

**GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE
AND THE IMPACT OF THE
WEST**

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By

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As the British consolidated their political gains in India, the spontaneous inflow of cross-currents of ideas, traditions, values and various cumulative cultural processes gradually showed up—some to be accepted fully, a few with hesitancy, and still others to be merged in the assimilative riches of India. Obviously, it was not with any spirit of resignation, but of appreciation of the spirit of *Time*, that this enriching two-way process was given a *god-sent* flavour.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) was born and brought up under such circumstances that showed British influences more than ever before. His education, from *the three Rs to Graduation*, was on the British pattern. A rich and healthy impact is clearly visible on his life, on his political and economic ideas, on his unorthodox social views, and on the *means* he employed to achieve his objectives. The thought processes generated by a study of liberal disciplines enabled Gokhale to establish permanent and healthy contacts with the sum-total of what stood for Western civilization. In the custody of a receptive, considerate and acutely conscientious political realist and a man of action, these contacts could not be anything save rich and rewarding.

I

In his impressionable years, Gokhale saw and felt the beauty of Nature, and also faced its ferocity, living in rural Kagal. The unpredictable havoc that haunted Indian villages, year after year, deeply affected him. In later days, he was to identify his cause with the lot of the farmer. All his life he stood by the poor.¹ As Gokhale acquired better acquaintance with English literature in College, the indelible impressions of the child, hitherto latent, came out of sub-conscious. He began to appreciate the works of *Shelley*, *Wordsworth* and *Thomas De Quincey*, not only as pieces of art, but more so because these men of letters, in their own days and in their own ways, rebelled against tyranny and oppression, who endeavoured to bring about peace and happiness to suffering humanity, and, who unfolded the dignity and eloquent peace in Nature. Gokhale was struck also by *Milton's*

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¹ John S. Hoyland, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Calcutta, 1946), p. 2.

justification of the ways of God to men and he always sought inspiration from A.H. Clough's famous poem : 'Say not the struggle nor availeth.'² Scott's insight into humanity and dexterity of narrative, Bacon's practical, everyday philosophy of life, studded with proverbial expression, Burke's oratory and eloquent pamphleteering made far-reaching impression on him.

Gokhale's effortless dexterity with figures, indexes and statistics that his invaluable contribution to public life amply shows, reminds one of Burke's monumental disquisitions, dicta and mature political observations. The landmarks of Gokhale's public life : his evidence before the Welby Commission (1897), parliamentary work in Bombay (1899-1902) and Imperial (1902—till his death) Legislative Councils, constructive programmes in the Senate of the Bombay University, in Poona Municipality and memorable work in *Public Services* and *Decentralization Commissions*, clearly show his political acumen.

Gokhale had instinctive admiration for well-composed, well-spoken and correct English. Sometimes, people succeeded in creating a favourable first impression, if they sent such letters to him.³ He himself took meticulous care polishing his English, and always sought up-to-date factual details. Nothing less than the best was good enough for him, true to the rigid Ranade standard of famous accolade—"it would do."⁴ Such was Gokhale's training under Ranade, in the difficult and exasperating spheres of politics, finance, history and parliamentary practice, that it gave Gokhale infinite confidence and poise, worthy of a Cabinet minister.⁵ It is interesting to note that he cherished a secret desire to compile Ranade's biography, taking John Morley's *Burke*, as his model.⁶

Herbert Spencer's famous maxim : "Well, if not, well also, though not so well"⁷ always delighted Gokhale, and he often quoted it, in keeping with his magnanimity. He also used to refer lyrically to the meaningful English hymn : "One step enough for me",⁸ and derived moral strength from it. A less known fact is that he was so fond of *Robert Browning's* works that he always carried a copy.⁹ Gokhale had genuine praise for *Browning's* deep faith in love as a force, in the sanctity of human soul, and belief in God's hand in all things to an end beyond human-divining. These ideas, interpreted in the context of Gokhale's liberalism, became the Moderate tradition—with a faith in the ultimate righteousness of

² R.P. Paranjpye, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, (Poona, 1915), p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵ C.Y. Chintamani, *Indian Politics since the Mutiny*, (Allahabad, 1937), p. 24.

⁶ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16.

⁷ The Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, *Life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, (Bangalore City, 1937), p. 26.

⁸ Hoyland, *Op. Cit.*, p. 131.

⁹ *The Bengalee*, Feb. 26, 1915, p. 5.

