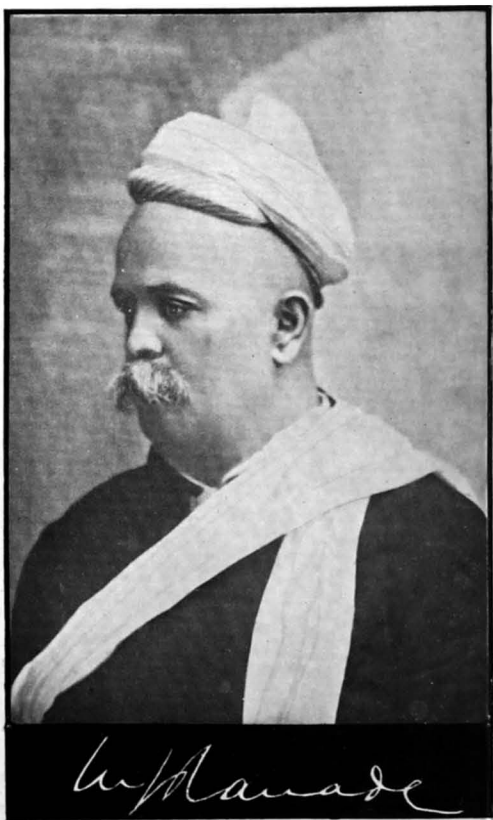


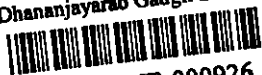
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BORN, 18TH JANUARY 1842.

DIED, 16TH JANUARY 18

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A SKETCH
OF THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF THE LATE
Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade,
M.A., LL.B., C.I.E., &c.,
JUDGE OF HER MAJESTY'S HIGH COURT
OF JUDICATURE, BOMBAY.

BY
RAO BAHADUR G. A. MANKAR,
M.A., LL.B.; RETIRED SUB-JUDGE;
FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.

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DEDICATION.

To the revered and cherished memory of my beloved father, Amritrao Vishvanth Mankar, who departed this life on the 10th July, 1894, in his 80th year, I dedicate this, my first and last work, as a small token of affection, esteem and reverence I entertained towards him who performed the dual duties of both father and mother most affectionately and zealously towards me and my sisters ever since the early death of our saintly mother, who was my truest friend, best counsellor, and most unfailing guide in this vale of tears, and to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude, which it is difficult for me to discharge adequately.

G. A. M.

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VOLUME I.

ERRATA.

At the dedication page for "Vishvanth" read
"Vishyanath."

At page 44 for "evidences" read "evidence."

At page 50 read "of" before "1881."

At page 96 for "Hindos" read "Hindus."

At page 99 for "marriage" read "marriages."

At page 108 for "Melanchthon" read "Melanc-
thon."

At page 140 for "is based" read "should be
based."

At page 173 remove inverted commas after "wor-
shipped."

At page 173 remove comma after "Waman."

PREFACE.

PERHAPS it may be asked why have I undertaken to write a life of The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, however brief and sketchy it may be? What is/in him which can justify the writing of his life? An answer to this question will be partly found in the following extract from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Macdonald, who was one of the leading merchants of Bombay, Chairman of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. The speech was delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Macdonald at an entertainment, held in his honour on the eve of his retirement from India, in 1891. Referring to Mr. Ranade, whom he did not know personally, he says in the speech in question, "I have not the honour of knowing that eminent man, but a perusal

of the addresses which he has delivered occasionally during the last year or two at the Social Reform Congress have been revelations to me. He exhibits all the qualities of an ideal reformer; a profound sympathy with the victims of social injustice, sobriety of statement, enthusiasm, energy, above all, a spiritual fervour, and along with it a persuasive reasonableness which must strangely move his hearers. Fortunately for us, Anglo-Indians, he is master of an admirable English style. I venture to say that these speeches are a mine of ideas and absolutely essential to every one who would know the India of to-day in its higher aspirations." The justification of my writing a life of Mr. Ranade will then be found in the above extract from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Macdonald. It may be remarked that Mr. Ranade was not only an ardent, thoughtful, and persuasive reformer, but was also one of the first and best graduates of the University of Bombay, so much so, that he was styled by the *Hindu Patriot*, one of the leading Indian journals in Bengal, as the

Prince of Bombay Graduates. It will be seen from his life that the reputation he acquired at College by his superior mental calibre, original turn of mind and indefatigable industry, has not only been maintained but enhanced throughout his career, whether we consider him as a professor, a Subordinate Judge, a Special Judge, or a Judge of the High Court, a social and religious reformer, or a political and economical writer. Standing head and shoulders above his contemporaries, he was the best representative of modern India educated according to the requirements of the University, and possessing all the merits of the graduates in the highest degree, and the fewest of their faults. The life of such a man, then, will not fail to throw light upon the history of the educated India subsequent to the establishment of the Indian Universities, upon the period of transition through which India is now passing, upon the character, aspirations and achievements of young men passing through such a period. We have noticed the Hon'ble Mr. Macdonald observing in his speech: "I venture

to say that these speeches (of Mr. Ranade) are a mine of ideas absolutely essential to every one who would know the India of to-day in its higher aspirations." The life of such a man would still better serve the purpose. On these grounds I have undertaken to write a short biography of Mr. Ranade, with what success I leave my readers to judge. My theme is a noble one. If I have failed to do justice to it and to treat it as it deserves, the fault is my own. I am fully aware of the shortcomings of this work. If this is the case, why should I, it may be asked, have rushed into print? But I would request my readers to bear in mind that I have done this not to acquire any reputation or fame as a biographer, but simply to render my humble tribute of admiration, esteem, and affection to one whose brilliant talents, many-sided activity, and saintly character have excited these feelings in me.

I also thought that some record of the life and doings of one of the very few men who are distinguished from their contemporaries by

an original turn of mind would not be undesirable. For it would show that though our times manifest almost all the defects of an age of transition, such as the servility attaching to the spirit of imitation, and others so graphically described by Gibbon towards the end of Chapter LXVI. of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," yet it does not exhibit one dead level of mediocrity, of commonplace men, chained to the earth, earthy. For here and there it is relieved by a spark of genius. It must, however, be admitted that even the best type of our educated men, not only in this Presidency but throughout India, have as yet done "nothing of permanent literary interest." This is indeed a regrettable fact which is accounted for by Mr. Pillai in his biographies of representative men in Southern India by the supposition that "Indians generally, however highly cultured, are wanting in system and method in their work, and do not utilize their leisure in the proper manner." I fear it is not a satisfactory and sufficient explanation of the phenomenon. For it will be

extremely incorrect and unjust to say of Mr. Ranade, for instance, that he was wanting in system or method in his work, and that he did not utilize his leisure in the best possible manner, as those who knew him are perfectly aware that he was most systematic in his daily life and employed his leisure hours in the most profitable way. I think the proper explanation of the fact will be found elsewhere. Gibbon, noticing a similar state of things at the revival of classical literature in Europe in the 15th Century, says at the end of Chapter LXVI. of the "Decline and the Fall of the Roman Empire": "but in that era of learning it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country. But as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; modern idioms were reformed; the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the

pleasing reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors." I think in our country the soil is not yet sufficiently saturated with the celestial dew to yield a harvest of original works of permanent interest. We are still passing through the stage of imitation which, in the nature of things, must precede the age of authors of original ideas and thoughts. Just "as the study of the ancients" (in the language of Gibbon) "had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind" in Europe in the 15th century, the study of the best English authors and of the ancients either directly or through the medium of the English by the Natives of this country appears to have a similar effect upon them, to have

resulted only in the growth of imitators, translators, commentators, annotators, and makers of school books in this, the first century of English Education, on this side of India at least. This is inevitable; for it is what history teaches us to expect. It cannot, therefore, be well complained of. The merit of men like Mr. Ranade lies in this, that they, rising head and shoulders above the host of imitators, and translators, and petty story-tellers, who figure not very creditably in the half-yearly reports of the Government Reporter on the Native Press, appear to be animated with a spark of genius, and to herald the dawn of better times when under the liberalizing and elevating influence of Western civilization, original thinkers and men of genius may appear amongst us, who may produce works of a lasting character in every department of literature and science.

The sources from which I have derived the materials of this biography may be mentioned here.

Mr. Waman Balkrishna Ranade, Editor of the Poona Dnyàn Chakshu, now deceased, has

written a small biography of Mr. Ranade in Marathi, consisting of 44 pages of his life, in a succinct manner. I have utilized this biography in narrating the principal events in Mr. Ranade's life. ✓

The published writings of Mr. Ranade have been freely drawn upon for illustrating his views and opinions upon different subjects. Where it was possible I have expressed his views and opinions in his own words. This may appear to have resulted in overloading the text with extracts from his writings in places. But the reader perhaps will not object to this, when it has the effect of clearly elucidating his opinions and views.

His letters to various persons would have been of much use in bringing out the main features of his character. But unfortunately I have been able to secure hardly any of much importance, though it is a well-known fact that he was throughout his life a copious letter-writer, keeping up almost a constant correspondence not only with distinguished personages, but with almost everybody.

who invited his opinion or sought his advice on any subject of public interest or private concerns. There was such a constant flow of letters to him from various persons throughout India as required almost a Gladstonian activity to answer them. But he was not found wanting in such activity. For every letter was regularly answered. My only regret is that I have not been able to get hold of a considerable number of his letters, which would have elucidated my subject in a manner better than I have been otherwise able to do. Rao Bahadur V. N. Pathak, M.A., retired Headmaster of the Poona High School, has greatly assisted me in writing this biography. He is almost the only living schoolfellow of Mr. Ranade, and being one of his intimate friends has furnished me with valuable notes regarding some events in his life. He has, besides, willingly and cheerfully undertaken the troublesome task of revising some portions of this work, making useful suggestions on points which otherwise would have remained unnoticed. I therefore take this op-

portunity of thankfully acknowledging my obligations to him. Mr. F. G. Selby, M.A., Principal of the Deccan College, has laid me also under a deep debt of great obligation by revising the whole of this work from the beginning to the end, making valuable suggestions for improving it, which have been acted upon, and which it is to be hoped will make it more presentable to the reader than it otherwise would have been. I, therefore, take this opportunity of expressing my cordial thanks to him.

My personal knowledge of Mr. Ranade and his career was not an unimportant factor in the materials for writing his life. I knew him I may say intimately from 1875, when I was appointed subordinate Judge of Wadgaon and joint subordinate Judge at Poona, to assist him in clearing off the heavy arrears of his Court. Since I came in contact with him, his character and conduct have produced such deep and lasting impressions on my mind as I think neither time nor distance can efface or obliterate. It is no wonder then that I

watched his career with admiring interest. My friend, the late lamented Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who was also an intimate friend of Mr. Ranade, and was one of his most ardent admirers, used to say: "Who will write the life of our grand old man?" The question struck me at the time, and I often thought whether I could answer it. But my onerous duties as a Subordinate Judge allowed me very little leisure to entertain the idea of writing his biography. However, on taking a long furlough in 1894, preparatory to my retirement from the service, the idea again occurred to me. And as the furlough allowed ample leisure to me, I thought to attempt to fulfil the wishes of my friend, Mr. Pandit, and began to collect materials for the work, which was not an easy task, as the writings of Mr. Ranade were then in a scattered state. And, strange to say, Mr. Ranade appeared very little disposed to afford me any information about his life. He rather tried to dissuade me from the attempt, and to induce me to write a history of our times. But on my expressing

my inability to venture upon such a work as a history of our times, he referred me to his Marathi biography for whatever information I wanted for my work. But the Marathi biography hardly contains any information beyond mentioning the bare facts of his life and family. While labouring under such perplexing difficulty my valued friend, Rao Bahadur V. N. Pathak, came to my rescue, and besides supplying me with valuable notes on Mr. Ranade's life, as I said above, tried hard to overcome his unwillingness that any further attempt should be made at writing his biography, and I am glad to say not without success.

I conclude this preface with adding that I have purposely called this work a sketch of the life of Mr. Ranade, as it is merely a skeleton, consisting of bare facts and inferences from them. I hope some future biographer of Mr. Ranade will infuse life and vitality in the skeleton and make it as life-like as possible. The few readers only whom I expect to have the patience to go through

the following pages, more for the sake of Mr. Ranade than from the interesting nature of the work itself, will, I hope, not form very high expectations about it. For they, I trust, will remember that great expectations are seldom fulfilled. And this work, I fear, is no exception to the rule. I at any rate shall not be to blame if those, whom I have warned what to expect, are disappointed because they do not find more.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

THE Honourable Mr. Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E., was born at Niphad in the Nasik District on 18th January, 1842. His ancestors originally belonged to the village of Mobherpacheri sometimes called also Pacheri-Sada near Guhagur in the Chipulan Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. The great-great-grandfather of the great-grandfather of Mr. Ranade, unable to find means of subsistence in his native village and vexed by family disputes, appears to have left it in search of fresh fields and pastures new in the comparatively rich Deccan, and finally settled in the village of Kirkam near Pandharpur in the Sholapur District. There he enjoyed the patronage of the Sardar Patwardhan family, well known in Maratha History, whose scions now rule at Sangali, Miraj, and Kur-

andwad in the Southern Maratha Country. His great-grandfather, Bhaskarrao Appâ *alias* Appajee Bhagawant, was the sole surviving son of his parents. They lost twenty children in infancy or in youth, and Appajee is said to have been preserved through his mother's undergoing a severe course of devotion and penance. To secure a long life for her only child she is reported to have walked a hundred thousand times round a cow feeding her with jwari and herself with a piece of bread made of the undigested grains picked up from one of the products of that useful animal, for a number of days and thus to have ensured a long life for her only boy. This was, perhaps, a case of casual coincidence, confounded with causal sequence by popular opinion. Whatever was the cause, the boy grew to man's estate, held the post of agent of the chief of Sangali at the Court of the Peishwas at Poona, and became the founder of a large family. One of his four sons, Amrit Appajee, was the grandfather of Mr. Ranade, the subject of this memoir and served as mamlutdar in the Poona

District for many years. His son, Govindrao, father of Mr. Ranade, was *Fadnavis*, or Head Karkun, at Niphad in the Nasik District. As mentioned above Mr. Ranade was born at Niphad, while his father was serving as Head Karkun there. Afterwards Mr. Govindrao held various high offices in the Kolapur State, until he retired on pension. He died in 1877.

After receiving his preliminary education in Marathi, under a well known teacher, Pandoba Tatyā Divekar at Kolapur, Mr. Ranade attended the English School, founded there through the exertions of the late Rao Bahadoor Nānā Moroji, who was then Head Clerk of the Resident for the Kolapur State, and finally became a Presidency Magistrate of Bombay. Mr. Ranade spoke very highly of the Head Master of the Kolapur English School, Mr. Krishnarao Chapaji, a pupil of Professor Henry Green, for the careful way in which he taught English to his pupils. The late Rao Bahadur Vinayak Janardan Kirtane, Diwan of H. H. the Maharaja Holkar, the late Mahadeo Moreshvar Kunte, B.A., Head Master of the Poona High

School, and Mr. Vithal Narayan Pathak, M.A., the retired Head Master of the same school, were his fellow-students at Kolapur. Mr. Ranade did not appear to have much impressed his parents or teachers or his fellow-students as possessing any uncommon intellectual gifts or endowments. On the contrary, he appeared to them a dull, heavy-looking, listless boy. Till six years of age he was unable to pronounce the Gutturals and substituted the Linguals for them. This circumstance is said to have made his mother extremely uneasy and filled her with despair as to his future career. Consequently it is said she made numerous vows to Ganapati, the God of learning, hoping that the God would remove the defect in his vocal organs, and the unpromising traits in his character, or rather his appearance. Unfortunately she did not live to see (for she died in 1853, when he was only 11 years of age) that her forebodings were unfounded, and her dull, heavy-looking boy was destined to develop into a Judge of the High Court, and to be pronounced by the almost

unanimous voice of his contemporaries to be the 'Prince of Bombay Graduates.' But really Mr. Ranade was not what appeared to his parents and class-fellows. His Socratic appearance was against his being judged rightly in his tender years. He did not belie the shrewd observation of the poet, that the child is the father of the man. The reports of his contemporaries in his early years only show that he was not a precocious boy. But it need hardly be observed that this was not a matter for regret. For early precocity is often followed by intellectual sterility in after years. Though shy, silent and of retiring habits, yet he was very industrious and studious, and always passed his examinations with credit, but never reported the circumstance to his parents. It was only through his school-fellows that they could know of his successes at the school. And when he was tasked by his parents with failing to communicate the results of the examinations to them, he would answer that the matter was hardly worth any communication, as examinations must be passed,

and if one passed an examination after preparing for it, it was hardly a matter for wonder. He was so bashful that he was hardly known to speak in the presence of his father, who mistook his silence for stupidity, and whose stern appearance filled the boy with awe, and made him keep aloof from him. His mother Gopikabai having died in 1853, when he was only 11 years of age, the parents had apparently not much share in the formation of his character. Hence he was left to his own resources, and was almost a self-developed and self-made man. His bashfulness prevented him from speaking in the presence not only of his father but also of his grandfather Amrit-rao, who is said to have remarked, when Mr. Ranade paid him a visit at Pâbal, after taking his B.A. and M.A. degrees in 1863-64, and was heard talking with a friend in his presence, that all along he had thought his dear Madhav was incorrigibly taciturn, and that it was almost for the first time that he saw him breaking his silence in his presence.

Mr. Ranade was married in 1854-55, that is, when he was 12 years old, to Sakoobai, daughter of the Dandekar of Wai and sister of Eshvadabai, wife of the then ruling chief of Ichalkaranji. Though his father, Mr. Govindrao, was not in advance of his times, but followed the then prevailing custom, in the matter of early marriages, yet his views were more liberal in the case of female education. Hence his daughter-in-law, his daughter Aká Tai (younger sister of Mr. Ranade, who is a widow, and sagaciously manages his household affairs at Poona), and his second wife, whom he appears to have married soon after the death of Mr. Ranade's mother, received such elementary education in Marathi as could then be had at Kolapur. Mrs. Ranade proved to be a worthy companion of her husband, amiable, good natured, and devotedly attached to him. But unfortunately she died of consumption at Poona on 3rd October, 1873. He thus referred to the loss he bitterly felt in a letter of condolence to the writer of this sketch, regarding a severe bereavement the latter had

then sustained: "My own loss has been equally bitter, and at times these mishaps so puzzle one's understanding that the most devout are tempted into sinful despondency and disloyal rebellion. You are, however, too soundly grounded in virtue and piety to be shaken in your faith permanently, whatever may be the temporary shock you suffered. It is not good of friends to give permanent advice in this spirit. Such consolation is only liked when the heart, saddened by its loss, finds out the truth that the world was not intended to be a bower of roses."

After receiving what the English School at Kolapur could impart to him he was sent in the 14th year of his age, that is 1856, to Bombay to complete his education along with Rao Bahadur Vinayak Janarden Kirtane, and his cousins, Bulwantrao and Trimbakrao Kirtane, and was placed in the second class of the Elphinstone Institution, now called the Elphinstone High School. The father of Mr. Ranade was at first not willing to send his bashful boy to such a distant place as Bombay.

The two boys were too much in awe of their own fathers to address them on the subject. But each addressed himself with such impertunity to the father of the other that the two old men, won over by their persistence, at last consented to let them go.

The class at the Elphinstone Institution to which these lads were admitted was then taught by Khan Bahadur Kaikshushru Harmusji Alpawala, who afterwards rose to be judge of the Small Cause Court at Surat, and who found in Mr. Ranade such a clever and promising boy that he promoted him to the first class two or three months after his entrance into the School. In 1857-58 he joined the Elphinstone College, and successively earned scholarships of Rs. 10, 15 and 20. He was one of the few scholars who passed the first Matriculation Examination of the University of Bombay held in 1859, *viz.*, 14 from Bombay and 7 from Poona. On passing the Matriculation Examination, he was elected a Daxina Fellow with a monthly allowance of Rs. 60, along with Dr. Bhandarkar and the

(late) Hon'ble Mr. Javarilal Umia Shankar Yajnik, who also passed the examination at the time. A Daxina Fellow was part student and part tutor, as he had to teach as well to learn. He was expected to devote a portion of his time to teaching his juniors and also to study for the University Examinations he had to pass. After holding a junior fellowship for three years, he was promoted to a senior Daxina Fellowship, with an allowance of Rs. 120, which he held for three years more. In 1861 he passed the first Little-go-examination, and in 1862 took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, being placed in the first class, along with Dr. Bhandarkar. In the same year, he alone went in for the Honours Examination in History and Political Economy, and creditably passed it, being placed in the Second Class, and being awarded a gold medal and books of the value of Rs. 200, which could only be secured by a candidate, who in the opinion of the examiners has exhibited superior attainments. The University then expected that candidates for Honours should exhibit

considerable original ability as well as great industry in the answers to the questions set to them before they could be placed in the first class. The latter feat may be achieved by an industrious and painstaking candidate, but it was not so easy to show original ability in answering a paper of questions within the three hours allowed for each of the four papers set in the School of History in which Mr. Ranade offered himself to be examined. Perhaps, even Lord Bacon would not have found it easy to display marks of originality in his answers within three hours. It did not then much detract from the merits of Mr. Ranade that he did not achieve the feat within three hours. Hence it was that he was placed in the second class, though at every other examination he invariably secured the first class. His success at the Honours Examination entitled him to the degree of M.A., five years after his passing his Matriculation, that is in 1864-65, according to the University regulations. In 1865 he was nominated a Fellow of the University, being the first graduate of

the Bombay University on whom the distinction was conferred. The Chancellor (Sir Bartle Frere) thus welcomed him to the Senate of the University, of which he was the most distinguished graduate in the address he delivered at the Convocation held for conferring degrees in 1865: "To Mr. Mahadeva Govind Ranade I would offer an especial welcome as the first of what I trust will be a long and distinguished roll of Fellows. The first of our graduates, who has attained the honours of a Master of Arts, he has well earned the distinction of being the first indigenous Fellow of this University."

In 1866 he passed the first LL.B. Examination along with the late Bala Mangesh Wagale, who afterwards became an advocate of the High Court. As both of them were placed in the first class, they were entitled according to the rules of the University to compete for Honours in Law in the same year; and they did it with success, Mr. Ranade being alone placed in the first class which then could only be secured by a candidate who had

exhibited considerable original ability as well as great industry. Mr. Ranade is said to have come up to this requirement of the University in the present case, though, as remarked above, he failed to do so in the examination for Honours in Arts. Subsequently he attended the High Court for two years to qualify himself for the Advocate's Examination prescribed by that Court, and passed that examination also most creditably in 1871. Thus his academic career was very brilliant. He passed all the examinations in Arts and Law with eminent success, having been almost always placed in the first class, where there were any classes at all. He was one of the few graduates of our University to whom failure was unknown at any of the examinations, at which they presented themselves. He was not only one of the first B.A.s, first M.A.s, and first LL.B.s, but one of our few graduates who have attained first class honours at these examinations. It is said that his answers in English and History at the B.A. examination exhibited such unusual learning and ability that one of

the Examiners, the late Mr. E. I. Howard, then Director of Public Instruction, took them to England to show his literary friends there what a high degree of scholarship a Hindu student could attain. Such brilliant and uniform success was not attained without great industry, as will be seen from the accompanying lists of Books read by him for B.A. (Honours) and LL.B. examinations given in his report as Daxina Fellow, and embodied in the reports of the Director for Public Instruction for 1862-63 and 1865-66.

I.—HISTORY.

1. Lingard (Vols. V-XIII.) 3,000 pages.
2. Froude (Vols. I-V.) 25,000 pages; Vol. VI, cursorily.
3. Hume. (Vols. IV-VI.) 1,000 pages.
4. Mackintosh (Vols. III, IV, VI, IX, X.) 1,500 pages.
5. Ranke's Popes (Vols. IV-VI.) 300 pages.
6. (a) Hallam's Constitutional History (Vols. I-III.) 1,200 pages.
(b) Hallam's Middle Ages, 300 pages.

7. Clarendon's Rebellion, 300 pages, also the whole of the index looked into with their references to the text.
8. Macaulay's History, 1,200 pages.
9. Guizot's Revolution, 400 pages. Hudibras, Nigel, Kenilworth, Peveril, Maceries-Scottish Church and the Annals of England.

II.—POLITICAL ECONOMY.

1. Mill's Political Economy (twice clearly and once cursorily).
Mill's Essay on the Unsettled Questions.
2. Ricardo's Works—the whole of the index and its references.
3. Senior—twice thoroughly.
4. M'Culloch's Taxation.
5. Smith's Wealth of Nations.
6. Ramsay's Distribution of Wealth.
7. Whately } Lectures.
8. Newman }
9. Malthus's Political Economy (Select part).
10. Malthus's Population, Vol. I.

LAW.

