



## SOME ERRATA.

Page Line

- |     |                  |                                      |
|-----|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 11, | 7th from bottom. | put 'their' after 'for'              |
| 14, | 7th " "          | " 'O' for 'Oh'                       |
| 24, | 7th " "          | " 'manufacturers' for 'manufactures' |
| 31, | and " "          | " 'centred' for centered'            |

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## PREFACE.

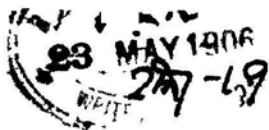
At the request of many friends the eloquent and inspiring address of Mr A M Bose who presided on the epoch-making occasion of laying the Foundation Stone of the Federation Hall, together with the report of the proceedings of that ceremony, is published in pamphlet form. To this are added copies of three letters to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, containing important suggestions as to the course which should be adopted by the people of Bengal on the question of Partition, and also a letter to a friend at Mymensing on a few of the incidents which have taken place in the Sundered Province since the Partition. These letters which are now published with a few verbal alterations are, it is an open secret, from the pen of Mr Bose. Most of the suggestions contained in them have already been carried out, and there is no doubt that effect will be given to several of the others, when the need arises. No comments are necessary on the address and the letters, on their lofty and ennobling fervour, or on the wisdom statesmanship and true insight into the nature of the situation which they display, specially after the tributes to their character, of which a few samples are given in the pamphlet.

It only remains to add that the printing and the paper have been given by the publisher without any charge, and all the proceeds from the sale of this pamphlet will be devoted towards the carrying out of some national object in connection with the Partition and Dismemberment of Bengal.—the last legacy from the late Viceroy to that unhappy Province

*Calcutta, March 1906.*

BHUPENDRA NATH BASI

K2276



## PROCEEDINGS OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE FEDERATION HALL.

The 16th of October last-- the sad day when the Partition of Bengal took place-- forms an ever-memorable epoch in the annals of this Province. At noon of the 15th a deputation waited on Mr. A. M. Bose, and asked him to preside at the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Federation Hall on the following day. It was a startling request as Mr. Bose had been confined by serious illness to his bed for a long time. He, however, was told and it was strongly urged on him, that he was the fittest person to preside on this historic occasion; and his Medical attendants also joined in the request, not however as Medical men, but as citizens and ardent lovers of Bengal. The matter however remained in abeyance, and it was only in the evening that it was settled that Mr. Bose should preside. On the afternoon of the 16th, he was carried in a sedan chair by Volunteers

from his bed to the open ground which had been selected as site for the Federation Hall, and which happened to be just opposite the Calcutta House where he had been living. His two ever-kind Doctors walked on two sides of him as he was being taken to the meeting, and remained with him throughout the proceedings, feeling his pulse from time to time. Mr. Bose's arrival at the grounds, bare-footed, fasting, and in pure Indian garb, with numerous *Rakhs*, saffron-dyed bands sent by friends in town and in Mofussil around his wrist, was amid a scene of the wildest enthusiasm with cries of *Bande Mataram* resounding from all sides, which defies all description. The meeting was attended by the unprecedented number of about 50,000 people, almost all of whom, their faces lit with patriotic fervour, remained staring during the whole of the meeting. Bands of *Sankirtan* parties singing national songs came there from every quarter of the town. It is a most remarkable fact that every one of the vast assembly, with hardly an exception went to the meeting bare-footed.

Sir Guru Das Banerjee Kt., late an eminent Judge of the High Court, in an eloquent and impressive address in Bengalee described the

objects of the Federation Hall and proposed that Mr. A. M. Bose should take the chair, a proposal which was unanimously and enthusiastically carried. Mr. Bose in spite of his weak health addressed for a few minutes some stirring and inspiring words in Bengali to the vast audience, and then requested Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee to read the speech which he had dictated ; and the latter accordingly read it, almost every sentence being accentuated by cheers from the vast gathering.

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#### PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

My beloved friends, Mahomedan and Hindu, Fellow citizens of one and indivisible Bengal !

A *Rishi* of old blessed the gods that he had lived to see the day when the divine sage of *Kapilavastu* was ushered into the world. I am not a *Rishi*, nor worthy to touch the feet of one, but yet I bless our Father in Heaven, who is the Common Father and Judge of the Englishman and the Indian alike, that I have lived to see this day which marks, I think I may say, the birth of a Nation. I come amongst you as one almost risen from the dead to see this moment of a national upheaval and of national awaken-

ing. Drawn from my sick bed, where I have been secluded from the world by serious illness for nearly a year, allow me to express my grateful thanks to you, for the great and the signal privilege you have conferred on me by associating me with yourselves on this great and historic occasion, which will live in the annals of Bengal, and mark an epoch in its history. I see around me after a long time the faces of many dear friends and comrades, who have been in the front of the fight. I salute them, and I salute you all on this day of solemn recollections and solemn resolves.

It is indeed a day of mourning to us, when the Province has been sundered by official fiat, and the gladsome spirit of union and of community of interest which had been growing stronger day by day, runs the danger of being wrecked and destroyed, and many other evils into which this is not the occasion to enter are likely to follow in its wake. And yet in the dispensation of Providence, not unoften out of evil cometh good; and the dark and threatening cloud before us is so fringed with beauteous gold and brightening beams, and so fraught with the prospect of a newer and a stronger national union, that we may look upon it almost as a day of rejoicing. Yes, as our glorious poet has sung in one of his many



