

V2wM66
K6
244088

UMROTAKAR

LOK RAJYA

MAY 9, 1966 • 25 PAISE



Gokhale among his colleagues and students of the Fergusson College. In the centre is seated Principal G. G. Agarkar. Gokhale is second from left.



Gokhale

MAY 9, 1966—VOL. 22, No. 2

Price 25 Paise

Annual Subscription Rs. 5

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-244088

CONTENTS

★ GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE—THE MAN
AND HIS MISSION ★ GOKHALE—REMINISCENCES
★ GOKHALE-GANDHI RELATIONSHIP ★ GOKHALE—
EMBODIMENT OF INDIAN CULTURE AND TRADITION
★ GOKHALE—THE PERFECT GENTLEMAN ★ SOME
GLIMPSES OF GOKHALE'S LIFE AND HIS LAST VOYAGE
★ ANECDOTES FROM GOKHALE'S LIFE ★ GOKHALE—
THE GLADSTON OF INDIA ★ GOKHALE ACTED AS HE
PREACHED ★ GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE—SOME
REMINISCENCES ★ GANDHIJI'S POLITICAL GURU—
GOKHALE ★ IMPORTANT LANDMARKS IN GOKHALE'S
LIFE.

* * *

In commemoration of the birth centenary
of the late Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale on
May 9, 1966, the special number of
Lok Rajya is brought out on that day.
The next issue will be out on June 1,
1966.

244088

Lok Rajya

Gopal Krishna Gokhale

The Man and His Mission

—DR. H. N. KUNZRU,

*President,
Servants of India Society.*



Gopal Krishna Gokhale

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE, whose birth centenary will be celebrated in the current year, was born of poor parents on 9th May 1866, and died on 19th February 1915. He was, thus, less than 49 years old when he died, but during the short span of his life he attained a distinction which a few public workers of his day could lay claim to. When he entered public life it was adorned by great men whose patriotism, courage, and intellectual qualifications had earned them the respect and admiration of their grateful countrymen, but he shone brightly even in this galaxy of talent. His rise in public life was phenomenal. He was only 22 years old when he was elected Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference. At 29, he worked as the Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress. At 31, he was one of the four Indian representatives chosen to give evidence before the Royal Commission of Indian Expenditure, popularly known as the Welby Commission; at 33 he was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and at 35 of the Imperial Legislative Council. At 39, he founded the Servants of India Society (June 1905) and a few months later he presided over the Banares session of the Indian National Congress. The very first speech that he made on the Indian Budget (1902-03) attracted the attention of educated men all over the country. The comprehensive knowledge of Indian problems which it displayed, its masterly exposition of the financial

situation, its deep concern for the welfare of the masses, and its forceful presentation of the Indian point of view commanded the admiration of the intelligentsia and enabled him to stand before the country as one of its foremost leaders. On reading it, Romesh Chandra Dutta wrote to him that he considered it to be 'the ablest and best speech that had ever been made from our point of view in the Viceroy's Council,' and that he 'dared to prophesy—knowing all the public men of India—that you will be the strongest, the foremost and most irresistible leader among them.'

Gokhale received a training for participation in public life which had hardly been the good fortune of any of our public men to undergo. He graduated in 1884 and joined the next year the New English School, started by Tilak and Chiplunkar in 1880, to place education within reach of the common man. In 1886, he joined the Deccan Education Society, which was founded by Tilak, Agarkar, Chiplunkar and Namjoshi in October 1884, and whose Life-Members vowed to serve it on a pittance for twenty years. The D. E. Society started the Fergusson College which commenced working in January 1885. As one of its professors, Gokhale taught English and Mathematics in the beginning, but subsequently taught History and Economics for many years. Soon after joining the Deccan Education Society he had the inestimable advantage of coming into contact with Mahadev Govind Ranade, who was one of the master minds of his age. His learning, versatility, patriotism, and saintly character inspired reverence in younger men who looked up to him as their Guru. Gokhale sat at his master's feet for twelve years and showed himself to be an uncommonly gifted, diligent, and faithful disciple during this period. It was no easy matter to please Ranade. He was a severe task-master. From time to time, he asked his disciple to prepare representations to be submitted to the local or to the Central Government. Gokhale had sometimes to sit up the whole night to finish the task allotted to him, because he was occupied during the day with his College work and the preparation required for the discharge of his professorial duties. Besides, his duties in the College were not merely academic but also administrative, for he was appointed Secretary of the Deccan Education Society in 1819.

This, however, does not give one an adequate idea of the burden of public work on his shoulders. In

1888 he began to edit the English columns of the *Sudharak*, a weekly started by Agarkar (Principal of the Fergusson College) and devoted to the discussion of questions relating to social reform. In 1890, he was appointed Secretary of the Sarvajanic Sabha and Editor of its *Quarterly*. It was a tribute to his ability that he was chosen to edit this journal which was noted for its able discussion of serious questions. On account of differences between the members of the Sabha he resigned from its Secretaryship in 1896 and helped like-minded persons to start a new association under Ranade's guidance called the Deccan Sabha, of which he became the first Secretary. This shows how heavy were the duties that he had to discharge. His responsibilities were sufficiently onerous to require the wholehearted attention of at least two capable and devoted workers. This was how he laid the foundation of his future greatness, but he had to pay dearly for it. Nature had blessed him with a strong constitution, but it gave way under the weight of his manifold and responsible duties. In his valedictory speech on his retirement from the Fergusson College in September 1902, explaining the reasons for taking leave of his colleagues, he said: 'In the first place, my health is not now what it once was. During the last term it was a matter of anxiety to me from week to week, and almost from day to day how I should be able to finish my work without breaking down in the middle of the term.' But his burning love for the country prevented him from taking the rest that his health demanded. He continued to work with undiminished vigour till his life drew to a close and when the end came he left the world like a true sadhu without any regret. Justly has Mahatma Gandhi said of him: 'Whatever he did, enjoyed, sacrificed; whatever charity he practised; whatever austerities he underwent; all this he surrendered at the feet of Mother India.'

To his vast and profound knowledge of public questions and his untiring industry, Gokhale added moral and spiritual qualities which gave him a special position among his contemporaries. To his master Ranade, he owed not merely habits of unremitting labour and thoroughness and a firm grasp of public questions which distinguished him in his later life, but also moral and spiritual elevation, wide sympathies, and a liberal outlook. He wanted not only political freedom but also social reform and the liberation of the people from the thralldom of old ideas which retarded the growth of a feeling of unity. He was a warm supporter of women's education and the up-

lift of the depressed classes. Every action of his was guided by moral considerations and every speech of his derived its force and effectiveness not merely from the cogency of his arguments but also from the high moral standpoint from which they were made. The political problem was to him a part of the moral problem. He believed like Mahatma Gandhi that we should not have two standards, one to be followed in politics and the other to be followed in our private life. Morality must govern both our private and our political activities. Moral considerations governed his conduct throughout his life and all his important political speeches bear witness to this.

Political Principles

In his presidential speech at the Banares Congress he supported the agitation against the partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi movement to which it gave birth, primarily on moral grounds. Speaking of the partition of Bengal, he said : 'A wave of true national consciousness has swept over the province and, at its touch, old barriers have, for the time at any rate, been thrown down, personal jealousies have vanished, other controversies have been hushed..... A great rush and uprising of the waters such as has been recently witnessed in Bengal cannot take place without a little inundation over the banks here and there. Those little excesses are inevitable when large masses of men move spontaneously—especially when the movement is from darkness into light, from bondage towards freedom—and they must not be allowed to disconcert us too much. The most astounding fact of the situation is that the public life of this country has received an accession of strength of great importance, and for this all India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal.' His reference to Swadeshi was also suffused with a strong moral feeling : 'The highest Swadeshi is an influence so profound and so passionate that its very thought thrills and its actual touch lifts one out of oneself. India needs today above everything else that the gospel of this devotion should be preached to high and to low, to prince and to peasant, in towns and in hamlets, till the service of the Motherland becomes with us as overmastering a passion as it is in Japan.'

He loved his country so profoundly and passionately that once he had arrived, after deep thought, at any conclusion, he could not be turned away from it by considerations of popularity. He valued truth above all else ; but his desire always was to place it before the public in such a way to make it feel that what

had been said by him deserved its serious attention. His 'ammunition', as Gandhiji has said, was 'his wealth of facts and figures' and his arguments were 'persuasive and full of enthusiasm'.

While not blind to the disadvantages of foreign rule, Gokhale believed that statesmanship demanded that, situated as we were, we should support the continuance of India's association with England in the best interests of India. He, therefore, firmly held the opinion that the objective for which public men in India should work should be self-government within the Empire of the same kind as that which the self-governing colonies of the British Empire enjoyed, and he repeated this conviction on various occasions. In his Presidential Address to the Congress in 1905, he said : 'The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of Indians themselves and that, in course of time, a form of government should be set up in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire.' He said the same thing during his tour of Northern India early in 1907. 'I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science, and in art. I want all this, and feel at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can, in its essence and reality, be realized within this Empire.' The cases of the French in Canada and the Boers in South Africa had shown that there was room in the Empire for a self-respecting India.' He said in the same speech that it was not a question 'of what was theoretically perfect, but of what was practically attainable'. His recognition of the political realities of the situation convinced him that we should not advocate the severance of the British connection or for going out of the Commonwealth. He did not stand alone in this respect. When the partition of Bengal stirred up feelings against the British Government in India and there were serious differences of opinion in the Congress with regard to the manner in which political agitation should be carried on in future to enable India to be fully self-governing, some leaders strongly questioned the wisdom and efficacy of the policy that India should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth—or the British Empire as it was then called. Aravind Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal repudiated the ideal for which the old Congress leaders stood. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was looked upon as the leader of the new Party in the Congress, appeared to stand for complete independence in 1906, but subsequently

he advocated consistently the goal of self-government within the Commonwealth. He wrote in his paper, the *Kesari*, early in 1907 that 'the colonial model sufficed for him as an ideal to work for.' His differences with the Moderates, he repeatedly pointed out, was not 'with regard to the objective but only with regard to the methods of agitation to be pursued by the Congress'. Again in 1919, he said in England: 'The British Empire is already a League of Nations. Why should Indians—believers in world polity—wish to separate from the Commonwealth of Nations?' C. R. Das spoke of the 'deep spiritual significance' of the Commonwealth idea and he believed that it was 'for the good of India, for the good of the world that India should strive for freedom within the Commonwealth and so serve the cause of humanity.' In the Manifesto of the Congress Democratic Party of which Tilak was the leader, he said in April 1920: 'This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of mankind, but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a sister State with other partners in the British Commonwealth, including Great Britain.'

When the Congress voted for Independence at its Lahore session in 1930, its Resolution was not interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi as meaning secession from the Commonwealth. It meant to him that the partnership between India and England should continue but should be dissoluble at the option of either party. Soon after the Lahore session of the Congress, presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji wrote: 'The Independence Resolution need not frighten anybody. I had repeatedly declared that for me as for all other Congressmen Dominion Status could mean only virtual Independence; that is, partnership at will for mutual benefit and to be dissolved at the instance of either partner.' This interpretation was upheld by the Karachi Congress, presided over by Vallabhbhai Patel. The Resolution passed by the Congress made this quite clear. Gandhiji never resiled from this opinion. He stood for *Poorna Swaraj* but not for putting an end to the British connection. This attitude was also supported by Independent India which under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru decided to continue her association with the Commonwealth. It recognized that association with the nations of the Commonwealth was of some value and that it was better than

standing alone. And India has continued to stick to this view in spite of the Suez and Rhodesian crises.

'To achieve Indian freedom, Gokhale strongly felt that the method to be employed should be that of constitutional agitation.' But his idea of constitutional agitation was much broader than that of other Indian leaders. Contrary to the popular belief, it did not begin and end with petitioning and appealing. In the Allahabad speech, referred to above, he defined constitutional agitation as action to bring about the changes that were desired through the action of the constituted authority." This meant that "the methods adopted were such as we were entitled to employ," and secondly, that "the changes desired must be obtained only through the action of constituted authorities by bringing to bear upon them the pressure of public opinion." This obviously excluded violence. It further excluded rebellion or aiding a foreign power and resort to criminal actions. "Roughly speaking, barring these three things, all else was constitutional." Thus "passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till grievances were redressed" was perfectly legitimate. But Gokhale added: "No doubt, everything that was constitutional was not necessarily wise or expedient." All this meant that the result of the pressure exerted on the authorities depended upon the strength and determination of the people and that "the necessity of building up strength and hardening their determination was obviously paramount."

Gandhiji adopted a course which had not been clearly thought of in Gokhale's lifetime. But I think it may nevertheless be said that with regard to the manner of carrying on agitation there was broad agreement between Gandhiji and Gokhale.

Gokhale clearly saw the evil effects of British rule and in his Presidential address to the Congress, and on other occasions he gave forceful expression to this view. He was convinced that the domination of one race over another, 'especially when there is no great disparity between the intellectual endowments of their general civilisation', was very harmful to the subject race 'in a thousand insidious ways', but at the same time, he realized that these evils could be removed only by the development of a strong public life. He visited Madras in July 1904, as Jt. Secretary of the Indian National Congress. Addressing a public meeting on 25 July, he explained to the audience the enormous difficulties in the way of the realization of our ambitions. We were, he said, faced

with a strong bureaucracy which would not give up its power and privileges at the first assault on its monopoly. Besides, he felt that it had to be recognized that the British officials who were responsible for the formulation of policies and the administration of the country were picked men and had 'a higher standard of duty, higher notions of patriotism, higher notions of loyalty to each other, higher notions of organized work and of discipline,' and therefore, knew how to make a united stand in defence of their privileges. As against this, he said: 'Our public life is really feeble and ineffective because it is so faint-hearted and so soulless. Very few of us have real faith in the work we are doing. When men take up work in a mechanical spirit without believing in it, you should not be surprised if no great results are achieved.' 'The day has gone by', he said, 'when politics could afford to be amateurish in this country.'

He expressed similar sentiments in some other political speeches also. He realized that the development of public life to such a degree as to force the hands of the Government in the political conditions existing then would be far from easy. He was, therefore, most anxious that political work should be taken up with greater earnestness and should be carried on continuously by men who were prepared to devote their lives to the service of the country. This was the only method of achieving our goal. Though there were bound to be disappointments in the beginning, there was no reason why this should make people lose faith in their struggle. 'Moreover, the real moral interest of a struggle, such as we are engaged in, lies in, not so much in the particular readjustment of present institutions which we may succeed in securing, as in the strength that the conflict brings us to be a permanent part of ourselves. The whole life of a people, which is broader and deeper than what is touched by purely political institutions, is enriched even by failures, provided the effort has been all that it should be.' This was the true meaning of the statements made by him on several occasions that while future generations of Indians might serve India by their successes, the present generation must be prepared to serve the country by its failures, for every failure, looked at in the proper spirit, could build up the strength of the nation.

He always said our political work had to be done very largely in India. He said, for instance, at Allahabad, that he had always been of the opinion

that 'nine-tenths of their work had to be done in this country.' This was consisted in the promotion of greater unity among the different sections of the people—between Hindus and Muslims and between the different sections of Hindus themselves—the development of a stronger and higher type of character, firmness of purpose and discipline in action, and the development of an intense national feeling throughout the country, rising above distinctions of caste and creed and accompanied by the spread of political education among the masses. This work could be done only in India, but he felt, at the same time, that an important part of our work lay in England also. He thought that we should keep in touch with British democracy, and take advantage of the rising tide of democratic forces in England. No method of increasing our influence and realizing our demands should be left unexplored.

He had, in the course of his public life, repeatedly expressed the opinion that we had reached a stage in the political progress of the country which required more methodical and continuous work for its further advance. His experience as a member of the Deccan Education Society had shown him what a band of sincere, hard-working, and patriotic workers could achieve in spite of the obstacles in their way. He saw that a similar organization was needed to promote the work that had to be done in order to strengthen the people, for it was only the pressure of organized public opinion that could compel the Government to move forward. He started the Servants of India Society (12 June 1905) to fulfil this need. The Preamble to the Society's Constitution clearly stated that an essential condition for success in our work was that a sufficient number of Indians must come forward 'to devote themselves to the cause in the spirit in which religious work is undertaken. Public work must be spiritualized. Love of country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side.' The object of the Society was 'to train national missionaries for the service of India'. The principal objects to which the Members of the Society were to direct their attention were: creating by example and precept intense love of country among the people, and promoting goodwill and co-operation between different communities. They were also required to work for the elevation of the depressed classes and to assist educational movements, specially those for the education of women and the backward classes, and industrial and

scientific education. The Members were to take the pledge of lifelong and dedicated service to the country. The first five years of membership were to be devoted to a quiet study of public questions and gaining practical knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the country. Gokhale strongly felt that it was necessary to raise the capacity of the public workers in order that they might fit themselves for national service. Public life to him was a great and sacred responsibility and he felt in every fibre of his being that no one had the right to claim to be a servant of India unless he had equipped himself not merely to criticise the existing system but also to make constructive suggestions for its improvement. He must realize the difference between what was possible and what was practical. Without compromise, he often said, nothing worth-while could be achieved. Doubts were entertained by leading public men about the success of the Servants of India Society, but their doubts were soon set at rest. With the inspiring example of the Founder of the Society before them, young men came forward enthusiastically to join it. They cheerfully laid aside all thoughts of acquiring wealth and strove in right earnest to prepare themselves for the service of the country and learnt the truth of the adage that he who loses himself finds himself.

