special grace of style. He seldom attained the heights of eloquence and beauty in his writings. His interests were never aesthetic but rather pragmatic (28). He wrote not for writing's sake but rather for achieving communication, for conveying information, for converting people to his point of view.

(28) Mahatma Gandhi: the journalist.

- by, S.N. Bhattacharjee.

Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1965. (pp. 97-98)
To-day his words may seem to be often insipid, and his style, colourless and cold, yet they are Gandhi's words and the very bareness and cold colourlessness constitute their strength.

The days of pompous style and verbosity vanished with the appearance of Gandhi. His English can be compared with that of Ruskin in its intention, and with that of Tolstoy in its perception. His style was a complete departure from the one that was in vogue in India when he reached the country. Clarity, directness, simplicity and brevity took the place of eloquence, elaboration, exaggeration and exhuberance. His was an utilitarian prose conspicuously different from the Macaulayan amplitude and richness of phrasing and weight of trajectory learning. As he writes in one of his political writings:

"Politically India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us, and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and they cannot return to their own homes. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships............" (29).

The passage is, no doubt, matter-of-fact and coldly colourless, but on closer scrutiny one realizes that not a point has been missed. One can read in this bare passage the robust commonsense and steely strength of the writer. The passage mat appear to be a mere statement of facts without any emphasis on stylistic

(29) ibid., ( pp. 88 , Ch. - IV ).
quality but truth is always plain and unornamented.

In this way scores of passages can be quoted from Gandhi's political writings to substantiate his simple, unornamented and direct style. In fact, Gandhi had no desire or ambition to be a literary giant. He had no intention to create an effect by his language. His one thought was of his own people, and his struggle to make them free. Therefore he wrote and expressed his viewpoints with disciplined simplicity keeping pace with the Indian moral tradition, and seeking only to make him clearly understood. The result was one important quality of style—namely, clarity. Vitality and cleanliness got a perfect blending in his political writings. He wrought a style that was perfect for his purpose of communication. " .... To read his writings is to think of content and not of style which means a triumph in the adaptations of means to ends ..... " (30).

The Indianness of Gandhi's political prose style lies in its simplicity to the point of austerity—not deliberate but spontaneous and arising out of the necessity of the time. His perfect word selection and inward clarity added special attractiveness in his style. His voice was the voice of Indian conscience and consciousness. He was the first Indian nationalist to take politics from the classes to the masses. Therefore his prose-style became simple and clear only to express this mass-conscience and mass-consciousness.

(30) ibid., (pp. 98).
During the Gandhian era many young leaders came to fore by the intensification of the nationalist movement. Much as they admired Gandhi personality, they found his political ideas medieval. Inevitably the minds of these young leaders reached out for more modern ideas to Europe, where many had lived as students. Fascism, Socialism and Communism used to attract the sensitive minds of these leaders. Gandhi's programme of gradual political change failed to satisfy the hunger of immediate and positive action for political liberty of the younger leaders. Subhas Chandra Bose, one of these younger leaders, was the only leader in the entire Indian National movement who offered a clear and complete alternative to the Gandhian ideology and programme of action. Because of "Gandhi's medievalism and his indifference to the modern world", many, "others moved away into more positive action. The most important of such man was Bose". (31) Unlike Gandhi, he had no faith in gradualism. "He was deeply influenced by the romantic fascism of Nazi Germany, yet he represented the continuing achievement of religions and cultural nationalism.... Though many of his political ideas came from Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union, his model for an independent India was based on the Turkey of Kamal Ataturk" (32). There was no salvation unless the foreigners were driven out of the land of his birth, he thought and started working for it.

Subhas belonged to a well-to-do middle-class family of Bengal, settled down in Orissa. The environment in which Subhas

(31) British India (1772-1947) - by, Michael Edwardes, (Sidwick & Jackson), London, 1967 (pp. 291).
(32) ibid., (pp. 292).
grew up was conducive to a cosmopolitan outlook. Being sensitive and emotional in temperament, he always struggled for significant existence even within his large family of eight brothers and six sisters. The family atmosphere further helped him to broaden his mind and to develop a sociable outlook. He had a scholastic bent of mind and a good command of English, and could grasp any subject with great facility. This was because from his very childhood he was taught in the protestant European School, where the curriculum was so framed as to make its pupils as English in their mental make-up as possible. The year 1897, in which Subhas was born, was the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign which marked the zenith of the British empire; and the lucky birth of Subhas presaged its nadir. It was also the year when Swami Vivekananda returned to India after his triumph at the parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893. Therefore, on the one hand the Europeanized family atmosphere and the mission school's influence on his mental make-up, and Vivekananda's great teaching on the other, created a stir and thus revolutionized the within of Subhas. He started reading the works of Vivekananda and took to heart his maxim that social service is an essential part of spiritual development. But curiously Subhas had little interest in politics till then. This was partly due to his natural tendency which guided him in a different direction, partly to the fact that Orissa was a political backwater, and partly also to the lack of example in his family.

It was only from 1912 when Subhas came in contact with a student's group in Calcutta that his political activities started. The group was devoted to the twin ideal of spiritual uplift and national regeneration. Subhas became nationalistic
to the core. The racial arrogance of the British galled him as much as the political subjection of the country. However, he took first-class honours in philosophy in the year 1919.

