

Gokhale, Gandhi and the Nehrus
Studies in Indian Nationalism

by B. R. Nanda

Mahatma Gandhi

The Nehrus

Socialism in India (ed.)

Nehru and the Modern World (ed.)

Gokhale, Gandhi and the Nehrus

Studies in Indian Nationalism

B. R. NANDA

London · George Allen & Unwin Ltd
Ruskin House Museum Street

First printed in 1974

This book is copyright under the Berne Convention. All rights are reserved. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, 1956, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, electrical, chemical, mechanical, optical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner. Enquiries should be addressed to the publishers.

© George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1974

ISBN 0 04 954018 1

**Printed in Great Britain
in 10 point Times Roman type
by Unwin Brothers Limited
The Gresham Press
Old Woking Surrey**

To
S.M.P.

Preface

The essays brought together in this volume touch upon certain important figures and aspects of the nationalist movement in India in the closing years of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Some of them were contributed to seminars: on the partition of India convened by the London School of Oriental and African Studies; on Gandhi, by the American Association of Asian Studies; and on 'Socialism in India' by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. Friends, whose opinions I value, feel that these papers, though originally written for fellow historians, would be of interest to a wider audience. 'Gokhale's Year of Decision' appeared in the *Journal of Indian History* in 1965. The 'Social Thought of Gokhale' was the text of a lecture delivered during the following year. The biographical sketches of Gokhale and Motilal Nehru were occasioned by their centenaries. 'Jawaharlal Nehru as a Writer' is an amplified version of an article contributed to the *Hindustan Times* in 1966.

Though these essays vary in their origins, they pertain to a period in which I have had a long-standing interest; indeed, they are by-products of larger projects. They will, I hope, be of interest not only to students of Indian nationalism, but also to the general reader. The men and events discussed in this book are not really so remote from our times, nor are they so unconnected with each other as they may appear to be at first sight. The Gandhi-Nehru partnership exercised a momentous influence on the course of Indian history. The partition of India was a traumatic experience for the people of the Indian sub-continent, the understanding of which should have a liberating effect on the minds of men. Gandhi, Gokhale and the Nehrus were contemporaries, who had not a little to do with each other. The two Nehrus and Gokhale, with their rational and secular outlook, should be of special interest to a generation still struggling to shake off the burden of the past.

I must acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the India Office Library for use of the papers of Lords Hamilton, Elgin, Curzon, Lansdowne and Morley; to the National Archives of India for the

8 GOKHALE, GANDHI AND THE NEHRUS

Gokhale Papers; to the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library for the Nehru Papers; and to the Gandhi Memorial Museum for the Gandhi Papers.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the following for permission to reprint material used previously;

The University Press of Hawaii. (An abridged version of 'Gandhi and Nehru' appeared in the *Meanings of Gandhi* edited by Paul F. Power).

The Director, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla. ('Relevance of Gandhi' appeared in *Gandhi: Theory and Practice, Social Impact and Contemporary Relevance* edited by S. C. Biswas.)

Allen & Unwin ('Nehru and Partition of India' appeared in *Partition of India* edited by C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright.)

The Statesman Ltd, Calcutta. (The biographical sketch of Gopal Krishna Gokhale appeared in the *Statesman* in May 1966.)

The Hindustan Times Ltd, New Delhi. (An abridged version of 'Jawaharlal Nehru as a Writer' appeared in the *Hindustan Times* in 1966.)

B. R. NANDA

Contents

Preface	<i>page 7</i>
1. Gopal Krishna Gokhale	11
2. Gokhale's Year of Decision	20
3. Social Thought of Gokhale	38
4. Motilal Nehru	50
5. The 'Relevance' of Gandhi	60
6. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru	77
7. Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialism: The Early Phase	106
8. Jawaharlal Nehru as a Writer	120
9. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Partition of India	130
Biographical Notes	181
References	187
Index	198