The Statesman

Gokhale visited England in 1905 as a Congress Delegate to represent India's case in view of the impending general elections there. The visit lasted for 50 days, but he addressed as many as 45 public meetings during this short period. He went there again in 1906 on the same mission after the Liberal Government had assumed office, but the emphasis this time was on private meetings, interviews, etc. His next visit to England in 1908 was mainly in connection with the question of the introduction of constitutional reforms in India. It is not necessary to say anything here about the Morely-Minto Reforms with which political workers in India are well-acquainted. It may be noted that the Congress expressed its appreciation of his work in England in 1906 and by a Resolution in 1908 welcomed the Reforms as a partial fruition of its efforts and conveyed its appreciation to Mr. A. O. Hume, one of the Founders of the Congress, Sir William Wedderburn and the British Committee, for their zeal for the Congress cause and their strenuous labours in the cause of Indian political advancement. Gokhale made such an

impression on British public men during his visits to England that Mr. Massingham, who was one of the best known journalists of his time and the editor of the *Nation*, said to Sir C. Y. Chintamani in 1919 that 'there was no statesman in England comparable to Gokhale;' that 'he was easily greater than Mr. Asquith himself.' He added: 'Lord Morley's success as Secretary of State for India was due chiefly to Gokhale's advice.'

The partition of Bengal, which created intense dissatisfaction not merely in Bengal but in the whole of India, had brought about a most anxious situation in Bengal. The Government of India, instead of trying to conciliate the people by undoing the partition, which was regarded by them as an attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to punish Bengal for the leading part played by it in connection with the agitation for securing for India a position consistent with her self-respect and honour in the Commonwealth, embarked on a policy of repression. The haste with which the Seditious Meetings Bill was passed did not allow even the members of the Legislative Council to take part in the deliberations of the Select Committee. Gokhale opposed it strongly and pointed out that, though strong speeches had been made against the Government and even wild things might have been said at a few of them, the resentment against the Government was largely due to the measures of repression adopted by the Government since May 1907. He pointed out the unwisdom of the Government's policy by referring to the action taken by it in connection with the agitation in the Punjab on account of the Colonisation Bill and other grievances. 'That a man like Lala Lajpat Raj,' he said, 'loved by thousands not in his own Province only, a man of high character and elevated feeling and a keen religious and social reformer, and a political worker who, whatever his faults, worked only in broad daylight, should have been suddenly arrested and deported without a trial—this was a proceeding which stunned the people throughout India.' He also referred to the arrest in the same connection of 'the venerable Lala Hansraj on a charge of inciting to violence and conspiracy against the Crown.' It was actions like these, he said, which created resentment and brought about estrangement between the Government and the people. He opposed the Act when it came up for renewal in 1910 and when it was finally passed in 1911.

Another important measure which the Government brought forward to control what it regarded as seditious writings in the Press was the Press Bill. When the report of the Select Committee on the Bill came up, Gokhale opposed it, proposed amendments to it and suggested that its life should be limited to three years, but refrained from voting against it. Gokhale was naturally strongly against the Bill, but he had to exercise great self-restraint, for reasons which were explained by Sir C. Y. Chintamani, editor of the *Leader*, in a weekly conducted by Mrs. Besant in London when Lord Sinha was very unfairly attacked by Mr. Eardley Norton in the *Looker On* of Calcutta. Chintamani had got his information from Gokhale and Lord Sinha.

The Bill as originally drafted was much more drastic than the Bill that was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council. Lord Sinha, who was the first Indian Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, was so strongly opposed to it that he told the Viceroy that he could no longer remain in the Government and that his resignation should be cabled to the Secretary of State. Lord Minto then asked his Private Secretary, Col. Dunlop Smith, that he should explain the full facts to Gokhale and Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, the only two men who, in his opinion, could influence Lord Sinha's decision, and request them to advise Lord Sinha to reconsider his resignation—Lord Minto was not prepared to lose the services of Lord Sinha, and Lord Morley thought that if Lord Sinha resigned, it might be fifty years before any Secretary of State could think of appointing any other Indian' as a member of the Viceroy's Council. Neither Gokhale nor Sir Lawrence would, however, agree to advise Lord Sinha to withdraw his resignation, unless the Bill was at least very substantially modified. Gokhale and Lord Sinha considered what amendments should be insisted upon as a condition preceding the withdrawal of Lord Sinha's resignation. One of them was that the Bill should apply equally to 'Anglo-Indian' and Indian papers. Another was that no security should be demanded from the presses and newspapers existing at the time of the passing of the Bill unless they rendered themselves liable to be proceeded against under the Bill by their future conduct. The third amendment was that, at the final stage, an appeal to the High Court should be allowed. It was understood that unless this was agreed to by

the Viceroy, Sinha would not continue to be a member of the Viceroy's Council and that Gokhale would not press him to remain in office. The Viceroy was so strongly in favour of accepting Lord Sinha's amendments that the other members of the Council gave in, though with great reluctance. At this stage, Sinha insisted on a new condition without the satisfaction of which he would retire in spite of the concessions made to him by the Governor-General-in-Council. The condition was that Gokhale should join him in supporting the amended Bill. Gokhale's position as a non-official elected member, being different from that of Sinha, he could not agree to Lord Sinha's condition. But Sinha then took up the position that he would himself remain neutral when the Bill was voted upon. This would have been clearly improper after the acceptance of the amendments by the Government of India. Gokhale was, therefore, compelled to enter into a compromise with him that he would refrain from voting against the Bill, though he retained perfect liberty to move amendments in the Select Committee and the Legislative Council. He actually moved some amendments, but as might have been expected, they were rejected by the Council.

Before referring to the financial and economic reforms suggested by Gokhale, it is necessary to point out that he was as keenly interested in social reform, in the larger sense of these words, as in political progress. In particular, the condition of the depressed classes, which was 'profoundly painful and humiliating', was a matter of deep concern to him. Speaking at the Social Conference held at Dharwar in April 1903, he observed that 'it is absolutely monstrous that a class of human beings, with bodies similar to our own, with brains that can think and with hearts that can feel, should be perpetually condemned to a low life of utter wretchedness, servitude, and mental and moral degradation...' Gandhiji, writing about Gokhale's anxiety regarding the condition of these classes, has said : 'The problem of the uplift of the untouchable classes disturbed Gokhale's peace of mind every day. If some one criticised him for it, he would say to him plainly that we were not polluted by touching our brother the untouchable, but by falling a prey to the wicked feeling that we should not touch him.' It may be added that he asked the Members of the Servants of India Society to work, among other things, for the elevation of the depressed classes.

The Authority on Indian Finance

The written and oral evidence given by Gokhale in 1897 before the Welby Commission, whose task was to examine the growth of expenditure in India and suggest remedies for its control, shows how deep and accurate Gokhale's knowledge of the Indian financial problem was. Every important department was included in the evidence. He drew the attention of the Commission to the harmful effect of the existing political system on the growth of expenditure, both civil and military, and the scant attention which education had received at the hands of the authorities. Writing about the increasing expenditure, he forcefully observed : 'while increased expenditure in other countries, under proper popular control, has, so far as we are able to judge, helped to bring increased strength and security to the nations, and increased enlightenment and prosperity to the people, our continually growing expenditure has, in our opinion, under autocratic management, defective constitutional control, and the inherent defects of alien domination, only helped to bring about a constantly increasing exploitation of our resources, has retarded our material progress, weakened our natural defences, and burdened us with undefined and indefinite financial liabilities.' He further pointed out that while the Government had saddled India with heavy and growing military liabilities and had constantly borrowed for commercial enterprises often under the pressure of English commercial classes, 'our Indian Government has little money to spare, with all this increase of taxation, for purposes of national education.' He contrasted the stagnation of education in India with its rapid progress in England, and showed that while between 1891-92 and 1894-95 the expenditure on education in India had increased by only a little over 2 lakhs, in Great Britain and Ireland it had increased from 6½ crores to nearly 13½ crores. 'One cannot help thinking,' he said, 'that it is all the difference between children and step-children. Out of 100 children of school-going age, about 88 were growing up 'in darkness and ignorance and consequent moral helplessness'. It was his careful and comprehensive study of the financial and other important questions at this stage that enabled him to make his mark as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council five years later.

He stood the cross-examination so well that he was complimented both by Wedderburn and Caine on his excellent performance. Wedderburn said to him that his evidence was 'much the best on our side' and

that Caine had written to him to say that he had 'never seen a cleverer or more masterly exposition of the views of an educated Indian reformer on all the subjects dealt with.' It was a tribute to him that he was asked to prepare the first draft of the Minority Report which Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn and W. S. Caine had decided to submit.⁹

As a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, Gokhale is best known for his severe criticism of the Bombay Land Revenue Bill, 1901. On reading his speech, Sir Dinshaw Wachcha wrote to him : 'What a marvel of patient and scientific industry you are !' The Opposition was led by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and when the Government refused to accept any of the non-official amendments, Gokhale and some other members of the Legislative Council walked out with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

Gokhale succeeded Sir Pherozeshah Mehta as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council. By his ability, fearlessness, and capacity to meet the bureaucracy on its own ground, Mehta had created a new atmosphere in the Supreme Legislative Council and had won the respect and admiration of his countrymen. The task of his successor was, therefore, not easy. But Gokhale's very first Budget speech (1902) not merely established his position in the Supreme Legislative Council but, as has been pointed out above, also turned the eyes of the whole country towards him. His masterly exposition of the Indian financial system and the problems relating to the economic and social well-being of the people has never been excelled, or perhaps, even equalled in the Legislative Council. The taxation imposed owing to the diminishing exchange value of the rupee and maintained even after it had been stabilized at 1s. 4d., the duty on salt, the poverty of the rural masses, agricultural indebtedness, the unsatisfactory condition of the agriculture, industrial and agricultural education, mass education, and the growing military expenditure, all received his attention. He was never tired of pressing the Government to improve the condition of the rural areas in respect of education, water supply, sanitation, etc. He laid the greatest stress on the immediate formulation of schemes for improving the moral and material condition of the people. In his Budget speech in March 1906, which was perhaps even greater than his Budget speech in 1902, he urged Government to adopt measures for the uplift of the masses. In almost every speech he dwelt on 'the deep and deepening' poverty of the people. The urgent need for the

limitation of the Government demand on land, permanent settlement, legislation for the abolition of rural indebtedness, the provision of cheap credit to the cultivators and the introduction of improved scientific agriculture were dwelt on by him in many of his Budget speeches. (Although he seemed generally to be engaged in considering questions of great political importance, his heart went out to the rural people and their 'fearful poverty' haunted him day and night. A large part of his legislative work was, therefore, designed to bring about their all-round development.) He was also a strong advocate of the reduction of the salt duty which stood at Rs. 2½ per maund in 1902. His condemnation of so high a duty on salt and his efforts to bring it down soon bore fruit and three reductions in five or six years brought the duty down to Re. 1 per maund. But he was not satisfied with this. He agreed with Fawcett that salt being a 'prime necessary' of life should be 'as free as air'. His view, I believe, was that except in an emergency, salt should be left untouched by the Government.

He also asked for relief from the heavy burden of taxation and said, more than once, that both the remission of taxes and a substantially larger expenditure on nation-building programmes should be possible if military expenditure were reduced. He, therefore, subjected it to close scrutiny, probably every year, from 1902 to 1909. He pointed out in his Budget speech in March 1902, that the strength of the Army had been raised by 30,000 troops (10,000 British and 20,000 Indians) on account of the scare of war with Russia in 1885 in spite of the protests of two members of the Viceroy's Council. After the crisis had passed away, the armies in England and other parts of the Empire were reduced to their previous strength, but India was not fortunate enough to be treated in the same manner. Even the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904 and the conclusion of a treaty between England and Russia in 1907 or 1908 did not lead to a change in the military policy of the British authorities. Gokhale further pointed out that our Army on which we spent a large proportion of our revenues, was always maintained on a war footing even in times of peace.

Gokhale charged the Government with maintaining a defence system based on a policy of distrust of the people. Virtually the whole population was excluded from following a military career. While Europeans and Anglo-Indians were encouraged and sometimes

exhorted to receive military training as volunteers, Indians were excluded from it. The number of British officers in the Indian army had been steadily increased, with the result that Indians were ousted from the position which they occupied before and could no longer be even Company Commanders. He also complained of the manner in which the Arms Act was being enforced. He said in his Budget speech of 1906 : 'It is a cruel wrong to the whole people—one-fifth of the entire population of the world—to exclude them from all honourable participation in defence of their hearths and homes, to keep them permanently disarmed, and to subject them to a process of de-martialization such as has never before been witnessed in the history of the world.' The Government's reply to the persistent charge that the Indian Army was being maintained at a strength not required for the defence of India, was that the old conception of India's position and responsibilities was no longer adequate to the needs of the situation. The Military Member of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Edmund Elles, said in 1904 : 'Are we to be content to hide ourselves behind our mountain barriers under the foolish impression that we should be safe whilst the absorption of Asiatic kingdoms is steadily in progress?' and added : 'It is, I think, undoubted that the Indian Army in the future must be a main factor in the balance of power in Asia ; it is impossible to regard it any longer as a local militia for purely local defence and maintenance of order.' Lord Curzon, referring to the same question, strongly supported this view. 'This is the secret', he said, 'of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and as far eastwards as Siam..... And the whole of our policy during the past five years has been directed towards maintaining our predominant influence and preventing the expansion of hostile agencies in this area, which I have described.' Thus, as Mr. Gokhale observed, India was to be compelled to defend the Empire at her own cost. He naturally demanded that if the Indian Army must be used for imperial purposes, England must bear a part of the cost of the Indian Army. While military expenditure had virtually doubled in the course of a few years, nation-building programmes had been largely neglected and mass education, on which the foundation of the future progress of India rested, had received little attention.

When the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced in 1910, he showed how the new powers conferred on the members of the Legislatures to move resolutions in connection with the Budget and non-financial

matters could be made use of to raise important questions of policy and administration. The manner in which he utilized the new powers enabled the members of the provincial legislatures to understand how they could make use of their new opportunities to influence the attitude and actions of the Provincial Governments and to seek redress of popular grievances. It may be said without fear of contradiction that he was the greatest parliamentarian in his time and that his position has not been rivalled in this respect during the fifty years that have elapsed since his death. Lord Curzon, whose policies he strongly opposed, said in the House of Lords after his death that he had never met 'a man of any nationality more gifted with parliamentary capacities. Mr. Gokhale would have obtained a position of distinction in any parliament in the world, even in the British House of Commons.'

Owing to the large increase in both civil and military expenditure, he demanded more than once that a mixed Commission should be appointed to inquire into the matter. He also asked for an inquiry into the rise in prices which began in 1908 or thereabouts. As the Government paid no attention to his suggestions, he moved a Resolution on the growth of public expenditure in January 1911. His speech on the Resolution, in which he compared the growth of expenditure from 1875 to 1908, showed his wonderful grasp and vast knowledge of Indian finance. He clearly showed that in the period 1901-08, while the normal annual growth of revenue was about 1.5 per cent, the expenditure had risen by about 5 per cent per annum. Taking civil and military expenditure separately, he showed that the increase in the former was about 40 per cent in seven years, and that in the latter about 15 per cent during the same period. Some money was no doubt found for the improvement of the Police Service, education and the financial position of the Municipalities and Local Boards, but it was small in comparison with the expenditure on 'increased establishments and revised scales of pay and pension for the European officials', for which Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty was noted. The facts that Gokhale mentioned were not questioned by the official representatives. Indeed they held out the hope that the need for keeping the expenditure under control would receive their immediate attention but nothing was actually done.

The wider employment of Indians in positions of trust and responsibility which was first brought to the fore by Dadabhai Naoroji was a question to which

Indians attached the greatest importance. Lord Curzon, in 1904, maintained that the charge of exclusion of Indians from the higher rungs of the public services brought against the Government was not supported by facts and that India had been treated with a 'liberality unexampled in the history of the world'. Gokhale set himself to the task of pointing out the fallacious character of Lord Curzon's statement and the Government Resolution of May 1904, and showed in the tables attached to his Budget speech of 1905 that taking into account only the posts carrying a salary of Rs. 500 a month and over, the number of Indians was extremely small and that between 1897 and 1903 most of the newly created posts had gone to either Europeans or Eurasians, while the Indian element, instead of increasing, had even lost ground in some of the departments. The employment of Indians in the higher posts, he said, 'is to us something more than a mere question of careers'. The virtual monopoly of all superior posts by non-Indians placed a brand of inferiority on the Indians which was galling to their self-respect. 'Such a state of things as a temporary arrangement may be accepted as inevitable. As a permanent arrangement, it is impossible. This question thus is to us a question of national prestige and self-respect, and we feel that our future growth is bound up with a proper solution of it.'

On education

It has been pointed out above that one of the subjects in which Gokhale was keenly interested and to which he referred in many of his Budget speeches was that of mass education. In his Budget speech of 1906, he pleaded strongly that vigorous measures should be taken by Government to spread primary education, and observed : '..... the question of mass education in this country has been neglected much too long, and the Government must lose no more time in waking up to its responsibilities in the matter.*What is needed is a clear aim, and a resolute pursuit of that aim in a feeling of faith and with enthusiasm for the cause.*' He further said : 'It will not do to be deterred by the difficulties of the task. Our whole future depends upon its accomplishment, and as long as the Government continues listless to the matter, it will justly be open to the reproach of failing in one of its most sacred duties to the people.'† Primary education, he proposed, should, in the first instance, be made free. The loss that this would cause to Government would entail a very small sacrifice because the annual

income from fees amounted to Rs. 30.5 lakhs only. The next step should be the introduction of compulsion for boys in the presidency towns and, 'perhaps, in a few other leading towns'. When the people had become accustomed to compulsion, it should be extended to other places 'till, at least, in the course of twenty years or so from now, we have in our midst a system of compulsory and free primary education throughout the country and that for both boys and girls.'