1. Saundar's Justinian, with notes (twice).
2. Mackenzie on Roman Law (twice).

3. Maine's Ancient Law (twice),
4. Austin's Province of Jurisprudence Defined.
5. Humphrey's Manual of the Institutes.
6. Family Rights.
7. Broom's Commentaries (twice).
8. Smith's Lectures on Contracts (twice).
9. Addison's Contracts (a very minute abstract of the whole book).
10. Addison's Torts, 400 pages.
11. William's Personal Property (twice).
12. William's Real Property (twice).
13. Smith's Manual of Equity Jurisprudence.
14. William's Executors and Administrators, 500 pages.
15. Smith's Mercantile Law.
16. Chitty's Contracts.
17. Levi's Commercial Law.
18. Blackstone's Commentaries, Stephen's edition, 4 vols.
19. Smith's Cases. Vols. I and II. (twice).
20. White and Tudor's Equity Cases. Vols. I. and II. (twice).
21. Broom's Maxims (twice).
22. Story on Agency.

23. Forster's Jurisprudence.
24. Indian Penal Code, Main's edition (twice).
25. Notes on the Penal Code.
26. Second Commissioner's Report on the Penal Code.
27. Code of Civil Procedure.
28. Macpherson's Civil Procedure.
29. Code of Criminal Procedure.
30. Code of Succession, Act X. of 1865.
31. Sir Thomas Strange's Hindoo Law, 2 vols. (cases twice).
32. Macnaghten's Hindoo and Mahomedan Law.
33. Sadagopah Charlu's Mahomedan Law.
34. Elements of Hindoo Law, Strange (twice).
35. Goodeve on Evidence (twice).
36. Norton on Evidence.
37. Best on Evidence.
38. Kindersly on Evidence.
39. Manual of Evidence.
40. Vamdera's Evidence Act with Notes.
41. Will's Circumstantial Evidence.
42. Sleigh's Handy-Book on Criminal Law.
43. Morley's Digest, Vol. I. 400 pages.

44. Sir Erskine Perry's Oriental Cases.
45. Morley's Digest, Vol. III.
46. Sir John Peter Grant's Case.
47. Privy Council Reports, Vols. 8.
48. Moore's Indian Appeal Cases (Settlement Cases).

As regards the last list, Mr. Ranade in his report as Daxina Fellow for 1865-66 said: "I append a list of the law books which were read by me with a view to prepare myself for these examinations. Myself and my friend, Mr. Bala Mangesh Wagale, being the only candidates, we read for the most part together. This list therefore speaks for us both. I append it in no spirit of exultation, but with a view to give an idea to those, who take interest in us, of the sort of work we had to go through, and to show that the privileges of our position have not been abused, and I trust it will serve its intended purpose, without exposing us to the risk of being misunderstood."

The perusal of so many books could not have failed to affect his health. His eyes, originally weak, appeared to have received a per-

manent injury from the long continued strain to which they were unsparingly subjected. It was no wonder then that such brilliant talents as he was endowed with, joined to so much industry and learning, won for him the enviable designation of the Prince of Bombay graduates. The report of the Elphinstone College for 1861-62 says: "One student, Mr. Mahadev Govind Ranade, was said to have highly distinguished himself in the examination for the B.A. degree. He is now studying for honours in the School of History." That examination he passed "with credit," says the report of the Director of Public Instruction for the same year.

During most of the time that Mr. Ranade was preparing for his University examinations, he was first a Junior and then a Senior Daxina Fellow at the Elphinstone College, as observed above. These fellowships, it may be observed, were created out of funds originally set apart by the Peishva Government for rewarding Sanskrit Pandits or men of learning, and were awarded to the most deserving senior students. As Daxina Fellow, Mr.

Ranade had to perform the duties of a college tutor for some hours in a week, that is, teaching junior students in some of the subjects required for the University examinations. How excellently he performed his duties will be seen from the following extract from the annual report of the Principal of the Elphinstone College (the late Sir A. Grand, Bart.) for 1862-63. "I would bring to your notice the remarkable report, submitted by Mr. Mahadev Govind, of his work during the past year. This report represents the efforts and achievements of a Hindoo student of superior calibre. It also gives testimony to the excellent working of Daxina Fellows. The appointments form men of cultivation, probity and self-respect, who are worthy of being placed in situations of responsibility. As far as my experience goes, nothing can be more untrue than the common notion that English education is injurious to the moral principles of natives. In the College I have invariably found that students improve in trustworthiness and respectability, in direct ratio to their improvement as scholars."

Though Mr. Ranade was entitled to practices on both sides (Original and Appellate) of the High Court on his being enrolled as an Advocate of that Court, yet he never practised there, but after passing the various examinations prescribed in the schools of the Arts and Law, he entered the Public Service, having preferred the safer, but less lucrative position of a Government servant to the uncertainties of a career at the Bar. Perhaps his retiring and unassuming disposition, unadventurous temper, invincible modesty, and mistrust of his splendid abilities, "or a nice backwardness afraid of shame" led him to chose the former in preference to the latter. Had his choice been otherwise made, he would very likely not have had to repent of his decision, considering his clear headedness and intellectual acumen, his legal erudition, his ready and fluent speech, his great command over the English language, his strong common sense and his unwearied industry and perseverance, qualities calculated to achieve success at the Bar. Had the legal profession commended itself to his choice he

would perhaps not only have secured a lucrative practice like the late Mr. Justice Telang, but would have sooner risen to the Bench of the High Court than he did. But what was lost to the Bar was gained by the public service.

“As the mind was filled with inward light, so not without distinction” did he live in the public service. His achievements in that service will be narrated in the following chapter. Before finishing this chapter his connection with the Press may be briefly noted.

The “Indu Prakash,” a weekly Anglo-Maratha Journal, was started soon after Mr. Ranade’s taking his degree of B.A. in 1862.

The Vernacular Press was then in its infancy. The few Maratha Journals that were then in existence were conducted solely in Marathi by men who were hardly educated enough to be aware of the duties and responsibilities of journalists, or to be able to discharge them with any degree of satisfaction. Their utterances, generally speaking, were extremely feeble and puerile. It is no wonder then that they failed

to command any attention or respect. It was, therefore, thought desirable by the projectors of the *Indu Prakash*, to start a journal which should discuss the leading topics of the day with moderation, discernment and fullness, whose editorial comments on men and measures should be inspired with enlightened views, which should lay the grievances of the people in a just and fair way before the Government, and seek redress thereof by constitutional methods, which should be a just and moderate interpreter between the rulers and the ruled, and should advocate not only political advancement of the people, but also social reform and material progress. The object of such journal could only be attained by an able, learned and thoughtful editor. And happily the choice of the projectors of the Journal fell upon Mr. Ranade, who had then lately taken his B.A. degree with distinction. Being a College Fellow and a candidate for honours, he had of course no leisure to take up the entire management of the Journal. Consequently the editorship of the English portion of the Journal only

was entrusted to him, the management of the Maratha columns having been taken by one of the projectors themselves. Under the guidance of Mr. Ranade there soon appeared in the Journal English articles (notably a remarkable article on the centenary of the Battle of Panipat), which being written in vigorous, fluent, and occasionally sonorous language were remarkable for the display of unusual ability, wide information, just and liberal views, and soon attracted the attention of not only the Native but also the European public, and secured for the journal an amount of influence unknown to its contemporaries. Though the editorship of Mr. Ranade lasted only for three or four years, following to his employment in public service in the Mofussil, he had to sever his connection with the paper, yet during that period he made it such an influential organ of native opinion, and imparted such vitality to it that it has continued ever since, though with varying success, to retain its position as one of the leading Anglo-Vernacular Journals on this side

of India, and to keep up its reputation for moderation of views, sobriety of judgment, sound common sense, and fair treatment of whatever subjects are dealt with in its columns. For the successors of Mr. Ranade in the editorial chair, being mostly graduates of the University and men of superior education, have striven hard to keep up the reputation and traditions of the paper, and to retain the position secured to it by him. Though their efforts may not have been uniformly successful, (for who could vie with him on terms of equality or attain the success achieved by him in whatever department of human endeavour he turned his attention to?) yet they have at least prevented it from sinking to the level of ordinary journals.

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC SERVICE.

FROM College Mr. Ranade was called to act as Marathi Translator in the Educational Department on a salary of Rs. 200 per mensem and held the appointment from 28th May 1866 to 20th November, 1867. During this interval he acted also as *Karbhari* or administrator of the State of Akalkote in the Sholapoor District, under the late Dadasaheb Vinchoorkar, who was nominated as Regent of the State by the Government of Sir Bartle Frere, owing to the maladministration of the ruling chief, the father of the late chief of Akalkote. To call a young man of twenty-four years of age fresh from College to take part in the administration of an important native State like that of Akalkote was alike creditable to Mr. Ranade and to the Government. For, as regards the former, the appointment denoted

the possession of qualities capable of administering a native State, and reflected credit upon the latter for their appreciation of those qualities. His administration of Akalkote, though short, was pronounced to have been very creditable to him, so much so that he was soon afterwards called to occupy the place of Nyayadhish or Judge in the larger State of Kolapur, on a salary of Rs. 400 per mensem. But he had not yet completed the course of legal education by passing the advocate's examination, which invests the successful candidate with all the privileges of a barrister in the matter of practising on both sides of the High Court. For he had not yet time to present himself at this examination, as he was appointed to act as Marathi Translator soon after his taking honours in law. He therefore resigned his Kolapur appointment and accepted the acting appointment of Professor of English Literature in the Elphinstone College at Bombay. On the return of the permanent incumbent a place of assistant professorship was created for him, which he held from 1868 to 1871. Meanwhile he passed

the Advocate's Examination with credit usual with him in 1871, though for the reasons hinted at towards the conclusion of the last chapter he could not make up his mind to practise in the High Court, but continued to remain in the Public Service. Consequently he was appointed to act as Third Police
5 Magistrate of Bombay on 17th March, 1871. After acting as Magistrate for some time he held another acting appointment, that of Fourth
6 Judge of the Small Cause Court at Bombay, from 28th July to 22nd September, 1871.

7 On 16th November, 1871, he was appointed to act as First Class First Grade Subordinate Judge of Poona. In this appointment he was confirmed on 6th February, 1873. When we consider that the place of First Class First Grade Subordinate Judge, carrying a salary of Rs. 800 per mensem, and being the highest office but one to which a Subordinate Judge could ordinarily aspire, and that too only towards the end of his service, was conferred upon Mr. Ranade, just at his entrance into the Judicial Department of the Public Service,

the estimate formed of his abilities and attainments by Government must have been very high indeed. And the confidence reposed by Government in so young and untried an officer (for he was hardly thirty years of age when the appointment was conferred upon him) was amply justified by him. For his career as a Subordinate Judge was all along a distinguished one. And it could not have been otherwise, considering what superior abilities, legal lore, patient industry, calmness of temper, strong common sense, a judicial frame of mind, and keen powers of observation were brought to bear upon his task. The work of a First Class Subordinate Judge, whose jurisdiction extends over all suits of a civil nature, whatever be their value, against all persons, except the Government, is everywhere heavy and onerous; but at Poona it is specially so bearing in mind that it was then the second city in the Bombay Presidency in point of population, political importance, and the intelligence and activity of its people.

But Mr. Ranade was found more than equal to the work, discharging his onerous duties in

a manner giving entire satisfaction to all classes of litigants. His judgments, remarkable for patient and minute inquiry, exhaustive treatment of every case that came before him, careful examination of every document filed in it, lucid statements of facts, just appreciation of evidences, elaborate exposition of the various bearings of the question at issue, and cogency of arguments, adduced in support of the decisions finally arrived at, often won the admiration of the High Court, so much so that the late Chief Justice Sir Michael Westropp, than whom an abler Judge never sat upon the Bench of the High Court, is reported to have said upon one occasion, while hearing an appeal from the decree of Mr. Ranade, that the writer of the judgment in the case was fit to sit beside him upon the Bench of the High Court. Sir Michael Westropp, after his retirement, sent him a testimonial from England on 15th November, 1884, saying "that during his acquaintance as Chief Justice of the High Court at Bombay with the judgments of Mr. Ranade, which acquaintance extended over

many years, those judgments showed greater ability and knowledge of law than those of any other Subordinate Judge during that time in the Presidency of Bombay. Mr. Ranade appeared to take pride in doing his work in a superior manner, and the result of his efforts was what has just been stated" (his promotion to the Judgeship of the Small Cause Court in Poona in 1884). 8

Mr. Ranade was perhaps the first Subordinate Judge who was invested with appellate powers; that is, authorized to hear appeals from decrees of 2nd class Subordinate Judges in cases which might be transferred to him by the district judge, under the provisions of the Bombay Civil Courts Act of 1869. It need hardly be remarked that the appellate jurisdiction was exercised in a manner enhancing his reputation as a judge.

In 1878 he was transferred from Poona to Nasik in virtue of a rule then promulgated under which Subordinate Judges were not allowed to be stationed at a particular place for more than three to five years. The general

justness of the rule cannot be disputed, when it is borne in mind that a long stay at a particular place may render Subordinate Judges liable to contract prejudices, however unconsciously, for or against a particular person, or class of persons, which may interfere with the due administration of justice. But it cannot be maintained that there can be no exceptions to the rule. If there could be any exception to the rule it would be found in the case of Mr. Ranade, considering how impartial and free from bias or prejudice he was, and how stainless his reputation was for probity and just treatment of all. But the authorities were not inclined to make any exception to the rule even in the case of Mr. Ranade, and he was transferred from a more to a less important place like Nasik, where his attainments and abilities had less scope for their exercise.

At Nasik he was not allowed to remain longer than a year and a half. For from Nasik he was transferred summarily to a still less important town, namely Dhulia, the zilla town.

of the backward District of Khandesh, on 1st June, 1879. The transfer was made not at the suggestion of the High Court, which is usually consulted by Government in the case of appointments and transfers of 1st Class Subordinate Judges, but in spite of the protest of that Court, by the high-handed government of Sir Richard Temple, who was then Governor of Bombay, upon what were stated to be political grounds. Those grounds may be freely stated here. The Poona Brahmins labour under the misfortune of being periodically suspected of harbouring seditious designs against the British Government, though there may be hardly any good ground for the suspicion, whenever agrarian, racial, religious or fanatical disturbances break out in the City or the district. Such a period occurred in 1878-79, when a hare-brained, fanatical Brahmin clerk, named Vasudev Balawant Phadake, foolishly entertained the idea of re-acting the part of Sivaji, and founding another Maratha Empire. For achieving this impossible feat he collected a few dacoits and freebooters, and began to plun-

der remote and defenceless villages, but these Quixotic raids collapsed as soon as the military were sent after him, as might have been expected by men, even little accustomed to think about the boundless resources of the British Government: And he together with his ever diminishing band of freebooters, was hunted down from place to place and ultimately captured and sent to Aden, where, after a foolish attempt at escape, he soon afterwards died. But it was suspected by the authorities that the wild and senseless scheme of overthrowing the British Government was favoured and patronized by the influential portion of the Poona Brahmins; and the burning down of the Budhawar Wada (Palace), once the residence of the last Peishwa, and a portion of the Vishram Bag, the seat of the Poona High School, on one and the same day in May, 1879, was thought to be a part of the same scheme. But fortunately for the credit of the Poona Brahmins the fanatic dacoit kept a diary of his doings, mentioning among other things the persons from whom he received

any assistance in men or money. It was evident from his diary that the Poona Brahmins had rendered him no sort of assistance; nor had sympathized with his doings; and that he had nothing to do with the burning of the Peishwa's palaces which were set fire to not by him but by a Government Book-depôt-keeper for the purpose of hiding his own defalcations in the matter of Government books, misappropriated by him to his own use. This incendiary was detected mainly through the efforts of Mr. Ranade, and eventually was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life by the Poona Sessions Judge. But the Government not only did not recognize the efforts of Mr. Ranade in the detection of the incendiary, but summarily transferred him from Nasik to Dhulia, which is more remote from Poona than the former place, labouring under the mistaken impression that he, as one of the foremost Poona Brahmins, must have had something to do, if not with the destruction of the two palaces, which the Book-depôt-keeper confessed to be his own doing for at-

taining his private ends, but with the wild and visionary projects of Vasudev Balwanta Phadake. It must, however, be said on behalf of the Government, that they had entertained the suspicion, though erroneous, before the discovery of Phadake's diary, which fell into the hands of the Police at his capture, and which showed that the suspicion was entirely unfounded, and that the author of the diary was a misguided and fanatical young man, who received no assistance or encouragement from any respectable or sensible persons, and who alone and unaided entered upon a wild career of dacoity which justly resulted in his ruin. But before the discovery of the diary in question, Mr. Ranade had been transferred to the remote and backward station of Dhulia. He had not, however, to waste his fragrance upon the desert air of Khandesh for any length of time. For at the beginning 1881 he was appointed to act as a Presidency Magistrate at Bombay by the more liberal and discerning Government of Sir James Fergusson. Mr. Ranade held this acting appointment up to 21st

March, 1881. While filling the office of Presidency Magistrate for the second time he showed that he was not only versed in Civil Law, but was also proficient in Criminal Law, and was equitable and discriminating, whether as a Judge or a Magistrate, as will be seen by referring to two of the cases decided by him in his magisterial capacity at Bombay. A European was sentenced by him to six months' imprisonment for a theft of Rs. 50, whereas sometime before a coachman, who had misappropriated a currency note of Rs. 100 which had been entrusted to him by his master, to get cash, received the sentence of one month's imprisonment from him. This apparent inequality of sentences, considering the seriousness of the offence with which the native coachman was charged, as compared with that of the European thief, aroused unfriendly criticism in the English papers, impugning the impartiality and discrimination of the native Magistrate. But a Civilian Judge of Thana (Mr. Coghlan) showed in a letter to the *Times of India* that the impartiality and

discrimination of the Native Magistrate were not questionable at all, for the European offender with a loaded pistol in his hand had entered the guard's room at a Railway station, and taking advantage of the guard's absence broke open his box, and removed clothes of the value of Rs. 50 therefrom. Had anyone interfered with the thief's removing the articles, he would probably have fired the pistol at him and committed a murder or a grievous hurt. But in the case of the coachman, his master, whose note he had fraudulently misappropriated, testified to his long and faithful service and good conduct throughout, and prayed that the Magistrate would pass upon him a light sentence if any at all. Under these circumstances the different sentences awarded by the Magistrate could not be considered as unjust or inequitable.

After the termination of the period of the acting appointment he was sent back to Poona as First Class Subordinate Judge on 30th March, 1881. But he did not hold this office for more than four months, for his reputation as a

successful judge soon led to his appointment as special first class Sub-Judge, under the Deccan Ryots' Relief Act of 1879, to inspect and to supervise the Lower Courts in the District of Poona and Satara under Dr. A. D. Pollen, who was then the special Judge under the same Act, on 9th August, 1881. Mr. Ranade came to discharge the duties of his new appointment with a mind in full sympathy with the object of the Relief Act, which was enacted on 1st November, 1879, for relieving the Deccan Ryots in the four districts of Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar and Sholapur, from the burden of ancestral debts, which lay heavily upon them with a crushing weight, unnerved their manhood, made them helpless and improvident creatures and the easy victims of shrewd *Saukars* or creditors, who out of the produce of their ancestral lands hardly left them even a pittance to live upon. With what ability and judgment he administered the Relief Act in the two Districts of Poona and Satara, under the superintendence of Dr. A. D. Pollen, will be seen from the following opin-

ion of the latter officer, recorded in the annual Report for 1881. "A gentleman (Mr. Ranade) whose grasp of mind and keen powers of observation entitle his opinions to great weight."

Again in his annual report for 1882 Dr. Pollen says: "His views upon the subject, I need hardly say, are entitled to the greatest respect and consideration, for he has been able to combine with his great natural powers of observation special facilities for becoming practically acquainted with all the details of the question."

On the 27th February, 1884, he was promoted to the office of Judge of the Small Cause Court at Poona with a salary of Rs. 1,200 per mensem. This is almost the highest post to which a Subordinate Judge could aspire. It is the goal of ambition of such Judges; but it is attained by a favoured few only. What is said about him above as a Subordinate Judge is applicable to his career as a Judge of the Small Cause Court also, though he hardly held the office for two years. Freed from the trammels and restraints of Appellate Courts,

Mr. Ranade as a Small Cause Court Judge had ample scope to exercise equitable jurisdiction ; and to decide cases more in the spirit of equity than he could have done as a Subordinate Judge. Having a greater liking for the principles of equity than the technicalities of law, he was now happily placed in a position of administering justice more in accordance with the former than the latter. It is a common complaint against our Courts of Law that they fail to administer justice pure and simple, and that what they do administer is very often only the very infinitesimal quantity of it that can filter through a host of rules and regulations, and a mass of technicalities that are brought to bear upon almost every case, however simple it may be ; and that all this is calculated to stifle justice, instead of aiding and assisting it. Whatever the truth there may be in the complaint, it must be admitted that a Judge of a Small Cause Court is more fitted than a Subordinate Judge or even a District Judge to remove the grounds of complaint as far as possible. And Mr. Ranade being more

(equitably inclined, and less law-bound than any Judge of his calibre that could be named, was thoroughly fitted to accomplish this. But he had not enough time to show that at any rate a Small Cause Court Judge was not liable to the complaint which was and is urged against the regular Courts of Law. For he was soon called to occupy a higher sphere ; as he was appointed to act as Special Judge under the Relief Act on the 30th November, 1885, on the permanent incumbent's (Dr. A. D. Pollen) proceeding on leave to England. It has been stated above that Mr. Ranade had acted as one of Dr. Pollen's assistants in the administration of the Relief Act, and the manner in which he had performed his duties won the satisfaction of that merit-discerning officer to such an extent as to lead him to recommend Mr. Ranade to Government as an officer thoroughly fitted to succeed him and to carry on the administration of the Act to a successful issue. 12

Before proceeding to refer to his career as a Special Judge it may be mentioned that

while holding the office of the Small Cause Court Judge at Poona, Mr. Ranade performed the duties of Law-Lecturer at the Deccan College from 1st January to 30th April, 1885. The reason for his having ceased to lecture on law on the latter date was the Accountant-General's scinting a plurality, in his drawing the salary attached to the Law Lectureship, in addition to his pay as Small Court Judge, and ruling that he could not hold and draw the pay of two appointments at the same time. Otherwise the Poona Law Class would have derived the benefit of his legal learning and scholarship for a longer time.

From 30th November, 1885, Mr. Ranade continued to act as Special Judge with some interruption up to his elevation to the Bench of the High Court in November, 1893, soon after the lamented death of Mr. Justice K. T. Telang, who, after a brilliant career at the Bar and on the Bench, died in the prime of manhood at the early age of 42 years, being another victim to our high pressure system of education, acting upon an originally delicate

constitution, unhardened by physical exercise and unnerved by social customs,

14 The interruption was caused by his nomination as a member of the Finance Committee appointed by the Government of India on 13th April, 1886, for the purpose of examining expenditure, whether imperial or provincial, and reporting what economies were practicable. This Committee appears to have shared the fate of similar Committees appointed here or in England for the same purpose. For nothing substantial is known to have come out of the labours of the Committee, except a voluminous report. And the result could have been hardly otherwise. For when there are so many agencies acting in concert, or independently of each other, to counteract the recommendations of such Committees, however reasonable or moderate they may be, their labours cannot but be ineffectual. But Mr. Ranade appears to have done his duty as a member of the Committee to the entire satisfaction of the Government, as they showed their appreciation of his services by making him a C.I.E.

