

PREFACE.

THIS sketch would perhaps have never been written but for the suggestion of an esteemed friend. The writer has approached the task in the spirit of sincere love and admiration for the personality which had continued to exercise great fascination over his mind since he began to read about the topics that were near to the heart of the great and good man that forms the subject of the sketch.

Telang's best work was accomplished in days that touch no living chord in the hearts of the men of the present generation. Our life has fallen on times more stirring, full of stress and storm, times in which there is "an agitated turmoil of confused passions, hesitating ideals, tentative virtues and groping philanthropies." We are on the eve of changes that were perhaps undreamt of then. Yet the present being but the ripening of the past, the knowledge of the past out of which we have grown is indispensable for proper guidance and steady action. That past has a double charm and comes laden with deeper instruction when it is unfolded round a

personality that played such a prominent part in it. The years between the seventies and nineties of the last century, however tame they may appear to us now, have a deeper significance for us as being the epoch of pioneer work. Those were the years when the foundation was laid of many an activity, the ripening of which is yet to come. In all these activities Telang played a very conspicuous part. The knowledge of his life, his ideals, his methods of work and his aspirations will not come amiss, nay, is bound to be immeasurably useful in an age when passion is apt to run riot and "enthusiasm is made to do duty for reasoned scrutiny."

The sketch can lay no pretensions to the name of a biography. It is but an humble *essai* on the part of the writer to understand the man and his times and to draw for himself a picture of the man as accurate and faithful as possible from the very scanty materials at his disposal. For this, he had mainly to depend on files of old newspapers. Such materials, however, as he could get were in themselves sufficient to reveal to him the workings of an essentially progressive and rational mind, such as would have been highly useful in guiding the helm of affairs in these critical times.

Large of heart and brain as he was, there was a sweet simplicity about Mr. Telang which, as his friends attest, endeared him to all alike. Should the writer succeed in awakening an interest in his readers for the man to whose memory he has offered this humble tribute, and in persuading them to turn to the study of his speeches and writings scattered in files of dusty newspapers and reports, he will consider himself amply rewarded. Should this work stimulate any reader to undertake a more comprehensive biography the writer will consider himself blessed. Because the life work of a man like Telang so rich both in the qualities of the head and the heart ought not to pass without a detailed description of all things pertaining to it. The memory of Telang and his like ought to be ever kept green. It is not a duty so much to him as it is to ourselves.

In conclusion the writer craves leave of Mr. G. A. Natesan to say that he cannot be sufficiently thankful to him for undertaking the publication of this sketch.

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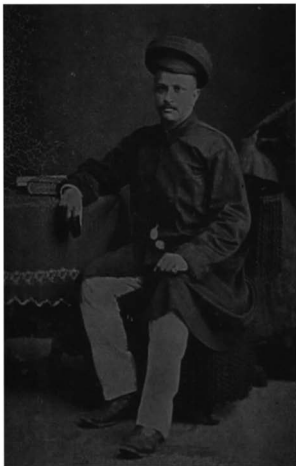
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K. T. TELANG.

KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG,

INTRODUCTORY.

In the long and chequered history of this ancient land, no influence perhaps has touched the life of the people to such large issues as the political domination of England with all the accompanying elements of its civilization—its literature, its philosophy, its administrative methods, and its practical bias.

Henceforth a position of splendid isolation became for India a thing of the past. It was pushed in the midst of the world-struggle for weal or woe. The contemplative East could no longer continue to live in detachment, absorbed in the ecstasies of the inner world; active enthusiasm of humanity joined to well disciplined liberty, the dominating characteristic of the West, must needs awaken a permanent and active response in the heart of the East.

Telang was born at a time of a great life of thought and activity.

“It was an age of splendour” says Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, “when humanity seemed to stand at the start of a quickened life, with the promise of a bright future for modern civilization. In politics, it was the age of the Reform Bill, of Free Trade, of the Abolition of Slavery, of statesmen of towering personalities like Palmerston, Peel, Gladstone, Disraeli, Cobden, Bright, Clarkson and Wilberforce. In social reform it was the

age of the Emancipation of Woman, of Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale. In literature, which for the period reflects its currents and character and the ideals of its people, it was the age of Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning, reflecting through them "the mighty hopes that make us men." The spirit was of humanity, of good tidings, of great joy for all, breathed by the times in nearly all departments of life and human activity. And its most remarkable feature was that the spirit found itself personified, as its central figure, in the homely life, the pure character and pious aspirations of the Queen who sat enthroned as the Goddess Victory, wielding England's power then broadening with the circle of the Sun. The professors, English, Scotch or Irish, who came to teach in our Colleges and share in the work of our Universities, were men, who more or less breathed this spirit of the times and sought to impart it to the young men brought within the sphere of their influence. These young men caught the ardour, the sentiment of humanity and of the brotherhood of the human race, man's growing power as Nature's conqueror and interpreter, and placed as they were in a society where—on account of the superstition of ages—all seemed dark, they felt that a light appeared to them in the very midst of the surrounding darkness."

Besides, the educated men of those times had one great advantage in their favour. There was then a demand for educated Indians exceeding the supply of Offices under Government; and in point of worldly prospects, the hard struggle of the world was not for them. They lived in an environment of hope realized, of help and encouragement given all round. But their aim was a life of fulness. For, that was the ideal of the times. With the stimulating examples of sturdy faith and outstanding character illustrated before their very eyes by men, whose names and memories are yet green among us—men like Wilson, Harkness Patton, Reid, Howard, Grant, Birdwood on this side of India—to name but a few out of a list that is large enough in its names—the first two or three generations of our men of higher education were men of liberal thought, a wide outlook on life and humane sentiment.

A full and rounded life as much for the individual as for the nation was the badge of the school of which Telang was, though the youngest, yet the most brilliant representative. His most intense longing as Sir Raymond West has pointed out was "for the progress of the Hindus towards perfection in knowledge, wisdom and purpose". The prominent members of the school that cherished this noble hope and worked nobly for its realization, in the last generation, are Dadabhoj Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Ranade and Telang. To the lovers of steady reform in all the spheres of national life, no names are dearer than these on this side of India. The last of the noble band though the youngest, was the first to depart from this world. Eight years later died Ranade. The first two, Providence has yet kindly spared to us. Dadabhoj bowed down by the weight of years, is resting from his plough, enjoying his well earned repose after a career of strenuous toil, single-hearted devotion and unparalleled self-sacrifice in the service of his country. Mehta, the robust optimist, the bold, sagacious and keen sighted statesman, his faith in liberalism undimmed by the wear and tear of time, is yet the fearless but wise champion of the people's rights. All of them hearken us back to the earlier decades of the latter half of the nineteenth century so eloquently described by Justice Chandavarker. The statesmen that were then sent to preside over the destiny of this country looked upon it as a solemn charge committed to their care, to be raised slowly but surely to a position of dignity and honour among the free nations of the world. Men like Canning and

Lawrence, Metcalfe, Munro and Elphinstone kept this aim steadily in view. The Proclamation of 1858 further sealed the noble tradition introduced by these wise administrators. In the field of political reform that document became henceforth the charter of the people's rights and liberties. It placed before the educated men of those times a goal to strive for. Certainly the times in which Telang and Ranade worked were not the times for defining ultimate political ideals. Indian political life was yet in its crude and incipient stage. The politics that men of the last generation discussed was parochial politics. Only on two occasions between the years 1850- 1885, did it assume a national aspect. The Vernacular Press Act in the reign of Lord Lytton and the Ilbert Bill in the reign of his successor, shook the country to its very depths and roused the educated Indians to act like one man. These questions added a momentum to our activities undreamt of before. From that time politics burst forth from its narrow bands and developed a unity of aim. Soon after, the Indian National Congress was formed. Men from different parts of the country could meet henceforward on a common platform. Ideals were defined and aspirations found a channel for expression and fulfilment. Newspapers began to discuss public questions in the light of a common policy. Methods of work underwent an organizing process. An Indian Nationality based on common ideals, common interests and common sympathies was conceived of as a possibility however remote.

- In the wake of the Congress came the Social Conference, an institution that was ridiculed, fought

shy of and its purpose travestied in its early days, but which is dominating the minds of the people even as the political problem is getting to be more acute, more fraught with serious issues, and more hard to grapple with, because more complex. The need for greater cohesion, greater unity, greater enlightenment, a stronger moral fibre, thrusts forward questions like mass education, social purity, social justice, ^{and} a freer scope for the development of personality which means freedom from the bondage of hide-bound traditions. The elevation of the Depressed Classes, the education and emancipation of women, the protection of the rights of the minority, the freedom of conscience—all these are becoming accepted lines of reform. The fight is now over the methods. Such questions have become firm-rooted in the conscience of the various communities constituting the people of India. The bonds of caste and creed are becoming more elastic and loosened under the pressure of the need for greater harmony and co-operation between the different social units that go to form the Indian nationality.

The new environment that has been thus created is as much the product of the silent but energetic efforts of the educated men of the last generation, as that of the pressure of outward circumstance. It is the harvest of the patient toil of these pioneers of Indian progress. We are now in the full glare of the noon. The vision that seemed enchanting to them in the mist of the grey dawn has faded into the light of common day. They worked in the face of that vision. We, their successors, have to

press forward without it. But the lines of work are well chalked out, the path is clearer, because of the laborious thought bestowed by them. The work of the genius is accomplished. It is the man of action that is now required. Character is the sore need of the times joined of course to wisdom, sobriety and right direction.

The four men named above had much uphill-work to do in their own times. They had to work in the midst of the darkness, apathy and ignorance of their own countrymen. In the field of politics they had to do their best not to thwart progress by raising unwarranted suspicion. In the work of re-generation to which they set themselves, active sympathy and co-operation was, to start with, slow in coming. When they urged their views upon the officials, they were asked to set their own house in order before advising Englishmen on their duties. They were told that being a microscopic minority their representations could not be considered as those of the general mass of people composing the country.

If they turned to their countrymen, appealing to modify their own ways of life to suit modern conditions, they were reproached as "bastard bantlings of Western civilization", desecrating old and venerable institutions by their unwise criticism. Both the officials and the reactionists joined hands in regarding their respective institutions as sacrosanct. Thus these men were between two fires.

Some of the schools devoted themselves to politics. Others would, first turn the search-light

inwards to free reason from the bondage of superstition and social usage. Midway between these stood Telang and Ranade as apostles of reform all along the line. We are not here concerned with demagogues who made this or that reform a party-cry, ranging themselves into opposite camps with a wide gulf of prejudice yawning between them. With the school typified in the person of Dadabhoy, Mehta, Telang and Ranade there was no spirit of exclusiveness. They had "preferences but no exclusion." They were not politicians to the exclusion of social reform, nor again, were they social reformers who leave politics severely alone. Such onesided personalities cannot be ranged under their banner.

The greatness of these men lay in the zeal with which they worked to educate other men into the faith which had first dawned upon their minds as the result of Western education. They had studied the history, philosophy and literature of the West under noble masters who gave them a true and sympathetic insight into the working of Western institutions. The study of Aristotle, Plato, Mill, Spøncer, Macaulay and Burke had given them a firm grasp of political principles. The study of these authors had also saved them from the danger of making rash experiments where the question was of rebuilding a decaying or decadent social fabric. The history of nations like Germany and Italy, England and America, afforded them a true light in which to view their own prevailing conditions. By the light thus vouchsafed, they penetrated into the causes of their own degeneration and fall. It also suggested to them certain

remedies for shaking off the wasting malady preying upon the vitals of their country. They strove hard to bring together the scattered elements of national life. They dug the furrows into which the seed of new ideas could be fruitfully sown. They had to work in the subsoil of national life. They began from the beginning. They planted the seed of corporate activity. They laboured hard to show what was really praiseworthy in the old. They worked not for revival but for progressive adaptation. The work of the pioneers is often thankless and wearisome. The masses cannot appreciate it. The fruit could not be immediately gathered. Disappointments, misunderstanding, impatience on the part of the followers, blame from the multitude, hostility of the men in power, indifference, heedlessness, a surly attitude if not actual persecution—all these have to be borne, with the gaze firm fixed on the future. This is the price the leaders have to pay for seeing ahead of their times. They have to draw inspiration "by painting the golden morrow on the midnight sky of sorrow." To enter the promised land is a happier destiny. But to toil on from day to day at the process of renovation is sublime. The task of hastening slowly is more arduous. It demands a balanced mind and a steady hand. It requires circumspection, a historic sense, a due measure of the needs of the times, and of the limitations of the environment. It implies tact, sobriety, wisdom and farsightedness. It is the possession of qualities such as these that entitles man to true leadership. Such leaders alone are capable of laying the solid foundation of

true nationality. Leaders like Dadabhoj, Mehta, Telang and Ranade in the earlier generation may not make noise or win popularity but theirs is the glory of the silent oak.

Whatever of stir and activity we find in our midst today is the direct product of their pervasive influence. If they had been born in a country where the preliminaries of national life were all made up, they would have reaped a richer harvest. They would have shaped august decrees or written monumental works. Their names would have shone resplendent in the annals of the civilized world. But finding themselves in the midst of a fallen nation, all their energies had to be concentrated on the work of setting up the back of that nation. Their fame is less, their names may pass into oblivion, but their souls have passed into that of their nation, which, if it ever becomes conscious of its high destiny and attains it, will do so because of them. The flame may be extinguished but its radiance has contributed in no small degree to the illumination that is to come. Theirs was a glorious mission—a mission of revivification. These pioneers of new India, with all their shortcomings, worked in all sincerity, love and enthusiasm for the realization of their own dream. If we can work better to-day, if the future reveals itself clearer to us, let us not forget that we are rising on their shoulders. They cleared up the mist and ushered in the dawn. They were a noble band and of that noble band Telang was the youngest and the most brilliant representative.

BIRTH : EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION.

Telang was born on August 30th, 1850. He belonged to a middle-class Hindu family. His family was one of the twelve Saraswat families that had left their native home in Goa early in the last century, to seek their fortune, in the busy and commercially growing city of Bombay. His father and mother were quite uneducated as we understand education now. But they were characterized by mother wit, were pious and frugal, with noble traditions of respectability and steady virtue behind them. His mother was gentle and amiable. These traits of a sweet and amiable disposition, Telang shared in no small degree.

Generally speaking it is not possible to trace far back the pedigree of any Hindu family. Its origin gets lost in obscurity even like the lineaments of the Rishi to which it traces its Gôtra. There are no established family traditions. If new traditions are formed, the women of the family being generally ignorant, the children do not catch their spirit which is best imbibed at the mother's knee. The personality of the mother in an average Hindu home is merged in that of her husband. Being herself ignorant she cannot educate her children. Thus we grow up ignorant of our past both individually, and as units of a nation. Generation after generation grows up in this fashion. The pride of the family or the country as such is never engendered in us at that period of life, when the mind is most plastic and the heart tender and susceptible to deep impressions. The awakening comes later. Home education, as long as the mother continues to be ignorant, is bound to

remain a thing only to sigh for. We read of the mothers of Macaulay, Dufferin, Washington and Napoleon. What a powerful factor they formed in shaping the life and character of their sons? Can we say as much of our great men? Do we know as much of their mothers? As Sir Raymond West remarks, "of Telang's mother one knows little, the feeling of the Hindus as that of the Greeks being that a matron's best renown is to be little spoken of."

It was early in life that Telang was sent to school to learn his vernacular. Even at that early age he seems to have been very studious. Not that he was weak or of solitary temperament as we find many boys to be who take to their books eagerly in childhood. He was serious because he was precocious. Otherwise he had his full share of joviality and animal spirits. Precocity of talent is what marks him from others. He finished his vernacular studies in due course winning prizes from the Deputy Educational Inspector, Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, with whom in later life he was destined to rub shoulders on a common platform. He was sent to learn English at the Elphinstone School at the tender age of nine. The headmaster of the school was one W. H. Smith and below him was the late Ardesir Framjee Moos. In the school it was not enough for him to learn his daily lessons. He supplemented them by additional reading to be able to give satisfactory answers to his teachers on all the general questions that arose out of the lessons prescribed. That method of study once acquired remained

with him through life and he was never unprepared for anything. He was never hardpressed for time at the time of the examination. It is said that frequently he was found playing chess on the verandah of a neighbour's house even on days immediately preceding the examination. In the Middle School he won a prize in English in 1861 and he was selected on the occasion of the prize distribution to recite the poem on the death of Sir John Moore. He won another prize in 1862. It was at this time that his attention was drawn towards Marathi poetry, and to be able to appreciate its spirit he began the study of Sanskrit under a Shastri. His fellow student was the famous linguist and the first Indian Civilian, Shripad Babaji Thakore. He was now promoted to the Matriculation class where his fellow students were Jamsetji Ardesir Dalal, Gajanan Krishna Bhatavdekar, Rao Shaeb Tullio, Thakore, and Nadkarni. All of them rose to distinction in their respective walks of life. While we are narrating Mr. Telang's school career, we think we ought to find space for what Mr. J. A. Dalal has to tell us about the way they carried on their general reading. Mr. Dalal says :—

Mr. Telang's reading was not confined to the prescribed books but was wide-spread even from the school days. In the school we used to purchase books of all sorts from a Boree who daily came with a pack of books and took his station at the foot of the main staircase. The plan was to purchase a book,—a novel, a poem or a biography,—for eight or ten annas down and to get the book changed for another on payment of one anna.

In his secondary course Mr. Telang proved himself an apt pupil, with a special bias for lan-

guages. His tutors marked him out as a promising lad, took special care to cultivate his tastes, not however at the sacrifice of subjects absolutely needed for the University Examination. The late N. M. Parmanand who was his teacher in the school and who became afterwards his trusted friend and a revered and sage guide in all public matters, guided him in getting up his Mathematics thus making his path smooth for success at the University. Under the able guidance of Parmanand, his proficiency in Mathematics was so marked that he secured a prize in that subject and in English in 1863. He passed the Matriculation in 1864 with Sanskrit for his second language. At this time he got from his principal as a prize MaxMuller's History of Sanskrit Literature. It was also during this period that he became an ardent student of Marathi poetry, the love for which he retained through life. Mr. Telang was known in after life to be a brilliant conversationalist. He would quote often from his favourite English poets. This trait of his manifested itself also at this time in connection with Marathi poetry, the choicest couplets of which he would quote on occasions to the delight of his friends and teachers. Mr. Telang passed his Matriculation at the age of fourteen. While at college he showed the same diligence and passion for general reading that marked him out at school. He won the Junior scholarship in 1865 and senior scholarship in April 1866 passed his F.A. in December, won another scholarship in 1867, secured the Raja of Dhar Prize and Ganpatrao Vithal prize in English.

At seventeen, he took his B.A., degree, at nineteen, he passed the M. A. examination in languages. Six months later he obtained the Bhagwandass scholarship in Sanskrit which then meant a separate and a severer test than at present. The same year he passed his LL.B., examination. Three years later he passed the Advocate's examination. Thus at twenty two he qualified himself for the legal profession. From seventeen to twentytwo he was a fellow at his college. It was during this period that he formed the habit of strenuous application and laid the foundation of that accurate, deep and extensive knowledge which made him the versatile scholar that he was known to be.

At college Telang and his fellow students used to hold weekly meetings where lectures were delivered and debates took place. Another meeting was usually held every Sunday evening in the school of Nana Shankar Sett at which Telang used to preside. Several educated men in Bombay attended these meetings of the students and took part in the debate. Even at that early age Telang used to expound the topic under consideration and sum up the discussion on it with an eloquence that called to the mind, it is said, the gentle and deep flow of a full fed river. He put forth his views in a subdued tone with a sweet reasonableness that was catching. The practice of speaking at these debates contributed in no small degree to nurse the wings of the future orator. His favourite subjects at college were logic, ethics and literature. In Sanskrit he was soon to make his mark as an erudite scholar. Jamsetjee Ardesir Dalal and Ambalal Sakarlal

Desai have given to us in their anniversary addresses on Telang pen-portraits of the college life of those days from which a few facts may be gleaned here. First of all the classes were very small in number so that the professors could bring themselves into personal and close contact with students, judge of their aptitudes, mould their habits and tastes, shape their character and watch and tend their intellectual and moral growth from day to day. As regards the feeling animating the students of those times, Mr. Dalal writes as follows :—

We were like members of a small family, inspired with a joint-family desire of working for the good of the compact body, which cannot be the case when the numbers are over-flowing.

Self-help was again much more in evidence then, owing to the absence of annotated editions. Mr. Dalal says.

We were left to our own personal efforts and resources. Only with the help of the dictionaries, we had to cudgel our brains and make our way forward. That begot and strengthened the habit of self-reliance and honest original work.

As an influence of personal example, hear what Mr. Dalal says about the Principal of the College, Mr. Chatfield.

He was the first who impressed you with what a great professor from Oxford could be like. He would call us even on holidays and lecture to us for hours at a stretch, while we filled our note-books after note-books chiefly on Bacon and the Greek philosophers. After carefully observing him, we learnt that simplicity in dress, modesty in conduct and contempt of wordliness were the necessary concomitants of a really educated man. Merely by his lectures and example, he moulded

our methods of study, our characters and our morals. He infused in us a zeal for hard work and assiduous reading for which we must be grateful to him.

Telang's failure to secure the 1st class at the B. A. is accounted for by Mr. Dalal in the following manner.

Instead of Mathematics, Telang took up History, Political Economy and Logic with a classical language. History was considered so hard in those days, that all avoided it, who could. In his subjects he stood first. The subject was considered difficult because no text books were proscribed or recommended and long periods had to be brought up for the examination.

Both Dalal and Desai are unanimous in pronouncing Mr. Telang's college career to be uniformly smooth and brilliant. They assert that the professors had a high opinion of his ability, intelligence, industry and good conduct.

Those qualities of the head and heart which in due course ripened into the sterling worth, which raised Mr. Telang to the proud position of one of the leaders of thought and action on this side of India, showed their early beginnings in the college days.

Mr. Ambalal S. Desai says about the impression that Telang made upon him in his College days as follows :—

His highly intelligent face arrested the attention of all students who met in the spacious corridors of that picturesque bungalow on the Gowalia Tank which was then occupied by the Ephlinstone College.

During the five years that they were thrown together Mr. Desai noticed in him the following remarkable characteristics.

1. His great industry

While some of us chatted away our time, during the intervals of our lectures, he was generally reading some

English classic, some work of fiction, a drama or a novel. By thus utilizing his spare moments, he had during the first two years of our course, read almost all the novels of Scott, Lytton, Dickens and Thackeray and all the plays of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. With all this he was never behind the class in any subject.

Not that he had not his hours of enjoyment. During the interval between the examination and the result, the students whiled away their anxious hours by playing at chess or cards in Mr. Ambalal's room.

Mr. Telang's industry says Mr. Desai, was not of the plodding kind like that of Shankar Pandurang Pandit, nor was it obtrusive. His application was often relieved by high humorous talk, by jovial remarks and jokes that relieved the tension of the mind. His manner was marked by frequent pleasantry. He was never grave or morose, never cold, distant or peevish. Yet he could easily turn from the light to the grave. It cost him no effort. The transition was quick and natural to him. The expression of the face changed. It became thoughtful.

2. Next to his industry, Mr. Desai notices his singular powers of concentration and detachment,

He never complained of any interruption or disturbance or never murmured that he lost the thread of his subject. After the diversion of a game of cards or chess, it did not cost him any effort to collect his ideas. This concentration was aided by a placid and cheerful temper, that was seldom ruffled.

3. Clear and quick power of comprehension was also among his great natural endowments.

There was no subject which he did not clearly and easily understand. Although he did not take kindly to Mathematics, he could easily master the large quantum of Mathematics that was compulsory. With those

horrible diagrams in Draw's geometrical conics, he was as familiar as the best of us.

4. His strong and retentive memory is yet another trait noticed by Mr. Desai. Mr. Desai tells us of an occasion when they had to recite 40 to 50 verses from a text book of poetry.

Telang and others who relied on their memory, generally managed to prepare the task by the time ten or fifteen others had been up to the process. One day Professor Hughlings sent for Mr. Telang at the very beginning and severely rebuked him for his negligence and asked him to get up the task. Mr. Shripad Babaji Thakore got up the work in 7 minutes, Mr. Telang in 15 minutes and the rest afterwards.

Among the moral traits of Mr. Telang which Mr. Ambalal Desai notices is his freedom from vulgarity and meanness. "There was no levity of manner or spirit about him though he indulged in jokes and pleasantry." He was also, he tells us, free from vanity and self-conceit. He had even then a singular command of graceful English style. His college essays were often praised by the professors. But this never turned his head.

