

# GS Foundation 2024: Modern India

## Handout 25: Extremist Phase

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From almost the beginning, militant nationalism (Extremist) school existed but it started becoming popular in the late 1890s. However, it was at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they found favourable political climate to come forward. This led to radical transformation in Indian national movement and lead the second phase of the national movement.



### The factors behind the emergence of militant nationalism:

The emergence of extremism at the turn of the century was a response and reaction to the evils of colonialism and the politico-economic and cultural environment prevailing in India.

- **Economic Factors:**

- There was no development of Indian industries, and no protection/promotion by the Government. Instead, there was a series of terrible famines and bubonic plague around during mid-1890s. Between 1896 to 1900, about 90 lakh Indians died in the famines.
- Growing discontent among educated youth due to unemployment

- **Recognition of the true nature of the British rule** (not providential but exploitative) played the most important role.

- Primary and technical education was not making any progress. British, on the other hand, were highly suspicious of educated Indians.
- Complete disappointment with the Indian Councils Act 1892. Instead of giving more political rights, even the existing political rights were attacked.
- The promise of progress was not kept. Rather, the policy of divide-and-rule led to a series of communal riots.

- **Dissatisfaction with the moderates**

- Moderates brought questions of racist discrimination and economic drain to the fore but kept on **professing loyalty** to the Crown. It created the frustration among the people with the moderate style of politics.
- Thus, the politics of the moderates was based on the belief that the British rule could be reformed from within but the failure of moderates to attain practical success gradually undermined the belief. As **British failed to accommodate any of the demands** of the moderates, it produced **disillusionment** among the

nationalists. Consequently, the **weaknesses** of moderates' methods became apparent and a **demand for more vigorous political action** started.

- **Impact of cultural heritage and socio-religious movements: Growth of self-respect and self-confidence**
  - By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Indians acquired faith in their own capacity to govern and develop their country.
  - Revivalist sentiments aroused the feelings of pride in the past and self-respect. Vivekanand's triumphant tours inspired fresh hope of glorious future and superiority of East over West. (Also, Bankim, Dayanand Saraswati)
  - Tilak, Aurobindo, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Bipin Chandra Pal preached the message of self-respect and development of national character.
- **International influences** encouraged militant nationalism in India.
  - Rise of Japan was a warning of new wind blowing over Asia.
  - Defeat of Italy by Ethiopia (1896) and of Russia by Japan (1905)
  - Revolutionary movements in Ireland and Russia.
- **The policy of repression and suppression** pursued by the British Indian government also pushed nationalist of younger generation towards extremism.
  - In 1898, CrPC was amended by amending the sedition clause 124 A.
    - Tilak was awarded 18 months of RI for praising Chapekar brothers and raising nationalist issues.
  - **The reactionary policies of Lord Curzon** added fuel to the fire of extremism.
  - **Finally, the partition of Bengal** in 1905 created the circumstance required for emergence of extremism in forefront in anti-British struggle. The moderate politics lost its mass appeal because nobody was ready to listen that British was just and fair.

Old generation of Indian leaders was being replaced by **new generation**. This new age was started by majorly 4 important leaders: Lal-Bal-Pal + Aurobindo.

### Goals:

- About immediate political demands, they had no quarrel with the moderates. But they **set in the goal of swaraj more boldly**. They *deeply hated the foreign rule* and declared Swaraj to be their clear-cut goal.
  - "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it"
  - The **meaning of Swaraj** was different for different leaders.
    - Tilak meant a government formation by the Indians
    - Aurobindo Ghosh interpreted it as complete independence
- They wanted reforms to happen **at faster rate**, leading towards their end goal. (Impatient Party: Gandhi)