But now to turn to his career as a Special Judge. While referring to his appointment as assistant to Dr. Pollen it was said above that he brought a sympathetic and well-informed mind to discharge the onerous duties of his new office. But as an Assistant to Dr. Pollen he held a subordinate place in the administration of the Relief Act, though ample scope was allowed to him by that thoughtful officer for carrying out his suggestions for promoting the object of the Act. But now as Special Judge, he was in a position to deal with the Act in the manner best suited to carry out its beneficent provisions. The Act intended to ameliorate the condition of the Deccan peasantry, as much as could be done by means of legislation, was regarded by some as well fitted for attaining the object in view, while it was denounced by others, whose opinions were not less entitled to consideration and respect, as a piece of one-sided legislation, doing away with the freedom of contract, trying to show undue or unjustifiable favour to impecunious and insolvent ryots or agriculturists,

at the expense of their Saukars or Creditors, who stood them in good stead in times of famine or drought, or of the payment of the assessment to Government, and threatening to destroy the credit of ryots who without timely advances from Saukars were utterly helpless to carry on their agricultural operations or to pay the Government dues from year to year. And when it was found necessary to amend some of the provisions of the Act, some years after its promulgation, a distinguished Judge of the High Court, who subsequently became an eminent member of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, went so far as to hazard an opinion that the best amendment of the Act would be its speedy annulment. But these adverse opinions against the Act were not justified by the event. For the experience of upwards of 20 years, during which the Act has been in force, has shown that far from being doomed to failure, it has done such an amount of good to the peasantry of the four districts, in which it has been in operation, as to suggest the desirability of its

extension to similarly situated districts, and has attained a success even beyond the expectation of its promoters. For it has been found by two or three committees appointed to investigate its working and effects that the credit of the ryots in general is far from being destroyed; that solvent, honest ryots can still borrow at a rate of interest, much lower than what prevailed before the enactment of the Act; that it has put an end to the reckless borrowings of extravagant ryots, and if it has impaired the credit of such agriculturists, this is not an undesirable consummation. It has in some respects improved the condition of the ryots in general, and lightened the load of ancestral debts under which they laboured, and by preventing the alienation of their ancestral estates for unsecured debts has enabled them to pay off those debts, which were found due by them on a rigid examination of the claims of their Saukars, by easy instalments, and to retain a considerable portion of the produce of their lands for their own benefit and that of their families. On the other hand, it has not

harshly or unjustly dealt with their Saukars. For by exercising the power which the Act gives them to go behind the bond and investigate the history of the debt which is often made up of a trifling sum of money originally lent, and of extravagant accumulations of interest, the Civil Courts have reduced the creditors' exorbitant claims in a manner consistent with the principles of equity and good conscience. Hence the Saukars are far from being discontented to any considerable extent. For the sale of stamps and the institution of suits show that money-lending transactions have not been checked to any abnormal degree, though more curtailed than formerly, and that suits in the four Districts in which the Act prevails have not been lessened to any such extent as can justify the inference that the Saukars have lost their confidence in the Court, or have ceased to obtain substantial justice from them. The Saukars may be sorry; but their sorrow is that of persons who have lost their ill-gotten gains, and not of those whose legitimate profits of trade are interfered with, otherwise they

would not have continued to lend money to agriculturists, though of course they are now required to be more circumspect and cautious in choosing their debtors than they were when they could, even in executing a simple money decree, sell the lands and houses of their judgment debtors. The Act in fact has not unfairly benefited the ryots at the expense of their Saukars, or interfered with any freedom of contract. For what freedom or equality of contract could there be between parties one of whom was a shrewd and intelligent Marwadee or his like, the other a helpless, illiterate and ignorant peasant, who was compelled by the necessities of his position to borrow money at a rate of interest, however exorbitant and extortionate it might be, on any conditions which the former might impose on him. At the inception of the contract the parties were not on terms of equality, and one of them hardly a free agent. The Act then can not be fairly pronounced to have violated any principles of law and equity when it tried to make up for the original inequality of relations

between the contracting parties by annulling the inequitable provisions of the contract.

The results of the Relief Act in ameliorating the condition of the Deccan peasantry as much as could be done by legislature were brought about not simply by the beneficent provisions it contains but also by its wise administration by the special judges, Dr. Pollen, and after him by Mr. Ranade. Had these able and sagacious judges not shown wise discretion and strong common-sense in giving effect to its beneficent provisions, had they not strictly, laboriously and patiently supervised the proceedings of a host of Subordinate Judges and conciliators who had been entrusted with the administration of the different portions of the Act, had they not issued clear instructions on the knotty points involved in some of the provisions of the Act, it would hardly have achieved that amount of success, which is now freely admitted by most of its opponents. But to Mr. Ranade, more than even to Dr. Pollen, belongs the credit of justifying and popularizing that portion of the Act, which refers to the concil-

iation system which gives to the parties in question an opportunity of coming to a settlement without litigation. This provision was for some years after the promulgation of the Act discredited, but was stoutly defended by Mr. Ranade throughout his connection with the administration of the Act, and is admitted by his successor in his annual report on the operation of the Act in 1893 to be fairly successful. It was not, however, on imaginary grounds that exception was taken to the working of the conciliation system in the early years of the Act, for it was not easy to find in every Taluka town, or large village, competent and trustworthy persons who could safely be entrusted with the business. Some of the conciliators appointed under the Act grievously abused their trust to such an extent, that even Dr. Pollen became doubtful of the efficiency of the system. But Mr. Ranade fought for it through thick and thin, perceiving in it an agency fitted not only to settle the disputes between parties amicably, and without any appreciable cost to them, and without giving

rise to any ill-feeling between them, such as follows the termination of a suit in a court of justice, and thus to reduce the work of regular Courts, and lessen the proverbial law's delay, but also to exercise an educative influence upon the people. For it is calculated to teach and accustom the people to settle their disputes among themselves, without resorting to the agency of a costly, rigid and formal system of judicature.

A conciliator here and there may err through want of experience, or may deviate from the path of rectitude through temptation. But in the long run a body of conciliators will be found to justify the trust reposed in them. And Mr. Ranade was not wrong in his opinion. For upon the whole, the conciliation system, if strictly but sympathetically supervised, has been found to attain a fair amount of success.

As a Special Judge Mr. Ranade was invested with revisional power or the power of revising the decisions of Subordinate Judges, in cases falling under the second chapter of the Relief Act. The success of the Act mostly depends

upon the manner in which Sub-Judges decide such cases, and the Special Judge revises them. As Revisional Judge, the Special Judge has to interfere where there is a failure of Justice, where there has been no full inquiry into the case, or where mistakes of law or of facts are apparent upon the record. But Mr. Ranade exercised his revisional authority most minutely and exhaustively, noticing every fact or circumstance bearing upon the point at issue and carefully examining every bit of evidence upon the record. Consequently, his judgments were very often longer than those of the Subordinate Judges, who had originally decided the cases, subject to his revision, or of his assistants, the special Sub-Judges, who had reported upon them prior to his finally giving his decision. But they never failed to give satisfaction, not only to the parties concerned, but also to the Subordinate Judges, whose decisions he reversed or modified, on account of the thoroughness of inquiry which characterised them, and the spirit of equity not much mindful of the technicalities of law which breathed throughout them. This

the writer of the present sketch can say from personal experience. It is then no wonder that the administration of the Relief Act, under the superintendence of Mr. Ranade, has met with success even beyond the expectation of its promulgators. The valuable aid rendered by Mr. Ranade in the successful working of the Act has been acknowledged by Government, as will be seen from the following extract from Government Resolution No. 6787 of 1894, passed on the annual report on the administration of the Act by his successor, Mr. Jopp, for 1893.

“The Act cannot indeed effect everything, but it is admitted that it encourages thrift, and the Governor-in-Council trusts that its administration under Mr. Jopp will be as successful as under the administration of Mr. Justice Ranade, whose strong advocacy of it, and efficient supervision contributed much to the results which have been summarised in the report of 1893.”

Before his appointment as Special Judge he was invited also by the celebrated Sir T. Madha-

varao, while holding the office of Dewan or Prime Minister of Baroda, during the minority of the present Gaikwar, to accept the office of Chief Justice in that State, with a salary of Rs. 2,000 per mensem. Subsequently the late Maharaja Holkar Tukojeerao, and after him his successor also offered him the office of Dewan on a salary of Rs. 3,500. As far back as 1875 Professor Dadabhai Nowroji, as Dewan of Baroda, invited him to take charge of the Judicial Department in that State. But he declined these offers on the advice of the late Chief Justices of Bombay (Sir Michael Westropp and Sir Charles Sargent). For he was assured by both the Chief Justices, who held a high opinion of his abilities, that he would soon rise in Government service and would be appointed to the highest office available for a Native, and that, by accepting an appointment, however high it might be in a Native State, he would have to sacrifice his personal independence, and to remain in an insecure position. Sir William Wedderburn offered him similar advice and observed in a letter to him

✓ "Looking to the public interest I should think it would be better for you to remain at Poona. At present Poona promises to take the lead in India as regards a wise, independent and moderate public opinion. I have myself very little doubt that this is owing in very great measure to your personal influence; and it would be a very serious thing, were that influence withdrawn." ✓ Being rather of a quiet and retiring disposition the advice of the Chief Justices well accorded with his own individual wishes and likings. Had he acted otherwise he might have perhaps added his name to the small but brilliant list of Native administrators, such as Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Madhavrao, and Sir Raja Dinkarrao.

It must also be mentioned here that Sir Michael Westropp not only entertained a high opinion of the abilities of Mr. Ranade but tried to give effect to that opinion by recommending him to Government for the office of Joint-Judge of Nasik on the retirement of the permanent incumbent, the late Sirdar Gopalrao Deshmook, who was the first Native that was appointed to an office hitherto

held by the members of the Covenanted Service. But the recommendation was disregarded by Sir Richard Temple, who was then Governor of Bombay, and who laboured under the erroneous impression that Mr. Ranade was somehow or other connected with the Poona Brahmins, whose seditious spirit ultimately found vent in the dacoities of that insensate fanatic Wasoodev Balawant Phadake, and the burning down of the Bhoodwar Wada and Vishram Bag palaces belonging to Government. It has, however, been shown above that the allegations against the Poona Brahmins were falsified by the diary of Wasoodev Phadake, and by the trial of the incendiary book-depôt keeper, who destroyed the palaces by fire to hide his own defalcations in the sale of Government books. But it is not easy to dislodge suspicions from the mind of a person, accustomed to a dogmatic imperious and illiberal way of thinking. However, justice was ultimately done to Mr. Ranade by the successors of Sir Richard Temple (Sir James Fergusson, Lord Reay and Lord Harris), during whose

administration he was transferred from Dhulia to Poona, and promoted successively to the important offices of Judge of the Small Cause Court at Poona, Special Judge under the Deccan Ryots' Relief Act, and Judge of the Bombay High Court. Before referring to the last appointment, it may be mentioned here that while holding the office of Special Judge, Mr. Ranade was nominated additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council for the purposes of making Laws and Regulations in 1885 and 1890 by Lord Reay, and in 1893 by Lord Harris. How his services were appreciated by these will be seen from the following extracts from letters of these Governors to him. Lord Reay in his letter of 6th May, 1887, says: "I hope you will accept my best thanks for the valuable services you have rendered as a Member of Council." Lord Harris in his letter dated 10th March, 1892, says: "I write to thank you very sincerely for the enlightened assistance you have rendered in our debates."

On 1st September, 1893, the untimely and universally lamented death of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kashinath Trimbak Telang at the early

age of 42 led to a vacancy on the Bench of the High Court. Among the candidates for the high appointment, the claims of Mr. Ranade for the office were the most prominent and such as could be hardly ignored by the Government. For Mr. Ranade was not only a profound thinker on a variety of subjects, literary, social, religious, economical and political, but also the brightest ornament of the native branch of the Judicial Service, having held the highest appointments open to that service. Though, at one time, it was feared that his claims would be ignored in favour of a member of the Civil Service, or of a practising barrister or pleader, yet they were eventually recognized; and he was appointed a Judge of the High Court and took up the appointment in November, 1893. For justice, like truth, is great, and will prevail in the long run. Properly speaking Mr. Ranade ought to have been raised to the Bench of the High Court on the death of Mr. Justice Nanabhai Haridas, considering the estimation of his services as Sub-ordinate Judge by the late Chief Justice Sir

Michael Westropp, to which a reference has been made above. But Sir Michael Westropp was no longer Chief Justice when the vacancy occurred. And the brilliant career of the late Mr. Justice Telang as a scholar, a citizen and an advocate of the High Court attracted the attention of the Judges of that court and the Government, and led to his selection as successor of Mr. Nanabhai Haridas. Though Mr. Telang was junior to Mr. Ranade, yet the career of the former in different capacities was more brilliant than that of the latter, whose active life was mostly passed in the obscurity of the Mofussil, and whose silent but substantial services as a Judge and a writer on a variety of subjects were hardly widely known, and could not prominently come before the public. Consequently, unlike Mr. Telang, he did not occupy a large space in the attention of the public. His quiet, unobtrusive, and retiring disposition led to his superior mental endowments being "unrevealed" and "unproclaimed."

“Strong minds

Are often those of whom the noisy world
Hears least ; else surely this man had not left
His graces unrevealed and unproclaimed.
But, as the mind was filled with inward light,
So not without distinction had he lived
Beloved and honoured—far as he was known.”

Eventually, however, justice was done to him. It is hardly necessary to discuss the question, which was the greater of the two—Mr. Ranade or Mr. Telang—to inquire to whom the palm of superiority should be awarded. Both were great in their own ways. Both were the brilliant products of our University, though the academic career of Mr. Telang did not give promise of his future greatness, as he never won the first class at any of the University examinations, while Mr. Ranade almost always passed his examinations in the first class, and notably distinguished himself at them all. Both were remarkable for unremitting industry and insatiable thirst for work. Both were deeply versed in legal lore, But Mr. Telang made Sanskrit his special study, and attained such excellence in it as to acquire a European

reputation, while Mr. Ranade did not make any subject his specialty, but equally devoted his attention to social and religious reform, political advancement of the people, and amelioration of their economic condition, etc. While Mr. Telang was a brilliant Sanskrit scholar, a consummate public speaker and a distinguished advocate, Mr. Ranade was a profound thinker, who always left his mark upon whatever subject he dealt with, could speak *impromptu* on any topic in an impressive manner, and was a ready writer, who always poured forth a flood of information and wide reading upon any subject which engaged his attention and enlivened it with well reasoned thoughts and cogent arguments expressed in a lucid style. Consider, for instance, his innumerable articles in the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, which was started solely through his efforts in the middle of 1878, for satisfying a desire that "has been expressed by several European and Native well-wishers of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha that its proceedings should be published regularly in the form

of a quarterly publication so as to be easily available for purposes of reference," and for "reviewing and discussing the more important political questions of the day." When his speeches, lectures, and writings on various subjects are taken into consideration, he produced the impression (at least upon the mind of the writer of this sketch) of his having not a little shared in what Wordsworth calls "the vision and faculty divine."

The elevation of Mr. Ranade to the Bench of the Bombay High Court was hailed with joy and delight not only in Bombay and Poona, but throughout the length and breadth of India, his reputation as a scholar and a writer of original views, having spread throughout the country, judging from the numerous letters of congratulation he received not only from native gentlemen of position, but also from retired English officers of high rank in England, such as Lord Reay, Sir James Peile, Sir Raymond West and Sir William Wedderburn. Sir James Peile in his letter of 2nd November, 1893, says:—"I read with great satisfaction the

announcement of your appointment to the Bench of the High Court. It is a great honour for any man to be selected to succeed Mr. Justice Telang, but I am sure that you will be regarded everywhere as one worthy of that honour, and it is a very suitable acknowledgment of your long service in the somewhat trying and difficult office you have filled in regard to the Deccan Ryots' Relief Act and for many years previously. I wish you much prosperity and success in your elevated position as a High Court Judge."

Sir Raymond West in his letter dated 3rd November, 1893, observes :—" I send you a few lines to congratulate you on your promotion to the Bench of the High Court. It is exactly the appointment I should myself have proposed or supported had I been now a member of Bombay Government and wist best supply the place left vacant by the death of our distinguished and talented friend, Telang. The High Court will afford you a greatly enlarged sphere of usefulness to ycur country and to the Empire, which according to my view ought in

these days of easy communication to be formed as a unity in spirit and aspiration as well as of governmental combination out of the different elements composing the British Dominions. You cannot, of course, any longer take any part in strictly political movements, but there is an almost boundless field for the exercise of influence in the promotion of social and material progress which your high position and your acknowledged deserts will enable you to work in to the great advantage of your people, to the honour of the Government of which you are a part. It must be a great encouragement to the young students, and especially to the young Judges among your community, to find that ability and merit at one time overlooked, and at another time frowned upon can thus secure final recognition and reward; and I trust that the tradition of high cultivation in the Native members of the High Court may be finally established by the examples of Telang and yourself."

The Hon'ble Mr. Javarilal Umiashankar Yajnik, a college friend of Mr. Ranade and a

Member of the Legislative Council, now deceased, in a letter to him on his elevation to the Bench of the High Court, said :—" You have been the soul of the many-sided activity that Poona has of late exhibited. But I am sure you have many gentlemen in the City on whom the influence of your work and example will tell." The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, observed that it was no wonder that different classes of the people throughout the country felt joy at his appointment. For he did not belong simply to the Bombay Presidency but every Presidency throughout the country claimed him for its own. The *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta remarked : " that it would be difficult to find another man in India, so talented and so universally held in esteem and respect as Mr. Ranade." The Bombay Press (both English and Vernacular) was unanimous in approving of the wise selection the Government had made in filling up the vacancy in the High Court. The joy of the different classes of the people of Poona, where he had held high appointments for upwards of 22 years,

where he had endeared himself to all who had come in contact with him, and where he had commanded such an influence as to have been called (by Dr. J. Pollen) the uncrowned King of Poona, knew no bounds. The different associations which had been called into existence through his exertions, or had been indebted to him for his advice or patronage, vied with each other in honouring him on the eve of his departure from Poona. Dinner parties, pansupari meetings, fireworks, etc., were the order of the day. Such a continuous and universal ovation was never before accorded to any Government officer in Poona within the memory of men still living. It was nothing more than an enthusiastic expression of gratitude for one whose many-sided activity so benefited the city during a period of upwards of 22 years as to make it the pride of Maharashtra, the envy of Bombay, and the admiration of the rest of India. Whatever activity in political, literary, social, religious and economical matters was displayed by Poona, during a period of upwards of 22 years (1871-93) was

| prompted by Mr. Ranade. Whatever institutions and movements in different departments of human activity were started in the City were indebted to him for their origin or initiation, or development, or growth.

/ It will not be uninteresting to enumerate them here.

1. The Sarvajanik Sabha.
2. The Quarterly Journal of the Sabha.
3. The Town Hall at Hirabag.
4. The present building of the Poona Native General Library.
5. The Industrial Conferences.
6. The Industrial Exhibitions.
7. The Industrial Association.
8. The Reay Museum.
9. The Cotton and Silk Spinning and Weaving Company.
10. The Metal Manufacturing Factory.
11. The Fergusson College.
12. The Female High School.
13. The Vernacular Translation Society.
14. The Lawad or Arbitration Court.
15. The Sub-Judges' Conference.

16. The Poona Mercantile Bank.
17. The Prarthana Samaj Mandir.
18. The Elocution Encouraging Association.
19. The Vernacular Literature Encouraging Association.
20. The Poona Summer Lectures.
21. The Poona Rangshalla or Dyeing Company.
22. The Reay Paper Mill.

This list, long as it is, may err on the side of omission, but not of commission. For it may be found to contain, not too much but too little of what he actually did in Poona where his many-sided activity was displayed to the best advantage. It seemed as if by the waving of the magician's wand all the activities which a nation can boast of became concentrated in Poona. The foremost of these was the once celebrated Sarvajanic Subha, which has now become, alas! a wreck of its former self, since its management fell into the feeble and incompetent hands of men more remarkable for wrongheadedness, perversity of vision, and self-conceit than anything else, but sadly

wanting in discretion, judgment, tact and common sense. Though the Subha was founded not by him but by the late Mr. Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi, whose name is borne by the Hall of that Association, yet it owed all the importance it once enjoyed to his exertions. Those weighty, well reasoned, thoughtful, and moderately worded representations, always expressed in felicitous language, and full of facts and figures, which the Subha submitted to Government from time to time on various public questions of the day may be safely traced either to his pen or advice. And the representations were not only listened to with respect and attention by Government, but enhanced the importance of the Subha in the estimation of the public and enabled it to attain a reputation, unknown to any other political association in India. The Subha under his guidance and direction did yeoman's service to the people in the Famine of 1876-77. When one contrasts the former importance and reputation of the Subha with its present degraded and miserable condition, he cannot

refrain from exclaiming : " Oh ! how the mighty have fallen ! "

The quarterly journal of the Subha was started by him alone and contained contributions from him on political, economical and industrial subjects. *The Times of India*, in its obituary notice of him, described them as model essays on these subjects and called upon his younger friends to edit them and rescue them from the oblivion which would be their fate if they were allowed to remain in the pages of now a defunct journal.

The Industrial Conferences and Exhibitions, the *Lavad* or the Arbitration Court, the Poona Summer Lectures, the Town Hall, and the Prárthana Samaj Mandir were chiefly the results of his activity. With regard to the last, when it was represented to him that he chose a most unsuitable spot for the Mandir, considering its unclean and insanitary surroundings and the narrow lane in which it is situated he humorously replied : " We are going to make a heaven of hell." The truth was that in spite of his incessant inquiries made for a

long time he could not secure a better spot for the Mandir. He was therefore obliged to put up with what he could get and make the most of it.

The assistance which the founders (the well-known Padumjis of Poona) of the Reay Paper Mill received from him was freely acknowledged by the head of the family, Sirdar Khan Bahadur Darabji Padumji (whom Mr. Ranade humorously styled the Lord Mayor of Poona on account of his long and distinguished Municipal career) in a letter of condolence which he addressed to the family after his death.

The service rendered by Mr. Ranade to the Silk and Cotton Spinning and Weaving Company cannot be over-estimated. For it was he who rescued it from the collapse or breakdown, which at one time threatened its existence.

The Poona Native General Library is similarly indebted to him. For it was through his efforts and influence that the magnificent building in which it is now located could be erected. The books were in the Budhwar

Palace formerly, but they were lost in the fire by which that building was destroyed. But through the efforts of Mr. Ranade, seconded by others among whom may be mentioned the late Rao Bahadur Vishnu Balkrishna Sohoni, a Government Pensioner, who by his active and useful career even after retirement gave the lie to the allegation of the reactionary party in Poona, that pensioners are a set of useless men, being nothing more than extinct volcanoes or branded bullocks, sarcastically but not over politely referring to the titles of honour conferred upon the most distinguished of them by Government, a large sum of money was raised by subscription from Government and private persons, and the present splendid building was constructed by another Pensioner, Rao Bahadur V. B. Kanitkar, a retired architect and engineer. It may be mentioned that the authorities of the Library have shown their gratitude to Mr. Ranade by adorning the Hall of that institution with a life-size portrait of him, painted by a promising young Hindu artist.

It is to the exertions of Mr. Ranade that the present Deccan Vernacular Translation Society owes its revival. But he did not simply revive it, but secured for it a large sum of money, the interest on which amounts to about Rs. 150 per annum. "There was a society of that name," said Dr. Bhandarkar in his short but interesting speech delivered at the unveiling of the portrait of his lamented friend by the Collector of Poona on 27th April, 1901, "more than 50 years ago, but it had become defunct. It had, however, a sum of money deposited with the Accountant-General, Bombay, and for a long time there was no claimant for the money, and the interest went on accumulating. It was through Mr. Ranade's efforts that the money was traced out and Government was appealed to, when the amount was made over to the present Deccan Vernacular Society." It has been often said that had Mr. Ranade not chosen to wear the silvery shackles of Government Service, he would have done more for his country than he has actually done. This assertion does not appear

to be well-founded. For had he not held high judicial offices and had simply remained a private gentleman, he would have scarcely wielded such a great influence as he actually did for the benefit of his country. Government, for instance, would hardly have so readily complied with a request of a private gentleman to hand over the money referred to above for the benefit of the Vernacular Translation Society. Nor would a private person have secured the large legacy of Sir Mungaldas Nathubhai for the use of the University without any litigation. Many other instances may be quoted to show that he did more for his countrymen while holding high offices than he otherwise could have done.

By crediting Mr. Ranade with almost all the activities displayed by Poona during a period of 22 years, I do not mean to say that nobody else had any share in bringing them about. His merit was that of the originator or the patron of various public movements, who freely utilized the energies of different persons capable of lending any support or assistance in

promoting them, whatever the opinions they might hold on subjects other than those in which he could invite their co-operation. The work performed by the head, when compared with that of other members of the human body, appears to have been done by Mr. Ranade, when his share in the Poona activities is compared with the efforts of others in bringing them about. It may be observed that he had a singular tact in gathering around him a band of workers to each of whom was assigned what he was capable of performing, whether writing a memorial to Government or an article in the Quarterly Journal, managing the affairs of an institution or conducting a public meeting. By the charm of his manner, the suavity of his disposition and the fact of his being himself a strenuous worker, he exercised such a magic influence over them that they readily and zealously came forward to perform the work that was assigned to them. Some of them may be mentioned here, such as the late Mr. Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi, the father of the Sarvajanic Sabha, who might be compared to a human

body of which the animating soul was Mr. Ranade; the late Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar; the late Rao Bahadurs Vishnu Balkrishna Sohoni, Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide and Chintaman Narayan Bhat, the Hon'ble Professor Gopal Krishna Gokhale, upon whose shoulders his mantle appears to be falling, and Mr. Shivram Hari Sathe.

For the diverse activities displayed by Mr. Ranade and the ability and impartiality with which he performed his duties as First Class Subordinate Judge, Small Cause Court Judge, and lastly as Judge under the Ryots' Relief Act, Poona showed her gratitude to him in unmistakable terms when he left the city in 1893, as observed above. At one time it was feared, judging from the rancorous utterances against him of certain journals during the agitation of the Consent Bill and Rukhamabai's case, that Poona would be ungrateful to her benefactor, as Athens was to Aristides and Demosthenes. But for the credit of Poona such did not prove to be the case. And well might Poona be grateful to him, for she had been

scarcely known to fame when he went there. She was only known to the outside world as the fallen and ruined city of the Peishwas, and a stronghold of Brahmanical superstition on one side, and scepticism on the other. But during Mr. Ranade's stay there, the city distinguished herself in so many departments of human activity that one may be tempted to apply to him the epitaph intended by Pope for Newton with requisite alterations :

"Poona and her citizen lay hid in night ;

God said : ' Let Ranade be ' and all was light."