He gave fuller expression to his ideas when he moved his Resolution on primary education in March 1910. The Resolution recommended that a beginning should be made in the direction of making primary education free and compulsory and that a commission of officials and non-officials should be appointed to frame definite proposals for the purpose. His speech shows how thorough was the preparation that he had made in order to bring conviction to unprejudiced minds of the urgent need for a limited measure of free and compulsory primary education in the country, and to meet the objections of those who were unwilling on various grounds to favour even so cautious a proposal. The speech was marked not merely by knowledge but by the moral enthusiasm that was an essential ingredient of his patriotism.

He showed in his speech that India was behind all the civilised countries in spreading primary education. Even in Russia which had not paid much attention to it, substantially greater progress had been achieved than in India. While both in Russia and in India, the proportion of children at school to the total population was only 1.2 per cent. in 1880, it was about 4.5 per cent in Russia in 1906-07, but in India it was only 1.9 per cent. Even the Philippines and Baroda were ahead of India. In the Philippines which passed under the rule of the U.S.A. towards the end of the 19th century, the percentage of school-going children to the total population rose from 2 in 1903 to 5 in 1908. In India, on the other hand, the advance was only from 1.6 per cent to 1.9 per cent. In Baroda 5 per cent of the total population was at school, though the conditions there were similar to those in the rest of India. He calculated that taking *per capita* expenditure on primary education in India, it would require only about 4 crores more to make primary education compulsory for boys.

He proposed that the compulsion should be applied only to boys between the ages of 6 and 10 as in Japan. In other words, the period of compulsion was to be

4 years. Further, compulsion was to be restricted to areas where 33 per cent of the boys of school-going age were already at school. It should be gradually extended to other areas and made applicable to girls also, so that the whole field might be covered in about twenty years. In order that adequate attention might be paid to education, he proposed that there should be a separate Secretary for Education in the Home Department and eventually a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in separate charge of Education. He also made suggestions for finding the funds required for the extension of primary education. He further proposed that the expenditure on primary education should be divided between the Central and Provincial Governments and that the Government of India should prepare a definite programme for spreading education, just as they prepared a programme for the extension of the railways. But if every other resource failed, which he did not consider to be possible, he would be prepared, he said, 'to advocate an extra 8 as. on salt'. The driving force behind all his efforts in this matter was his deep and passionate feeling that 'the increased efficiency of the individual, the higher general level of intelligence, the stiffening of the moral backbone of large sections of the community, none of these can come without the diffusion of education.' The official reply was not unsympathetic, but no action was taken by Government in the direction recommended by Gokhale, though his Resolution had been welcomed not only by the Congress but also by the Muslim League.

Gokhale introduced a Bill in the Supreme Legislative Council in March 1911, which embodied the ideas referred to above and which explained in greater detail how his scheme should be carried out. He again referred forcefully and feelingly to the importance of mass education. He believed that 'elementary education for the mass of the people means something more than a mere capacity to read and write. It means for them a keener enjoyment of life and a more refined standard of living. It means the greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual. It means a higher level of intelligence for the whole community generally. He who reckons these advantages lightly may as well doubt the value of light or fresh air in the economy of human health.'

The attitude of the Government seemed to be more favourable than it had been before. A separate Department of Education had been established under

(continued on page 26)



GOKHALE—Reminiscences

—R. P. Paranjape

THE special characteristic of Gokhale was his keenness in all he did or undertook. Whether it was teaching or criticising government policy, or organising public opinion or even the humbler sphere of billiards or cards he devoted his whole mind to it and never rested till he had done his level best. I first came into contact with him when I joined the Fergusson College as a student in 1892. He used to teach English, and the textbook for study was Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*. One of the characters in it, the father of the heroine, Lucy Ashton, was a notable figure in Scottish history and he spent a couple of days in discussing his part in actual history, and read to us long extracts from Macaulay's history about him. He never slurred over any detail and we consider his teaching very painstaking and useful. As I was top scholar in my class he took special interest in me, advised me about my extra-reading and occasionally got me to write essays which he corrected. In the mornings he used to go to work in the office of the Sarvajanik Sabha of which he was the secretary and I was asked by him to visit him there. I particularly remember his asking me to

read and summarise Bagehot's essay on *Waverly Novels* in his library studies. When in my second year at College I took the Science course and gave up the Arts course he was rather disappointed, but advised me to continue to read general English literature, and advice which I have followed to this day.

Gokhale had a very good memory and he could repeat large chunks of texts from standard English authors. He was very keen on the correct use of words and occasionally if while writing a memorandum, he could not immediately fit on the proper word to express his exact meaning, he would walk about his room till he had recalled it. This love of good style in English occasionally made him form a very favourable opinion of some one who wrote him a good letter in English, irrespective of his other qualifications. Thus, when he was contemplating the foundation of the Servants of India Society, or one of its initial members he wanted to take up Mr. N. A. Dravid who was then on the staff of the Fergusson College. He was a very competent man and would have made a very valuable addition to our College. We expostulated with him on his taking away, a most desirable recruit to our staff. He said, he would recommend another man equally good, who had just written him a very nice letter in English. We agreed reluctantly to the sub-

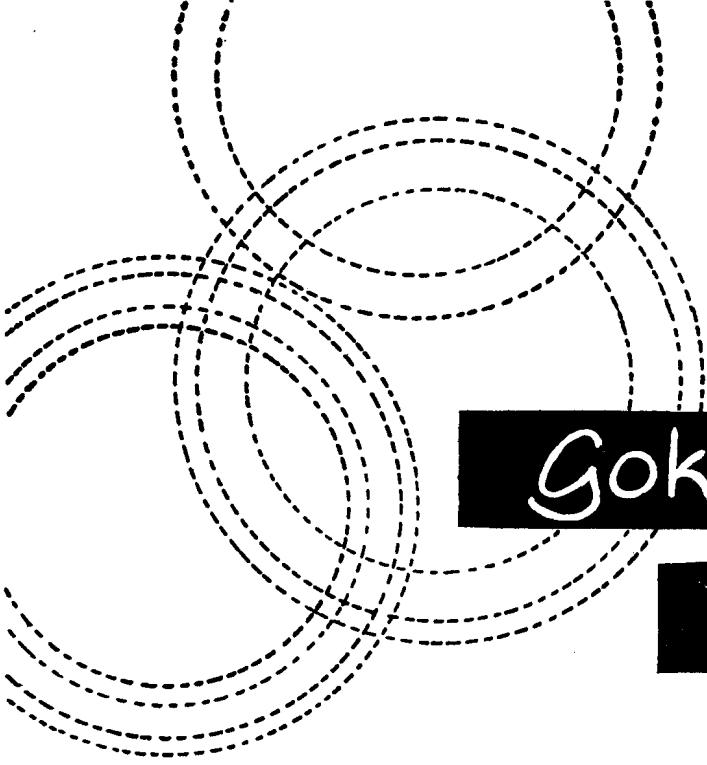
stitution but we soon found that he was not at all suitable.

Gokhale used to study every aspect of a question on which he was going to speak and he had generally chapter and verse for every statement he made. The incident of his apology for the statement he made in England immediately after the murder of Rand and Ayerst in 1897 was a tragedy in his life, for the authority on which he depended for

This may well be one of the last writings of the late Senior Wrangler about whose sad demise we learn when just going to press with this issue.

his statement would not agree to support publicly. He had, therefore, no alternative but to withdraw his statement. I remember to have received letters from him in which he expressed his deep dejections on the occasion and even expressed a fear that his public life was finished. But some, even among his political opponents, among them my late friend Joseph Baptista, agreed that he took the only honourable course opened to him. The set-back was, however, only temporary, and the next eighteen years of his life were the brightest of his career.

(continued on page 34)



To have judged Gandhiji's moral stature in the way, he did speaks volumes of Gokhale's powers of making correct estimates of men.

Gokhale-Gandhi

Relationship

THAT Mahatma Gandhi regarded Gokhale as his political master is by now a well-known fact, Gandhiji having repeated it more than once after Gokhale's death, whenever occasion for mentioning it appeared appropriate to him. Not a few people have found it incongruous that Gandhiji should have insisted on saying it, when all his doings in India since he returned from South Africa in 1915 till he was assassinated in 1948, were apparently opposed to the method of political work that Gokhale had followed all through his life. It is because difference arose over whether Gandhiji would carry on Gokhale's work better or Srinivasa Sastriar and his colleagues would do it, that the doors of the Servants of India Society were about to be shut against Gandhiji. Sastri and his friends were saved from that "episode of great trial" when they communicated to him that he was not suited to their ways of work and surrendering to their judgement Gandhiji did not press his application for membership, which was

to have been only a stepping-stone to Presidentship of the Society.

This is not to say, however, that he accepted their reasoning, logic or considered opinion, whatever we may call it. He believed that he was a perfectly fit person to be Gokhale's successor. In the little foreword Gandhiji wrote on January 26, 1946 to *My Master Gokhale* which is a collection of Sastri's anniversary addresses on Gokhale and other writings, he said, "However strange my claim may appear to the reader, I have called Gokhale my Political Guru. *Sastriar*, therefore, is a fellow-disciple. And what a disciple and yet an amiable usurper ! I was to have honour of being Gokhale's successor but I found in Sastri a worthy usurper to whom I made a willing surrender. I could have given no satisfaction to the few, well chosen members of the Society. I had and have no gifts which Gokhale had

and Sastriar has in luxurious abundance."

What is one to make out of this piece of pleasant banter mixed with a serious claim willingly surrendered with the humble admission that Gandhiji lacked the gifts Gokhale had and Sastri had in luxurious abundance ? It stands to reason to say that he wanted to avoid a conflict with the men Gokhale himself has chosen in his life-time and keep on friendly terms with them. So he kept himself out of their way, probably pitying them that they were monopolising Gokhale for themselves and perhaps circumscribing his wide sympathies and lowering his stature. He did not say so. It is my guess-work.

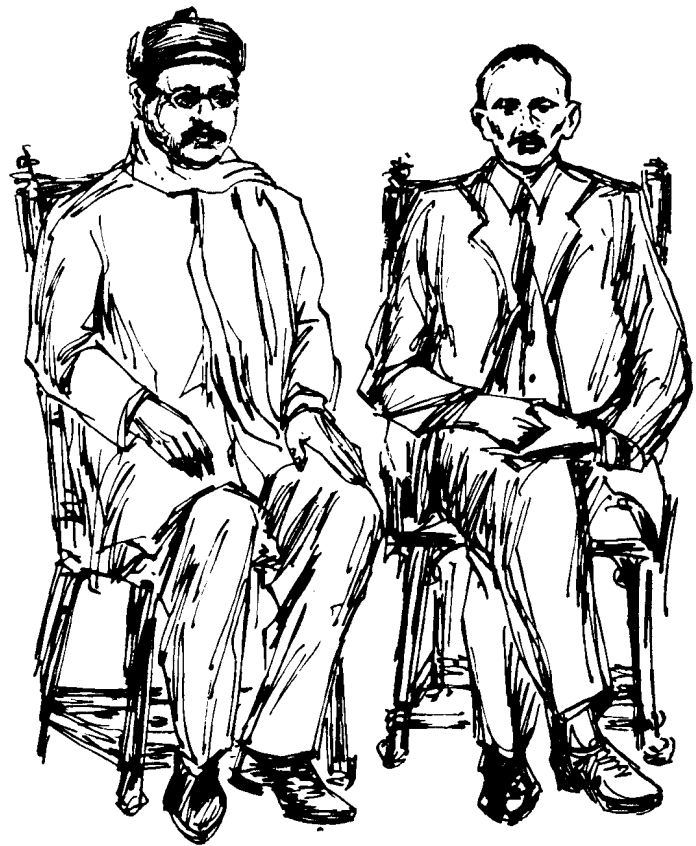
Why do I say so ? I say so because recalling his very first meeting with Gokhale in 1896 he wrote in *Young India* on July 13, 1921: "He was and remains for me the most perfect man on the political field. Every word of Gokhale glowed with his tender feeling, truthfulness and patriotism. I believe he had the capacity cheerfully to mount the

T. V. PARVATE

gallows for the country's sake if necessary." He also regarded him as a man of religion and once remarked, "He did not wear his religion on his sleeve, he lived it." Now when Gandhiji regarded as a man of religion ? Gandhiji said, "A man who leads a dedicated life, who is simple in habit, who is the very image of truth, who is full of humanity, who calls nothing his own such a man is a man of religion whether he himself is or not conscious of it."

What was the provocation for making this declaration ? An anonymous correspondent of *Young India* accused him of imposture about his political discipleship saying that he was sailing under false colours. The writer told Gandhiji that he was carrying on the work of Lokmanya Tilak and therefore he was wrong in calling himself, a disciple of Gokhale. Gandhiji would not tolerate this and while yielding to none in his reverence for Tilak, he declared that his method was not Tilak's method, meaning thereby that his method was Gokhale's method—a method of employing truthful and straight-forward means for the pursuit of even political aims and objects as distinguished from diplomatic and therefore perhaps not so straight-

Gokhale
and
Gandhi



forward means. It was because Gandhiji held fast to his belief that Gandhiji called his master "Gokhale the God". He did not care as it were whether he was great or not. It was enough for him that he was good and as if to give a definitive quietus to this matter he said, "Discipleship is a sacred

personal matter. It could not be trifled with."

In the face of this injunction, let us not trifle with this sacred personal matter at all and proceed to find out for ourselves whether Gandhiji's claim is wellfounded. We can do this with his own help as well as

Gandhi's Discipleship

In the course of an article in Gujarati, translated by Valji Govindji Desai, Gandhiji said :

"Still it was only Gokhale who somehow bound me to himself. Our new relation did not show any results immediately. But on the occasion of the Calcutta Congress Session in 1902 where I was present I became fully conscious of my discipleship. I had the privilege of meeting almost all the leaders. I saw that Gokhale had not only not forgotten me but actually took me under his charge. The practical result of his having done so followed as a natural consequence. During the Subjects Committee meeting I felt helpless. While resolutions were under discussion I could not gather enough courage to declare that I too had a resolution on South Africa in my pocket. It was not to be expected that the Committee would spare the evening for me. The leaders were impatient to finish the business on hand. I was trembling with the fear that they would rise any moment. I had no courage to remind even Gokhale of my business. Just at that moment he cried out, 'Gandhi has a resolution on South Africa which we will have to consider.' My joy knew no bounds."

Gokhale's i.e. by their recorded words. Gokhale's estimate of Gandhi that was publicly expressed for the first time (within my knowledge) became available in 1909 in his speech on the South Africa resolution at the Lahore Congress Session. Gokhale said, "It is one of the privileges of my life that I know Mr. Gandhi intimately and I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr. Gandhi is one of those men who, living an austere simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow-beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give a new vision. He is a man who may well be described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots and we may well say that in him, Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high watermark."

Let us remember that Gokhale said this in 1909, before he went to see Gandhiji's work on the spot in South Africa in 1912; before Gandhi came to India in 1915 and Gokhale imposed a vow of silence for one year on him; before he won his victories in Champaran Kherda, Ahmedabad; before he got Lord Chelmsford to suspend the system

of indentured labour during the first world war period and above all when the Non-co-operation, Salt Satyagraha and the Quit India movements were in the womb of the future. To have judged Gandhiji's moral stature in the way he did speaks volumes of Gokhale's powers of making correct estimates of men.

There can be no doubt that Gokhale wanted to groom Gandhiji for public work in India, in the circumstances of his day or to use a word that has become current in these days to "contain" him, by making one of the Servants of India and possibly letting him deserve the First Membership with the consent of his colleagues after Gokhale was no more. But perhaps he was not quite sure how he would shape in India, with his independent mind—a mind that was incapable of being controlled or conditioned by any extraneous individual, institution or influence. Gokhale had a fore-taste of it when Gandhiji declined to suspend the passive resistance struggle which he and his hundreds of compatriots had decided to resume, despite the earnest entreaties of Gokhale, Lord Hardinge, Andrews and Pearson. This is a wonderful story by itself but it would take too much space, if I were to expatiate on it. The curious

may read it in Gandhiji's *Satyagraha in South Africa* or in brief in my biography of Gokhale, both published by the Navajivan Publishing House.

Gandhiji sent a cablegram to Gokhale at the cost of about hundred pounds in which this resolve of resuming satyagraha was communicated with a request that it should be shown to Lord Hardinge. Andrews and Pearson had seen it on the spot. Gandhiji said, "We have commenced this struggle with God as our witness and his help as our sole support. We desire and bespeak the assistance of elders as well as big men and are glad when we get it but whether or not such assistance is forthcoming, we are humbly of opinion that pledges must ever be scrupulously kept. We desire your support and your blessing in such observance."

When this cable reached Gokhale, it had an adverse effect on his already feeble health. Sastri was then in Poona and so witness to the agony through which he passed. His diabetes became particularly acute and brought on a pain in the heart. He was in the habit of moving to and fro when he was agitated or dictated important letters and statements Sastri says, "I remember during this crisis, he held his heart with his right hand and walked with a stoop.