Index

- Abyssinia 95
Aden 31
Aga Khan 17, 57
Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh 12, 41-4, 47-8
Age of Consent Bill 13, 18, 42
Agra 50
Ahmed, Maulana Hussain 143
Ahmed, Muzaffar 108-9
Ahmedabad 64, 112
Ahmedabad Textile Workers' Union 108
Ahmednagar Fort 127
Alexander, Horace 127
Ali, Ameer 17
Ali, Liaquat 163
Ali, Maulana Muhammad 146
Allah Baksh 161
Allahabad Congress 53
All India Congress Committee 54, 81, 83, 88, 91, 99, 115, 117, 138, 156, 161, 168, 170, 175
All India Muslim League 63, 98-9, 116, 130, 135, 137-49, 151-4, 157-62, 165-8, 170-80
All India Trade Union Congress 87, 108, 112
All-Parties Conference 57
Allen & Unwin 127
Almora 129
Amery, L. S. 155
Amraoti 34, 35
Anand Bhawan 52-3, 56, 121, 125
Andrews, C. F. 55, 127
Aney, M. S. 149
Ansari, Dr M. A. 57
Aruna Asaf Ali 168
Ashraf, K. M 139
Attlee, C. R 165
Azad, Abul Kalam 98, 139-40, 144, 153, 157, 159, 167-8, 180
Azad Memorial Lectures 127

Babar 123

Bande Mataram 146
Banerjea, Surendranath 16, 20
Bapa, Thakkar 18, 49
Barkatullah 108
Basu, Bhupendra Nath 45
Benaras Congress 14
Besant, Mrs Annie 61, 120
Beveridge, W. W. O., Surgeon Captain 23
Bhave, Vinoba 70, 76
Bhide, V. M. 25
Bhownaggee, M. 32, 36
Bhulabhai Desai-Liaquat Ali Pact 163
Birdwood, Sir George 21
Bodley Head 126
Bombay Congress 54, 79
Bombay Guardian 26
Bombay Presidency Association 34
Bonnerjee, Womesh Chandra 16
Bose, Subhas Chandra 58, 62, 77, 82, 87, 91-3, 110-11, 113, 117, 148, 180
Bramho Samaj 39
Brecher, Michael 98
British Committee of the Congress 49
British Parliamentary Delegation 164
Brooks, Ferdinand T. 125

Cabinet Mission 63, 164-6, 168, 173-4, 180
Caine, W. S. 20-1, 33, 35
Calcutta Congress 58, 82-3, 134
Cambridge 53, 78, 86, 123
Cape Comorin 160
Central Legislative Assembly 56
Chamberlain, Neville 150
Champaran 79, 90
Chandavarkar, N. G. 49
Chaudhuri, Jogendranath 52
Chauri Chaura 62, 77, 80-1, 109-10, 112, 121

- Chelmsford, Lord 108
 China 105, 110, 124, 150
 Chintamani, C. Y. 11, 18
 Churchill, Winston 96, 124, 128, 156, 158, 165
 Civil Marriage Bill 45
 Communal Award 148-9
 Communist International 106, 108, 111, 118
 Congo 70
 Congress of Oppressed Nationalities (Brussels) 81, 110, 113
 Congress Socialist Party 88, 94, 115-16, 118
 Congress Working Committee 76, 89, 93, 98, 117, 130, 134, 148, 150-1, 156, 164, 166, 168, 173, 175-6
 Constituent Assembly 104, 131, 134, 150, 152, 157, 166, 168-72
 Coupland, Reginald 146
 Cousins, Norman 125
 Cripps, Stafford 96, 136-7, 157-8, 164-5, 167, 176
 Curzon, Lord 13, 15
 Czechoslovakia 75, 95, 145, 150

Daily Mail 27-8
 Dandi 83
 Dange, S. A. 108
 Darwin, Charles 44
 Das, C. R. 56, 61-2, 110, 113
 Deccan College, Poona 41
 Deccan Education Society 12, 18, 41
 Deccan Sabha 24-6, 35
Decline of the West 123
 Delhi Manifesto 102
 Deodhar, G. K. 18
 Desai, Mahadev 101, 163
 Deva, Narendra 87-9, 94, 115-16, 118
 Dharwar Social Conference 46
 'Direct Action Day' 174
Discovery of India 100, 127-9
Dnyan Prakash 33
 Dutt, R. C. 21