## Methods: (Petition → Agitation)

- They spurned the moderate methods of petition/prayer as “mendicancy.”
  - They were critical of the deferential and supplicatory attitude of the moderates. They didn’t have belief in the British sense of justice and fair-play.
  - Instead, they wanted public agitation and mass mobilization to force British to grant concessions. They didn’t remain confine to only constitutional means, but also included extra-constitutional means.
  - Lala Lajpat Rai: *“No nation is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between begging rights and claiming them”*
  - Aurobindo in ‘New Lamps for Old’ exposed the weaknesses of moderate politics.
  - Tilak: *“We will not achieve any success in our labours if we croak once a year like a frog.”*
- **Awakening and Mobilization of the masses**
  - Impatient to throw off foreign yoke, the Extremists concentrated on building mass support for national movement. They believed that **Indians must work out their own salvation** and make efforts to rise from their degraded position.
  - They had **deep faith in the strength of the masses**, and they planned to achieve **swaraj through mass action**.
    - Thus, their target audience was not British public opinion but Indian public opinion. They pressed for political work among the masses.
  - For mass mobilization however, requirement was:
    - Spreading the feeling of nationalism + Awareness about their rights
    - Generating self-confidence and not being afraid of British (Full of boldness and self-confidence, they considered no personal sacrifice too great for the good of the country.)
    - Finally, a mass agitation to seek resolution of grievances
  - Thus,
    - The movement no longer remained elitist in its social composition because most of the extremist leaders came from middle and lower middle sections of Indian society.
    - The movement started to assume mass character during extremist phase. Mass agitations and demonstrations were organized by the extremists leaders.
- However, for such mobilization of people and opinion, the extremist leaders readily used religious/quasi-religious issues. Thus, extremists:
  - **Rejected social reform as an attack on culture.** Extremists attacked the moderates and reformers incessantly as ‘de-nationalized’, lacking pride in country and culture. For them, the task of social reform was secondary issue and drained energies from the political struggle and also weakened the Hindu solidarity.

- Tilak broke with moderates on the issue of the Age of Consent Act. He wanted that reforms should be initiated by Indian themselves without allowed the foreign government to intervene.
- However, antipathy to untouchability and the need to eliminate it were formulated by Lala Lajpat Rai.
- To link the elites with the masses, they appealed to the three principal ties common to both educated westernized elites and the peasantry and lot of common people – **language, history, and religion**.
  - Casting off the yoke of English use wherever possible, they wrote and spoke in regional languages which were understood by common people.
  - As a means of heightening patriotic fervor, they fostered pride in glorious past, when Hindu kings and warriors rule the land.
    - Shiv Jayanti started by Tilak to create the culture of worship of national heroes.
  - The most effective was the use of religious symbolism and terminology to instill in Hindus a fervent devotion to the Motherland.
    - Religious ceremonies were used.
    - Homage to motherland in the form of **Vande Mataram** proved to be extremely emotive, and virtually touched the soul of the people of India.
    - Conceptualization of Bharat Mata – Avanindranath Tagore



Avanindranath Tagore painted Bharat Mata in 1905

According to Dr Karan Singh "For him, (Sri Aurobindo), India was no mere geographical entity, no mere physical and material land mass, no mere intellectual concept, but a goddess incarnate, a mighty mother who for centuries has cradled and nourished her children and who at that time, was groaning under the yoke of a foreign oppressor – her pride shattered, her glory ground to dust".

Thus India as a nation was eulogized by Sri Aurobindo as the mother, but a mother in chains, and the primary duty of her sons was to win freedom for the Mother, to strive by every possible means to liberate her from her shackles.

- Apart from Neo-Vedantism of **Vivekananda**, **Bankim** Chandra's eulogy of Krishna not only as an ideal man and a nation builder but also for his basic message of Karmayoga in Bhagvad Geeta
- Lala Lajpat Rai: "Our first want, then, is to raise our patriotism to the level of religion and to aspire to live or die for it."
- Aurobindo: "Nationalism is not a mere political programme; Nationalism is a religion that has come from God; Nationalism is a creed which you shall have to live.... If you are going to be a nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of god."
- **Expansion of idea of nation:**
  - Moderates were primarily inspired by European experience of territorial nationalism, leading to the concept of nation-state, which was bound to be secular by definition.
  - Extremists made a departure by adding a religious symbolism and cultural dimension to it. The extremist concept of nationalism was developed around the notion of motherhood which underlined the inalienable relationship between a nation and her children.
- Thus, extremists focused on Indian values, culture for inspiration. Nationalist literature, paintings, and music were used to mobilise masses. Along with political-economic dimensions, the national movement assumed cultural dimension in this phase.
- **Specific program** was based on principle of reducing Indian dependence on the British in every possible way.
  - **Boycott** of foreign goods and promotion of **Swadeshi**
    - Boycott was the most effective instrument to dent the British interests in India. Along with the boycott of foreign goods, swadeshi goods were promoted to encourage Indian industries.
    - Use of parallel government instead of going to British administration and courts.
  - Promoting **National Education**
    - The objective was to educate Indian youth about the ideas of self-reliance, prepare them for the freedom struggle, free them from indoctrination by government schools and popularise the method of Swaraj.