Another characteristic was his natural tact. He had "the knack of hitting off the frailties of others in a pleasant way which always pleased and never offended". He was ever a true friend helping every one who approached him. In matters of English literature he was a useful referee. He was always frank and had a warm sympathetic heart. Mr. Ambalal says "Even after we had separated, he bore a true regard for most of us and rendered us substantial assistance without letting us know that he had done so." In dress and manners he was exceedingly simple. "Simplicity

was the pervading tone in those days and to this Mr. Telang was no exception". One drawback Mr. Desai notices in those days as contrasted with these,

We had no games in those days but there was a gymnasium attached to the college with a Parsee gymnastic teacher. The attendance at the gymnasium was not compulsory and though some of us availed ourselves of it, Mr. Telang's attitude was one of indifference, if not positive aversion.

CHARACTERISTICS.

We have brought down the narrative of Mr. Telang's life to the end of his college career. We have quoted amply from the addresses of two of his contemporaries. Before we pass on to his professional career, it would not be amiss to dwell for a short space on some of his remarkable characteristics.

Foremost among them were self-directiveness and self-reliance. The paramount impulse to learning came in his case entirely from within. There was nothing in Telang's immediate surroundings calculated at an early age to create an atmosphere of high thoughts impelling to lofty endeavour. There were no traditions of learning established in the family. It was instinct and nature that supplied the moral motive power. English education was then a valuable passport to material prosperity and to a position of eminence, and perhaps ambition, "that last infirmity of noble minds" had its share in reinforcing the proclivities of the precocious youth. His again was a surer aim. To the ideal that he formed early in life, he stuck with a tenacity, strenuousness and

self-possession remarkable for his age. There was nothing of drift about his doings. The goal to be attained was deliberately fixed and all his energy was bent upon accomplishing it. He was elected for the profession of an Advocate and he stuck to his resolution inspite of an offer of the Headmastership of a High School on a salary of Rs. 300, made to him by Mr. Peile the then Director of Public Instruction. Mr. Peile in pressing the offer said that any graduate at Oxford would willingly accept in England, the salary of Rs. 300 to start with. Mr. Telang refused. He wanted to follow in the footsteps of Ranade and Bal Mangesh Wagle who had preceded him at the Bar. Mr Jamsetji A. Dalal remarks on this :—"Perhaps there was *afflatus divinus* within him of his future career as an advocate, orator and leader of men." The same "deliberate purpose and timely preparation" characterized Mr. Telang's action throughout life.

Early in life, again, he had resolved to throw himself whole-heartedly in the public life of his country. In his own community, he had the example of Dr. Bhau Daji. We have carefully to note in this connection his leanings in the college.

Mr. Telang, says Mr. Dalal, regularly passed his leisure hours in our small reading room. In 1866-67 stirring speeches were made in the House of Commons by Gladstone, and Telang used to read them carefully. Professor Candy was also a constant reader there and when he was in the mood for it, would listen to our request to read the speeches loudly. He had a good delivery and Telang must have unconsciously

learned some turns of elocution from our worthy Professor of Mathematics."

With the same singleness of aim, he set himself to acquire precision of thought and expression.

In those days educated men being few and far between, could be easily picked out. Friendships were formed and common ideals evolved naturally out of the exchange of ideas. Mutual action and reaction kept them steady in the routine of public life. The University men formed a band inspired by common aims, a luminous centre attracting all of common sympathy, because sympathy could not be expected in the encircling darkness. Men like Dadabhoy Nowroji, Nowroji Furdoonji, Sorobji Shapurjee Bengali, Dr. Bhao Dajee, Sir Manguldass Nathubhoy had already chalked out a path for others to follow and young aspirants readily followed. The struggle of life was not so keen; problems had not become so complex; paths had not diverged; the future was not overcast with a leaden hue. There was the zest of youth in the indulgence of its own energetic life. The men of those times saw glorious prospects, but they did not discern the fatal barriers that closed the approach. A youth of brilliant parts like Mr. Telang readily fell into the way of his predecessors and soon attained a conspicuous position. With the self-knowledge that he possessed, he set himself unflinchingly to the task of equipping himself for the responsibility that he was determined to take upon himself.

Mr. Telang applied himself to the training of his mind with all the zest and pertinacity of a young enthusiast. He was always thorough and

painstaking. It was a rule with him never to commit himself to a question before he had bestowed laborious thought upon, and matured his views about, it. Discipline of the mind was what he prized most. He trained his mind as a machine for sifting facts and grasping truths, by a well planned course of study undertaken immediately after his graduation. He passed his B. A. at the age of seventeen. While he was reading for his M.A. degree, he studied for a few months, Geometry and Trigonometry once again, to steady his mind and acquire the habit of concentration. He next took up "Chillingworth's Religion of the Protestants" for study, carefully reproducing in his own language the argument of the book and analysing its thought. The next work to be taken up for perusal was Plato's Dialogues in Jowett's translation. He then turned to Strausse's "Criticism of the Bible" and studied it with the same laborious process of summarizing and analysis. He next took up the study of the Bhagwatgita and in order to catch its spirit, he translated it into English verse. This effort at translation, strengthened his mastery of English style. From the Bhagwadgita he turned to Shankar Bhashya which he studied very critically. The study of Shankar Bhashya unsettled his faith in forms and dogma and gave a rationalistic bent to his mind. All this he accomplished before he passed his M. A. during the course of two years. The course of study he followed trained his mind in habits of analytic thought. It trained and sharpened his critical faculty and imparted acuteness and vigour to his intellect. It taught him how to weigh evidence and

detect the flaws and irrelevancies in an opponent's argument. It gave him the power of sifting truth from conflicting ideas.

After his M. A. examination he pursued the work of intellectual culture still more strenuously. He took up the study of Mill's writing, especially his *Logic* and *Political Economy*. He did not skip them over but studied them with close attention, with all the thoroughness and patience of a real student, in order to assimilate their contents and be penetrated with the spirit of their teaching. From Mill, to Huxley, Tyndall and Herbert Spencer was a natural step. These were the four masters to whom he went to school in the formative years of his life. Herbert Spencer influenced him greatly and to the last days of his life he was a passionate student of his writings. In addition to these, he was a close student of every new book in English literature that was sent out. He read Browning's *Ring and the Book* thrice to take in its full meaning. He read Matthew Arnold's *Poetry and Essays in Criticism*. The latter he read and re-read as models of style.

Telang's chaste and simple English, his knack of argument, the clearness with which he put his points, both in his speeches and writings, and the absence of rhetorical flourishes in them, were mostly due to the influence which a close study of Mill exercised on his mind.

As a student, Telang's work was both intensive and extensive. It broadened his vision, strengthened his hold on general principles and freed him from the narrowness and cramped outlook of a specialist. It expanded his mind, filled him with

the lofty ambition of turning knowledge into power for good. He moved into the ampler air, that braced him. Academic honours may have been missed. But a first rate intellect fed on literature and philosophy, ensured him a career of public usefulness and splendid literary work, such as was denied to those who merely worked within the ring fence of prescribed text-books. Telang understood University Education in the true significance of the term and therefore when the opportunity for work came, he was not found wanting. The habit of strenuous toil, the moral and social discipline, the vision of something to work for and attain—that was what Telang achieved during the interval of five years between his graduation and his entrance into the profession of law. He felt confident of success, because he had taken pains to know wherein his strength lay and had developed himself accordingly. Humility and reverence grew in him with the growth of years because having delved deep in the mine of knowledge, he knew how inexhaustible its treasures were. That took off all self-conceit.

“Whether in quietude or movement, he was always a man with a purpose, never the loiterer or loungeur, never apathetic, never a sufferer from that worst malady of the human soul—cheerlessness and cold.” Telang possessed what Morley has called “innate moral health.” With such a preparation he entered the arena of life and laurels fell to his share as much in his profession as in public life. Nature had endowed him with splendid gifts and Telang proved true to them by turning them to beneficent use. As

a student again Telang moved in the company of men like Dr. Bhandarkar and Ranade. He thus caught their sobriety of tone and their high and lofty sense of life. Life came to be with him a high and noble calling and not something to shuffle through.

Moral purity was imbibed in the healthy and strict regimen of his orthodox Hindu home. Telang was a serious minded youth. There was a strain of healthy conservatism in his temperament. Defiance of authority he knew not. He was tender-hearted and sensitive, full of the milk of human kindness. Obedience and reverence were his first law. What his parents and elders told him to do, he meekly did. He could not persuade himself to revolt against their decrees. Imbibing the pure atmosphere of the home, he remained "spotless pure" throughout his life. From these softer traits in his character emerged some defects as a public man. Here we are only concerned with the mental and moral traits that made him the man he became. There was, to adapt the words of Justice Ranade to the context, in Telang, rather the making of a rose that would blossom forth in all its fragrance and beauty—fill the air with its sweet scent than that of a giant oak that withstands the shock of storm and lightning.

If we turn our attention to the early essays of Mr. Telang written between the age of 20 & 30 such as the essay, "Was the Ramayana copied from Homer" or the 'Date of Shankaracharya' or the reply to Dr. Lorringer, 'Was the Gita copied from the Bible'? we shall find that they are antiquarian and polemical. They evince pre-eminently

the analytical and critical faculty rather than the synthetical and constructive. The manner of detecting flaws in an opponent's argument, the skillful marshalling of his own evidence, a keen eye for detecting the relevancy or irrelevancy of a certain statement with respect to the question under discussion, added to the luminous exposition of his own theory—all these elements of dialectics are clearly evident in them. The style of these essays is clear, logical and lucid, without rhetoric, appeal or colour. It is suppressed and more often understates. The qualities that distinguish it are mainly forensic. Occasionally, the pages are interspersed with a happy quotation from literature or philosophy, introduced not as a flower but to clinch the argument, and to make the whole more luminous. The motive in all these essays is truth, and truth Telang "searched with sighs." Hence soberness, wisdom, sweet reasonableness, "the pale flame of strenuous self-possession" rather than heights or depths. There is incisiveness in the style but neither bombast nor sting, nor satire. There is an amount of self-restraint which grew with years and gave to his subsequent writings a dignity, a poise, a tone of wisdom and calm judgment.

Mr. Telang's style is rarely animated. It never exhorts. It has more of light than heat or motion. There may not be found in Telang's writings passages in a lofty key like those that can be culled from the writings of Ranade, when the old man warmed up and in tones of half-admonition and half-appeal delivered truths that rose to the height of visions. Ranade felt truths

intuitively and poured forth from the fulness of his head and heart. Often, his were the calm tones of a sage, knowing all, suffering all and striving to infuse hope and courage into the failing heart of a waverer. "His was a stately style, which had little of Anglo-Saxon English, but it arrested attention by his bold and brilliant generalizations and his vigorous historical imagination." Telang's forte lay elsewhere. Telang's intellect was logical. It was less synthetical or architectonic. This is not to say that it was not constructive. But his manner of handling a subject was to turn it round and round in all its bearings, to anticipate all possible objections, and examine the case for the opponent and then to develop his own thesis along side of the refutation of his adversary's arguments. There is an art of examination in all his writings. Whether we read his replies to the note of Mr. Malabari, or his letters on the Age of Consent controversy or his minute on education, it is in the very act of answering the objections that he develops his own stand-point. It is an essentially Socratic method. And it was strenuously cultivated from early manhood. It is one of the mental traits evident in youth. It was to be a powerful weapon in his hands in later years, a weapon never used, be it understood, for unfair triumph, but exclusively in the service of what he thought and felt to be true, proper and wise. This mental habit stood him in good stead at the bar and with a fund of ever increasing knowledge at the back, it threw his talents into greater and greater relief and ensured him the respectful hearing of the Court. Telang had fully realized that that man alone can

play aright the noble role of a teacher who had himself trodden long and reverently the path of true discipleship. In fact the two were never divorced in his case from each other. Like a true teacher that he became, he always continued learning. He taught efficiently because he always kept an open mind ready to assimilate new ideas and welcome new light. He had firmly grasped the truth that it is ideas that rule the world. Large views, balance, equipoise, lofty ideas alone enable a man to effect a synthesis between the old and the new. The spread of correct views was especially necessary in the transition stage of society. Public opinion, he felt was a balance of many forces, and every force must come into play that that opinion may be rational, enlightened and progressive. To build up such an opinion was the task to which he set himself. He poured all his mind, energy and heart into that one aim. Learning, scholarship, leadership, the spiritual graces of character—all these were directed to that end. That is his glory, that is his claim on posterity. Ours shall be the shame if we do not utilize the treasures of noble thought and wise conduct that he has left behind and do not exert ourselves to see that his principles triumph both in our own lives and through us in the life of the nation. They alone will lead us to moral strength and political efficiency and through them to material prosperity and national greatness. They are grounded in the immortal truth of the poet, namely, that "Self knowledge, self reverence and self control alone lead to sovereign power," be it an individual or society.

This master key, Telang sought to possess during the formative years of his life and no wonder that his future career shed such a lustre on his life and enhanced the reputation and prestige of his country abroad.

PROFESSION.

We have brought down the narrative of Mr. Telang's life up to the end of his student career. We saw what mental and moral habits became ingrained in him partly as the result of the severe discipline to which he subjected himself, and partly as the result of the healthy atmosphere in the home and at college, breathing as it did the spirit of lofty endeavour and reverence for truth. Let us now turn to his life, in his profession as a lawyer and a judge. Though it is as a public man, a citizen, a sober and sagacious patriot, a worker in the field of reform—be it political, social or educational—a philosopher seeking to impart a true tone and liberal ideas to all our movements, a statesman successful in coping with opposing tendencies and guiding the stream of public opinion into proper channels that Telang is entitled to our gratitude, yet as our task is that of sketching a life story, this aspect of Mr. Telang's life cannot be altogether ignored.

The profession of law was not then so overcrowded as it is now. Mr. Telang belonged to the second generation of graduates turned out by the University. Men of far inferior calibre who took to that profession then had made their piles. Imagine then what a golden harvest was ready for the reaping to one who had far better qualifications

in point of special study and a wider field in which to exercise his professional talents than is open to ordinary L. L.Bs.,—not to speak of his transcendent gifts, and the strenuous discipline by which he had drilled them for use. At the same time another fact ought not to be ignored. Mr. Telang compared with his European rivals was only an inexperienced youth. Men like Mr. Latham, Sir Andrew Scoble, Seargent Atkinson and others then monopolized the practice at the Bar. The European element had a greater preponderance then than at present and was also more ably represented. The only Indian Advocates that had preceded him were Bal Mangesh Wagle and Ranade. Wagle was the only practising Hindu Advocate. Ranade had taken up a Government post. Mehta and Tyabji were struggling forward in the profession like himself. In the seventies of the last century Native solicitors also were few and far between. For a struggling young Indian to make his mark in rivalry with a formidable array of experienced European barristers, it was even then an uphill work, howsoever intelligent he may have been.

In six months' time, it became plain to all that Telang was marked for success. As Sir Raymond West puts it, in virtue of that sympathetic faculty which Telang possessed in quite an unusual degree, he almost at once acquired the "English tone of the bar and moved morally and dialectically on a platform absolutely the same as that of his learned friends" from Europe. His politeness, his courtsey, his capacity to take pains, his attractive delivery, his power of close reasoning

and above all his humility won for him the heart of his colleagues. Sir Raymond West remarks that there was at times an over-subtlety in his argumentation. At times he was wrong or far less cautious in choosing his major premises, but it was all fair play and whenever Telang insisted upon any point, there was sure to be some solid reason at the back of it. He would argue tenaciously and reply with good humour to all the contentions raised by the court but he never heckled. Whenever he saw that his contention stood on a weak basis, he gave over. Hence the Judges always gave him a respectful hearing, considering that they were safe in his hands. There was no attempt to mislead the court.

Mr. Telang had not "the brusque overpowering readiness" of the master of debate and hence cross examination was not his strong point. But in the marshalling of facts, in the clear statement of relevant issues, in the interpretation of texts and in logically arguing from them to the conclusion he was equal to any other competent rival. "He presented his case with an engaging candour which won the confidence of the Bench". Mr. Telang had in him all the qualities of a jurist. His arguments soon drew the attention of the Court upon him and judges began to compliment him openly from the Bench. Sir Michael Westropp, the then Chief Justice, more than once referred to him in terms of marked approbation both in the open court and in his judgments. This naturally caught the attention of the public. His assiduity, his passion for excellence, his sense of duty, kept him steadily on the level which he

had attained by his brilliance. Many a man is apt to dwindle down or be intoxicated with the fumes of his own praise. But Telang knew more than anyone else, that it is even harder to keep to the height once attained than to attain to it. Vanity was never one of his weaknesses. He was self-respecting but never haughty. Triumph did not turn his head. Eminence was never a giddy height to him. He fixed his gaze ever higher. What was yet to be reached, loomed larger before his eyes. Success at an age when people have to serve a long apprenticeship in obscure toil and under severe drawbacks, did not spoil him. The more fortune smiled upon him, the more keenly was he awakened to his own responsibility. Thus at the age of 39 he attained that far shining eminence that was a marvel to all. At that age when judgeship was offered to him, he accepted it because he thought it would afford him rest and seclusion to carry on his literary pursuits. From the money point of view it was a distinct loss to him. But we are anticipating. As has been remarked, Telang kept on steadily rising in the profession. It was however his argument in the famous Man-kuvarbai case in 1876 that brought him into prominent notice. The Chief Justice was so much fascinated by it, that it was for a long time a favourite topic of conversation with him. From that time, his rise was doubly assured and the road to professional eminence became perfectly smooth. It was a case of Hindu law and the spirit of modernization which characterized his later attitude towards it, that became first evident in that case.

Though Mr. Telang's knowledge in all branches of law was thorough going and deep, in Hindu law he towered head and shoulders above others. His Sanskrit scholarship helped him there immensely. He knew the genius of Hindu law as no one else knew it in his time except perhaps Mr. Mandlik. He was also deep read in the literature and philosophy of the Hindoos and knew well their ancient history from first hand sources. His critical acumen was of the finest. Hence he interpreted the text of the Mitakshara and the Mayukha in their proper spirit. Sir Raymond West says, "It was refreshing sometimes to hear him arguing for modernization, while on the other side an English Advocate, to whom the whole Hindu system must have seemed more or less grotesque, contended for the most rigorous construction of some antique rule." Mr. Telang's sympathies were broad and cultured. They were enlisted on the side of progress. He knew as being one of themselves what hardships some of the Hindu customs inflicted upon the followers of the Hindu Dharma Shastra. "He felt very strongly that in Hindu law, as elsewhere, life implies growth and adaptation." He argued that if custom had fixed the Hindu law, custom may as well ameliorate it. He had sanction for such a modification in the attitude of the authors of the different Smritis. The various commentaries and glosses with which they tided over the difficulties of their own times, furnished the strongest argument for elasticity in the application and interpretation of the texts. The translations of those who could not possibly catch the spirit

of the whole, being themselves alien, were misleading.

He therefore argued from the original texts and argued as an authoritative scholar on knotty points. That was another distinction for him. Mr. Telang, before he became a distinguished lawyer, had already acquired reputation as an antiquarian scholar by his two essays on the Ramayana and the Bhagwatgita in which he sought to refute the theories of Weber and Lorringer. His essays before the Student's Literary and Scientific Society on Shankaracharya and other kindred subjects were in the same line. That gave him a precedence over his other colleagues in the matter of Hindu law. Besides, his was a rational turn of mind. There was no quibbling or sophistry about his interpretations. These were always broad-minded. They never erred on the side of narrowness. They were for bringing the law into line with modern needs, and complexities of modern Hindu social life. He knew where custom pinched the most. He strove to remove the hindrance, if it could be logically removed by the interpretation of the text according to the sanction of the different original Nibandha-karas. His judgments on Hindu law as a judge and his pleadings as a lawyer are an attempt in that line. The modern liberal tradition of interpretation that obtains in the Bombay High Court was initiated by him and is being maintained by his successors who are as much imbued with the spirit of true reform as himself.

Mr. Telang worked as a Judge for a little short of four years, for nearly a year of which he was

incapacitated for real work. It is to be regretted that he had not many opportunities during the space of three years to render very remarkable services in the evolution of Hindu law as was expected. However, the few opportunities he had he utilized best and helped to clear up the law of succession to Stridhan property. He also made clear the distinction between the Mitakshara and the Mayukha in the matter. He laid down intelligible and sound canons for finding out the heirs to Stridhan and these canons have stood the test of time.

There was a case in his time referred to the full Bench, wherein the question was whether a son could claim partition of the ancestral estate contrary to the wishes of his father who was desirous of living with his brothers. Mr. Telang's judgment on this question differed from that of his other colleagues. It brings out clearly his strong points. He was in favour of allowing the son's claim to prevail. The judgment is a monument of Sanskrit scholarship and research and shows his analytic faculties at their best. It reveals a sound grasp of original texts though it ignores the practical side of it and the conservative instincts of the people. The other judges upheld the right of the joint family, as approved by society. The customary law was entirely in favour of the Joint family system and was for upholding the patriarchal type of it. The Joint family system could not stand with the progress of time and the development of individualism. So separate rights in the collateral members were recognized and the recognition was extended

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to the son who was allowed to claim the partition from the father against his wishes when separate from his brothers and uncles. But society does not allow the son to disrespect his father's wishes and force on him separation when in union with his brothers. His son's claim to partition in this circumstance was always disapproved and discouraged. Telang ignored this aspect and tried to push the Shastric rule in favour of the son.

The following sentence from his judgment sums up his attitude on Hindu law.

It seems to me obviously more safe and logical as it is more in accordance with the Hindu methods of interpretation in the case of such works as the *Mitakshara* to gather together the principles which can be collected with reasonable certainty and accept whatever conclusions can be logically deduced from those principles unless such conclusions are found to be opposed to other well established principles or of course to any proved custom. This is the only procedure that in my opinion can be legitimately adopted unless indeed we are prepared to hold that the Hindu law is a mere farrago of arbitrary rules and not a coherent system based on logical grounds.

Perhaps the case that made most noise during the time that he was practising as an advocate was that of *Dadaji vs. Rakhmabai*. In that case Telang was the counsel for Rakhmabai. In that case he pleaded for the cause of female emancipation. He asked the court to annihilate the husband's right to restitution by refusing to apply the remedy of the English court for enforcing the right in case of refusal by the wife, on the simple ground that the Hindu law contained no remedy for the enforcement of the right

by imprisonment of the wife in case of refusal. Such a decision would, he said, remedy the evils of early marriage wherein the wife has no choice and can be married to anybody who may afterwards turn out to be a wretch. Mr. Telang's attitude created at the time much consternation in the Hindu Society, as it was regarded as an incitement to young women to refuse intercourse with their husbands if they regarded them as unsuitable after they had attained years of discretion.

We have quoted these two specific instances at somewhat great length to bring home to the readers the spirit of his attitude towards Hindu law.

Both as a lawyer and a judge he helped a great deal to formulate aright the canons of Hindu law and it is to be regretted that a man of such parts and such special knowledge should have been cut off too soon to leave behind a monumental work on the subject. No one was better fitted for the undertaking both by his Sanskrit scholarship, his broad general culture and above all his literary gift of luminous treatment.

But Telang as Sir Raymond West has said never allowed the scholar, the educationist, the public man to be submerged in the lawyer, and it is to his public life that we must now turn to derive instruction and help for our own guidance. That is what matters most to the lay mind.

SOCIAL REFORM.

Those who live only in past are like fossils, those who live only for the present are no better than animals, those alone deserve to be called

be a question of any far reaching change, they must not only conceive their own immediate ends but must convert others. They must communicate sympathy and win over the unconvinced. Upon the whole they must show that their object is possible, that it is compatible with existing institutions or at any rate with some workable form of social life. They are driven on by the requirements of the situation to the elaboration of ideas and in the end to some sort of social philosophy and the philosophies that have driving force behind them are those which arise after this fashion out of the practical demands of human feelings."

These words correctly describe the work that Telang and Ranade did in the field of social reform. As Ranade has put it in his lecture on "Revival and Reform."

It is not the outward form but the inward form, the thought and the idea which determines the outward form that has to be changed if real reformation is desired.

Telang himself has expressed it thus in one of his lectures.

"You must rely more on a long patient toilsome process of diverting the feelings or to express it differently, making the soil unfit for the growth of those misplaced sentiments and misunderstood traditions in the same way as, according to a great scientific teacher, science does not attack the weed of superstitions directly but renders the mental soil unfit for cultivation. You cannot say, you ought not to say here, "Cut this down, why cumberth it the ground " You must improve here, You must infuse new vitality and new vigour into the old growth."

In fact such has been the attitude of all reformers in our land from the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy down to our own day. Their position was not so much that of the schismatics as that of progressivists. To men with no ideas or to the

be a question of any far reaching change, they must not only conceive their own immediate ends but must convert others. They must communicate sympathy and win over the unconvinced. Upon the whole they must show that their object is possible, that it is compatible with existing institutions or at any rate with some workable form of social life. They are driven on by the requirements of the situation to the elaboration of ideas and in the end to some sort of social philosophy and the philosophies that have driving force behind them are those which arise after this fashion out of the practical demands of human feelings."