"It was apparent that academically nothing could stand in his way. To his father it was also clear that the nationalist turbulence of Bengal at this time would tempt him sorely: Let him therefore go to England and sit for the Indian Civil Service: Let power and dignity cure him. The father's decision was sudden and the son's dilemma acute. But the father won at last and Subhas agreed to go. But he took it as a challenge and a final test; a challenge before an Indian's intellect, and a final test of his superiority over the European. His over-sensitive mind could never tolerate British pretension. He wrote from Cambridge in November 1919:

"What gives me the greatest joy is to watch the Whiteskins serving me and cleaning my shoes." (34). But Bose had that honesty to recognize the merits of British characters. He admired their energy, love of discipline and sense of punctuality. "Deliberately, and with the single-minded concentration, he set out to make himself personally acceptable to them so that he could study them better." (35).

He passed the Civil Service examination brilliantly in 1920,

(33) The Springing Tiger: by, Hugh Toye.

(34) The Subhas I Knew: Dilip Kumar Roy. (pp. 53. Footnote).

attaining fourth place. It was, indeed, a considerable achievement for an Indian. But the tragic massacre of Amritsar at once gave jolt to the over-sensitive mind of Subhas and Mahatma Gandhi's call to Indians to renounce their British titles and appointments added more fuel to the already burning nationalistic fire in Subhas's heart. And it was the 'call of national service' that prompted him to resign from I.C.S. His mind was all the time set on how to get rid of the British, how to make the country free, and how to raise the self-respect of the Indians. This sacrifice of a prized career of I.C.S. on the very threshold of his life was the beginning of his most active and busy life in the field of India's freedom movement.

Subhas had very little spare time to write. But even in the midst of his busy and always alert life, he wrote with honesty and pointed accuracy. With a mind genuinely scientific and clear, he did not use the language of ambiguity. His was a magnetic personality that contained a number of qualities characteristically youthful. He was daring and optimistic, mystic and rational, a product of western education, an inheritor too of the age-old but unageing tradition of India's religion, culture and temper, an intellectual and yet a man of daring action, a believer in socialism and nationalism of the highest order, a revolutionary to the core and a master of his thoughts as well as of his materials.

Bose's The Indian Struggle is the only creative political work. Apart from this, he also contributed occasional articles to the periodical press in India and Europe, notably to the Indian Modern Review. Bose emerges from his work The Struggle - 1920 to 1942 as a historian and political analyst of rare merit.
According to Romain Rolland, "the 'Indian Struggle' disclosed the best quality of the historian — lucidity and high equity of mind, and that it was an indispensable work for the history of the Indian movement" (36). In his preface, Bose candidly admitted the defects and shortcomings of the book, which were primarily due to the difficulty in getting books of reference in Vienna where it was hastily completed in 1934. The original manuscript which he carried with him while he was hurrying to the bedside of his dying father was confiscated when he landed at Karachi. When the book was published later in London, the Government of India promptly banned it and seized all the copies. But a few copies were nevertheless smuggled into India and avidly passed from hand to hand. The first Indian edition was published only in the year following the attainment of freedom. His prose-style in the book could not be called oratorial, but he was fluent and neat in writing and rarely fumbled for words. The book provides an excellent example of polemical political prose in English.

Bose's views on 'a synthesis between communism and Fascism' developed in the chapter entitled, 'A glimpse of the Future' of the book Indian Struggle, call for special notice. Because they throw light both on his ideology and his typical 'plain glass' style. He expresses in brief yet convincingly logical way the delicately complex relation

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(36) In Freedom's Quest: N.G.Jog.
Orient Longman's Ltd.
New Delhi, 1969. (pp. 329).
between both the ideologies. The whole matter becomes crystal clear before the reader through a few quick but short sentences:

"In spite of the antithesis between communism and Fascism, there are certain traits common to both. Both communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the state over the individual. Both denounce parliamentarian democracy. Both believe in the dictatorship of the party and in the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities. Both believe in a planned industrial reorganization of the country. These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis. That synthesis is called by the writer "Samyavada" — an Indian word .........." (37).

Again, assessing the failure of Gandhi at the Round Table Conference, Bose compared it to the similar reverse suffered by President Wilson at the Versailles Conference:

" .......... The professor — President of America was no match for the Welsh wizard, Mr. Lloyd George; nor was the saint — politician from India any match for the wily Mr. Ramsay Macdonald " (38).

The passage is an example of plain style. The use of adjectives like 'Professor — Politician', 'Welsh wizard', 'Saint — Politician', 'Wily' — show the writer's accuracy of mind.

(38) ibid., (pp. 228).
Here is another example of Bose's plain style when he writes on the double role played by Gandhi in the same Conference. He writes,

"......... Sometimes he conducted himself, not as a political leader who had come to negotiate with the enemy, but a master who had come to preach a new faith --- that of non-violence and World peace. Because of his second role, he had to spend much of his time with people who were quite useless in promoting his political mission " (39).

The passage shows the critically analytical mind of the writer. The language is easy but saturated with the discontented feeling of a revolutionary nationalist.