This may be called an exaggeration ; an instance of Oriental hyperbole. But this may not be so, when we consider what intellectual apathy, torpor, indifference or stagnation, what ignoble squabbles over petty things usurped the place of Mr. Ranade's activities after his departure from the city ; how the institutions which depended mostly upon his support for their vitality, such as the Sarvajanic Subha with its Quarterly Journal, the Industrial Conferences and Exhibitions and others fell into desuetude or decay, or altogether disappeared.

On leaving Poona Mr. Ranade made a princely donation of Rs. 25,000 to the various useful institutions of the city, which sum he in his will is said to have increased to Rs. 50,000.

The next chapter will be devoted to noticing his opinions and writings on different subjects.

CHAPTER III.

ON SOCIAL REFORM.

MR. RANADE was eminently a man of many-sided activity. He brought the splendid talents with which he was endowed to bear upon social, religious, economical and political questions affecting the welfare of India in general. I wish in the following chapters to notice separately the different forms of activity to which he had devoted his attention.

Social reform, which deals with various evils arising from the prohibition of widows to marry, the practice of infant marriages, the ill-assorted marriages between old men and young girls, the penalties attached to voyages to distant lands, the prevention of inter-marriages between sub-sections of the same caste, the extravagant expenses of marriages, the discouragement of female education, &c., claimed the attention of Mr. Ranade, even from his

collegiate life. He freely and boldly advocated the cause of helpless widows, unjustly condemned to a life-long social degradation, theological denunciation, and philanthropic pity through no fault of theirs, in the columns of the *Indu Prakash*, when he was the English editor of that journal from 1862 to 1866, and in a pamphlet which is now incorporated with Mr. Dayaram Gidmul's "Status of Women in India," showed that the marriages of widows were not prohibited by Hindoo Shastras when rightly interpreted. He in fact was the right hand of the late Vishnu Shastri Pandit, that staunch, fearless and learned advocate of widow-marriages on this side of India, in his unequal struggle with orthodox Shastris in proving that such marriages had Shastrical sanction for their validity. But the advocates of widow-marriage did not simply confine their activity to proving the validity of such marriages, for they brought about a widow-marriage under the auspices of the Widow-Marriage Association which was formed in 1861, and of which His Highness Appasaheb, Chief of Jamkhindi,

was the President. Vishnu Shastri Pandit was the Secretary and Mr. Ranade was a member of the Managing Committee having charge of the practical work of agitation. The Society worked for years, and the first widow-marriage took place under its auspices in 1869. This satisfied the orthodox party that the Society meant more than talk, and the Chief and Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country moved Shankaracharya, the religious head of Maharashtra, to hold a formal conclave of pandits and to challenge the widow-marriage party to attend. The challenge was accepted by Vishnu Shastri and a conclave of Shastris, half of whom were chosen by reformers and the other half by orthodox Brahmins, was held under the direction of Shankaracharya, the Pope of Hindos on this side of India, to discuss the question of the Shastrical legality of widow-marriages at Poona upwards of 25 years ago. Mr. Ranade ably and strenuously assisted Mr. Vishnu Shastri Pandit in pleading the cause of the helpless widows. Though the verdict of the majority of the Shastris assembled in conclave (7 to 3)

was against the reformers, against the unjustly and cruelly treated widows, yet the circumstance cannot be said to have much retarded the cause of widow-marriage, the verdict having been secured by the orthodox party by tampering with some of the Shastris on the reformers' side. It only made the reformers rely more upon the justness and reasonableness of their cause, and upon their own efforts, than upon the aid it might have derived from the interpretation of the Shastras in their favour. For even had the verdict been favourable to them, it would have been considered by blind orthodoxy as hardly anything better than a perverse verdict, would have hardly overcome custom's idiot sway, or conquered the deep-rooted prejudices of ages. It is then creditable to reformers on our side that they did not tamely submit to the adverse verdict of the conclave, but set about bringing on another widow marriage to be celebrated quite in the orthodox fashion like the first. And such a marriage of a Brahmin widow was solemnized in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Widow Mar-

riage Association also. Since then more than seventy widow-marriages have been celebrated amongst the Deccani and Guzerathi Brahmins. The secretary and six other gentlemen, Vishnoo Shastri Pandit, the late Sardar G. H. Dishmukha, the late Shrikrishna Shastri Talekar, Messrs. Vishnoo Parsharam Ranade, V. M. Bhide, M. G. Ranade, and Janardan S. Gadgil, who had boldly avowed their intention of patronizing the first widow-marriage, were, along with the bride and the bridegroom, together with their close relations, publicly excommunicated by Shankaracharya. When it is remembered that an excommunication in the case of Hindoos means boycotting of the worst description, the penalty with which the religious head of the community visited the reformers who aided and abetted the marriage, was not a slight one. It is no wonder then that some of the reformers recanted or seceded from the cause by taking Prayaschit that is performing penance. But be it mentioned to the credit of Mr. Ranade and two or three others that they never did anything of the kind, but strictly

adhered to the cause and went on encouraging or patronizing such marriages and dining with such couples. But Mr. Ranade had not much to suffer on account of the excommunication to which he was subjected, partly owing to his high official position in Poona and partly to the wider spread of more liberal notions on the subject of widow marriages in the community. Social intercourse with his family in the matter of dining, &c., was hardly interrupted on any large scale. He could perform the marriage of his younger brothers quite in the orthodox fashion without let or hindrance. And not only men of liberal views, but even some orthodox Brahmins were observed to attend at his house on those festive occasions. So that the anathema of excommunication hurled at him and other promoters of the widow marriage in Bombay fell blunted upon the obdurate hearts of the ever increasing sympathizers with the widows' cause. If this was the case, how was it, it may be asked, that Mr. Ranade, along with some others, took some sort of Prayaschit in 1892, when he

along with 39 others were accused of taking tea with biscuits at a missionary evening party. This Prayaschit was taken by Mr. Ranade not on his own account but for the sake of his weaker brethren, who were goaded by social persecutions into submission to the award of arbitrators who were appointed by Shankaracharya to decide the dispute between the orthodox Brahmins of Poona and those who were accused of drinking tea at the missionary evening party, just referred to. The form of Prayaschit prescribed by the arbitrators was of the mildest type, consisting in making small money presents to Brahminical priests. And the admission of any of the excommunicated reformers into their caste depended upon all of them, including Mr. Ranade, submitting to this form of Prayaschit. Mr. Ranade, it must be admitted, in a moment of weakness or through error of judgment, allowed himself to be induced to show this token of submission, however insignificant it was, to the decree of priestly authority, in order to put an end to the schism which had taken

place in the Brahminical community at Poona from such a trifling cause as drinking tea at a missionary's house, and from which his weaker brethren had suffered grievously. Though the object for which Mr. Ranade went through the mildest form of Prayaschit was a laudable one, yet he who had defied the anathema of Shankaracharya ever since the performance of the first widow marriage in 1869 for the sake of the poor widows' cause, that is for upwards of 23 years, and had to undergo considerable personal inconvenience and annoyance on account of his defiant attitude towards the religious head of the Hindoo Community, would have done well, had he persisted in his defiance of the ecclesiastical authority to the last when that authority was wrong, and he was right, according to his own convictions. It is true he did it not through any personal considerations or selfish objects, but to benefit others who, unlike himself, were unable to undergo the troubles and annoyances of an excommunication, and to restore the interrupted intercourse between them and the orthodox community, and also to show

that the cause of social reform had advanced so much that even the so-called offence of drinking tea and eating biscuits at a missionary entertainment could be expiated by the distribution of a few annas among Brahminical priests; whereas, thirty years ago, the late Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, who was in his time considered as the leader of educated natives, had, for a similar offence committed at the house of Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., who was then the Director of Public Instruction, to shave off his mustachios and undergo a degrading form of penance. Though the motives of Mr. Ranade, as disclosed in the excellent apology for his conduct in the Bombay dailies soon after the event, were laudable, yet it cannot be said that the affair did not somewhat detract from the independence of spirit he had hitherto displayed, and that he was right in supposing that the pretext of a penance would satisfy the orthodox community. For the latter appealed from the decision of the arbitrators of Shankaracharya to Shankaracharya himself against the nominal

punishment they had awarded to the violaters of Brahminical purity, and brought so much pressure upon him to review their decision that he had to appoint another tribunal for this purpose. The second tribunal after a long delay in reviewing the decision of the first, prescribed a severer form of Prayaschit, though not so severe and degrading as that to which Mr. Krishna Shastri Chipulankar was subjected. The severer form of Prayaschit, of course, was disregarded by the reformers, and the breach between them and the orthodox community remained unhealed. Though the rancour of struggle between them after some time much abated, it was owing to lapse of time and not because of the mild form of Prayaschit the reformers had consented to. Hence it must be admitted that it was an error of judgment that led Mr. Ranade to listen to any compromise which might be interpreted as an admission on the part of the reformers that they had been guilty of any offence. However, it was an error of judgment from which few are free.

The sincerity of Mr. Ranade's advocacy of the cause of widow remarriage was questioned when, upon the death of his first wife in 1873, he married again, but did not choose a widow. It was a standing complaint against Mr. Ranade that he grievously failed to act up to his principles when he could have relieved a widow from the miserable condition which has been the lot of Hindoo widows by marrying one. But in truth he was not averse to marry a widow. On the contrary, he was eager to do it, and was on the look-out for a suitable widow when he thought of marrying again on the death of his wife. But his father, who was then alive, was deady opposed to his wishes in this matter, to such an extent that his marrying a widow would have involved a perpetual separation from one to whom he not only owed a debt of natural affection but also of deep gratitude. For had his father not sent him to Bombay and maintained him there for a number of years at a cost which must have considerably encroached upon his slender means, Mr. Ranade would hardly have

received any liberal education or had an opportunity of distinguishing himself at the University Examinations, and of becoming a brilliant English scholar. It should be borne in mind that it was no easy matter in those days, when there was no railway communication between Kolapur and Bombay, to send a boy from the former to the latter and bear cost of his education and maintenance for a number of years at the costly Presidency town. Mr. Ranade, then, with his affectionate heart, could not bear the idea of doing any violence to the feelings of his aged father and separating from him for ever. On the other hand, acting in conformity with the wishes of his father was to diminish the effect of his strenuous advocacy of helpless widows. He was thus placed on the horns of a dilemma and suffered from a conflict of duties. Much blame does not then attach to him if he did not choose to sacrifice domestic peace and happiness by disobeying his father in a matter which would not necessarily justify this infraction of filial duty, as he had not pledged

himself to marry a widow but only to dine with those who would marry widows and to hold social intercourse with them. And it cannot be said that he ever ceased to promote widow marriages, or to dine with remarried couples and to assist them in any way that lay in his power. It is true the cause of widow marriage would have received considerable strength had he ventured to marry a widow like the late Vishnu Shastri Pandit. But unhappily he was not in a position to follow the example of that learned Shastri. Instead of blaming him, we should rather sympathize with him. For like Gibbon, he obeyed as a son though he sighed as a reformer. The following extract from his speech delivered at the public meeting in October 1893, for adopting measures for perpetuating the memory of the late Mr. Justice Telang, tends to serve as his *apologia pro vita sua* :—

“It appears to me that the moral interest of this chequered career of our departed friend lay in the fact that he represented in his own person the best ideal of character that the

imperative necessities of our present situation require and predetermine. Many of you, blessed with a full grown and integrating civilization of your own, will find it hard to imagine the two-fold life—the divided and conflicting life that we have to live in the midst of two civilizations, two forms of faith, two ideals of life conduct. There are those among us also, who think that there is no occasion for such a divided existence. To some of them the past, the irrevocable past, is still the living present. They think that time and tide have worked no change, and that they may still live and thrive, as their ancestors did before them, isolated from all the world. There are others among us, again, who think that the past is dead and buried, and has no obligations on us, and that our allegiance is solely due to the present and the future. Between these extreme views there are a small number of us who, while they revere the past, would see it gradually adapt itself to the new circumstances with which it has pleased Providence to surround us, as we believe for our

own ultimate good. We cling to the past and yet would keep our hold on the future. We are thus liable to be too often misunderstood by foes and friends alike. Of this class of men our late lamented friend was the guide, the philosopher, and the hero or martyr." "Our European friends," he concluded, "cannot realise the character of this struggle which Mr. Telang and his friends have to wage. Let them, however, put themselves in our position, or rather let them place themselves in the position of their own ancestors when they also lived such a divided existence, authority on the one hand, and reason on the other. Greece and Rome had their periods of transition, the early Protestants had it, Melanchthon and Erasmus lived in the same age as Luther. Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon were the contemporaries of the early Calvinists. Our situation is more complex, for it is not only in one department, but in all the varied activities of our life—social, religious, political, and industrial,—that this conflict hems us in, and we have to tread the path of duty every

moment, balancing one set of valid obligations against others equally imperative, with a determination to walk straight, but not so as to tread on the toes of others." Writing to a critic who quoted Froude to show that Erasmus told lies when the critical moment came, that Sir Thomas More, his dearest friend, took his seat beside the Bishops, and sent poor Protestant artisans to the stake, and that it is, according to one of the staunchest apologists of Lord Bacon, "through Machiavelli most of all, that we arrive at a clear understanding of Bacon's moral system," the late Mr. Ranade reiterated his propositions with added emphasis. "In human affairs," he wrote, "it is not true that our past is always dead and buried, as you seem to suppose. Nothing that we have done is really dead. Nothing that our fathers have done is dead for us. It is a living force, which drags us upwards or downwards and one has to choose between the two. Your present is not all yours. It must accumulate and overweigh the old past record of your and your forefathers' actions. In the case of gifted men,

this is possible, and that is our hope and salvation. If to resolve were the same thing as to act, life would have no difficulty and no discipline. You are not strictly correct when you think that men like Mr. Telang paused and halted from want of earnestness or from fear of offending people. Those who live in the past secure popularity. Those who bury their past obtain ease. Men like Mr. Telang and others obtain neither ease nor popularity by the very fact that they can neither hold by the past nor forget it altogether. This is the chief difference of our point of view."

It may be remarked that in the distressful condition in which he was placed, having been swayed in contrary directions by conflicting duties, he found consolation in his second wife, who proved to be a remarkably intelligent and amiable lady, eager to learn and to be a fit companion of her talented and learned husband. After a few years of tuition under the direction and guidance of such a husband as Mr. Ranade, she became a fairly

educated and accomplished lady, reading well-considered essays and making bright little speeches at the meetings of various female societies, founded for promoting female education and culture, and assisting her husband by becoming his Marathi *amanuensis*.

Though the Indian National Congress, which holds its annual meeting at some city or other in India, has been doing an immense amount of good to the various Indian Nationalities by steadily advocating their political advancement, yet it is not all in all. Mr. Ranade was one of those who thought that social reform in its various branches should advance *pari passu* with political progress. For however important may be the latter, it cannot without the former be based upon a solid foundation. Mr. Ranade truly observed in his thoughtful, learned, and interesting address delivered before the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association just two days before the meeting of the Social Conference at Madras on 30th December, 1894: "A man's career as a citizen or a member of a state will depend upon his social environments, moral

conduct, and religious persuasion. Where these are not such as to fit in with the political atmosphere he breathes, the political community of which he is a member will be seriously hampered in its political progress." Mr. Ranade entertaining such views regarding the bearing of social reform on political progress, along with the late Sir T. Madhavrao, the celebrated statesman of India and once the Dewan of the Baroda State, and Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao who was once the Dewan of His Highness Tukoji Rao Holkar, thought it desirable to take advantage of the large assembly of delegates who from the different quarters of India annually attend the National Congress, to discuss questions bearing upon social reform such as enforced widowhood, infant marriages, ill-assorted marriages, foreign travel and the like. And to attain this object they added what is called the Social Conference to the Native Congress in 1887 at Madras. Since then the meeting of the Social Conference has been regularly held after the termination of the proceedings of the National Congress every year, and has been

attended by a large portion of Congress delegates and other visitors. Various propositions regarding social reform have been discussed and resolved upon. Mr. Ranade, in his speech just alluded to, called the Social Conference a younger sister of the great National Assembly called the National Congress, and observed that without its help and guidance the political assembly would surely make but slight progress. It must be confessed that it does not command the popularity of the National Congress; nor does it display such enthusiasm among its members as marks the meetings of the latter.

The reason of this opposition to, or the dislike of, the Social Conference is not far to seek. For it is not an easy task to break with long-established customs and traditions and deeply rooted prejudices, involving, as it does, some self-sacrifice and breadth of thought, whereas the Congress hardly requires any such self-sacrifice, but, on the contrary, holds forth the prospect of gain to its adherents in their political aspirations. It cannot be denied,

however, that it has given a strong impetus to the development of the social reform movement which has been making slow but sure progress throughout the various parts of the country. What are the aims and objects of the Social Conference, what it has achieved directly or indirectly during the seven years of its existence, what influence it has been ever using over the social reform movement, will be best seen from Mr. Ranade's speech delivered before the ~~Urdu~~ Reform Association at Madras, as observed before. As the speech is a fair specimen of Mr. Ranade's thoughtful lectures delivered on different subjects on different occasions, embodying his views on the social reform movement, and containing a fair and extensive survey of the work done by the Social Conference either directly or indirectly within a period of seven years, it is given below *in extenso*.—

Gentlemen,—It is a source of unmixed satisfaction to me and to my friends interested in the cause of social elevation that after seven years' wanderings far and near over all the chief provinces of India, we have been spared to

visit the Southern Præsidency which has for a thousand years and more maintained its reputation as the fountain source of all higher spiritual, social and moral development in this great country. Your Dravadian civilization has been always strong enough to retain the stamp of its individuality in the midst of Aryan inundations, which submerged it for a time. You thus possess an advantage over us hailing from more northern provinces, which advantage has been utilized by your Alwar saints to an extent unknown to us. By the side of 4 Vedas, your Tamil songs of devotion constitute the 5th Veda which is chanted by your priests on occasions of festivals and religious celebrations. Twelve hundred years ago, the great Acharya of the Adwait philosophy finally overturned the Atheistic philosophies of the Buddhistic and Irani systems, and established the revived Hindoo faith on the comprehensive bases on which it now stands broadened and deepened all round. Two hundred years after another Acharya founded the Vishista-Adwait and Dwait philosophies, which have so profoundly modified

modern Indian Society and subordinated Dnyan and Yoga finally to the religion of love. Those great Acharyas were the fountain sources of all the higher wisdom and spiritual elevation that have distinguished the religious history of the last 1,000 years and more. Ramanand, who was the teacher of so many diverse Vaishnava sects, and Chaitanya, who was the saintly leader of Bengal, and Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh faith, derived their illumination from these philosophers of the south. The successors of Ramanujacharya were the first social reformers. They felt compassion for the hard lot of the poor and disfigured widow, and did their best to carry comfort to her. They also took pity upon the fallen condition of the lower strata of the social system, and conceded to them the privilege of admitting them into a community of faith with the higher classes. It was not, therefore, without reason, that the conference movement was first started in this city, under the auspices of the late Sir T. Madhavrao. Dewan Babadur Raghunathrao blessed the child and gave it into our hands,

and we now bring it back to you after a lapse of seven years. Those seven years have worked a great, and I believe, hopeful change in the attitude of the community of races who are represented in this gathering to-day towards the questions of social reform. There are those who think that these seven years have been years of fruitless talk and that the heart of the nation has not been touched by the appeals made to it, either from the political or the social platforms. Some of you are better judges about the success of the work done on the political platform. As regards social progress, I think, it was Lord Salisbury who observed that small maps are very delusive guides when we have to decide on questions of frontier troubles. I may say with equal reason that short spaces of time are similarly deceptive, and yet I shall venture to ask our despondent, though earnest, self-examining judges to pause and contemplate the change these seven years have witnessed. If the heart of the nation can be traced anywhere in its ancient strongholds, you will certainly seek it, strongly entrenched in the Native

States. If any movement stirs the Native States, which are impervious to your political and industrial propaganda, that is a sign that the heart of the nation has been touched. Now what do we see has been the character of the change effected in these seven years amongst some of our premier states? Seventeen states in Rajpootana—Udeypoor, Jaypoor, Jodhpur, Pratapgad, Sirohi, Tonk, Ulwar, Jeselmere, Kotah, Bundi, Ajmere, Kerowli, Keshengad, Jallawar, Ramsdah, and Dongarpur, have become members of the Walter Krita Sabha, whose annual reports show how strong is the organization that has been set up in that province for the curtailment of extravagant expenditure on marriages and funerals and the regulation of child marriages, not only amongst the Rajputs, but among many other castes allied to and subordinate to them. The ruler of Baroda has similarly exerted himself in the work of social elevation, not so much on his own motion, but at the instance of the Mahajanans and Kunbi cultivators in his own and neighbouring British territory. The Cambay

3 ruler has also followed suit. Lower down and much nearer you have the Mysore Durbar; it has set an example of legislation which cannot fail in time to be copied elsewhere. After full deliberation and consultation with his Parlia-
4 ment, the Maharaja of Mysore has passed into law this year, the first instalment of measures intended to put a stop to marriages of girls below 8, and ill-assorted marriages of young girls below 14 with old men above 50. The Maharaja
5 of Cashmere has also this year not only presided over a social reform association founded in that State, but has taken steps to discourage the practice of hired crying and beating of the chest, as also the custom which in those parts was supposed to prevent the father from seeing the face of his daughter after she was married. The rulers of Baroda, Indore, Kapurthala, Bhavanagar, Morvi, Gondal, Wadvan, Kooch-Behar, Kolapur, and many other States have crossed the seas with large retinues and some with their wives and children. We do not claim any credit for all these movements in the name of the Conference. I only allude to them here

as indicating the fact that these reforms have all been initiated and carried out during these past seven years, by the same earnestness of spirit which, working on a lower sphere, makes this Conference necessary and possible from year to year as humble sister of the National Congress. The genuineness of the feeling is borne witness to by the fact that in inaugurating the new social regulations different methods of procedure have been adopted by different states to accomplish the same end. The method of direct legislation has found favour with Mysore, of caste initiation in Baroda, and of executive regulations in Rajputana. This is a point which is but little understood, though this variety bears on its face the stamp of sincerity and shows that the movement is spontaneous and of indigenous origin. The foreign Government which rules over us cannot but be encouraged by the results of this spontaneous action on the part of the rulers of the Native States, who reflect the higher wisdom of their population. We do not want it, and the Government is naturally averse to

meddle with social matters in the way it did when it put down sati and infanticide. And in its ever cautious way it is educating the people to a higher sense of their responsibility in this connection. It has by a formal
1 notification abolished hook-swinging, directly
2 legislated for backward classes, and regulated the marriage expenditure of the Kunbi and
3 Rajputs and Jat population in several parts of the country, in the Bombay Presidency, and in the North-Western Provinces. It ventured, indeed, to pass the Age of Consent Act, but the agitation that the measure provoked has weakened its hands, and it now feels shy of further legislation on that line, and it has refused to amend the law regulating the religious endowments in the way some of you desired. I am glad, however, to learn that it is prepared to consider the Malabar Marriage Bill on the lines recommended by the Hon.
Muthuswami Aiyar's Committee and to abolish imprisonment in the execution of decrees for the restitution of conjugal rights. It also per-
mitted the Hon. Babu Beharilal to carry

through the Bengal Council a new partition
3 law, which is a very great improvement on
the general Hindu law of equal compulsory
division. Both Native States and the British
Government have thus paid homage to the
✓ supremacy of the new spirit that is actively
working in our midst, and it is in this general
fact, and not in its particular manifestation,
that I see the hand of Providence at work for
our good.

“Perhaps some of you would say that, after all, kings and ministers should have no place on this platform, and that I must adduce some better evidence of the fact of an awakened conscience among the people than an appeal to acts of state. There is some truth in that observation. The work of social-reform cannot be an act of state. It is chiefly valuable when it is the work of the people, I shall therefore now appeal to the popular movements which have been started during the past seven years and more, and which are so characteristic of our new life. If there had been no such back-ground of popular efforts

behind its back, the Conference in which we propose to meet here would no doubt be an empty show. The fact, however, is far otherwise. Grand and more enthusiastic meetings than those we hold here are being held just this day in half a dozen cities in Northern and Western India. The great Kayastha community of the North, met last year at Mathura, the Vaishya Conference met at Lahore and meets this year at Shajahanpur, the Bhargawas met at Lucknow last year, and the Audichya Sabha in Bombay, the Jains in our parts met at Ahmedabad, and at the same place a Mahomedan Conference in which Hindus joined was held, and passed resolutions condemning nautch and extravagance in marriage expenditure. In the Panjab there is a regular cobweb of Bhiradari and caste association, the most prominent of which are Sarni Sabha, the Kayastha Sabha, the Khalsa or Sing Sabha. In your own part of the country the Shree Madhvas meet similarly at Tirpati about this time. All this work is done within the sphere of each caste organ-

ization, and their regulations are enforced by the sanction of a caste rule. The reports which these communities and caste associations forward to this Conference are in my opinion the most interesting part of the years. The ²Conference focuses these reports for general information, points out the limits of practical work and suggests the lines of further development. These associations furnish, as I have said above, the background of the work which the Conference takes in hand in a more comprehensive spirit. At any rate, these are some of the constituencies to which the Conference hopes to appeal for help and guidance.