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In fact such has been the attitude of all reformers in our land from the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy down to our own day. Their position was not so much that of the schismatics as that of progressivists. To men with no ideas or to the

slaves of "frost bitten custom," they may seem so. But to a dispassionate critic, their work must appeal as a work of progressive adaptation. No one in the land had greater reverence for the past than these "creative geniuses," as Fraser, the author of the "Literary History of India" calls them, "who are destined to shine clear as glowing sparks sent out in the fiery furnace where the old and the new were fusing."

It must be at the same time admitted that Ram Mohun Roy, Keshab Chunder Sen and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar were men cast in the heroic mould. They had the energy and the fire of the prophet in them. They could brave persecution and stand firm like towers of strength when the world was spinning around them. Such was not the temperament either of Telang or of Ranade. The strongest element in them was thought and not passionate enthusiasm that braves opposition and overcomes obstacles. They were too soft-hearted for that. Hence some lapses in the practical part of their work which cannot and ought not to be condoned. They could not tear themselves away at the call of duty from the affection of the family which wound like tendrils round their hearts. This feature of Telang's life is most pathetically brought out in the last conversation that Mr. Telang had with Mr. John Adam who worked along with him on the Congress platform and who wrote an obituary notice of him for the columns of *India*.

In that obituary notice Mr. Adams writes as follows :—

"In devotion to parents, wife and children he was not out-stripped by the pious Æneas himself. Indeed, and he would have been the last to wish that in writing his epitaph I should slur over aught—it was this overpowering sentiment that led to what was, in the opinion of many, the one discordant trait in his character. No one saw more clearly than he the need of reform in some of the social customs of the Hindus, no one had advocated it more strenuously. It was then a great shock to many when less than a year ago the once stalwart reformer consented to the marriage of his own daughter at a prematurely early age. Yet for a man of Mr. Telang's intellectual temperament it needed perhaps more courage to go back ever so little upon his own career than to refuse the request of a wife sick unto death and who shall say the premonitions of his own early call. Any how he was not a man to make a vicarious sacrifice. Twelve months ago, I saw him in his own house in Bombay, when suffering acutely from a painful complaint which, there was every hope, that a comparatively simple operation would cure completely. Although I knew that one effect of the disease was to produce a strange nervous tension that causes the bold to shrink from the simplest remedy, I yet ventured to express my surprise that he of all men should shrink from so easy an ordeal. "Ah" he said, "if it were only myself, the doctors could do what they like with me to-morrow. But my old father—adopted father too, remember, and mother have the most inveterate objection to the slightest use of the knife, to the shedding of a drop of blood. While they live if I do not go first I shall never act against their wishes." "You will probably think me a fool" he added, with his happy smile, "but after all I am a Hindu of the old stock and I can no more help being that than you can help being a Scotchman."

"I had long before heard," continued Mr. Adam, that the same cause had prevented him from visiting England: but I had hardly expected that education would have made such a capitulation to ignorance. Doubtless the problem is a difficult one in domestic ethics but the concrete example teaches us to judge no

man harshly in his solution of it, And the lesson is "judge not that ye be not judged."

The tender vein of sympathy with a failing as much characteristic of Telang as of Ranade running through this long passage must not blind us to the almost fatal effect that such lapses are likely to have on a cause which these leaders of thought cherished so dearly in their hearts. But, with this reservation the "double and divided existence" which they had to lead must soften our hearts to those who have been great intellectual forces in their time and who taught us to see clearly and aim wisely. If there have been men among us prepared to take a step forward in the cause of social reform, is it not as much due to the inspiration they gathered from the high precepts of these noble masters, as to their personal courage and strong fibre? No doubt the faith was strong in these, but among the elements that went to broaden it, deepen it and make it cultured, the teaching and preaching of the two whose loss we still mourn, must have contributed no small share. The influence of mind upon mind is subtle and unconscious but it is deeply penetrating or else the company of high thoughts would be merely an idle phrase. When we look at the lives of Telang and Ranade this consideration ought not to be ignored. The vision that they saw, they communicated to all. If they could not live up to the light within them, ours is the misfortune and partly the blame also. The moral and mental chaos of ages has left behind effects from which even the best of us are not free.

Men like Ram Mohun, Keshab Chunder Sen, Karsandas Mulji and Vishnu Parshuram Shastri Pandit are seated on a loftier pedestal. Compared with them, so far as action and the force of personal example are concerned, Telang and Ranade are lesser luminaries. Yet they are not the less the beaconlights to guide us. It is through them and by them that we should count upon rising to a loftier height. Let us accept them for what they were. Let us learn their message and cease to pine for what they were not.

Telang's opinions on social reform may be best gathered, from his two lectures in Marathi delivered before the Hindu Union Club—a club by the way which he founded to bring about harmonious relations between the different sections of the Hindu Community, by affording the members of different castes scope for meeting on a common platform, to exchange views, mix in social intercourse and to contribute by their combined efforts to build up the social, moral and literary life of the future. These lectures are :—

1. The relative importance of Shastra and Custom.

2. Compromise in social matters.

There are two other writings which also give us an insight into his standpoint, his reply to Mr. Malabari's notes on "Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood," and his much discussed as also much misunderstood lecture delivered before the Student's Literary and Scientific Society on "Must social reform precede political reform"? His brief address as the President of the Indian Social Conference as also his lecture on Western

Education in the Bombay Presidency delivered before the Elphinstonian Social Gathering in 1890, as well as his reply to the letter of an enthusiastic reformer, Mr. Y. N. Ranade, afford additional glimpses and perhaps his ripest as certainly his most final conclusions on the same topic. The energetic campaign he carried on in 1891 against the partizans of orthodoxy in the Age of Consent Controversy, who had raised the cry of religion in danger and who wanted to taboo State interference, shows his fervour, insight and his wise and manly attitude. Earlier in the year 1886, when a meeting was held in the Madhav Baug under the presidentship of Mr. Mandlik to send a petition to the Viceroy protesting strongly against Mr. Malabari's "meddlesome attitude" in regard to Hindu Social questions and his urgent demand for state interference, Mr. Telang attended the meeting to propose an amendment to the effect that the Hindu community was alive to its own shortcomings and would try to reform Social Institutions from within and that therefore the state need not interfere. That amendment was not allowed. Later on he insisted in the Age of Consent Bill Controversy that the state had every right to interfere for the sake of justice and humanity even if the Shastras were against the proposed measure. When the opponents raised the cry that state interference in social matters was against the pledge given in the Proclamation of 1858, he took a still higher ground and said that no person had a right to renounce his duty and that this distinction between the renunciation of right and the desertion of duty required to be

maintained as between a sovereign and a subject even more strongly than between an ordinary man and man. Furthermore, it was the duty of the sovereign to protect his subjects from unjust harm.

"This is in truth the Sovereign's paramount duty—the common ground on which the champions of meddling state interference must join hands with Manu on the one side and with Humboldt and Herbert Spencer on the other."

The prime function of the state is to secure life. Neither Queen Victoria nor any other sovereign has the power of saying directly or indirectly, "we shall not protect our subjects from unjust harm."

There was ample evidence to show that unjust harm, aye, fatal harm was occasionally done to the child wives by the husband's prematurely claiming to exercise the so called marital rights upon their person. And therefore the plodge even if given can not be obligatory in such cases.

Mr. Telang further showed that the Queen's declaration was levelled at religious persecution properly so called and at similar proceedings in exercise of irresponsible or unrestrained power. It had manifestly no bearing whatever on proceedings based on extra spiritual and practical considerations.

"Can it be said" he asked, "that the equal and impartial protection of the law is enjoyed by all, when a girl can be ravished by her husband with impunity even before she becomes *apta viri*?"

"The construction which men like Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter put on the Proclamation must logically end," he argued, "in their association upon this question with the Begum of Oude who in her counterblast on the

Queen's Proclamation said among other things, "To eat pigs and drink wine, to bite greased cartridges and to mix pig's fat with flour, sweetmeat, to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion, to multiply English schools and pay people a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindus and Mussalmans are to this day entirely neglected. With all this how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with?". "Consequences are the beacons of wise men" says Professor Huxley. We may ask Sir R.C. Mitter and those who argue like him whether they think that good government and progress of the people may be ever expected to come if the British Government accepts as authoritative their construction of the Queen's Proclamation? That construction must logically involve, for instance, the shutting up of the Schools and Colleges, where a system of Astronomy is taught that must knock on the head the absurdities of the Hindu Jyotish which forms an integral part of their ritual of marriage. It must also involve a condemnation of all police regulation of Hindu and Musulman processions, for is not that clearly an interference with religions worship?" "Yet in the first case you dry up absolutely the fountains of all progress, in the second case, you destroy the Pax Britannica which is the necessary condition of all progress."

He winds up the discussion on the cry of religion in danger with the following warning to the Government.

If where the claims of humanity are implicated, the British Government is to hold its hand and put forward a plea of *non possumus*, it will write itself down as unworthy of its best traditions and will announce a principle of action that if logically carried out will destroy the possibility of any solid good resulting from its presence in India.

Mr. Telang's contributions on the "Age of Consent Controversy" form very stimulating reading. They reveal his learning, his critical acumen, his power

of interpretation, and the dignity, moderation and fair play with which he carried on the fight for what he considered the cause of truth, humanity and justice.

Telang was a great believer in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. He quoted with approval most of Spencer's dictums and pointed out time and again that the sum total of his attitude on questions of social regeneration was embodied in Spencer's essay on Manners and Fashions. Spencer was a stern individualist. He left much to the natural operation of things. He was not a believer in a hot-house and artificial process of growth. In his pamphlet on "The Man *vs.* the State" he has carried a severe campaign against excessive state legislation. His views on such matters emphasize only a certain standpoint. The rules of action which Spencer laid down may be true of a highly evolved state of society like that of England. But in a society where status plays such an important part, and which has been arrested in its growth by the accretions of ages, a push has to be given by some external agency. It is only under external pressure that the dull and well-nigh lifeless mass will move, if it moves at all.

The Gospel of let alonism which Spencer preached has become an exploded theory in the land of its birth. Much less is it applicable here where voluntary co-operation, individual initiative, public spirit, respect for the rights of man, a due sense of civic duties and responsibilities are so much at a discount. The family, the community, the village, the town and the country move here

in separate grooves without being interlinked in one chain of corporate life. Until a steady growth of general education introduces a solvent in these hardened moulds, let-aloneism and least resistance are bound to be mischievously operative on their bad side only.

That Mr. Telang was won over to the side of state legislation in social matters is clearly shown by his attitude in the Age of Consent Controversy, even as his intellectual master, Herbert Spencer gave his reluctant sanction to Mr. Malabari's proposal as we read in Mr. Karkaria's book. Telang felt the hopelessness of the reformer's efforts unless he was backed up by the state. "The liberty of man consisted in being forced to find out the right path and to walk thereon."

Mr. Telang was the greatest champion of the woman's cause. He looked forward to female education as the most effective agency for bringing about a desirable change in social matters. In his note to Mr. Malabari he writes:—"It is to the spread of education of our girls, not to the limitation of University honours, or official loaves and fishes to certain classes of our boys that I am inclined to look for the remedies of existing evils. That indicates my view as regards social reforms generally." Our slaves are our masters in the house. Try to educate them, give them light and light in the possession of woman will turn into lightning, and all pernicious traditions, degrading customs, evil influences in the household that prevent the growth of a healthy atmosphere will fall of a heap into ashes at the touch of that spark.

He was certainly not for anglicising the Indian household but he wanted to turn it into neat, orderly, and an enlightened home, enamoured of purity and holiness where the personality of the woman and the man was not stunted by rigid and irrational restrictions and where the current of spiritual energy flowed freely as the result of the contact of mind with mind and heart with heart in free fellowship and mutual sympathy and love. Education will teach woman her duties better. A free participation in the aspirations and ideals of the husband would forge a bond firmer than mere unconscious submission. Woman is at the present day a meek and lowly thing if not quite a chattel. Raise her and you raise the manhood of the nation. That was the way he argued. "It would be rash," he said on one occasion "to deny her the light of Western culture which had borne so much good in your case. It would not do to confine her merely to the reading of the Puranas. Let her read them by all means but with trained intelligence, with a discerning eye and not mechanically as she is wont to do at present. Let home influences be the purest. Give her perfect freedom to exercise her reason and develop her personality. Do not stultify her, else you stultify yourself. Raise the age limit of marriage. That will ensure full physical growth and give them time to learn more. The husband and wife grown up, will understand each other better. There will be mutual reverence and love, and posterity will benefit by it. That was the standpoint he took with regards to women's rights and duties. Female education he regarded as the crux of the whole question of

social reform. Towards widow remarriage, his attitude was of the heartiest sympathy. He believed that as the age limit in the marriage of girls would rise, the question of widow remarriage would press less and less. He was for meeting the orthodox half way in this matter. He first insisted on the marriage of virgin widows, pressing on all the while for the realisation of the whole programme. He found in the Shastras if not a direct yet an indirect sanction for widow remarriage and in the Epics, a full sanction in the episodes like that of Damayanti which he has quoted in one of his Marathi lectures. He admitted that it was a lower ideal, yet taking into consideration the average human being with all the helplessness, economic pressure and temptation to which such a human being is exposed, that ideal must find its full support from the society. The widow who remarries if not supported, should at least come under no social bar. A remarried widow was as honourable a woman as any other if there was no fault to find with her in matters of social discipline that is, if she lived a pure, holy and quiet life of a true householder.

Mass education and the elevation of the depressed classes had not been, strictly speaking, the questions of the day in his time. But Telang enjoined it as a sacred duty devolving upon the educated men to diffuse the light that they had received among their less fortunate brethren. He believed in these matters in the theory of downward filtration. The agency for the diffusion of knowledge among the masses must be the men of higher education. He was

therefore against starving higher education in favour of the Primary and the Secondary. He believed that as education would be diffused among the lower classes, their level was bound to rise and his general temperament was certainly against keeping them down by narrow minded, cruel and unjust restrictions.

In the matter of caste, Telang was for making their bonds elastic. He was only for the 4 castes advocated in the Gita. It was often his exhortation to overcome caste-prejudices and conquer hatred. "Drive away mutual jealousies" he said, "if you are not able to sink caste-distinctions." So long as there are differences in social usage among different castes it would be pernicious to forcibly efface caste distinctions. "A vegetarian Brahmin" he said on one occasion, cannot live happily with a flesh-eating Shudra girl apart from many other degrading customs that obtain among the latter class. Level up the whole society by infusing ideas of good, right and clean living, liberalize men's understanding, broaden their outlook, bring home to them the importance of unity in the face of the world—conflict, and gradually as education advances, as men see more of the world, as they read and study aright the signs of the times, caste barriers will break down and vanish away. That was, briefly told, his attitude towards the Institution of caste. Telang was if not against at least out of sympathy with sectional societies. He suggested however a compromise in the matter in one of his lectures. He said that if they were altogether indispensable for the promotion of education and reform within

the community, their managing board should be composed of enlightened men irrespective of any caste. He cites as an instance the Marathi Education Society founded in his time which had on its managing committee men like Nulkar and Ranade. "Such a course alone would prevent it," he said, "from being an obstacle in the way of future amalgamation for national education."

Telang was above all things against the spread of moral and social anarchy. He was for orderly progress. Order and progress, he said, must go hand in hand. In more than one lecture he has warned people against the catastrophe of the French Revolution which was brought on on the one hand by the inveterate obstinacy of the upper classes to introduce change, and on the other by the proud precipitance of the soul that characterized the illumination of the period.

The whole social fabric collapsed because of the tension on both the sides. He exhorted the orthodox most solemnly to try to avert a crisis and the reformers to be wary and circumspect. He proposed to rear up new institutions on the foundations of the old. He quotes with approval the method of Englishmen in 1688. His aim was to bring about a synthesis and a harmony out of the blending of the old and the new. "The best, the most cultured, the acute, and the learned from both the parties should join hands," he said, "to come to a definite solution by free and unbiassed discussion and settle a line of action for the less gifted to follow." That was the method of the Smritikars who were by no means the immovables that they are proclaimed to be.

In the absence of light from the direct seers, the *rishis*, let us follow the path of the great and the high souled according to the precept of Yudhishtira. That was the solemn charge he gave to his people. He advocated the foundation of the conference, an idea subsequently realized by Justice Ranade. The Conference that he wanted was of the best men from both the camps but the orthodox fought shy of it.

Mr. Telang's reverence for the past was born of deep and first-hand knowledge. He was not an obscurantist. He knew the merits and the strength of the ancient people of Bharatkhandā, but he knew full well how their descendants had strayed from the path into the wilderness of ritualism, ceremonial, superstition and rigid dogma, under the domination of caste, the separative tendency was growing faster. The glorious traditions of the Vedānta and the Upanishads evoked only a lip-sympathy. They were utilized only to score off a dialectic victory over the foreigner. Their practical spirit and application to life had long ceased. We had erected other idols at whose shrines we worshipped. We had absorbed every foolish fetish into our corporate life and hugged it when lapse of time made us forget its origin, as the true child of the soil. We would keep this grotesque edifice, so fantastic and inconsistent in parts venerable from human touch. The Shaiva, the Vaishnava and the Shakta, each regarded his own creed as the creed of the past and set up for it a claim as the heirloom from the Rishis. This divided the Hindu Social fabric into sects, caste within caste, ring within ring and introduced dis-

integration which left it too effete to offer resistance to the new forces. Telang saw wherein the mischief lay. He strove hard to spread right notions by speeches, writings and essays. He enjoined upon the educated men the need of thinking 'out every problem for themselves, of tracing it to its very source and of forming deliberate opinions, so that when time for action comes they may not be swayed hither and thither by the shifting gusts of opinion. Thought, deep, mature and patient was the duty of the educated. Thought he regarded as one of the forces that contributed to right action. He typified it in his own life and he wanted others to share in the delight and blessing of the free exercise of thought on all matters. Hindu customs and ways of living are undergoing a pulverising process. You cannot, because of the sweeping tide of the times, stick to the old. Will you then drift? Are you not to drill your forces of thought, feeling and action, to be conscious and wise agents in the working out of the harmony. "We are" he said, "in a transition stage." The old cannot have the same hold upon us. The new is knocking at the door. Adjustment has to be brought about. Play your part manfully in the process. Let knowledge, wisdom and purpose grow mature among us. It is only what we win by effort that becomes really ours. All else is an encumbrance. He painfully mentions in his almost last address that the educated classes were not alive to their duties. They chose to drift. One defect he noticed among them was that they did not persevere enough. The boon of intellectual emancipation could not be fully enjoyed unless the moral

qualities of the rulers were studied and cultivated. "The undermining influences of Western education," he said, "were incidental results which must accompany great changes that had taken place in the country." If they were rushing on with the speed of a torrent, it was yet a better state of things than mere stagnancy.

In the matter of reform his motto was hasten slowly. In his note to Mr. Malabari he said,

We must work as ardently as if our efforts were to be crowned with success at once. But on the other hand, we must be content to take the fruits as they come in the fulness of time and not be despondent or impatient if the customs which have stood for centuries do not at once fall of a heap at the blast of our trumpet.

In his last address he said, "it was the duty of every one to understand and appreciate the past and selecting all that was possible from it, apply it to the altered circumstance of to-day. All this was to be done with moderation, wisdom and right direction." His message may be summed up in the words of Justice Ranade :—

The true reformer has not to write upon a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half written sentence. We cannot break with the past altogether. For it is a rich inheritance and we have no reason to be ashamed of it. But while respecting the past, we must ever seek to correct the parasitical growths that have encrusted it.

LITERARY WORK.

We are now turning to perhaps the most inward phase of Mr. Telang's life, the work which he cherished most and to which he would fain have devoted all his energies if circumstances had so shaped his career. In India, men of superior

talents cannot without great loss to the country adopt the life of the literary recluse. Our condition in that respect somewhat resembles that of France at the time of Diderot, Voltair and Rousseau. Literary work of an abiding character has to be postponed before the more imperative need of what Mr. Gokhale has called "the liberation of the Indian mind from the thralldom of old world ideas and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life, thought and character of the West". Hence it is that the actual literary output of our countrymen falls so short of expectation.

Telang's literary work may be divided under three heads 1. The books he translated or annotated. 2. The various essays on antiquarian topics contributed either to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society or to the Indian Antiquary. And 3. his miscellaneous essays on varied topics read either before the Student's Literary and Scientific Society, of which he was for many years the Secretary, or before the Hindu Union Club. The purpose of the last was to give an incentive and stimulus to correct thinking on the topics of the day.

Telang believed in what may be termed the import and export of knowledge. "His own wide knowledge was continually transmuted into virtue an active desire and power to lead others into the path of enlightenment and reason, to support them until they should become self-supporting and in their turn leaders of men, helpers and friends of mankind". To the natural wealth of his intellectual gifts, he was able to add an invaluable store of European ideas, knowledge and

principles. The light thus vouchsafed he always utilized "not merely to stare on" as he puts it in one of his addresses but "to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge." The essays classed under the third head are efforts to discover "onward things." Such was the very 1st essay he read before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in 1869 on "Our Roads," in which he strove to define the aim and purpose before our educated men in the light of the conflict between the old and the new. Before the same Society he read in 1875 an essay on "Intellect and its Glory," in 1876, an essay on the "Study of History," in 1878 an essay on the "Ancient People of Bharatkhand," in 1883 an essay on "Calcutta and its people." The subjects chosen for discourse show what was the principle governing his intellectual activities. It was before the same society that he read his much discussed essay on "Should Social reform precede political reform?" It was an answer to Sir Auckland Colvin who advised Indians like the typical Anglo-Indian of the time, to first set their house in order before they presumed to advise the rulers on their duties. Telang set himself to rebut to the two positions of the objector. That slavery at home is incompatible with political liberty and 2. that a nation socially low cannot be politically great. As regards the 1st objection he says that,

so far as we have slavery and tyranny in the case, we have only a case of the Tyranny of the past, the present being bound in slavery to it.

The phrase household slavery as used in the controversy is an entire misnomer. It is these so called

slaves within the household who form our great difficulty.

He concludes this part of the argument thus.

The position in fact is this. Here we have what may, for convenience, be treated as two spheres of reforming activities. There is slavery in the one sphere, and there is slavery in the other and we are endeavouring to shake off the slavery in the one sphere as well as in the other.

In answer to the second objection he adduces the evidence of political progress in the 17th century England from Hallam. For the same period on its social side he quotes from the famous 4th chapter of Macaulay's History of England to show how England was socially low in the matter of female education, also in the matter of the household slavery so much made of in the case of India. So far the destructive criticism. The rest of the paper is devoted to developing the theory of reform along the line of least resistance.

Secure first the reforms which you can secure with the least difficulty and then turn your energies in the direction of these reforms where more difficulty has to be encountered. You will thus obtain all that vigour which the spirit of reform derives from success and thus carry out the whole work of progress with greater promptitude than if you go to work the other way.

This doctrine when applied to different items of any reform propaganda is sound enough. Its application as to the choice between political or social reform is doubtful. Neither the orthodox party, nor the bureaucrat is amenable to logic alone. Both are equally jealous in maintaining their status quo. Reform all along the line

is therefore a safer and sounder doctrine. There is an interdependence between social, political and economic activity. All must be pushed with an equal energy, strenuousness and patience.

As Mr. Gokhale has said, no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for, unless there be room for the free movement of the energies of the people in all fields". Telang himself subsequently leaned to the same view. In his address before the Social Conference he said :—

• The need for improvement in political matters is not greater than in social and the principles of movement in both are in substance identical whatever differences there may be in their applications.

As a principle of individual conduct, the doctrine is pernicious in a conservative country like India. "Human nature full and fond of the past, at least in India, is so inert and supine that there is no danger of any reformer running headlong and revolutionizing society." Such a doctrine in India is bound to "wreck the cause and prove a plea for indolence and in-action." Every one, lover of repose as man is, will say with Erasmus "I am a poor actor, I prefer to be a spectator of the play". We have Mr. Chandavarkar's testimony that Telang subsequently told him that he never meant to enunciate the Doctrine of Least Resistance as a principle of individual action. He read two papers in Marathi before the Hindu Union Club, one in 1886 called "The relative importance of Shastra and Custom" and the other in 1889 on "Compromise in Social Matters," which was an application to Hindu Social reform of some of the principles enun-

ciated in John Morley's great work. These two papers embody what may be called Telang's method of social reform. In the first Telang quotes texts from the different Smritis, some in favour of custom and others in favour of the Shastras and next turns to the Epics to note therein the conduct of the high-souled, like Drona and others, to show that they introduced changes in the canons of the Shashtra to suit the exigencies of the hour. Therefrom Telang deduces the proposition that there is a precedent in our past history to introduce change in our manners and customs and in the rulings of the Shastras to suit time, place and circumstance. If we do not restore, he says, to our Smritis the life and elasticity, which they possessed in the palmiest days of Hindu Society, our religion will cease to be a living force, a state of things which is undesirable as, it is bound to lead to moral chaos.

