

¹ Lit. fan.

An old moral story¹.

² substance.

beautiful moral² of it. This (sort of) fun has taken place over and over again from ancient times; the black god of black (people) gives a drubbing to the foreign demons.

³ Name of a certain class of demons said to have been killed by God Krishna.

2. The *Madhukaitabhas*³ (were foreign demons on inimical terms with the Creator; Krishna, the black (god) of the blacks destroyed⁴ them in no time.

⁴Lit. made cold.

3. Similarly when the foreign demon named Hiranyaksha became very powerful, the black *Varaha*⁵ sent⁶ him to the kingdom of (the God of) Death.

⁵Boar, an incarnation of Vishnu. ⁶Lit. showed him the darbar.

4. The sable Shri Ram took up cudgels on behalf of the blacks and killed "the arrogant alien ruler Ravan.

5. Oh alien Kansa! do not give yourself airs through the intoxication of royal (authority); the dark Krishna, the god of the blacks, will destroy⁷ you.

⁷Lit make turmeric powder of you.

The dark (complexioned) Lord Shivaji (was) to the blacks a good (and) stouthearted friend; the alien Mlenchhas have had (a taste of) his Maratha hospitality.

7. If any foreign devils become irresistibly insolent in future, King Kali of the blacks will drive them beyond the seas.

Oh you stout-hearted, hear an interesting story; lovingly keep in (your) minds the

Sentimentt of the people f Shivaji's times.

(In these verses the sentiments entertained by the people at the time of Shivaji's birth are described.)

The Aryans invoke (god) Ganesh to destroy (their state of) dependence.

Oh God! take the sword in hand and be ready for battle. (Chorus.) Oh (God) the demons of dependence have produced great misery on the earth; the people have been harassed; Oh auspicious one of the world, fondle them with (thy) loving hands I

⁸Lit. excessively:

2. This demon is⁸ more cruel (and) irresistibly powerful than Sindhur⁹. In a drama of fraud we say he is treacherous, a cut-throat and a wretch.

⁹Name of a demon.

3. Petitions and prayers have often been presented and offered in humble prostrations. But he, really the meanest of all, does not yield to our supplications.

10. Lit. beating.

4. Only one remedy is left now (and that is) **striking**¹⁰ with the sword. This wicked being must anyhow be destroyed by various means¹¹.

11. Lit. efforts.

THE powerless mouse (on which you usually ride) will be crushed entirely on the battlefield and, therefore, I tell you to mount on a steed as swift as the wind.

6. O munificent one, be similarly armed¹ with new weapons. These old weapons are now not of much use in battle.

¹Lit. adorned.

7. Never give (open) battle to the enemy, his army is vast. Guerilla tactics should be resorted to, as they are the mainstay of a small force.

8. The whole of this plan should be carried out secretly by gathering together hardy patriots who are like a bouquet of beautiful flowers.

9. On your achieving some slight success the immortal kings of various places and also their sardars will, indeed, come to assist you.

10 Oh Lord! may you kill the demon and give victory to the people, and grant mother earth, Oh (Lord), the beautiful and auspicious wreath of independence.

11. Hearing this invocation of the Aryas, God Ganpati was deeply touched, and then having incarnated himself as Shivaji he killed the (demon of) dependence.

Who obtained independence without a battle.

1. Was glorious Rama, sable as a cloud, a fool to have freed his mother the Earth from servitude? Did he then fight a battle to no purpose? Who obtained independence without a battle?

2 Bow many petitions did the people of the Netherlands send? Those princes of (mendicancy) offered many a prayer to (their) enemy. Did² they then obtain their kingdom? Who obtained independence without a battle ?

2. Lit. did their kingdom then come into their wallet?

3. Ask the Greeks themselves how they achieved their national emancipation. (There are) no other paths leading to emancipation than war. Who obtained independence without a battle ?

4. The Swiss did not (merely) offer passive resistance (to the enemy) through fear of the strength of wicked persons, (they) quickly proceeded to (perform) the sacrifice of a good battle, who obtained independence without a battle?

5. Tyrol would not bend (the knee) to her enemies. She would not (also) choose (a policy of) beggary. She rather appealed to her own sword. Who obtained independence without a battle ?