noble and inspiring utterances, "*Mora Gang-e Ban, Ashe-ch-e*," the dead, currentless and swampy river has felt the full force and fury of the flood, and is swelling in its depths. Have we not all heard the booming of that national call, and its solemn summons to our hearts? Let our souls mount forth in gladness to the throne of the Most High, at this sacred natal hour of the new and united Bengali nation, let us bear in mind, as a writer in the *Patrika* has said that from dark clouds descend life-giving showers, and from parted furrows springs up the life-sustaining golden grain, that the bitter biting winter is the precursor of the glorious spring. I belong to the Sundered province of East Bengal, and yet my brethern, never did my heart cling more dearly to you or your hearts cherish us more lovingly than at the present moment, and for all the future that lies before us. "The official" separation has drawn us indeed far closer together, and made us stronger in united brotherhood. Hindu Mussalman and Christian, North East and West, with the resounding sea beneath, all belong to one indivisible Bengal; say again, my friends, from the depths of your hearts, to one indivisible Bengal, the common, the beloved, the ever-cherished Motherland of us all. In spite of

every other separation of creed, this creed of the Common Motherland will bring us nearer, heart to heart and brother to brother. And this Federation Hall the foundation-stone of which is being laid to-day, not only on this spot of land, but on our moistened tearful hearts, is the embodiment and visible symbol of this spirit of union, the memorial to future generations yet unborn of this unhappy day, and of the unhappy policy which has attempted to separate us into two parts. It will, I trust, be a place for all our national gatherings; in its rooms will be held social reunions and meetings for different purposes. There will be, probably, gymnasiums, room for a library of reference and of useful publications and for newspapers, classes for the singing of national songs and for the recitation and cultivation of all that promotes a spirit of patriotism, of self-sacrifice and true culture; accommodation too, I hope, will in time be provided for visitors from other parts of Bengal, and, it may be, of India. Those of you who have been to Amritsar have seen how the golden temple there is throughout day and night the scene of worship, of holy reading and holy associations. I hope in the same way, this Hall will be a place where all that moulds and forms a growing nation, all

that uplifts and regenerates the national character, and trains it up to true manhood, and every noble impulse shall always find their place; and at its shrine shall come, as for worship, every member of the Bengali nation. It will be a temple raised in honour of our Common Motherland not only for national union, but also for national progress. Let me earnestly appeal to you all and through you to the millions of Bengal for funds to make this temple worthy of itself. The rich will, I have no doubt, from their abundance give thousands and tens of thousands, but I trust no Bengali, however poor, will refrain from bringing his offering to this shrine, his prayer for its completion, and his efforts for its suitable maintenance. Let every brick of this building bear testimony to the devotion and patriotic ardour of our people. Let us remember that here shall be formed the integrating factors—the factors that will make for our union—against the disrupting influences of a divided interest and divided Government.

I rejoice from my heart that this ceremony is presently to be followed by an inauguration for furthering and consolidating the industrial development of the country, on which depends the material salvation of millions in this land. And

yet the two inaugurations are not separate but one, and like the sacred Ganges and the holy Jumna they will commingle their waters and unite their waves in one merry march to the azure sea. In this Hall, I believe, lectures will be delivered and discussions held on all subjects bearing on the Commercial and Industrial progress of the country. Its rooms will contain economic museums and samples of commercial products of the land—even though for the present this may be on a small scale—and experiments will be held of a practical character. It will be the rendezvous of all interested in this great cause of Industrial progress, and will, in various other ways, promote those interests. In fact, this Hall will, as it grows and expands, be the natural and the necessary home of the movement for the industrial advance of the country. And it is fitting that from this scene of the future Federation Hall, you shall march together in solemn procession, to the scene of the industrial ceremony at the house of our honoured friend Rai Pasupati Nath Bose.

Here let me address a few words on the agitation which has convulsed this Province for the last two months in connection with the question of its Partition, and stirred from its

innermost depths the heart of every section of the community, from the highest to the lowest, from the rich zemindar in the town to the poorest of the poor in his humble cottage. For they indeed fatally misapprehend this movement, who imagine that it is the student community or any other single section or two in the Province that has caused this upheaval. I thank you all for the ardour, devotion, and spirit of sacrifice, which have so far distinguished your efforts. I have heard of people and even of respectable journals, which speak glibly of the lawlessness and disobedience to authority of our student community. Let me bear testimony—and this I can do from personal knowledge—as to what is thus described as lawlessness and disobedience, on the part of students of British Universities, whom our students would not even dream of approaching in this respect. But I will not pause to give examples, numerous and glaring as they are ; but wonder whether our rulers and our critics most of whom, I presume, have passed through the Universities of their country, have so completely forgotten the experiences of their own student days. • Why, our students are absolutely spotless, in comparison with British youths, as indeed, I believe, they are practically spotless,

not as a matter of comparison only, but by themselves. Let us my friends, continue in the same career, regardless of our own personal interests and all individual and sectional jealousies, if such indeed there be. For if the true spirit of loving sacrifice, and nothing of a baser admixture be ours, surely God will provide for us, and for you, my student friends, and grant us true happiness and the true blessing—how great only those who have tasted it can say—of a self-consecrated existence. Let us all specially see to it, that no lawlessness characterise or even tinge our proceedings. Let us be the victims, if need be, but never the perpetrators of wrong—the victims it may be of ignorant, misinformed or perverse authority, or of a too often unscrupulous Police. We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. No *Yagna* is complete without sacrifice; and this is the teaching of all Scriptures. Let us be prepared, if such should be the short-sighted and suicidal policy of any of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Motherland, for from the thorns we shall tread will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave us birth. The air is full of rumours of repressive action on the part of the authorities, specially against our students. I do not know

whether to believe them or not; for in spite of confidence in the present ruler of the Province, and I believe it is his desire to do justice, there are administrators and advisers behind and beneath him; and the pages of history are filled with instances in which cruel repression, and not sympathy or kindness or attempt to change convictions, has been the last hope of a discredited bureaucracy, the last weapon of an irresponsible authority. How futile too and doomed to failure, and much worse than failure, such attempts have been is also amply shown in the self-same pages; but lessons of wisdom and past experience are not unhappily always learnt or always profited by. But I pray of the Most High that in this crisis, He may guide the counsels of our rulers unto the paths of righteousness and justice. Let them remember the golden rule and place themselves in our position, let them act that they may answer on the Day of Judgment for exercise of the great powers with which they have been entrusted over their fellow creatures, and for what they have done to these, the least of their brethern. And I venture to appeal to all Englishmen not to shun us, but to side and sympathise with us, in this struggle for the simple assertion on our part of human rights, appeal to

them that they may be true to their noblest ideals which have made their annals famous and immortal in history, and grant us a little of the liberty and freedom which they have themselves enjoyed in such abundant and bounteous measure.