“Of course, while the Biradaris or caste systems of organizations prove useful in certain parts of the country, in other parts religious organizations, such as the Arya Samaj, the Dharma Mahamandal, and the Sanatan Sabhas and other bodies, undertake the work of social reform on independent lines. These Samajas work towards the same end, as the Biradari associations, but with different sanctions. The Arya Samaj has done great wonders in this

connection. They have started Temperance movements and Bands of Hope and composed temperance songs, which are sung by women on festive occasions. They have encouraged re-marriage and adopted reformed rites which presuppose and enforce late marriages. They have founded girls' and boys' schools and colleges. They have organized charity on a large scale. They in a word constitute all that is most hopeful and worth living in the new life of the Province of Punjab. On the Bengal side the Bramha Samaj, with their special marriage law, have gone far in advance of us all in many matters.

“Next after the Biradari societies, and the religious bodies engaged in the work of reform, we have a third class of organization such as those represented by the Hindu Social Reform Association of Madras, whose annual gathering we have met here to-day to celebrate. There are innumerable other bodies such as the Sanmarga Samaja of Bellary, the Berar Social Reform Association, the Ahmedabad and Sind Association and the Re-marriage Associations of

Bombay, Madras, Wardha and other places, which rely not so much upon the sanction of caste rules or the religious sense of duty, but upon trust in the honour of members pledged to give effect to certain improvements in our social condition. As might be expected these voluntary associations have not the strength and efficiency of the first two organizations, though it may be noted as a sign of the times that they are slowly taking steps to register themselves with a view to strengthen themselves.

3 They are lacking in the strength of the sanction, and they have a wider grasp of the problem before us. There are besides Temperance and Purity Associations working on the same lines in all parts of the country, they also have a great field of usefulness before them. I have already noted the fact that the Native States are working on three different lines, and the popular Associations are also trying to carry out their ends in their different ways by caste action, by the sanction of religion, and thirdly, by the method of pledge and an appeal to the sense of self-

respect and love of public esteem—I fear of public criticism. The voluntary associations, again, are following different methods of practical work. Some place their reliance chiefly on an appeal to ancient law, others prefer the plan of forming a schism, and a few are for the method of open revolt. This, then, is the situation, and much of the activity that we have noted above in these matters has been developed during the past seven years.

“The result of all this awakening is best seen in the keener appreciation of the moral law of purity and charity. This constitutes in my view the most instructive and hopeful feature of the past ten years. Even Government has been forced to acknowledge the force of this new feeling. It is at the root of the agitation against vivisection, the Contagious Diseases Act, and the Compulsory Examination of Women, in which last respect the Government here has had to yield to Indian and English public opinion. The same feeling also finds expression in the great temperance agitation which has led to the

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appointment of two commissions of inquiry. The agitation against the abuse of Temple Endowments may be traced to the same source. The agitation against the nautch girl and loose habits of family life is explained by reform on the same principle. The movements intended to help the Pariah classes are due to the same potent cause. The miserable condition of the child-widow is now more keenly recognised as a problem which must be solved. Widows' homes are springing up in Allahabad, Calcutta and Poona, and the question of the re-marriage of child-widows has passed through the preliminary stage of a trial experiment. Polygamy and the sale of girls in marriage are also slowly disappearing from the land, though they will, I fear, fight hard to the end. More than 75 remarriages have taken place in our Presidency, and 25 similar marriages during the last 20 years, and the cause has shown a steady rule of slow progress all over the country.

“ I hope I have said enough to justify my position that the last seven years have not

been fruitless of results not measured by the standard of Western races, but by the conservative strength of our prejudices and by the rule of improvement observable in our political and industrial sphere of work. The members of the Madras Social Reform Association may therefore comfort themselves with the consolation that, although the number of its members may be few they represent much that is hopeful and living in present constitution of our society. They are the burning coal snatched from the hearth, the fire which will not be smothered by the ashes of indifference and discouragement. They have their representatives in every house and province of India, and they are sure to win in the end, however unpleasant may be the struggle in the present.

“Their movement against the nautch approved itself to the sense of the Lahore Conference and since then nearly every Association which has sent in its report has given its adhesion to the cause. I need only mention the names of a few places here. Punjab is for them. The Hindus and Mahomedans at

Ahmedabad recorded the same vote. The association in the Raval Pindi, Berar, Dharvar, Salem and Bellary, Chikakole, Muslipatam and Kulburga have accepted the principle and are trying to expand it.

“As regards infant marriage, the Mysore Government has crossed the Rubicon and broken the ice of the prejudice of centuries. The Rajputana rulers have set the same example by State regulations, and throughout the country there is a growing sense that this evil practice has been tolerated too long, and that the time has come for a cautious retracing of our steps. In one part of the country many castes are moving in the matter of the girls, and the minimum marriageable ages of girls and boys are being slowly raised all round each in his own way. The Deshi Law at Bamas has fixed the ages of girls at 13, the Bharyavas at 12, the Mathura chober at 13, and the Mahajanas at 12. It cannot be long under these hopeful circumstances before we shall find a permanent change in this matter. As regards re-marriage there have been 12 re-marriages

celebrated in the course of the year, one in Punjab, two in Madras, and the rest in one part of the country. The Delhi and Bama caste at Surat actually went so far as to pass a resolution at a caste meeting that the second marriage of child widow should be permitted. This resolution was again brought before the caste by them who opposed it, and even then the caste expressed its acceptance of the principle and referred its experiment till other Bania castes joined. This circumstance clearly shows how the wind is blowing, and it must be a source of satisfaction to us all.

“As regards social intercourse and the admission of people who had changed their religion, or who had returned from England, three cases of special interest occurred in Bengal and Madras, which show a very happy change in the attitude of caste-bound society. Mr. Chetty and our Deshastha Brahmins were taken back into their castes without many serious misgivings. In Bengal the Kayasthas admitted Mr. Upendranath Dass, who had not only gone to England, but had married an English wife and had children by her. In Panjab the Arya

Samaj and a Sikh Bowei admitted as many as 12 Moslem converts. Recently alliances have been formed between orthodox and heterodox reformed families under very favourable circumstances both here in Madras, and in our part of the country also.

“I fear I have taken up your time too long and that I should not do well to overtax your kind patience. We have need above all of two virtues over and above earnestness. We must have inexhaustible patience which faith in an overruling Providence and the final triumph of right law alone inspire, and we must have charity. Hope, faith, and charity, these are the three graces we must all cultivate, and if we keep them ever in mind, and hold steadily by them, we may be sure that we may still regain our lost position and become a potent factor in the world's history. The turn of life and light is in the individual. We have to purify it to feel the heat and this light of truth in us, and if we care each for thus acting in the faith of duty we may be sure that God's helping hand will come to our relief. If we

suffer misery we have earned it by our sins in the past and present. If we purge them off, the bright rays of glory will shine within and in their old splendour. In that hope we rest assured that the good we share, and according as we share we shall succeed." v

The stirring and thoughtful lecture Mr. Ranade delivered at Anraoti before the opening of the National Social Conference there towards the end of 1897 summarizes not only the results of Social Reform throughout India in that year (1897), but also his views on this interesting subject in his usual fluent and vigorous language. Since the establishment of the Social Conference in 1886 Mr. Ranade had delivered lectures every year before the formal opening of the meeting of the Conference, reviewing the achievements in the matter of Social Reform in the passing year. These lectures of Mr. Ranade are perhaps the most interesting and instructive portion of the proceedings of the Social Conference in any year, and may not be inaptly termed his annual balloonings by which those who listened to them thought themselves lifted aloft from the com-

monplace world of every day facts to a high, ethereal region of soul-animating sentiments and noble aspirations. The lecture I refer to was one of such lectures. The lecture shows, as his addresses and writings always do, that, being optimistic in the highest degree, he never despaired, but always took a hopeful view of things to whatever department of human activity they may belong.

Should we revive our ancient usages, customs and institutions, or reform them? was the question Mr. Ranade applied himself to answer, giving a brief summary of the results of Social Reform in 1897. There are Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals, not only in politics, religion and science, but also in social matters. According to the first who represent the orthodox party, which means an overwhelming majority of the people and those few abnormal products of higher education who for some reason or other, not of a very elevating character, would fain be ranked with such party, but who it is said really at heart are Liberals, social reformers have already gone too far and are going at dangerous railway speed in the

direction of reform. The doings of reformers, which to a calm, dispassionate and reflecting stranger may not appear to amount to much, are denounced as revolutionary by Conservatives, both genuine and *quasi*. Consider, for instance, the state of things as regards this question at the end of the year 1897. The condition of female education, which is one of our pressing necessities, is, said Mr. Ranade in the lecture under review, still very backward though, he added, "the signs are clearly visible that throughout India the national awakening to the necessity of developing the moral and intellectual capacities and aptitudes of our sisters has found universal recognition." Let us then hope that the signs will be followed at no distance of time by the realization of this much needed reform, without which the regeneration of India is almost an impossibility.

During the year (1897) only 25 widows' remarriages were celebrated throughout India. Out of this small number, which is attributed by Mr. Ranade to the calamities of the year, plague and famine, and the fact of the year being a "Singhast" year in which marriages are pro-

hibited, Bengal, reputed to be the most advanced province of India, is credited with only one. Thus the work of redressing the wrong done to poor helpless widows of the upper classes for centuries together is going on at a snail's pace. It must be observed that there is anything but enthusiasm manifested even by those who are conscious of the wrong done to widows of the upper classes of Hindus in redressing it. For they are averse to lend any active help in the furtherance of the widows' cause, excusing their indifference on the ground of their utter inability to do anything substantial in the face of the stubborn opposition of orthodoxy, and entrusting the improvement of the condition of women to the progress of time.

Though individuals may do little yet their collective efforts may achieve much, as is shewn by the number of widow remarriages that have been already brought about since 1869, when the first widow remarriage was celebrated in Bombay. And it is simply fatalism to trust to the progress of time, "as if time" (quoting from the address I delivered at a meeting of the Social Conference at Poona in 1895)

“is a mysterious entity capable of achieving wonders like Alladin's lamp, and is not simply an abstract term which may assume a concrete form in the shape of events brought about through the efforts of men for promoting the weal or woe of mankind.” Dissatisfied with the puny results of social reform hitherto attained, the extreme section of reformers or radicals as we may call them, such as the Arya Samaj of Punjab, some members of the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal, and of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, maintain that it is hopeless to reform our social usages and customs without a change of religion. For without converting the people to a pure form of Theism, it is impossible to persuade them to give up their time-honoured customs and usages purporting to bear the sanction of their religion, and to adopt better ways of life. But, said Mr. Ranade, those who advocate this mode of action “do not fully realize the situation and its difficulties.” For persons who are not fitted by their education, surroundings and traditions to adopt a pure form of religion, are not likely to better their condition,

if such a religion be forced upon them or an outward conformity to it be exacted from them. Instead of being elevated by it they will degrade it to the level of their own understanding and moral nature. Witness, for instance, the condition of Roman Catholic Natives and some sections of Mahomedans. Being illiterate and consequently unaccustomed to an abstract mode of faith, they have imported into their monotheistic religions idolatrous practices such as concrete objects of worship, and would fain preserve distinction of castes and their ancient usages. Unless the minds of the people are prepared by education to receive a pure form of religion, it will do them no good. A mere outward conformity to such a faith will hardly be beneficial to them. It would also be remarked that the work of conversion to a new faith is more arduous and difficult than even reforming our customs and institutions, and would take centuries for its accomplishment, as it is calculated to stir up rancorous hostilities. Should then social reform be delayed and postponed till the work of conversion is accomplished? Such a question

can have but one answer, if it is advisable and desirable to work on the line of least resistance. Will it not be, then, the best policy to co-operate with the existing religious organizations as much as possible or practicable in matters of social reform, especially when it is borne in mind that in some of these matters there is much agreement between orthodox conservatives and reformers, the only difference between them being that the former hold that the time for immediate action is not yet ripe, while the latter insist upon such action being taken, as they believe that without our moving, such time will never come? The conservatives further hold that the efforts of reformers should be directed to the revival of our ancient customs and usages rather than to reform them. Mr. Ranade asked what should we revive? Should we revive the customs and usages of Vedic, Puranic, Buddhistic, Mahomedan or modern Hindu times? "Shall we revive the old habits of our people when the most sacred of our castes indulged in all the abominations, as we understand them, of animal food and intoxicating drink, which

exhausted every section of our country's zoology and botany? The men and gods of those old days ate and drank forbidden things to excess in a way no revivalist will now venture to recommend." The habits and customs of our ancestors were either good for all times or they were not. If the former, why were they altered and changed by their successors in every period of our social history? If the latter, what is the use of reviving what is dead and gone and what is not fitted to the altered conditions of modern society? Let the dead past bury its dead, for they cannot be revived with any advantage to anybody. All that can be done is to utilize the materials it affords for reforming them into new organizations. When revival is undesirable or impossible, reformation is the only alternative which must be adopted.

The next question for inquiry is, what are the principles on which reformation is based? According to some a change of the outward form will effect the work of reformation and remove the difficulties lying in its way. But Mr. Ranade said this way of thinking or act-

ing was answerable for all the prejudices that were excited in the people's mind against reform, over and above its being shallow and superficial. For what was really needed was not simply a change in the outward form, in our manners and customs, but what Mr. Ranade called "the inward form, the idea and thought which determines the outward form." What are the ideas and thoughts which have obstructed our social progress, made our civilization a stagnant one and brought our decline in the scale of nations? These ideas, he thus sets forth:—"Isolation, submission to outward force or power more than to the voice of the inward conscience, perception of factitious differences between men and men, due to heredity and birth, a passive acquiescence in evil or wrongdoing, and a general indifference to secular well-being almost bordering upon fatalism." These are the fundamental ideas of our social system. Almost all the social evils we suffer from are traceable to these, such as the subordination of women to men, of lower castes to higher ones, the loss of our natural respect to humanity. Unless these ideas are

replaced by new ones, isolation by fraternity or expansiveness, factitious caste distinctions by equality, submission to outward force or power by freedom and independence of conscience, general indifference to secular affairs, by taking an active interest in such affairs and a passive acquiescence in evil by an active hatred of sin and wrong-doing, there can be no real reform. Let us consider to what object degradation, stagnation, superstition and vice, the worship and reverence of the old ideals have led our Society.

Purity and perfection are supposed to consist not so much in moral elevation and dignity, as in belonging to a particular caste, the members of which do not dine or intermarry with other castes. "The purest person is he," said Mr. Ranāde, "who cooks his own food and does not allow the shadow of his nearest friend to fall upon his food." Even philosophy has not been free from this taint of caste distinctions. For it has been held that knowledge and salvation can be secured by the esoteric few only, the rest of mankind being "left to grovel in superstition and vice

with only a colouring of so-called religion to make them respectable." This narrow and illiberal view of the different conditions of men must be replaced by the recognition of the essential equality between man and man, which will result in securing sympathy of all towards each other and increase the power of social polity as our efforts in the furtherance of any good cause will be aided by the conviction that numbers are with us and not against us or below us.

Submission to authority in all matters has led to our abject helplessness by begetting a notion that we all were intended to be children and must always remain so. We cannot then have a right of private judgment, but must subordinate the dictates of our conscience and reason to the mandates of outward authority. "In one sense," said Mr. Ranade, "we are children, no doubt, but children of God and not of men; and the voice of God in us is the only voice we are bound to listen to." By advocating freedom and responsibility of thought and action, Mr. Ranade did not mean rebellion against and overthrow of all

authority, as will be seen from the sagacious words of advice he addressed to his audience at Amraoti; "Reverence all human authority, pay your respect to all prophets and revelations, but subordinate that reverence to the Divine command in us."

Mr. Ranade ridiculed the notion that our acquiescence in wrongdoing is simply an inevitable condition of human nature about which we need not allow ourselves to be much concerned. That is nothing more or less than an expression of gross atheism. Not to perceive the hideousness of sin and vice is simply to prolong our animal existence. It is the beast in us that makes us acquiesce in such immoral practices as "Nautches" or dances by lewd women in our temples. A healthy tone of morality, enabling us to perceive the true dignity of our nature and of man's high destiny, will serve as an antidote to the poison with which our moral system has been impregnated. How deplorable is the present state of our present social polity will be seen from the following description thereof by Mr. Ranade: "All admit that we have been deformed. We

have lost our stature, we are bent in a hundred places; our eyes lust after forbidden things; our ears desire to hear scandals about neighbours; our tongue wants to taste forbidden fruit; our hands itch for another man's property; our bowels are deranged with indigestible food. We cannot walk on our feet, but require stilts or crutches." What should be done to remove the deformity in our social polity? Nothing more or less than placing ourselves under the stern discipline of ideas and forms mentioned above will do.

Mr. Ranade concludes his address with the following weighty remarks:—

“Reforms in the matter of infant marriages and enforced widowhood, in the matter of temperance and purity, intermarriages between castes, the elevation of low castes and the re-admission of converts, and regulations of our endowments and charity, are reforms only so far and no further as they check the influence of the old ideas and promote the growth of new tendencies. The reformer has to infuse into himself the light and warmth of nature, and he can only do it by purifying and improving

himself and his surroundings. He must have his family, village, tribe and nation recast in other and new moulds, and that is the reason why social reform becomes an obligatory duty and not a mere pastime which might be given up at pleasure. Revival is, as I said, as impossible as mass conversion into other faiths. But even if they were possible, their only use to us would be if they reformed us and our surroundings, if they made us stronger, braver, truer men with all our faculties of endurance and work developed, with all our sympathies fully awakened and refined, and our heads and hearts acting in unison with a purified and holy will, make us feel the dignity of our being and the destiny of our existence, make us love all, work with all, and feel for all. This is the reformer's work, and this, in my opinion, is the reason why the Conference meets from year to year and sounds the harmonies in every ear which can listen to them with advantage."

Mr. Ranade's Essay on State Interference in Social Matters, suggested by Mr. Malabari's Notes on Infant Marriages and Enforced Widowhood, is now separately published along with

his other essays and speeches on Social and Religious Reform. In this essay Mr. Ranade says:—"Those who feel the full force of the ethical and political causes mentioned above, and also feel how necessary it is at certain stages of man's progress to secure the assertion of right ideas by the highest sanctions, advocate to some extent the help of State regulation, as representing the highest and most disinterested wisdom of the times, working to give effect to the other tendencies concentrating and popularizing them." The object of the essay is to show by the example of what occurred in the past that timely state regulation is not attended with the mischiefs which people attribute to it, and that it co-ordinates and vivifies the healthy action of the other agencies. The objections usually urged against this position are fully answered one by one.

The objection that it is not the duty of the State to regulate social questions is answered by observing that those who find nothing wrong in the State's regulation of Sati and Infanticide or "who propose compulsory education, and compulsory vaccination and sanitary precau-

tions" cannot consistently urge any such argument. But it is said that the evils complained of are not so great as to necessitate State interference. The evils of child-marriages, enforced widowhood and unrestricted polygamous marriages may not be very great. But they cannot be said to be so trifling as not to require any legislative measures for their removal. "Wherever," says Mr. Ranade, "there is undeserved misery endured in a large number of cases, there is a ground for State interference, always supposing that the State interference will lead to the redress of the wrong, better than any individual effort can accomplish."

It is also contended that the parties concerned do not complain of the evils they are supposed to suffer from. But it should be remarked that the same sort of argument was advanced against the abolition of Sati and Infanticide and even of slavery. But as little importance can be attached to uneducated, helpless and custom-ridden women siding with their wrongdoers, as to the American slaves fighting on behalf of their Southern masters against their Northern liberators. The

fact is that the victims of injustice have been reduced to such a deplorable state of degradation as not to perceive the wrong that has been done to them and "to lick the hand of the oppressor," just as the innocent lamb is said to lick the hand that is raised to shed its blood. But that circumstance does not divest the State of the responsibility for redressing the wrong complained of by the friends of the victims. R

The advisability of invoking the assistance of a foreign Government to interfere with our social matters is also questioned. And Mr. Ranade observes that the objections would be irresistible, if the interference were of foreign initiation. But our rulers have no interest in the matter at all. They would fain follow the let-alone policy if they were not asked to take any action in the matter in question. And all that we ask our rulers to do is to give the sanction of law to the practices and usages of the respectable classes of the community.

It is also said that institutions, like constitutions, must grow, and cannot be made to order in imitation of foreign ideas. This argu-

ment is a sensible one. But it is deprived of much of its force when it is borne in mind that the reform that is sought to be sanctioned by law is not an innovation but a return to the better days of our past history, when infant marriages were unknown or were not in vogue, when widows were at liberty to marry again if they chose, as will be seen from the ordinances of our text writers, which are revered and held to be binding to the present day.

It is also said that there is no similarity between the case of Sati and Infanticide and that of the social reforms advocated by reformers. For the former were positive crimes and the practices and usages for the enforcement of which legislation is sought are not of a criminal nature and need no aid of law for their amendment. But Mr. Ranade denounces the practices and usages objected to as more criminal than even Sati and Infanticide. For the latter were prompted by temporary frenzy or insanity, caused by grief or by false and mischievous notions regarding the purity and dignity of a particular caste, and were never

perpetrated in cold blood. But this cannot be said of enforced widowhood and disfigurement of widows or of infant and polygamous marriages. "For they," says Mr. Ranade, "are not impulsive acts, but they are done in cold blood, and inflict life-long and undeserved misery on helpless victims, while the offender suffers little. So far as their moral heinousness is concerned, they are inflictions of injustice without any redeeming features, and the criminal responsibility of the nation is beyond all reprieve." The remedies proposed by Mr. Ranade and others cannot be pronounced as drastic measures. For the assistance of the law is only invoked to prohibit coercive disfigurement of widows and to enact that marriages below a certain age, at least twelve for girls and eighteen for boys, shall not be recognised by the Civil Courts in cases of disputes. It may be remarked that Mr. Ranade, in his essay on the age of Hindu marriage, has shewn that the proposed limit of 12 years for girls and 18 for boys even falls short of what is enjoined by the Smriti texts, and is even now in full keeping with the most

approved practice and the more respectable orthodox sentiment of the present day. It cannot then be well objected to.

Mr. Ranade also proposed that the same non-recognition of marriage should be extended to polygamous connections, unless they are formed for reasons held valid by Manu and other text writers, that the marriage by a widower above fifty with girls below fourteen should be absolutely prohibited, and that the widow should not be deprived of her husband's estate she has inherited when she marries again, but her life interest in that estate should remain intact. Though the Widow Marriage Act pronounces the validity of widow marriages, yet it divests the widow of her life interest in her husband's inheritance on her remarriage, which, in the opinion of Mr. Ranade, should not be the case. To this extent only Mr. Ranade, in the essay in question, has maintained the justifiableness of State Legislation in social matters. But latterly he somewhat modified his views on the desirability of State interference in matters relating to reform, thinking that much could not be

expected from such interference, and that "the community must work out its own social destinies," as observed by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar in his Presidential address delivered at the Bombay Social Conference in September 1901.

This chapter may be fittingly concluded by quoting the following letter which Mr. Ranade addressed to his friend and successor, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, on the 4th January, 1901, that is, 12 days before his death, as it shows how greatly he was pleased to hear that the meeting of the Social Conference (of which he was the founder and father, and to the development of which he applied all his energies and industry) had passed off successfully during his absence caused by his last illness:—

"Lanowli, January 4th, 1901.

"My dear Narayanrao,

My brother returned from Lahore yesterday, and the Hon. Gokhale the day before. Nothing gave me greater satisfaction than the account they both gave of the way in which, in the midst of your other heavy duties, you manag-

ed to find time to devote all your energies in helping with your full support the conference gathering at Lahore. I am assured that the meeting was in every way a great success and the enthusiasm unsurpassed by any similar gathering of its kind before. I have to thank you heartily for the whole-hearted devotion with which you did not spare yourself. When I asked the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to represent me at the conference, I had assured him that as you were at Lahore, I expected that you would render him all the help in your power. From all the accounts received, I see your kindness exceeded all my anticipations and I can only return to you my hearty thanks. The cold here is more biting than I can at present bear, and my medical friends advise me not to go to Poona for two or three weeks more. I may therefore come to Bombay in a day or so.

Yours sincerely,

M. G. RANADE."

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

MR. RANADE was an earnest, devout, and devoted member of the Prarathana Samaj. The religion of this Sabha is monotheism, and is destined in the end to be the religion of India. At least this is the opinion of those who refuse to believe that the country will sink into Agnosticism.