6. Had the great Shivaji any eager desire to sacrifice in vain the lives of others ? (But) of how many (of his) brethren had (he) to shed the blood? Who obtained independence without a battle ?

1. Lit. came culling after her.

7. Similarly *heroic* Italy struggled manfully on the battle-field by founding (her) secret societies in good time. Good fortune followed¹ her spontaneously. Who obtained independence without a battle?

8. The Americans did the same. They fought and drove away their country's servitude. Then that servitude fled towards the East. Who obtained independence without a battle?

9. Know it to be an established truth of the past that no one is able to obtain independence without a battle. He, who hankers after *swarajya*, must fight a battle. Who obtained independence without a battle ?

The prayer of the Mavlas to God Shiva.



4. At night the stars, full of love, hold secret consultations in the interests of their country and thoughtfully weigh the strength of the enemies with a view to conquer them.

6. The youths whose minds are longing for battle unfurl the flags over their steeds; likewise.....

One line of this couplet is not dear.

6. The men belonging to secret societies, by taking exercises in the gymnasium, have, indeed, with difficulty developed strong wrists.

7. And in like manner, behold, O Lord! the naked (unsheathed) swords, being as it were the beloved wives of the heroes, have grown highly impatient to swim in pools of blood.



[CONFIDENTIAL.]

Translation.

Exhibit 5/2.

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased.

INDIA HOUSE.

My dearest and most revered elder,

After compliments.—Letters from all of you have been received. Letters were also received from Bombay and Poona from our dear Bhau, Bal (and) Dattya.

All the particulars will be known from the news-letters in newspapers.

Tell Bal (and) Dattya that I am going to post a long letter to them next time. Nothing is known as to what you have done with the *Bande Mataram* Essay. When are (you) going to send me a copy of it ?

Send me by return of post a copy of Ghorpade's Diary for the current year.

I hope you have sent a photo, of the Rani of Jhansi to Pondicherry. Let me know (that you have done so).

Send me, immediately without fail the *Bande Mataram* Essay. May this be known.

I am,

With soul loving waiting to meet you,
TATYA.

Translation
Exhibit 7/2

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased.

Dear Elder¹

Owing to the bustle (and confusion) of the Guru Govind meeting and the occupation of the whole of (my) time in (writing) news-letters to the newspapers, **S** become impossible to-day to write a long letter of well-being.

Yours affectionately,
TATYA.

Translation.
Exhibit 8/2.

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased.

INDIA HOUSE.

My dearest and most revered elder¹,

After compliments—I have already posted last time a somewhat detailed letter to Bal (and) Dattu. The letters of both of them, received by the last mail, are most encouraging and full of love. Such letters beget greatness in the heart where there is none and generosity of sentiment? When this letter will reach you, you will probably be busy with the Congress. All should take particular care that this year's Congress at Nagpur does not prove to be another Barisal Conference. If any one maliciously comes forward to disperse it, all the persons in the *mandap* should stand firm like a mountain in their places until every one of them is cut down; every one while doing (his) duty and defending his place, should exercise the lawful right of standing in any place in our nation and for any length of time that duty might dictate. Then alone there would be any grace (*lit.*, pomp) in holding a separate (*lit.*, other) Congress. It does not matter if the whole *mandap* is blown up by cannon on this score. (We) would not get another school like this to learn how to die for the nation. How many will die? In Bombay, 300 persons died of plague every day—and ten lakhs of people die annually of plague in India. This alone is (my) prayer to God that some one should have the courage to blow off unlawfully at the cannon's mouth so many constitutional patriots. The day when this will happen will be the day of deliverance. Therefore if any illegal order to break up the (assembly in the) *mandap* or the Congress be issued, arrangement must be made whereby people will discharge their duty by disregarding it.

Yesterday the business relating to the book was nearly settled. You should now arrange to collect as much advance subscription as possible and remit the same. The total expense will come to 3,000—3,500 rupees. It is necessary to fix the price at Rs. 2 at the lowest, for only two thousand copies can be printed. Secure advance subscribers and collect as much advance subscribers as possible. The suggestion made by me previously about finding in each town ten persons (willing) to pay Rs. 10 should be carried out as far as possible, *li* about 20 towns are found, (the matter) will be somewhat arranged. The book will take many days of course.