One has heard of different Orders in this country for religious and philanthropic service, of vows of self-sacrificing devotion carried to life's last day. Enter you my friends into what I might call the Order of the Motherland or of *Bangabhumī*; and with characters unstained, aims that are placed on high, and spirits that are pure and noble and absolutely self-forgetful, serve the land, and suffer for the land, that gave you birth. Hindus and Mussalmans, let us in the name of God all unite in this sacred crusade for the welfare and prosperity of our common mother. We have come, most of us, bare-footed and in garbs of mourning to this site of our future shrine. Silent are the busy marts of men and silent is the roar of trade. Throughout the town and its suburbs all the numerous shops, Hindu, Mussalman and Marwari have closed as a sign of deep mourning, and in spite of efforts by the Police to the contrary, all shops in fact except practically the very small fraction owned by



Englishmen. We all, present in our tens of thousands here, and millions throughout the Province, I believe, are fasting to-day, and no fires shall be kindled in our hearths. But let that fire burn instead in our hearts, purify us and kindle an enthusiasm, which shall be all the brighter and all the warmer for the quenched fire in our homes

And now, farewell, my friends with these, which may perchance be the last words which I shall utter to you on this side of Eternity. Farewell on this day of fraternal union when the bond of *Rakhi* is tied in our arms. Much that comes pouring into my heart must remain unsaid. Ours is not the land of the rising sun, for to Japan, victorious, self-sacrificing and magnanimous belongs that title. But may I not say that ours is the land where the sun is rising again, where after ages of darkness and gloom with the help, let me gratefully acknowledge, of England and English culture, the glowing light is bursting once again over the face of the land, and the glorious dawn is heralding the approach of a bright and regenerated day. Let us all pray that the Grace of God may bless our course, direct our steps, and make captive our hearts. Let action and action and not words be our motto and

inspiring guide. And then shall my dream be realised of a beautiful land blessed by nature, and filled by men true and manly, and heroic in every good cause—true children of the Motherland. Let us see in our heart of hearts the Heavens opening and the angels descending. In ancient books the gods are described as showering flowers and garlands on the scene of a notable battle. See we not, my friends, those flowers dropped to-day from self-same hands, welcoming us to the new battle, not of blood, but of manly effort and stern resolve in the country's cause.

And Thou, O! God! of this Ancient land, the protector and saviour of *Aryavarta*, and the Merciful Father of us all, by whatever name we call upon Thee, be with us on this day; and as a father gathereth his children under his arms, do Thou gather us under Thy protecting and sanctifying care!

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Towards the conclusion of the address, much excitement was caused by the appearance of Babu Kuar Singh, a descendant of Guru Nanak and a Sikh high-priest of the highest status. He received a most cordial reception and in response delivered a most impressive and clearly-enunciated address in his own vernacular which he concluded by invoking the blessings of Him whom Hindus, Mussulmans and Christians alike adore.

The "*Rakhi*" was placed round the arm of the Sikh priest amid a scene of great enthusiasm.

Mr. Asutosh Choudhuri at the request of the President now read out the following Proclamation signed by the President, and Babu Ravindra Nath Tagore followed him with a Bengali translation of the same which was listened to with rapt attention.

## PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the Partition of Bengal in spite of the universal protest of the Bengali nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a people shall do everything in our

power to counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our Province, and to maintain the integrity of our race. So may God help us!

### A. M. BOSE.

The foundation-stone was next laid by the President who having declared the stone rightly and truly laid, the gathering dispersed to the accompaniment of national songs sung by scores of juvenile bands and of loud and resounding shouts of *Bande Mataram*. The glass jar which was placed under the foundation-stone contained current coins and newspapers.

Any comment on the speech is unnecessary. We may however give as specimens the remarks of two of the leading Indian daily papers published in Calcutta. *The Bengalee* in its leading editorial article of the 17th October says as follows:—

We were under the impression that the last Town Hall meeting, held on the 22nd September, represented the high-water mark of Calcutta demonstrations. But the meetings of yesterday have eclipsed all other similar demonstrations and will remain unique in the annals of Calcutta and indeed, of all India. The laying of the foundation-stone of the

Federation Hall was attended by over 50,000 people consisting of all classes of the community. As one stood on the platform, one saw before him a vast sea of human heads, extending over the whole area occupied by the *Shamiana* and the extensive grounds beyond. Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, whose association with any movement is a guarantee of its moderation, invited Mr. A. M. Bose to lay the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall. Mr. A. M. Bose, as he said in the eloquent and masterly speech he delivered, had been for about a year prostrated on the bed of illness and was carried to the meeting in an invalid's chair, attended by his medical adviser, to perform a service to his country for which no one was better qualified by his patriotism or his eloquence, or his long record of unsullied and lofty devotion to the best interests of his motherland. Those who are now called upon to lead the movement miss his commanding personality, his wise guidance and sober counsel. They felt that the great ceremony in connection with the Federation Hall could not be better performed than by one of the most distinguished representatives of the severed Province. There was a unique sense of fitness in the combination of the most distinguished sons of the old and the new Province in the performance of a ceremony that is to cement the sundered Provinces in the bonds of indissoluble union. The speech was a masterly oration, worthy of the occasion and marvellous in every way, specially as coming from one prostrated by severe illness. Not the least notable incident of the ceremony was the appearance of a Sikh Guru on the platform and his pronouncement of Guru Nanak's benediction on the ceremony of the day. It testified, if indeed any such testimony was needed, that one hope, one aspiration, one common impulse,

guided the whole of India, and that the Sikh and the Bengales have learnt to realise the brotherly relation that subsists between them. Among the gathering, there were Mahrattas, Madrasees, Marwarees and Guzratís, who vied with one another in the exhibition of that exuberant enthusiasm that marked the proceedings of the ceremony.