Tribute To Gandhiji

In his speech at the Lahore Congress of 1909 on the resolution dealing with the passive Resistance Movement in South Africa, Gokhale paid the following tribute to Gandhiji :—

"After the immortal part which Mr. Gandhi has played in this affair, I must say it will not be possible for any Indian, at any time, here or in any other assembly of Indians, to mention his name without deep emotion and pride. It is one of the privileges of my life that I know Mr. Gandhi intimately and I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr. Gandhi is one of those men, who, living an austere simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow-beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot amongst patriots, and we may well say that in him Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high watermark."

Gokhale's Place In Gandhiji's Life

The following is an extract from Gandhiji's article in *Young India* of July 13, 1921:—

“It was different with Gokhale. I cannot say why. I met him at his quarters on the college ground. It was like meeting an old friend, or better still a mother after a long separation. His gentle face put me at ease in a moment. His minute inquiries about myself and my doings in South Africa at once enshrined him in my heart. And as I parted from him, I said to myself, ‘you are my man.’ And from that moment Gokhale never lost sight of me . . .

There was, so far as I am aware, no reserve between us. It was really a case of love at first sight, and it stood the severest strain in 1913. He seemed to me all I wanted as a political worker—pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion, and chivalrous to a fault. It does not matter to me that he may not have been any of these things. It was enough for me that I could discover no fault in him to cavil at. He was and remains for me the most perfect man on the political field . . . Nothing could part us as under. It were blasphemous to conjecture what would have happened if he were alive today. I know that I would have been working under him.

Occasionally he seemed to have come to the end of his tether and we watched him with a feeling of tragedy near. Once he burst out; “Surely the Viceroy is right. Gandhi has no business to take a vow and tie himself up. This is politics and compromise is its essence. “One day the strain was unbearable and the heart pain was killing him when he addressed me : “Well, Mr. Sastri, you do not realise the danger I am in. If I were you, I would cable to Gandhi and say he was bringing Gokhale to the very verge of death. Won't you do this just to save me?” I knew it was the extreme agony of the moment that drew these words from him, not a desire that I should act on them.”

What is remarkable is that inspite of all this, Gokhale continued to help Gandhiji and his comrades with unabated or even greater zeal than before. He wired to Lord Hardinge on the matter and he also acquiesced. Gandhiji had come to know that Pherozeshah Metha had blamed him and Gokhale for having entered into a pact with the Smuts Government and so had asked Gokhale not to worry about him and his associates and also not to raise any funds in aid of them. But

the stern reply that Gokhale sent is worth reproducing and no apology need be made for it. Gokhale wrote, “We in India have some idea of our duty even as you understand your obligations in South Africa. We will not permit you to tell us what is or is not proper for us to do. I only desired to know the position in South Africa, but I did not seek your advice as to what we may do.” Gandhiji took the rebuke administered in the proper spirit and never afterwards said or wrote a word on the subject.

Gokhale was an idealist but also a realist and therefore while he recognised no limits to the aspirations of his motherland, he knew what immediately lay at hand. That is why he said in his oft quoted Allahabad speech in 1907, “I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste and creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, literature, in science and in arts. I want all this and feel at the same time the

whole of this conception can, in its essence and its reality, be realised within this Empire.” That was also the faith of Gandhiji and Sastri. Gandhiji stuck to this faith even in spite of Jallianwala, Non-cooperation, and Satyagraha campaigns. He seemed to despair when he gave the ‘Quit India’ call, but he remembered that he and then Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajagopalachari continued to believe in remaining in the British Commonwealth. They never were for snapping that tie. Yet the difference between Gokhale and Sastri on the one hand and Gandhi, Nehru and Rajagopalachari on the other would always have remained in this that the former would have taken more time to break if necessary than the latter. This must be regarded as a difference in temperament and not in sentiment. If we carefully examine the behaviour of Gandhi with Irwin, Linlithgow, Willington and Mountbatten and that of Gokhale with Curzon, Minto and Hardinge, we shall not fail to discern a common pattern. And so far as the matters relating to the spirit are concerned, we find that Ranade, Gokhale, Gandhi and Sastri were made of the same clay.

(continued on page 34)

Dinshaw Wacha,
Dadabhai Naoroji
and
Gokhale



Gokhale-Embodiment of

Indian Culture and Tradition

THE country will celebrate in May the centenary of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. I have never had the privilege of close personal contact with this great leader but glimpses of him that I had from far off stand out vividly in the mind. I had just begun my student life in 1905 in U.P., after taking my B.A.

degree from Punjab University. I had joined the Muir Central College at Allahabad. In December the

— DR. K. N. KATJU

Indian National Congress held its 21st session at Varanasi at Raj Ghat under the Presidentship of Gokhale.

At that time Congress sessions did not draw large gatherings from rural areas, and the delegates and visitors from the English-educated classes in urban areas totalled no more than

2,000. Gokhale was an outstanding leader of the Congress, but he was not unchallenged. There were then growing signs of drift towards what was then called extremism. Bengal, represented by leading Congressmen from Calcutta, held the public imagination and commanded public respect and admiration. I remember very well the veneration extended by all sections of the community to our great leader, Surendra Nath Banerji. But there was a younger set of Bengali and other Congressmen who symbolised this drift towards extremism.

Speeches in Hindi

This drift was reflected in many ways, one of which was language. I think it was the first Congress session in history at which speeches were delivered not only in English but in Indian languages, principally Hindi. For me, a young man just out of college, it was a wonderful occasion to have the "darshan" and glimpses of famous all-India leaders from all parts of the country, more particularly Gokhale. It was a great event which thrilled and electrified me and while I have lived a full life and have seen greatness from close, it will be one of my eternal regrets that I was not fated to know Gokhale intimately.

Gokhale was then, in 1905, about 40 years old and the country lost him only 9 years later. In those days, unfortunately, most of our leaders, like most of our countrymen, did not enjoy long lives. It was a great national loss when Gokhale passed even before he was forty-nine. His was a great personality and his mental powers were superb. He had devoted himself to national service in the educational sphere and had spent many years as a teacher in a Poona college.

Political movements in British India were just beginning. The

Congress itself held its first session in 1884, and the great aim of all political activity was to secure as great a part in running the administration as possible. Social welfare activities were expanding in urban areas and leaders in public life, mostly hailing from the legal and educational fields, were engaged in social welfare activities.

With the advent of the 20th century there were noticeable changes and advances in the political sphere and leaders and politicians, commonly styled as extremists, began to emerge and capture public imagination. Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the west and Bepin Chandra Pal in the east were two notable exponents of these advanced political views. Even on the Congress platform in 1906 Dadabhai Naoroji unfurled the banner of self-government and freedom for India.

Gokhale died on February 19, 1915, and very soon Gandhiji began to shine on the political firmament. After the horrifying massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in April 1919, the political situation in India entirely changed. Our modes of thought and action and our policies underwent almost a revolution and it would not be fair to consider Gokhale's political philosophy and his outlook on Indian politics in the light of the atmosphere created by Jallianwala Bagh. Had he been alive in those days I am certain he also would have given India the lead that Tilak, Gandhiji and other supposedly "extremist" leaders gave.

Spirit of renunciation

In his private and public activities, he was the embodiment of the highest in our culture and traditions. The spirit of total renunciation (Tyag), considered in our culture as perhaps the highest attribute of the human

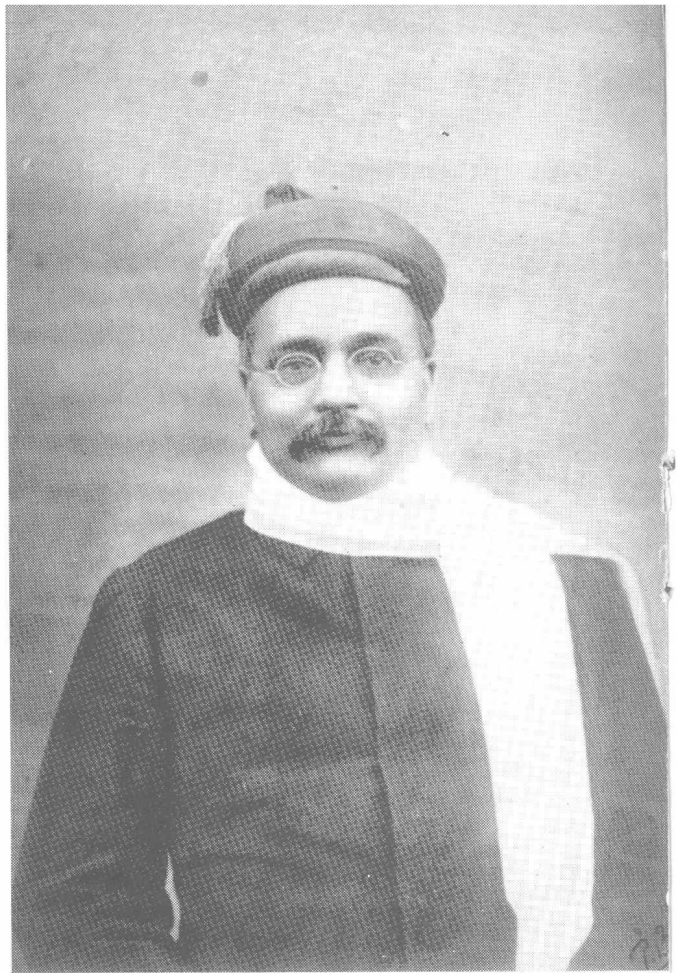
A Remarkable Career

Gokhale's career was remarkable — graduate at eighteen, Professor at twenty, Secretary of the Provincial Conference at twenty-two, editor of a journal like the *Quarterly of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* at twenty-four, Secretary of the Reception Committee of the National Congress at twenty-nine, an important witness before a Royal Commission (the Welby Commission) at thirty-one, Provincial Legislator at thirty-four, Imperial Legislator at thirty-six, President of the National Congress and founder of an institution like the Servants of India Society at thirty-nine.

personality, Gokhale had in abundance. Mentally and morally he was gifted and he devoted all his wonderful talents and noble qualities of head and heart to the service of the country. As I have said above, he was for many years a college teacher, and when he entered active politics, he devoted all his time and energy to the service of the country with no consideration of personal convenience. In the Servants of India Society Gokhale has left us a legacy of almost immeasurable eminence. Not only was he himself a picture of personal service and devotion to his motherland, not only did he, like a Sadhu or Sanyasi, devote himself to the performance of his public duties, this institution that he founded helped imbue succeeding generations of his countrymen with these great qualities. Whatever may have been the strength of the Servants of India Society in the past and whatever it may be

(continued on page 44)

Pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb,
brave as a lion and chivalrous to
a fault and the most perfect man
in the political field.



Gokhale-

The Perfect Gentleman

— P. KODAND RAO

MAHATMA GANDHI chose Gopal Krishna Gokhale as his *Raja guru*, in preference to such other great political leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Sir Pherozshah Mehta and described him as one who had all that he wanted in a political leader and as one who was—

Pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault and the most perfect man in the political field.

Gokhale's conduct in the so-called "Apology Incident" proved that the Mahatma had not exaggerated his *guru's* noble character.

At the early age of thirty Gokhale gave evidence before the Welby Commission on Indian finance in London which was hailed even by the British press as THE EVIDENCE, and by Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Dinshaw Wacha as "splendid" and the best on the Indian side. Gokhale submitted the

encomiums he received to Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade and Mr. G. V. Joshi as his *guru-dakshina*.

His satisfaction was marred by the apology incident. While he was still in London in connection with the Welby Commission, Gokhale received letters from his friends in Poona that some British soldiers engaged in plague relief operations had committed some serious anti-social acts, which had inflamed public opinion. Gokhale felt indignant. He was advised by his friends in England to take the public into his confidence. Sir William Wedderburn, then a member of Parliament, introduced Gokhale to a small committee of influential members of Parliament, to whom he communicated the reports he had received from Poona. He gave an interview to the *Manchester Guardian* also.

It created a sensation both in England and in India. The Bombay Government denied the charges, and the Secretary of State for India did the same in the British Parliament. Gokhale and his sponsor, Wedderburn, were subjected to foul abuse by the British.

About the same time, two British officers were shot in Poona, which added fuel to the fire of British fury. On his return to India, Gokhale asked his correspondents to come forward with evidence. None did so. He was not willing to publish the names of his correspondents, who trusted him to keep confidence. Further, they had not asked Gokhale to publish the news in England; he did it on his own responsibility and in the public interest.

He, therefore, took the whole responsibility on himself and offered an unqualified apology to the Government of Bombay and the British soldiers concerned. For his

apology, he was mercilessly criticised by a section of Indian opinion in India. *His British critics were indignant that he made the charges: his Indian critics were indignant that he apologised.* Several British and Indian friends, like Wedderburn and Alan Octavian Hume, father of the Indian National Congress, Ranade and Surendranath Banerjee, thought that Gokhale had done the right thing as a gentleman.

Some Indian critics characterised Gokhale as a coward who apologised even when some of his friends were ready to produce the evidence to support his charges. But surprisingly enough, they did not produce it. Perhaps they were more interested in denigrating Gokhale than on vindicating the truth, which would have vindicated Gokhale if only incidentally. Gokhale did not enjoy apologising. He felt it his duty, however painful to him.

The virulence of the uncharitable attacks on him depressed him so much that he thought of retiring from public life altogether. But his friends, British and Indian, dissuaded him from it. The advice of Allan Octavian Hume, the Father of the Indian National Congress, to Gokhale was typical.

“I don't care twopence about the incident. I don't think that you have injured the case at all. I see no earthly reason for your withdrawing from public life. Do not fancy you have lost ground with us. Do not apologise to us. We look upon you as a martyr to the cause and are more ready than ever to aid, and so far as we can, to stand by you.”

Gokhale shook off his despondency and said :

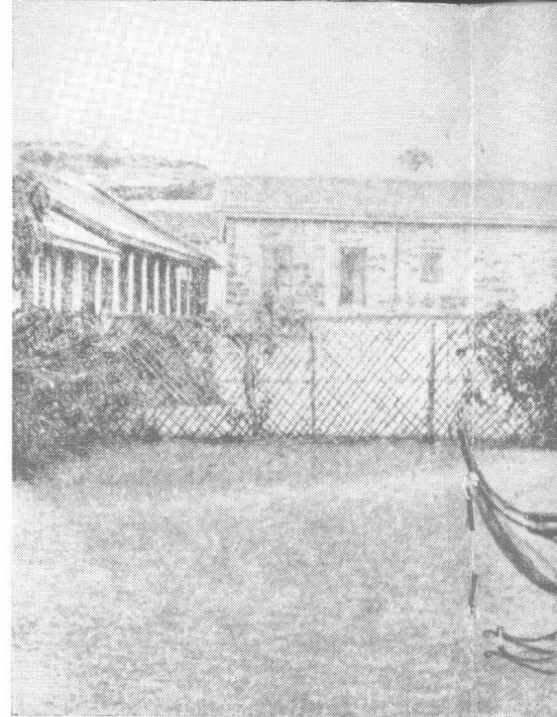
“Public duties, undertaken at the bidding of no one, cannot be laid down at the desire of anyone.”