¹ May stand for an elderly relation or person held in veneration by the writer.

This month there is, indeed, very great activity here. Study is out of the question, (lit., it is not possible even to mention the name of study). If I go out after December, then alone I think I shall be able to study for the final. We are going to launch the *Swarajya* newspaper and inaugurate a series of lectures by Bepin Babu. This month will be taken up by such things as the Gurn Govind Singh celebration. Let this be known.

Yours humbly,

TATYA.

Translation.

Exhibit 9/1.

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased. ¹

INDIA HOUSE ;

15th January 1909.

My dear Bal (and) Dattu.

After compliments—Received your letters written at Nasik during the recess, and they helped me to pass the last month here in happiness and pleasure. Now you must be again attending college, after your vacation, but as I had not the patience to wait till I knew your address from your letters, I am posting this letter to Nasik address. Dearest Babasaheb will no doubt send it on to you. I have now begun to study for the final. I have already informed you from time to time that I appeared for four examinations last year and was successful in all of them. Measured by the movements here, the last year proved to be

♦ The meaning of this sentence is not clear the most important and busy. Taking*
in the original. up the flag of Ram Hari, the banner of

the Lord's devotion has been pushed forward step by step, and at London, the

**This sentence is not gramatically correct biggest of all the forts has been permanently
in the original. taken into .possession. The select** and

the most advanced hearts, not only of one province but of all the provinces of the country, have been reached, those who have mounted to the highest rung of the ladder have placed me on the highest pedestal, and called me 'the good teacher'; they are asking me my advice as to how they should conduct themselves in future as I am to leave them, and am giving up all worldly affairs as a result of the worship of Shri Ram ; those who were drinking liquor are giving it up, those who indulged in carnal pleasures are now passing wakeful nights in temples of Ram, those who had come (here) to appear for the Civil Service Examination have besmeared their bodies with ashes and become *sanyasi*. Such is the transformation that has taken place in London. Now the days to return to my own country have arrived. My mind and my conscience say to me 'My inner soul has become purified by returning the deposit kept with me.' The duty during my stay in London has been well performed.

Now I heartily desire to meet you. I dream of you. I am mentally discussing (with myself) what programme I should fix upon for the future along with you. If God desires and duty permits me to do so, I am sure to come to give you a loving embrace by the end of May this year.

Yours,

TATYA.

Translation.
Exhibit 9/2.

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased.

My dear elder,

After compliments-Received all the letters sent by you.

You should make haste about the subscriptions to the book, and even more than the subscriptions* about registering (names of) subscribers. The *Bande Mataram* essay has not been received yet. Send it soon. It would not have, been a bad thing if Bal (and) Dattya had not been sent to college during the first** term. One thing should be done

* *Lit.*, money, immediately on receipt of this letter. It is this: the portrait of the Rani of Jhansi should be taken out of Parasnis book (and sent to the following address:-

***To the Editor of *India*,
India Office, Pondicherry,
South India,

***This address is given in English in the original with the exception of 'Pondicherry' which occurs also in Marathi.

It should be sent at once. *India* is an excellent Tamil paper at present printing at Pondicherry. The above portrait should be at once despatched to its (editor). I will probably write a History of the Sikhs while coming. The book, though small, will be exceedingly interesting. We shall print it as soon as (I) come over (there). I will begin to write it as soon as the examination is over. The following matter should be done (2)**** I had previously written that 20 pounds should be

****The figure occurs even in the original. remitted (to me), I have written to Bhau as I am now very much in need (of the money). You should, therefore, either by a personal visit or by such (other means as may be thought safe, prevail⁵ upon him to remit the money to me.

5 lit. make him. I am writing (to you) direct as I cannot post a letter to him.

An occurrence giving rise to considerable commotion has taken place here; I will see what turn it takes and let (you) know about it on the next occasion. Let there be no anxiety (about me).

TATYA.

Translation.
Exhibit 9/3.

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased.