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* in the Editorial column in its issue of the 18th October comments as follows :—

It is hardly necessary to state that the memorable speech delivered on Monday last by Mr. A. M. Bose has been read with thrilling interest by the public. There is a vein of deep pathos in it which is bound to melt even the most prosaic heart. As a matter of fact, the speech was the outcome of a heart which was filled with ardent love for the country, and in which there was not a drop of insincerity. Naturally the utterances of such a fervent patriot cannot but make a powerful impression upon the Indian mind. Our readers are aware that Babu Ananda Mohan has been lying seriously ill for nearly a year, but in spite of his protracted illness he never for a moment forgot the interests of his mother-land. His only regret was that he could not take any active part in the present movement which has convulsed the whole country. He said that, perhaps this was his last speech. We may assure him that the whole nation is praying for his recovery; and, we trust, God will soon restore him to his normal health.

Numerous and touching letters have also been received by Mr. Bose describing the speech as an

inspired one, describing too the thrill and the fervour it had caused in their hearts. But no extracts from them are necessary, nor can they be given. An exception may however perhaps be made in the case of the following extract, which has been published in the papers, from a letter written by the Rev. J. T. Sunderland of Toronto, Canada whose intimate acquaintance and deep sympathy with India are well-known. Writing from Toronto on the 7th of December last he says :—

My dear Mr. Bose, I cannot refrain from writing to tell you how deeply I am interested in all that is going on in India, and how much I have been moved by the accounts of the Federation Hall ceremony and your noble address given there which I have read over and over. I thank God that you have been spared to see this new day that is surely dawning for long-oppressed and down-trodden India, and especially to address your countrymen once more in words of such lofty faith and fervent patriotism that they must have stirred all hearts. I cannot but say to myself, oh, that God might give you twenty years more of life and health for this great cause of patriotism as well as for.

the great cause of the Brahmo Samaj. But if it is not His will, at least I am profoundly grateful that He has enabled you to do so much in the past. Your life has been one directed with great singleness of purpose to the service of God and your fellow-men. It was most fitting that you should have been chosen to be the speaker at the laying of the foundation stone of the Federation Hall. Your life will be an inspiration to thousands of young men in Calcutta, Bengal, and all India for generations to come; and this address of yours will form, I believe, a permanent part of Indian History. \* \* \* \* May God bless and comfort and strengthen you, and give you peace, my beloved and honored brother.

With affectionate regard,

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

*Imp 119180 dt 11-01-11*



गणेश पुस्तकालय काठमाडौं  
11, 01, 11



## APPENDIX.

(Giving three letters addressed to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, containing important and valuable suggestions as to the course which should be adopted in Bengal on the Partition of the Province.)

I,

The following is from the issue of the *Patrika*, dated 7th August, 1905.

We doubt not the following letter will be read with deep though mournful interest by the reader. The writer does not permit us to disclose his name, but, he cannot conceal his Roman hand. There is not one amongst us who feels more ardently for the country than he does. Very few also have worked for our people, both here and in England, more ably and disinterestedly than he has done. Though lying rather seriously ill, his heart is with the public meeting which will be held this evening, and he has been good enough to send the following suggestions for the earnest consideration of its promoters ---

"I have not read our papers for a long time, and therefore do not know what practical suggestions have been made in connection with the catastrophe of a divided Bengal, which is soon about to fall on us. I have no doubt, many better suggestions than what follow have appeared in the press, but yet I give the following as having at least the merit of coming from a mind uninfluenced in any way ---

1. Let those amongst us who wish to do so, proceed with agitation in England against the already decided question of Partition of Bengal, though I for one—I may be mistaken—do not believe that any good will result from it in the existing state of affairs. The Conservatives are past praying for, and the Liberals, when they come hereafter into power after the turmoil of a General Election which will swallow up everything else, will probably plead the logic

of "accomplished fact" over an administrative question like this, as they have done before. Let us see what we can do in India, and strenuously strive to do this, whether it be accompanied with any agitation in England or not.

2. Let the day when the Partition scheme comes into operation, be observed throughout the whole of Bengal as a day of special and solemn mourning. Let services be conducted in temple and mosque and every place of worship, and let meetings be held at every possible centre in West and East Bengal, and suitable expression be given to our burning and ever-abiding feeling at that Partition.

3. After that unhappy day, let us observe at least one year as a period of general mourning; and during that time let us not join in any demonstration or gathering except any that may conduce directly to the national good or the good of the community, or any domestic ceremony. And let our prayers ascend at least once every day to the Throne of the Most High for the good of our Mother-land.

4. Amongst our own people, as well as in national gatherings and wherever practicable, let us during this year wear a badge of mourning. This will be of an agreed design or colour (preferably yellow)

5. We should have, what I may call a pan-Bengali gathering, on some fixed day every year, alternately in Western and Eastern Bengal.

6. In this gathering there should be,

(a) Songs, essays, recitals of poetry, jattras etc., commemorative of the sad day of Partition, or likely to uplift the national character;

(b) Different kinds of national athletic sports and games of skill;

- (c) Recital of texts, stories, etc., tending to bring Hindus and Mahomedans into closer fraternal and national union ;

- (d) Exhibition of local and national industries.

Prizes may be given for any of the above. Special deeds of a noteworthy character amongst Bengalis may also be mentioned before the gathering, and it is to be hoped the day will before long come when marks or titles of honour may be conferred on those worthy of them—titles which ought to be held ever so much superior to those obtained from other sources

7. Let suitable jattras, kathakathas, etc., be prepared and Bhats be encouraged or trained to recite them all over the Province.