In the second lecture he examines the application of the principles of compromise to (1) thought, (2) speech and (3) action. In the 1st he advocates absolute freedom. He warns his people against the tendency of the human mind to find out arguments in justification of conduct rather than mould conduct, according to convictions. He deprecates such a course as altogether unworthy of a human being and in the end ruinous both to himself and to the society of which he forms an integral part. Right thought will impart seriousness to our conduct and will enable us to avoid the prevailing attitude of the people in our midst which is "to compound for the sins we are inclined to, by damning those you have no mind to."

In the freedom of thought, we should approach the past with an unprejudiced eye with reverence and with a true desire to know the truth. We should also have a clear and coherent knowledge of the fundamental principles of social, political and religious growth. These spheres of activities are interdependent and the knowledge of the laws of social growth will help us with practical insight into all of them. This knowledge is to be acquired by the close and comparative study of the history of different nations in all their aspects. Telang enjoined it as a duty upon every educated man to undertake such a study. In the expression of opinion, we have to wait for an opportune moment in order that it may tell. Speech divorced from action is surely to be deprecated. But there is also another side to it. Telang expresses it in the words of Cardinal Newman. It is not the advice divorced from action, but the advice associated with hypocrisy that should come in for a severe condemnation. It is enough if a man tries hard to live up to the opinions expressed. Telang quotes here the opinion of George Eliot, "Criticism and discussion are the greatest instruments of social improvement." To lay down the rule that none but those who can live up to their opinions shall express them, is to do society the utmost harm.

The expression of opinion is in itself one of the causes that contribute to its realization. In the expression of opinion, Telang would only make an exception in the case of parents. In our behaviour to our parents we should be silent if our opinions differ from theirs. We are

In the freedom of thought, we should approach the past with an unprejudiced eye with reverence and with a true desire to know the truth. We should also have a clear and coherent knowledge of the fundamental principles of social, political and religious growth. These spheres of activities are interdependent and the knowledge of the laws of social growth will help us with practical insight into all of them. This knowledge is to be acquired by the close and comparative study of the history of different nations in all their aspects. Telang enjoined it as a duty upon every educated man to undertake such a study. In the expression of opinion, we have to wait for an opportune moment in order that it may tell. Speech divorced from action is surely to be deprecated. But there is also another side to it. Telang expresses it in the words of Cardinal Newman. It is not the advice divorced from action, but the advice associated with hypocrisy that should come in for a severe condemnation. It is enough if a man tries hard to live up to the opinions expressed. Telang quotes here the opinion of George Eliot, "Criticism and discussion are the greatest instruments of social improvement." To lay down the rule that none but those who can live up to their opinions shall express them, is to do society the utmost harm.

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however to take care not to seem what we are not. In all other cases there should be free expression taking care to watch the most favourable time, place and opportunity for their expression. In the matter of conduct there is a rational and an irrational method of compromise. Telang here quotes Morley.

It is legitimate compromise to say, I do not expect you to execute this improvement or surrender that prejudice in my time. But at any rate, it shall not be my fault if the improvement remains unknown or rejected. There shall be one man at least who has surrendered the prejudice and who does not hide that fact. It is illegitimate compromise to say "I cannot persuade you to accept my truth: therefore I will pretend to accept your falsehood.

He then applies this canon to various items of social reform such as widow remarriage, foreign travel, the abolition of caste, infant marriage etc. In the sphere of action, we must also beware that small reforms are often the enemy of great ones. No doubt we cannot accomplish the whole programme all of a sudden, but the little that we get must be a real stepping stone to the greater we ultimately wish to obtain. He concludes the essay with an exhortation to depend for progress upon the strength of individual action, as in these days of democracy it is the individual not the society that constitutes the great determinant of progress.

We now turn to the 2nd head of Telang's literary work, his labours in the advancement of Sanskrit scholarship and original research. Dr. Bhandarkar has laid down three qualifications for

the man who would fruitfully devote himself to this field of enquiry.

One who enters into that field is required to be a man of exceptional intelligence, a man with a clear head and with very acute and keen reasoning powers. The next requisite and a very essential requisite is that there must be curiosity in him; and the third requisite is there must be a freedom from bias and thorough impartiality in forming an opinion on any question that comes forward.

All these qualities were found in combination in Mr. Telang and he could therefore leave behind him a legacy of materials "enough to make the society distinguished for generations to come." Telang was endowed by nature with a transcendent intellect, which he had further strengthened and disciplined by the studies to which he had subjected it in the early years of his life. Speaking of Mr. Telang's work as an oriental scholar, Justice Chandavarkar said :—

Trained in the school of Mill, Huxley, Spencer and Strauss and disciplined in the severe logic and close dialectics of Shri Shankaracharya, Telang had more of the critical than the constructive talent and was at his best when he strove to detect the flaws and fallacies in opinions advanced and theories contributed by scholars. He approached all these questions on antiquarian subjects with a complete freedom from bias or preconceived theories and rigidly held with Emerson that a scholar at all events must take into himself "all the ability of the time, the contributions of the past, all the hopes of the future". There was no point however small, which he did not take into account and to which he did not strive to do justice, in determining some knotty point in antiquarian research.

We cannot do more than barely chronicle the many papers he contributed to the Bombay

Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal and to the Indian Antiquary. It was after finishing his studies and qualifying for the profession, that he turned his attention to "antiquarian work and the work of making researches into the history of India, and the development of Indian thought". It was in 1872 that the Indian Antiquary was started by Dr. Burgess. Its first volume contained two essays, by Telang, one is on the 'Date of Nyayakusumanjali' and another is a short note pointing out "that however right Dr. Rajendralal Mitra might be in holding that there was a time in historic memory, when the ancestors of the Hindoos ate beef freely that time came to an end sometime before Christ". In the same volume appeared Rev. Boyd's translation of Weber's paper in which the latter had set himself to shaking the tradition of the extreme antiquity of the Ramayana. Weber sought to show that "the great Hindu Epic really dates from the third or the fourth century A. D. and that it contains clear internal evidence of an acquaintance with the Homeric Saga-cycle". Telang answered the arguments of Weber in an essay called "Was the Ramayana copied from Homer"? He was not a pseudo patriot who thought that shaking the antiquity of the Ramayana was belittling to national glory. He was induced to reply to the contentions of Dr. Weber because he thought first and foremost that they were based on an insufficient and one sided evidence. Telang was a fair critic. He was a disciple of Mill in that respect. He knew how to weigh evidence. He used to regret that "among us there was a disposition to

accept [much as a proof which hardly rested on any good basis and to consider something as history merely because people believed it to be history. Telang from the beginning trained his mind to get rid of this popular cant. Before writing his well known paper in answer to Prof. Weber he went through a course of study in Biblical criticism and read some works on the "Proofs of Historical criticism." Mr. Weber based his argument on the ground that the source of Ramayana was to be found in a Buddhistic myth borrowed from Homer. Telang meets the argument by saying that

the Buddhistic story may just as likely have been borrowed from the Ramayana as have been the origin of it. Secondly he says that coincidences, so far as they are coincidences are but slight and probably casual. In the Folklore of Northern India there was for the Brahminical and for the Buddhist author an ample store to draw upon. It was in the highest degree improbable that a Buddhist should be adopted as a Brahminical hero. On the other hand the Buddhists parting from Brahmanism would still carry with them many of the earlier myths and tradition of their race, but the orthodox already amply supplied with legendary materials would be slow indeed to find in a Buddhist hero, a subject for adoration and adoption as their own.

That there was a Homeric poem in Sanskrit might be true, the Ramayana would in a manner justify the assertion, but that there was an Indian translation of Homer as stated by Dio Chrysostom and others appears wholly erroneous.

This was in substance Telang's second argument. "The whole mental and moral atmosphere in which the Ramayana is steeped is so fundamentally different from that of the Homeric

poems that no substantial influence of the latter can be traced in the Indian Epic."

The geographical and astronomical references and the literary notices of the poem on which Dr. Weber relied for the late production are handed by Telang with fairness and ability. Telang adds several affirmative indications which support his own view that the composition of the Ramayana must be referred to a period, several centuries before the Christian era and before the date assigned as probable by Weber. The criticisms of the young Hindu scholar have been confirmed by subsequent investigations both in India and Europe.

The publication of this in a pamphlet form gave Telang a place of acknowledged prominence amongst Sanskrit scholars. The essay was subsequently published in the pamphlet form and was highly praised by the academy.

The essay refuting the contentions of Dr. Weber was read in 1873. Early in 1870 he had read a paper before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society on the life of Shankaracharya. The same year he contributed a criticism on Dr. Kielhom's Sanskrit Grammar to the columns of the *Native Opinion*. In 1871 he had read an essay before the Students' Society on Mukti-kopanishad. The Essay on Ramayana has already been noted. The same year he wrote an essay on the date of Shri Harsha for the Indian Antiquary.

In 1874 he read a paper before the Students' Literary Society contesting the theory of Lorringer as regards the Bhagwatgita, that it was copied from the Bible. The Essay was afterwards embodied as an introduction to the metrical translation of the "Divine Lay" published in 1875.

In the same year he contributed four essays to the *Indian Antiquary* (1) on the drama of Bana called *Parvati parinaya* : (2) on Kalidas, Shriharsha and Chand : (3) The *Ramayana* older than Patanjali : (4) Note on the *Ramayana*. The same year he read two learned papers before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1) on the Chalukya copper plates (2) the Date of Madhusudhan Saraswati, the author of *Gita Gudhartha Dipika*. In this paper he combated the views of Lassen and Burnouf that Madhusudhan lived in the XVI century A. C. Telang came to the conclusion that he flourished in the reign of Aurangzeb either at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In 1876 he wrote a note in the *Indian Antiquary* on Anandgiri's *Shankarvijaya* and read an essay on Three Copper-Plates of the Kudamba Dynasty before the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society. In 1880 he wrote a note on the useful Marathi Serial, the *Kavyetihas Sangraha*, in the *Indian Antiquary*, recommending it to public attention as the work devoted to the publication of original sources of Maratha History. The same year he wrote an essay on the Silhar Copper-plate for the same monthly. In 1881, he contributed a review of Mandlik's Hindu law to the pages of *Indian Antiquary*. About Mandlik's Hindu law and Telang's review on it Sir Raymond West writes as follows :—

Mandlik's Hindu law has added materially to our means of forming a true comprehension of the Hindu law as a living system, but it rests on an insufficient

collection of the manuscripts of the Mayukha. It presents defects of scholarship and doubtful speculations which invite criticism. Telang's observations may be deemed an almost necessary pendant to the work, for the purpose of the lawyer who wishes to stand on a sure ground.

In 1884 he read another essay on the Date of Shankaracharya before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society. He also read an essay on Purnavarma and Shankaracharya and another on the Gleanings from the Sharia Bhashya of Shankaracharya before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Of his many papers on Shankaracharya it is said as follows:—

The most important of his contributions were those devoted to determining the age of Shri Shankaracharya, his opinion being that he flourished in the reign of the Buddhistic King Purnavarma who is mentioned by Hiuen-thang as having been the ruler of west Magadha. In Telang's opinion Purnavarma must have reigned at the latest in about 590 A.D. In 1885 he read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society an essay on the Date of Badarayana the author of Bhramah sutras. He pointed out that these Bramahsutras dated back to a remoter age than 400 or 500A. D. assigned by Weber. This closes the chronicling of his contributions to Oriental Research. It is said about them that they reveal his "vigorous style and fertile imagination." Mr. Telang was unequalled among his countrymen as an exponent of the treasures to be found in the "rich mine of oriental literature". Mr. Telang's opinion about the fixing of the chronology of Sanskrit writers is expressed thus. He says in one place, "It is almost impossible to accept any one line of reasoning or any single group of facts as conclusive about the precise date of any book in Sanskrit literature, at all events in the present state of Sanskrit Chronology when it is almost literally true that as an American Sanskritist puts it,

"Indian literary dates are for the most part only so many pins set up to be bowled down again."

We have so far dealt with Telang's essays on Social reform and other kindred topics and with his essays on antiquarian research. We now turn to the books that he annotated or translated. He edited two Sanskrit works for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, (1) Bhartrahari's Niti and Vairagya Shataka, (2) The Mudrarakshasa of Veshakhadāta. His metrical translation of the Bhagwatgita to which is prefixed his reply to Dr. Lorringer and his prose translation of the same work for Max-Muller's Sacred Books of the East Series complete his work in the field of Sanskrit literature. His essay on Free Trade and Protection written in 1877 for the Sassoon Mechanics Institute shows his thorough assimilation of the literature of Economics available in his day and his power of applying economic principles to Indian conditions. Telang like his master and friend Ranade advocated Protection and made a strong plea against treating economic principles as absolute Mathematical laws. The spirit of judicious enquiry dominates the whole essay. The concluding sentences of this essay are characteristic of the spirit he brought to bear upon the subject.

We have declined to treat the cry against protection as altogether reasonable, we have declined to use it as concluding enquiry. But using the principle underlying it as a "guide," we have endeavoured to show, that the actual facts and circumstances which meet us in this country are not "proper particulars" to be covered under the principle. We have shown that in India, Protection will not lead to the evils which it has led to, in other countries. We have shown that here it will

not foreclose as it does elsewhere—any benefits likely to accrue to us but for its operation. Further-more we have shown reasons for holding that it will prove of positive benefit to us. Therefore we maintain that both on the true principles of economic science and on principles higher than any which economic science has to deal with, the system of Protectionism is one which ought to receive a fair trial in India.

Earlier he says, after quoting Cliffe Leslie "that the wealth of countries is in proportion not to their natural resources, but to the liberty for their use," that it is a mockery and a delusion to speak of liberty, when the native endeavouring to develop the resources of his country, can be undersold and commercially ruined by the unlimited competition of the foreigner. We may just as well speak of the prisoner surrounded by a deep and wide moat which he cannot cross over as enjoying liberty, because for-sooth he has no fetters on his person. We must have more real liberty than unlimited competition can give us. And we must also be artificially nourished and protected till we are able to stand with our own strength; then throw the doors open for the bracing air of free trade.

Another essay of his deals with the social and religious aspects of the history of the Marathas as gathered from the examination of original documents. It was delivered as a lecture before the Deccan College in 1892. "Mr. Telang's paper represents" writes Justice Ranade in his preface to the *Rise of the Maratha Power*, "the true spirit in which Native historians should treat the past history of their country". It has also a melancholy interest attached to it. It was a sort

of prelude to the more comprehensive work on the History the Marathas which he had undertaken to write for the Longmans. The veiled purpose of the essay seems to show to the inveterate opponents of social reform, that some of the social changes which they style as daring innovations calculated to revolutionize society, were actually contemplated and in some cases enforced by the state on its own initiative and the seed of degeneration was sown really in those times, the growth of which the rulers to a certain extent tried to check. It was not brought in by the British nor its growth encouraged by the so called go-ahead imitators of the West,—the social reformers.

Telang translated two books in Marathi, (1) Chalmer's Local Self Government and (2) Lessing's 'Nathan the Wise.' In the preface to the 1st book he explains the reasons that induced him to undertake the work. Lord Ripon's Government had granted in 1884 the boon of local self government to the people. The Poona Sarvajanic Sabha had sent round preachers to spread information as regards the functions devolving on the people in consequence of the boon conferred. Telang thought it his duty to make available for those who did not know English, a systematic treatise in Marathi on the subject of Local Self Government.

The translation of Lessing's Nathan the Wise was undertaken with the purpose of directing the taste of Marathi readers to healthy, instructive, elevating, first rate foreign literature. The translation of Reynolds and Boccacio threatened to poison the spring of pure literature. Telang

wanted to stem the tide. The Drama was translated also to inculcate the principle of toleration on the mind of its readers.

We have now brought to a close this brief record of Telang's literary work. Learning with him was not a mere source of intense delight nor was it only an intellectual pastime. He found in it "lamp for his feet." It was not a miser's hoard to gloat on with pleasure, but a treasure readily placed at the disposal of others, for guidance, instruction and to serve as an inspiration to similar endeavour.

The highest pleasure of his life was to live the life of culture and rectitude. His inner nature says Sir Raymond West was that of a meditative saint. Telang became an evangelist to a large section of his countrymen because as the ripest fruit of his scholarship he furnished them with fertile ideas on many of the questions that agitated their minds and perplexed their souls. Telang's greatness says Sir Raymond West, was at bottom a Hindu greatness the greatness of a Scholar, of a contemplative spirit, of a man of thought diffusing light in many directions, and widening the area of human interest for the people whom he represented. His scholarship was not directly productive in great works. But ripening as it did into culture it imparted breadth and comprehensiveness to his views and freed him from all "extravagance of judgment and expectation". It was because "he hailed the light that broke from either side", that he was calm, free from the turbulence of spirit that characterizes ordinary and less cultured minds.

TELANG'S WORK IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION.

To the Hindus, who are the inheritors of an ancient civilization, learning and wisdom come home as the greatest possessions in life in a manner that they have seldom appealed to any other race. The Brahmin, adorned with humility and wisdom and impregnated with the truth of the seer that the treasures of spirit are above and beyond all treasures, has been the pattern to be lived up to and looked upon with veneration by the common mass. The liberation from the bondage of Karma came through the burning up of ignorance, the "Avidya" that threw a veil between man and his Maker. The Vedas, the Upanishads, the Darshanas, and even Logic and Grammar were taught by the Rishis with the single purpose of liberating the human spirit. The treasures of the spirit were sought after for their own sake, and material blessings came after them as an indirect result. Such was the best Hindu tradition with regard to culture.

No doubt we had during long years of decadence considerably strayed away from the path. But the inner spirit was there ready to shine forth with revived splendour, the moment it found even the slightest scope for self-expression. When the gift of Western culture was so generously offered to the Indian by the high-minded official, and the charitably disposed Christian missionary, the first men eager to avail themselves of the new light were the higher Castes in India. They became in their turn torch-bearers to others. It is through

them that the process of renovation was carried. The educated Hindu became the natural interpreter of the needs of the people. The needs of the country demanded that he should work in all the fields of activity before learning, culture, enlightenment, had gone deep into the life-blood of the country. To hasten the process of intellectual emancipation, in order to bring his country on a level with modern conditions was the ideal that he steadily kept in view. He saw where the Western and Eastern ideas differed radically. The quiescence characteristic of the East, would not avail it in the face of the energetic life of the West. He realized clearly that national life needed overhauling in every sphere of it, be it social, moral, religious, economic or political. He also felt that in order to effect this process wisely, a change must come over the ideas of men. Re-adjustment cannot come about without a revolution in ideas. For that purpose a thoroughly liberal course of studies that would impregnate the mind with progressive spirit was an indispensable condition.

Telang felt convinced that a new purpose must be given to the life of every educated Indian. The tranquil spirit of the sage must gather fresh momentum for action from the energising knowledge of the West. Corporate activity, organized effort, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the service of others—these moral qualities must grow in the Indian youth. The Indians must become as ambitious of social advancement, and as eager for the means of securing it as the race with which Providence had chosen to bind their destiny.

The educated Indian must be as successful in mastering the problems of active life, as he had in the past shown himself the master in the field of speculative enquiry. He must make the nature and the discipline afforded by philosophic study an instrument for furthering the present interests of his people. His ideal being so high, the liberal culture that the Universities should place within the reach of the few that could enter its portals must also, he thought, be sufficiently comprehensive. The Indian had suffered too much from specialization in one direction. Those therefore that would advocate specialization at the present day must beware that they do not repeat the same mistake. If the ancient Hindu culture was too religious, we must also guard in the present day that it is not too scientific. The directly humanistic studies, such as literature, history, Economics and Sociology are more vital to the future of his country than Chemistry, Biology, Physics or Mathematics. The industries of the country must thrive and scientific education, a highly specialized training is certainly the need of the times but it must be based upon broad general culture, which will teach him above everything what are his drawbacks, what are the special responsibilities that devolve upon him as an Indian, an educated Indian and an interpreter of the new light.

Mr. Telang was fully aware of the exigencies of his own times and the peculiar position of his country and hence his ideal of education was all inclusive. The curriculum which he drafted and which was adopted by the Senate of the Bom-

bay University in 1891, was framed with this ideal in view. Telang wrote :—

A B. A. cannot be and ought not to be expected to be a master of any particular subject and an authority upon it immediately after his graduation. A B. A. should I think, be a man who has had the general cultivation which ought to be the basis of all special cultivation. He should know English and a classical language, should have the discipline which Mathematics gives, should know the elements of logic and of political Economy and physical sciences and have a general knowledge of the history of England and India. •

The Curriculum in the Arts Course of the Bombay University from P. E. to the B. A. was framed with this leading principle in view. The best opinion of the time was in Mr. Telang's favour. On the Committee along with Telang were men like Justice Birdwood, Dr. Mackhikan and James Jardine men distinguished for their scholarship and free from the narrowness of the expert. Telang extended the academic life of the student from three to four years and gave him a respite of one year from the annual round of examination, at the end of the third year. His aim was that that year should be devoted to a steady pursuit of knowledge, to "browsing at large in the library" and making a close and wider acquaintance with "the master minds of old". He transferred the group of History and Political Economy from the class of optional to the class of compulsory subjects. It was his opinion that every Indian ought to have a sound general knowledge of the history of his own country, of the vicissitudes it had passed through, of its past sufferings and triumphs, of its turmoils, of

its social and political mistakes, so that he might play his part wisely in the work of amelioration and reconstruction to which he must as a patriot dedicate himself. In addition to the knowledge of the history of his own country, he must also know the history of England which was a model for wise political action. England was in the forefront of nations as the master of the art of wise accomodation, of cautious advance and an eminently practical if not logical synthesis between the old and the new. Besides, England and India were politically bound up. Action and reaction between the two was inevitable and he, who by reason of his education and traditional sympathy was a natural mediator between the two, must understand both fully. The educated Indian, however humble his sphere, had to be in his own person the interpreter between the old and the new if he was to be a potent instrument for the good of his country. That task he could not very well perform if the foundation for it were not laid in the general knowledge of English history and political Economy which more than any other subject give him a hold on the true methods of constructive work—be it in the social, political, spiritual or economic sphere. The peculiar situation of his country made the study of these subjects an indispensable necessity to him. Hence it was that Telang made them compulsory.

We have dealt at great length on this rather local topic because Telang's scheme is sought to be discredited in certain quarters and his principle is stigmatized as vicious. That system, it is said, produces encyclopedic gramophones whereas the

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system which is sought at present to be substituted in its place, is in the opinion of at least one of its champions, calculated to "promise a race of quiet, modest, thinkers". We who think that Telang's system if rightly worked cannot but be benificence of have, at least the consolation to find that Telang erred at least in the company of Alexander Bain, Sidgwick, Principal Muirhead and even the scientist Huxley. We close this part of our theme with a passage from Dr. Bain's essay on the University ideal.

The University must include the life beyond the profession. We are citizens of a self governed country members of various smaller societies, heads or members of families. We have moreover to carve out recreation and enjoyment as the alternative and reward of our professional toil. Now the entire tone and character of this life outside the profession, is profoundly dependent on the compass of our early studies. He that leaves the school for the shop at thirteen, is on one platform. He that spends the years from 13 to twenty in acquiring general knowledge is on a totally different platform ; he is in the best sense, an aristocrat. Those that begin work at thirteen and those that are born not to work, at all, are alike his inferiors, He should be able to spread light all around. He it is that may stand before the world as the model man.

A few lines further in the same essay Dr. Bain describes the ideal graduate thus :—

An ideal graduate is he who has such a hold of the leading subjects, such a mastery of the various alphabets as will make future reference intelligible, and a continuation of the study possible. The foundations have to be widened. Making every allowance for the variation of tastes and circumstances and looking solely to what is desirable for a citizen and a man, it is impossible to refuse the claims of Historical and Social study. A share of attention

should be bestowed early on the higher Literature of the Imagination. As in after life poetry and elegant composition are to be counted as a pleasure and solace, they should be taken up first as a study. The highest work of all-original enquiry, needs a broad basis of liberal study. Imperfect preparatory study leaves marks of imperfection in the product.

Dr. Bain concludes with these words :—

A University stands or falls with its Arts Faculty. This faculty should always be representative of the needs of our intelligence, both for the professional and the extra-professional studies. It should not be of the shop-shopy.

These words exactly convey the ideal which Telang kept in view in suggesting the reform in the curriculum that obtained in his time. If that system has proved as some of his critics would try to show "an education by cram and emetic" the fault lies not at the door of the system but exclusively at the door of inefficient teachers the dictators of notes and dry summaries, and their co-workers, the equally incompetent examiners who ask questions that encourage cram. Not to bring about a change in the staff or in the method of examination but to keep on harping on a change in the syllabus of study or in the constitution of the senate and the syndicate is to offer us a stone where we ask for bread. We have dealt at great length on Telang's work at the University because, Higher Education claimed his greatest attention. Sir Raymond West remarks as follows on the changes introduced by him.