My dearest elder,

After compliments—Received your charming and discerning letter. The minute description given therein will prove extremely useful to enable me to gauge the situation there before coming. I am at present thinking of going out of London for the sake of study. The movements do not leave me, and (on the other hand) I cannot leave my studies.

The examination is to take place in March. (I) have not yet even begun my studies, I will appear for the examination in case they are finished. Otherwise I will appear in June. But in that case I will have to stay here for two months more.

Other matters will be known from the news-letter only recently despatched.

Bande Mataram has not yet been received.

I was suffering last week from cold and fever. Now I am alright. May this be known.

Yours obediently,

TATYA.

None of you have mentioned dear Dada's name for many days past, nor I have been receiving any letters from him. I do not know his address. Therefore let me know in reply, without fail, as to where he is and give him my loving *Bande Matarams* (i.e., compliments).

Yours,
TATYA.

Translation.
Exhibit 9/4.

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased.

My dear Bal (and) Dattya,

I have received your first letter from Poona. Being pressed, (with work) I am sending you only this short letter as you will receive it (from me) after a long time. (I) have sent lengthy letters to Nasik. Now let me know the following in reply. Where is dear Joglekar now ? (Let me have) an account of him. (2) Where is dear Deshabhakta Mama (Apte)? Did (he) meet (you)? (3) Did the work at the Ferguson (College) (go on) all right ? (4) Where is dear Vinayak Barve? (5) Also do not fail to let me have news about others (such as) Balm, the son of Paranjpe, etc

With loving embraces to the dear ones,
TATYA.

Translation.
Exhibit 9/5-

To Deshabhakta (and) Dearest Shastribuva.

Loving *Bande Mataram* (compliments).

TATYA.

Translation.
Exhibit 9/6.

To Deshabhakta (and) beloved Kavivarya.*

Loving *Bande Mataram* (compliments).

Are you free from fever ? How often do you fall ill?

TATYA.

Translation.
Exhibit 9/7.

Yours,**
TATYA.

My*** dear little Sridhar,

Loving blessings (to you)

Get hold of the High School.

Copies of scouting for boys will of course reach (you), They have been despatched. _____

• i.e., The best of poets,
** These words occur at the top in the original.
*** Lit, child.

Translation.

Exhibit 9/8.

Om.

May the Goddess of Independence be pleased.

INDIA HOUSE.

My dearest and most revered elder,

After compliments--I send herewith two letters, one to dear Dada and one to dear Aba (Sahastrabuddhe). A copy of *Khalsa* should also be sent to each of them. The letters should be sent to them without fail.

The *Bande Mataram* essay has not been received even yet ? ? ?

Do send (it) soon.

This time (I) have just now written four or five long letters; therefore I finish (now).

Your letters are received all right.

6 Name here not legible in the original. Loving salutations to dear⁶and all Others,

May this be known.

Protected by your blessings.

I am,

Humbly yours,

TATYA.

P S -What have (you) done with Bhausahab's letter about money? Get (the matter) decided by getting Bhau to call on (the person).

Translation.

Exhibit No. 11.

Prafulla, .

It is the opinion of all nations and of a majority of the best and learned men: that if an unjust person exalts his own position to such an extent as to make it impossible for human laws to punish him, then for a citizen to kill him is not only not culpable but on the contrary is a sign of high virtue.--*Mill on Liberty*.

As soon as my heart began to wander in a wanton manner under (the influence of) the idea of liberty, it became free from the mean condition of slavery; but it again sank into despair seeing that I had not the strength to fly to such a height. The few moments, that had the power to give inspiration to my soul were rendered powerless and useless by this enfeebling environment. Astute enemies had kept this environment hovering about me, and it used ever to proclaim into my ear that while other nations were terribly powerful, my India alone was powerless. Could it be true that India had done (*lit.*, finished) the whole of her duty and that she must necessarily pass (her days) in such degrading plight ? Surely, life is being produced in the heart of my country, and when my valiant fellow countrymen really perform deeds of self-sacrifice necessary to liberate my mother (land), then she is bound to become independent. When I entertain such an ambition, I (feel myself) in a mad dream. True it is that they were once powerful, but who knows, that great history of the illustrious (*lit.*, worthy of being proud of) past may (now), remain only in name ?