For history shows that the human mind in the long run is never satisfied with a negative explanation of the origin of things and the destiny of the human soul. Of two explanations of the origin of things and the nature of being one positive and another negative which are possible, it has chosen and will continue to choose the former; only it will make it conform to the principles of rationalism and progress which men have made in civilization and enlightenment, and divest it of superstitious and erroneous beliefs which are incompatible with such progress. "But the

mental state," says Professor A. C. Fraser in his Gifford Lectures, "in which one doubts about everything is a state in which man cannot live. Even animal life in man includes perceptions of some things and faith in some of their physical meanings. We cannot live without eating and drinking, and we cannot eat and drink without faith in the nutriment, or in the agreeable sensations, which we believe the visible food to supply, when it is only seen and before it is tasted."

What has attracted me in the conduct and character of Mr. Ranade was his thoroughness and earnestness in whatever he undertook to do. These noble traits have marked his career as public servant, his lectures, religious or lay, his writings on political and economical subjects, and his conduct as a member of the Prarathana Samaj. His sermons delivered at the Samaj at Bombay or Poona struck me as calculated to inspire animation and earnestness into that body, which, however inert it may appear, has been slowly but surely gathering strength to deliver us from the thralldom of priestly craft and a gross superstition.

Mr. Ranade was one of those who think that there is nothing new in the Theistic movement which was started by Raja Ram-Mohun Roy more than 70 years ago, was developed by the late Babu Keshao Chandra Sen under the name of the Brahmo Samaj, and has found a faint echo in the Prarathana Samaj of Bombay and Poona and a few other places in the Bombay Presidency. It is in his opinion simply the latest protest against the idolatry or polytheism and superstition and corrupt practices which have crept into the prevailing religion, obscured the knowledge of higher things, perverted noble precepts for the conduct of man in life, played fast and loose with the rules and restraints of morality, and substituted a mere formal ceremonial for the earnestness of religious worship. Such protests against the abuses of religion have been delivered from time to time from the Vedic to the present time by the authors of some of the Upanishads, who protested against the efficacy and necessity of sacrifices, and boldly pronounced them to be boats too frail to carry a man through the ocean of misery to the

haven of true happiness, and preached salvation by the "Dnyan Marga," or by way of knowledge of and meditation on the Supreme Being as opposed to the "Karma Marga" or way of works, as will be seen from the learned and interesting lecture delivered by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar at the Deccan College gathering on 5th May, 1895. The author of Buddhism (Shakya Muni Buddha) in the 6th century, before the Christian era went further than even the Protestant authors of some of the Upanishads, set aside both the Dnyan and the Karma Marga, set up a high moral ideal of purity of heart with the passions suppressed, inveighed in no measured terms against the cruelty of animal sacrifices and the distinctions of caste, and founded a religion based upon love or charity, which is still professed, though in a corrupt form, by a large portion of the human race. In our part of the country Maratha saints have appeared since the 16th century, such as Tukaram, Ramdas, Namdeo, and others, preaching the doctrine of salvation by faith or by uttering the name of the Deity, dwelling upon the superiority of purity

of life and humility of spirit to a mechanical observance of unmeaning forms and ceremonies for attaining the end and aim of our being, viz., happiness here or hereafter, exposing the hollowness of the distinctions of caste and the uselessness of conducting worship and religious ceremonies in Sanskrit unknown to many, instead of the vernaculars of the country familiar to all. The address which Mr. Ranade delivered before the Bombay Prarthna Samaja, 1895, on Indian Protestantism, is pronounced by the "Hindu" of Madras as an era making address, and is indeed such an excellent specimen of his religious addresses that I must give it in *extenso*.

"Brethren and friends,—Once more we meet on this platform to take stock of our gains and losses of the year that is about to close. Many familiar faces that cheered us in our work and helped us with their sweet encouragements have left us, and their vacant places have not yet been filled up in our hearts and memories. The mournful thought comes up in our minds, as we recollect their losses, whether after all this movement is or is not destined to out-live those who first

founded it in our midst twenty-eight years ago, and if we were left to depend upon our resources, this feeling of dismay might overpower us, with its heavy weight. The fact, however, is that the movement has struck its roots deep far in the past; and its shadows in the future may therefore safely be expected to embrace a longer period than is represented by the lives of the present generation of our leaders. During the past year I have been trying to set forth from this platform, and in other places also, the past history of the origin and progress of what has been well described by our saints and prophets for 2,000 years and more as the *Bhagwat Dharma* of which the present *Samaj* movement is only a faint reflex and an humble offshoot. One of the essential features of the *Bhagwat Dharma* is its Protestant character. As among the Jews, prophet after prophet has risen among us, and in his life and in his precepts has protested against and denounced certain habits of thoughts and principles of action, which have an inveterate tendency to encrust the true spirit of our faith, and to give a

human coating which obscures from view the essentially divine element. Bhagwat Dharma may, therefore, be safely described as Protestant Hinduism, and I would bespeak your favourable attention to-day to the chief features of this long continued protest, which has done such great service in the past, and which is likely to do still greater service in the future. Our students are tolerably familiar with the growth of Protestantism in Christian Europe. Very few, however, are familiar with the fact that the surging of the spirit and the searching of the heart, which culminated in the growth of Protestantism in Western Europe were contemporaneously working as powerful agents in this our own country, and with a similar beneficial result. The Christian leaders of modern thought protested against the supremacy of the Latin language as a vehicle of expression and thought in the schools and churches. They protested against the excess of the ascetic ideas of the monks of the different orders, and the necessity of priestly intervention in all rites and ceremonies. They protested against indulgences, and they

protested against pilgrimages and fasts, and confessions and casuistry. They protested against the image worship and relic worship, and pompous ceremonies, which did not tend to elevate the heart and the mind of man. They succeeded in their own time wonderfully, not only by the direct effect of their action in their own communities, but still more by their radiant effect on the Roman church, which not only purified itself in the struggle and kept up its authority over a large part of Europe, but with renewed vigour has again been able to raise its head as the oldest and noblest representative of constituted authority in its struggle with emancipating reason. The need for protest was not over with the century which produced Luther and Calvin, Knox and Latimer. The established faith has always and everywhere a tendency to grow too rigid and too authoritative, too mechanical, too formal to retain the celestial fire, pure and burning. The Puritans and the Covenanters of the 17th, and Wesleyans and Methodists of the last century, are all valuable only as protests against the weak-

ness and corruption of the established order of things. I need not pursue this topic further here, as my main concern is with the growth of the Protestant movement in our own country. With a view to prevent misapprehensions I may at once state for the information of my audience, that I have based my own history of this movement on the biographies of saints and prophets, not written by any one of us, but by writers such as Nabhaji, Udhav-Chidghan, Pryadas, and rendered familiar to us by Mahipati's great work written more than a century ago. Mahipati's collection makes us acquainted with the history of a hundred saints and prophets, out of which about fifty are from Maharashtra, and the rest from other parts of India. These saints and prophets, it may be noted, include about ten women and as many Mahomedans, and the rest, about 80, comprise about an equal number of Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and among these last are represented men of all castes and trades, butchers, spinners and weavers, oilmen, gardeners, potters, goldsmiths, barbers and Mahars,

kings and farmers, bankers and soldiers. This is the most noteworthy feature of the leaders of the Protestant movement in India. No country in the world can present such a galaxy of pure and pious men born in humble circumstances, who struggled and strove for the cause and won it, not by their own strength, but by their weakness. The genuinely national character of the movement is attested by the fact that that it spread to all classes and touched all hearts, both of men and women and of Hindus and Mahomedans. There is always good reason for despondency and despair, so long as any movement is not so general in its character. This has been the weakness of the Samaj movements, both of our own and, of Arya and Bramha Samaj, that, they have failed as yet to stir the heart of the nation, and their influence is only operative over a few souls brought up in a particular atmosphere. It is on this account that the study of this old history becomes to us a matter of paramount importance. These one hundred men and women immortalized by Nabhaji, Udhav, and Mahipati,

cover a period of 50 or 60 years, and as yet the stream has not been dried up altogether. We have next to see what were the principal features of the protest that these men raised—each in his own place and time, each in his own manner and method. Their rise led to no wars, nor bloodshed, nor persecutions, nor inquisitions; no fines or banishments. They worked silently, as God's voice in us works silently but surely. These men protested (1) against the supremacy of the old Sanskrit language as a vehicle of learning, and they enriched each in his own time the stock of their vernacular treasures. The battle of the vernaculars against the classics is not of our time only. It is an old, old struggle. Pundits pounced upon Eknath and Tukaram for daring to popularize the old learning so as to make it accessible to the meanest of the mean. The story of the drowning of the works of Eknath and of Tukaram at the bidding of the Pundits is well known. The same struggle was maintained by Ramadas against Waman and by Salya Rasal against Namdeo. The saints conquered in the end, and so far the growth

of vernaculars in each province of India has been the measure of the growth of the Protestant element in that province. The next protest was raised by these men against the tendency ✓to exaggerate the importance of rites and ceremonies as helps to the growth of the religious spirit. Rites and ceremonies are, after all, all symbols, and if their symbolical character is not vividly presented to the mind, they obscure the religious vision and usurp the place of the purity of heart and of true devotion for which they were intended to be auxiliaries only, and not masters. Nearly every one of the saints worked for righteousness in this direction, but I have not time to enumerate the triumphs they achieved. Jesus' protest against the Pharisees and Sadducees was reproduced in the lives of every one of these men in their struggles with orthodoxy and Brahmanism. Their success in this department has not been equal to that which they achieved in the displacement of the monopoly of Sanskrit learning, but anybody who can read our Smritis and religious ordinances and compares their strictness with our present customs and practices, can alone measure the greatness of the

work already achieved. The third protest raised by these saints was against the hold which the Yoga system of austerities and the supposed powers it conferred on the Yogi of performing wonders. In this direction the success is almost complete. The natives in India have been wearied of their foolish attempts to strive after powers, which, even when possessed in full, mean no real gain. The struggle of Dnyandeo and Changdeo, and Dnyandeo himself against Namdeo, typifies this feature of the Protestant movement with remarkable accuracy, and leaves nothing to be desired. The fourth feature of the movement was directed to the retaining the strictness of caste rules and distinctions. The inclusion of Mahars and barbers, cobblers and butchers, as well as of women and Mahomedans among the saints, meant an enlargement of view for which you will scarcely find a parallel elsewhere. Eknath and Kabir, Ramdas and Tukaram represented the highest efforts of true religion in this direction. The success here is of course not so permanent and assured as in other respects, but still much ground has been gained. (5) The next protest was raised

against cruelty and impurity, against animal and human sacrifices, against the worship of cruel deities and the performance of Shakta rites. The success here is complete. (6) The protest was equally strong against Polytheism, though not against idolatry, except in the advanced sects of Nanak and Kabir. The saints were practically worshippers of one God, and their struggle not to admit a multiplicity of rival Gods was heroic. (7) The protest was equally loud in favour of proclaiming that God was a living God, and that His Spiritual Providence cared for the meanest of His creatures with more than a mother's and father's love. This sense of a loving God, who spoke to, and walked with and comforted the worshippers, that sense is our richest treasure, though the stories told of His intercommunications with men have been often of a very grotesque character. These then are the points in which Indian Protestantism has done us service, and if we are true to our great ancestors this is the work and these are the lines on which we should work. Coming in contact with the Mahomedans they made converts of thoughtful

Mahomedans by concessions which implied an unity of Providence, whether it was called *Ram* or *Rahim*. Coming in contact with Christianity we have our own concessions to make. But whether we give or whatever we take from our own surroundings, one thing we must never forget—that it is not a movement started by a few English educated natives, and that its founder was not this or that man in Bengal or the Punjab. The movement is older than modern India ; and it is not confined to the English-educated classes in the towns. Its roots lie deep in our history, and we must study it, then, all along the line if we want to understand how we really stand, and whither we have to go. Authority in matters of faith is as essential as authority on matters of secular happiness. Authority is not a creation of the imagination. We cannot create the same which teaches us to bow to noble and good men of the past, and we cannot dispense with their help. We must seek them as our guides. Our domestic guides are, in such matters, to be preferred to foreign guides, because these last have not been the flesh of our flesh and the bone of

our bone. If we would bear that in mind and work the movement on the lines of the Bhagwat Dharma in the times to come success is sure, because it is His work. He will carry it through by the hands of poor men if only we swear fealty to Him, and hold by Him through good and bad report."

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, in a learned lecture delivered at the annual gathering of the *alumni* of the Deccan College, on 5th May, 1895, which appeared to have been intended as a supplement to the above quoted address of Mr. Ranade, takes exception to the latter on the ground that it ignores the protests made against the abuses in Hindu religion by a host of sages or saints in the various parts of the country, prior to the protests of the Maratha saints in the 16th century and subsequently. For he observed in his lecture: "Now, if we with Mr. Ranade regard the Hindu protests against religious abuses as having begun about 25 centuries after the Indian *Aryas* became a civilized community, it is a circumstance hardly creditable to the intelligence of the race. The fact is that protests

appeared 20 centuries earlier," such as those of some of the authors of the Upanishads, the Buddhists, the Jains, &c. It would, however, appear from the address of Mr. Ranade that its object was to notice the protests made by the followers of what he calls Bhagvat Dharma, or a religion whose prominent feature was faith in God, in Maharashtra. Perhaps limitations of time and space led him to confine his attention chiefly to the protests made in Maharashtra. Though the address is not exhaustive of all the protests made against religious abuses from time to time in India, yet it is exhaustive of the subject it professes to treat of, viz., the protests of the Maratha saints, pronouncing them to be more or less successful. But Dr. Bhandarkar, in the lecture alluded to above, is doubtful about the success of these protests. For he observes in the lecture that these "protests have not been able to root out idolatry, that their advocacy of the vernaculars did not produce more extensive results than the production of books of a devotional character," and that "for purposes of argumentation and ceremonial worship the

Sanskrit language continued to be used, so that the protests cannot be said to have succeeded; and again, these people were monotheists, but their monotheism ultimately degenerated into polytheism, because one liked to worship God in the form of Ram, another in that of Krishna and third in that of Vithal, and so on. The worshippers of God under each name forming a separate group, there arose so many distinct classes and so many gods also. And thus popular worship was not purged of polytheism and idolatry." It will, however, be noticed from Mr. Ranade's address that he was far from maintaining that the protests of the Maratha saints were uniformly and completely successful. Had it been so the modern theistic movement would hardly have been necessary. But it cannot be well said that they attained no degree of success on any of the points noticed by Mr. Ranade. The observation of Dr. Bhandarkar that "their advocacy of the vernaculars did not produce more extensive results than the production of books of a devotional character" is far from being unquestionably accurate, when the

philosophic commentary of Dyaneshwar on the Bhagvatgita, the soul-stirring *Abhangas* of Tukaram and the *Shlokas* of Ramdas protesting against the show of knowledge and piety without the reality, against the hollowness of worldly things, against the emptiness of fasts and pilgrimages and outward holiness without the heart being touched with humility and love of God and man, without the mind being purged of violent passions and being devoted to the contemplation and worship of one God, the Creator and Ruler of the world, under whatever name He be worshipped," are taken into consideration along with the works of Waman, Pandit, Shridhar, Moropant, and others. The writings of these Maratha poets, which have created a Maratha literature of a pure and elevating kind, and have almost attained a classical dignity, cannot be justly characterised as purely works of a devotional character.

The remark of Dr. Bhandarkar that for purposes of argumentation and ceremonial worship, the Sanskrit continued to be used is susceptible of much modification or qualification. For argumentation is no longer carried on in Sanskrit

but in Marathi, except among a few Shastris who know Sanskrit, and that too by routine and nothing more, and who are unable to express themselves intelligibly or even correctly in Marathi. Sanskrit may continue to be used in the performance of certain ceremonies, such as marriage and the like, but it cannot be well said that divine worship has been universally conducted in Sanskrit, as the followers of Dyandeo, Tukaram, Ramdas and others worship their respective gods in the language of the people enriched by these poetic saints with their immortal works. It will be seen from the works of these saints that they are really monotheistic. And it is perhaps no fault of theirs that their worship of God under a particular form or a particular name has lent countenance to polytheism among their uncultured followers, who, through a mistaken notion, believe that different names denote different gods.

The protests of Marathi saints and prophets may not have succeeded in rooting out idolatry and caste distinctions. But Mr. Ranade in his article on Marathi saints and prophets which appeared in the Quarterly Journal

of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha for 1895, which is an amplification of his short address on this subject, quoted above, and which is perhaps intended as a reply to the strictures passed on it by Dr. Bhandarkar in his lecture just referred to, said: "The result of all this elevating teaching is seen in the fact that caste exclusiveness finds no place in the religious sphere of life, and it is relegated solely to the social concerns of men, and even there its restrictiveness is much relaxed, as any one can judge who compares the Brahmins of Southern India, with their exclusive caste prejudices and their abhorrence of even the shadow of the lower castes, defiling Brahmin streets, with the comparative indifference shown in such matters in the Desh portion of the Maharashtra. This feeling of indifference is most accentuated at the times of the annual pilgrimage gatherings, and the mixed greetings with which the Lord's feast is celebrated on the last day. Just as in Europe people even ceased to believe that the priest was a necessary medium between God and man for purposes of salvation, in this

part of India the domination of the Brahmin caste as the gods of the creation, whom the other castes should serve and worship, lost much of its potency, and men and women, high and low, came to feel that they were free to attain salvation by faith and love in spite of their origin." Again, referring to the monotheism of these saints, he remarked in the article in question, "The Supreme One God, without a second, was a creed with every one of these saints which they would not allow anybody to question or challenge. At the same time, as observed above, the iconoclastic spirit was never characteristic of this country, and all the various forms in which God was worshipped were believed to merge finally into one supreme Providence in which all believed. This tendency of the national mind was a very old tendency. Even in Vedic times Indra and Varuna, Marut and Rudra, while they were separately invoked at the sacrifices offered for their acceptance, were regarded as interchangeable forms of the one Supreme Lord of creation. This same tendency explains the comparative indifference with which saints and

prophets treated the question of image worship. It is a complete misunderstanding of their thoughts and ideas when it is represented that these gifted people were idolators in the objectionable form of the term."

Mr. Ranade thus summed up his observations on the results of the Protestant movement in Western India in the 16th century, and later, which it need hardly be remarked were those of a thoughtful optimist. "We have thus noticed all the principal features of the religious movement which, commencing with Dnyandeo, who lived in the 13th century, can be traced down almost to our own times as a steady growth in spiritual virtues. It gave us a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of the old spirit of exclusiveness. It raised the *Shudra* classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance, almost equal to that of the Brahmins. It gave sanctity to family relations and raised the status of women. It made the nation more humane, at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration.

It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mahomedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, of pilgrimages and fasts, of learning and contemplation, to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action, and prepared it in a way, no other nation in India was prepared, to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power in the place of foreign domination."

The protest of the Maratha saints, then, may be safely said to have attained as much success as was possible in the case.

The opinion of Mr. Ranade that the comparatively recent theistic movement under the name of *Brahmo Sāmaj* in Bengal, of *Prarthana Samaj* in Bombay, and under various other names in different parts of India, is not an importation from the West but a legitimate outcome of what is the best portion of Hindu Religion, is enlarged upon in a lecture on the Philosophy of Theism,

delivered by him on 13th September, 1896, at the Wilson College. Dr. Mackichan, the learned Principal of that College, who presided over the meeting at which the lecture was delivered, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Ranade for the interesting lecture, observed that it contained a very able criticism of Materialism on the one hand and Pantheism on the other, treating some religious themes with much philosophical and religious insight, and concluded with remarking, "We must all appreciate the fairness that has been shown in the Lecture to various systems of thought, the desire to recognise what is valuable in every system with which the Lecture deals, above all the high aspirations and aims which run through it from beginning to end."

As the Lecture is a very able exposition of the opinions and views of Mr. Ranade on Theism it will not be amiss to give a short summary thereof.

The Lecture purports to be founded on Dr. Fraser's Gifford Lectures on the Philosophy of Theism. But as remarked by Dr. Mackichan, we shall find therein a "great deal of the

Hon'ble Mr. Ranade's own thoughts." Let us then consider what are those thoughts.

Dr. Fraser, in his instructive lectures on the Philosophy of Theism, applies himself to the consideration of the questions: "Whence, whither and why?"—whence have we come, whither are we going, and what is the purport of this pilgrim's progress? This question, it need hardly be said, has engaged the attention of thinkers and philosophers in every age and every clime from the earliest dawn of philosophy to the present times. The different interpretations that have been given of the deep problem of being or existence may be reduced to three postulates; the "Ego" or the I (the human soul) the "non-Ego" or the not I (matter), and the infinite which underlies all currents of thought, all systems of philosophy. Some maintain the existence of three separate principles, some of two only, and others of one of these only, the Ego or the non-Ego, or the infinite or the universal soul. Idealists, materialists, and spiritualists respectively maintain the supremacy of the Ego, or the human soul, the non-Ego or

matter, and the infinite. When we consider the speculations and arguments of idealists, or those who maintain the supremacy of the human mind or the soul, or of materialists, who assign such supremacy to matter, or of pantheists or spiritualists who deny the separate existence of each of these postulates and affirm the sole existence and the over-ruling power of the Universal soul, we shall see that all of these have something that is plausible, nay valuable, to say in favour of their respective positions. At first, indeed, it appears that while men and animals are only passing shows of being, matter is that of which reality can well be affirmed. Hence it is supposed by some philosophers, that matter is the ultimate cause of everything we see around us. The different sorts of phenomena we see about us in animate or inanimate nature are only the result of the constant changes and transformations of the molecules of matter. But in reality, what do we know of matter beyond the impressions it produces upon our minds? And do we not see that those impressions last only as

long as the perceiving mind is present? Can they, then, have independent existence apart from the mind or the soul that perceives them. If the mind or the soul is removed or disappears, what becomes of them? Do they not vanish away into nothing? If, then, we know nothing of matter except the impressions it produces upon us, and if those impressions, depending only upon the perceiver for their existence, will be nothing when the perceiver disappears, what reason is there to assign real existence to matter, especially when we perceive that we are superior not only to inanimate nature but to the animate world by possessing freedom of will and a sense of responsibility and duty? Would it then be erroneous or fallacious to transfer the supremacy and the reality to the human soul which never dies even on the dissolution of its earthly tenement? When men perceive the inability of materialism to explain causation and the futility of its explanation of consequence by means of "a casual assemblage of atoms chancing to evolve order out of chaos," they fall upon them-

selves. When such is the case: "Homo mensura," said Mr. Ranade, "becomes the rule of thought. It is a useful guide within certain limits, but when pushed too far becomes self-destructive." "*Cogito ergo sum*" (I think, therefore I am) may account for one's belief in his own existence, but affords no ground for his belief in the existence of the outside world, in its permanence apart from his changing consciousness about it. But the permanence of the external world is an essential condition of the formation of science. For how can scientific truths have any value when they have no foundation in the external world, but only in the brain of the thinker who thinks them out? This is the final outcome of the philosophy "which makes the individual, the final and only measure of being," leading to the collapse of our moral nature when no relationship is said to subsist between one soul and another. But the human mind can never be satisfied with this result, when the individual man cannot escape from the reflection that the world and other sentient beings like himself were, when he

was not and will continue to be when he will be not. Being thus dissatisfied with the theory which would assign predominance to nature or to man, in the scheme of the Universe, the human mind seeks refuge in the Supreme Spirit which is the only real existence of which man and nature are manifestations, which underlies and rules all phenomena and which has been acknowledged in some shape or other by almost all the systems of philosophy and religion, as the—

“ Father of all, in every age
And every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage :
Jehovah, Jove or Lord.”

The Supreme Spirit has been resorted to to explain the Universal even by some agnostic philosophers and thinkers, such as Mr. Herbert Spencer, according to whom modern evolutionary science compels us to explain the Universe by some unknowable mystery, though he divests it of personality.

The system which makes the Supreme Spirit the first and governing principle of the universe possesses advantages which the other systems

cannot boast of, inasmuch as it affords a satisfactory explanation of the infinity of matter and force with which we are surrounded and dispenses with the necessity of explaining the origin of things and the problem of creation or evolution. It also forms a higher, nobler and truer conception of Supreme Existence than can be found in many religious creeds which separate God from nature and man, and represent Him to be a Being among other beings, only more powerful and wiser than they.

The system which asserts the sole existence of the Supreme Spirit and supposes that man and nature are its reflected manifestations not separable from it in essence, but seeming to be separate from it on account of our narrow vision, may be termed pantheism, but is distinguishable from the pantheistic teaching of European thinkers who have represented the doctrine in such a manner as to lend countenance to the supposition that in affirming the existence of the Supreme Spirit, it denied any other existence. But this is far from the case in India. For the doctrine is practically theistic in India. Even Shankaracharya, the great

apostle of the *Advait* (without a second) system which affirms the sole existence of the Supreme Being, does not categorically deny the existence of objective nature, but only maintains that existence is only phenomenal but not real in the sense which is attached to that of the Universal Soul. Since the death of Shankaracharya his system has been greatly modified by Ramanuja, whose modifications have given rise to the various Vaishnav Sects throughout India, which are eminently theistic.