India's cause of constitutional advance, and a robust confidence in the Providence.¹⁰ Ranade¹¹ and Pherozeshah Mehta as his fore-runners, Gokhale believed firmly and fully that the British *connection* was a bond of beneficent divine dispensation and destiny.¹² This faith in the influences of divine dialectic can also be traced back to *Bossuet* and *Hegel*.¹³ Then, there were the ancient Christological interpretations of history and inspiration—derived from *Oliver Cromwell* and *St. Augustine*. The idea of *Diderot* and *Voltaire* gave Gokhale's moderation and political insight, the essential "belief in reason, science, progress, constitutionalism and education..."¹⁴

II

The enriching impact of constructive nationalism, and ideals of sacrifice and public-service, became a lure for young Gokhale, who had reached the first cross-roads of life. He had to decide about his future—and, about his life. He threw in his lot and took up a life of self-imposed abnegation, sacrifice and challenge by joining the Deccan Education Society and the Fergusson College.¹⁵ It was widely alleged that all this was on the lines of the most celebrated order—the *Society of Jesus* and the *Jesuit* ideology, of the 16th century, founded by *Ignatius Loyala*.¹⁶ Gokhale's enthusiasm, courage and sincerity notwithstanding, it was a very difficult decision, specially because of the sacrifice and hardship his people had to undergo, to see him through College.¹⁷ He casually told a fellow-student of law about his resolve to dedicate his life to the people, but there was no ego there.¹⁸

As professor, mainly of history and economics, Gokhale fully appreciated the ever-increasing importance of these two disciplines. The history of Ireland, specially the saga of *Irish Home Rule*, gave his convictions a fresh orientation and added inspiration. He believed that Indian history, as it was taught and learnt, lacked coherence and totalled

¹⁰ M.A. Buch, *Rise and Growth of Indian Liberalism: From Ram Mohan Roy to Gokhale*, (Baroda, 1938), p. 185-186.

¹¹ James Kellock, *M.G. Ranade—Patriot and Social Servant*, (Madras, 1926), pp. 115, 118.

¹² V.P. Varma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, (Agra, 1961), p. 226.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹⁵ D. P. Karmarkar, *Bal Gangadhar Tilak—A Study*, (Madras, 1956), p. 38—It is interesting to note that Sir W. Wedderburn played the role of moral supporter, in the foundation of these institutions, which stood for a *missionary-pioneer* spirit.

¹⁶ Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Political And Cultural History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I., (New York, 1947), p. 187.

¹⁷ T. V. Parvate, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, (Ahmedabad, 1959), p. 17.

¹⁸ Hoyland, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 6-7. Gokhale said: "You will roll in riches and drive in carriages, while I shall go on foot through life."

up to being a mere dynastic back-log. European history, on the whole, he believed, was evolutionary and encouraged dynamic life processes and inspiring thought currents.¹⁹

The role of *C. S. Parnell* and *Daniel O'Connell* in the Irish struggle impressed Gokhale, more so, because these patriots, like Gokhale, denounced violence and employed constitutional methods of agitation.²⁰ Even Tilak agreed regarding the affinity of struggles in India and Ireland.²¹ However, far from the numbness, implied in the allegation that Indian liberalism was a projection of three Ps—*Pray, Please* and *Protest*, as Tilak erred into believing,²² Patriotism in both the countries touched a constructive climax, all its own. In fact, Gokhale had much more to fall back upon, and call it his own, as the ideal of orderly constitutional progress, with self-government as the goal of political-ethics, became a reality.²³ It is interesting to note that on Gokhale's visit to England, in 1897, in connection with the Welby Commission Evidence, he met the famous Irish moderate-nationalist leader, *John Redmond*.²⁴

Gokhale was influenced by the erudition, compassionate humility and magnanimity of *Dr. Wordsworth*,²⁵ grandson of the famous poet, and Principal of the Elphinstone College. Principal *Selby* of the Deccan College also had a profound and far-reaching influence on him. *Selby's* renown as a teacher of philosophy, his confidence in India's regeneration, his bearing and poise, his toleration, sympathy and a veritable *father-fixation* for Indian students, agglomerated the best traditions of British life and democratic bastions and liberal props. For a foreigner it was a rare distinction. Principal *Selby* created a *niche* in the hearts of the people of the Presidency.²⁶ In the collection of Gokhale's letters, there are so many from Principal *Selby*.²⁷ As a tribute, Gokhale declared that Principals—*Wordsworth* and *Selby*, tirelessly but fruitfully performed some of England's

¹⁹ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 18-19.