Again, commenting on the Presidentship of the Lahore Congress, Subhas wrote,

" ............ For the Mahatma the choice was a prudent one. But for the Congress left wing it proved a political reproof between the Mahatma and Jawaharlal Nehru, and a consequent alienation between the latter and the Congress left wing. Since 1920 Jawaharlal Nehru had been a close adherent of the policy advocated by the Mahatma, and his personal relations with the latter had been always friendly. Nevertheless, since his return from Europe in December 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru

(39) ibid., ( pp. 25-26 ) .
began to call himself a socialist and give expression to views hostile to Mahatma Gandhi and the older leaders and to ally himself in his public activities with the left wing opposition in the Congress. But for his strenuous advocacy it would not have been possible for the Independence league to attain the importance that it did. Therefore for the Mahatma it was essential that he should win over Jawaharlal Nehru if he wanted to beat down the left wing opposition, and regain his former undisputed supremacy over the Congress. The left wingers did not like that one of their most outstanding spokesmen should accept the presidency of the Lahore Congress because it was clear that the Congress would be dominated by the Mahatma, and the President would be a mere dummy ........... " (40). The passage is written in a lucid style. Here the writer maintains a strict control over his expression. His language is restrained, and he avoids the excitement that such a moment might bring forth. It is a plain record of the situation with an impartial interpretation. Here words flow easily and the characteristic mental equipoise of Bose brings spontaneity in style.

Subhas Chandra went to Gandhi on July 16, 1921 in order to get a clear conception of Gandhi's plan of action. But their meeting ended in vain and Bose wrote:

(40) ibid., (pp. 169 - 70).
"......... Though I tried to persuade myself at the time that there must have been a lack of understanding on my part, my reason told me clearly, again and again, that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan that the Mahatma had formulated, and that he himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stages of the campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of freedom" (41).

But in C.R.Das, Bose found a leader after his heart and he wrote:

"......... During the course of our conversation I began to feel that here was a man who knew what he was about, who could demand from all that they could give, a man to whom youthfulness was not a shortcoming but a virtue. By the time our conversation came to an end my mind was made up. I felt I had found a leader and meant to follow him" (42).

Both these paragraphs are instances of Bose's 'Neutral style'. It is a sober and quiet prose, but it has the beauty of clear light falling on two different personalities of the Indian national movement. Here the purpose of the writer is for genuine evaluation rather than uncritical adulation; and the purpose is well served by his use of simple words, unpretentious expression and lucid interpretation.

(41) ibid., (pp. 54-55).
(42) ibid., (pp. 55).
Unlike Gandhi, Bose's life was the life of an adventurous politician. To him a verbal war was not the means to achieve political freedom. Therefore, instead of being a prolific writer, he became an energetic actor on the stage of the freedom movements. His extremist propensities had a deep impact upon his writings. As he writes:

"Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy, and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the good will of the Indian people altogether, and is now living a precarious existence ..........

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the people to set up a provisional government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed — it is not possible to set up a provisional government within India or to Launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task — the task of setting up a provisional government of Azad Hind (Free India), and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army.
of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organized by the League

In the name of God, in the name of by-gone generations, who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner, and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India, and to prosecute the struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory — until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil, and the Indian people are once again a free nation" (43).

The style of the passage is plain but spontaneous and forceful. It is the prose of an inspired nationalist eager to evoke the sense of patriotism and urgency in the minds of the Indian people. The fervour of militant nationalism drives the pen of the writer. Here sentences are long but cannot be called 'periodic' for the presence of appealing spontaneity and clear light.

Further, Bose wrote many articles and treatise which were the expressions of the time — spirit. In August 1940 he launched the Forward Block as a weekly journal. "In signed

editorials week after week he vigorously expounded the aims and objects of the bloc, and tried to popularise it among the masses. Their polemics make interesting reading even now, and show what a trenchant pen Bose wielded" (44). Exposition, attack, thrust and parry, irony and raillery—all the dialectical weapons were wielded by Bose in his political writings in the journal with consummate skill. The first editorial, aptly titled, 'why Forward Bloc?'—justified the formation of the new party with his favourite Hegelian dialectic:

"......... Out of the conflict between 'thesis' and 'antithesis', 'synthesis' is born. This 'synthesis' in its turn, becomes the 'thesis' of the next phase of evolution. This 'thesis' throws up an 'antithesis' and the conflict is resolved by a further 'synthesis'. Thus the wheel of progress moves on. In every movement that is living or dynamic, there is a latent left—a latent antithesis, if you will. This latent left wing becomes manifest in the fullness of time, and through it, further growth and development take place. The Gandhi-ites of 1920 were the left wing in the Congress, but it does not follow therefrom that they are the left wing to-day. The Leftists of yesterday, often, if not always, become the Rightists of tomorrow.

(44) In Freedom's Quest: by N.G. Jog,
Orient Longmans Ltd.
New Delhi, April, 1969 (pp. 174).
To say that there should be no differentiation between Right and Left within the Congress of today, and to agree that the Congress, as a whole, is left, is talking arrant nonsense. To-day the slogan of 'Unity' at any price and under all circumstances is a convenient slogan in the mouths of those who have lost dynamism and revolutionary urge. Let us not be led away by its fascinating appeal ................ " (45).

The passage faithfully reflects the revolutionary fervour of Subhas Chandra Bose. He writes here with a purpose — and the purpose is less to silence than to convince his readers: not to force their assent but to win their agreement. The sentence, ' ............... To-day the slogan of 'Unity' etc. ............... ', is out and out sarcastic in approach. Again, ' ............... To say that there should be differentiation ............... is talking arrant nonsense ............... "', is an example of raillery.