Bombay Swadeshi Cooperative Store,  
1905

- At the same time, they wanted the youth to have a Swadeshi alternative to government schools.
- Non-cooperation or **Passive resistance**
  - Extremists were ardent preachers of non- cooperation.
  - For example, Tilak asserted that people of India are the 'great factor with which the administration of India is controlled.' According to him, cooperation of people acted like a 'great lubricant which enabled the gigantic machinery to work smoothly.' He reminded people of the power they possessed in 'making administration impossible if they choose to make it.'
- **Cooperative organisations**
  - Extremists encouraged **cooperative organization on voluntary basis** for rural sanitation, organising fairs and pilgrimages and relief work during calamities.

In essence, this program was much like Gandhian program produced in 1920.

In this entire process, the contribution of Lal-Bal-Pal and Aurobindo is seminal. They radicalised entire Congress, made mass appeal and mobilized entire country against Bengal Partition. Swadeshi movement launched in 1905 to oppose partition of Bengal was the finest example of the extremist movement.

#### **A Speech by Tilak**

Your revolution must be bloodless; but that does not mean that you may not have to suffer or to go to jail. Your fight is with bureaucracy who will always try to curb and suppress you. But you must remember that consistently with the spirit of laws and the bloodlessness of the revolution, there are a hundred other means by which you may and ought to achieve your object which is to force the hands of the bureaucracy to concede the reforms and privileges demanded by the people. You must realise that you are a great factor in the power with which the administration in India is conducted. You are yourselves the useful lubricants which enable the gigantic machinery to work so smoothly.

Though down-trodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so. It is you who manage the rail-road and the telegraph, it is you who make settlements and collect revenues, it is in fact you who do everything for the administration though in a subordinate capacity. You must consider whether you cannot turn your hand to better use for your nation than drudging on in this fashion. Let your places be filled by Europeans on the splendid salary of eight annas a day if possible ! You must seriously consider whether your present conduct is self-respectful to yourselves or useful to the nation.

You must imitate your rulers only in one thing, namely, in maintaining an unfailing succession of public workers. If one Lala Lajpat Rai is sent abroad, another ought to be found to take his place as readily as a junior Collector steps into the shoes of a senior. It is vain to hope that your petitions will have the effect of releasing Lala, though it is well known that the Government do not mean to keep him a prisoner all his life. His deportation is intended not so much to penalise Lala Lajpat Rai as to terrorise those that would follow his example, and if their agitation stopped as soon as one deportation took place, Government will run away with the idea that terrorism had triumphed.

	<b>Moderates</b>	<b>Extremists</b>
<b>Social Basis</b>	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class
<b>Objectives</b>	Largely similar. Moderates accepted Swarajya (self-rule) only under extremist pressure.	
<b>Programs</b>	Prayers, petitions, memorials	Completely rejected moderate methods as political mendicancy. Alternatively suggested "Passive Resistance": Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education
<b>Perceptions of the west</b>	Believed in the providential nature of the British rule. They believed in the basic supremacy of western ideas like democracy, liberalism, secularism etc. Therefore, persistent appeal to British public opinion for redressal of grievances caused by Anglo-Indian bureaucracy.	Extremists considered this as an act of national humiliation. Extremists believed in rich cultural heritage of India. They were impressed with the scientific and technical development of the west, but they were not willing to accept western cultural supremacy.