I read the history of my country, and thereby realized (*lit.*, saw) the valour of my forefathers, their glory and their self-sacrifice for the sake of the nation. But it

was not able to produce in me confidence as to the power of the people at the present time. This land, this mother of mine, the first in philosophy, the foremost in civilization, the home of self-sacrifice, the land (*lit.*, field) of warriors, was really most powerful at one time. But what do I see now everywhere? Wherever one may look, there are to be seen spread (everywhere) fetters, bonds, terrible darkness, hell and dust. And in that dust my mother is rolling maddened. And in this condition * I am standing over her as if a sentry

• **One word here illegible.** from hell. I read the histories of foreign countries, which created good out of evil, which gave a fresh and brilliant (lease of) life to their people (*lit.*, nation) even when they had reached the verge (*lit.*, state) of destruction owing to enslavement; but although those (histories) pointed out to me the royal road to the ultimate goal, they could not convince (me) that my nation had the strength to traverse

** **One name here illegible.** that road How will** Garibaldi or Bismark be able to convince (me) that my people, pressed down by oppression for many years, will be able to practise the high self-restraint of Mazzini (?)

I know that these doubts prove their own unreality (*lit.* emptiness); for, had my nation been entirely disorganised (*lit.*, if its constitution had utterly broken down) at the present time, how could my heart be able to hanker (*lit.*, run) after liberty? But, being pressed down by the deadly stroke of my (*lit.*, this) wicked fortune, O mother, I stood looking at this thy pitiful plight. My heart broke into pieces, it was torn asunder and being maddened and disgusted, it began to ask itself "Is there still life in her?" Just then, a charming wave of a strange combination of sounds went up and dashed against it; the whole sky resounded with the name of Prafulla and Khudiram. Then of course (it is true that) my nation lives even yet. The spiritual merit (*lit.*., work) of my ancestors is not yet destroyed. This sacred land of *the Rishis* is not yet desolate. It is still fruitful, For Khudiram has been born and Profulla has died.

They are mine alone in all respects, and, therefore, they have not only crea'ed love for liberty in my nation—this might have been done by the history of other countries—but they have proved that my people possess the power to undergo a fiery ordeal, and by their self-sacrifice have invested my nation with heavenly immortality. They had taken their birth in the womb of my own mother. They had grown up under the shadow of this very emasculating oppression; they were speaking this very language, they were the product or this very civilization, and they had received inspiration from this very *Gita* and (these very) *Upanishads*. Even if the souls of these *Shahindas*** had not

*****The meaning of this word is not clear.** done anything else, still this message which they have endowed with life is not of less value than the most celebrated battles won by Napoleon. This song that moves the heart of the nation is a real deed.

Oh Khudiram, Barendra, Prafulla, Ullasa, Hem, Oh *shahindas*, this is not the only message that you have delivered to us; you have most plainly marked out with your own blood the road by which to reach the one certain goal by cutting § at the root of § **Some words here not clear in the original.** the intellectual impotency, which is the cause of the enslavement of the nation. You at once constitute both philosophy and its accomplishment; you are the goal of the mind and also the attainment thereof. The words which you spoke in reply to the questions of the court, began to resound in the ears of the whole nation like the thunder of a cloud. These, holy pilgrims, these young spirits, tearing themselves away from the firm embraces of their loving wives, giving up their newly born babies, setting fire to their bodies at the altar of their motherland, pledging themselves to follow the lives of ascetics, (and) singing the sacred (and) peaceful verses from the *Upanishads* recited by *sanyasis*, started with the bomb in one hand and the *Gita* in the other. And what (did they do) this for? To regain the independence of India. They spilt their youthful blood to wash off the sin of the nation and resolved to start secret societies to prepare the nation for revolution, and to show the *Feringees* the road to Hell by rising all at once when the auspicious occasion should arrive.