Telang consistently supported the cause of genuine learning in the University against repeated attack, and

the science of law, which has still to grow up in India may have much to owe to his exertions in settling the present curriculum for the degree of LL. B.

As regards the other phases of the educational problem, his views are to be gathered from the minute of dissent he wrote to some of the recommendations of the Education commission appointed by the Government of Lord Ripon in 1882. The object of the commission was to enable the Government to know how the policy introduced by the Educational despatch of 1864, had answered its purpose; "how far the superstructure corresponded with the original design." The commission was asked to suggest such methods as it might think desirable with a view to more completely carry out the policy therein laid down. The Government, it was declared, was firmly convinced of the soundness of the policy and wanted to further extend the system of public instruction on a popular basis. The main heads which Telang deals with in his minute are

1. The fixing of the minimum of school fee by the Director;
2. The relative importance of Higher and Primary education;
3. The question of moral and religious instruction;
4. The appointment of a Consultative Board composed of officials and non-officials. State and private enterprise;
5. Attitude of the state towards education in general.

Before reviewing his minute under these different heads it must be understood that Telang

like Dr. Gurudas Banerjee was for broadening the basis of Education as a general policy, for making it cheap, for affording full opportunity for as many as could avail themselves of the light of Western thought. He was against the policy of exacting too high and unpractical conditions from the founders of new Colleges.

While yielding to none in his appreciation of original research, to which he had contributed in no small degree by his own efforts, Telang held that in matters of University Education "breadth should on no account be sacrificed to depth." We must welcome all light, especially the "British light" he said on one occasion and it must be diffused far and wide. "The greatest benefit of English education was the seeds it had sown for all kinds of reform"; and therefore he would never throw obstacles in the way of his countrymen that prevented them from acquiring that education.

It was on this account that he was against conferring upon the Director of Public Instruction the power of fixing the minimum of the fee-rate. He is not prepared to accept what he calls "the strained construction of the clause regarding the fees in the despatch of 1854", (1) because the traditions of his countrymen are against the rule and (2) the experience of European countries does not support it, "where a consistent attempt was being made to reduce the cost of secondary education." Telang argued that education was not to be made self-supporting by the increase of fees. The Despatch of 1854 plainly indicates the wish of its authors that the money of the state should

go as far as possible in developing education in this country.

The next point he makes against the increase of fees, is that it will discourage private effort, the very thing which it should be the policy of Government to foster.

I am concerned for those institutions which are not but ought to be receiving aid, and those which may be started hereafter and may properly ask for aid. I am concerned for those which shall not aim at making secondary and higher education as costly as possible but which shall be started by men, who will within certain limits, act on the traditions to which I have already alluded. The work done is of a nature which the state has undertaken to help and therefore has an absolute claim to help.

2. On the question of mass education he says:—

I unreservedly accept the view that without mass education the country will never be able to enjoy to the full the fruit which it has a right to expect from higher education. But in this as in other spheres of education, "the different branches of education should move forward together. The pushing forward of primary education is impossible without higher education. The one should not be fostered by starving out the other. In the present condition of India, it devolved as a sacred duty upon the state to promote the popular as well as the superior and secondary instruction.

In my opinion, said Telang, the whole religious, social, political and industrial advance of the country, depends on the steady adhesion to that enlightened policy as regards high education which has probably been the most generally approved portion of British Indian policy in the past. In order that private effort should be forthcoming in any district, high education must as a general rule, have been in existence in that district for some time.

3. On the question of moral and religious education again, he found it difficult to see eye to eye

with the recommendations of the commission. "The proposed recommendation will be," he wrote, "impotent for good and may result in mischief." As regards the advisability of instituting a course of lectures in the colleges. "On the Duties of Man and a Citizen," Telang writes "in a primary school, lessons on the duties of a man would be probably useful: in a secondary school they would probably be innocuous: but in a collegiate institution they would be neither useful nor innocuous". The passage that follows is worth quoting in full as it shows most clearly what he regarded as the end and aim of college education.

The cultivation of the feelings and the discipline of the will can never come merely from listening to discourses on the duties of man. On the other hand the habit of analysis and criticism which is developed at that stage may produce an effect contrary to that desired. That sense of moral responsibility in man which impressed Kant with the same awe as the starry heavens, can receive no strengthening from lectures on the duties of a man, any more than the awe which the starry heavens inspire can be produced by lectures on the rings of Saturn, or the phase of the moon. Such strengthening must come from the emotions and will being worked upon by the histories of great movements, the lives of great men, and the songs of great poets. It must come from the training of the will and emotions by the actual details of academic life, by the elevating contact with good professors and fellow-students, by the constant engagement of the attention on the ennobling pursuits of literature, science and philosophy; by the necessity so often felt "to scorn delight and live labourious days."

Lectures on the duties of man he said, "can at the best lead to the cold decrees of the brain."

They have no effect in cooling down the hot temper which leaps over those decrees.

As regards lessons on the duties of a citizen what he calls political morality, he admits that it might remove misunderstanding and dispel ignorance. But there is one great danger not to be overlooked. Inconvenient results may flow from the policy, especially in times of excitement. The result would be "to drag the serene dignity of the academy into the heat and dust of platform warfare."

If the Professors' lectures tend to teach the pupils the duty of submission to the views of Government without a murmur of dissatisfaction, there is sure to come up a set of liberal irreconcilables who will complain that Government is endeavouring to enslave the intellect of the nation. If the Professors' lectures are supposed to lead to the opposite direction, there will be some Tory irreconcilables ready to spring up and say even more loudly and quite as erroneously that colleges supported from state revenue are hot beds of sedition.

Telang raised an equally strong objection to the proposal of preparing a moral text book as he condemned the suggestion of lectures on the duties of man and citizen. In support of his view he quotes the failure of such an experiment in Ireland.

While agreeing with the view of Lord Ripon that all education was imperfect without religious instruction, he could not see his way out of the difficulties that would crop up the moment an attempt were made to carry it out in practice. State managed schools can only find refuge under the circumstances "in that remote haven of refuge for the educationists—the secular system." It is

for private institutions started by the professors of different creeds to undertake the task. It is rather in the indirect influence of the healthy atmosphere of the class room symbolized in the personality of the teacher and the general tone of social discipline, that sound conduct must find its nourishment and growth. Copy book morality is bound to fail of its effect by its very dryness and limitation to some hour of the school work, rather than to the whole time during which the boy is in the school.

Recent events have forcibly drawn the attention of the authorities to the question of moral and religious instruction. Our education has come in once more for condemnation as "godless education". It is but proper in such times to refresh our memory with the thoughts of one of the best and the wisest among us, so that whatever particular course of policy may seem plausible to us under the changed environment, we may not rush precipitately into a course which, even if it may for the time seem to heal the sore, is likely to create still worse situation in the future. We have to beware at least that the remedy is not worse than the disease. Religious differences have been from days of yore, the greatest obstacle in India, in the path of co-operation, harmony and union for common ends. We have to be vigilant lest the spectre of sectarianism may rise up once more to create chaos and confusion. It is in the home and around the family hearth that sound-principles of conduct have to be inculcated. It is the parents that must see how their children behave, what habits they form, in what company

they move, and what opinions they imbibe. The home and the community must set the proper tone. There lies the true remedy. The School and the college can only supplement the work. It cannot be expected to do more.

For introducing elasticity and the spirit of liberal and progressive ideas in matters educational Telang advised the formation of a consultative Board of education. "Even the trained officers of government in the Education as in any other department, will not find it disastrous to the efficient discharge of their duties, if they now and then take extra departmental counsel." The spirit of the time at which Telang wrote these words was one of intense sympathy with popular demands and encouragement of private enterprise. The Government then looked forward to a gradual withdrawal of state management and control and to the transference of existing institutions to native enterprise. Private effort was sought to be stimulated in order that freedom and variety might be secured. But even in these times, this suggestion which was more than anything else calculated to introduce a national element, in the system of Instruction fell flat on the Commission. The view which prevailed in the commission Telang styled as "a bureaucratic and erroneous view." It only reminds us of the old adage "Man wills not when he can and cannot when he wills".

We now come to the last two points discussed in Telang's minute. I. State and private

enterprise 2. The attitude of the state towards education in general.

Telang's view on private enterprise is already foreshadowed in his discussion on the increase of fees. He was for fostering private enterprise by liberal grants in aid without the imposition of conditions that would defeat the very end of such an enterprise, which was to cheapen education and make it available to the poor boys "the salt of our colleges and schools." He also advised the increase of provision for free-student-ships which in the colleges and high schools of Bombay was in his eyes ridiculously small being merely 5 per cent. of "the total number." The Free-studentships are to be in addition to scholasihip. Moreover the proportion of free students to be admitted should never be fixed by the arbitrary percentage by the Department of Public Instruction. It should be left to the discretion of the Principal who ought to see however that admission can be made without making any individual class in the institution unmanageably large. The state is thus enabled to disseminate the benefits of its institutions wider without increasing by one pie its own expenditure upon these institutions. It need not be said that the boys to whom free-student-ships are to be granted, must be deserving of support on the score of character, perseverance and other intellectual and moral qualities. In recent circulars of the Government of Bombay the policy of the Government in the matter of fees, scholar-ships and the number of schools that Government should maintain is once more defined. The spirit

of that policy runs distinctly counter to the trend of suggestions noticed in this short review of Telang's educational work. The Despatch of 1854 looked forward to the time when the state should only exercise supervision and wise control over educational institutions which were to be directly under the management of private agency. The Government of Lord Curzon initiated a policy which virtually transferred all control to the central authority in the state. Stringent rules were framed for the affiliation and support of privately managed institutions. In the name of efficiency, individual initiative was nipped in the bud. The constitution of the senate and the syndicate was so shaped and the expert element secured such a preponderance of influence that the University became for all practical purposes the department of the state. The new order of things thus introduced left no scope for the free play of public opinion. If the popular voice was ever heard it was heard only on sufferance. It did not find its freest expression on its own merits or by right. If there is any agency that touches the root principles of national life, that agency is certainly education. That is the one sphere in which light must be admitted from all quarters, and not from the mere expert. Education ought never to be confined within the brass bands of officialdom. It is then apt to be cast in hard, mechanic moulds, lacking in variety, breadth and therefore lacking in life. Above all things education can never improve without men and money. Without ample provision for these two levers, no amount of other machinery can make it really

vitalizing. To this part of the states' duty Telang drew the attention of Lord Ripon's Government in the following words.

I hope that the Government of Lord Ripon which has already done so much for the country, will add the educational to its many laurels and achieve directly or indirectly the credit which Matthew Arnold gives to the Government of France on the Restoration after the battle of Waterloo. "To the Restoration" he says, "is due the credit of having first perceived that in order to carry on the war with ignorance, the sinews of war were necessary." Other Governments had decreed systems of education for the people, the Government of the Restoration decreed funds. The question of popular education is mainly a question of funds. What is wanted and what we must trust to, is not the shortsighted economies in the expenditure on Higher education, which have been suggested by some irresponsible reformers of our system, but effort on the part of the British Indian Government to follow, at however great a distance, the Imperial Government which has in ten years increased its grant to education from £ 1940,000 to £ 4,290,000 sterling.

We conclude this chapter with the pious hope that these wise words were engraved on the heart of every statesman who would initiate a liberal educational policy among the subject races committed to his charge. Yes it is not enough to decree systems of education, Government must decree funds. Men and money—the best available men and the most liberal grant of money are the two indispensable conditions of any change in the policy of education, for that change to be fruitful in solid good to the people.

POLITICS.

There comes a time in the history of every country when its people refuse to be satisfied with

good government alone. They desire to participate in the administration of their own country. They feel that their status, no less than their interests suffer if they are not given adequate scope for self-expression and self-realization. Often the movement begins with a few, who have had the benefit of education. Gradually it spreads out in ever-widening circles.

The idea fills the air and is caught on by a large number of people until at last it assumes the form and shape of a prevailing sentiment. It gathers in strength and its claim to recognition becomes irresistible.

The aspiration for political rights marks the growth of an impulse which a wise government will always seek to enlist on its side. Especially in a country, where a wide difference of national traditions separates off the rulers and the ruled, the tendency to widen the gulf still further by refusing to listen to a class which alone forms the medium of mutual understanding is sure to be fraught with serious mischief. True statesmanship consists in anticipating in due time the growing aspirations of the people and forestalling them by political concessions. Benevolent despotism like "the cake of custom" is good only "for making the mould of civilization and hardening the soft fibre" of a people for a freer form of government. The tyranny of despotism like the tyranny of custom becomes crushing when it artificially circumscribes the sphere of movement for the intellectual and moral energies of the people. Loyalty sorely tried becomes sullen and the people turn, to use the phrase of an Anglo-Indian statesman,

“as quiet as gunpowder.” To allow the situation to develop into this extreme stage marks the breakdown of statesmanship.

Even in the most critical times of 1858, it was the wise statesmanship of Canning that poured oil over the troubled waters and bound the rulers and the ruled in silken chords of gratitude, sympathy and mutual good faith.

The Proclamation of 1858 healed up the breach still further by its noble declaration of equality of treatment to all irrespective of caste, creed or colour. It ratified and sealed all the pledges given before.

If the people of India cherish England's name with gratitude and love, inspite of the recurrent periods of a re-actionary policy marked by a spirit of haughty scorn for their cherished hopes, it is because in the darkest hour of despair, she has been able to send forth a statesman with a mandate to reassure the people, of England's good faith towards India, a statesmen who by his wise and sympathetic guidance is able to guide the ship of the state in the right direction, making England's rule broad-based upon the people's will.

That has been the sheet anchor of India's loyalty. That is what keeps the faith of the educated class unshaken in the British sense of fairness and justice even in moments when that faith is most sorely tried.

That faith was stronger still in the first generation of educated Indians. Telang formed a connecting link between that generation and the following. He was the type and representative of new India. His political ideal and his political

method were the ideal and the method of the generation that preceded him. He was brought up in the school of Dr. Bhau Daji, Nowroji Furdoonji, Mandlik and Dadabhoy Nowroji. Their patriotism was marked by sanity and self-control. Their method of criticism was characterized by what Bagehot has chosen to call "animated moderation". There was independence of spirit and searching criticism. But the undertone was a deep and rational feeling of loyalty. That loyalty was as much based on reason as on self-interest. They looked upon the British connection in the light of a Providential dispensation; not merely in a spirit of fatalism but with the strong faith of reasoned conviction. Western education was the direct product of British rule. It had sown the seed for all kinds of reform. It was a great instrument of progress and national unity. It had pushed the national life along modern lines. It had introduced peace and order. It had purified the methods of administration and held up equality as the principle of action in its dealings with the subject-race. Years and years must roll on before India will be able to take her rank with the progressive nations of the West. But the start was given, the beginning was made by the guiding genius of England. Whatever may be the drawbacks of the British rule, it was in the main beneficent. That was briefly told their faith. Besides, there was no alternative to that rule. Self-interest and good faith therefore bound them in chains of loyalty to British rule in India.

Their criticism of administrative measures was consequently broadminded, rational, and based on the thorough knowledge of facts. It was marked by sobriety and thoughtfulness and wise insight into the needs of the hour. Yet it was far from being of a halting or hesitating character. They were keen in detecting flaws and fearless in exposing them. However, measures not men, was their motto. Mere cavil and abuse, they thought, were calculated to weaken their case and bring a reflection on the cause they championed.

In criticising the policy of the Government they took their stand upon the pledges given from time to time by responsible statesmen. They condemned particular acts not on vague, general doctrinaire grounds but in the light of the broad line of policy laid down in memorable documents like the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. They had abundant faith in the resources of constitutional agitation. Petitioning to the authorities was not looked upon by them as a policy of mendicancy. They claimed it as their right and privilege to memorialize to Government on a felt grievance. It was also their duty as much to the rulers as the ruled.

Their task was two-fold. They had to build up public opinion to strengthen their case. They had also to turn the face of the state towards the nation rather than towards the bureaucrats. Their work consisted in securing for individual Indians equality of treatment with individual Englishmen. With this end in view they agitated for throwing open the responsible posts in the administration to worth and merit wherever it

was found. Fitness alone, they argued, should be the criterion of eligibility, a rule proclaimed long before, but observed rather in the breach than in the performance. Competition rather than patronage should be the governing principle. To make the competitive test equitable in its operation they urged upon the rulers the advisability as well as the justice of holding the civil service examination simultaneously in India and England.

The other thing they sought to achieve was to transform the purely personal form of government into one in which there was scope enough for consulting and knowing the wishes of the people. With this object they set themselves to the task of agitating for reform in Municipal franchise: for the grant of local self-government which is "the fittest preparation and the most convenient stepping stone for anything approaching to a constitutional regime."

They also wanted that the legislative bodies might be expanded, reformed and fostered into "useful institutions proving a convenient channel through which the European element in the government might obtain an insight into the inner mind and the less obvious wants of the native population."

The political struggle between 1872-1889, the period of Telang's active work in the field of politics turned mainly round these two principal demands.

The State in India even in these days of expansion and reform is to use the significant phrase of Dr. Emil Reich "an endless array of bureau-

crats". It was much more so in the early years of Indian political life. Backed by the prestige of England and with a free field before him for the exercise of power, the bureaucrat of those days considered himself self-sufficient. He was a law unto himself. He resented criticism and considered controversy as highly irritating. His policy and measures were conceived and hatched up in the dark and came upon the people with the suddenness of a cataclysm of Nature. He went but in search of arguments to bolster up his theory howsoever much it violated all the fundamental maxims of good government. He was a master in the art of finessing.

Bureaucracy was indeed a splendid machine, but its efficiency was marred by inelasticity. It was to use the words of Sir Charles Dilke "secret and irresponsible." Irresponsible autocracy, secrecy of method, proud indifference to public criticism, lofty contempt for advice, were the prevailing modes of those times among the bureaucrats. The good or bad management of finance, the equality or inequality of taxation, the economy or waste of revenue, a policy of peace or war, expansion or retrenchment—all turned upon the whim or caprice of the individual head of the Government. There enough was no council powerful to control or guide. The councils, to use the phrase of Telang, were "little better than a solemn farce."

This want of consistency and continuity in the method of government, this defiant attitude towards public opinion, this triumph of personal rule became most marked in the regime of Lord Lytton. All the acts of that regime, from the

wasteful expenditure of revenue on the Frontier policy to the abolition of cotton duties, came in for a sharp criticism at the hands of the non-official public opinion both Indian and European.

Some of Telang's remarkable utterances were delivered at public meetings held to protest against the reactionary measures of Lord Lytton. These utterances reveal at once the sobriety, the self-restraint, the power of close reasoning and penetrating criticism, all pervaded by a vein of subtle humour. The expression is remarkably lucid, and singularly absent from "the foppery of sentiment."

What were the reactionary measures of Lord Lytton that brought home keenly to the people for the first time, the radical defects of a government in which the people had no voice and in which as a consequence the fundamental maxim of good government ran the utmost risk of being systematically violated?

The 1st act of Lord Lytton's regime that came in for a severe condemnation at the hands of the people was the Revenue Jurisdiction Bill of 1876, a bill that was opposed by the High Court, the Bombay Government and the people at large and that was passed in the teeth of that opposition. The Bill "transferred the cognizance of disputes in which the fisc was concerned from the civil courts to the revenue officers". The state of public feeling on the radical injustice of the measure may be gauged from the trenchant remarks of the Bombay Gazette on the same.

The Bill has withdrawn the ordinary privileges of British subjects and has involved them in a common

degradation as the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the officials charged with the administration of the Empire. It is not enough that every avenue should be closed to the ambitions of men born in India, but recently the great desire of the legislature apparently has been to undo the work of the English conquerors who tried to give the people the same securities that Englishmen enjoy at home and to transform a civil government into a mere Oriental tyranny. Trial by jury to these superior persons is a mere relic of a barbarous age in favour of which the stupid British people cherish an absurd prejudice. Liberty of the press is the next British institution marked for destruction and soon the English traveller visiting these shores will have the satisfaction of seeing among other curious Indian antiquities the ruins of the English constitution.

The remedy suggested by the Bombay Gazette for this grievous lapse was the remodelling of the councils in a manner to make the voice of the people felt in the administration of the country.

At a meeting held to petition the Secretary of State to withhold his sanction to the Bill, Telang made a speech much praised by the Gazette for its lucidity. From that speech we cull the following passage which admirably sums up his view on the subject.

The bill marks a tendency to bring people back to the days of personal government. It is objectionable on the ground that it vests in the Revenue officers authority which they ought not to have, and takes away from the civil courts a power which they ought to have against arbitrary action by revenue officers. It is not enough to be just, the officers must seem just. In the hands of the judges, the rights of the ryots were perfectly safe; in the hands of the Revenue officers, though they might be so, the ryots themselves will not believe them to be so and that is a very strong reason why the Bill should be condemned.

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In spite of this protest the Bill became Act 10 of 1875. It was the mixing up of Judicial and Executive functions—a principle disapproved by all and the struggle against which began from this early date—a struggle which has not yet resulted in the abandonment of the procedure, the viciousness of which has been admitted on all hands at present. Telang's remarks show an admirable insight into the fact that an occasional defeat in a civil court is a great support to Government in the long run, because it bases British rule on the moral approbation of the people, which depends to a large extent on their faith in the Government's sense of justice and fair play. That faith is strengthened only when the Government is willing to submit its own acts to the jurisdiction of the Courts which it has itself established.

The next speech which Telang delivered was on the License Tax levied in 1878 to contribute towards the formation of the Famine Insurance Fund. A meeting was held in the tent of Wilson's Circus, as the use of Town Hall was refused for the purpose by the Government, to memorialize to the House of Commons against the tax. It was shown "that the tax was faulty in its details and odious in the principle, that it struck too low and exempted on the one hand high officials and on the other men of the learned professions".

It was levied on traders who were the greatest contributors to indirect taxation and on agriculturists who were already heavy-burdened with the enhanced duty on salt and who were already paying the land tax. Telang showed the arbitra-

rieness and absurdity of the tax by these remarks ;

The grounds on which the proposal to levy this tax is based are first that those who have taken such great pains in meeting the famine are not the proper persons to be taxed in order to defray the expenditure that has been incurred.

2. That in as much as these officers of government are not to be taxed, therefore all other government officers shall not be taxed and people who may in some sense be supposed to stand in the same position ought not to be taxed ? Because these ought not to be taxed therefore the professional classes should not be taxed. Naturally enough the only persons fit to bear the burden of taxation were the traders and the agriculturists.

The absurdity of the method is thus cleverly brought out by carrying the principle to its logical conclusion. There is humour enough without sting or satire. Lord Lytton had asked, if we are to tax all these classes where are we to stop at all? Telang retorted why stop anywhere at all : why should any class be exempted from the burden. Let all contribute their share towards the Famine Insurance Fund. Let not the agriculturists and traders in addition to the burden of the tax to be paid, feel the odiousness of it. It was in this speech that he characterized the Legislative Councils of the time as " little better than a solemn farce."

When the independent members happened to agree with a government measure their opinion was spoken of as representing the general opinion of the public but when they opposed any measure which the Government thought fit to introduce, their opinions were spoken of contemptuously as a mere individual opinion not representing the general views of the public, with which the Government officers were much better acquainted themselves.

The next measure of Lord Lytton's that roused the bitter opposition of the public was the Vernacular Press Act, other-wise known as the Gagging Act. The measure was hatched up in secret, introduced into the council without sufficient notice to enable the public at large to discuss it and passed in hot haste at a single sitting. The Act was subsequently repealed by Lord Ripon. It sought to institute a censorship of the Vernacular Press, not to put a check on an existing evil but to prevent prospective mischief. The censorship was limited only to the Vernacular Press.

Telang in a series of articles to the *Indu Prakash* exposed in detail the inexpediency, the futility and the inequity of the measure. In the 1st two articles he discussed the Act, section by section, pointing out its many flaws with the keenness of a lawyer, showing the injustice of the whole Act. He complained that the court had no jurisdiction in administering the Act. The wording of the Act was so loose as "to bring within its sweep any inconvenient publication". It was not "consistent with the loudly repeated belief in the loyalty of the educated classes".

"The tendency" he wrote, "to replace the reign of law by personal government is, inspite of Sir Henry Maine, becoming stronger in the country day by day. Every officer will identify himself and his doings so far with the government established by law in British India, as to punish all adverse criticism of himself as being "likely to excite disaffection". We hold, that such restrictions on the freedom of the press are unjust, inexpedient and utterly powerless to produce the ends desired. Nay they are very powerful agents for

bringing about the very results which they are designed to avert."