 East India Company 50
Economist, The 126
 Edison 76
 Einstein 75

 Elgin, Earl of 22, 28
 Elphinstone College, Bombay 41

 Faizpur 89
 Fazl-ul-Huq 108, 148
 Fergusson College, Poona 12, 41, 45
 Fergusson, Sir James 31
 Ferojkhan, Nawab Abdul 25

 Gadkari 22
 Gandhi, M. K. 11, 16, 18, 49, 55-6, 58, 60-85, 87-106, 108-10, 112-20, 124-5, 127, 129-30, 137-8, 142, 144, 151, 153, 156-7, 159-60, 162-4, 166-7, 173-7, 180
 Gandhi-Irwin Pact 58, 77, 84, 114, 122
 Gandhi-Smuts Pact 15
Gandhi and Anarchy 61
 Ganesh Khind 26
 Gaya 110
 George V 54
Gita 78, 80, 122
 GIP Railway Union 108
Glimpses of World History 114, 124-6
 Godse 64
 Gokhale 11-17, 20-2, 25-6, 29-34, 36, 38, 41-9, 60-1, 66, 80, 179
 Goray, N. G. 115
 Government of India Act (1935) 155, 131-2, 178
 Grousset Rene 123
Gujerati 33
 Gwyer, Sir Maurice 147

 Haskar, Colonel 121
 Halaku 166
 Hamilton, Lord George 22, 28
 Hardinge, Lord 15
Harijan 77, 93, 95, 127
 Harijan Sevak Sangh 48
 Haroon, Abdulla 145
 Harrow 53, 78, 120
 Hasan, Syed Wazir 145
 Hidayatullah, Sir Ghulam Husain 142, 153
Hind Swaraj 66-7, 104
Hindu 122
 Hindu Mahasabha 126, 133, 146, 148

200 GOKHALE, GANDHI AND THE NEHRUS

- History of the English Speaking People* 124
 Hiroshima 75
History Today 124
 Hitler 63, 95-6, 123-4
 Hodge, Alan 124
 Home Rule Movement 54, 111, 113, 120
 Hong Kong 22-3
 Howrah 40
 Hume, A. O. 21, 31, 33
 Hunter, W. W. 21
 Husain, Zakir 146
 Hyderabad 159, 168
 Hyndman, H. M. 106

 Imperial Legislative Council 13, 15, 17, 42, 45, 49, 108
 Independence for India League 82, 87, 113
Independent 55, 121
India 20, 124
 India Office 15, 16, 150
India Today and Tomorrow 127
 Indian Parliamentary Committee 29-30, 35
 Indian Seamen's Union 108
Indian Social Reformer 40
Indian Spectator 33
 Irwin, Lord 62, 82, 102
 Islam, Nazrul 108
 Islington Commission on Public Services 15
 Ismail, Nawab Mahomed 145
 Iyer, G. Subramania 20

 Jallianwala Bagh 55, 112
 Japan 47, 150, 156-8
 Jayakar, M. R. 18
 Jeorani 50
 Jinnah, M. A. 11, 18, 57, 61, 93, 138, 141-4, 146, 148-9, 151-5, 158, 160-5, 167, 171-4, 176-80
 Joint Parliamentary Committee 154
 Jones, Sir Thomas 128
 Joshi, G. V. 20
 Joshi, N. M. 18, 49
 Joshi, S. M. 87, 115

 Kaira 79, 90
 Karachi Congress 84
 Kashmir 53, 167
 Kelkar, N. C. 126
Kesari 33, 42
 Khaliqzaman 138, 140, 143, 149, 154
 Khan, Abdul Ghaffar 98, 168
 Khan, Abdul Qaiyum 153, 166
 Khan, Chengiz 166
 Khan, Nawab Ismail 140, 149
 Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali 171
 Khan, Sir Saadullah 161
 Khan, Sir Sikandar Hyat 142, 148, 153
 Khetri 50, 51
 Khilafat 111, 146
 Kidwai, Rafi Ahmed 94, 139
 Kisch, H. M. 39
 Kolhapur 41
 Korea 70
 Kotluk 12
 Kripalani, J. B. 60, 99
 Krishak Proja Party 153
 Kunzru, H. N. 18
 Kuomintang 110