However, another example of Bose's trenchant style was an editorial entitled 'our critics', where he indignantly repudiated the charge that the Forward Bloc was drawing into its fold opportunists and fascists:

" ............... To accuse the Forward Bloc of opportunism is amusing indeed. A member of the Bloc has to fight on two fronts — British Imperialism and Congress Bureaucratism — and has to suffer persecution at the hands of both. From the personal point of view he has nothing to

(45) ibid., (dated, April 19, 1939).
gain but everything to lose. The line of least resistance, and the path of opportunism, however, take one straight to the Rightist camp. It is difficult to understand what exactly is meant by 'fascist' in an Indian context, if the word is used in its scientific or technical sense. Nevertheless, if by 'fascist' is indicated those who call themselves Hitlers, super-Hitlers, or budding-Hitlers, then one might say that these specimens of humanity are to be found in the Rightist camp" (46).

In fact, of all the leaders of the Indian National movement, Bose had the most restless and dynamic spirit. His faithf, independence of mind, courage, equanimity & practical sense never deserted him through all the vicissitudes of the struggle, and all these had their impact upon his political prose-style. His writings in English prose, though few, are as faithful an evidence of his essential personality as his political activities are. He was the last of the Extremist tradition and first to point out the weaknesses of Gandhian politics. Both Aurobindo and Gandhi were revolutionary and saint-politicians respectively, but Bose added a new adventurous spirit into politics and threw away saintliness for the sake of immediate freedom. All his political writings are specimens of this adventurous spirit. His language is plain and simple yet not without force and vigour. His tone is bitter and the style of writing is mercilessly expository and logically pinching. Gandhi's style had simplicity and cleanliness but Bose added vigour to it.

(46) ibid., (dated, April 19, 1939).
Born in a wealthy Kashimiri Brahman family in Allahabad in the year 1889, Jawaharlal studied at home under a series of English governesses and tutors. When he was fifteen, his father sent him to Harrow; at seventeen he entered Cambridge University; and at twenty he went down to London to take his law degree at the Inns of Court, where Gandhi had studied some two decades earlier. After seven formative years in England, Jawaharlal returned to India in 1912 to practise law with his father. But the India of 1912 to which Nehru returned was in a state of confusion and political torpor. He joined the Congress and began to speak at its sessions. He was then a shaky nationalist having the liberal humanist outlook. But his contact with Gandhi changed him and made him a true nationalist leader of India. Gandhi's great non-cooperation movement against British rule accelerated the political activities of Jawaharlal. But he was disappointed by Gandhi's sudden suspension of the movement in 1922 and felt that the solutions of India's political problems suggested by the Mahatma's intuitive and moralistic mind insufficient. His trip to Europe for his wife's health in 1926-27 gave him a new perspective on the conflict between India nationalism and British rule. A week's visit to Russia impressed him with the common interest of Russia and India in opposing British imperialism.

Back in India, he demanded that the Congress declare its ultimate goal to be, not dominion status, but complete independence. He was supported by Subhas Chandra Bose and others, and Gandhi had no other way but to yield to the demand of the Young Leader in order to keep the nationalist movement from splitting into Moderate and Extremist wings.
Devotion to the cause of Indian freedom, and compassion for the lot of the nation's poor — were the two main aspects of Jawaharlal's political activities. In the history of political movement in India we find Nehru as an exception in so far as his creative political writings are concerned. Because they reveal neither the extreme revolutionary spirit of Aurobindo, nor the saintly simplicity of Gandhi, and nor even the militant, adventurous and mercilessly trenchant energy of Subhas. Even with almost exact contemporaries, while broadly sharing certain common features, 'style' must vary with the individuality of the writer. In spite of being a thinker, a man of action, a politician, a believer in modern technology and science, Nehru was also a visionary and a poet — a master of vibrant words. His writings are the manifestations of his urbane, cultivated, youthful and sensitive personality. The active mind was always behind his political activities; and the personality behind his writings. He was a politician with the mind of a literary artist. His writings, "besides showing the man of action, testify to the man of imagination" (47).

Jawaharlal's major works are Autobiography (1936), Glimpses of the World History (1939), and The Discovery of India (1946). Apart from these, he wrote Soviet Russia: Some Random Sketches and Impressions (1928), Letters From A Father To His Daughter (1930), and some newspaper articles and political speeches which were collected into Unity of India by V.K. Krishnamenon (The John Day Co, New York, 1941). All

these books constitute an important store-house of information about Nehru's outlook on Indian and international political affairs, his personal philosophy, and to a great extent, Nehru, the English prose-writer and his personal prose-style. Indo-Anglian political prose-literature has been undoubtedly enriched by the addition of these works of Nehru. These books may be treated more as works of literature than as mere historical treatment of political facts.