8. Let us resolve, so far as may be done by every means in our power, to avoid all English goods and use those of Indian manufacture instead. It is difficult perhaps to lay down the exact limits, but if the spirit of the resolve thoroughly permeates our soul, the limits will be easy to determine, and before long we should be able altogether to eschew a great many kinds of these manufactures. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it possible to use Indian goods by introducing manufactures and industries in the country. It ought perhaps to be noted that the object is not to injure Manchester or any English manufactures. Let their trade extend and expand, and may they grant us national liberty as they granted physical liberty to slaves at one time. May their prosperity increase, and may they send to govern over this country righteous and blessed rulers like Ripon instead of liberty-stealing administrators. All that we aim at is to give resolute and earnest vent to our patriotic feel-

ing, further our indigenous industries, and draw the attention of English people to our sad grievances—a sentiment with which all true Englishmen will sympathise

9. I will not speak of the past, but is it too much to expect, that at least in the future, Bengalis will not accept or covet Rai Bahadurships, Raja Bahadurships and other titles, conferred by those who have spurned the feelings and prayers of a whole race, and to whom the opinion of a single official is more than the piteous appeal, the reasonable prayer, and the earnest cry of an entire people.

10 Let us remember that through the action of the present rulers, Bengal has now got two faces; one specially looking towards the Western lands, and another towards the East to the glorious and patriotic land of the Rising Sun Let us be worthy of both Let every class, not excluding our Griha-Lakshmis, unite to bring about this consummation. And though divided by authority, let us not be divided, but instead be brought far closer together, through our own efforts.

11. Our holy writers have described one's Motherland as higher than the Heavens Be it ours to realise this in practice Let no ceremony be completed and no festive gathering be held without the worship of the Banga-mata. The gods will surely forgive this addition to our Hindu pantheon. Suitable offerings should be made on all these occasions as contributions to the National Fund. Our Mahomedan brethern will decide whether anything similar can be done by them, and what changes may be necessary in these suggestions I do not enter into the question of funds, for they can be easily raised when the spirit is there.

12. I should like to see less of love stories, that so largely fill our periodicals, and in their place stories that kindle the sacred fire of patriotism and piety in our hearts; and perhaps many authors will write books of different kinds to feed the same holy flame.

13. We must drive all feelings of despair from our hearts, and instead be manly, patriotic, brave, and God-inspired. If we are *men*, then from our present adversity, shall issue measureless prosperity and joy. Let us remember that from the dark and the threatening cloud descends the life-giving shower, that in the muddy 'parted' earth is planted the blessed seed which sustains our lives. Let us thank God that in the midst of our lethargic and spiritless life, He has sent us this source of energy and manly effort.

14. While we work, let us also pray and pray for our dear and severed Mother-Land. Let us pray too for those misguided men, Lord Curzon, his minister Mr. Risley, and the pliant Sir Andrew, who have wrought us this great evil, separating brother from brother, and severing and mangling our beloved land. For they know not what they have done. And may He, Who is the common Father of Hindu and Mahomedan, and of every race that inhabits the earth, abide with us, strengthen, guide, and inspire us in this sad day of our trouble!"

We have not the least doubt, adds the *Patrika*, that the above communication will receive that earnest and serious attention which it undoubtedly deserves.

So great was the impression caused by the above letter, that it was boldly republished by the *Englishman*, the leading Anglo-Indian paper

of Bengal, in its next morning's issue of the 8th August with the following Editorial Note. "We do not propose to say anything about the demonstration [the great Town Hall meeting of the 7th August] to-day. We content ourselves by drawing attention to the remarkable letter which we republish from the columns of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*."

The *Statesman*, the other leading Anglo-Indian paper of Bengal, also republished the whole of the letter with the following Editorial Note.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published on Monday a rather pathetic letter from a leading Bengali gentleman, whose name is not disclosed. It dealt with the Partition of Bengal and contained a number of injunctions as to the duty of the Bengali people at the present moment. Beginning with a word on the futility of agitation in England, the writer went on to suggest that the day on which the partition scheme comes into operation should be observed as a day of special and solemn mourning; that this should be followed by at least a year of general mourning, during which time the people should join in no gatherings except such as are of a domestic character or such as may conduce to the national good; that one day every year should be set apart for a pan-Bengali gathering, in which national music, poetry, games, and industries should play their part, that an organised attempt should be made to boycott English manufactured goods; that title-hunting should be given up; that the

people should unite in the worship of the idea of the Mother-land and in labour for its realisation. The letter, which we reproduce in this issue, is singularly earnest and exalted in tone.

This republication by the Anglo-Indian papers of a letter appearing in an Indian paper, and that anonymous too—is a unique phenomenon, and a remarkable tribute to the depth of the impression produced by it. Of the comments of the Indian Press it is unnecessary to say anything. We shall content ourselves with giving only one, and that from the oldest of the Indian dailies in this Province, viz the *Indian Mirror*, which in its issue of the 15th August observes as follows:—

We have already reprinted in these columns the two very remarkable letters, addressed to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* by a leading Indian citizen, who has personal experience of political agitations as conducted both in England and India. We think the suggestions made in the letters are fully worthy of our acceptance. We have no difficulty in finding out the identity of the *Patrika's* correspondent. He is a man who always weighs his words before speaking them, and is entitled to be heard with respect and attention. His letters proclaim him to be a sincere patriot and a God-fearing man. Mere wordy agitation would no more do us any, the least, good. Words must be followed up, by deeds—professions must be translated into action—promises must be converted into performances—if we hope to regain our lost rights and



avert the danger which stares us in the face. "By their deeds ye shall know them." By deeds alone can we convince our rulers that we mean business. Truly has the poet said :-

"A man of words, and not of deeds,  
Is like a garden full of weeds "

## II,

(The second letter from the *Patrika* of the 9th August 1905.) We now come to the second or supplementary letter which appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 9th August with the editorial observation thereon.