As regards the clause which required the whole matter to be submitted to the Government officer before publication, Telang wrote :—

The officer will have his likes and dislikes, his feelings in the light of which he will look to everything placed before him. What guarantee is there that the power may not be abused even from the purest of intentions.

Telang concludes the second article on the Act thus :—

It appears to us to be descent from the higher level of political status which under the wiser British Government, we had already reached, into the slough of patriarchal rule and personal Government. If there was one thing more than another to which an advocate of the British government could point as marking unmistakably the superiority of it to by-gone governments, it was after the liberty of speech and thought, this reign of law-liberty of speech, which is now become to a considerable extent a thing of the past under the provisions of the Gagging Act. The Reign of law is passed, ceasing under the hands of these sapient legislators who have been ruling the past few years.

The Government claimed that the Act was modelled on the Irish Act of 1870. Telang argued in the 3rd and 4th articles that "on every circumstance the Vernacular Act differed from that of Ireland." The outrages and terrorism of Ireland had no match in India. No member of the Press here had spoken of rebellion as the duty of the Indian patriot. The whole Press had discountenanced with one voice such violent acts as those of the rioters at Pabna, in the Deccan or at Surat. The riots were due to local causes.

They were neither instigated, nor encouraged, nor countenanced by the Press.

In Ireland again every sort of conciliatory measure was tried and was found to have failed. What has the Indian Government to show, Telang asked, to correspond to the Irish Church Bill or the Irish Land Acts. What has the Government done to allay the discontent arising out of heavy taxation levied in the times of scarcity, famine and general poverty? After this question Telang mentions certain grievances which ought to have been redressed. The passage is worth quoting because it shows what were the urgent demands of the educated classes in those times.

Have natives yet been allowed the same opportunities to be admitted to the civil service as the members of the ruling race? Has the drain on Indian resources for the home-charges been reduced? Have not the Import Duties been abolished at the same time that a new tax has been imposed and this in the teeth of the solemn declarations of Lord Lytton and Lord Salisbury and in the teeth of the resolution of the House of Commons itself? Has the dividing wall of bitter memories between Europeans and Natives been yet broken down? Have not attempts been made to legislate away the old rights of private individuals by Acts like the Abkari Act and the Forest Act? Has not the personal government been increased under the Criminal Procedure Code and like Acts? Has any attempt been made to stop by the Indian Penal Code the mischief alleged to grow from the Press being free? Intensely desiring as we do the continuance of British rule in India, we are extremely sorry to find our government holding an inexpugnable belief in its own perfection and lulled, so to speak, in the optimistic sleep from which the attempt to rouse it, only entails its supreme displeasure.

Telang concludes the series in the following passage which strikes a note of loyalty which was the fundamental principle of his thoughts and ambitions for his country as a citizen of the British Empire. He says :—

We believe, we cannot yet rule ourselves, and we believe that we cannot get any foreign rulers as good as the English. Wishing then as we do from whatever motives for the continuance of the British rule, we are extremely anxious that our rulers should do everything which they reasonably and properly can and may do, to keep the people at large contented; for in the last resort as eminent British statesmen have always maintained, it is on the contentment and good will of the people that the British Empire can rest most securely. Therefore, it must keep itself fully informed of the wants and feelings and thoughts of their subjects. And by the necessity of the case, they being foreigners in the land, they can have few better sources of information than the newspapers and journals written by persons who, as being themselves of the people, necessarily know a great deal about the people. We venture to say in spite of the boast, that the ruling race has not yet succeeded in understanding us.

These words are worth pondering both by the academic extremist and the sundried bureaucrat. To the former, they bring home the fact that whatever logic may tell him, the ideal he holds up is an impossible ideal and therefore beyond the pale of practical politics. It is fraught with dire consequences. He may propose to accomplish it by peaceful means but as Mr. Gokhale has put it, "the Government, which does not want to see its rule overthrown, will not long permit him to retain their peaceful character." Moreover "it means the sure destruction, or at any rate, the indefinite postponement of all opportunities for slow

but peaceful progress", consisting in the development of "the muscle, capacity, character and the spirit of sacrifice" in the average man. To the sundried bureaucrat, they are a warning that there is but one way to govern men and that is "to get into their skins, to try to realize their feelings". That cannot be well done except by rallying the educated classes to their side by wise political concessions on which alone as Lord Morley has pointed out, efficiency of a true, solid and abiding character depends.

From the Vernacular Press Act, we pass on to the abolition of import duties on cotton. The duties were abolished by the Viceroy, "overruling a majority of his colleagues in Council." "The Viceroy stood," as Telang puts it, "in a glorious minority of two against a very large number against him." This was "one of the many indications of a new *départure* in Indian policy." "It was an indication of Government according to the whims and caprices of individual officers and that the Government by cabinets or councils was passing away". The condition was most unsatisfactory and mischievous. Besides as Telang points out in a meeting held to petition in the House of Commons against the act, it was a breach of "promise solemnly given to India indirectly through the replies to Manchester both by Lord Salisbury and Lord Lytton, that they would be no party to a repeal of these duties, if there was to be substituted for them some other mode of taxation". Such a taxation was imposed by the License Tax and the raising of the salt duty. A revenue that the state already possessed in the returns of cotton

duties, was sacrificed to burden the famine stricken ryots at the most inopportune moment with enhanced salt duty and the odious because partial License Tax. Telang again pointed out with the keenness of a lawyer that the License Tax levied in 1878, was for Famine Insurance Fund. But as the Government had admitted that the Famine Insurance Fund for which, it was announced that the License tax was to be

religiously set apart had virtually ceased to exist, i.e. no such fund had been established out of the proceeds of the tax in 1878 and as no provision was made for establishing it out of the tax in 1879, therefore although in name the tax was not new, it was in substance a new tax for 1879. The tax levied last year was for the Famine Insurance Fund. That levied this year was for the ordinary current expenses of this year. That is to say that it is in substance and effects a new tax.

On these grounds the conditions for the abolition of Import Duties had not been kept. Telang thus treated the question, as of finance, pure and simple. Two years before in an essay read before the Sassoon Mechanics Institute, Telang had made a strong case for the protection of industries by the Import Duties. But in the speech under notice Telang yielded the ground as regards Free Trade, showing the injustice of the measure to consist in a bad management of the Finance. In the concluding portion of the speech Telang points out the impatience of autocracy and its exasperating influence upon the people by a happy combination of wit, satire and apt literary allusion. After condemning the rebuke administered to the deputation of the Bengalis by Lord Lytton as "unmerited, ungenerous, uncharitable and unjust", Telang continues :—

. Lord Lytton's reply to the deputation is exceptionable not merely for its fallacies, and incorrect statements, not merely for its spirit and tone but also because of its being quite unprecedented among the replies of Her Majesty's representatives to Her Indian subjects throughout the whole course of the British rule.

In that reply Lord Lytton said that he was anxious to put an end "to a fruitless and irritating controversy". Telang quoting the following lines from Lord Lytton's 'Fables in Song,' describing man as a paradoxical creature,

"Height measures he in depth, seeks peace in strife,
And calls all this the poetry of life".

remarks,

His Lordship has undoubtedly sought peace in strife both in our North-West where under the guidance of his chief Lord Beaconsfield, he has gone in quest of a "Scientific frontier" and also in this affair of domestic administration, for the problematical "peace", in the future, of the stoppage of an irritating controversy, His Lordship has resorted to a wide-spread strife in the present.

The *curiosa felicitas* which Telang praised in Lord Lytton is no less conspicuous in his own utterances, and his speech on Cotton Duties is all through an admirable specimen of the same. This closes the regime of Lord Lytton. The tide now turned. The liberal ministry came in power in 1881 and sent Lord Ripon to fill the place of the Viceroy. He redeemed once more the glorious name of England as the mother of free institutions and the jealous guardian of the interests of the country committed to her care.

Lord Ripon's rule in India marked a transition from the old to the new. The form of Government was yet purely personal but a sincere attempt

was made to make it more and more "broad-based upon the people's will". It was a conviction with Lord Ripon that England was to labour not for the material welfare of India alone; she must bend all her energies and her iron will, as he expressed it in one of his last speeches, to raise the people in the scale of nations by attending to their intellectual development, political training, and moral elevation. In all his measures, whether they deal with education, local self-Government or repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, it was in this spirit that "he endeavoured to discharge the arduous task which for four years was entrusted to his care."

In sketching the political career of Telang, if an Indian's share in the efforts to raise the political status of his own country, be at all designated by that name, we are not concerned with all the administrative measures of that noble and beneficent rule. We turn at once to one measure which more than anything else marked the temper of the Government viz., its earnest and sincere desire to treat all people alike, to do away with privileges and exemptions as marking the governing from the governed. We refer of course to the Ilbert Bill—a measure which roused the bitterest opposition on the part of the Anglo Indian Community. The Ilbert Bill sought to do nothing more than introduce an amendment in the Criminal Procedure Code which empowered native magistrates to try European Criminals. The opposition to the Ilbert Bill was headed by members of the Civil Service and as Sir Henry Cotton has put it in his latest book, "the practi-

-cal unanimity of opposition to that measure was as complete among civilian magistrates and Judges, as it was among planters, merchants and members of the legal profession". Lord Ripon was "harassed beyond measure by the bigotry and race feeling of his own countrymen". Mutual denunciation and recrimination were rife in Calcutta both in the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Community. The Viceroy was openly insulted at the gates of the Government House by the Europeans. The European Community forgot that it was European. As Mr. Wacha has put it "it was scratched on its back and discovered to be primitive Tartar."

Every one seemed to have lost his head. "Matters reached such a pitch that a conspiracy was formed by a number of men in Calcutta who bound themselves in the event of Government adhering to the proposed legislation to overpower the sentries at Government House, put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal Ghat and deport him to England round the Cape".

"The dead wall of antagonism" by which Lord Ripon was confronted became for him too hard to overcome single handed. As a result a sort of compromise was effected, which was "the virtual though not avowed abandonment of the measure proposed by the Government." It was in Bombay alone that "there was discerned nothing, or next to nothing of that fury, abuse and wild fanaticism which disgraced Bengal". The Anglo-Indians and the Indians, though they differed from one another conducted the discussions in the papers with a dignity, moderation and sobriety, becoming true

citizens. It is the Indian community that at this time evinced in their conduct a spirit of loyalty more loyal than that of the Anglo-Indians. They accorded Lord Ripon enthusiastic support in all his measures. A public meeting was held in Bombay to memorialize the House of Commons from the Indian point of view. Telang, Mehta and Budruddin Tyabji were the principal speakers.

“Equality before the law as enjoined by the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 were the two principal points elaborated”. Telang’s speech mainly dealt with the objections raised to the Bill by Sir James Fitzstephen, in a letter contributed by the latter to the *London Times*. It is characterized by perfect reasoning and calm and judicious exposition. A spirit of self-restraint is manifest throughout. Telang was fully conscious of the deep truth that no eloquence is more convincing than the eloquence of simple assertion, supported and sustained by the clear statement of facts. The speech is remarkable for its sobriety of tone and earnestness of conviction.

A calmer and more solid piece of forensic ratiocination in the midst of the fiery whirl-wind of passion and prejudice raging outside the Presidency was never heard before. It was also a fine example of that intense self-restraint which the serene and farsighted statesman, who is not merely the politician, puts upon himself during an eventful crisis.

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prestige intact. "The passing of the Ilbert Bill" they said, "would shift the foundation of British rule in India." They prophesied imperial ruin and the collapse of British prestige. Of the fraternity who held this view, Sir Fitz James Stephen was the most conspicuous member. Telang characterized Sir Fitz James Stephen's political creed as the gospel of Force. That gospel was "in obtrusive antagonism to the doctrines of modern liberalism in the broader and higher sense, as signifying those political principles which for us in India are embodied in the great Proclamation of 1858".

Holding as Sir Fitz James did such a political creed, Telang said, "Even his support, if he supported any measure of Government which involved any of these principles would be an occasion of embarrassment." So much by way of preface. Telang answered point by point all the objections raised by Sir Fitz James Stephen. We have not the space to review his whole speech which is well worth reading, we only note a passage bearing on the broad issue of England's work in India. Sir Fitz James had written that the policy of Lord Ripon's Government was inconsistent with the foundations on which British power rests. Telang replied that he denied it entirely. He said

that the principles of Lord Ripon's administration were in consonance with the long established principles of the British Government as laid down by Parliament and the Crown, and further that they were in accord with the lessons to be derived from the study of past history.

Then follows an eloquent passage which is worth quoting in full as giving us a complete insight into Telang's ideal of England's mission in India.

I remember being struck many years ago in reading the history of the Romans under the Empire, with a passage in which the author said that one great lesson to be deduced from the history of Rome was that all conquering nations, in order to render their Government in the conquered countries stable and permanent, must divest themselves of their peculiar privileges by sharing them with the conquered peoples. Now, Gentlemen, we all know that it is the proud and just boast of Englishmen, that they are the Romans of the modern world and the British Empire is in modern days what the Roman Empire was in ancient times. If so, are we wrong, are we unreasonable in asking that the lessons of Roman history, and as Merivale points out, the lessons of the history of other ancient Governments also, should be adopted by our British rulers? "Is it not quite proper and reasonable for us to ask that the countrymen of Clarkson and Wilberforce, of Gladstone and John Bright, should not only adopt those lessons but improve upon them and rise superior to the countrymen of Marius and Sulla, the Triumvirs and the Caesars? I venture to say, gentlemen, that if Britons are now content to fail to carry out those lessons and to fall short of the generosity of the Romans, it will be regarded as not creditable to them by the future historian. And as a loyal subject of the British Government I should be sorry for such a result.

Every point that Sir Fitz James Stephen put forward against the Bill, Telang showed to be characterized by an attitude of shortsightedness and race-prejudice. Telang says "If I was an opponent of the Jurisdiction Bill, I should be afraid of his championship". When Sir Fitz James Stephen put forward a plea in favour of special privilege for Europeans on the ground that every section of the Indian Community enjoyed a simi-

lar privilege recognized by law, Telang answered that the privileges which the various Indian communities enjoyed were those of civil law. He asks,

what does it matter to John Jones whether the property of Rama, Ahmed or Mukerjee goes on his death to his sons, his daughters, his father, or mother or widow? But a law of Criminal procedure affects other communities in a most important respect.

Sir Fitz James Stephen had remarked in his reply to Mill that the British Government in India was heading a revolution. Telang fastens upon this statement and asks

if the Government is actually interfering with the personal liberties of us unenlightened and uncivilised natives, is there any thing wrong in their interfering with those of the enlightened Britions, with whose views and opinions, feelings and wishes they are much more familiar and in much great sympathy: Is there anything unfair if we ask that the same measure be dealt out to both ?

Sir Fitz James Stephen's argument was that there were special tribunals for Europeans maintained in Turkey and other countries. Telang replies that

in foreign countries the European is protected from foreign courts to be subjected to British courts. In India he is protected from one class of British courts to be subjected to another; the difference is quite manifest between the two cases.

Another argument which Sir Fitz James Stephen brought forward was that it was only natural that everyone charged with a criminal offence should wish to be tried by one of his own race and colour. Telang replies: "This leads to a difficulty that natives may have a similar wish". How does Sir

Fitz James Stephen meet that why! he says that while no native understands English sufficiently to conduct a trial in that language properly, attempts are made to mark the expression, attempts are made to get European Officers to study the Vernaculars of the Country. Telang replied "For every European that can be shown competent to conduct a criminal trial in a vernacular language, we can show at least one hundred natives even more competent to do so in English".

Telang concludes a speech, which makes an intensely instructive reading in the art of dialectics and clear, sober and able presentation of one's own standpoint, by the remark which shows how strong was his faith in Great Britain.

We have a very good case; let us take it before the House of Commons. By past experience we know that in such matters we can trust to the justice and sense of fair play in the British House of Commons. Let us leave this matter also to their judgment in the full confidence that it will be there on consideration free from all local passion and local prepossession.

The House of Commons, as the events proved, could do nothing to support its own Viceroy against the clamour of the Anglo-Indian. Though the Bill was not avowedly withdrawn, its shrinkage in the Legislative Council was tantamount to a virtual abandonment of the principle it was sought to enforce. The wisdom, sobriety and right direction of which Telang spoke in almost his last public address were the remarkable features of the agitation over the Ilbert Bill, in Bombay piloted by leaders like Telang, Mehta and Tyabji deservedly known as the triumvirate of Bombay's political life. Their attitude secured

the compliment of Lord Cromer who characterized the public opinion of Bombay "as expressive of the best type of political thought in India". "This appreciative sentiment" as Mr. Wacha has told us, "had reference to the sobriety and ability with which the great historical meeting in Bombay in support of the Ilbert Bill was conducted".

The next memorable speech of Telang was in connection with the public meeting held to commemorate the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. In that speech he gave reasons for his participation in the movement. Telang in that speech takes up every measure of Lord Ripon and shows how in all his doings the ryot was the object of his "moving active sympathy". His policy deserved praise because "it was diametrically opposed to the policy of carrying taxation along the line of least resistance which commended itself once to some great masters of statecraft". There is an underlying irony in this remark, because the great master of statecraft Telang refers to is evidently Lord Ripon's predecessor under whose administration the finances of India were in a state of hopeless muddle. Telang sums up the spirit of Lord Ripon's rule thus:—

Whether we look at the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act or the resolution for making public the aims and scope of Government measures, or the practice of inviting people's opinions on contemplated projects or whether we look to the great scheme of local self government, or the manner in which Kristodas Pal was appointed to the supreme Legislative Council, we see clearly the liberal policy of Lord Ripon's Government.

Adapting the lines of Tennyson, Telang concludes the speech thus :

Lord Ripon has made the bonds of freedom wider by shaping divers august degrees, which have not only left Queen Victoria's throne unshaken in this land but have made it even more broad based upon the people's will. It is that on which, in my humble judgment, rests most firmly Lord Ripon's claim to our gratitude. It is that which justifies the remark that summing up the result of Lord Ripon's rule, you may say, borrowing again the language of the laureate (Tennyson) that " he wrought his people lasting good".

The Indian Community discovered its own strength of combination, its capacity to co-operate in spite of differences of creed and custom on two occasions in the reign of Lord Ripon. First in supporting the Government in its introduction of the Ilbert Bill and secondly in connection with the hearty send off it accorded to Lord Ripon. For the first time in its long history India forgot that it was a congeries of different nationalities.

The Indian heart beat to one common impulse, it resounded to one common sentiment. Her Majesty's permanent opposition, the sobriquet given to the microscopic minority of the educated classes "walked" to use the phrase Telang used, "for once into the ranks of the ministerialists." The lesson of common agitation thus learnt was well laid to heart. Out of the impulse thus given sprang a movement, which was to bind the sympathies of all, and bring about a coalition and union for common ends. The birth of that movement was the indirect fulfilment of the policy of Lord Ripon. In reviewing Telang's work as a politician, it is this movement, the growth of which from a

seedling into a strong and firmrooted plant, he watched and fostered for well nigh a period of 8 years, that will occupy our attention now. He was the moving spirit of the Congress from its very inception. From 1885-1889 he worked as its general secretary.

His interest in the two organizations in the initiation of which he had a great share, viz., the Bombay Presidency Association and the Congress, continued unabated to the end of his life. Mr. Wacha tells us :

How sad it is to say that when he looked forward with the keenest interest to the Lahore Congress of 1893, at which Mr. Dadabhai was to preside, the cruel hand of death should have snatched him away from us. The satisfaction he felt at the election of Mr. Dadabhoy as M. P. and the great interest he evinced in his career in the House of Commons are, perhaps, known only to a few.

Those therefore who say or hint that Telang's elevation to the Bench took away much from his enthusiasm for political reform are basing their inference on insufficient data. The controversies of the day raged round the Consent Bill and naturally enough, Telang, who was an advocate of all round progress, pressed forward that cause with an insistence which led many to think that at last he had come round to the official view that political reform was an impossibility unless Social reform had preceded it. In a letter that Telang wrote to Y. N. Ranade in 1890, Telang has made his position in this matter very clear and it is therefore worth while quoting a passage from it.

After dealing with some question of politics which we shall have occasion to notice later on, Telang writes:—

Several years ago I delivered in Bombay a public address on the question whether social reform should precede political reform in India. I answered the question in the negative adding that both were necessary and both must be zealously pursued; in view of the available resources and opportunities my answer to that question is still the same. But in view of the extraordinary change which has come over some parts of our community and of the aggressive attitude visible in some quarters against social reform it is now become necessary not to discourage interest in politics but to emphasize more and more strongly, more and more frequently our heavy duties in the social sphere.

Different times require different tactics and it is the mission of a wise agitator to thrust forward questions that require immediate attention. It is not enough nor is it truly statesman-like to float with the times. The current must be mastered and no pains ought to be spared to push it along right, proper and fertilizing channels. The world may dub it as inconsistency but such an inconsistency is not the surrender of principles and is only a bugbear of fools.

Before however we turn to Telang's work in connection with the congress, we have to dwell for a while on his work as a secretary of the Bombay Association, the Bombay Branch of the East India Association started by Dadabhoj Nowroji and of the Bombay Presidency Association started by Telang, Mehta and Tyabji in 1885. It was his work as a secretary of these Associations that gave him the training which made him such an effective force in politics. It was as early as

1873, a year after he had entered the profession, that he became the secretary of the Bombay Association started by Bhau Daji and others in 1848 at the instance of Dr. Buist the veteran journalist of the time. Later in 1868 was started the Bombay Branch of the East India Association by Dadabhoy Nowroji. In, 1860, the Bombay Association had collapsed and the Bombay Branch of the East Indian Association was about to share the same fate. Dadabhoy revived it once more by introducing new blood. The Bombay Branch of the East India Association was found after the events of 1883 and 1884 inadequate for "the extended sphere of political activity which was recognized as essential in view of the greater needs of the country." A new political organization was therefore started in 1885 which has been doing its useful work for the last 26 years. With all these three Associations Telang was vitally connected as their working secretary. It was in this capacity that he received his first lessons of wise agitation. Believing as he did in the need of training and discipline for producing fruitful work it was there that he learnt the art of weighing his words and making his assertion square with facts and figures. The spade work of political life is even more arduous than the paraphernalia of platform oratory and public meetings. Such work Telang did from 1873 when he was elected as the Secretary of the Bombay Association till the year 1889 when he had to resign his office as the Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association after his elevation to the Bench.

It was Telang's long experience of the practical part of political work as a Secretary that kept his utterances free from "the foppery of high flown sentiment", and endowed him with a practical turn of mind, sobriety of judgment and close powers of reasoning. The absence of men trained as Telang was trained and cultivated will be felt not only in debate but in legislation, when politicians will have less and less leisure, less and less breathing time, to pause and reflect and the spasms of popular emotion become more frequent and more violent, both by the Government and by the people. We have not the space to deal at great length with many proposed measures that as a Secretary he had to analyse and memorialize upon to the Government. Mr. Wacha whose connection with Mr. Telang as the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association began as early as 1880 and lasted on till 1889 speaks highly of Telang's work. The guiding spirits of the working committee of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association from 1880 were Telang and Mehta. They were both conspicuous in the internal direction of the Association. On Telang fell the brunt of the harder work. The draft of the proposed District Municipality's Bill, the first product of Lord Ripon's resolution on Local self Government, had to be considered section by section.

Mr. Wacha says that Telang was the directing talent and cautious guide of the working Committee.

It was this work that I saw him do there which informed me at once that I was in contact with a master mind, both of principle and details, of great ability, of inexhaustible patience, of extreme modesty and above all, free from dogmatism. I also discovered his persuasive powers and his debating strength. They were such as to do credit to the most practised debater in a select committee of the House of Commons.

The next piece of legislation that underwent careful scrutiny was the Ilbert Bill. The agitation on that Bill was piloted safe by Telang, Mehta and Tyabji. The dignity and moderation evinced in Bombay in the agitation over the Ilbert Bill was due to the "consummate statesmanship and marvellous coolness" displayed by the three leaders mentioned above. It was during that agitation that Telang revealed to the country what a man of careful speech he was. Ranade has described Telang as "Not an orator who could thunder, but as one who gave heat, light and motion and hope to the masses about him in a way to make them feel that they had profited by listening to him, even for a short space of time." Telang's speech was one sweet flow of reason. The speech on the Ilbert Bill is a typical instance of Telang's manner and method. It combines both lucidity and restraint. It is "lavish in defence and frugal in attack" and absolutely free from "over embellishment and exaggeration."