Nehru's *Autobiography* expresses the various aspects of his personality, more adequately than perhaps anything else he had done. With the artist's sensitiveness to pain, he combines the fighter's indignation against wrong with dogged tenacity of the patriotic Indian mind. The sense of humanity which pervades the book, the simplicity of the emergent Indian-English style of writing, the awareness of the poetry of human life, — clearly show Nehru's introspection at its deepest and the fact that action is not merely political opportunism but compulsion from the innermost depths of feelings and ideas. The story of his own life is fused in the story of the nation and the poignancy of the birthpangs of the nation in the poignancy of personal sorrow that broods over its pages. Sincerity of an Indian patriot, directness of a post-Gandhian Indian English writer's prose-style, and vigour of an Indian intellectual are in evidence on every page. The whole work is instinct with a sense of quest and the sweep of a poet's vision, as well as the magnanimous imagination of a humanist and patriot.
Here is an example of Nehru's imaginative prose style:

"........... And yet India with all her poverty and degradation had enough of nobility and greatness about her, and though she was overburdened with ancient tradition and present misery, and her eye-lids were a little weary; she had a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit little cell by cell of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions. Behind and within her battered body one could glimpse a majesty of soul. Through long ages she had travelled and gathered much wisdom on the way, and trafficked with strangers and added them to her own big family, and witnessed days of glory and of decay, and suffered humiliation and terrible sorrow, and seen many a strange sight; but throughout her long journey she had clung to her immemorial culture, drawn strength and vitality from it, and shared it with other hands. Like a pendulum she had swung up and down; she had ventured with the daring of her thought to reach up to the heavens and unravel their mystery, and she had also had bitter experience of the pit of hell" (48).

This paragraph shows Nehru's vision of the motherland. Here he muses rather than acts and the contemplative mood heightens his utterance to the rhythm of swinging cadence and balance clauses.

linked up with a succession of the conjunction 'and'. The word-music of Walter Pater's celebrated paragraph on Monalisa in his essay on Leonardo da Vinci might have been ringing in Nehru's memory while he wrote this paragraph. Here Nehru follows the style of the Victorian Aesthete who tried to write a prose that should be beautiful in its colour and cadence. The style is highly wrought; its rhythms are lingering and languorous. It is a special literary voice remote from the idiom of common speech.

But the other style, the more natural and common style for Nehru, is the civilised, controlled style of English prose, often found in the works of Swift, Defoe, Hazlitt, Newman — which boasts of using the diction, structure, rhythm and tone of well-cultivated talk. For example:

"..... Moderation and conservatism and desire to avoid risks and sudden changes are often the inevitable accompaniments of old age. They do not seem quite so appropriate in the young, but ours is an ancient land, and sometimes its children seem to be born tired and weary, with all the lack-lustre and marks of age upon them. But even this old country is now convulsed by the forces of change, and the moderate outlook is bewildered. The old world is passing, and all the sweet reasonableness of which the Liberals are capable does not make any difference; they might as well argue with the hurricane or the flood.
or the earthquake. Old assumptions fail them, and they dare not seek new ways of thought and action ..........

The passage gives a clear-cut opinion of Nehru against the old, moth-eaten, orthodoxically traditional Indian outlook towards life and politics. The old Liberals' outlook has to be changed in order to make room for new and daring forces of change. A brave new world is in the making. A note of hope and a sense of urgency are mixed up here in this passage. But the balanced, cultured, and sensitive mind of Nehru never allows any artificial elevation in his style in order to make the writing unruly with emotional vibrations. He is plain rather than becoming ornate, but has a care for symmetry and gracefulness. The passage is, indeed, an example of plain, clear style keeping a balanced rhythm of thought and language.

Nehru's numerous emotion-packed moods always offered him various opportunities to express the problems of humanity in an artistic manner. And artists have always been attracted to politics through indignation or sympathy. Age and growing experience increase the intensity of an artist's feelings and he cannot rest in the world of imagination. Sympathy and suffering lead to the same result. He cannot remain within his personality, but rather takes the initiative to be on the battle-front of action. This has been Nehru's destiny, for his imagination never allows him to rest until he had flung himself into the arena of action. Unlike Western intellectuals, Nehru always wished to integrate ideas and actions and to become an example in consequence.

(49) ibid., (pp. 411).
In fact, there is no sharp distinction between action and imagination, feeling and expression in Nehru. For example:

"...... India becomes Bharat Mata, Mother India, a beautiful lady, very old but ever youthful in appearance, sad-eyed and forlorn, cruelly treated by aliens and outsiders, and calling upon her children to protect her. Some such picture rouses the emotions of hundreds of thousands and drives them to action and sacrifice. And yet India is in the main the peasant and the worker, not beautiful to look at, for poverty is not beautiful. Does the beautiful lady of our imaginations represent the bare-bodied and bent workers in the fields and factories? Or the small group of those who have from ages past crushed the masses and exploited them, imposed cruel customs on them and made many of them even untouchable? We seek to cover truth by the creatures of our imaginations and endeavour to escape from reality to a world of dreams ........." (50).

The paragraph shows Nehru's vision of the motherland being fused with his deep emotional response to the poverty, to the '...... bare-bodied and bent workers in the field and factories .........'. Here he dreams as well as feels; and a

sense of involvement comes out from this Nehruian emotion-propelled style. And the style has clarity and dignity. It is, in fact, a poetic prose—at times emotionally surcharged, (for example, the first sentence); and at times rationally interpreted, (for example, the third sentence). The passage is an example of Nehru's literary expression of the political facts of the country, and here lies the difference between Nehru and Aurobindo, Gandhi and Subhas's political prose-style.

Again, Nehru's passionate desire for searching things rationally adds a quality of understanding and clarity to his style. His exquisite expression of the fleeting and evanescent feelings of the heart evokes a response to all sensitive minds. With the help of his capacious and retentive memory, events and figures crystallize in a few but sensitive words with a delicate subtlety of workmanship. Sweet, sad, and silent thoughts start coming to catch the remembrance of things past. For example:

"...... And so I left Calcutta, and as I lay in my berth in the train that night I was long haunted by the excited faces of these two boys (Two Bengalees belonging to terrorist party). Full of life and nervous energy they were; what good material if only they turned the right way ..." (51).