## Some important Extremist leaders

- **Lokmanya Tilak** (firebrand politician, Father of Indian Unrest)
  - “No man preached gospel of Swaraj with such consistency and insistence of Lokmanya” by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920
    - Swarajya would not come easy or automatically, it would require sacrifice. Tilak’s entire life is a life of sacrifice and making people ready for sacrifices.
  - Public life of 40 years in two parts –
    - 1880-1900: Provincial Phase
      - Active in Deccan Education Society
      - Newspapers: Kesari and Maratha
      - Control of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha by 1895 by ousting Gokhale faction. Gokhale had to start his own **Deccan Sabha**
    - 1900-1920: National Phase
  - Books: Orion, Arctic Home of Vedas and Geeta Rahasya.
    - For Tilak, Geeta is the highest source of ethical life and call to duty. It is not a sectarian scripture. Philosophy of Geeta is rallying call for Indians to perform karma and not sannyas.
  - For mass mobilisation
    - Opposing social reform led by British.
    - Broke with moderates on the issue of Age of Consent Act 1891.
    - In 1895, he opposed moderates to hold National Social Conference in tandem with INC session as it would divide society.
  - Started Sarvajanik Ganapati (1894) and Shiv Jayanti (1895)
    - *“Our ancestors have already left us occasions for gathering people together, lets use them”*
  - Took up issues of popular distress
    - During 1896-97 famine that ravaged Maharashtra, he started **No-Tax campaign** by sending volunteers to the peasants to awaken them of their rights. He asked famine-stricken peasants to withhold tax payment if their crops had failed.
      - *“Govt’s task is to legislate but it is we who have to ensure implementation. For that we are ready to write 100 times and ask 1000 times.”*
    - **Swadeshi**: Like moderates he protested against the counter-veiling excise duty that hurt the cotton industry. However, unlike moderates, he called people to boycott and bonfire and promote the cause of Swadeshi.





- “British have not come here for philanthropy, but for their own selfish interests. If Indian people are made aware of that, we can attack those selfish interests”

- **Plague:**

- After famine 1896, there came plague epidemic in 1897 in Pune. British took stringent measures, forcibly entering houses. Tilak strongly denounced the harshness.
- When Rand (anti-Plague commissioner) was murdered by Chapekar brothers, Tilak was implicated on charge of inciting violence (sedition). After sedition trial, he was sent to 18 months jail.
- Tilak had used press very effectively as an instrument of propaganda against the government.
  - Judge Strachey: “absence of affection is disaffection”
  - First national political leader to suffer imprisonment for political cause

- **Bipin Chandra Pal (Bengal)**

- Roots in social reforms and Brahmo Samaj → thus moderate in 1890s. However, he spent two years in the west, and became radicalized.
- Established journal **New India** in 1902, with which he popularized the ideal of Swaraj to be achieved through self-help and self-sacrifice. In 1905, he started **Bande Mataram** (it was edited by Aurobindo secretly)
- He was an excellent orator and virtually swept the country with brilliant and forceful explanation of the concepts like Swaraj and Swadeshi. He was externed from Madras Presidency in 1907 on account of ‘inflammatory speeches’.
- Distanced himself from Tilak’s Hinduism as base of nationalism, and talked of ‘composite patriotism’.
- After 1908, he virtually retired from active politics.



- **Aurobindo (born on 15 August 1872)**

- Main ideologue in Bengal, produced similar to Tilak ideology of extremism.
- Three phases of public life
  - 1893-1905: Returned to India after 14 years and spent some years in Baroda.
  - 1906-1910: Only about 4 years of active political public life
  - 1910 onwards: Spiritual Phase
- Wrote **New Lamps for Old** series of articles in **Indu Prakash of Bombay** in 1893.



- Contempt for slow reforms. He was more inspired by French Revolution. Thus, he dismissed INC as 'middle class organization' and looked towards masses to overthrow British.
  - To arouse masses, he turned to Bankim's Hinduism. Also **emphasised on Shakti**, which attracted him.
    - He wrote a pamphlet **Bhavani Mandir** (1905) which was inspired by Anand Math. He talked about Goddess Bhawani to link with Shivaji Maharaj.
  - *He was the first in India to declare that the aim of political action was to declare total independence from the foreign country.*
  - He played a critical role in formulating the policies of boycott and passive resistance including armed rebellion if needed. He was interested in forming secret associations, preparing for violence. With brother Barindra Ghosh, formed Anushilan Samiti.
  - In 1908, he was arrested in the Alipore Conspiracy Case and was acquitted in 1909. After the release, he tried to revive the nationalist movement and to that end, he started two journals – **Karmayogi** in English and **Dharma** in Bengali.
  - But he soon realized that the nation was not ready for such a movement. His **Uttarpara speech (1909)** marks the transition from political journey to spiritual one. He went to **Pondicherry in 1910** to pursue spiritual goal and remained there until his death in 1950.
- Aurobindo was convinced that imitation of Europe was not at all conducive to India's regeneration. He argued "For a nation which is not attempting to imprint its personality on such a movement is moving towards self-sterilization and death."