²⁰ E. J. Hutchins and L. W. Stephens, *Two Centuries of Change, Book II*, (London, 1941), pp. 138-142, 244.

²¹ B. G. Tilak, *Writings and Speeches*, (Madras, 1919), p. 346.

²² *Ibid*, p. 25.

²³ Sir S. N. Bannerjea, *A Nation in Making*, (Madras, 1925), p. 179.

²⁴ D. E. Wachā, *Reminiscences of the late Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale*, (Bombay, 1915), p. 34.

²⁵ Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 8.

²⁷ V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, *My Master Gokhale*, (Madras, 1906), p. 218.

"Mr. Gokhale always said that, though he never sat at the feet of Mr. Selby, he always felt a sort of reverence towards him and was very willing to be guided and instructed by this great man." Further ".....there was scarcely a letter in which there was not some profound remark, some sage counsel or some exceedingly wise observation on current problems."

best work in India, that was definitely of more importance than many other measures half-heartedly adopted.²⁸

Influences such as these, offered Gokhale the best opportunity to make a robust synthesis of the West and the Indian traditions. Like a genuine *Jesuit*, or an ardent missionary, he chose a life of *anonymity*, bearing out the acme of accomplishments, warranting the tribute—*Gokhale The Good*.²⁹ True to such a spirit, despite the honest entreaties of friends and colleagues, including Principal *Selby*, Gokhale humbly refused the offer to be Principal of Fergusson College,³⁰ and gladly made way for younger colleagues, like Dr. *Paranjpye*.

III

Drilled in the best synthetic processes of Western democracy and Eastern ethics, Gokhale kept truth, moral courage, honour, charity and compassion far above questionable tactics, expediency and cheap popularity. His diagnosis of our public life was not based on wishful thinking or surmise, but reflected his deep insight into contemporary affairs. Declaring that "Public life in this country has few rewards and many trials and discouragements,"³¹ Gokhale enunciated an unpleasant truth, and kept himself ready to face the *bricks and bouquets* that are the lot of democrats and liberals everywhere.

By 1896, public life in Poona³² had begun showing its *Dragon-teeth* which made Gokhale—the democrat—sad, and disturbed him much. But he was no escapist, nor an opportunist. 1897 proved to be much worse—biting and vitriolic, as subsequent events showed. The notorious *Apology Incident*,³³ an absolutely sordid episode, was an acid-test for one who, aspired with a spirit of sacrifice and humility, to serve the whole world, and whose democratism spurred him to note in the diary, on Feb. 5, 1898, that he would endeavour to enter the British Parliament.³⁴ This was adequate to find out the true colours of Gokhale. But, events and circumstances always stand out as hard and cold testimony to all the facets of public life. *Lord Sandhurst*, the Presidency Governor, liberally contributed to the nostalgic provocations, and atrocious morbidity of this episode.³⁵

²⁸ *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, (Madras, 1916), p. 306.

²⁹ Parvate, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

³⁰ Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 7-8.

³¹ *Speeches, Op. Cit.*, p. 1051.

³² Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 14.

In a letter, dated Feb. 8, 1896, Gokhale wrote to G.V. Joshi, telling him how absolutely sick he was of such a life, since "there was so much that is selfish and ignoble here that I would fly from it to the farthest extremities of the world if I could."

³³ Hoyland, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 46-47.

³⁴ Sastri, *Ibid*, pp. 32-33.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 18-27.

Very clearly, Gokhale was made a prey to contemporary black-mail and political mediocrity at its fanatic worst.³⁶ He, however, remained extremely generous, calm and dignified.³⁷ His inherent strength, derived from his faith in constitutionalism, made him look so *different*, head and shoulders above common-place public men. *The Punch* Howd Misston tea-party incident showed how under his composed exterior, there was a burning beacon to dispel the darkness of organised dogmatism and meaningless orthodoxy.³⁸ Gokhale possessed the recognised western virtue of owning-up errors, however trivial, as the *sacred-thread* episode, with a Brahmo-lady, *Mrs. Ray*, clearly shows.³⁹

His regard for and constructive cognizance of, dignified and compassionate parliamentary demeanour was in evidence in his generosity towards *Guy Fleetwood Wilson*⁴⁰ and *Lord Kitchner*.⁴¹ Gokhale never indulged in any loose-talk or hearsay, and did not tolerate any malicious slighting of even the worst of his political rivals or critics. He not only held Tilak in high esteem himself, but frequently told his followers to be liberal in their attitude, notwithstanding the caustic criticism and low-punch vitriolic attitude of *the other camp*.⁴² Even when Lala Lajpat Rai was deported in 1907, Gokhale was highly critical of the Government's myopic policy, and he devoted his time to secure the great leader's release. For Gokhale, it was not a squeamish personal problem; he took it as an insult to India and a challenge to his convictions. In his letter to *Sir W. Wedderburn*, he clearly stated his indignation about Lalaji's case, and expressed how he personally would go into the affair, with his strength of a liberal policy.⁴³ Political life, for Gokhale, was confined to issues only: he did not allow personal factors to vitiate the atmosphere.