The Indian system of pantheism is thus free from all the error which was noticed above in the teachings of European pantheism and which consisted in consubstantiating the only substance and the only reality with all material things and all individual minds, so that what is predicated of the latter must be predicated of the former also. Thus the absolute reality at once becomes infinite, and finite, and phenomenal. What we see around us is nothing but an illusory manifestation of the absolute substance. But the mind refuses to be reconciled to this interpretation of the Universe, which would put an end to succession in time and

space and efface the notions of cause and effect, perfection and imperfection, good and evil, right and wrong, of which we are conscious. From such extreme pantheism the human mind in despair seeks shelter in scepticism, and doubts whether anything certain can really be known regarding the mysterious problem of being. This is the last stage of speculation which the human mind has reached in Europe and which is known as agnosticism. But there is no reason to despair, and allow the mind to fall into what may be called a paralysis of thought, if we only know what kind of proof is possible or obtainable. There are branches or departments of human knowledge or science where no logical demonstration is possible, where all that we can have is moral certainty, and where, as Bishop Butler would say, probability is our only guide. But it does not follow from the absence of any demonstrative proof that nothing certain can be known in such branches of knowledge or science. If this is the case, why should we despair of any certainty of knowledge in the philosophy of religion ?

“ We can never,” said Mr. Ranade in the

lecture under notice, "demonstrate logically our reasons for the faith that we feel in the continuity of nature and the uniform operation of its laws. All science ultimately resolves itself into a product of our faith in the trustworthiness of an ever-changing universe. This sense of trustworthiness is the slow growth of ages but it is none the less the basis of scientific truths as we apprehend them. If this basis of faith is not repudiated by science it has legitimate claims upon our acceptance in the philosophy of the absolute." Thus, there is a harmony between ourselves and nature, the connecting link between them being our faith in the uniformity of its laws. The operation of those laws tends to justify that *faith*. But that link not only connects us with nature but connects "us and nature alike with the infinite existence whose purposes, wisdom and benevolence, beauty and power are thereby disclosed to our eyes of faith and knowledge. Science thus holds the torch of faith to the mystery of religion." Extinguish this torch and you make theism and science suffer alike. For the latter too ultimately falls upon our faith in the uni.

formity and permanance of the laws of nature.

The three postulates of existence (man, nature, and the infinite) are thus shown to be distinct and separate from each other; but they are not disjointed parts of a mechanical whole, the third postulate ruling over and harmonising the first two. The discovery of the subordinate position of the first two to the third is, according to Mr. Ranade, the province of philosophers. For the manifestations of wisdom and power, beauty and benevolence in the operations of nature proclaim the Author of the Universe not only to the most ignorant and the most learned, but also to the most sceptical. But the first cause has been represented by the various races of mankind, according to their different stages of civilization, in various forms, varying from the awkward, grotesque, and fantastic pictures of God, that are painted in the numerous systems of idolatry and polytheism, to the refined, sublime and lofty notions of the Deity, that are found in the theistic systems of belief. Some of the Upanishads of the Rig Veda are the earliest

human writings containing such pure notions of God. With the progress of civilization and scientific knowledge such notions became more and more refined, till at last the Supreme Spirit is found to be immanent in every thing and every being (nature and man) in the order and purpose which animates nature and which means reason, conscious mind and personal will.

What is meant by the phrase, "God immanent in nature?" It is nothing more or less than the divine reality, actively regulating the purposes of law or order, beauty and benevolence, power and wisdom, through the so-called natural agents, which may be likened to the telegraphic wire through which messages are sent across time and space and deciphered by man, whether they are messages of science or religion. But it is not only nature that is supernatural in this view. Man can also claim such element in him by his possessing self-conscious reason and free volition which are his distinguishing features and are absent in the brute creation, where responsibility for action does not exist as it does in man.

“ These distinguishing features of man are,” in the opinion of Mr. Ranade “ the foundation of all law and government, morais and manners, social and family arrangements, literary and scientific culture, and finally of religion and worship, and are the source of his highest glory and his greatest responsibility. Man thus occupies a higher place in the scale of beings. But his higher place has higher responsibilities attached to it. The sense of conscience in him, keeps him alive to these responsibilities, manifests the presence of the over-ruling Providence in him, serves as a medium of communion, as a connecting link between him and the Universal Spirit, affording him the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, when he does his duty, and chastising him with remorse when he fails to do it or goes wrong.” The freedom of will or the self-originated volition as Mr. Ranade calls it, limited by obligations of duty and sense of personal responsibility, is what is divine, superhuman or supernatural in man. When man’s relations with the Universal Soul are considered from the ethical and personal point of view,

they cannot fail to disclose a higher revelation than what nature points out, linking knowledge with faith (the union resulting in affording us a glimpse, however faint, into the mysteries that are hidden from our sight) and elevating man from mortal to immortal existence.

It is an erroneous conception of God to suppose that He is merely a man made perfect and infinite in his qualities and devoid of his imperfections, as is postulated in Buddhism, which degrades the Universal Spirit to the position of a wise man, placed above the old mythological gods and banishes it from the Government of the universe. This is nothing more or less than a form of idolatry against which the Aryan system of faith has protested more vehemently than any other religion. Consider for instance, the remark of our Upanishads, "that he who thinketh that he knoweth God doth not know Him, while he who thinketh that he doth not know Him knoweth Him. From Him the speech of man recoileth in despair how to describe Him. The mind of man cannot

grasp Him; only through faith, hope and love, can He be approached."

"This," according to Mr. Ranade, "is the teaching of natural theism," which requires to be supplemented by further revelations of God in history that are at the basis of all historical religions and religious movements, and that are made through the lives, teachings and preachings of prophets and saints in every age and every clime. These revelations being adapted to the circumstances of each country and age differ from each other in form only, but aim at the same goal of purifying and perfecting our conception of God and of improving the moral and spiritual condition of men. Thus in India through such agency, which even now has not ceased to operate, religion has been refined and reformed from the worship of personified elements to that of the supreme power which rules over them all and which "is clothed with ethical and moral grandeur" unknown to the Gods of the old mythology. After purifying religion, the capacities of the human soul became the object of inquiry of the

Upanishads. The inquiry led the authors of the Upanishads to believe in the ideality of the human soul with the universal spirit. But the Buddhists, who came afterwards, instead of engaging their mind with such subtle and abstruse speculation, as such inquiry involves, devoted their attention to what is practical and useful, viz., the improvement of the morals of man, and protested against the inhuman and useless practice of animal sacrifices, and fought for the annihilation of the animal in man, that is the conquest over his passions "as the highest form of worship and the only road to salvation" in the place of such sacrifices. Though the Mahomedan faith, after a long interval, appeared in the guise of a conqueror's sword in India, yet it had something to lend to the Bhagvat Dharm. For it taught the necessity of not only acknowledging strict monotheism in theory, but of making it a rule of practical conduct. Christianity besides preaching the same thing has been preaching the Christian *virtues*, viz., "the power of organization, active hatred of sin and indignation against wrong-doing in

place of resigned indifference, a correct sense of the dignity of man and woman, active philanthropy and a feeling of fraternity." Mr. Ranade next pointed out resemblances between the Bhagvat Dharm and the Christian faith, such as the contemplation of the supreme spirit as "the ocean of life in which we live, move, and have our being," and in the doctrines of the Trinity, incarnation, and sacrifice. The component parts of the Sanskrit name of God, *sacchidanand* (सच्चिदानंद) denote His absolute existence, intelligence and joy. Mr. Ranade found an analogy to these in the three persons of the Christian Trinity सत् (Satt) corresponding to the absolute existence of the Father, चित् (Chitt) to the Logos or the word Eternal, and आनंद (Annand) or joy to the Holy Comforter. But though the Indian Theism like other forms of Theism being essentially eclectic—receives accessions of light from whatever quarter they may come, yet "it has not lost its individual characteristic features throughout; such as its non-historical character, being associated with no particular saint or prophet,

but being ready to welcome the teachings of all saints and prophets to whatever religion they may belong. But the most distinguishing feature of Indian Theism is its belief in the direct communion of the individual soul with the soul of the Universe. It also does not limit the education of man to a single trial in this world, and lastly, it preaches to all self-sacrifice and the duty of love, not only between man and man but towards all sentient creatures that feel pain. It is this embodiment of the cardinal principles of religion and morality in Indian Theism that led the Revd. Dr. Millar of Madras to counsel his audience in an eloquent lecture delivered there some time ago, and alluded to by Mr. Ranade in the lecture under notice, to remember that God had been at work in India long before the appearance of any missionary, Protestant or Catholic, on the Indian soil, and that the Hindu system of faith, in spite of its corruptions, is not devoid of elements of divine truth. It is, therefore, hopeless to expect that India as a whole will give up its system of religion at the

bidding of the Christian missionaries. She may, however, assimilate to herself the divine life embodied in their organisations, as remarked by the *Christian World* while commenting upon Dr. Millar's lecture.

It will thus be seen that Mr. Ranade was a believer in and advocate of a refined and philosophic form of Theism, which is fitted only to the enlightened few, but hardly suitable for the ignorant many, who are unable to realise an abstract, formless deity and cannot concentrate their minds upon an object of worship that has no concrete shape or form. Hence the progress of such a religion as that advocated by Mr. Ranade must be necessarily slow. It can only march on with the progress of the people in education and enlightenment. And as this progress in India is extremely slow it is no wonder that any outward movement in our Theistic churches is hardly perceptible, at least on this side of India, when its few followers are compared with the innumerable adherents of the existing forms of faith. There is another obstacle to its spread. As remarked above it is fitted only for highly educated persons. But it

is not all such persons who embrace it. For not a few of them, dissatisfied with the positive explanations of the problems of being that have been usually given, are led by the agnostic writings of some European thinkers to prefer agnosticism or scepticism to a faith in a living God. It is not then unquestionable that pure and simple Theism will be the future religion of India or even of a majority of its multitudinous people. But whatever may be the case, it may be safely asserted from the progress of the Brahmo Samaj in its various forms in Bengal, of the Arya Samaj in Punjab, and of the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay, that Theism will not cease to be an important factor in bringing about a religious reformation in India, and one of the potent agencies already at work in effecting the regeneration of the country. Even the present state of Theistic churches in India unmistakably shows to an unbiassed mind that the labours of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Maharishi Devendranath Tagore, Babu Kesheb Chunder Sen, Babu Pratab Chundra Muzumdar and others, have not altogether been fruitless. How can it be otherwise? For the efforts of

highly gifted minds for the furtherance of a cause, the attainment of which is not impossible or impracticable, will not in the long run cease to be fruitful. What these distinguished Theists have done in Bengal Mr. Ranade and his friend and his fellow graduate, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, have done in our Presidency, though on a much smaller scale; they have been in fact the standing pillars of the Theistic movement in our part of the country, strenuously struggling with other co-adjutors, though their number is unfortunately very small to establish it on a firm basis, by their exemplary lives, their spotless character, their firm adherence to the principles of Theism both in theory and practice, and their frequently delivering excellent sermons and lectures on Theistic subjects, not only in English but also in Marathi in Theistic churches. The Marathi sermons and lectures of Mr. Ranade alone, if published, would form a bulky volume of elegant Marathi reading. A Parsee Fellow of the Bombay University, in the course of a discussion at a meeting of the senate regarding the proposed introduction of the Vernaculars into the 'University

curriculum, is reported to have asked : " What has Mr. Ranade " (who was a strenuous advocate of the proposal) " done for the improvement of Marathi ? " Had the Fellow, evidently a stranger to Marathi among other things, been in a position to understand Marathi, and had listened to the soul-stirring sermons and lectures of Mr. Ranade delivered in that language, he would have been of a different opinion. For these lectures and sermons will show that Mr. Ranade has done more for Marathi than could be dreamed of in the Fellow's philosophy. If to deliver a series of lectures and sermons capable of affording materials for a large volume on a variety of subjects, in pure, idiomatic, fluent and vigorous Marathi is not to render a service to that language in the matter of its improvement, what can be held as rendering any service to that language? The only fault that can be found with Mr. Ranade in this matter is that he has not strictly followed the precept of a sage regarding writing what you have to say. For his Marathi lectures and sermons are mostly unwritten and cannot therefore be included in his published writings. Beyond edifying the

hearers who had the pleasure of listening to them, they are not available for illustrating, among other things, the services he has rendered to the Marathi language.

CHAPTER V.

ON MATTERS POLITICAL.

SIR RICHARD GARTH, a retired Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, says in an article in the *Law Magazine and Review*: "Of all the many acts of injustice which have marked the conduct of the Government of India of late, there is none in my opinion which can at all compare with their insolent treatment of the National Congress." Again he says: "Now I wish to say further, in conclusion, with regard to the Congress, that I defy any man to find fault with the perfect loyalty and respect to Her Majesty and the ruling power with which its proceedings are conducted. I have studied them from time to time very carefully. I have never seen a single instance of any disloyal sentiment or expression; and I invite Sir George Chesney or anyone else to point out any of the kind." What is said above of the National Congress by Sir Richard Garth might be safely said of the Poona

Sarvajanik Sabha, a political Association founded by the late Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi (a true hearted and zealous well-wisher and promoter of the good of his country) and others in 1870, for representing the wants and wishes of the people to Government when it was under the guidance of Mr. Ranade. The Sabha was based upon a sort of popular elective system. Nobody could be a member of the Sabha unless he was elected as such by fifty persons or more and paid an entrance fee and an annual subscription. It was composed of men of position and respectability, inamdars or proprietors of land, saukars or money lenders, merchants, pensioned Government officers, pleaders, professors, and most of the ruling chiefs of the Southern Maratha country. Its affairs were managed by a managing committee, annually elected, together with the Chairman, by the general body of the members. Its proceedings were pretty regularly published in a journal of its own, called the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, started in 1878, and containing able and learned articles chiefly on the current political topics of the

day. It will be difficult to point out in the proceedings of the Sabha or in the articles that appears in its journal from time to time anything savouring of disloyalty or wanting in respect to the powers that be. Its representations to Government on various subjects affecting the interests of the people were moderate, thoughtful, weighty, well-informed, and well reasoned. This was what must have been expected from the character and position of the members composing it, and the able men engaged in drafting its representations to Government and in writing the articles that appeared in its magazine from time to time. In spite, however, of the moderation of tone, the sobriety of judgment, and the spirit of loyalty breathing throughout its proceedings, it was in the beginning of its existence denounced by some Government officials as a seeditious Sabha; its proceedings were watched with suspicion, and the cold shoulder was given to its representations by them. But the Times of India, in an appreciative notice of the first four numbers of the journal of the Sabha, observed :

“It is the fashion to assume that the Sar-

vajanik Sabha is a seditious, if not a secret, society, but an impartial survey of the papers in the four numbers which now lie on our desk, leaves us unable to discover any ground for the suspicion which appears to prevail in some quarters. Different Government measures very freely criticized, and the criticism is very thorough-going and effective, but we do not see anywhere evidence that the right of Government to the obedience and support of the population is called in question; on the contrary that right is implicitly recognized throughout, and in a remarkable passage of an article on the censorship of the Vernacular Press (it may be mentioned here, perhaps, with pardonable vanity, that the article in question was the production of the writer of this sketch), a subject calculated to elicit all the bitterness which may be supposed to exist in the breasts of the members of the Sabha, the British Government is contrasted greatly to its advantage with that of Russia and is spoken of as 'the one Government which is capable of raising India in the scale of nations.'"

Dr. William Wordsworth, the philosophic

Principal of the Deccan College and afterwards of the Elphinstone College, Vice-chancellor of the University of Bombay, and one of the most successful and popular educationists on this side of India, who retired on pension towards the end of 1890 to the regret of an innumerable host of pupils, friends and admirers scattered throughout the Presidency of Bombay, says in a letter to the Editor of the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, dated 18th April, 1879: "The objects which the Sarvajanic Sabha has in view are most commendable; and I do not think that you are at all open to censure for the mode in which your views and aims have been brought before the public and the Government. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the affairs of India will attract much attention during the next few years, and, I think that much greater attention will have to be given to the ideas and wishes of the Native public than has yet been done. It may often be the case, as I believe it is, that those ideas and wishes are erroneous and impracticable; but on the other hand it must be remem-

bered that the success of the Indian Administration, if we take as our stand the conditions of finances and temper of the people, has not been so decisive that it can afford to dispense with the counsels of criticism of those whose interests it professes to defend. If I were an administrator I should value very highly the assistance which the representations on the Irrigation Bill or the condition of the ryots would give me. Too often the English administrator sees only the external facts and not even all those, while he remains in ignorance of the motives, the feelings and internal facts which his actions affect. Your journal has certainly thrown some light on these internal facts; and its collection of the evidence regarding the famine was most instructive."

Sir William Wedderburn, late M.P., when he was District Judge of Ahmednagar in 1879, stated as his opinion that "institutions like the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha supply a very important need by giving expression to local wants and wishes. There is an excellent proverb which declares that nobody knows where the shoe pinches except the wearer.

The maker of the shoe may be a great artist, but nevertheless it is essential that he should know what are the feelings of the wearer ; however simple a person he may be. So it appears to me that the Sabha may perform a great part by interpreting between the rulers and the ruled, by letting Government know the wants of the raiyats, and by making intelligible to the raiyat the method by which it is sought to improve his condition. Such co-operation will naturally assist Government in their renewed efforts to promote the contentment and happiness of the people." His deceased brother, Sir David Wedderburn, M.P., was also of the same opinion. For he said : "I have already recorded publicly, on more than one occasion, my opinion, that the Association in question (the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha) is doing very valuable work and it has my hearty sympathy." Lord Reay, when Governor of Bombay, in reply to an address presented to him by the Sarvajanik Sabha on the eve of his retirement says : "Your Association has during my tenure of office given me the benefit of your criticism. I am not afraid

of such criticism which observes the conditions laid down in Mr. Lee-Warner's able address. I consider it useful, and I shall mention to Lord Harris that in continuing these friendly relations he will find the task of Government made lighter. There was a time when this Association was considered merely semi-loyal, not to use a stronger word. But in those days, I think criticism of the administration and disloyalty were synonymous. Disloyalty is now a myth."

These copious extracts from the expressions of the opinions of some of the thoughtful and discerning critics of the Sarvajani Sabha or its journal are given with a view of showing whether it deserved the epithet of "Seditious," and whether it was useful to the public and Government or not. It must, however, be admitted that since the Famine of 1876-77, when it distinguished itself by ably aiding the cause of relief by making useful suggestions to Government for mitigating the effects of that dire calamity, and when it spared no money nor trouble in collecting information regarding the condition of the people and the

cattle in the famine-stricken districts, which services were acknowledged with thanks over and over again by Government, it has ceased to be viewed with such suspicion as once attached to its proceedings and representations at the beginning of its career. On the contrary its representations since then have been listened to with attention and regard both by the Government of India, and the Bombay Government. Its opinion has been invited on questions of public importance (*vide* for instance the correspondence regarding the proposed repeal of Sec. 107 of the Land Revenue Code of 1879, forwarded by the Collector of Poona to the Secretary of the Sabha for his early opinion on the subject matter thereof and published in the Quarterly Journal, Vol. 9 No. I). Thus what was once denounced as a seditious Sabha has risen in the estimation of Government as a useful consultive body. Now and then, however, the old spirit of suspicion and denunciation revives in Government officials, whenever the head of the Government allows himself to be led away by bureaucratic in-

Lord Harris, when its antecedents were ignored; its public services were forgotten; its representative character was questioned, and it was treated as a meddlesome body of disloyal Brahmins. But in the long run it was hoped that it would regain its credit even with Government, if it continued to be animated with a spirit of moderation, justice, and loyalty, and acts under constitutional restraints, as it did when Mr. Ranade was its leading spirit and guided its counsels for upwards of 22 years. But this expectation unfortunately has been frustrated since the departure of Mr. Ranade from Poona.

But, it may be asked, what has the life of Mr. Ranade to do with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha? It will, however, be seen that the Sabha has much to do with it, when it is borne in mind that he was the life and soul of that Association, if not its founder, from the time he came to Poona as First Class Sub-judge in 1871 up to his elevation to the Bench of the Bombay High Court, that is for a period of 22 years. Almost all the weighty, elaborate and thoughtful representations that

were submitted either to the Government of India, the Government of Bombay, or the House of Commons were either drafted under his advice or composed by him, such as the Famine Narratives, published in Vol. I. Nos. 1, 2 and 4 of the Quarterly Journal, a letter to the Famine Commission regarding the Famine mortality in the Bombay Presidency (Vol. I. No. 2); a letter to the Government of Bombay reviewing the Deccan Riots' Commissioner's Report (Vol. I. No. 3), a memorial to the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council on the Bill to amend the Vernacular Press Act (Vol. I. No. 2); a letter to the Government of India on the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act (Vol. II. No. 3); a letter to Government on Deccan Dacoities (Vol. II. No. 4); suggestions to H. H. the Gaikwar and to his Dewan, Sir T. Madhavrao, regarding the future constitution of Baroda (Vol. IV. No. 3); an appeal for sending Indian students to Europe for study (Vol. IV. No. 3.); an address to the Right Hon'ble W. E. Baxter, M. P. (Vol. IV. No. 4); a representation to the Government of India on the Criminal Procedure

Amendment Bill (Vol. VI. No. 1) ; a reply to the Finance Committee's Circular (Vol. IX Nos. 2 and 3) ; and a petition to Parliament on the Crawford Mamledar's Indemnity Act (Vol. XII. No. 4).

It was under the advice and guidance of Mr. Ranade that the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha was started in 1878 for regularly publishing the proceedings of the Sabha, " so that they might be easily available for purposes of reference and to afford scope for the publication of independent communications, reviewing and discussing the more important questions of the day." As observed above, there is hardly a number of the journal which does not contain an article from him from the time of its starting (July 1878) up to 1893. Among the articles contributed by him to the journal may be mentioned the following :—

1. Famine Administration in the Bombay ✓
Presidency (Vol. I. No. 1.) ;
2. Review of Dadoba Pandurang's Reflections
on the works of Swedenborg (Vol. I. No. 3) ;
3. Agrarian Problem and its Solution (Vol. II. ✓
No. 1.) ;

4. The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Bill (Vol. ✓
II. No. 2);
5. Constitution of Native States (Vol. II.
No. 3);
6. Review of Sir Richard Temple's Admin-
istration (Vol. II. No. 3);
7. Review of Mr. Fawcett's Three Essays on
Indian Finance (Vol. III. No. 1.);
8. The Law of Land Sale in British India ✓
(Vol. 3 No. 2);
9. Sir Salar Jung's Administration (Vol. III.
No. 2);
10. Hindu and Mahomedan Religious Endow-
ments in the Bombay Presidency (Vol. III.
No. 3);
11. Sir William Wedderburn and his critics on
a Permanent Settlement for the Deccan (Vol.
III. No. 3);
12. Central Provinces, Land Revenue and
Tenancy Bills (Vol. III. No. 4);
13. Review of Mr. Elliot's Rulers of
Baroda (Do.);
14. Parliamentary Committee on Indian ✓
Public Works (Vol. IV. No. 1.);
15. Review of Free Trade and English

Commerce by Augustus Mongredien and of Sir Louis Malet's Letter on Reciprocity (Do.);

16. Land Law Reforms and Agricultural Banks (Vol. IV. No. 2);

17. Correspondence on the Native Civil Service previous to the appointment of Public Service Commission (Vol. IV. No. 3);

18. Review of Butler's Method of Ethics by Professor Selby (Do.);

19. Review of Dadabhoy Nowroji's Supplementary Letter on the Poverty of India (Vol. IV. No. 4);

20. Primary Education and Indigenous Schools (Vol. V. No. 1);

21. Emancipation of Serfs in Russia (Vol. V. No. 2);

22. Forest Conservancy in the Bombay Presidency (Vol. V. No. 3);

23. Local Government in India and England (Vol. V. No. 4);

24. Prussian Land Legislation and the Land Tenancy Bill (Vol. VI. No. 2);

25. Proposed Reforms in the Assessment (Vol. VI. No. 3);

26. Protest against new Departure of Gov-

ernment in Land Policy (Vol. VI. No. 4);

27. Economic Reserves or the Public Works Policy (Vol. VII. No. 1);

28. Review of Sir James Fergusson's Administration (Vol. VII. No. 2);

29. Hereditary Officer's Act Amendment Bill (Vol. VIII. No. 2);

30. A Note on the Reorganization of District Administration (Vol. III. No. 3);

31. A Shastrical Text on the Age of Hindu Marriage (Vol. XI, No. 2);

32. Netherlands India and the Culture System (Vol. XII. No. 4);

33. Reorganization of Rent Credit in India (Vol. XIV. No. 1);

34. Compulsory Vaccination (Vol. XIV, No. 2);

35. Indian Political Economy (Vol. XV No. 3);

36. Census Report of 1891 (Vol. XV. No. 4);

37. Decentralization of Indian Finance (Vol. XVI. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4);

38. Indian Foreign Emigration (Vol. XVI. No. 2);

39. Causes of Graduates' Mortality (Vol. XVI. No. 4) ;

40. Indian Manufactures and their Outlook (Vol. XVII. No. 1) ; and

41. An Unwritten Chapter on Mahratta History (Vol. XVII. No. 3).

The appearance of the Quarterly Journal was hailed with delight by the public, considering the opinions of the Press (both English and Native) and of some English gentlemen of established reputation quoted above. It has been said that Mr. Ranade should not have maintained any connection with the Sarvajanic Sabha or its Journal so long as he remained in Government Service. The allegation can be justified only on the ground of the Sabha being a seditious, disloyal, unconstitutional Association, or in any way hostile to Government. But it will be seen from the citations of the opinions of Government Officers themselves, from a Governor of Bombay downwards, and one of the leading English newspapers in India (*The Times of India*), that the charge of its being a seditious Sabha or Secret Society, or its bearing hostility to Government or its

officials, was far from being substantiable at all. There was nothing seditious or objectionable in its method or procedure. Criticism of the measures of Government or the acts of its officers does not necessarily imply hostility to either of them. On the contrary it is calculated to aid good government by supplying what is wanted in our rulers for securing it ; by enabling them to see what they cannot see without such assistance as was afforded by the Sabha, and by showing why their best intentions were frustrated, often through no fault of theirs, but simply through want of a thorough knowledge of men and things, or of just appreciation of the feelings, sentiments and thoughts of the people. If the Sarvajanik Sabha was a body of men engaged in the useful task of representing to Government the wants and needs of the people ; if there was nothing wrong or illegal in its constitution or procedure, it cannot be deemed objectionable, even for a Government servant, to have any connection with it. It should also be remarked that the connection of Mr. Ranade with the Sarvajanik Sabha was an open se-

cret. If Government had found it objectionable they would have directed him to sever it. But it is not known that either Government or any of their officers ever took exception to his aiding the Sabha with his advice or to his being its guide, philosopher or friend during the time he was in Poona. It should also be remembered that it is owing to the good sense of Mr. Ranade that the Sabha, under his guidance, distinguished itself by scrupulously adhering to a tone of moderation, a spirit of loyalty in its procedure and representations to Government ; and by ungrudgingly acknowledging the innumerable benefits which the British Government has conferred and is conferring upon the people. In fact he, by his sobriety of judgment, strong common sense, varied learning, wise counsel of moderation and compromising spirit, prevented the Sabha from deviating into an unconstitutional course of procedure or betraying itself by holding extreme views, and made it attain a degree of importance and influence unknown to any other political association in India. It should also be added that whatever assistance

Mr. Ranade rendered to the Sarvajanik Sabha never interfered with his duties as a Government servant. For as a Subordinate Judge, a Small Cause Court Judge, or a Special Judge he worked harder than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, and justly won the approval of Government and of the various officers he served under for efficiently and zealously performing whatever duties he was entrusted with.