The apology incident revealed Gokhale's great nobility of character, his high sense of responsibility, his tender regard for others and his admirable delicacy of feeling. The concluding paragraphs of his apology ran as follows :

“In doing what I did, I felt that I was discharging a most painful duty. I said so to the members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. The late Mr. Rand was lying in a critical condition when I addressed them, and I said at the outset of my remarks that it was an odious position for anyone to occupy, to have to criticise the Poona plague operations, while the officer who had suffered for them was lying in a condition which called for the deepest sympathy and respect from every quarter. And even now, when I fully realise the humiliating position in which my action has placed me, by bitterest regret is caused by the thought that I become the instrument of adding to the anxieties of H. E. the Governor at a time when he must have had the greatest difficulty in preserving the equanimity of his mind. I also feel most keenly that, while a few Englishmen at least in this country have been not only just but even generous in judging me, I have been much less than just to their countrymen, the soldiers engaged in plague operations, and have made unwarranted charges against them when they were engaged in work which required that their critics should be not only just to them but even generous. I once more tender an unqualified apology to all, the H. E. the Governor, to the members of the Plague Commission and to the soldiers engaged in the plague operations.” * * *



Gokhale began his life in this humble thatched hut



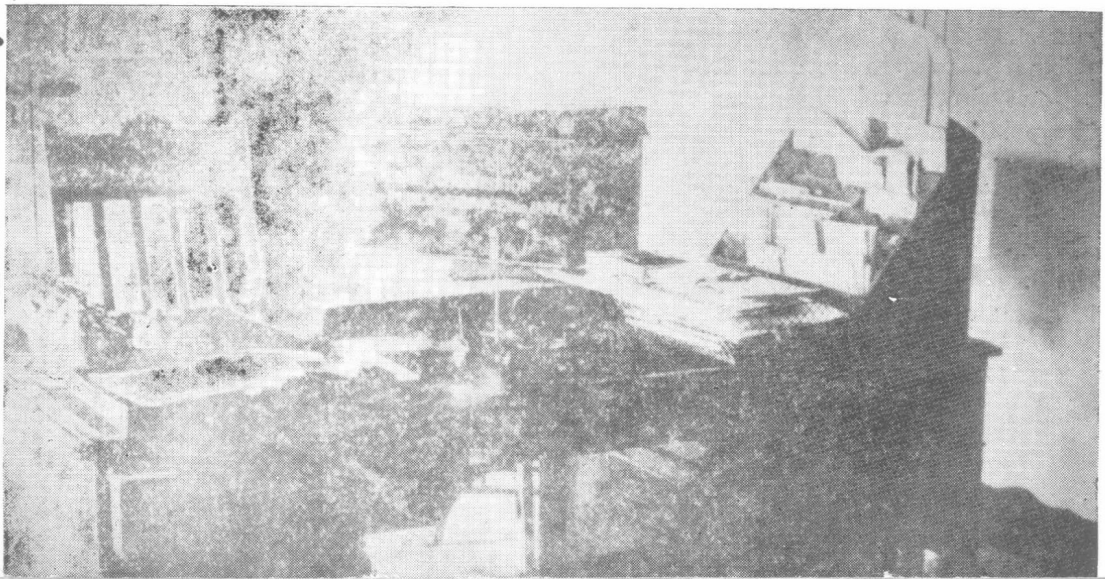
In his leisure hours he rested on this rocking chair

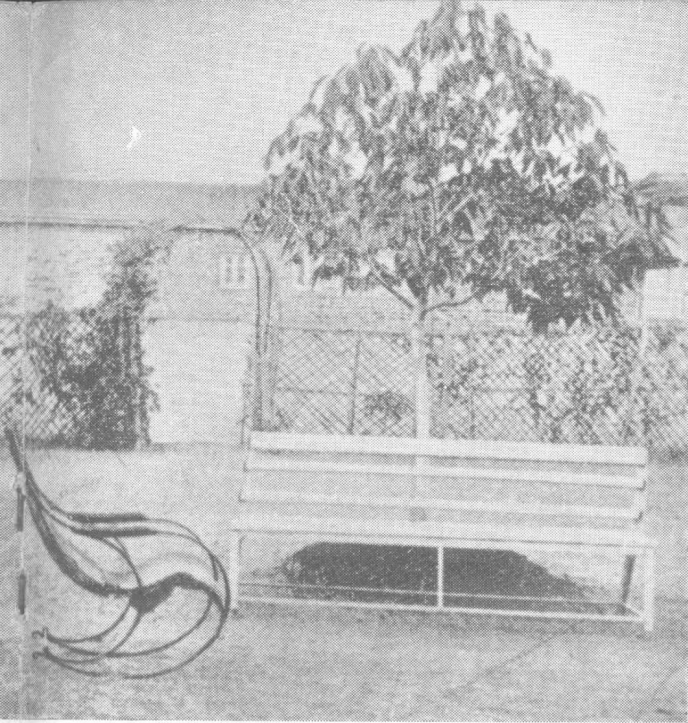


—and in his later years, this was his house in Konkan

Some Glimpses Of Gokhale's Life

As the First Member of
the Servants of India
Society, Gokhale used
this study room

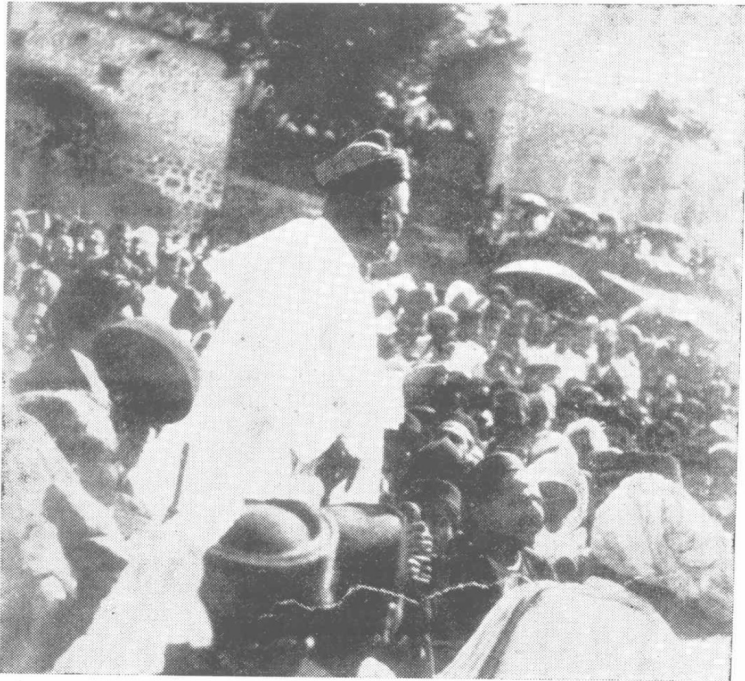




Rocking chair



Gokhale's daughters : (standing) Kashibai (later Smt. Dhavale) and Godavari



and His Last Voyage

Lokmanya Tilak addressed the meeting of mourners on the Poona cremation ground



His last *darshan*



Anecdotes from Gokhale's Life

—WAMAN H. PANDIT

GOPAL Krishna Gokhale, even in his childhood, showed the strength of character which marked his public life. Once on a visit to his village of Koltuk in Ratnagiri district, with his elder brother Govind during the Holi holidays, he took part in a game of atya-patya (lonpat), the native game of Maharashtra villages.

The captains of the respective teams selected their nine players and the two brothers were pitted against each other in the rival teams. After the usual toss the game began and Gopal took the main Pati.

He did not allow his brother to cross the Pati (line). Govind tried his best but in vain. A keen contest ensued and when the elder brother finally failed, he requested Gopal, "Well, I am your elder brother, let me go".

...Gokhale's chief power lay in his earnestness. Every word he spoke was full of sincerity and it seemed as if his whole soul was trying to escape through his lips. He made no gestures nor was there any attempt at ornamentation. But he would spontaneously charge certain words with an emotion by mere stress and emphasis on them.

— N. C. Kelkar

"The game knows no relations",
pat came the reply.

"Please, allow me to cross the
Pati", again prayed Govind.

"No, no, I cannot betray the interests of my team," Gopal said vehemently.

"If you wish I will leave the game and go out, but I cannot betray my team".

The stubbornly loyal Gopal had his way. Later in life he displayed this same spirit of loyalty in the game of politics.

The brothers were poor and they had lost their father when they were still boys—but Govind sustained his younger brother with a monthly allowance of Rs. 15 while Gopal pursued his studies.

Duty is duty

In 1885, there was a function at the New English School, Poona. Gopal, a volunteer, was given the job to receive the invitees, check their invitation cards and escort them into the pandal. He stood at

the front gate. Justice Ranade was the Chief Guest, but had no invitation card. Gopal did not allow him to enter the pandal unless he produced an invitation card.

"I am posted here to check the cards," he said to Justice Ranade.

"But I've no card" Mr. Ranade replied.

"You can't go in", Gopal said.

Just then a member of the Reception Committee noticed that Justice Ranade stood at the gate stranded while the small boy insisted on the card. He rushed to the gate and escorted Mr. Ranade in.

Gopal, overruled and annoyed, murmured; "Duty is duty. How can it matter whether a guest is high or low?"

Justice Ranade comfortably inside the hall reflecting on this incident admired the sense of duty and indomitable courage of the small boy. He was to meet him again and again and to guide him into the stormy and uncertain sea of public life.

Duty to a dog

Once Gopal was going in a hired tonga to see a friend. Those were days when dogs had the free run of towns. Unfortunately, the tonga ran over a puppy. Not many would give a second thought to the incident, but Gopal got down, took the puppy in his hands and insisted that the tonga-driver carry him immediately to the veterinary hospital. His visit to the friend could wait.

As long as the puppy was in hospital, Gopal made regular visits to it to inquire after its health. When the dog was cured, he took it home. Later this compassion and love for animals was to develop into a love for wild life, in fact for the flora and fauna of the country.

Freedom First

"First the freedom of my country. After freedom we can think of other things," Gopal remarked often when knotty and rather irrelevant problems were brought to him. This was the burden of his mission.

Diamond jubilee

A member of England's Parliament once spoke to Mr. Gokhale appreciating India's military contribution to the war. Both were watching the march-past, held in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's Coronation. It was celebrated on a gigantic scale all over the country.

"You ought to feel elated, Mr. Gokhale, to see the honour done to the Indian soldiers," the Englishman remarked.

"I don't feel so," Mr. Gokhale replied, somewhat nettled, "I won't feel so, unless we get the status of equal rank with the other dominions of the British Empire. It's an insult; downright insult. It's like rubbing salt on our wounds."

"I don't quite follow you," the Englishman said.

"I want India to be free. I want India to join the ranks of free countries. There lies glory and honour," retorted Mr. Gokhale.

The Englishman, chastened but wiser, said, "It is bound to happen one day when there are men like you to guide the destinies of India."

Spotlight

Gokhale was so much engrossed in public work that he hardly found time to look to his household duties.

One day, it is said, his daughter came to see him. She waited and waited. The visitors crowded upon him. At last she got tired and went home without seeing her father.

A Fearless Critic

"Gokhale was a fearless critic and opponent of the measures of Government and the administration of the country but in all his actions and utterances, he was guided by reason and true moderation. Thus he was a help to Government and source of great strength and support to the cause of the people. One of the greatest lessons that his life and work teach me is the example of what one single individual can achieve, how powerfully and materially he can help and guide the destinies of his country and his people and from whom how millions can derive true lead and inspiration. Personally, I have had the honour of being one of the colleagues of Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Council for some years and to me, it was always a matter of pride and pleasure to listen to him and often follow his lead. The whole Council, officials and non-officials, had the greatest respect and regard for him. His loss is difficult to make up. It is almost irreparable."

— Mr. Jinnah

So unhappy Gokhale felt when he came to know of this that he passed a sleepless night. Then he hit upon the bright idea of making amends to his daughter by sending her a gift of a Banarasi sari. She in turn presented her father an orange-coloured pugree (turbun) which he always wore! Even in England when he went there to give evidence before the Welby Commission. * * *

Gopal Krishna Gokhale—The Man and His Mission

(Continued from page 12).

Sir Harcourt Butler (then Mr. Butler). The Viceroy, in his reply to the Congress address in the beginning of 1911, had employed significant language on the subject of Education, and the Under-Secretary of State for India and stated in the British House of Commons in July 1910, that one of the objects of the creation of the new Education Department was to spread education throughout the country and the Educational Conference summoned by Sir Harcourt Butler, which had met at Allahabad in February 1910, indicated that the Government was alive to the necessity of moving faster in the matter of mass education. Gokhale was therefore hopeful that Government would take vigorous measures for the more rapid extension of primary education.

During the debates he was not dissatisfied with the attitude of Government and the members of the Council towards the Bill. The attitude of the Government was 'cautious' but not 'unfriendly'. Some non-official members also had criticised the Bill. Some members objected to compulsion because in their opinion the time for it had not come. Some objected to a comparison between India and the Western countries. His reply to the criticism was that there was no country in the world which could do without compulsion, and that compulsion had been applied to an Asian country like Ceylon where the conditions were similar to those in South India, that 6.6 per cent of the total population was at school there in 1909, and that the period of compulsion was 6 years for boys. He again referred to the case of Baroda where the compulsory period of education was 6 years for boys and 5 years for girls. In the end the Bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion.

A year later, Gokhale moved that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. The reception of the Bill in the country was a source of great satisfaction to him and he said : 'It is no exaggeration to say that no measure of our time has received such a wide, such an enthusiastic, such an overwhelming public support, as the Bill before the Council.' But every local Government that was consulted was opposed to it. He referred to the 'message of hope' given by the King to the people of India before he left Calcutta—'And it is my wish too that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labours sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with

what follows in its train—a higher level of knowledge, of thought, of comfort, and of wealth.' In spite of this Gokhale's motion was opposed not merely by the Conservative non-official members of the Legislative Council but also by Government itself. The old objections to the introduction of compulsion were trotted out again and it was said that compulsion would meet with great difficulties in rural areas on account of differences of language, script, caste, etc. As was expected, the Bill was thrown out. Thus ended the Government's lip sympathy for Education and all the official pronouncements in favour of Education. Gokhale learnt about that time on good authority that the Bill was opposed by Government because it was regarded as a danger to the continuance of British rule.

Fighter for Indians abroad

Another very important question touching the national self-respect of India which Gokhale brought up before the Supreme Legislative Council was that of the recruitment of indentured labourers in India. He moved two Resolutions on the subject. The first, which related to the prohibition of the recruitment of such labour for the Colony of Natal, was moved by him in February 1910. The historic struggle carried on by Mahatma Gandhi during the three previous years to protect the honour of India had created a strong feeling in the country against the policy of the Government of India which permitted the recruitment of indentured labour for Natal. A booklet exposing the cruel and degrading treatment of the Indians in Natal and the Transvaal, which was published by H. S. L. Polak soon after he came to India in 1909 on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indians in South Africa, further added to the indignation in the country against Natal and the policy of the Indian Government. Gokhale forcefully pointed out the evils of the indenture system which, he thought, should be abolished altogether, and said : 'It is true that it is not actual slavery, but I fear in practice in a large number of cases it cannot be far removed from it. To take from this country helpless men and women to a distant land, to assign them there to employers in whose choice they have no voice and of whose language, customs, social usages, and special civilisation they are entirely ignorant, and to make them work there under a law which they do not understand and which treats their simplest and most natural attempts to escape ill-treatment as criminal offences—such a system, by whatever name it may be

called, must really border on the servile.' He demanded that the 'Government of India should consider it its duty to put an end to the system, which was responsible not only for the miseries of the indentured labourers in Natal and the ill-treatment of free Indians, but also for lowering the prestige of the country.' The worst feature of the system was that the indentured labourers, after arrival in Natal, found that even efforts on their part to have their wages raised, or to modify the conditions laid down in the contract, made them liable for punishment with imprisonment. Indian workers who had completed their contract had to pay, unless they re-indentured themselves, a tax of £3 for every male above 16 years of age and every female above 13 years. The total Indian population in South Africa was about 1,50,000. Of this number, 1,20,000 were in Natal, about 15,000 in the Cape Colony and about 13,000 'entitled' to be in the Transvaal, though the actual number there was not more than 6,000 owing to the passive resistance carried on there under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi against unjust laws which cast a reflection on Indians as a race. The Indian workers had rendered a great service to Natal, which owed its prosperity largely to their labours. As recently as July 1903, Sir Leige Hulett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal, bore the following testimony on this point : 'The condition of the Colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom ; it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to revive. The Coast had been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa...Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population.' The sugar and tea estates of the Coast depended on Indian labour which, in various other ways, rendered a great service to Natal. Referring to the Transvaal, Gokhale

pointed out that the Indians could not acquire political or municipal franchise and could not hold any immovable property there. Further, they were liable to be condemned to live in locations. It will be noted that these grievances still continue and that Indian traders there have been forcibly shifted from places where they were carrying on a flourishing business to out of the way places without any amenities, where it is difficult for them to have any custom. Happily, the Government of India accepted the Resolution moved by Gokhale and announced its decision to stop the emigration of indentured labour to Natal in the Imperial Legislative Council on 3 January 1911.

As the harrassment of Indians in South Africa continued even afterwards, Gokhale visited South Africa towards the end of 1912 at the invitation of Mahatma Gandhi. His tour in South Africa, where he was treated with every mark of respect by the Government of South Africa and the European community, was enthusiastically welcomed by the South African Indians. It was hoped that his visit would ease the position of the Indian community. He assured Gandhiji after meeting General Botha and General Smuts that the 'Black Act', against which he had carried on a gallant fight, would be repealed, the racial bar in the Immigration Law would be removed, and the £3 tax abolished ; and pressed him to return to India in a year. But as Gandhiji had predicted to Gokhale, the South African Government did not keep its word. Soon after his departure from South Africa, it began to follow its old harsh and unjust policy against the Indians, although Gokhale had agreed, with Gandhiji's consent, to limit Indian emigration to South Africa in order to remove the fear of an unlimited influx of Indians from the minds of the South African whites. Mahatma Gandhi was, there-

Exact And Brilliant

In talent and character he was extraordinary, combining in a singular degree the visionary qualities of the Indian life. Even in India, whose saints are not uncommon, Gokhale's saintliness shone with a peculiar lustre, for not only was he utterly disinterested in his pursuits of patriotic ends, caring nothing for wealth and station, but his rare spiritual intensity was united to subtlety of mind, a quiet grasp of details and a gift for action—qualities that are not usually associated with the devotional temperament of the East. That he was a great orator, I can well believe, for his use of English was exact and brilliant and entirely free from redundancy and magniloquence which is sometimes imputed to Indian eloquence. Though his training was mathematical, he was well read in modern historical and political literature. Yet neither in learning, nor in the conduct of affairs had he any touch of pedantry.

— Dr. H. A. L. Fisher

fore, forced to start passive resistance once more. Thousands of Indians courted imprisonment at his bidding. Gokhale, whose appeal for donations in aid of the passive resisters received an excellent response, sent a large sum of money to Mahatma Gandhi to help him to continue the struggle. The speech of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, expressing sympathy with the South African Indians, created a very good impression among them and the Indian public. An agreement was arrived at afterwards between Mahatma Gandhi and the South African Government which was consistent with the honour of Indians as a race and enabled him to leave South Africa and come to India early in 1915.