It was no surprise, therefore, that *John Morley* was so much impressed by Gokhale's qualities as a liberal, and the parliamentary wisdom of the latter elicited from the former, a great tribute. After meeting Gokhale, on Nov. 22, 1905, *Morley* entered in his diary: "...got Cavour on the rails again."⁴⁴ What struck *John Morley*, the biographer⁴⁵ of *Burke*, *Gladstone* and *Cobden*? It is interesting to note that *Cavour*⁴⁶, like Gokhale, had his strength in realism, in a clear understanding of the

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 22-24.

³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.

³⁸ Varma, *Op. Cit.*, p. 298.

³⁹ Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 272. Mrs. Ray's Speech, Calcutta, Feb. 19, 1943.

⁴⁰ Guy Wilson, *Letters to Nobody*, (London, 1921) p. 177.

⁴¹ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.*, p. 45.

⁴² Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 35.

⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁴ John Viscount Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II, (London, 1918), p. 139.

⁴⁵ *Modern Review*, Vol. I, (1907), p. 103.

⁴⁶ A.J. Grant & H. Temperly, *Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (London, 1946), p. 287.

problems at hand, and in his appreciation of England's practical tackling of finance and administration—specially, as *Sir Peel* did it.

In spite of all the exalted eulogies that Gokhale received—which, of course, he richly deserved, he did not lose his characteristics of an *upright* statesman. The positive contacts and enriching influences notwithstanding, his essential virtues remained as strong as ever. His name was, many a time, equated with great names in history *e.g.* *Gladstone*, *Mazzini* and *Cavour*, and yet Gokhale never, even for a wink, give in to such tempting pitfalls—allergies for most public men.⁴⁷

IV

Not merely this. The germ of the *Servants of India Society* lay in Gokhale's formative years, his contacts with British liberalism and his inherent conviction that *public life in India must be spiritualized*.⁴⁸ In declaring this as his ideal, on June 12, 1905, Gokhale did not talk like the *Pathetic Padre*. It was Gokhale—the democrat and public servant transforming his *El Dorado* into the reality of the *Servants of India Society*. It was a dedication, reminiscent of the exalted democratic processes of a *full life*. Here again, it was widely felt that Gokhale was inspired by *Jesuits* and the *Society of Jesus*.⁴⁹ The *Society*, however, was launched with the ideal of self-effacing national service, specially in the field of political, industrial, social and educational advancement. Critics thought, at the very outset, that certain provisions in its constitution were rather autocratic.⁵⁰ Principal *Selby*, for instance, criticised the danger looming therein which could curb individuality, initiative and freedoms of member-trainees, as it happened in case of the *Russian Secret Society*.⁵¹ Consequently, the much criticised *article—No. 5*—was modified by Gokhale.⁵² It is interesting to note that yet another liberal Englishman, *Lord Lamington*, the Presidency Governor, was also consulted by Gokhale, amongst many others.⁵³ However, Gokhale's prime motive was to rationalise the immense potential and energy of the youth⁵⁴ and channelise it in a potent way for national service, to be a feeder to the ever-widening avenue of democratic processes.⁵⁵ In its wider aspect, his idea was not to have a *Patrician Club*, or an irreligious or atheistic organisation. Time and again, he emphasised the parallel of the *Medieval Christian Order*, and his personal faith in God as love, that inspired him.⁵⁶

⁴⁷ Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 123.

⁴⁸ Speeches, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1231.

⁴⁹ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.*, p. 64.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 66.

⁵¹ Parvate, *Op. Cit.*, p. 189.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 190.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 191.

⁵⁴ *The Hindustan Times*, (Editorial), July 3, 1961.

⁵⁵ Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 210.

⁵⁶ Hoyland, *Op. Cit.*, p. 106.

V

This enriching liberal impact can also be seen in Gokhale's endeavours and proposals, aimed at India's constitutional growth and political emancipation.