Again,

"...... As I was getting into the police car my ailing mother ran up again to me with arms

(51) Autobiography: Nehru. (pp. 316).
outstretched. That face of her haunted me for long...." (52).

Further,

"The years I have spent in prison! sitting alone, wrapped in my thoughts, how many seasons I have seen go by, following each other into oblivion! How many moons I have watched wax and wane, and the pageant of the stars moving along inexorably and majestically! How many yesterdays of my youth lie buried here; and sometimes I see the ghosts of these yesterdays rise up, bringing poignant memories, and whispering to me: "Was it worthwhile?" ....." (53).

And regarding some human figures:

"......... He (Hakim Ajmal Khan) was, in his manners, a typical aristocrat of the old order, with princely look and princely ways, and even his face bore a marked resemblance to the miniatures of the Mughal Sovereigns" (54).

Again,

"(Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan). A tall, straight man, straight in body and mind, hating fuss and too much talk, looking forward to freedom for his Frontier Province People within the framework of Indian freedom, but vague about, and uninterested in constitutions and legal talk ...." (55).

Unlike Carlyle's famous portraits, these vignettes are remarkable

(52) ibid., (pp. 565).
(53) ibid., (pp. 598).
(54) ibid., (pp. 168).
(55) ibid., (pp. 278 - 279).
for their neat outlines, deeply suppressed emotionalism and bold composition. These are, in fact, moment's monument created by dint of Nehru's poetic sensitiveness and retentive imagination.

Another book of Nehru *Glimpses Of World History* shows his desire to see the world from the point of view of an oppressed Indian subject of the British Empire in the twentieth century. The creative passages of the book are the spontaneous expression of the intense and actual suffering of the victim of Imperialism. This book is one single imaginative experience of an 'Ori-Occidental' interpretative genius, the approach always being artistic and poetic and not merely politically factual. The canvas is broad but the writer himself is always there to integrate his own personality with the political events of the past of India as well as into the events which are shaping her present and her future.

Nehru always denounces violence and tyranny in the political field in any part of the world irrespective of the nation involved in it. Regarding Alexander the Great he writes:

"He (Alexander the Great) destroyed this famous city (Thebes) and knocked down its buildings and massacred many of its people and sold many thousands into slavery......... But this and other instances of barbarism in his life do not make him admirable for us and only repel and disgust us......... What had this 'great' person done during his brief career? He won some brilliant battles. He was undoubtedly a great general. But he was vain..."
Again,

"......... Most muslim adore him (Mahmood of Ghazni), most Hindus hate him......... as a matter of fact, he was hardly a religious man. He was a Mohammedan, of course, but that was by the way. Above everything he was a soldier, and a brilliant soldier. He came to India to conquer and loot, as soldiers unfortunately do, and he would have done so to whatever religion he might have belonged. It is interesting to find that he threatened the muslim rulers of Sind, and only on their submission and payment of tribute did he spare them......... We must therefore not fall into the common error of considering Mahmud as anything more than a successful soldier " (57).

And further,

"............ Courage he (Napoleon) had and self-confidence and imagination and amazing energy and vast ambition. He was a very great general, a master of the art of war,

(56) Glimpses of World History: Nehru, Bombay, 1964 (pp. 47-50).
(57) ibid., (pp. 159).
comparable to the great captains of old, Alexander and Chengiz. But he was petty also, and selfish and self-centred, and the impulse of his life was not the pursuit of an ideal, but the quest of personal power. 'My mistress,' he once said, 'Power is my mistress.' The conquest of that mistress has cost me so much that I will allow no one to rob me of her, or to share her with me! ........." (58).

All these passages show Nehru's wholesomeness, detachment, sanity and fair play. There is no uncritical adulation or outright condemnation on the part of the writer. The style is forceful without being rhetorical. In the context of Indian national movement the critical analysis of these historical figures became a lesson to the Indian patriots and an eye-opener to the British rulers.

Again, Nehru was quite aware of the wretched conditions of the peasants of India; and their sufferings were more for the lack of political stability than any other imaginary causes. Unlike the political prose-style of Aurobindo, Gandhi and Subhas, Nehru's style is emotive and fervent rather than logical and stern. He is really a political poet. For example:

"....... Yes, there can be few sights that are sadder than the sunken eyes of our Kishans with the haunted, hopeless look in them. What a burden our peasantry have carried these years!"

(58) ibid., (pp.393).
And let us not forget that we, who have prospered a little have been part of the burden. All of us, foreigner and Indians, have sought to exploit that long-suffering Kishan and have mounted on his back. Is it surprising that his back breaks? ........ " (59).

Again,

"......... There is no peace for us in this turbulent twentieth century ......... The whole world is in labour, and the shadow of war and revolution lies heavy everywhere. If we cannot escape from this inevitable destiny of ours, how shall we face it? Ostrich-like, shall we hide our heads from it? Or shall we play a brave part in the shaping of events and, facing risks and perils if need be, have the joy of great and noble adventure, and the feeling that our ' steps are merging with those of history? ' ......... " (60).

These passages are faithful reflections of Nehru's poetically political ' feelings '. The first passage expresses the feeling of a genuine sorrow and sympathy for the peasants. The first sentence of the passage is indeed a poetical expression of his practical experience. The second passage clearly shows his sensitive mind keenly conscious of the political pain of the
epoch. In this way scores of paragraphs can be quoted from the book that may pass for poems in prose.