Mr. Telang's work as the secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association has come in for the following appreciation from Mr. Wacha and speaks for itself. Mr. Wacha was joint Secretary of the Association with Telang and Metha. He had therefore ample opportunities for "appreciating not only his

political activity but his political sagacity." He writes thus : " I saw at once how quickly Telang grasped the broad lines underlying a given state-measure, how he detected the fallacies thereof and how he was a master of the art of practical logic to demonstrate them to conclusion." Evening after evening the three would meet in the rooms of the association and talk over public questions. Drafts were proposed, analysed and revised. The last most important memorial which Mr. Wacha prepared with Mr. Telang was in reference to the Association's representations on the subject of the Bombay Municipality Bill, in 1888. Telang was then a member of the Legislative Council and therefore remained outside the working committee. Yet he along with Mehta gave all the necessary hints and put the workers on the right track. Mr. Wacha says " Few of the public of Bombay are aware of the amount of time, labour and thought bestowed on the moulding of the Bill, more or less in harmony with popular opinion, as vigorously echoed in the corporation, by Telang and Mehta." Telang could not join the select Committee at Mahableswar but he maintained a continued correspondence with Mehta on all the knotty points that cropped up during the course of the work of the select Committee. Verily the things that matter most are the things that are done behind the scenes. They reveal the energy, the enthusiasm the patience, the sincerity and public spirit even more conspicuously than trenchant criticism or a fiery attack on an opponent delivered from a public platform. The laurels of political life fall only to him who is prepared to bear the toil, and

turmoil no less than the heat and dust of public work from day to day. We would win the prize and not face the patient toil and the tiring conflict. Earnest and zealous work, readiness to bear the burden unostentatiously, without murmur and without any hope of reward, is the price that has to be paid for the attainment of eminence. Mr. Wacha on whom we have drawn largely in connection with this aspect of Telang's political life says:—

He had no patience with those, who sitting astride on the fence of politics were the foremost to hurl their ill-disguised criticism behind the back of unselfish workers and would yet decline to co-operate when repeatedly asked to do so. Himself a man who never shirked any drudgery, however taxing and fatiguing, Mr. Telang worked at any cause on hand with cheerfulness and with a ten mules' dogged industry.

He pursued his political work with patience, perseverance and steadfastness of aim. "It is in this respect that Mr. Telang's character as a practical and successful politician comes out with irresistible force." "It is this aspect of his public life which needs to be well studied?" says Mr. Wacha "by the rising generation of educated India." We keep on clamouring for rights, we are either too sanguine or too pessimistic. We do not persevere enough. We trust too much to systems and too little to personal endeavours. We have not that sturdy hopefulness which characterized Telang. We have not that moral fibre which enabled him to keep on working and working, undaunted by failure. We want to grasp the prize without facing the weariness of the struggle. That is what Telang complained against.

As he wrote once,

"in politics you complain of Government, in social matters in the narrower sense you complain of our so-called leaders, in educational matters complain of the University. And for the rest why, everything is, as it should be, a great advance, is made and is being made, and therefore the community need do nothing. Consciously whatever we may do, or fail to do, this is not an elevating ideal to place before ourselves".

To cast off all work and responsibility on others and yet be hoping for the good to come of itself is not the way to achieve anything. To shirk work and yet expect results betrays the weakening of the moral fibre. Thus institutions collapse, organized activity is at a discount and national progress is slow. Our public life becomes a trumpery and a farce because there are not men willing to come forward to do the spade work. The result is the lack of experience and administrative inefficiency. There are towering personalities but the average character is inferior, wanting in tenacity, doggedness and resolute will. Telang's life should teach us this. We should not allow every little success to elevate us or every little depression to deject us. We must be inspired by his example to work long for great results by great toil and not be disappointed if we are "unable to accomplish the work of centuries in as many decades and the work of decades in as many years and the work of years in as many days." Our difficulties are "in us, they are not outside of us but inside us. They are in our inertia, in our weakness, in our physical inability to sustain hard work." This is what Telang meant when he said "if there is one thing more than another now wanted to be developed among us, it

is a strengthening of our moral fibre." Of that moral fibre, Telang had enough as is evidenced by the arduous work that he underwent as Secretary of the many Associations with which he was connected.

From Telang's work as the secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association we pass on to his work as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council of which he was a member for 5 years. He was nominated in 1884 by the Government of Sir James Fergusson and the appointment continued on, by further nomination through the reign of Lord Reay till 1889. In his capacity as a member of the Council he proved himself an "effective and active critic" of government measures. Perhaps the most important bills introduced during his term of appointment were the Bill for the Amendment of the Land Revenue code of 1885 and the City of Bombay Municipal Bill introduced in 1887. His general attitude towards these measures may be best summed up in the words of Sir Raymond West.

On all occasions he resisted excessive government action and interference with the fair play of individual will under the traditional conditions, but always with an elevation of view and a sense of responsibility which made his very opposition an ultimate source of strength.

Generally he voted in favour of the Bill at the 1st reading trusting to see it materially modified in the committee stage. He would subject the sections of a Bill to searching criticism and spoke very strongly as to measures and proposals, but in his very attitude of opposition he made it clear

that he appreciated to the full the Government's sincere wish to do good by the people. He started in his criticism with this prepossession in favour of Government that if it only knew what were the real bearings of the question it would willingly come round to his view and do what the people wanted it to do.

Hence there was no "confused vehemence" in his opposition. Nor were his remarks seasoned with denunciations of his opponents. His natural indolence of spirit and his intellectual detachment saved him from the defects to which the champion of the people's cause is prone to fall a victim. On the other hand if "he did not howl to order he also did not cower to command." "His grasp of fundamental principles was great and he was therefore most able to give expression to them with a perspicacity which left little to be desired."

In his advocacy of people's grievances he was neither fussy or meddlesome, but when he thought that a principle was at stake he was the readiest to assert it and he asserted it in no hesitating tone. Thus incidentally in his minute on education he remarks,

I am no fanatical advocate of the claims of my countrymen to appointments in the public Service but I must say we have not received quite fair measure in this matter. To borrow a figure from John Bright, we have had a feast with a very small quantity of meat and a very large quantity of table-cloth.

Again in his speech on the 1st reading of the Bill for the Amendment of Land Revenue Code he says in answer to the contention of the member in charge of the Bill that the pressure of the land

revenue under the British Rule was lighter than that under native rule.

I should say that the British Government ought in this matter to rise superior to the practice of native Governments during the periods to which the Honourable member has referred. In those periods according to my understanding of the subject, the native governments were themselves deviating from their own traditions of past times and the system of those degenerate days should not be pointed for comparison. For the British Government would not be worthy of its position unless it rose superior to the system prevailing in those days.

In spite of the many flaws that he noticed in the Bill at its 1st reading he did not vote against it because on the whole "the policy of the Bill is one on which the Government may be congratulated." But "steps should be taken during the progress of the Bill in order that the policy which we know to be liberal, may also appear liberal to those affected by it."

Thus Telang never stooped to catch a momentary applause but always spoke in sober language words of wisdom, words that sprang from his inner conviction and that in their turn carried conviction to those around him. As Sir Raymond West remarks, Telang "faced every question in the spirit of a statesman and not of a mere caviller." Telang had an abounding faith in the power of argument and logic and he looked upon his opponents as amenable to argument. That faith of his is well expressed in one of his lectures. In comparing the relative claims of political and social reform he says :—

In politics, argument goes a great way, in social reform, it goes for very little seeing that feeling and

traditions are involved in it to a very large extent. In politics, even such a thinker as Sir Fitz James Stephen contented to resort to reason. He says that if the people of India want free institutions, without repelling from English radicals, let them by all means have such institutions. Sir Fitz James Stephen's objection is only to the concession of such institutions, when they are not asked for in India, only to prove a set theory of English politicians. In the presence of such champions of the existing order of things, logic is an instrument of power.

How far such a faith is justified it is not our purpose to enquire. We have quoted the passage to show the feeling by which he was inspired in his criticism of government measures.

That faith imparted a dignity to all his utterances. It made his criticism free from rancour, abuse or overstatement. There was always tact and courtesy about his demeanour towards officials. That was also the reason why his insistence was looked upon as worthy of serious consideration. This dignified bearing and this tactful handling of proposed measures never had a better result than in the ultimate shape they contributed to give to the Bombay Municipal Bill of 1888 making it acceptable as a sufficient measure of advance in local self government, bringing it thus in a line with those principles which

I (Telang) should like to see developed more fully in the Municipal Government of Bombay as years go on. The Bill as it was introduced was of the most reactionary character. It militated against the resolution of Lord Ripon on local self government. It sought to rest all power in the Municipal Commissioner including power over the finances of the civic treasury.

It was owing to the exertions of Mehta and Telang and their strenuous fight over it section

by section at different readings and during the committee stage, that it became the liberal piece of legislation we find it to-day. Telang found it so retrograde that he expressed himself on the clauses of the Bill at its first reading in the following terms:—

My beau-ideal of municipal Government includes a strong executive responsible to the Corporation and an enlightened corporation watchful over its executive. Under such a constitution you may give a full play to the good sense of the Corporation, which has been, on the whole, pretty well shown during the past fifteen years. But the principles of this Bill are as far from my beau ideal as they could well be. Local Self-government is a sham if no trust is reposed either in the Corporation or the Town Council. I do not say that Mr. Naylor or Mr. Ollivant are actuated by a distrust of the popular government but their confidence in it is weaker than it should be. If the pre-eminent position of Bombay to which reference has been made in the speech of the Hon. member, requires a special mode of Government, let us by all means consider that point. If popular Government cannot be trusted to cope with all the necessities of that pre-eminent position, let us abolish the Municipality altogether and let us have a strong administration and rule by means of the Governor-in-Council. But if we are to have popular Government let us have it in genuine form, with power and responsibility in the hands of those who represent the people. There may have been blunders, but these blunders are a necessary part of our municipal education and not always absent under autocratic rule. We must be prepared to put up with such occasional blunders to secure eventual good government.

Further on he says "I would sooner have our lax phraseology, our conflicts of jurisdiction, and our numerous anomalies, than scientific legislation in which all the substance of self-government will be abolished or starved out." These are

strong words but they are well-measured and free fromrodomontade or mere beating in the air. The passage we have quoted has even a wider application than is meant. It strongly protests against any make-believe form of government, against the tendency too common with men in power to give people a stone when they ask for bread, a toy to play with than a real means of education and steady advance in political power and emancipation. By his powerful advocacy, his sagacity, his steady appeal to right principles, he materially contributed to the improvement of the Bill and its success. Sir Raymond West remarks that

the important enactment by which primary education was made a statutory duty of the Municipality was the fruit of a half-hour's conference in the interval of the debate between a member of the Government on the one hand and of Telang and Mahta on the other.

The Bill was so much improved in its progress through the select committee and in the course of the detailed consideration before the full council, that Telang was able to say about it in his speech on the final reading of the Bill that it was for that time "a sufficient measure of advance in local self-government." There was an opinion outside the Council that the Municipal Commissioner should be "improved" out of the Municipal constitution altogether. Telang was opposed to any such scheme. He says :—

If we get rid of the Municipal Commissioner we shall either have another officer under perhaps another name with the same function or we shall have what will be equivalent to Municipal anarchy. We shall not have the governing spirit ruling the whole of the Municipal

Administration and I am not prepared to look upon this with complacency. I am in favour of the Municipal Commissioner though I can quite see that the time may come when we shall take a further step in the direction of local self-government and the Municipal Corporation will have to ask the Council to concede the power to the Corporation to appoint its own Municipal Commissioner.

Telang was a believer in these matters "in the general wisdom of the maxim that we ought to hasten slowly." "I am not a believer in finality in political matters. Like Oliver Twist we must always be asking for more and I hope Government will always be ready to give us more." The same principle guided his conduct in all matters of reform. It was a counterpart of the faith in the earnestness of the rulers to give us more and more of privileges as in course of time we prove our fitness for them by turning to good account the rights already conceded. As he says in one of his lectures,

if we compare the Government and the Hindu population to two forts facing the army of reform, can there be any doubt that the wisest course for that army is to turn its energies first towards the fort represented by the Government where we have numerous and powerful friends among the garrison and which is held against us only to test first whether we shall be able to properly use any large powers that may be conceded to us there.

Any departure from the policy of political concessions as time and circumstance prove the expediency of granting them was regarded by Telang as a temporary eclipse of good sense. Other measures which he had an occasion to criticize were the Gujrat Talukdar's Act and the Hereditary Officer's Act and the Village Sanitation

Bill. He was opposed to introducing sanitary improvement by having recourse to special taxation. He says :—

I think there would be more chance of sanitary improvement becoming more popular, being more generally acquiesced in and accepted if, at the first start, it was not associated with the unpleasant presence of the tax-gatherer in the villages.

Some other method should be adopted by which Local Board's and the Sanitary authorities may between themselves settle about the finances, instead of investing the latter with special taxing powers.

One more passage from his speech on this Bill is worth quoting as to his view on efficiency and progress, in which there seems to be an apparent conflict. Telang says :—

We want efficiency and we also want progress. If I were to look merely at the exigencies of the moment, and to the security of the Sanitary improvement just now, it is possible I should class myself with those who consider that all Sanitation throughout the Presidency should be entrusted to the officers of the Central Government.

But I think it is right, it is our duty, to take a somewhat wider view and we must consider that if the business of Sanitation is entrusted entirely to over-worked officers of the Central Government, there is great danger of its falling into hands which will not be able to do it satisfactorily.

He therefore was in favour of entrusting the work to village Committees as an experiment. He says :—

I take the same view with regard to Sanitation as in regard to all local matters, namely that it is desirable to make a beginning of popular administration in whatever work is to be done.

Efficiency alone should not be the governing principle in such matters. The question is of enabling the people to look after their own affairs to afford them gradually that "freedom from official tutelage" which Lord Ripon considered as essential to healthy and independent growth. Responsibility alone discovers and develops capacity. Officers zealous for improvement, and inspired with the ambition of conferring great benefits upon a large community are anxious to enforce useful reforms at once disregarding the feelings of the local bodies. But that is not the real means to cure the people of ignorance, apathy or indifference. That cure can only be brought about by political education which means a gradual devolution of political power even though for the time being efficiency may suffer. The officers certainly ought to "retain sufficient control over the local bodies to see that they do not permanently, obstinately or slothfully neglect their duties towards their fellow citizens." It is only thus that efficiency and progress can be combined and such a combination alone will lead to the contentment, and happiness of the people and an enlightened sympathy and co-operation between the rulers and the ruled.

We now turn to the last phase of Telang's political activity, namely, his work in the Congress. This is not the place to trace the genesis of the Congress. Suffice it to say that to Mr. A. O. Hume goes all the credit for the starting of a movement that was to grow in course of time into such a mighty and potent instrument of national awakening. The Congress held its 1st Session in

Bombay in 1885. For four years till 1889 Telang took a most prominent part in its deliberations. The resolution that he moved in the Congress of 1885 was on the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils, which latter, early in 1876 he had declared as little better than a solemn farce. The speech is devoted to a detailed consideration of the scheme proposed by the Congress. He examines the resolution part by part and shows its practical utility. He concludes thus :—

These reforms, I venture to think, are in themselves quite reasonable, they are thoroughly practicable, and not in the least revolutionary : and they are calculated, on the one hand to facilitate the work of the Government and on the other to afford a fair scope for the aspirations of the people in the direction of public usefulness.

The passage quoted shows generally the grounds on which he based his advocacy of popular demands. Telang wanted the House of Commons to assert in practice the authority which rested with it in theory as "the great and supreme Council of the British Empire." He maintained that

on important points, where the Government or the Court must decide, the responsibility for the administration being vested in them, it must not be allowed to decide finally. The Protests recorded by a majority in the Council must go for final decision to the House of Commons.

He was therefore for the abolition of the India Council, whose policy he declared as abominably obstructive.

The centre of the practical work of Indian administration should be shifted from England to India. It ought

not to be necessary in matters of practical administration to appeal against well-informed local officers on the spot to what has been not inappropriately designated a conclave of effete officers hundreds of miles away.

He was also against working for representation in Parliament.

I do not think that that ought to be the goal towards which we should work. What I prefer is that we should have a properly and liberally framed constitution affording due scope for local knowledge and capacity, under a general supervision, in the great authority which governs the whole empire namely, the Imperial Parliament.

Representative Councils in the country supplemented by the standing committee of the House of Commons was the ideal to strive for. Provincial autonomy subject to popular control, through a real and effective representation, with the power of veto in the supreme government, the final power of decision in matters of general policy vested in the House of Commons, that was the goal to which he asked political workers to push forward,—of course this was not to be attained all at once. The success depended upon so many considerations. That depended upon the development in the people of the public spirit, the intellectual life, the moral fervour and capacity to persevere for the attainment of impersonal aims, from which national life derives its sustenance, growth and stable character. In the growth of that life, associations, clubs, meetings, agitation and discussion formed so many organic filaments. In a letter written to an enquirer in 1890 Telang laid especial emphasis on this point. After quoting from Herbert Spencer to the effect that

the forms which freedom requires will not of themselves produce the reality of freedom in the absence of an appropriate national character any more than the most perfect mechanism will do its work in the absence of a motive power,

Telang points out that

an elective system is only machinery and to derive good results from it, it must be worked by good men. An elective system does not create good electors or good representatives. On the contrary good representatives, good electors, and a good system of election are three factors to considerable extent independent of each other which only in combination yield the best results. Therefore if a good system of election were conceded by the rulers the duty which we shall have to discharge will be all the greater and more exacting.

Hence he enjoined upon the people in an address to the Elphinstonians,

to cultivate the spirit of sobriety and imitate the virtues of the British nation. Some people think that Indians are at present competent to enjoy the highest rights of citizenship but nothing is farther from the truth. There is nothing positively to take exception to talking of systems of election to the Legislative Councils but we must know that to work a system of election there must be life. There should be intellectual life to support and nourish the elected Councils. The Electors and the elected should have their respective duties to perform. There ought to be political feeling behind to animate those who take part in the Congress.

That political feeling would be the result of patient toil carried on from day to day for years and years together, by those who were deeply conscious of the duties they owed to the nation. Meanwhile, as responsible leaders, we ought to be content "to accept whatever concessions were granted to us bit by bit, make an honest use of them and, looking to the lessons of history, to

look hopefully forward to the future." When Telang gave this advice he was careful to state side by side as his firm opinion that though they were "advancing in politics with an eagerness greater than what it needed or should be", there was nothing however in the result to be dissatisfied with. He said that

whereas he would remind his countrymen that they had duties to obey as well as rights to exercise, he was also confident that as natives would be appointed more and more, their competency in the discharge of their duties would continue to grow.

His demand at that time was not for "representative institutions in the accurate sense of the expression."

All that we should ask for is that while the British Government, having the responsibility of administration, must retain all direct power in its own control, it should in the interests of good and progressive administration, receive advice in an organized and responsibly constituted mode, not only from such of our countrymen as the Government thinks fitted to give such advice, but also from some who are designated for the purpose by their own fellow subjects. I do not call this representative Government and I confess too, that I have formed no such great expectation regarding the results of it. Still I consider the proposal to be one of some immediate use and importance and which may, in the future, and with the changes which, let us hope, we shall have undergone in the interval, lead us on to the ideally best form of government.

The last part of the sentence is particularly worth noting in the light of what he said elsewhere that in politics there was no finality but that in the practical realization of our goal we must be content to hasten slowly. The passages quoted are from opinions expressed in the press

and on the platform subsequent to 1889. We must therefore come back to the speech he delivered in 1885 from the Congress platform on the resolution for the reform of the councils. The reforms proposed were 1. the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members, 2. the discussion of the Budget, and 3. the right of interpellation in regard to all branches of the Administration. All these demands were more or less conceded by the reforms introduced by the Government of Lord Lansdowne. In the light of recent changes in the Council in the direction of reform and expansion, and also as regards some share in the direct administration of the country, the demands made in 1885 seem to us trivial. It only shows how much we have advanced in political conception and also in political fitness during the last 26 years. Of course the India Council, for the abolition of which the Congress made a strong demand in those days, still exists. Two Indians have been admitted on its board. Its functions are yet purely advisory and the Secretary of State is still an omnipotent personality, working for good or ill according to his political lights and sympathy. One of the demands which the Congress made in those days still remains unfulfilled. The British House of Commons still prefers only to register the decrees of the Secretary of State and does not care to exercise an effective control. But the British people are taking certainly a keener interest in Indian affairs owing partly to the work of the British Congress Committee and partly to the stirring times through which India is passing. It may be

noted in passing that the idea of sending delegates to England to represent Indian grievances before the British electorate and to enlist its sympathy on the side of India, found a strong champion in Mr. Telang. He had a great hand in drafting the leaflets on Indian questions that were circulated in England through the Indian delegates, in 1885. A question here arises incidentally as to what he thought about the parties in England. From his remarks in reply to the debate on the resolution he moved in the Congress of 1885, it seems that he leaned to the same view that Sir P. M. Mehta has more than once asserted with all the emphasis he can command *viz.*, that if we want to see our cause triumph we must be prepared to throw in our lot with the Liberals, for they alone in virtue of their traditions are able, if at all, to help us forward Telang says :—

It is said that to trust to a Parliamentary Committee in the last resort is to throw Indian affairs in the party politics of England. I beg to say in reference to this objection that in the first place I am not very much afraid of the result because the points which will be sent up for discussion must be points relating to general principles of Government. But I go further and say that the intervention of Parliament in our affairs asked for by the present Resolution will not throw us more into English party strife than we are already under present circumstances.

Evidently Telang was not afraid of making the administration of India a party question. Knowing as we do his leanings and relying as he did upon past experience it is not difficult for us to see with what party he would have been willing to throw in his lot. It was to the countrymen of

of Gladstone, Bright, Clarkson and Wilberforce, that he appealed in one of his speeches. It was the Government of Lord Ripon that had stood up in his eyes for principles of the Proclamation. Naturally enough therefore the party that gave such a Government was the party towards which his sympathies would incline and to which he would look up for a progressive measure of Constitutional Government.

Telang's great objection to the existence of the India Council "was that most of its acts and deliberations were done in secret conclave, so that for good or for evil, its work was not easy to survey and judge." Further more "even if some Indians were appointed to the India Council," in Telang's opinion,

an individual member of a Council sitting in London would be quite unable to make his influence felt in all departments of the administration, for there was in the India Council specialization of functions and work in the same way as there is in the Executive Council in the Country.

If the hands of the Secretary of State had to be strengthened against the unfair demands of the English department of war etc., such strength Telang thought, would be better and more effectively supplied by reconstituted Councils. The system Telang considered as vicious in itself and had in actual working failed to influence the administration for good. From these facts Telang concluded that "the India Council should go leaving not a wrack behind."

* For two years Telang could not attend the sittings of the Congress held at Calcutta and Madras. In 1888 he attended the Congress at

Allahabad presided over by George Yule and spoke on the resolution of the Reform of the Councils, upholding the same scheme that he had developed in 1885 and dealing with the comments made against the Congress propaganda by highly placed Anglo-Indian officials and more especially by the Viceroy himself in his post-prandial utterance at the annual St. Andrew's Dinner held in Calcutta. Lord Dufferin's attitude towards the Congress was in the main of cordial sympathy. It was owing to his suggestion that the Congress developed into a political gathering. When Mr. Hume in an interview at Simla laid before the Viceroy his project of arranging for an annual meeting place where leaders of Indian thought could come together and discuss social matters, Lord Dufferin told Mr. Hume that it would be far better if the leaders met and pointed out to the Government "in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved." Lord Dufferin said that there was no body of persons in India who performed the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England.

The newspapers, even if they really represented the views of the people, were not reliable and the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in the native circles.

He therefore proposed that the Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration of the country needed reform to bring it in a line with the wishes of the people.

When Mr. Hume laid this scheme before the leaders of different provinces it met with the approval and support of all. When the Congress

met in Calcutta in 1886 Lord Dufferin invited the leading politicians to a garden party. Thus Lord Dufferin's attitude towards the Congress was in the main sympathetic. Consequently when Telang answered the comments of Lord Dufferin, it was to show that Lord Dufferin had clearly misapprehended the attitude of the Congress. The speech which he delivered on this occasion bound fresh laurels to the brow of Mr. Telang. Mr. Wacha says "To my ears it rings as if it had been delivered yesterday, full as it was of that close reasoning, persuasive eloquence and convincing logic of which he was master. Mr. John Adam who attended the Congress at Allahabad characterizes it thus:—

No one who was present at Allahabad when all India was reeking with the exuberant verbosity of the St. Andrew's Dinner Speech can forget how the passage in which Telang compared the remarks of Lord Dufferin on the Congress proposals to somebody's definition of a crab brought down the house, and the (pawky?) way in which the speaker's eye suggested that the fable of the crab might be given a slightly different application.