 Lahore Congress 82-3, 113, 118, 133
 Lansbury, George 106
 Lansdowne, Lord 42
 Latif, Dr Abdul 159-61
Leader 55, 121, 126
 League against Imperialism 110
 Lenin 108, 109, 112-14, 119
Letters from a Father to His Daughter 122, 126
 Lincoln, Abraham 176
 Linlithgow, Marquess of 96, 150, 167, 177
 Lohia, Ram Manohar 118
 London 13, 20-1, 35, 86, 120, 164
 Lothian, Marquess of 126, 128, 132
 Lucknow Congress 89, 134, 143, 145
 Ludwig, Emil 123

 Madras Congress 81, 113
 Maharani 50
Mahratta 33
 Malabari, B. M. 42
 Malaviya, Madan Mohan 54, 64
Manchester Guardian 30-1, 154
 Manchuria 95
 Manu 69

- Mao Tse-tung 128
 Marconi 76
 Marx, Karl 69, 106, 113-14
 Masani, M. R. 118
 Maugham, W. Somerset 128
 Mears, Sir Grimwood 52
 Meerut Conspiracy Case 111
 Meherally, Yusuf 87, 115
 Mehta, Asoka 87, 115, 118
 Mehta, Pherozechah 11, 14, 36
 Menon, Krishna 157
 Mexico 108
 Mill, J. S. 41, 69
 Minto-Morley Reforms 15, 17, 18
Modern Review 61
 Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms 55, 111
 Montagu, Edwin 61, 111, 155
 Moonje, B. S. 126
 Morley, John 14-15, 21
 Mountbatten, Earl 98-9, 174, 176-7
 Mudaliar, Koopooswamy 25
 Muir Central College, Allahabad 51
 Muirhead, Lt Colonel 154
 Mukerjee, Hiren 79, 92
 Munshi, K. M. 140
 Myrdal, Gunnar 73
- Nadiad 112
 Nagasaki 75
 Nagpur Congress 61
 Naidu, Sarojini 11, 17
 Nair, Sir Sankaran 61
 Namboodiripad, E. M. S. 92
 Naoroji, Dadabhai 11, 14, 16, 20-2, 31, 33, 48, 106, 179
 Narayan, J. P. 77, 87-9, 94, 96, 98, 115-16, 118
 National Agriculturist Party 135, 137
 National Planning Committee 94, 117
 National Social Conference 44, 47, 49
 Natu brothers 32
Navayug 108
 Nazimuddin, Sir Khwaja 161
 Neibuhr, Reinhold 131
 New English School 12, 41
New Times 149
 Nishtar, Abdur Rab 165
- Nizam of Hyderabad 175
 Noon, Sir Firoz Khan 166
 Nehru, Bansi Dhar 50
 Nehru, Ganga Dhar 50
 Nehru, Indira 122
 Nehru, Jawaharlal 17, 48, 52-5, 58, 77-105, 110-17, 119-35, 137, 139-44, 146-53, 156-9, 164-5, 167, 169-71, 173, 175-6, 179-80
 Nehru, Kamala 102
 Nehru, Lakshmi Narayan 50
 Nehru, Motilal 18, 50-9, 62, 78, 80, 82, 100, 102, 113, 121, 133, 139
 Nehru, Nand Lal 50-1
Nehru Report 57, 82, 133-4
 O'Connor, T. P. 21
Outline of History 123, 124
- Pakistan 63, 105, 153, 158-63, 166-7, 170-4, 177-9
 Pal, Bipin Chandra 39
 Pant, G. B. 134, 139, 145
 Paranjpye, R. P. 48
 Pareto, Vilfredo 123
 Patel, Vallabhbhai 90, 98-9, 101, 134, 139, 164, 168, 173, 175-6
 Patel, V. J. 62
 Pater, Walter 78
 Patrani 50
 Patwardhan, Achyut 87-9, 115-16, 118, 168
 Peile, Sir James 21
 Pethick-Lawrence 165, 167, 171
 Phillipps, Lt Colonel C. R. 22
Pioneer 144
Pirpur Report 146
 Plague Committee 23-5
 Planning Commission 105
 Plumb, J. H. 128
 Poland 95, 150
 Poona Sarvajanik Sabha 21, 35
 Porbandar 78
 Prarthana Samaj 43
 Pratap, Raja Mahendra 108
 Prince of Wales 112
- Quaid-e-Azam 166
Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha 41
 'Quit India' (Movement) 63, 97, 156, 159, 161