He, therefore, exhorted the Indian people to uphold the Sanatana Dharma which was the essence of their national personality. "I say no longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, a faith; I say that it is the Sanatana Dharma which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the Sanatana Dharma, with it, it moves and grows. When the Sanatana Dharma declines, then the nation declines and if the Sanatana Dharma were capable of perishing, with the Sanatana Dharma it would perish. The Sanatana Dharma.... That is nationalism".
- **Lala Lajpat Rai** (Punjab)
    - He had attended Allahabad Congress of 1898. He was sent to England in 1905 with Gokhale to canvass British political opinion for reforms in India. But he shared Tilak's views on moderate policy of mendicancy and compromise.
    - In 1886, he helped in setting up Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School at Lahore. Himself **Arya Samajist of College faction**, he was unhappy over Congress efforts to win over Muslims.

- This issue came to head when INC refused to take stance on **Punjab Land Alienation Act 1900**.
- He was **deported to Mandalay** in 1907 without trial for taking part in political agitation in Punjab.
- Believing that it was important to explain India's position to the world, he left for **Britain** in 1914. At this time, World War I broke out and he was unable to return to India, and therefore he then left for the **USA** to gather support for the Indian cause. In the USA, he founded the **Indian League of America** in 1917 and wrote a book called '**Young India**'.
- After coming **back to India**, he once again plunged into national struggle. He was brutally assaulted by the British police while opposing the Simon Commission in 1928
- His prominent works include:
  - Story of My Deportation (1908)
  - United States of America: A Hindu's Impression (1916)
  - England's Debt to India (1917)



## Critical Analysis of the Contribution of the Extremists:

### 1. Success

The extremists transformed the anti-British character of Indian national movement completely.

- a. The first and the foremost contribution of the extremists was the significant contribution to the **growth of concept of nationalism**. The imagery of India as the mother in bondage and the sacred duty of her children to free her continued to inspire the generations of patriots. They added cultural dimension to the national movement.
- b. With **great personal sacrifice and suffering**, the extremist leaders inspired a large number of people to work for the national movement. Tilak was the first to defy the British by opposing the repressive policies and gladly suffered 18 months of rigorous imprisonment. It was the first act of major defiance from among the political leaders of the new generation and he was hailed overnight as Lokmanya for it and emerged as the national icon.
- c. The movement started to **become mass-movement**, as a result of efforts made by extremists. Common sections of urban population, women etc started participating in national struggle.
- d. They gave **new programs and methods** of struggle to the national movement. Extremist brought anti British struggle in streets, during moderate phase it was limited to conference halls and chambers.
- e. Rise of extremists **infused remarkable energy** in anti-British struggle. Government came under serious pressure as a result of which the process of constitutional reforms gained speed. The enactment of reform Act of 1909 and 1919 can be cited as an example.

### 2. Limitations

- a. The extremist leaders **failed to appreciate the contribution of moderates**. They criticized moderates as weak nationalists and mendicants. This extremely critical attitude towards moderates resulted in serious ideological divide in the Congress. The Surat Split in 1907 was the outcome of the same.
- b. The use of **religious programs and slogans** by extremists adversely affected the secular character of national movement. It allowed the critics of Congress to portray it was a Hindu organization.
  - i. At times, the extremists' anger at Muslim collaboration with the British spurred them to engage in overtly anti-Muslim activity, heedless of the fact that in doing so they were ruining the chances of creating a united anti-British movement. It has been argued that it was one of the reasons for the formation of Muslim League in 1906. While it is true that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan had dissociated himself from Congress quite earlier in 1887-88, the

religious nature of the new nationalism certainly contributed to further alienation of Muslim leaders and masses.