It is difficult to notice all the contributions of Mr. Ranade to the Sarvajanik Sabha in the shape of memorials, or representations to Government, or articles on a variety of subjects that appeared in its journal from time to time, as they [are too numerous to be dealt with in this short sketch of his life. It will not, however, be amiss to notice one of his memorials on the famine administration in the Bombay Presidency, consisting of four famine narratives which appeared in Nos. 1, 3, and 4 of the first volume of the Sabha's Journal, and his article on the same subject which appeared in the first number of the same volume in detail, as they give some idea

of what service was rendered to the people and the Government by the Sabha during the prevalence of the famine of 1876-77, which afflicted a considerable portion of the Bombay Presidency, measuring an area of 64,000 square miles, inhabited by a population of about 90 lakhs, besides several parts of the Madras Presidency.

It will be seen from the famine narratives, together with the précis of the letters and representations that were received by the Sarvajanic Sabha from its agents deputed to the famine districts, that the Sabha did not merely content itself with sending memorials to Government and offering suggestions to them for relieving the distressed in the famine-stricken portion of the population, but employed agents and deputed them to the famine districts such as Poona, Sholapur, Satara, Ahmednagar. and Kaladgi (now Bijapur) to ascertain the condition of the people, the cattle and the crops in those districts, whether any people and cattle had left the villages, whether any crops had been sown; if so, what was their condition; whether water-sup-

ply was scanty or insufficient ; whether there was an utter failure of rain ; or only a scanty rainfall, &c. On the information which was mostly supplied by agents or correspondents who went from village to village for collecting it, and which, though sometimes exaggerated, sometimes inadequate, was, upon the whole, not an unfair representation of the state of the villages visited by them. Mr. Ranade based his memorials mostly upon such materials, and offered such suggestions for mitigating the distress as seemed justifiable under the circumstances of each district. A fair idea of the information collected by the agents and correspondents of the Sabha can be had by quoting a summary thereof regarding a particular village, such as Patas in the Poona District, which stands first in the précis attached to the first famine narrative :—

“ Patas, October 12, 1876. Early rains scanty. Bajari crops burnt, rabee crops not sown ; water-supply will last for two months. Grains 1½ seers. No grain stores. ¼th of the population left the taluka and more will leave. Slight robberies of bread and grain. Cattle

maintained on Pimple leaves. Many died. 4th carried abroad. Relief works suggested of the Dhoie tank and another tank near the Government Bungalow. No relief works commenced except ordinary repairs."

On information such as this, derived from the agents and correspondents of the Sabha and also from other sources, Mr. Ranade proceeded with his famine narratives. An analysis of any one of them will show how ably and energetically he exerted himself in representing the condition of the people to Government. Let us then notice the noticeable points in the first famine narrative.

Before proceeding to make observations on the letters and representations from the agents and correspondents referred to above, "the Sabha gratefully acknowledges the promptitude and liberality with which the Government and the District Officers have been exerting themselves to the utmost to help the people of the famine districts, as far as the limited funds over which they have control can permit of such help being rendered." The memorial then points out that the

information accessible to Government being secured chiefly by officials was wanting in intimate knowledge of the people, and therefore needed to be supplemented by that derived from non-official sources, such as the agents and correspondents of the Sabha moving among the people and well acquainted with their wants and needs. Well knowing that the calamity was universal and widespread, and that the exertions of Government for mitigating its effects must be supplemented by private aid, the Sabha convened a public meeting of the inhabitants of Poona under the presidency of the Collector of the District, Mr. Norman, for collecting funds by means of private subscriptions for relieving the distressed on 12th October, 1876.

The first observation made in the memorial under notice is that the famine of 1876-77 was the most general and widespread of all the famines that had occurred in this Presidency since the beginning of the century. It was not simply a famine of grain, but also of water and fodder of cattle. The price of corn had never risen so high in any of the previous

famines as it did at several places in 1876-77. Consequently, exertions corresponding with the magnitude of the calamity were required to be made by Government and private charity for successfully coping with it.

The memorial then dwells upon the predisposing causes of the famine, *viz.*, the habitual scantiness and uncertainty of rainfall where the calamity was most intensified ; the denudation of forests and " the absorption of waste lands under the mischievous system of a wrongly conceived revenue system ; " incapacitating the soil to retain the occasional rainfall and leading to the scarcity of water, the occurrence of two or three successive bad seasons, resulting in scanty harvests, an unprecedented fall in general prices ; and the introduction of the revised revenue settlement enhancing assessment in the least favoured talukas in the Poona and the Sholapur Districts. Labouring under these adverse circumstances, the people in the afflicted districts were utterly helpless to face the calamity which befell them in all its frightful horrors. " At first it was hoped by Government that

small relief works opened out of Local Fund balances and reappropriations" would afford sufficient aid to the famine-stricken portion of the people. But the Sabha from the beginning was of opinion that such a hope was illusory, "because the allotments were too small to provide for all who were willing to work on starvation wages"; and experience soon showed that hundreds of people, who sought employment at these works, could not be employed because of the inadequacy of the funds placed at the disposal of the authorities for paying the wages of them all. Consequently they had to return disappointed and in the vain hope of seeking fresh fields and pastures new, "left their homes burdened with famishing women and children and lean cattle for whom no purchaser could be found except the butcher, and the roads became infested with robbers, who looted those who had a little grain or bread in their possession." For relieving such distress the Sabha recommended that large relief works, such as the Dhond and Manmad Railway, should be opened, as such works would employ all those who were

able and willing to work even on starvation wages. It must be mentioned to the credit of Government that they, perceiving the futility of restricting assistance to Local Funds only, resorted to the liberal policy of affording aid by means of large public works, such as the Dhond and Manmad Railway, without dispensing with small ones in places. But the Sabha found that the estimate of the probable duration and costs of relief works and the proportion of the population which will be thrown upon the hands of Government were too small to meet with the necessity of the case, as it was apprehended that "ninetenths of the people of the famine districts, covering an area of many thousand miles and representing as many as seven millions of souls, will have to be maintained wholly or partly for 12 months with the assistance of Government and private charity. Half of these will be able to work for their bread and the other half will have to be maintained without exacting any work in return."

The next suggestion of the Sabha was that this opportunity should be taken for encour-

aging migration of the distressed people in the more plentiful and more sparsely inhabited districts of the Central Provinces and the Berars. But no notice appears to have been taken of this wise suggestion, though the people were no longer unwilling to migrate, considering that thousands of them emigrated to those parts of the Nizam's Territory, where the soil was more fertile than their own and where their cattle could be easily fed.

The memorial then dwells upon the necessity of keeping the cattle of the agriculturists alive. For if no care was taken in feeding them and if they were allowed to perish, agricultural operations would be retarded to an injurious extent at the next rainfall. For averting this evil the Sabha suggested that immediate steps should be taken for driving cattle *en masse* under official superintendence into the nearest mountain districts—those of Khandesh into the Satpuda range, of Poona into the Sayahadri tracts, of Ahmednagar into the Danga, of Dharwar into the Canara and Belgaum districts.

Lastly, the memorial praises the wise foresight of Government in not listening to the popular cry that they should import grain into the famine districts, selling it at moderate prices and preventing the exportation of corn to foreign parts, as the proposal was economically wrong, being calculated only to hamper private enterprise without benefitting the people in the long run. All that Government could do for facilitating the importation of grain into such districts was to exempt it from toll and octroi duties, to advise the Railway Companies to charge lower rates upon the grain so imported, and to construct roads where there was no railway. After observing that those classes who were unable or unwilling to work, and who were thus beyond the reach of the help afforded by the relief works must be chiefly provided for by private charity, the memorial concludes by remarking "that the people have every confidence in the ability and willingness of Government to help them, and this confidence in the ability and willingness of Government to help them, has been shewn in a remarkable degree by

the entire absence of all lawless acts of despair and spoliation, which is quite unparalleled in the history of such calamities."

The above is a brief abstract of the first of four narratives submitted by the Sabha to Government for their favourable consideration. The Chief Secretary to Government (Mr. Chapman), in acknowledging the receipt of the memorial, stated "that the Government was very glad to receive the periodical information you propose to submit regarding the condition of the people in the drought-stricken districts of this Presidency."

It is hardly necessary to notice the remaining three famine narratives in detail as they are similar to the first in tone and information; and the analysis of the first given above will give a fair idea of their contents. In connection with this subject, however, Mr. Ranade's article on the famine administration in the Bombay Presidency, which appeared in the first number of the Quarterly Journal, deserves to be noticed, as it, together with the famine narratives, affords a complete view of the services rendered by the Sarvajanic Sabha

through his instrumentality to the people for mitigating the evils of the famine and its after-effects.

In the article in question Mr. Ranade acknowledges in no grudging spirit as he did in the narratives the benefits that resulted to the famine-stricken inhabitants of the afflicted districts from the policy adopted by the Government of Bombay, as will be seen from the following remarks quoted from the opening paragraph of the article in question:—

“We are free to confess, and in order not to be misunderstood, we make the confession thankfully, that the conduct of the Government in dealing with the famine in this Presidency has been, on the whole, so judicious and considerate, so carefully avoiding the extremes of cold indifference and wild panic which were observable in Southern India, that it has merited both the loyal gratitude of the people of this Presidency and the approbation of the authorities both in England and India. It is true that this Presidency enjoyed special advantages over its sister provinces, which to a great extent helped to bring

about the comparative success of Bombay, and the absence of which furnished some extenuation for the scandalous failure of Madras and Mysore in the famine administration. The failure of crops in our worst districts was never so great as in the Madras and Mysore districts. Communication by railway and the sea coast was much more easy and less expensive and uncertain; the areas affected were smaller and the population more sparse; private charity was more benevolent and active; and the propitious rains were not withheld so as to produce the crisis over another year to the same extent as has been the case in the South. Making allowance, however, for all these advantages it must be admitted that, if the administrative machinery had been less efficient than it was, this Presidency would not have escaped so lightly from the confusion and waste which are attendant upon all such calamities. The benevolent recognition of the duty of supporting famished people as one of the functions of a paternal Government; the determination of the authorities not to interfere with legitimate province of private trade

in respect of the importation and distribution of food supplies ; the organization of large public works of permanent utility for relief purposes, the clear perception of the fact that the famine was one of money and labour and not of grain ; the classification of different kinds and conditions of the distressed people, and the provision of suitable work for all these classes ; the imposition of tests, intended to confine State relief to those who needed it ; the care with which special exceptions were made to the stringency of these tests ; the relaxation of the usual restrictions imposed in the interests of revenue in favour of the famished cattle and population : these and many other notable points of famine administration in this Presidency have justified the confidence felt by the people in their rulers and greatly contributed to the acknowledged success of famine management in this Presidency."

Thus thankfully acknowledging the beneficent spirit of the policy of the Bombay Government he was, however, fully alive to its shortcomings, thus pointed out in the succeeding paragraph.

“Having thus rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's due, we feel ourselves perfectly free to hold up the weak parts of the system before the bar of public opinion, and notwithstanding the attempt of the authorities to gloss over these matters, or paint them in too glittering colours, to discover to the public gaze the slender foundations on which the official panegyrics are based. Sir Richard Temple seems to have written his minute with the sole purpose of shielding the vulnerable points in his armour, or more plainly of justifying the more stringent measures in regard to the low wage rate, the withholding of the promised remissions, the exclusion of many deserving from relief, and similar other measures to the enforcement of which the Government committed itself in an evil hour on the mistaken supposition that the ryots had large stocks and many resources, and could bear the famine pinch, and could pay the Government dues without exhaustion. The little criticism which the official statements have provoked in the Anglo-Indian press is an indication, if one was wanted,

that Mr. Bright's remarks about semi-official character of this press were not too much beyond the mark. Throughout the famine this same absence of intelligent criticism was one of the most unfortunate circumstances of the times. Of the two leading dailies, the *Times of India* alone did important service on critical occasions, which fact led to the assumption by the other paper, of the rôle of a rough advocate, through thick and thin, of the measures of Government. The Native papers, it is true, raised a clamour at times; but it was easily silenced or pooh-poohed. The only independent organization which worked to some account and received some consideration at the hands of the authorities was represented by the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, which had branches, agents, and correspondents throughout most of the affected districts. Both H. E. the Governor and the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs have in their official minutes noticed the efforts made by the Sabha in setting forth its views of the crisis before the authorities. His Excellency in the 18th paragraph of his minute has

attempted to refute the assertion sometimes made 'that the failure of a single season, the loss of one harvest plunges the people into distress or drives them to the verge of pauperism.' The Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs has more explicitly made the same observation, denying the correctness of the view held by the Sabha. His Excellency the Viceroy in his considerate reply to the memorial presented by the Sabha refrained from giving his definite adhesion to either the official or non-official view which was set before him, and the Secretary of State, in his despatch regarding the famine commission, has observed the same reticence and left the decision of the matters at issue to a special commission. In the interests of the State it would have been well if the authorities at the head of the Government of Bombay had followed the example set by their superiors, and resting content with their well-earned success, had not attempted to prejudge the matters in controversy between the officials and the independent public associations. As it is, this hurry has simply committed the Government to the

support of many views and statements which in the light of subsequent information cannot fail to appear to be at least premature, if not untrue. In the following observations we shall endeavour to discuss several of the controversial points suggested by the official minutes, and hope to show, chiefly from official records, that the positions taken up are not supported by facts. We shall take no notice of minor discrepancies, but shall chiefly confine ourselves to those points of great economical importance, with regard to which erroneous views on the part of the authorities can never be allowed to pass unchallenged without giving rise to serious evils of misgovernment and disaffection."

The above paragraphs are quoted *in extenso* from the article mentioned above, not only on account of their summarizing the merits and defects of the famine administration in the Bombay Presidency, but also because they afford fine specimens of the style and spirit of Mr. Ranade's articles which have appeared in the Sabha's Journal from time to time.

The chief points upon which Mr. Ranade has dwelt upon in the article in question are:—

1. "The alleged low percentage of the population affected by the famine."
2. The alleged low percentage of the mortality caused by the famine.
3. The sufficiency of the low wage rate.
4. The justice and policy of refusing the promised remissions."

In support of his views on each of these points, Mr. Ranade has adduced such an array of facts and arguments that the conclusions he has arrived at appear to be inevitable. Sir Richard Temple, who was Governor of Bombay during the most part of the famine, held, as usual with him, most optimistic views regarding the condition of the people in the affected districts. His main proposition formulated in his famine minute "with all the authority of his great experience," says Mr. Ranade, was "that between five and ten per cent. of the population was, in the worst period of the famine, affected by the pressure of the times; and that this pressure was confined to the humble castes and classes, field labourers,

rude artisans and village menials. A comparatively smaller portion of lesser ryots and subordinate cultivators resorted to relief works, but the mass of the ryots, or the peasant proprietary who constitute the real backbone of the agricultural community, never came on relief at all." But Mr. Ranade has shown that the picture painted in such roseate colours is anything but true to nature. For the statistical information collected from weekly official summaries, which were published in the last quarter of 1876, and which "are full of accounts of the wholesale migrations of men and cattle from all the affected districts," and from the reports of the agents and correspondents of the Sabha and of the Bombay Relief Committee, tends to the conclusion that the percentage of the affected population, instead of being so low as 5 or 10 per cent., was so high as 50 or 60 on the average of the best and worst district. Let us consider, for instance, the single case of the Indapur Taluka in the Poona District. According to the official inquiry which had been ordered by the Government of Sir P. Wodehouse, the

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population of the taluka, before the commencement of the famine in 1876, was 66,937 souls. But at the date of the inquiry as many as 40,289 men, women and children had migrated or died, that is to the extent of 60 per cent. of the entire population. As regards cattle in the same taluka, the case was still worse. For out of 44,214 head of cattle as many as 34,445, or 75 per cent. of the whole number, disappeared from the taluka, either died or removed to distant pastures. The same sad tale is narrated regarding some other talukas in the Poona, Sholapur and Kaladgi Districts, and is also borne out by the importation of 434,000 tons of corn by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and the coasting steamers from October 1876 to November 1877, when the famine came to an end, according to an official declaration. Mr. Ranade has ingeniously shown that these large importations of grain point to the melancholy fact that almost the entire population of the affected districts was compelled to live on imported grain, and belie the existence of boundless stores which have existed only in the imagination

of Sir Richard Temple, and upon which he so magniloquently dwelt in his famine minute. Mr. Ranade thus proceeds to demolish Sir Richard Temple's theory of boundless stores and stocks of grain in the affected districts.

“The population in the affected districts is stated in the returns to have been about fifty lakhs. Dividing the quantity imported by this number, and taking a ton to be equal to 3,240 lbs., and allowing one pound a day as the official wage to each man, woman and child, we find that this quantity, that is nearly one hundred millions of pounds, represents the whole consumption of fifty lakhs, which is the population of the famished districts for 200 days.” When out of these calculations deductions are made on account of the emigrants into the Nizam's Territory, the Berars and the Central Provinces, numbering about 5 lakhs; and when it is remembered that out of 50 lakhs of the population, 17 lakhs were children who required less than a pound of corn for their daily subsistence, the share of each man and woman would be more than one pound, which is thus indirectly shown to

have been practically inadequate for his or her maintenance. It was, indeed, said that the fact that the entire grain had found purchasers, showed that the people had the means of purchasing it even at a famine price. But this fact loses all the significance which was sought to attach to it, when it is borne in mind that the rulers of the great Maratha States in India, such as the Maharajas Scindia, Holkar and Gaikwad, the Jahagirdars in the Southern Maratha Country, the princely merchants of Bombay, and the well-to-do classes in large cities or towns in the Deccan, such as Poona, Ahmednagar, Dharwar, Belgaum, etc., generously came to the rescue of the famished population by making princely donations or liberal contributions to the famine-relief fund, employed in purchasing corn and distributing it among the starving people. The Government relief-houses and relief works tended in the same direction of affording help to the helpless and needy. Considering that about 5 lakhs were employed on Government relief works, 5 lakhs were supported by princely or private charity, Government relief-houses affording relief only

to few hundreds, and about 5 lakhs migrated to foreign territory, it would appear that about 15 lakhs of people, that is about 33 per cent. of the entire population, were utterly helpless to help themselves. Where was room then, Mr. Ranade asks, for the authorities to congratulate the people upon their self-supporting character?

Mr. Ranade next proceeds to combat the notion of Sir Richard Temple that the peasant proprietors of the Deccan, "the backbone of the agricultural community," if not their country's pride, kept themselves aloof from the relief works and "did not throw the burden of their support upon Government;" and that those who sought relief at the works were the humblest labouring classes, the lackland of the community. Though in beginning the landholders were not employed on the works in large numbers, because those who were not in a starving condition, or who had any silver trinkets on their persons, were excluded from the works, yet ultimately it was found, in May 1877, "to the horror of officials," says Mr. Ranade, "that the number of holders of land on the relief works was nearly 45 per cent. of the whole."

An examination of the official version of the famine mortality, which attributed only 4 per cent. deaths to famine, next engages the attention of Mr. Ranade in the article under notice. If this was the case, that dire calamity resulted in deaths only three times heavier than the ordinary death-rate of 17 per cent. and 21 for children per 1,000 in this Presidency. This result was so preposterous that both Sir Richard Temple and his colleague, the late Mr. Gibbs, who was then senior member of Council, had to give it up, and are said to have contented themselves "with a general assurance to the effect that famine deaths, though numerous, would not represent any considerable statistical facts." However, from the information gathered by the Sarvajanic Sabha from private sources, it appears that such deaths went up from 25 to 40 per cent. in the most affected districts. Even, according to the official census returns for ten talukas where the census was taken in 1878, the mortality ranged from 20 to 30 per cent. Mr. Ranade accounts for the discrepancy between these returns and those based upon the in-

formation derived from private sources by the fact that the former represented the best and worst talukas mixed together.

The next question dealt with in the article is the alleged sufficiency of the famine wage rate at one pound per individual. Sir Richard Temple laid down as an unquestionable proposition that one pound of corn was the sufficient amount of the famine wage. This one pound theory of wage was opposed to the popular tradition, according to which what man requires for his daily subsistence is one *sher*, that is, two pounds of corn, and when applied to jail convicts resulted in consequences disastrous to human life. It is true that the low rate of wages at one pound was adopted only in case of civil works, while at the public works the usual rate of wages was allowed. But the distinction between civil and public works soon vanished in practice. For so many labourers were incapacitated by the famine to stand the test of public works that a majority of them could earn only the one pound wage at the civil works, which brought on slow starvation and ultimately swelled the

famine mortality to 10 to 12 lakhs of human beings.

Lastly, Mr. Ranade returns to the question of remissions. Even in ordinary years the rigidity of the Bombay revenue system is required to be modified by means of remissions where there is an appreciable failure of crops. For, as remarked by the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs in his minute on this subject, "the hereditary feeling regarding the collection of revenue in this Presidency, from the days when Goldsmid, Wingate, Frere and Nash instituted the revenue survey and assessment, until the late revision of the original work has been that in a year of scarcity, remissions should be liberally granted." It is strange that, while holding such views, the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs should have ultimately veered round to Sir Richard Temple's policy of granting no remissions, especially when it is borne in mind that he was a member of the Government which found in 1874 that the revised assessments were pitched too high, and consequently granted wholesale remissions for mitigating their rigour. This change of front on the part of

Mr. Gibbs is only an instance of a superior mind enforcing a weaker one to bend to its resolve. As might have been expected, the policy of withholding remissions utterly failed in the worst districts where even high-handed efforts of revenue officers could recover no arrears of assessment, simply through the utter inability of the ryots to make any payment owing to the entire failure of crops. It was only partially successful in partly affected districts, but at a cost of increasing the burden of those who had tried hard to maintain themselves and their families out of their scanty resources during the famine.

It may be asked why Mr. Ranade has pointed out the defects of the famine administration of Sir Richard Temple after the famine was over, as the article appeared in May 1878. But an answer will be found in the concluding remarks of Mr. Ranade, from which it will appear that "the object was to attract the attention of the Famine Commissioners who were then engaged in investigating the best remedies for meeting a famine, to the defects of the administration which resulted in

the loss of 10 lakhs of human beings and greatly marred the success of the famine policy as a whole," and to point out lessons taught by the famine for the guidance of the authorities on the recurrence of such a calamitous event in future.

END OF VOL. I.