Therefore, Hem, do you accomplish your duty ? Collect arms. If swords cannot be got, then stab with knives. In lieu of guns let bombs explode. O brave *Shahindas*? Look, this base Kingsford is running away from Calcutta. Khudiram, pursue him. Prafulla, pursue him. Allow not that sinner to escape. There was a determined pursuit and a bomb did explode. Oh, the sinner (*lit.*, heretic) escaped. It does not matter. There has been bloodshed and the best attempt has been made. See here on this side a more charming scene than that Prafulla who has failed owing to treachery, is making a last attempt. His terrible revolver (*lit.*, pistol) first aimed towards that traitor, is afterwards aimed towards himself, and just when his body is about to be polluted by the touch of that degraded person, the bullet goes off, and this young angel Prafulla is rolling in a pool of rushing blood. Khudiram, on the other hand, is standing in the prison with the freshness of the morning rose and the courage of Abhimanya (spoken of) in the *purans*. Somebody asked (*lit.* asks) "Do you have any regret for what you have done?" He replied, "None whatever; if you let me off I will (again) do the same." He was sentenced to death and on being asked, "are you afraid?" said (*lit.* says) smiling, "Why? Have I not read the *Gita*?"

We challenge the high-handed, officials to show, what is there in these words and actions of these celestial heroes that they should be called anarchists. Yes they are all pure anarchists. But when? If it would be anarchical to start secret societies when the demon of degraded politics begins to dance a hideous dance on the (face of the.) earth, when truth is driven into a dark room, and when on the stage and in the press there appear no other advisers than the satanic twins of tyranny and treachery, then alone (they may be called anarchists). (They may also be called anarchists) if it be anarchy to store bombs to defeat a tyrant who deprives you of your arms in order to deprive you of your (means of) defence. If the giving of independence to a nation, the protection of the cradle of nationality (and) making justice prevail in a defeated and down-trodden nation, constitute anarchy, then Barendra and all others are terrible anarchists. If building means destroying, if creating means killing, if joining together means breaking up, then verily Hem, Ullas, Khudiram (and) all are anarchists, and Christ, Muhammad, and Mazzini (were) anarchists too.

But, if to enslave one-fifth of the human race and to bring them (down) to the condition of brutes constitutes anarchy, if to give utterance to the satanic cry 'Liberty for us, dependence for the rest of the world' constitutes anarchy, if it is anarchy to kill fifty lakhs of people by famine and plague without allowing them to raise a single piteous cry because the whole of the world would come to know of it and rise in revolt against the inhuman abettor (s) of these deaths if it is anarchy to openly advocate, maintain and act upon the principle that India should ever remain in slavery, if it is anarchy to disarm (the people) first and then to let loose *goondas* against holy Indian families to dishonour them with a view to enjoy the pleasure of having a sneer at the impotency of the unfortunate victims, then, (we ask) who are the real anarchists---you are they ?

Oh tyrannical rulers. You are made. How long do you think you can deceive the world by means of such frauds ? The last link of this vain deception has been snapped by the laughter of Khudiram and the extraordinary feats (*lit.* honourable practices) of Prafulla. You may cry yourselves hoarse as much as like (by uttering the cry) of innocent creatures having lost their lives; but your life can not now be prolonged by this (means). (Both*) innocent and guilty have begun to utter the cry of revolution, and a serpent's head with bloody fangs (*lit.* grinders) and steel-like teeth has begun to indulge in a war dance on the horizon. Now every path that will lead to success will lead to success will be (considered) sacred, now whatever blood will be causelessly (*lit.*, for want of an alternative) spilt will be spilt for the sake of principle. Now you alone shall be responsible before God and man for the blood that may be spilt, the death(s) that may take place for the confusion that may prevail. Now, the places where the remains of our *swadeshi shahindas* Khudiram (and) Prafulla were cremated will form an inexhaustible store of the fire of life, and at these the presiding Goddess of India will light a torch and instilling life into the thirty crores of people, will wander throughout the country, and then this delusion of the present time will completely disappear and be reduced (*lit.* burnt) to ashes; and from those ashes will emerge forth a mightier, brighter, freer Goddess of India, endowed with greater vitality (than at present)

(sd.) VANDE MATARAM.

instilling life into the thirty crores of people, will wander throughout the country, and then this delusion of the present time will completely disappear and be reduced (*lit.*, burnt) to ashes; and out of those ashes will emerge forth a mightier, brightier, freer Goddess of India, endowed with greater vitality (than at present).

(Sd.) VANDE MATARAM.