His relations with *John Morley*, for example, were very cordial and rewarding.⁵⁷ In response to a favourable call by the latter, Gokhale submitted a note on constitutional reforms. Many of these were, subsequently, incorporated in the *Minto-Morley Scheme*, 1909.⁵⁸ The moderate attitude and liberal demands that Gokhale put forth, highly impressed *John Morley*, who more than anybody else, had faith and trust⁵⁹ in Gokhale's political wisdom. Despite grave opposition from the extremist element, Gokhale did not change his magnanimity in public life. His views on the *Hindu-Muslim* tangle, obviously prove it. What he desired was simply an opportunity, so that the constitutional reforms evolved towards a higher level of general contentment and emancipation.⁶⁰

Gokhale's liberal endeavours in public life impressed *Lord Willingdon* so much that he asked the former to give, on paper, the minimum reforms that would satisfy India, to begin with. The *Viceroy*, himself, was known, for being a staunch democrat and a friend of people's aspirations. Gokhale, out of sheer good-will and toleration, decided not to *go it alone*; and open-heartedly consulted Pherozeshah Mehta and the Aga Khan.⁶¹ This bears exalted testimony to what Gokhale always stood for in life.

The result, despite Gokhale's failing health, was his *Political Will and Testament*⁶²—a magnificent agglomeration of his political maturity, toleration and statesmanship, offsprings of democratic training and belief.⁶³ Gokhale did not live long to see most of his proposals gradually taking concrete shape and incorporated in India's constitutional advance. However, history is on Gokhale's side.

VI

Gokhale's contribution within and outside the *Indian National Congress* is to be judged on the anvil whether he led the way like a valiant leader, or lost himself and his charge, in the consuming burst of fissiparous

⁵⁷ Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 57, 64.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 68.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 107-108.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 112-113.

⁶² Parvate, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 393-397.

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 391-392.

tendencies and *break-away* ideology. His parliamentary handling⁶⁴ gave him the strength that he refused to be a party to any ulterior-group, intent on ultimate bungling.⁶⁵ His infinite capacity to negotiate, evaluate and analyse were a boon that he received from his connection with a political party very much akin to parliamentary traditions in England.

During his visit to South Africa, Gokhale spoke for the countless millions, without a saviour-political or otherwise.⁶⁶ His spirited defence of the *have-nots* gave him the halo of *William Wilberforce*⁶⁷ at his best. If the South African government failed Gokhale,⁶⁸ it only showed the ever-widening gulf between two attitudes and two ways of life : *democratic* and *the other*. It is worth noting that despite all his work to alleviate people, Gokhale did not forget (nor did he forgive our people), the rigid social structure within India.⁶⁹ His democratic spirit did not permit any expediency or concessions, out of denial of the inevitable and the obvious.

VII

Gokhale was aware of the significance of economic bases of political emancipation. He got the essential training⁷⁰ under Justice M. G. Ranade and was deeply indebted to G. V. Joshi. Gokhale was always in quest of a synthesis of the Western ideals of economics and the Indian approach, in keeping with our subjugation and dependence. He developed some new ideas on the thorny question of *bi-metallism*,⁷¹ but he could not go ahead because of his preoccupations as a public servant, and also because Death did not spare him.

He studied and analysed the economic ills and inconsistencies that ravaged the Indian finances and lop-sided budgets. He firmly believed that dogmatic *laissez-faire* could never become the saviour of our finances. The need of the hour was the creative and functional aspect of the state, implemented with caution, sympathy and foresight.⁷² With such startling enunciation of economic ideas, one feels that Gokhale was far ahead of his times, advocating a *Welfare State* !

An analysis reveals that among Gokhale's *economic-charter* were demands for an equitable distribution of income so as to balance our economy ; emancipation of the poor ; reduction of taxes and duties ;

⁶⁴ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.*, p. 73.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 74.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 60-61.

⁶⁷ George Macaulay Trevelyan, *History of England*, (London, 1935) pp. 560-599

⁶⁸ Sastry, *Op. Cit.*, p. 97

⁶⁹ *Treatment of Indians by the Boers*, (Madras, 1903.), p. 4.

⁷⁰ Sastry, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 10, 12.

⁷¹ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.* pp. 19-20.