The *Englishman* has the following remarks on Monday's demonstration, or rather on the letter of our eminent correspondent, which appeared on Monday morning and to which we specially drew the attention of our countrymen —

"We do not propose to say anything about the demonstration to-day. We content ourselves by drawing attention to the remarkable letter which we republish from the columns of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* "

Our contemporary is quite correct when he says that the writer "holds a prominent position in the country;" nay no Indian, except Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, has greater experience of political agitations in England or taken a more prominent part in public demonstrations in that country than he. We are

glad our esteemed correspondent has written us another letter, containing several other suggestions, which are inserted below :—

"I have to thank you for your inserting what I said. They were not regular letters written having regard to style or beauty of dictation, but only some stray jottings dictated with some difficulty from a sick bed—an humble appeal to our leaders from a disabled and useless servant. \* There were a few slight mistakes in the printing, but they were only natural." \* \* \* Permit me to add a few more suggestions to those I have sent already.

"(1) Now that the great meeting has been so successfully held, and so many speeches delivered, let us come to our true work—earnest and resolute *action*—in the place of orations however eloquent. That Bengalees can speak has been shown on a hundred platforms. Let them now show that they can *act*. When a demonstration was held a few years ago at Cambridge in honour of Lord Kitchener after the Soudan campaign and many fervid speeches made, Lord Kitchener's reply consisted, if I remember aright, of only three or four sentences. And I doubt if the hero whose fame is now resounding through the world, I mean Admiral Togo, can muster together even as many sentences. May God help us now to do brave and worthy deeds !

"(2) No money ought to be paid for any so-called public object at the request or dictation of the authors of the present deed of darkness, or to please them. Let us not, after being spurned as we have been in this matter of Partition, come out bowing and salaaming, and present our money to secure

their good graces as unhappily to every body's knowledge, is too often the case. Is it possible for any one to have the slightest respect for such pitiable and grovelling creatures? Can we not conceive how different would have been the conduct of Englishmen under the circumstances? Whatever we do, let us not be the authors of our own shame and degradation. And surely we need money enough for our own truly national objects. Ye rich men of the land, if you are to obtain the blessing of God and the approval in your dying day of your conscience, forget not your duties but be manly men, and true to your sacred mission in the present crisis.

"(3) We should have agents to go about the Province, not only to meetings, but also to fairs, hats, mass meetings and other gatherings where the poorer classes meet in their thousands; and there preach the New Gospel of National Life. Who that has seen the Jhunkergacha mass meeting of years ago can forget the impression produced there?

"(4) In our appeal to all men of the Province, let us not forget especially to include our women. I know of a large number of educated ladies who have formed an Association for the exclusive use of Indian manufactures. I know how their hearts burn, God bless them, to further the cause of National growth. And as for our orthodox ladies, who doesn't know of the strong anti-foreign sentiment which reigns in the innermost recesses of their hearts, and in the worship of *Banga Mata*, the new incarnation of *Lakshmi*, no votaries will exceed them in devotion and ardour. And for you, students of the land, in whom are centered the hope, the life; and the vitality of our future nation, what fight—it may be

a life-long fight—can be worthier than that for the integrity of the race, for the growth of our nation, and the salvation of the land from its threatened danger. Hurry on to that struggle with joy in your faces, hope in your hearts, and the fire of patriotism in your spirits. And depend on it that in fighting the good fight, you shall have behind you, and before you, the Lord who has protected our forefathers in the past amid many changes, dangers, and trials.”

We may have something to say on these letters hereafter

### III.

#### “COUNSELS OF DESPAIR”.

We now give the article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 6th of September last containing the third letter on the subject of the Partition of Bengal:—

Over this heading, says the *Patrika*, we published a couple of letters just before the great Calcutta demonstration was held, and they created a tremendous sensation at the time. The writer is one of the best men we have got in the whole of India who has been lying ill and bed-ridden since last year. But, though unable to take any active part in the agitation that has convulsed Bengal, his heart is constantly with us. His efforts in producing the two previous letters

brought on a serious relapse of his disease ; but he is again in a condition to favour us with another contribution, which deserves a most prominent insertion, and therefore we publish it below :—

Sir,—You were good enough to insert my two letters on the question of Partition in your issues of the 7th and 9th August. The letters had the good fortune of being quoted with appreciation not only by the Indian, but also by the Anglo-Indian Press. Now that the axe has descended and the sword has fallen, permit me to add some observations to what I had then written.

1. The forecast I then made has been most unhappily fulfilled to the letter. It has met with realisation with a dramatic suddenness greater perhaps than I had then apprehended.

The blow has been struck, but my humble and most earnest and strenuous appeal to my countrymen is not to be discouraged, not to lose heart in any degree. Nay, let them rather rejoice at the separation of the Province by the Government, and continue with redoubled vigour their agitation of the last 3 or 4 weeks. Lord Curzon has done us indeed a signal service and enabled us to lay the priceless foundation of a new national life, if we are only true to ourselves and carry on the work which we have begun. During these weeks we have read in reports of meetings of grim determination, of immense and unprecedented enthusiasm, of fiery and burning eloquence. The time has fully come when we must translate all this into action, and God helping, so translate we shall. Take this vow and resolve,

my friends. If the bolt has fallen on us, let us not forget that the grace, grandeur, and beauty of the Lord is as manifest in thunder, as it is in the gentle dew.

2. Hitherto the conduct of the Government has been beyond reproach, but as in the case of the precious Magistrate of a certain District of Bengal, of whom the Government should be ashamed, the hand of persecution has already begun to show itself, and we know only too well how far the might of the Executive and the Police can proceed in this hapless land. I would urge in every case where pleaders and muktears, not excluding barristers, are available, a committee of the best among them should be formed to advise and to defend, without fee and with zeal and energy, every one taken up in any way in connection with the question of Partition. It is absolutely necessary that such committees should be organised, and I have full confidence in the public spirit of our lawyers to come forward and give their service. And our people should also be hardened to bear every trial and difficulty that they may come across in the discharge of their patriotic duties, for never was a nation yet formed or progress achieved without sacrifice and suffering. And compared with other nations in the past, these would be but light in our case.