The other Resolution which Gokhale moved in the Imperial Legislative Council in March 1912, concerned the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured labour, whether for employment in India or for employment in any British Colony. He pointed out in his speech the fact that Indian indentured labour was introduced into a number of colonies soon after the abolition of slavery and explained the main features of the indenture system which had been brought to light by the Report of the Committee presided over by Lord Sanderson and published in 1910. The indenture system which violated human dignity, was looked down upon even by the recently emancipated Negro, who 'scorned' to place himself under it. The labour contract contained no information about the special law which would apply to the indentured labourers and under which any breach of contract would be treated as a criminal offence and punished accordingly. They were kept ignorant of the fact that they might be sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for negligence, carelessness, or 'even an impertinent word or gesture to the manager or his overseers'. 'No fair-minded man', Gokhale said,

'will, I think, hesitate to say that the system is a monstrous system, iniquitous in itself, based on fraud and maintained by force, nor will he, I think, demur to the statement that a system so wholly opposed to modern sentiments of justice and humanity is a grave blot on the civilisation of any country that tolerates it.' He painted a moving picture of the appalling human misery for which the system was responsible, in the following words: 'And, Sir, last, but not least, the unutterable tragedy and pathos of men and women, at a distance of thousands of miles from their homes, knowing full well that the vast sea rolled between them and their native country, starting actually to *walk* back to their country, imagining in their simplicity and ignorance that there must be a land route somewhere, and either caught on their way and forcibly taken back to the life from which they were fleeing or else devoured by wild beasts or perishing of hunger and cold; all this, Sir, constituted a sum total of human misery which is appalling to contemplate, and which will be a standing witness against the system for all time.'¹² Heavy mortality had prevailed among them in the past in all the Colonies and there were numerous suicides owing to the inability of the poor and ignorant Indian workers to free themselves from their slavery. They preferred death with their own hands to living under this appalling system. The system also led to immorality, owing to the fact that every 100 men had to be accompanied by only 40 women, including women of loose morals. All this, as Gokhale pointed out, was degrading not merely to the workers but also to the people of India from a national point of view. I think that this will be borne out by those Indians who have visited the Colonies to which Indian labour used to be sent. When I went a quarter of a century ago to Fiji which occupied a central position in the Eastern Pacific Ocean, Western people who passed through it

Nation Building Not An Easy Task

The struggle before us is a long and weary one, and while the thought of it should stimulate all our energies, undue impatience will only recoil upon our own heads. Nation-building is nowhere an easy task. In India it is beset with difficulties which are truly formidable and which will tax to the uttermost all our resources, and all our devotion. Let us not forget that we are at a stage of the country's progress when our achievements are bound to be small, and our disappointments frequent and trying. That is the place which it has pleased Providence to assign to us in this struggle, and our responsibility is ended when we have done the work which belongs to that place. It will, of course, be given to our countrymen of future generations to serve India by their successes; we, of the present generation, must be content to serve her mainly by our failures. For, hard though it be, out of those failures the strength will come which in the end will accomplish great tasks. (Concluding words of Gokhale's speech on "The Work Before Us" at a public meeting in Allahabad on February 4, 1907, with Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Chair)

formed their impression of India from what they saw of the position of the Indian labourers there.

When Gokhale moved his Resolution, indentured labour was recruited for the different plantations of Assam also, but he was informed that this would be prohibited in 1913.

In spite of the undoubted evils of the system indicated by Gokhale and the grave hardship that it had inflicted on Indian labourers, his Resolution was opposed on flimsy grounds by the Government of India and was therefore rejected by a majority of 33 votes against 22. In 1913, however, the Government appointed a Committee to visit British Guinea, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Fiji and to report on the condition of Indian labourers there. The Report of the Committee was published in 1915. The Report of C. F. Andrews and Pearson on the condition of Indian indentured labour in Fiji, which was dedicated to the memory of Gokhale, was published in February 1916. Both these Reports exposed the horrors of the indenture system and created a strong feeling in the country against it. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a Resolution in the Supreme Legislative Council in 1916 asking the Government of India to discontinue the system immediately. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, who spoke during the debate, accepted the Resolution on behalf of the Government of India subject to the condition laid down by the Secretary of State that the existing system should continue till alternative arrangements for the supply of labour to the Colonies had been worked out in consultation with the Colonial Office and the Colonies concerned. The system was, however, abolished soon afterwards.

Member of the Public Services Commission

Gokhale's membership of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India, popularly known as Islington Commission, which was appointed to deal with a question, the handling of which by the British authorities had given rise to strong resentment among Indians, placed a very heavy strain on his health which had been gravely undermined by twenty-five years of unremitting toil. Regardless of the consequences, he threw himself into his work with his accustomed energy and thoroughness. His cross-examination of some of the principal detractors of Indian ability and character showed his wonderful mastery of the facts and won the admiration of those who followed the proceedings of the Commission carefully. He was anxious to complete his work as a member of the Commission but death unfortunately prevented him from taking part in the formulation of its recommendations, which, when published in January 1917, were received with deep disappointment throughout the country and were regarded as another proof of Britain's determination to keep all real power in its own hands.

Last Labours

Gokhale's last act was to draw up at the request of Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Bombay, a scheme of constitutional reforms which, in his opinion, should be granted by the British Government, on its own initiative, to satisfy Indian aspirations. Owing to the importance of the matter, and the advisability of finding out the views and securing the support of some of the recognized leaders of India, he decided, with Lord Willingdon's consent, to consult confidentially Pherozeshah Mehta and the

Appeal To Youths

Speaking on "Our Political Situation" at Madras on 25 July 1904, Gokhale concluded his speech as follows :

" Our cause is a cause for which every one of us can do something. Those who have money can give funds; those that have leisure can give time; those that have ability can devote, can contribute to the formation of public opinion on different questions. Young men might come forward to take up the work of missionaries in connection with the cause. There is a great deal of quiet work to be done for which we want young men, who will be willing to take their instructions from their elders, willing to go among the public, without noise or fuss, not anxious to address meetings, but willing and content to do quiet work. If we all recognise our duties in this spirit, we shall be able to turn our present efforts into a great, rousing movement of the political emancipation of this land. In the presence of such a movement all our petty personal differences will sink, all our squabbles will vanish, our faith will shine radiantly, sacrifices will be made to the extent they are necessary and the country will march onwards, will press onwards to the realisation of that destiny of which we should dream by night and on which we should muse by day. "

Gokhale on Mass Education

On 18 February 1910, Gokhale moved in the Imperial Legislative Council his memorable resolution on free and compulsory primary education which recommended the appointment of a committee to frame definite proposals. In the course of his speech he said :

I

“ Three movements have combined to give to mass education the place which it occupies at present among the duties of a State—the humanitarian movement which reformed prisons and liberated the slave, the democratic movement which admitted large masses of men to a participation in government, and the industrial movement which brought home to nations the recognition that the general spread of education in a country, even when it did not proceed beyond the elementary stage, meant the increased efficiency of the worker.”

II

“ Now the only way that the world has discovered to secure universal education in a country has been by making it compulsory and free. This is the only method that the world has found to be successful and so far there is no other method in the field. Again, if you make elementary instruction compulsory, it follows that you will have also to make it free, because otherwise compulsion would operate harshly on the poorer classes of the community.”

Aga Khan before formulating his proposals. The desired consultation could not, however, be held for various reasons. Lord Willingdon, unaware of the deterioration in Gokhale's health, wrote to him again three days before his death, asking for his proposals. It is a marvel that Gokhale could give serious thought to the matter in the condition in which he then was. He drafted a note in pencil, of which three copies were made; one was sent to Lord Willingdon and the other two to the Aga Khan and Pherozeshah Mehta. It was his intention to revise it after consultation with the Aga Khan and Pherozeshah Mehta, but they could not meet, and his note was published as it was by the Aga Khan in England in 1917.

It was then published in India by Srinivasa Sastri with an explanatory note. The draft represented, as he said, ‘ not what, in Mr. Gokhale's opinion, the people of India were fit for and entitled to, but what, if announced by the Government of India of their own accord and early enough, might, in Mr. Gokhale's judgment, avert an agitation during the war and ensure the fullest co-operation of the people of India. Lastly, it was prepared within six months after the beginning of the war and much before the popular movement in India had taken full shape.....I cannot believe that Mr. Gokhale would, if he were writing on behalf of the people of India, have voiced any but the most progressive and the most enlightened phase of political thought compatible with the safety of the Empire and the ordered advance of the country.’ This opinion is borne out by what Gokhale said to the Members of the Servants of India Society when

they met him at Poona after his return from England in November 1914. Speaking of the war, he said one day, he did not agree with the view that if England was defeated it would inevitably mean subjection of India to new masters for the reason that Indians would not have the strength and capacity to establish their own rule. And later, on the same occasion or some other day, he said he did not think that Britain would be able to keep us down for more than twenty-five years. There can, therefore, be little doubt that had he lived and been chosen again to be India's ambassador to England to discuss her claim that she should, in future, occupy a position consistent with her honour in the Empire, he would have vigorously supported the most progressive views on the subject.

The greatest obstacles to our freedom being ‘ the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin ’, he exhorted those who wanted to serve the country to be inspired with ‘ a fervent patriotism which rejoiced at every opportunity of sacrifice for the Motherland ’. He was the embodiment of such patriotism. It was his lot to meet with injustice and disappointment on many occasions, but they only spurred him to work harder and with greater devotion to the interests of the Motherland. He bore no ill-will to his opponents. He wanted public life to be ‘ spiritualized ’ and he lived the life he preached. He devoted every minute of his life to the service of the country. He allowed himself no rest till the last day of his life and ‘ reverently ’ sought only ‘ the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of one's country.’

GOKHALE: The Gladston Of India

—Sir Rustom P. Masani



Gokhale in England

THE centenary of the birth of Gopal Krishna Gokhale whom Gandhiji revered as his “political Guru”, revives the memory not only of one who was acclaimed as the greatest parliamentarian of his day but also of his Guru’s, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, the fearless politician and economist of his time, and the institutions be founded for the political education of the people and the agitation for reforms.

Early in life Gokhale came under the spell of Ranade and became the most eminent and ardent disciple of that great seer and prophet of democracy who moved

in the midst of the people, even when he became a judge of the High Court of Bombay. Like Socrates, dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs pointing out to the people as well as their alien rulers their follies and weaknesses, teaching the people how to rise to a higher level of intelligence and efficiency. No wonder he was loved and adored by the people. There was then, no doubt, another great Guru, the Guru of Gurus, who had already enshrined himself in the heart of the people as the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhoy Naoroji. Ranade spoke of him and revered him as his

Guru, although he himself was the *Maha Rishi* of India.

Whenever the writer of this article as a student saw him seated in the pulpit of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, like a *Sadhu* in his *Samadhi*, his eyes closed in prayerful meditation before he commenced his thrilling oration, he felt as if he was in the presence of a semi-divine spiritual being preaching to his audience how to be, to quote his own words, “Men, Stalwart, puritan men, battling for the right”.

If so magnetic was Ranade’s influence on the general public,

how very powerful and stimulating must have been the impact of daily contact of Gokhale with his master during his youth! He became a Professor after he passed out from the portals of his college, became Secretary to the Provincial Conference and the Sarvajanic Sabha, and editor of its journal, attended the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress and participated actively in its proceedings. In 1895 he was Secretary to the eleventh Congress that met in Poona. In 1896 when there was a split in the camp of the Sarvajanic Sabha and when the moderate section felt impelled to part company with the extremist section and establish another political organisation to serve as an organ of moderate and liberal public opinion, and the Deccan Sabha was founded, Gokhale became its first Secretary.

With such nation-building work to his credit at the age of 30, Gokhale established his claim to be considered fully qualified to sit on Committees and Commissions to report on vexed questions of Indian Finance and Administration. When, therefore, as the result of Dadabhai Naoroji's prolonged and vehement struggle for instituting an inquiry into the financial administration of India, the Indian Expenditure Commission was appointed with Lord Welby as its capable and considerate Chairman, Gokhale was nominated as the representative of the Deccan Sabha to give evidence before the Commission. The other witness on behalf of India, selected by the Bombay Presidency Association, was Dinsha Wacha. The most eminent Indian of the day whom Dadabhai would have liked to be pitted against the official hierarchy was Ranade.

Indeed, whose word could have been more potent than that of the distinguished jurist, economist and social and political reformer, universally esteemed for impartiality, integrity and independence? It seems, in reply to an earnest appeal made to him by Dadabhai (letter of June 18, 1896), Ranade was prepared to go, but the Government of India did not favour the suggestion that a High Court Judge should be asked to give evidence before the Commission. Instead, the Bombay Presidency Association was asked to select a witness. Gokhale's evidence before the Commission and his performance during cross-examination by stalwarts on behalf of the bureaucracy evoked high praise from Sir William Wedderburn and W. S. Caine, both members of the Commission.

Before Gokhale returned to India a great calamity cast a gloom over the Congress circles including British friends. Whilst he was engaged in the work of the Commission, he received letters from India describing the ravages of the plague then raging in Bombay, Poona and other parts of India and the high-handed action of European soldiers appointed to inspect private houses. One of the letters conveyed to him the report then current among the people of Poona to the effect that two women had been violated by some soldiers and that one of the victims had thereupon committed suicide. Gokhale related the story to a small committee of members of the House of Commons to whom he had been introduced by Wedderburn. He also gave an interview on the subject to a representative of the *Manchester Guardian*. The Bombay Government cabled to say that the entire report was a "malevolent inven-

tion". Gokhale had no proofs to substantiate the statements received by him. Not only he but all his friends, Dadabhai and Wedderburn, particularly, had to look small. Returning to India, Gokhale called upon his informants to come forward with evidence to support their statements. Nothing, however, corroborating the statements, was forthcoming. It was all hearsay. Without mentioning the names of the informants Gokhale took on himself the responsibility of circulating the unfounded story. The only honourable course open to him in the circumstances was to render an unqualified apology to those whom he had defamed. It was a bitter pill for him to swallow. The apology he submitted was, however, full and complete.

Castigation for such a frank admission of the error committed by Gokhale came from unexpected quarters. Even his best friends, Indian and British, felt humiliated by the apology. Gokhale thereupon considered it necessary to explain in a letter to Dadabhai why he retracted the statements.

"Before my arrival here, said he, "the Government had ceased to be British Government and had assumed the role of Russian Government. Arrests and deportations on the charge of disloyalty had spread such profound panic in Poona that any kind of substantiation was out of the question. Government, moreover, had decided not to hold a public inquiry into the complaint by a Commission. Retraction, therefore, was the only course left open to me. In the step I have bowed to the circumstances and have acted in accordance with the best advice available."

Dadabhai sent him a soothing reply: "You are young", said

he, "You have a long, earnest and by no means easy work before you. Never say die. Do your duty perseveringly. You are excitable and I shall be consoled even for your present troubles if you can now, after the painful experience, learn to be cool and calm and to consider the matter before acting. The cause you have to work for is beset with difficulties.....But do not despair".

"How kind of you", said Gokhale in reply, "to write as you have done! I was prepared for a much more severe reproof and you have written in such a gentle and encouraging terms! All I can say is that all my energies will now be devoted to making amends for what has happened".

Distressing as was this episode, it served to bring out some of the finest traits in his character and it did not take much time to rehabilitate him in the estimation of his friends.

I met Gokhale for the first time in the year 1910 in Sir Pherozshah Mehta's chambers in Bombay. His visits to the "uncrowned king" of Bombay were frequent and so were mine, as I was then Municipal Secretary of Bombay and I had to see Sir Pherozshah Mehta often as the chairman of several committees of the Municipal Corporation. I cannot say, as Gandhiji did, that it was a case of love at first sight. I used to meet Gokhale occasionally but was much impressed by his simplicity, sincerity and sweet reasonableness in the discussions he had on matters pertaining to the administration of the departments of the Government as well as local bodies. Never a superfluous word, nor any illogical argument and I wished that the members of the Municipal Corporation to whom I

A Specimen of Shri Gokhale's Handwriting

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB,
Whitehall Place, S.W.

Dear Dattopant,

12th July 1912

I have not had time this week to discuss the question of the paper with Maulankar, but I will send for him this week & by next mail, I hope to be able to tell you definitely what we arrange. I am glad the Union Company of Norway has, by raising the rate itself, made it possible for us to withdraw from the contract. I think Maulankar's terms were better. And in any case it will be easier for us to deal with him than with a company in Norway. I hope your health is good & that Krishna & the children are doing well.

Please kind regards from affl.
Company in letter to Dattopant / K. Gokhale,
& the bookkeeper to Kashi.

had to listen with sealed lips could learn from him a few lessons in public speaking!

About his sincerity, fearlessness and moral courage an anecdote might here be mentioned. When King George the V came to India as Prince of Wales in the year 1905, he asked Gokhale, then on the threshold of his political career,

whether the Indian people wished the British regime in India to continue. The thoughtful man careful of every word he uttered, replied: "If a plebiscite had been taken 20 years ago, whether the people wanted the British rule to continue, they would have answered almost as a man 'Certainly!'. Today, however, a large number would say they were indifferent."

The Servants of India Society founded by Gokhale showed his earnestness to train full-time workers for the service of the country, and, in a way, to spiritualise politics and public service, the work achieved by it is well-known. Similarly, Gokhale's membership of the legislatures, local and imperial, and the splendid work accomplished by him are well-known and need

no eulogy from the writer. One testimony of his work is mentioned by Professor R. P. Patwardhan and Shri D. V. Ambekar in their compilation of his speeches and writings. On one occasion when Gokhale could not attend a meeting of the Council, the then Finance Member, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, was constrained to remark that they were playing Hamlet with the

part of the Prince of Denmark left out".