- ii. However, it should be noted that there were many shadings of views among Extremists. Some were quite insensitive to Muslim sensibilities, while others were not.
- c. The **reactionary elements** among the extremist sometimes took frontstage. The Age of Consent Act created the impression as if extremists were against social reforms.
- d. Despite all fury and bravado, and immense amount of personal sacrifice, the extremists **couldn't really build up a mass movement**. It was only during the anti-partition movement that they were able to mobilize masses to a respectable scale.
- e. They took **ambivalent stance towards the issue of violence**.
  - i. Aurobindo, of course, didn't rule out violent methods.
  - ii. Even Tilak had consistently taken an ambivalent attitude on the issue of violence though he never openly supported the violence methods.
  - iii. When Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported, they inspired a new revolutionary movement which became Ghadar movement.
  - iv. It is argues that extremists became the ideological progenitor of the violent revolutionary movement which subsequently emerged and occupied some of the space vacated by extremists on the national stage.

### Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920): Address to the Indian National Congress, 1907

Two new words have recently come into existence with regard to our politics, and they are *Moderates* and *Extremists*. These words have a specific relation to time, and they, therefore, will change with time. **The Extremists of today will be Moderates tomorrow, Just as the Moderates of today were Extremists yesterday.** When the National Congress was first started and Mr. Dadabhai's views, which now go for Moderates, were given to the public, he was styled an Extremist, so that you will see that the term Extremist is an expression of progress. We are Extremists today and our sons will call themselves Extremists and us Moderates. Every new party begins as Extremists and ends as Moderates. The sphere of practical politics is not unlimited. We cannot say what will or will not happen 1,000 years hence - perhaps during that long period, the whole of the white race will be swept away in another glacial period. We must, therefore, study the present and work out a program to meet the present condition.

It is impossible to go into details within the time at my disposal. One thing is granted, namely, that this government does not suit us. As has been said by an eminent statesman - the government of one country by another can never be a successful, and therefore, a permanent government. **There is no difference of opinion about this fundamental proposition between the old and new schools.** One fact is that this alien government has ruined the country. In the beginning, all of us were taken by surprise. We were almost dazed. We thought that everything that the rulers did was for our good and that this English government has descended from the clouds to save us from the invasions of Tamerlane and Chingis Khan, and, as they say, not only from foreign invasions but from internecine warfare, or the internal or external invasions, as they call it. . . . **We are not armed, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon, a political weapon, in boycott.** We have perceived one fact, that the whole of this administration, which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is carried on with our assistance. We are all in subordinate service. This whole government is carried on with our assistance and they try to keep us in ignorance of our power of cooperation between ourselves by which that which is in our own hands at present can be claimed by us and administered by us. The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house, and not merely one stranger turned out of it. **Self-government is our goal; we want a control over our administrative machinery. We don't want to become clerks and remain [clerks].** At present, we are clerks and willing instruments of our own oppression in the hands of an alien government, and that government is ruling over us not by its innate strength but by keeping us in ignorance and blindness to the perception of this fact. Professor Seeley shares this view. Every Englishman knows that they are a mere handful in this country and it is the business of every one of them to befool you in believing that you are weak and they are strong. This is politics. We have been deceived by such policy so long. What the new party

wants you to do is to realize the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands. If you mean to be free, you can be free; if you do not mean to be free, you will fall and be forever fallen. So many of you need not like arms; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts, and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from tomorrow. Some gentlemen who spoke this evening referred to half bread as against the whole bread. I say I want the whole bread and that immediately. But if I can not get the whole, don't think that I have no patience.

I will take the half they give me and then try for the remainder. This is the line of thought and action in which you must train yourself. We have not raised this cry from a mere impulse. It is a reasoned impulse. Try to understand that reason and try to strengthen that impulse by your logical convictions. I do not ask you to blindly follow us. Think over the whole problem for yourselves. If you accept our advice, we feel sure we can achieve our salvation thereby. This is the advice of the new party. Perhaps we have not obtained a full recognition of our principles. Old prejudices die very hard. Neither of us wanted to wreck the Congress, so we compromised, and were satisfied that our principles were recognized, and only to a certain extent. That does not mean that we have accepted the whole situation. We may have a step in advance next year, so that within a few years our principles will be recognized, and recognized to such an extent that the generations who come after us may consider us Moderates. This is the way in which a nation progresses, and this is the lesson you have to learn from the struggle now going on. This is a lesson of progress, a lesson of helping yourself as much as possible, and if you really perceive the force of it, if you are convinced by these arguments, then and then only is it possible for you to effect your salvation from the alien rule under which you labor at this moment.