3. Let me earnestly say that the time has come for us not only to boycott goods, but also to boycott men who are unfaithful to the national cause. Let us have nothing to do with men who will go to receive or see off Governors or Commissioners or other officials who have had anything to do with the present scheme, men who do not consider that even their sacred Pujas would be complete unless they

entertain to nautch, and dinner the white gods of the land, who attend Durbars or mix with them in any way, unless it be in the way of business or social equality and true friendship. Mr. Fuller, not to speak of other officials, will probably soon have his Durbar at the inauguration of the new Province, and there will be other Durbars and levees. Let not a single self-respecting Bengalee dream of attending any of these, and let no one accept election or nomination to the new Council that is to be, not in a spirit of disrespect or defiance, but on the ground of self-respect and patriotism. If flesh is weak let this resolve be kept for at least many years to come, and let us avoid as social outcasts all those Indians who are untrue to this great national purpose. How can we ever expect to be treated with the slightest respect by others if we lick the dust off the feet of those who have disregarded our universal prayer and protest, and treated us as less than men. Might I also suggest for the consideration of our leading men and with deference what a glorious thing it would be and what good moral effect it would have, if the present members of our Council, Honorary Magistrates and the like were to resign in a body, and if for several years at any rate all men with any sense of self-respect, or actuated by the growing and the beautiful spirit of national sentiment, were to keep away. Government will have members enough in their Councils, for under the demoralized and demoralizing system of bureaucratic rule, there are "Ap-ke-wastes" enough and to spare. But who cares for what these creatures may do? For ourselves let us be *men* and not a "flock of sheep," as an English clergyman of note once described the people of this country to be after a visit to India.

4. Business, industrial, manufacturing and otherwise, and not Government service from which we are in fact being driven away from day to day, must be our hope for the future. Any body with some experience of the matter knows how difficult it is to get good business men. Let us open classes and technical institutions for training such men, adding such collateral branches of knowledge as may be deemed necessary. We should compile at the same time a volume of National Songs.

5. One rejoices to find the Swadeshi movement spreading like wild fire. Let us for this be specially thankful, amongst others, to our students, and to those of our rich men who have come forward to open factories and industries for fostering this movement. May God bless them for this patriotic use of the abundance with which He has endowed them, and may He add to their number! But I would also have what I might call the Swadesha movement, the cult and worship of the Motherland, founded on deep and abiding love of the country, and developing itself not alone in industrial enterprise, but in many other directions, such as education both high and primary on truly useful and as far as practicable national lines, arbitration courts and punchayets who will not be the contemptible creatures—too often but the tools of a corrupt Police—created by our benign government, but respected men as of old, in a spirit of co-operation and helpfulness amongst fellow-villagers, looking after roads, water supply and water channels, sanitation, the needs of the poor the suffering and the ill, and all other matters of interest and importance to the village, in avoidance of luxury and living a simple



self-sacrificing and God-fearing life ; in fact in all that may be done under the limits of the Law for promoting a living, growing and self-centred national existence. Let us remember that it would not be by foreigners but by ourselves that our true salvation must be wrought

6 I have in a previous letter spoken of brotherly union between Hindus and Mahomedans. Let that union spread and embrace all classes of the community. Let us love all Bengalees as Bengalees, and feel the solidarity of a fraternal spirit amongst all our people. As to the means by which all these different objects may be achieved my heart is full, but I cannot venture to enter into all that in this letter. Nor do I say anything in it with regard to a deputation to England, or the important legal and financial question involved in the subject of Partition.

7. Let us begin and close every day with prayer to the Lord for the Motherland and for ourselves, to the accompaniment, wherever possible, of music and soul-lifting song. Let us preach and pray in parks and Bazars, and let us go into streets and bye-lanes with the sweet strains of that music and song. Our present trouble only heralds a new birth, the awakening of a new spirit. Let me conclude by saying once again, let us be of good cheer and of a joyous heart, for in the depth of darkness is the glimpse of a brighter day, and in biting winter is the promise of a glorious spring. Blessed are we who are going to see the birth of a nation ; and be the joy and glory ours to work, God willing, to bring on that happy and auspicious day."

The communication is most opportune. If our people ever needed such counsels, it was at this juncture. It will be seen that our distinguished correspondent has written every sentence of his letter with his heart's blood. It is gratifying to us to find that his ideas and thoughts run in the same groove with us. We dare say the words he has uttered will go straight into the heart of every Bengalee, and not only cheer him but make him a better man, and more self-sacrificing than he now is. Cut off from the turmoil of the world, the writer is more fitted to take a calm and dispassionate view of the situation than any of us. His counsels are therefore entitled to the respect of all. And they are not "counsels of despair," but of distilled wisdom and unselfish patriotism.

#### IV.

We close with a letter, slightly altered, which was addressed to a friend at Mymensing in December last, and which will be read with painful interest as throwing some *little* light on the present situation in several parts of Bengal.

MY DEAR \* \* \*

I am not allowed or able to read much that is appearing in the papers in this stirring time.