202 GOKHALE, GANDHI AND THE NEHRUS

- Rahman, Syed Habibul 153
 Rajagopalachari, C. R. 63, 153, 157, 162, 180
 Rajaram College 41
 Rajendra Prasad 18, 90, 101, 134, 147-8, 180
 Ranade, M. G. 12, 13, 17-18, 20, 24, 41, 43-4, 46, 48-9
 Rand, W. C. 22, 24, 27, 29, 30, 32
 Ranga, N. G. 87
 Ratnagiri 12
 Reading, Lord 62
 Regulation of 1827 29
Religion and the Rise of Capitalism 123
 Ripon, Marquess of 28
 Roosevelt, Franklin D. 128
 Round-Table Conference 84, 134
 Rowlatt Bills 55, 61, 79-80, 111-12
 Roy, M. N. 78, 97, 108-12, 119
 Roy, Ram Mohun 43
 Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure 20
 Ruskin 66
 Russell, Bertrand 123
 Russian Revolution 86, 94, 107, 111, 113, 124

 Sabarmati 62, 80
Sadar Diwani Adalat 50
 Sadruddin, Kazi 51
 Saiyidain, K. G. 146
 Salt *Satyagraha* 62, 83, 122
 Sampurnananda 87, 115-16
 Sandhurst, Lord 23, 26, 29-30, 32-3
 Sankara 69
 Sapru, Tej Bahadur 11, 18, 57
 Saran, Raghunandan 151
 Sardesai, G. S. 38
 Sarvajanik Sabha 12-13, 35
 Sastri, V. S. Srinivasa 18, 61, 164
 Sen, Keshub Chandra 106
 Servants of India Society 18, 60, 80
 Sevagram 144
 Shah, K. T. 123
Shareef Report 146
 Shaw, George Bernard 65, 113
 Siddiqui, Abdul Rahman 154
 Simla Conference 98, 163, 164
 Simon Commission 57
 Sinha, Sir S. P. 178
 Sitaramayya, Patabhi 91
 South Africa 15, 46, 60, 66, 68, 78-9, 112, 180
Soviet Russia 114, 122, 126
 Soviet Union 81, 109
Spectator 126
 Spencer, Herbert 35, 41
 Spengler, Oswald 123
 Sri Prakasa 87, 115
 Stalin 112, 128
Statesman 11, 49
 Sudetan Germans 145
Sudharak 42, 47
 Suhrawardy 178
Sunday Times, The 126
 Sunderlal, Pandit 52
 'Surat Split' 15, 18
 Swaraj Party 56, 58, 139
 Swarup Rani 52
 Swift 69
 Swinburne 123

 Tagore, Rabindranath 61, 68, 76, 127
 Tashkent 109
 Tashkent School 109
 Tawney, R. H. 123
 Teen Murti House 129
 Thompson, Edward 91
 Tilak, Bal Gangadhar 12-13, 23-4, 26, 32, 42, 61, 66, 106, 126
Times, The 31
Times of India 33
 Tolstoy 66, 123
 Trotsky 123
 Turkey 108

 United Nations 70
 United Provinces Independence League 87
 United States 108, 180
 Unwin, Stanley 126

 Viceregal Lodge 133
 Viceroy's Executive Council 156, 178
 Victoria, Queen 26
 Victorian Era Exhibition 44
 Vietnam 70
 Vincent, William 32

Wacha, D. E. 16, 20, 31, 34, 48
War and Peace 123
Wardha 157
Wavell, Lord 98, 163-5, 174, 177
Webbs, the (Sidney and Beatrice)
106
Wedderburn, William 11, 16, 20-2,
29-31, 33
Wedgwood, Col. 106
Welby Commission 21, 29-31, 35, 44

Welby, Lord 20
Wells, H. G. 123
Western India Club 27
Whitehall 133
Wilde, Oscar 78
Willingdon 90, 132
Young India 67, 102, 122
Zetland, Lord 154