⁷² Kellock, *Op. Cit.*, p. 134.

increased production; allocation of surpluses for public welfare; stabilisation of the Rupee; State Protection etc.⁷³ Gokhale was a keen analyst, and appreciated the economic protection given by the State, in France and Germany.⁷⁴ Obviously, he did not believe that the maxims of the *Manchester School*, led by *Cobden* and *Bright* could be applied to Indian conditions. On the contrary, the ideals of *Western liberal economic thought* regarding *international peace*, *retrenchment of government expenditure*, and *political and social reform*,⁷⁵ appealed to him fervently. Year after year, he stood up in the Imperial Legislative Council and fought valiantly for a balanced economic policy.⁷⁶ In spite of his obsession for liberty, he was not to be hoodwinked into any false ideals or their implementation. He, therefore, had little sympathy for *Gladstone's* ideas on free trade,⁷⁷ though he felt sympathy for *Peel's* ideas.⁷⁸ Surprisingly, B.C. Pal had supporting ideas⁷⁹ for Gokhale. The inference that attracts us is that Gokhale, by this patience and sustained labour in the Imperial Legislative Council, fortified with Ranade's interpretations and Western liberal thought, brought Indian finances and economy out of the quagmire of exploitation and crisis.⁸⁰ Lord Curzon, the conservative, also declared veritable liberalism as the crying need for India.⁸¹ The constructive impact of *Hamilton*, *Carey* and *Sismond*⁸² can be seen on Gokhale's prescription for our economic revival and stability, as opposed to the contemporary British classical school of Economics. In his methodology, he was near that followed by *Comte*, *Adam Miller* and *Friedrich-List*.⁸³

Gokhale was greatly impressed by the emphasis on scientific research, industrialisation and planned economic growth in the West. He founded at Poona, the *Ranade Economic Institute*,⁸⁴ primarily as a nucleus of analysing problems of Indian economics, with a reference library and a laboratory to carry out fundamental scientific research.

Gokhale did not have any prejudices, even against principles and programmes he did not support fully. He always applied *caution*, a typical British tradition,⁸⁵ before embarking on a serious project in public life.

⁷³ Varma, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 268-269.

⁷⁴ M. G. Ranade, *Essays on Indian Economics* (Madras, 1906), p. 35.

⁷⁵ E. J. Hutchins and L. W. Stephens, *Op. Cit.*, p. 220.

⁷⁶ Varma, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 268-269.

⁷⁷ Hutchins and Stephens, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 240-241.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁷⁹ B. C. Pal, *Nationality and Empire*, (Calcutta, 1916), p. 358.

⁸⁰ D. G. Karve, *Ranade, The Prophet of Liberated India*, (Poona, 1942), p. 77.

⁸¹ *Modern Review*, Vol. I, (1907) p. 59.

⁸² Varma, *Op. Cit.*, p. 221.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁸⁴ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁸⁵ Wilson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 191.

For economics of *Swadeshi*, Gokhale had an open mind, and any squeamish approach was not his way at all,⁸⁶ specially because quite a few of our countrymen equated *Swadeshi* and *boycott*.⁸⁷ Gokhale had nothing to do with the negative aspect of the movement,⁸⁸ as it was against his accepted pattern of public life. He stuck to a rationalisation of Indian economy and Western economic impacts.⁸⁹

VIII

Even in inter-personal relationships,⁹⁰ Gokhale's liberalism and tolerance stand out. He reached the high water-mark of fame, not always the lot of publicmen, as his life itself was a religious synthesis of the best in the West and in the East. But, sometimes, his humanism was mistaken for *agnosticism*.⁹¹ Gandhi called Gokhale's life that of a man of religion, and denounced any doubts to the contrary.⁹²

Gokhale's liberalism was receptive enough, and he considered religion to be exclusively a personal matter.⁹³ However, he successfully demonstrated the infinitely tolerant amalgamation of cultural and ethical strains with the political ones—a consequence of his love for the *Gita*, the *Shanti Parva* of *Mahabharat*, and *Vikramorvashi Yam*.⁹⁴

That was the cumulative impact of a *life-divine*, agglomerating the greatness of one, who, as he was sinking on Feb. 19, 1915, expressed with characteristic calm and grace of a public servant : "This side of life has been good to me. It is time I should go and see the other."⁹⁵

⁸⁶ M. A. Buch, *Op. Cit.*, p. 230.

⁸⁷ Speeches, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 819-828.

⁸⁸ Varma, *Op. Cit.*, p. 265.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-269.

⁹⁰ The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, *Op. Cit.*, p. 82.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁹² M. K. Gandhi, *Gokhale—My Political Guru*, (Ahmedabad, 1955), p. 37.

⁹³ Paranjpye, *Op. Cit.*, p. 79.

⁹⁴ The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, *Op. Cit.*, p. 31.

⁹⁵ *The Bengalee*, March 5, 1915, p. 4.