But from the little I have seen, it seems that the reign of gross illegality and incredible high-handedness has commenced in my own and beloved District of Mymensing. My heart bleeds for you all, and if only my health had made it possible, I should have been with you to share in the peril of the situation. But in the Providence of God I am chained here practically to my bed, and not able to go even one step towards the ground floor. But my sympathy, prayers, and love go towards you all. Freedom from tyrannous abuse of power is so precious a treasure that we must be prepared to pay a price for it. It has to be bought, as the history of every nation proves, at the cost of much and continued individual, as well as national, suffering. If England even under the rule of its own people had to pay for ages such an offering of martyrdom in every shape, can we, under the rule of a foreign people, expect to escape at least a little of that heavy toll? Let us thank God that it is, after all, in the progress of time, but a small part of that sanctified suffering which we shall probably be called upon to bear. And let us pray to Him that strength, courage, and manliness may be given to us at this fateful crisis in the history of

our race, that we may stand unmoved amid the dark threatening cloud and its thunders, and be prepared to suffer and suffer, aye cheerfully if we can, for the sake of the dear Motherland. This is the hour of our trial through which every nation must pass. If we flinch now, then indeed shall the dial of progress be set back for our land for untold generations to come. If on the other hand we behave like men ready, if need be, for the whip and for the earthen couch inside the dreary jail, then from our sufferings shall spring up the beautiful tree of liberty, with its lovely blossoms and delicious fruits.

If we are only true to ourselves, I cannot help thinking that the present persecution will only add strength and fervour to our love of country, and to the Swadeshi spirit, which have already captured the hearts of such a large proportion of our people. We shall be strong through suffering, refined and purified through fire. It is a law of human nature that we love all the more deeply a cause for which we have suffered; and the dullest of our countrymen must see now vividly depicted before them in our Assam rule the advantages, or shall I say the horrors, of Lord Curzon's parting gift to Bengal. The storm which

burst at Rangpore and passed on to Barisal, at both of which places there appears to be a comparative lull at present, seems to be raging now over my own ever-beloved Mymensing. It has passed over those Districts causing some bitter and cruel individual suffering no doubt, but it has done no permanent injury. Nay it has deepened and intensified the feeling of patriotism in them, and made the people braver. Again permit me to say, be firm and strong and devoted, nay doubly so under this cyclonic pressure, and here too the storm will pass away and the skies will clear, leaving you not only unharmed, but all the stauncher in the sacred cause that the whole Province has embraced. Blessed are the persecuted is a saying as true now as when it was uttered two thousand years ago.

Form Vigilance Committees, Legal Committees for giving every legal help and advice, employ volunteers and missionaries, including Mahomedan gentlemen and patriotic Moulavjs, to go about devoting their special attention, amongst other things, to defeating the nefarious and unholy attempt to divide Mahomedans from Hindus which to their eternal shame is being carried on by many officials headed by Mr. Fuller himself.

with his Hindu wife and his favourite Mahomedan wife, and adopt every other measure that the local circumstances may require. What do you say to sending a representation to Mr. Fuller exposing the gross and shameful ignorance of law on the part of your very learned Magistrate as displayed in his orders threatening the elected Municipal Chairman of Mymensing with summary dismissal, and suspending Babu Taranath Bal, an Honorary Magistrate, from their respective public offices, and the disgraceful discourtesy of his language, specially in the letter addressed to the Chairman; and giving the facts—though here I am not sure that you will get much relief from your ruler—as to the proceedings of some persons who shall be nameless, and who indeed are believed to be the real authors and inciters of the alleged breaches of the peace, causing these so as to give a handle for the indiscriminate assaults on the people, and specially on the unfortunate students. The same learned Magistrate, amongst the many high-handed acts which have so greatly signalised his short administration of the District, has, I see, directed that certain meetings should not be held in a private Hall, built on private ground with private money

and under private management ; and accordingly the Sub-Divisional officer has required the Secretary of that Hall to make over the key of the building to the Nazir of his Court—a requisition so flagrant that in spite of all the authority and the almost limitless power of a District Magistrate in this unhappy country, the Secretary has declined, and successfully declined, to comply with the order.

What is one to think of such colossal ignorance of the very elements of Municipal and other law on the part of these brand new importations from Assam, specially selected, one may presume, by Mr. Fuller, and of the painful substitution of bludgeon rule for British rule in many parts of the New Province? All this, I suppose, is meant to conciliate the inhabitants of that hapless Province, reconcile them to the Partition, and give them a fore-taste of that blessing of an efficient and improved administration which Lord Curzon and his satellites have promised in such abundant measure for it ; and for which, the same eminent prophets have told us, the people will soon begin to be deeply grateful ! But for the sad consequences it involves, utter and unmitigated contempt would have been the only word for such an utter betrayal

of the principles which have distinguished, and which, in spite of Mr Fuller and his chosen tools and their short day of unbridled power, shall come, I am sure, again to distinguish genuine British administration. For the credit of the higher grades of the Indian Civil Service, it is to be hoped that there is not another Mr. Fuller to be found in it, and that even he will not long remain unchecked in his anti-English and truly dangerous and seditious career. And may He Who is the Light that lighteth the world, Who in the sacred words of our Gyatri "धिष्णो योनः प्रचोदयात्" granteth us our understanding, enable Mr. Fuller himself to realize the grave and serious injury he is causing alike to his Sovereign and to the people entrusted to his care.

I notice that criminal cases are being brought against the Police. The grosser cases may be so instituted, though it may be open to doubt how far several of our Magisterial officers in the Sundered Province will venture to convict under present circumstances, and under the bias of a perverted vision and warped judgment. But I would have a number of Civil suits for damages instituted before a Subordinate Judge. Whenever there is any mark of assault on the person, this should



at once be shown to an Assistant Surgeon or a Medical practitioner of position, and his certificate obtained.

With earnest prayer that the God of this ancient Aryan land will turn our present misfortunes into blessings for future generations, and with prayer too that Strength and Grace may be given to you all to stand united, brave, and firm in this sad and undreamt of emergency,

I remain

Yours in love and deepest sympathy

P. S.—I see that the Magistrate's loving attention has been drawn towards the Mymensing City College and the other private educational institutions in the town, which appear to have all been practically closed on account of the high-handed proceedings of the authorities, and threatening letters have been addressed to their Heads. I need hardly say that I expect their Managers and Committees to be, while respectful, yet firm, unflinching, and courageous in their attitude.