In fact, Nehru's outstanding intellect, analytical mind and sensitive heart make this *Glimpses of World History* a work unique in character and style. Although Nehru wrote in his last letter to Indira, "........ I have given you the barest outline; this is not history; they are just fleeting glimpses of our long past ........", but in reality, the book is the manifestation of his ever-active political life's untiring attempts to show how the flow of political life in India is an integral part of the continuum of world's political history.

Nehru's humanity and poetic sensibility in the *Glimpses* has overshadowed H.G.Wells's *History of the World*, who was a "materialist" (61), according to Virginia Woolf, and wrote of outward reality in an ordered way but missed the spirit of life, which is complex, changing, subtle and composed of multitudinous impressions.

*Discovery of India* is the third major work of Nehru. His prose-style in this book is generally speaking more homely, and intensely attractive for the spontaneous flow of words, phrases and idioms. The book abounds in marvellous pen-pictures of the great political leaders of India of the past. The most remarkable one is that of Mahatma Gandhi, in which Nehru scales heights of poetry. He writes:

"And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths, like a beam

(61) A short Guide To English Style; Alan Warner.
E.L.B.S. edition. 1964. (pp. 166. Ch. 21).
of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes, like a whirlwind that upset many things but most of all the working people's minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appaling condition. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth and action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view. But the dominant impulse in India under British rule was that fear, pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear; fear of the army, the police, the widespread secret service; fear of the official class; fear of laws meant to suppress and of prison; fear of the landlord's agent; fear of the moneylender, fear of unemployment and starvation, which were always on the threshold. It was against this all-pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: Be not afraid.

The passage, lyrical in spirit, is forceful and evocative. The consistent flow of sentences, though long, are rhythmical, and can capture the emotional vibrations. The fourth sentence though long, brilliantly sums up the political agony of

(62) The Discovery of India; Nehru.
Calcutta, 1948. (pp. 299).
the people of India.

Like his Autobiography, The Discovery of India also gives us scores of passages to illustrate his imaginative prose. For instance:

"The Discovery of India — What have I discovered? It was presumptuous of me to imagine that I could unveil her and find out what she is today and what she was in the long past. India is a geographical and economic entity, a cultural unity amidst diversity, a bundle of contradictions held together by strong but invisible threads. Overwhelmed again and again, her spirit was never conquered, and today when she appears to be the plaything of a proud-conqueror, she remains unsubdued and unconquered. About her there is the elusive quality of a legend of long ago, some enchantment seems to have held her mind. She is a myth and an idea, a dream and a vision, and yet very real and present and pervasive. There are terrifying glimpses of dark corridors which seem to lead back to primeval night but also there is the fulness and warmth of the day about her. Shameful and repellent she is occasionally, perverse and obstinate, sometimes even a little hysterical, this lady with a past. But she is very lovable and none of her children can forget her wherever they go or whatever strange fate befalls them."
For she is part of them in her greatness as well as her failings, and they are mirrored in those deep eyes of hers that have seen so much of life's passion and joy and folly and looked down into wisdom's well ....... " (63). The passage expresses Nehru's historical vision of the motherland at its anthropomorphic best. Here Nehru's contemplative mood heightens his utterance to the rhythm of swinging cadence.

The other style, the more usual and natural style of Nehru, is the controlled, civilised and intellect-propelled style. For example:

"We in India do not have to go abroad in search of the past and the distant. We have them here in abundance. If we go to foreign countries it is in search of the present. That search is necessary, isolation from it means backwardness and decay ....... Old barriers are breaking down; life becomes more international. We have to play our part in this coming internationalism ....... But a real internationalism is not something in the air without roots and anchorage. It has to grow out of national cultures, can only flourish today on a basis of freedom and equality and true internationalism " (64).

(64) ibid., (pp.578).
In 1943 India suffered a tragic famine — most disastrously so in Bengal. Nehru's pen-picture of that famine is penetratingly vivid:

"Famine came, ghastly, staggering, horrible beyond words. In Malabar, in Bijapur, in Orissa, and above all in the rich and fertile province of Bengal, men and women and little children died in their thousands daily for lack of food. They dropped down dead before the palaces of Calcutta, their corpses lay in the mud huts of Bengal's innumerable villages and covered the roads and fields in its rural areas. Men were dying all over the world and killing each other in battle; usually a quick death, often a brave death, death for a cause, death with a purpose, death which seemed in this mad world of ours an inexorable logic of events, a sudden end to the life we could not mould or controlled. Death was common enough everywhere.

But here death had no purpose, no logic, no necessity, it was the result of man's incompetence and callousness, man-made, a slow creeping thing of horror with nothing to redeem it, life merging and fading into death, with death looking out of the shrunken eyes and withered frame while life still lingered for a while ............ " (66)
The style of the passage is simple yet convincing, emotionally exalted yet practical, and in presents a living picture of the horrors of famine. Here the sentences are long but they maintain a consistent rhythm — at once sad, penetrating, and evocative.