It was India's misfortune that a life so eventful and fruitful, a life so prized by Indians as well as alien rulers and administrators should have been cut off in the prime of life. Otherwise, the history of the struggle for India's freedom would have been written differently. * * * *

GOKHALE—REMINISCENCES

(continued from page 13)

The question of Hindu-Muslim unity was a subject dearest to his heart and I have a feeling that he would not have agreed to have separate electorates with weightage for Muslims as it was opposed to the pure democracy in which he believed. He toured Northern-India and often spoke eloquently on the subject and perhaps he and the Agakhan might have been able to hammer out a proper solution of this trinkish problem.

He was the author of the statement that "Public life must be spiritualised," but I doubt whether he would have agreed to Mahatma Gandhi's programme of civil disobedience in all its entirety. That was probably why, when Mr. Gandhi as he then was, wanted to join the Servants of India Society, Gokhale asked him to wait before he took this step and see the conditions in the whole country at first hand. His foundation of the Servants of India Society was his first move in the process of his

spiritualisation. He wanted to create a band of devoted workers in the national cause, and with this view he laid down a course of detailed training for the members before they began to take an active part in public life. For devoted people in pre-independence days this was the only course open. Now when all avenues of public life are opened to India. I wondered whether the society will be able to recruit with the necessary ability, devotion and public spirit in any appreciable numbers. * * * *

GOKHALE-GANDHI RELATIONSHIP

(continued from page 17)

Of this I would but give only one illustration. Gokhale's conduct in the wake of the apology incident in 1898 would appear to contain all the seeds of a passive resister, a conscientious man who considered the dictates of his conscience alone as the guiding force. In the course of a letter to a friend he then said, "Obloque such as I am resting under

is to a sensitive mind the hardest thing in the world to bear and it is made even more unbearable than it would otherwise be by the knowledge that it is causing distress of mind to relatives and friends. For myself I am bearing the blow with composure and conscious that I have done what only duty required of me and confident that justice would be done to me some day. Thanks to the teaching and example of Mr.

Justice Ranade, I have long learnt to make my conscience and not popular applause, the spring of my actions. Moreover, remember that the best of our nature is manifested not when we enjoy but when we endure. There is a sublimity and moral elevation in undeserved suffering which nothing can equal and which is almost its own reward." * * * *

To report to authorities
the suffering of the public
and persuade them with
sweet words to do something
for relief to the sufferers
was Gokhale's mode of
service



Gokhale Acted

As He Preached

GOPAL Krishna Gokhale would have entered his 100th year today had he been alive. But 'Alas! he left this mortal world about 51 years back. In other words, he was allowed two-score-ten, instead of the traditional psalmist's three-score-ten. It is indeed curious that the centenary of his birth should coincide roughly with the 51st anniversary of his death.

Gokhale was a renowned teacher at the Fergusson College, Poona. He also wrote an excellent text book of Arithmetic, which was used by the majority of students who were in high schools upto the 'Thirty's and even the 'Forty's. As a close

S. R. TIKEKAR

associate and pupil of M. G. Ranade, he devoted much time and energy to public service. As a Member of the Viceroy's Council, his contribution to parliamentary approach to public finance is unsurpassed and it will ever be remembered. But the greatest monument to G. K. Gokhale's patriotism is the *Servants of India Society* in Poona and its branches. The specially trained

“servants of India” that carried on the noble tradition of enlightened public service, like G. K. Deodhar, Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, S. R. Bajpeyi, N. A. Dravid, S. G. Vaze, K. G. Limaye, N. M. Joshi, R. R. Bakahle, S. V. Parulekar and many others. Dr. H. N. Kuzru is the embodiment of that tradition of self-less service fully deserving the title *Servants of India* (Society).

But in starting the Society, Gokhale had certain fundamentals as “convictions” which every member-to-be had to subscribe to. The British connection with India was taken as an act of Divine dispensation for the good of India. Nothing was to be done to change that firm belief. ‘Public life had to be spiritualised’ was another of Gokhale’s important dictum. He was so disgusted with the prevailing conditions of society, that he insisted on spiritualising public life, on raising standards of public morality.

On that background the exemplary life of Gokhale, his transparent sincerity, his desire to serve national interests, his self-less devotion to the cause he espoused and reverential attitude to M. G. Ranade, made him an ideal political leader. No wonder that Gandhiji was drawn to such a “moderate” leader,

although the Mahatma himself became later an ardent extremist in politics, far removed from the ideals of Gokhale.

Gokhale differed from his contemporaries and differed widely. It was about approach to problems of the day. While the extremists were more concerned with the lot of the people, Gokhale’s thoughts went out to the administrators in charge of bettering people’s lot. Here the attitude of the founder of the Servants of India Society seemed fully justified. They were called the *Servants of India*, not of the *people*, as Lala Lajpat Rai chose to call his own Society later. Servants of India, being a comprehensive term, the administrators too could well be included in them. How would Government afford relief to the suffering public, what would be the lot of those in charge of rendering help to the people, were Gokhale’s first concern. Other political leaders restricted their attention to creating of unrest, making the people dissatisfied with conditions prevailing. Gokhale’s attitude proved to be more constructive in the long run, when our own kith and kin became part and parcel of the Government machinery for administration. The other method which has brought in fasts and conter-fasts in public

and group or in batches, *morchas* and *bandh* tactics, has made itself a headache to the Government and progress has become more difficult than ever, because of the internal, spiritual difficulty.

Gokhale considered himself as the connecting link between the Government on the one hand and the people on the other. To report to authorities the sufferings of the public and persuade them with sweet words to do something for relief to the sufferers, was Gokhale’s mode of service to India as a whole. The extremist leaders on the other hand, did not care for the administrative convenience or difficulty. They took their stand on the constitutional rights of the public. More than that. In place of Gokhale’s sweet words and understanding, the extremists *demand*ed compliance, which was too much for the officials. Hence the rub. Placing their finger on this or that section of the *Famine Relief Code* (for instance), Tilak and others of his temperament insisted on securing relief to the needy. In fact, Tilak had popularised an expression which aptly described his attitude towards officers of the Government (कोठावळे). Naturally, Tilak became an eyesore to the services, while Gokhale, by sheer contrast, was a welcome personality.

Voice Of A Persuasive Friend

He (Gokhale) captivated you also ; but there was a pleasingness, if I may say so, in his look, a brotherliness and lovingness, a tenderness almost of familiarity which drew you to him with a bond of affection . . . Gokhale spoke also so as to command the attention of his hearers, but his voice was different ; it was pitched in a lower key. When you heard him, you felt drawn to a person who spoke with his full heart and meant every word that he uttered. You saw sincerity and conviction stamped on his features and in his voice. And there was no banter, there was no ridiculing of the adversary ; there was nothing like hitting hard. There was argument piled upon argument ; there was reasoning ; there was a large number of statistics drawn from registers and returns and above all there was a note of mild controversy ; and there was a note of persuasion, which you felt was that of a friend, of a man who meant to convert you to his opinion and not of a person who desired to bear you down with authority or confound you with subtle reason.

— V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

While the British administrative personnel became very critical of Tilak and his ways of agitation, Gokhale's word came to be respected and appreciated. That appreciation came to Tilak, late, very late in life, when he was no more. An instance of this difference between the approaches of Tilak and Gokhale is on record. It shows as nothing else perhaps the attitude of Gokhale towards the Government. Tilak would not have minded to be called an opponent of the Government while Gokhale thought he was harshly judged, when Mr. Ali Imam, his colleague on the Viceroy's Council, referred to Gokhale as the *Leader of the Opposition*. Why, it is on record that Gokhale spent some time in explaining his own stand and proved that to say so, was wrong.

Gokhale in his intimate and personal talks spoke with deep admiration for the British character and gratitude for the benefits of the British rule in India. In that admiration he never lost sight of the national interests. There was an argument with the Finance Secretary, wherein Gokhale complained of heavy defence burden on the Indian exchequer. As contrasted with India's 45% of expenditure on the army, Japan was spending 60% of her revenue on army and navy, argued the Financial Secretary. Gokhale sharply retorted that he was

prepared to vote 75% of revenue, provided the army was manned and officered by *our* men and the foreign policy left in *our* hands.

Morle-Minto Reforms afforded yet another opportunity for the difference between Gokhale and Tilak to be clearly stated. Gokhale spared no word in expressing his gratitude to the then Viceroy of India who had his share of credit in shaping the reforms. Gokhale's words in the Council were :

“ My Lord, I am at a disadvantage in speaking of your Lordship in your presence ; but the occasion is exceptional and I trust the Council will forgive me for any apparent breach of propriety. The country owes a deep debt of gratitude to your Lordship personally and, as head of the Government of India, for these reforms. ”

And what did the Lokamanya say about these reforms? In two words, in the Editorial of the *Kesari* of the times, Tilak's judgement was fully expressive. Tilak called it the “ *nipples of the male-buffalo* ” suggesting that it was absurd to expect anything out of them. It was good manner to thank the Crown Representative for whatever he had done, or even for whatever he had failed to do. That may be called an act of grace. But Gokhale was sincere about what he expressed in the Council. His was not the mere,

formal thanks-giving. His approach to current politics made him hopeful about the working of the Reforms.

This unbounded faith in Britain's sense of justice and fairplay was strong in Gokhale as the Guru and it was strangely stronger in Gandhiji, the Chela. Whether Gokhale had adequately realised Indian capacity for administration, or whether he had a greater confidence in the continuation of British rule in India, we cannot say; but the Hardinge story, as recorded by the Viceroy during whose reign Gokhale died, shows Gokhale not quite confident of his countrymen's capacity to rule themselves, were the British to withdraw completely from India. Lord Hardinge records :—

“ On one occasion I said to him (Gokhale): ‘ How would you like it if I were to tell you that all British Officials and British troop would leave India within a month? ”

He replied: ‘ I would be very pleased to hear that news; but before you had all reached Aden, we would be telegraphing to you to come back again. ’ ”

—Lord Hardinge—*My Indian Years* (1910-16) (London 1948, p. 115).

Gokhale's views on Boycott, particularly of British goods, are in keeping with his relations, his appreciation and his respect for the British

(continued on page 42)

Ripening Intellect

That a man should interest himself in the complexities of Indian economics and finance is in itself a tribute to his powers of mind ; that he should master them and should display his mastery at an age at which few people would even care to study them cursorily, was a sign of a ripening intellect and a serious endeavour which served to lay the sure foundations of Gokhale's work. And with all his comprehensiveness of judgement and mental clarity, he never dropped into the academic fallacy of contempt. He impressed one as being among the most candid and unassuming of men and he was equally ready to give or to take advice where it seemed most serviceable. His mind possessed the qualities ascribed to statesmanship without ever losing the fire of its enthusiasms or its warm human interests.

— Mr. E. S. Montague



Gopal Krishna Gokhale

-Some Reminiscences

—Pt. Sunderlal

I FIRST came into contact with Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1905 at the twenty-first annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Banaras. Shri Gokhale was the President.

I was then a Law student at Allahabad. At Banaras I had got myself registered as a volunteer to the Congress. We went to the railway station to receive the President elect. A crowd of several thousands had gathered to join the reception. The train arrived. The President elect was welcomed with cries of 'Vande Mataram', 'Bharat Mata Ki Jaya' and Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale Ki Jaya. I still remember his red gilled Marathi Pagree, his closed collar Parsee cut coat and his black trousers. He was seated in a beautifully decorated pandal. Some of us especially younger people insisted upon unyoking the horses and drawing the carriage ourselves. It was done.

All the distance from the railway station through the streets of Banaras to the Congress camp I stood on the foot-hold of the carriage constantly shouting cries like those mentioned above.

I well remember how during those few hours that the procession lasted, Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale again and again looked at me with affectionate eyes and remarked : "Your throat must have got tired."

At the Congress Session I had the occasion of meeting him and of exchanging a few words with him several times. I somehow managed to create such opportunities.

Just at that time Indian political thinkers were getting divided into two separate groups, generally called the Moderate group and the Extremist group. They themselves preferred to be called the Liberals and the Nationalists, respectively. Very soon

Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale became known as one of the topmost Moderate leaders and Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak as the topmost Extremist leader. I had first seen Shri Bal Gangadhar Tilak nearly six years earlier at Lahore when I was studying at the D. A. V. P. College there and Shri Bal Gangadhar Tilak had gone there in connection with the Congress Session then held in that city. After that I saw Lokmanya also at the Banaras Congress in 1905.

At Banaras one of the resolutions discussed which created considerable heat was the one welcoming the British Prince of Wales who was expected to visit India early in 1906. Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale was in favour of the resolution. His speech was an embodiment of sweet reasonableness and at the same time demonstrated his deep and earnest patriotism. Yet two sentences from

Making Facts Alive !

Mr. Gokhale was a very captivating speaker. He was not an orator in the sense, he could indulge in flights of rhetoric and move his audience, but clear, close reasoning a lucid statement of facts and a fascinating way of drawing conclusions from the facts were his characteristics. There was no humour in his speeches, but although there was no humour, there was that close examination of facts and he made facts live ; he impressed them upon his audience in a manner which showed that he could handle facts so as to make them live realities.

—Sir Narayan Chandavarkar

the lips of two of the principal opponents of the resolution, Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai, are still ringing in my ears. Lokmanya said : “ We have been over loyal upto this time, let us decrease our loyalty.” Lalaji’s sentence was : “ Let the Prince go and tell his father that there is no welcome for him in the Indian heart.” Naturally sentiments like these made greater appeal to young men like myself.

During the succeeding years the contact between the Moderate and the Extremist parties to win over the people to their views sharpened. Allahabad was one of the important centres of the Moderate party. I, therefore, in consultation with some other students of the University, invited three important leaders of the Extremist party, viz., Lokmanya Tilak, Shri Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, then famous as Bal-Pal-Lal, one after the other to

Allahabad. The influence of their speeches was tremendous. To undo that influences the Moderate leaders of the city invited Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale. I remember how during his speech in the Kayasth Pathshala College Hall, I sat hardly a couple of yards from him, how I paid him my respects and how affectionately he responded. In his memorable speech he boldly declared that if other methods failed to persuade the British to grant self-rule to India, the people could have recourse to methods like non-payment of taxes, but for the time being he stood for pure constitutional methods as distinguished from any form of direct action.

On that very occasion a reception was given to Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale at the residence of Shri Sachhidanand Sinha, Bar-at-Law, then practising at Allahabad. I too was invited. A prominent Moderate leader took me to Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale by the hand and requested Shri Gokhale to advise me to abjure politics so long as I was a student. I remember with pride how Shri Gokhale instead of obliging the gentleman expressed his definite opinion that national movements could only be built on the enthusiasm and sacrifice of the young. He, however, openly pleaded with me to give up following men like Lokmanya Tilak and to take to so-called constitutional methods.

During the latter years I had the occasion of introducing to Shri Gokhale several promising young men who wanted to join Shri Gokhale’s Servants of India Society. They were taken and all became prominent members of the Society in due course. But whenever I saw Shri Gokhale in this connection, every time he affectionately remarked : - You bring others, why don’t

you come yourself ? I want you to join the Society.”

I painfully remember the last occasion on which I met Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It was probably some time in the beginning of 1915. In those days I was living at Solan, Simla Hills, in the guise of a Sanyasi and under the name of Someshwaranand. I went to Poona to meet my Guru, Lokmanya Tilak, and put up at his residence, the Gaekwad’s Wada. One evening I went to pay my respects to Shri Gokhale at his house. He was then ill, suffering probably from his last illness. We sat in front of his small Bungalow, he on his rocking easy chair and I on a bent-wood chair. During conversation, he again appealed to me to give up so-called extremist or revolutionary methods, to follow constitutional methods, and to work according to his advice. He went much further. In those days I was naturally in the black books of the Government of India. I was shadowed by their C.I.D. Shri Gokhale knew all this. He told me

High Hopes

In the good sense of the word Mr. Gokhale was an opportunist. No doubt he dreamed dreams and saw visions as most public men with high hopes and broad views did, but he was certainly one of those who knew how to take occasion by the hand and make the bounds of freedom wider yet. It was on those lines that he framed his political career and hoped for the future of India.

— Lord Crew

that if I accepted his advice he would write to the then British Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces and would see to it that all suspicion against me was removed. I refrained from giving any blunt reply at the moment because I feared it might injure his health. I promised to consider his advice and wanted to take leave of him. Before allowing me to go he told me that I could talk to Balwantrao (Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak) about the advice he had given me for my future line of work, but that I should not tell him (Lokmanya Tilak) what he (Shri Gokhale) had said about his writing to the British Lieutenant Governor. I promised and came away.

On returning to Gaekwad's Wada I was in a fix. I had given my word to Shri Gokhale that I would not mention that particular thing to Lokmanya, and yet Lokmanya was my political *guru*. I could not keep back anything from him. I decided to tell him the whole thing. I also told him that I had given Shri Gokhale my word that I would not convey that particular thing to anybody whatsoever. I also requested Lokmanya not to mention that particular thing to anybody else. He smiled. We slept for the night.

The next morning Lokmanya seated me by his side in his study room. We sat there and chatted at intervals till about meal-time. During those few hours a good number of people came to see Lokmanya one after the other. To each of them he said: "Do you know what Gopalrao (Shri Gopal K. Gokhale) has said to Sundarlal?" And after this he repeated the whole thing to each visitor including the thing about which I had pledged my word to Shri Gokhale not to tell anybody else. I felt puzzled and small every time.

Even now after the lapse of nearly half-a-century whenever I recollect that incident, something sharply pinched my heart. I feel guilty. This feeling troubles me all the more because Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale was extremely scrupulous in such matters.

Why did I tell all that to Lokmanya Tilak? Was I not guilty of breach of faith with Shri Gokhale? I feel I was. And yet could I keep such a thing back from my political Guru and guide? I am still confused and painfully so.