Apart from these three major works, Nehru wrote numerous newspaper articles and statements etc., on political matters which were collected into *Unity Of India* by V.K. Krishna Menon. Here is the memorable statement of Nehru at his trial ——— (Gorakhpur Prison, 3rd Nov. 1940):

"I have been told that the charge against me is based on the reports of three speeches I delivered in the Gorakhpur district early in October last. Copies of these reports, and in one case their translation into English, have been given to me .......... These reports, though presumably taken down in short-hand, are scrappy and incomplete, confusing and often making little sense.

I am a lover of words and phrases and try to use them appropriately. Whatever my opinions might be, the words are meant to express them intelligibly and in ordered sequence. A reader of these reports will find little intelligence or sequence in them, and is likely to obtain an entirely distorted impression of what I
actually said.

I make no complaint of this reporting, and I do not suggest that deliberate distortions have been made. But I do want to make it clear that what I said was in many respects entirely different from what the jumble of words in the reports would lead me to imagine. If this is so in the reporting of my speeches, when care is taken and more qualified men are employed, I cease to wonder what happens when the speeches of others are reported by totally unqualified persons and these are made the basis of charges in courts of law.

It is not my intention to give details of the many errors and mistakes in this report. That would mean rewriting them completely. That would waste your time, Sir, and mine and would serve little purpose.

I stand before you, Sir, as an individual being tried for certain offences against the state. You are a symbol of that state. But I am something more than an individual also; I, too, am a symbol at the present moment, a symbol of Indian nationalism, resolved to break away from the British Empire and achieve the independence of India. It is not me that you are seeking to judge or condemn, but rather the hundreds of millions of the people of India,
and that is a large task even for a proud empire. Perhaps it may be that, though I am standing before you on my trial, it is the British Empire itself that is on its trial before the bar of the world. There are more powerful forces at work in the world today than courts of law; there are elemental urges for freedom and food and security which are moving vast masses of people, and history is being moulded by them. The future recorded of this history might well say that in the hour of supreme trial the Government of Britain and the people of Britain failed because they could not adopt themselves to a changing world. He may muse over the fate of empires which have always fallen because of this weakness and call it destiny. Certain causes inevitably produce certain results. We know the cause, the results are inexorably in their train.

It's a small matter to me what happens to me in this trial or subsequently. Individuals count for little; they come and go, as I shall go when my time is up. Seven times I have been tried and convicted by British authority in India, and many years of my life lie buried within prison walls. An eight time or a nine, and few more years, make little difference.
But it is no small matter what happens to India and her millions of sons and daughters. That is the issue before me, that ultimately is the issue before you, Sir. If the British Government imagines it can continue to exploit them and play about with them against their will as it has done for so long in the past, then it is grievously mistaken. It has misjudged their present temper and read history in vain" (66).

Nehru, in this statement, expresses himself at a solemn and historic moment. The subject could have easily tempted him to be magniloquent in expression. But he avoids this. He writes simply, clearly, and with dignity. Only two phrases, 'before the bar of the world', and 'in the hour of supreme trial', come near to being cliches, but these may be excused by their aptness in this context. Here his restrained style keeps the excitement at bay, but at the same time we are aware of the exalted feeling he is controlling. The unselfish pride of an Indian patriot and leader, who puts his country's future welfare before his own freedom, gives a depth and poignancy to his words and an indigenous spontaneity to his prose-style. In fact, the statement shows Nehru's all-sufficing simplicity and patriotic sensitiveness.

As a writer, the great charm of Nehru's work lies in its spontaneous, unaffected, flowing, racy, unhindered, everfresh and enlivening style. It springs from a soul who is

(66) The Unity Of India: Ed. by, V.K.Krishnamenon.
The John Day Co. New York. 1941. (pp. 396 - 400).
transparent and true to himself. His style has a conversational undertone. His Letters from a father to his daughter, Autobiography, and Glimpses of World History are full of such passages. His The Discovery Of India too contains passages of exquisite interest only because of his meticulous treatment of the subject in the manner of an artist or painter and careful process of elimination. This method has an old traditional Indian sanction—for example, India's Upanishads, Gita, and Mahabharata. Nehru, even in his descriptive passages, maintains this conversational style. This is the reason why his writing has a river-like quality: eternally flowing, rippling, occasionally turbulent, reflecting everything around itself, and yet hastening to some well-defined destination.

In fact, Nehru was a literary man who accidentally stayed into politics by force of circumstances. But the writer in him did not die. He wrote sometimes chiefly to get rid of the loneliness of prison life (Autobiography, Letters From A Father To His Daughter, Glimpses Of World History, The Discovery Of India) ***; and at other times, out of political necessity (his newspaper articles, other topical-writings and speeches and statements—collected in The Unity Of India). He was a leader, fighter, statesman, the warm-hearted human being and a literateur—all merged into one whole man—Jawaharlal Nehru. But there was something in Nehru that was peculiarly interesting. He had the sense of the soil but not the sense of belonging. It was perhaps due to this that he felt the need for discovering India, his own country. A Churchill did not feel this need. This effort of Nehru indicates that he tried frantically to acquire

*** But these books were also politically motivated because he understood that awareness of history and historical analysis are always the basis of all political struggles and consequent political developments.
a sense of belonging which he did not really have. As he himself writes: "...... I have become a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thought and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern ....... I am a stranger and alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country also, sometimes, I have an exile's feeling ......." (67). The best of Nehru's writing reveals a spirit not quite at home anywhere, but deeply involved in the destiny of mankind. This gives his writing perhaps a kind of universality but does not make it as Indian as, for instance, the writing of Sri Aurobindo is.