I cannot help saying at this stage that while Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale was in such matters one of the most scrupulous men I have come across in life, Lokmanya Tilak was, in the contrary, one of the most unscrupulous I have come across. This very incident was an illustration in point. I could give more illustrations but I must refrain. Tilak and Gokhale were a strange yet interesting contrast. By faith Lokmanya Tilak was an agnostic. Personally he did not believe in caste or in any type of untouchability. He was absolutely above any type of communal narrowness. He had as good Muslim followers and admirers as Hindus. Yet for his political purposes he could make use of Ganpati Utsava and the like and after taking tea with some Christian missionaries one fine evening he could the next day agree to perform Prayashchittam with cowdung and cow-urine, because some Poona Brahmins objected to his taking tea with Christians. In connection with this last incident I actually asked Lokmanya why he had done so. His brief reply was—"Social reform is not my province at present". Shri Gokhale was also a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and absolutely above all communal narrowness or any form of untouchability, yet he

could never agree to perform such a Prayashchittam nor could he be a party to anything like a Ganpati Utsava. I think I have already gone too far in describing the contrast between the characters of the two.

Yet none of these things could in any way diminish the greatness of Lokmanya Tilak. While Shri Gokhale was one of the great
(continued on page 44)

Weight Of Gokhale's Blows

For five or six years, Mr. Gokhale was a member of Imperial Legislative Council over which I presided when he was in constant opposition to my policy. In fact he was the leader of the opposition and in that capacity I had often to suffer from the weight of Mr. Gokhale's blows. I have never met a man of any nationality more gifted with Parliamentary capacities. Mr. Gokhale would have obtained a position of distinction in any Parliament in the world, even in the British House of Commons. Widely as we differed, I never failed to recognize either his abilities or his high character. It is a satisfaction to me to recall that when we last conferred about a year and a half ago, on the question of Indians in South Africa, the subject which engaged our attention was one upon which we were both agreed.

— Lord Curzon

Goliath, Gamaliel and Gabriel

“To compress in one sentence all that Gokhale was, he was a Goliath of popular interests in the Councils of the Empire, a great Gamaliel of public affairs, a good Samaritan and a Gabriel in his domestic and social life.”

— Sir De Wacha



Gandhiji's Political Guru- Gokhale

WHEN I was a child Maharashtra had two political idols, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gokhale wielded considerable influence in governmental circles and was a member of the Legislative Council and so everybody called him “Honourable Gokhale”. Some critics called him “Rajmanya” also. This word can be used with any name in Maharashtra like Bhai in Gujarat, Babu in Bengal and Mister in English. But Gokhale was a Moderate and that is why his critics called him “Rajmanya”. And as an interesting contrast, Gokhale’s opponents began calling Tilak “Lokmanya”.

I, and youth in general, liked the politics of Tilak. But in some respects I liked Gokhale better. He was a renowned educationist, mathematician and economist and he had the great personal qualities of scrupulousness and self-sacrifice. In the field of social reform, especially,

he was a distinguished worker unlike Tilak.

When Gandhiji invited me to come and stay at his Ashram, I felt it to be my duty to make it clear to him that I was a revolutionary, though my faith in violence had weakened of late. Still, though conceding that non-violence was superior spiritually, I could not bring myself to believe that non-violence could bring us freedom.

A second thing that I told Gandhiji was that though he regarded Gokhale as his political Guru, I liked Tilak’s politics better. Hence I could not have the same respect for Gokhale, politically. Gandhiji promptly said this was of no con-

sequence and he knew that many people did not like Gokhale. Nevertheless, I told Gandhiji, because I liked Gokhale’s view on social reforms, I regarded him as a leader in this field. Also, I admired two things that Gokhale had done: first the epic battle he waged to get the unjust salt tax reduced; and secondly, the movement he launched to make primary education free, universal and compulsory. This showed the deep feelings that Gokhale had for the poor. I told Gandhiji that I was not one of those supporters of Tilak who revelled in abusing Gokhale. But I felt that he did not have sufficient faith in the strength of the popular movement. Gandhiji heard me in silence and the discussion died down. But this started an upheaval in my mind. I felt that I should not have critical opinions about a man whom Gandhiji regarded as his political Guru and whom he—even he—called

KAKA KALELKAR

a Mahatma. I thought I should have a fresh look at him.

Another, and a not so relevant, factor influenced my thinking. I intensely liked the religious discourses of Mr. Justice Ranade, and I had great respect for the famous economist of Satara, Ganesh Vyan-katesh Joshi. I knew Gokhale was a disciple of these two, and so my goodwill and respect for him was deep-rooted. This goodwill and respect were first born when I was a college student. It was during this period that he established the Servants of India Society in 1905. Its members were expected to live in poverty, depending only on what allowance they got, to serve the country all their lives, to recruit and train others for this service, and to serve society in spheres even apart from politics. This was truly an unusual concept and it increased my regard for Gokhale all the more.

Whatever mathematics we had learnt at school was from Gokhale's book. Thus we knew him as an educationist. He had served Ferguson College for 15 years, and the Southern Educational Society for 20 years. At the young age of forty he became the President of the Banaras Session of the Congress.

Incidentally, I recall an amusing anecdote which shows the lack of political awakening of those days. When the Presidential procession was taken out in Banaras, some spectators on the wayside were heard to remark. "This is the Raja of Poona being taken out in a procession".

Gokhale's main work in life was in the field of politics and public life. Since dealing with the foreign government was a necessity, he had learnt English well. Commissioners admired his pronunciation and dictum. Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, once said the English books Gokhale had not read were perhaps not worth reading. To listen to Gokhale's public speeches was one of the pleasant experiences of life. Indian economics he knew so thoroughly that the Government was always most careful when dealing with the subject. Lord Curzon the most erudite of Viceroy's, envied Gokhale's erudition.

Whatever Gokhale did, from public affairs to membership of the Welby Commission and the Public Service Commission increased the prestige of the country. From 1896

on he was an inspiration to Gandhiji. We will be grateful to him for the great help he gave to Gandhiji in improving the lot of Indians in South Africa. He not only collected money for the struggle but himself visited South Africa. It was with his support that Gandhiji managed to get the £3 tax and some other infamous Acts abolished.

Gokhale was born in a poor but cultured family of Sholapur. He managed with great difficulty to secure a high education and forsaking the temptation to go in for a lucrative job or riches, which he could have got otherwise; he devoted himself to the service of the nation. He had not reached the age of 50 when death claimed him.

We celebrate today the centenary of the birth of this great son of India, and it is our duty to pay him the grateful homage of an India which regained her freedom. Thanks to the service and sacrifice of him and others like him. The tradition of selfless service that he established is a thing to be emulated; to emulate it fully would be the greatest and most appropriate tribute that we can pay him. * * * *

Gokhale Acted As He Preached

(continued from page 37)

people and their nation. Boycott had unsavoury associations and it conveys sense of vindictive desire to injure another. "Such a desire on our part," declared Gokhale openly, "as a normal feature of our relations with England, is out of question."

These and other stories of Gokhale have a historical importance today. It is difficult to think of Gokhale by himself, singly. His associates and more than his associates, the oppo-

nents, from whom he differed, are an integral part of Gokhale's life. Gokhale moved at a time when there were some stalwarts on the political arena of India and Gokhale was one of them. The picture does not become complete without them. But Gokhale made a mark that made him quite distinct from the rest.

Let me end on an unusual virtue of Gokhale, which we will find useful in our day-to-day dealings,

amongst ourselves as also amongst others.

Gokhale had made it a rule (as disclosed to M. R. Jayakar) "never to revile an Indian before a non-Indian, even in a private talk and never to exaggerate political differences when championing the cause of his country-men against opponents of their rise and freedom."

Wise words these! Gokhale attained greatness on their strength—by acting upto what he preached. * *



Important Landmarks in Gokhale's Life

- 1866, May 9 Birth at Kotluk (Ratnagiri District).
- 1876 Migration to Kolhapur for education.
- 1881 Passed matriculation examination.
- 1882 Studied in Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- 1883 Studied in Deccan College, Poona.
- 1884 Graduated from Elphinstone College, Bombay; and joined the Law Class.
- 1885 Joined New English School, Poona (started in 1880), as a teacher.
- 1886 Became a Life member of the Deccan Education Society, Poona (founded on Oct. 24, 1884), and began teaching in Fergusson College.
Introduced to Ranade.
- 1888 Elected Secretary, Bombay Provincial Conference.
Edited English columns of the *Sudharak*.
- 1889 First participation in the National Congress.
- 1890 Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha and Editor of its Quarterly.
- 1892 Appointed Secretary of the Deccan Education Society.
- 1895 Worked as Secretary to the Reception Committee of the National Congress which met at Poona.
Elected Fellow, Bombay University.
- 1896 Resigned Secretaryship of the Sarvajanik Sabha and helped in starting the Deccan Sabha, of which he became the first secretary.
First meeting with Gandhiji.
- 1897 First visit to England for giving evidence before the Welby Commission.
Apology incident.
- 1898 Organized plague relief measures at Poona.
- 1899 Elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council.
- 1901 Elected member of the Imperial Legislative Council.

- 1902 Went on furlough from Fergusson College.
Elected President, Poona Municipality.
- 1903 Elected additional joint General Secretary to the National Congress.
- 1904 Made C.I.E.
Formally retired from Fergusson College.
- 1905 Founded the Servants of India Society (on June 12).
Second visit to England as a Congress delegate to represent India's case in view of the impending British General Election.
Presided over National Congress at Banares.
- 1906 }
1908 } Third and fourth visits to England to agitate for the prospective reforms.
- 1907 Lecturing tour in Northern India.
- 1908 Gave evidence before the Decentralization Commission.
- 1910 Inauguration of the Ranade Industrial and Economic Institute.
- 1912 Visit to South Africa.
Appointed member of the Public Services Commission.
- 1912, 1913 }
and 1914 } Fifth, sixth and seventh visits to England in connection with the work of the Public Services Commission.
- 1913 Organized financial assistance for the Indian struggle in South Africa.
- 1914 Declined offer of K.C.I.E.
Attempted a Congress compromise.
- 1915, Feb. 19 Death at Poona.

Gokhale—Embodiment of Indian Culture and Tradition

(Continued from page 19)

today, it has all along been definitely a great fountain of inspiration and enlightenment, inducement and encouragement to thousands of young men and women. The first half of this century has indeed been unique

in human history. In these 50 years mankind has undergone incredible changes. It has conquered sound, distance and air. In the political sphere, it has seen the rise into independence and freedom of two great continents, Asia and Africa. For India these 50 years have been

glorious in every way, not only in our attainment but as a period in which the nation has given expression to the highest thoughts and conceptions and human aspirations. In this environment Gokhale was born and lived his comparatively short life, and made his mark. * * *

Gopal Krishna Gokhale Some Reminiscences

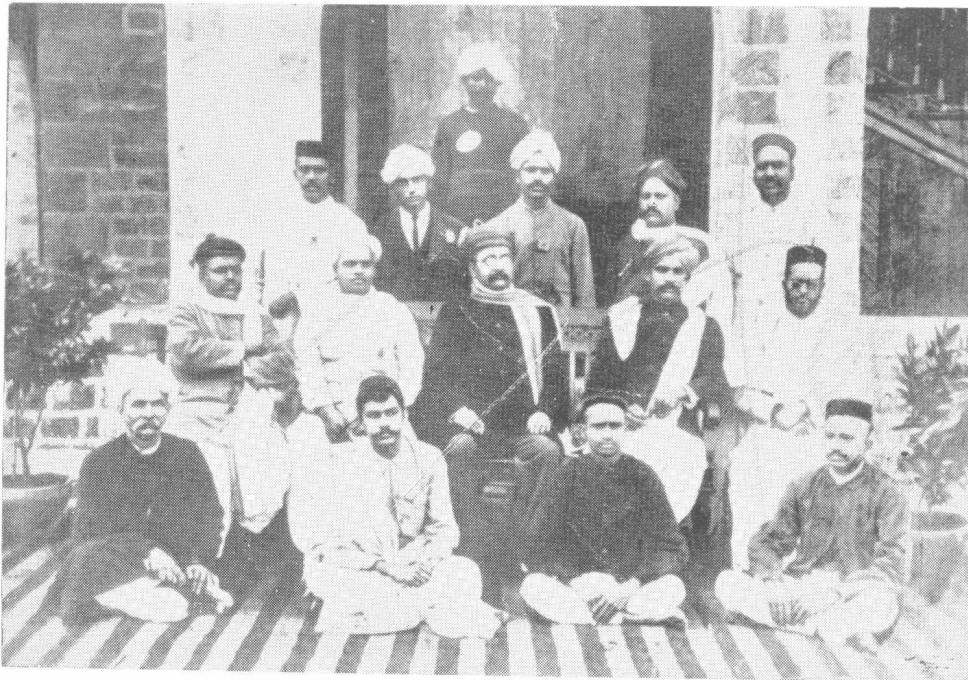
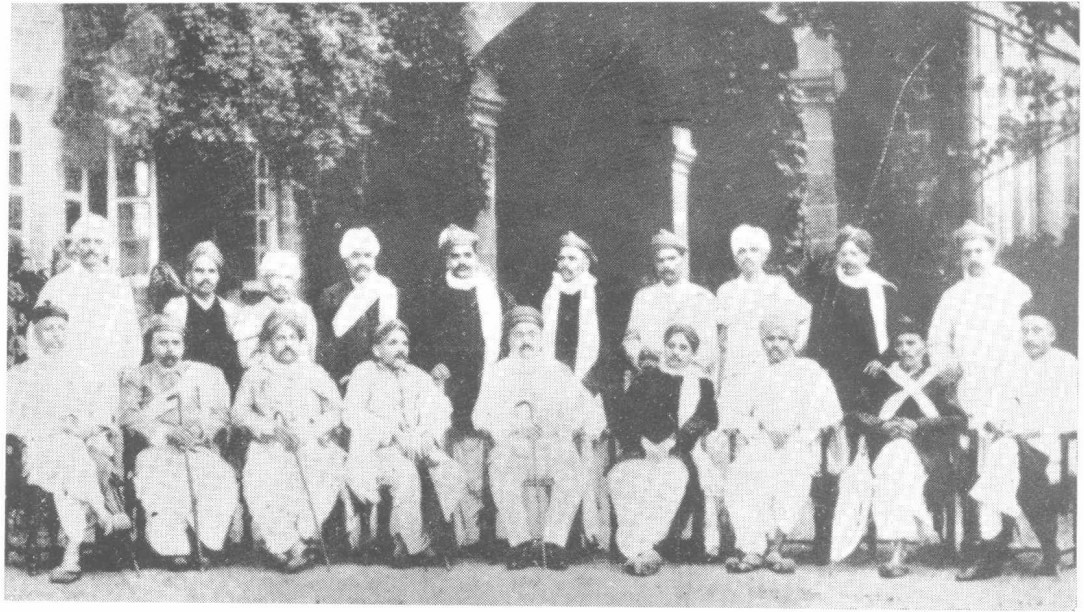
(Continued from page 40)

builders of the Indian Nation, Lokmanya was undoubtedly the greatest Indian and the greatest fighter for freedom of his times. He was one of the few most eminent builders of the Indian nation also. It was he who laid these strong foundations of India,

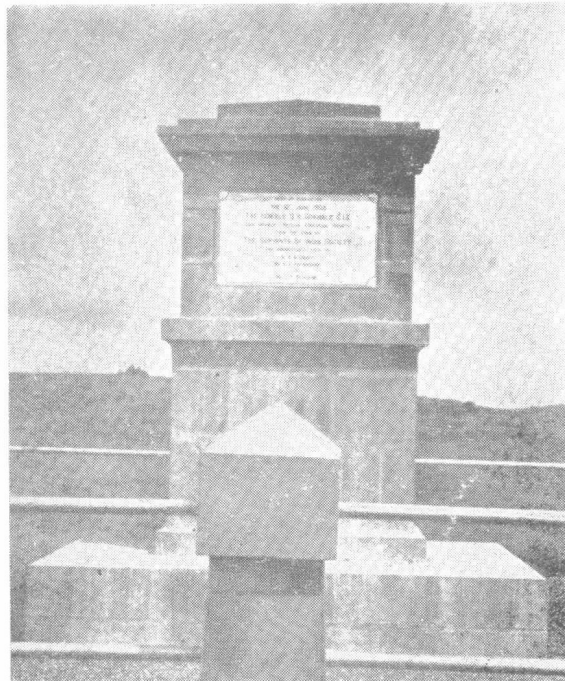
independence on which alone Mahatma Gandhi could later raise the citadel of Free India. I think nobody can describe the contrast between the characters of Lokmanya and Shri Gokhale in better words than those which Mahatma Gandhi

used for the purpose. He is recorded to have said : Lokmanya Tilak was like the vast ocean on the waves of which I dare not ride. I feel like lost in attempting it, while Shri Gokhale was like the Ganga in whose bosom I can easily swim. * * *

**With his Colleagues
in the Fergusson
College Gokhale is
seen seated in the
centre.**



**Gokhale with the members of
the Servants of India Society.
Seated in the Central row are
Shri Deodhar, Shri Srinivas
Shastri, Gokhale, Shri Dravid
and Shri Chaterji.**



The spot on Fergusson Hill, Poona, where Gokhale and his colleagues took pledge of service to people. This gave birth to the Servants of India Society. The place is a source of perpetual inspiration to present and future generations.