If in his speeches on the cotton duties and the License Tax, Telang had set himself "to denounce the Jingoism of Lord Lytton" and in his speech on the Ilbert Bill and on the retirement of Lord Ripon he had "applauded the liberalism of that generous hearted Viceroy," in the speech delivered before the Congress at Allahabad, Telang in the opinion of John Adams, made it equally clear that he would have none of the diplomacy, the *tortuous haute politique* which Lord Dufferin for its sins imposed on India." The passage contain-

ing the reference to the fable of the crab is worth quoting and runs as follows:—

His Lordship says, the idea authoritatively suggested as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse and who through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will. The basis for that statement is our demand that the financial statement shall be brought before the Council for discussion. Not only do I not find in any of the reports any grounds for such a statement but I find what is actually the reverse of it. It has been said over and over again that the executive shall have the power of deciding what shall be done and of absolutely vetoing any proposal emanating from the rest of the Council and yet in face of such a resolution as this, which we have passed not once, not twice but three times, such a statement has been made by his Lordship. I can only express my amazement at it and I cannot believe his Lordship capable of making it except on the assumption that he has lacked the time to study our reports himself.

Following on this comes the passage which Mr. Adams praises so much.

The various charges which his Lordship makes against the Congress, are charges which remind me of a certain definition which was once given of a crab *viz.* that a crab is a red fish which walks backwards, and the criticism made upon that was that the definition was perfectly correct except that the crab was not a fish, that it was not red and that it did not walk backwards. Now I may say that Lord Dufferin's criticism is perfectly correct, except that we have not asked for democratic methods of government, we have not asked for Parliamentary institutions which England has got after many centuries of discipline: we have not asked for the power of the purse: and we have not asked that the British Executive should be brought under subjection to us.

This speech is throughout characterized by "sustained simplicity and cogency of rhetoric"

which was the conspicuous feature of Telang's public speaking. There is a flavour of refinement and high intellectuality about his utterances rare among the champions of people's rights. This speech as well as those on the Ilbert Bill and the Cotton Duties deserve careful perusal both on the score of their manner and matter. In all these he comes out as "practical, fertile, sagacious, and moderate."

They are considered by Sir Raymond West as models of criticism "which those who would fain take his place and continue his work would do well to study and imitate." These gained for him the reputation of a leader "who led his countrymen by rising superior to them in toleration, largeness of view and in the charity which shrinks from imputing evil." Sir Raymond West remarks:

Telang showed remarkable sagacity and judgment in taking up his positions. He maintained them with great dialectic skill and in language of a limpid purity that would have done credit to an English born orator. He was an assiduous student of Bright's speeches and without rising to majesty, he could infuse into his own addresses, on great occasions, an earnestness and patriotic fervour clothed in unaffected language not unworthy of the great tribune. He could rise with the popular feeling but he could not sink with it below the level of his own magnanimity.

The following is the verdict of another great Anglo-Indian, who heard Mr. Telang and who was also his personal friend, on Telang's style of oratory.

As a speaker Mr. Telang possessed a perfect debating, I should say a perfect House of Commons' style. There was no impassioned eloquence, still less any trace of the demagogue about his oratory. But neither was there

an atom of halting or hesitation either in the mental argument or in the verbal utterance. He reasoned with marvelous clearness and lucidity, straight and unflinchingly to his conclusion and played upon the moods of an intellectual audience with the skill of a musician upon a familiar instrument. His wit was quite gallic in its delicacy, and lost nothing in effect by being absolutely free from vulgarity. His English style possessed a full measure of the *curiosa felicitas* which he himself attributed to Lord Lytton. This last trait was all the more remarkable when we remember not only that Mr. Telang spoke in an adopted language, but that he made no attempt to elaborate his speeches beforehand. With his matter thoroughly digested and his line of argument carefully arranged, he left the appropriate words to come at the time. Taken all round, in manner, matter and effect, his speeches may, perhaps, be better compared with those of Lord Rosebery than with the public utterances of any other English speakers of the present day.

We thought it fit to introduce these extracts from the appreciations of two Anglo-Indians on Telang's style of oratory because they reveal to us what those who had the best opportunity for observation and judgment thought of his work. In such matters it is best to draw upon the opinion of those who themselves have heard the best speakers in England. Besides their opinion on Telang's style is as much an opinion on his attitude towards public question. The style is the man, so runs the common saying, and simplicity, restraint and polish in diction are the outward signs of a temperament serene, well poised and indicative of what Emerson has chosen to call "the repose of energy". "Calmness comes with knowledge to most men and the turbid stream grows clear as it runs deep, but to some men, moderation and balance of thought are a

gift of nature ; they perceive that there may be two sides even to a question on which they feel most warmly". This was pre-eminently true of Telang. We have introduced the phrase "animated moderation" in the earlier portion of this section. That phrase correctly describes Telang's writings and speeches and his attitude towards the questions of the day. Walter Bagehot explains the phrase thus :—

It is a subtle quality or combination of qualities singularly useful in practical life. The writings characterized by animated moderation are never slow, are never excessive, are never exaggerated, they are always instinct with judgment and yet that judgment is never a dull judgment ; they have as much spirit in them as would make a wild writer and yet that every line of them is the product of a sane and sound writer. There is in them a union of life with measure, of spirit with reasonableness.

The speeches and writings from which we have quoted abundantly in this section will easily carry conviction that these are exactly the elements that mark out Telang's supreme gift of exposition of any topic that he treated. That was what prevented him from being "a bodyless thinker or an ineffectual scholar", "so soon liable to be weeded out of political life", as many are, who become leaders of a day, simply because they are borne on the tide of popular frenzy. His was not "an idiosyncratic mind violently disposed to extremes of opinion." "He had 'the poise of mind', 'the faculty of waiting', which in the opinion of Seeley is "the masterpiece of a statesman's art." That is what made him such an effective and wise mediator between the ruler

and the ruled. He was trusted both of the people and the Government. He was as fearless in giving advice to the people as he was in preaching to the Government on its duties towards the governed. In the Age of Consent Controversy he was bold enough to tell the educated classes who opposed the measure, at the risk of incurring unpopularity, as follows :—

I do not object for an instant to their telling the Government, if they so believe, that the people will be discontented with the Government measure. But in so doing they must remember that they are doing only one half of their duty. Their whole duty requires that they should tell their brethren how they misappreciate the principles and the actions of Government in the matter.

Sir Raymond West remarks :—

As against any manifestation of turbulence he was always on the side of strong Government. No incitement to a menacing display of physical force ever escaped him and as a Judge he crossed a strong native sentiment by desiring a restriction of trial by Jury, where juries were found unequal to the duties cast upon them.

Another instance of the spirit of speaking out the truth and a tendency to be always guided in matters of policy by practical consideration may be here cited. In the Congress of 1888, he supported the amendment to the resolution on the establishment of Military Colleges and the modification of the Arms Act. The grievances on the Arms Act he considered a sentimental grievance.

- As a practical body of men, he said, dealing with practical affairs of the administration, we should not be governed by merely sentimental considerations. You cannot deny that there are some classes of people in the country who are turbulent and under the terms of the

resolution, as it is framed, everybody would be entitled to wear arms. Unless specially debarred it is quite possible that weapons might go into the hands of the turbulent classes in which case peaceful people might not find themselves in such a position of security as at present. Secondly the resolution affirms that when the Government does issue an order that certain individuals or classes of individuals, are not to have arms, they shall state in writing and publish to the world the reasons for withholding them. I cannot agree to throw this burden of stating their reasons upon the responsible executive.

In opposing the modification of the Arms Act he was crossing a strong native sentiment. He was in favour of establishing Military Colleges for Indian youths. He strongly supported the appeal of the Congress to Government for authorizing a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country. But he could not be convinced that the Arms Act was a slur on Indian loyalty. He supported Mr. Pringle Kennedy in his contention that if there was any desire for equality, he would rather see Europeans put upon the same level as the natives and be compelled to take out the licenses in the same way.

The support that he gave in the same Congress to Mr. Mundliar's amendment to the resolution moved by Mr. Norton on the Public Service question was dictated by the same practical consideration. He agreed with Mr. Mundliar that the consideration of the subject of simultaneous examination should be postponed to the next year pending the decision of the Government on the report of the Public Service Commission. Telang said that if he asked the Congress not to pass the resolution moved by Mr. Norton, it was not

because he did not accept the principle of it, but it was because prudential considerations required that

they should wait and be quiet a little, rather than by re-opening the question, should sacrifice all that we might otherwise get under the report. We have made our claim, and Government, who has to decide on that claim have appointed a commission for the purpose of advising as to how that claim should be considered. The Government has received that advice and it has now to pass judgment on it. When that tribunal has given its decision, it would be for us to go, if necessary to a higher tribunal and you will remember that, after all, the Secretary of State for India, is not the final tribunal in this matter.

This attitude shows a mind inspired by a sense of fairness to an opponent and willingness to believe that "a statesman or a Government has not cast off all principle or the common feelings of humanity in taking some course of policy." There is in it a tact and a sagacity which distinguishes a responsible leader from a mere agitator. We are not here to think whether the course of action he recommended was right or wrong but rather to see the spirit behind the act.

Telang's fine judgment, saved him from recommending an ill-advised or an imperfectly thought-out scheme simply because there was popular sentiment behind it. Of this also we can give an instance from the report of the Congress of 1888. The matter was about the Permanent Settlement. No due notice of the resolution had been given before the Congress met. "It was not one of the subjects circulated over the country before we left our constituents," said Mr. Telang. It was precisely because he admitted the import-

ance of the question, that he did not want to see it rushed through the Congress, "without full previous preparation and detailed discussion of it all over the country."

I desire that any resolution we may come to on this great question should be one which, if I may borrow a phrase of Lord Brougham's, should proceed from the Congress with authority and be received outside with respect. It should not go without authority and be returned to the Congress without respect.

He therefore asked that "the question be referred to several standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report on the same in so far as it affects their respective circles, to the Congress of 1889." Any decision which the Congress would then come to, would be, he thought, loyally accepted by the minority.

His opposition to rushing any resolution through the Congress was based on the principle which he enunciated in defending the Congress propaganda against one of its critics. The critic sought to throw discredit on the recommendations of the Congress by saying that the Congress had nothing of a very novel or original character to suggest but that what the Congress had been suggesting, was in the air long before the Congress was born. To this Telang replied in the following terms :—

When a scheme does not issue forth in full panoply, as it were, from the brain of a single author but is the synthesis of the best thoughts of many brains during a long period, it is considered in practical politics as rather a merit than a defect and therefore when our critic tells us that our suggestion is one which has been put forward long before the Congress came into existence,

I welcome the remark as one of the certificates to the work of the Congress and I consider it rather satisfactory than otherwise.

It was to keep up this tradition of calm deliberation living and actively operative, so that everything that the Congress recommended went forth with authority and was received outside with respect, that he introduced the amendment for putting off the adoption of the resolution on the permanent Settlement Question to the next year. His amendment was adopted by the Congress. The aim of the Congress is to focus and shape public opinion upon questions that admitted of reform. Its work therefore is as much of education as of exhortation. Hence wisdom, right direction and cautious advance ought to form its guiding principle. As a body of responsible leaders, it will never be wise for her to commit herself to extreme views or wild and unpractical proposals. The effort of men like Telang was to save the institution from such a fate. If the Congress has grown in importance and prestige, if its opinions have met with the approval of some of the best and most experienced administrators, it is because upto this time, its leading spirits have adopted the motto of one of its originators the motto "Hasten slowly" which constituted the animating principle of Telang's public life.

The Congress of 1888 was the last Congress Telang attended. Before its next meeting in Bombay in 1889 he had been elevated to the Bench and could no longer be an active worker in the political field. * In the Age of Consent

Controversy Telang again came to the fore front to define what he thought the limits of state action. There again he shone out as the bold champion of what he considered to be the right and true course of action. Then it was that he proclaimed that a man may renounce his right but can never renounce his duty. What is true of a single individual, is more true of the state.

His interpretation of the proclamation has been alluded to elsewhere. That interpretation marks him out as one who would never mislead public opinion or lead astray uninstructed popular feeling. We have quoted abundantly in this section from his speeches and writings to let the reader form for himself what idea he can, of his political aims, his political method, his attitude towards the rulers and his own countrymen. We only permit ourselves to remark that whatever view he took of any question or whatever course of conduct he recommended, there was at the back of it a catholicity of spirit, a fair-mindedness and a sense of duty which made even those who differed from him, welcome his standpoint as well worth serious thought and consideration. It was all the result of true culture. The passion for culture formed the keynote of his life. Culture invested his soul with light and large-hearted charity which shrinks from imputing evil. That was what made one of his best friends and the most conspicuous of political leaders of the day characterize him as "large in heart"; one "whose handsome and intellectual face beamed with intelligence, kindli-

ness and spirit, whose thoughtful and cultured eloquence imparted both delight and instruction and whose sound and judicious wisdom and firm and temperate advocacy of public interests", acquired for him the title of "a great leader of thought". Justice Ranade called him "India's representative, the type of New India". "The moral interest of his career lay in the fact, that he represented in his own person the best ideal of character, that the imperative necessities of our present situation require and pre-determine." And the message of that career to us, who are his survivors, in whatever walk of life our lot may be cast, is to be always striving after "light, life and love" in order that that light, that life-typified in moral energy and strength, and that love may spur us on to serve any cause that may come near to our heart wisely and well.

THE END.

Telang's period of active work covered only twenty years. Considering that the last years of his life passed away in the trammels of office and in a very precarious and poor state of health, it betrays marvellous precocity of talent to find so much sterling work, so much earnest endeavour compressed within such a small span. The honours that come to a man at the very end of his career were showered upon him in the very prime of life and the position he won in the hearts of the people would have constituted for any other man a sufficient reward for the last days of a long life spent in the service of his country. Mr. Telang's career was méteoric but it left permanent

traces on the generation that followed him. To this day his words carry conviction and are pregnant with sage counsel. He died in the prime of life at the age of 43 when others begin their public career and yet his scholarship, insight, and foresight, invest his utterances with the breadth and penetration that come only from the riper experience of life and its stern discipline.

Telang embodies for modern India a type of culture and enlightenment in which currents of opposite kind had commingled to constitute the light, wisdom and the sobriety of his opinions. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, a deep student of Marathi literature and history, at the same time that he had thoroughly imbibed the spirit of Western thought as reflected in its literature, history and philosophy.

He combined the severe simplicity of an oriental scholar with all the geniality, warmth, refinement and the passion for progress which are the glory and the privilege of the West. His amiability and courtesy were according to the testimony of his friends incomparable. His tact was inimitable. Even in his eloquence there was light rather than heat or motion. Sweet reasonableness is its highest praise. In his attacks on measures and in his criticism of men he never forgot what he owed to others as a gentleman. The cocksureness of statement which is a mark, as much of ignorance as of haughtiness, is conspicuous in him by its absence. Yet he never vacillates in the assertion of what he considered as true and essential. Telang was logical in the extreme but his logic was not dry and cold. It

borrowed not a little from the mellow light of imagination and poetry. His passionate advocacy of political or social reform was never marred by fanatical exclusiveness. He was willing to concede as much to circumstance as was proper and inevitable.

But whenever circumstance was interposed as a fetish in the pathway of progress, none put his foot down more strongly for what he considered to be the essentials of progress. This was what made him declare on one occasion in the face of the prejudices and censures of many of his associates :—

Our system is to a great extent become petrified: the moral conceptions which once informed it have long since vanished, and we are now hugging the mere outer shell as if that were all in all. It is the bounden duty of the legislature in the interests of humanity and of the worldly interests of the communities committed to its charge and for such a purpose as the present, to disregard, if need be, the Hindu Shastras.

Sobriety of judgment on the one hand and the passionate earnestness of a true scholar on the other formed the strain of his temperament. No one knew better than he the rich inheritance of the Hindus, because no one was better acquainted with the lore of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. Yet that did not turn him into an apostle of revivalism. He was deep read in Western history and philosophy and had caught its true spirit. Therefore Western culture did not transform him into a slavish imitator of everything Western. He was never a doctrinaire, be it in politics, social reform or other activities forming the public life of a people. He knew the value

and importance of compromise but he also knew its limitations and futility. In whatever he spoke or did he had an eye to practical work. Yet he was never content to live from hand to mouth in the theory of a question. His knowledge of all questions was broad, deep, and exhaustive. He was a statesman with his vision broadened by study and meditation on human life in all its rich variety. Though his principles were formed in the secluded atmosphere of study, yet being himself an active worker in the day-to-day life of his country, in all its manifold forms, they never lacked the solid background which comes only through active commerce with men of different shades of opinion, conviction and pursuits. Balance, equipoise, tact and sagacity, a calm and broad outlook, a true perspective of things, an attitude of mind induced by a life of culture, a soul with its "windows opened in all directions,"—this is what distinguished him. What delighted Telang most, as we gather from what his friends have said about him, was an atmosphere of contemplation and thought in which the springs of life could be nourished to the full on what the great men of the past had seen, felt, thought and recorded, to draw from such a meditation on their experiences, rich lessons for the daily life of his own generation. Telang had high character, loftiness of aim, sound judgment based on the knowledge of facts both deep and extensive, elasticity of mind which was capable of entering into the standpoint of other men, versatility, tact, courtesy which pointed out defects without harshness or acerbity, and above all a conciliatory

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dream, would reverse their whole cast of mind. It would metamorphose them into something which omits every striking trait for which, they were remarked and contain every trait for which they were not remarked. On the other hand it would be quite opposite to their whole nature to be the followers of Voltaire. No one knows more certainly and feels more surely that there is an invisible world than these very persons who decline to make an image, or representation of it. If you offer them any known religion they won't have that, if you offer them no religion, they will not have that either: if you ask them to accept a new and as yet unrecognised religion, they altogether refuse to do so. They seem not only to believe in an 'unknown God,' but in a God whom no one can ever know.

This is what Bagehot has to say about Clough and this, we venture to say, also summarizes exactly the attitude of Telang, which was that of "truthful scepticism" so correctly reflected in the following lines of Clough:—

‘Oh, thou, in that mysterious shrine
 Enthroned, as I must say, divine;
 I will not frame one thought of what
 Thou mayst either be or not.
 I will not prate of "thus" and "so"
 And be profane with "yes" and "no."
 Enough that in our soul and heart
 Thou, whatso'er Thou mayst be, art.

Telang was raised to the Bench in 1889, public honours which he regarded as so many opportunities for the better performance of civic duties, came to him in rapid succession. His learning and scholarship found recognition in his being elected in 1892 to succeed Sir Raymond West, as the President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. His educational work was rewarded by the decoration of C. I. E., and by his nomination* to the office of the Vice-

Chancellor of the University, an honour which he did not live long to enjoy. He died in September 1893.

"During the last year of his life his rapidly declining health and the exhaustion consequent on a painful operation for piles, must have made his work at times almost a torture. He could not ascend the long flight of stairs leading to his court without assistance. Still he struggled on bravely until wearied nature could hold out no longer. He died with calm resignation as he had lived in simplicity, benevolence and usefulness." So says Sir Raymond West.

India lost in Telang

One of her wisest counsellors, one of her most brilliant scholars, one of her choicest speakers and one of the best of men. No bigotted firebrand, no disappointed place hunter with a grievance, on the contrary, the friend and the trusted advisor of governors and Councillors, with wealth and honour and troops of friends, he was even the incorruptible patriot, the sternest critic of the Government when he thought it to be in the wrong, the sturdy champion of the lawful demands of his fellow citizens.

That is the testimony to his work, by John Adams. The life work of Mr. Telang came to a sudden end through the dispensation of Providence. He was cut off too soon and yet he has left behind enough to serve us for guidance, help and instruction. His had been a vitalizing influence in his time. "It is by the work and the example of him and his like that India will be regenerated and the moral endowments of her children made nobly serviceable for the general welfare of mankind."

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THE END.

Telang's period of active work covered only twenty years. Considering that the last years of his life passed away in the trammels of office and in a very precarious and poor state of health, it betrays marvellous precocity of talent to find so much sterling work, so much earnest endeavour compressed within such a small span. The honours that come to a man at the very end of his career were showered upon him in the very prime of life and the position he won in the hearts of the people would have constituted for any other man a sufficient reward for the last days of a long life spent in the service of his country. Mr. Telang's career was meteoric but it left permanent

traces on the generation that followed him. To this day his words carry conviction and are pregnant with sage counsel. He died in the prime of life at the age of 43 when others begin their public career and yet his scholarship, insight, and foresight, invest his utterances with the breadth and penetration that come only from the riper experience of life and its stern discipline.

Telang embodies for modern India a type of culture and enlightenment in which currents of opposite kind had commingled to constitute the light, wisdom and the sobriety of his opinions. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, a deep student of Marathi literature and history, at the same time that he had thoroughly imbibed the spirit of Western thought as reflected in its literature, history and philosophy.

He combined the severe simplicity of an oriental scholar with all the geniality, warmth, refinement and the passion for progress which are the glory and the privilege of the West. His amiability and courtesy were according to the testimony of his friends incomparable. His tact was inimitable. Even in his eloquence there was light rather than heat or motion. Sweet reasonableness is its highest praise. In his attacks on measures and in his criticism of men he never forgot what he owed to others as a gentleman. The cocksureness of statement which is a mark, as much of ignorance as of haughtiness, is conspicuous in him by its absence. Yet he never vacillates in the assertion of what he considered as true and essential. Telang was logical in the extreme but his logic was not dry and cold. It

borrowed not a little from the mellow light of imagination and poetry. His passionate advocacy of political or social reform was never marred by fanatical exclusiveness. He was willing to concede as much to circumstance as was proper and inevitable.

But whenever circumstance was interposed as a fetish in the pathway of progress, none put his foot down more strongly for what he considered to be the essentials of progress. This was what made him declare on one occasion in the face of the prejudices and censures of many of his associates :—

Our system is to a great extent become petrified : the moral conceptions which once informed it have long since vanished, and we are now hugging the mere outer shell as if that were all in all. It is the bounden duty of the legislature in the interests of humanity and of the worldly interests of the communities committed to its charge and for such a purpose as the present, to disregard, if need be, the Hindu Shastras.

Sobriety of judgment on the one hand and the passionate earnestness of a true scholar on the other formed the strain of his temperament. No one knew better than he the rich inheritance of the Hindus, because no one was better acquainted with the lore of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. Yet that did not turn him into an apostle of revivalism. He was deep read in Western history and philosophy and had caught its true spirit. Therefore Western culture did not transform him into a slavish imitator of everything Western. He was never a doctrinaire, be it in politics, social reform or other activities forming the public life of a people. He knew the value

and importance of compromise but he also knew its limitations and futility. In whatever he spoke or did he had an eye to practical work. Yet he was never content to live from hand to mouth in the theory of a question. His knowledge of all questions was broad, deep, and exhaustive. He was a statesman with his vision broadened by study and meditation on human life in all its rich variety. Though his principles were formed in the secluded atmosphere of study, yet being himself an active worker in the day-to-day life of his country, in all its manifold forms, they never lacked the solid background which comes only through active commerce with men of different shades of opinion, conviction and pursuits. Balance, equipoise, tact and sagacity, a calm and broad outlook, a true perspective of things, an attitude of mind induced by a life of culture, a soul with its "windows opened in all directions,"—this is what distinguished him. What delighted Telang most, as we gather from what his friends have said about him, was an atmosphere of contemplation and thought in which the springs of life could be nourished to the full on what the great men of the past had seen, felt, thought and recorded, to draw from such a meditation on their experiences, rich lessons for the daily life of his own generation. Telang had high character, loftiness of aim, sound judgment based on the knowledge of facts both deep and extensive, elasticity of mind which was capable of entering into the standpoint of other men, versatility, tact, courtesy which pointed out defects without harshness or acerbity, and above all a conciliatory

tone which never degenerated into weakness,—in fact all those qualities which made him a true friend and a wise counsellor. Criticism never ruffled him. He welcomed both praise and censure as incentives to further improvement. Justice Ranade says about him “Never out of temper himself, he always put other people into their best temper, always thinking that there was something in everybody which deserved his admiration.” That was the secret of his influence over others. That constituted the personal magnetism which held men enthralled not in awe but in ties of affection towards him as towards their second selves.

We are not permitted to lift up the veil of reserve which he deliberately threw over some of the deepest questions of life. Yet from his tastes and pursuits, from the side light thrown by his conversations with friends, from his favourite authors, we can get a glimpse into his innermost convictions on life and its future. His temperament was rational and critical, yet deep and reverential. His studies in the theology of the East had broken off the shackles of custom, dogma, ritual and superstition which current Hinduism impose upon its followers. The study of Spencer, Mill, Huxley and Tyndall had brought on an agnostic frame of mind. Yet he was side by side a close student of Shankaracharya's Vedanta philosophy, of the Upanishads and the Bhagwat-gita. He found solace in the poetry of Wordsworth, and an increasing delight, as life advanced, in the pages of Thomas A Kempis, Ruskin, Carlyle, Matthew Arnold and the Bible. How

all these elements worked out in the result we are not guaranteed to lay down with perfect certainty. That life did not strike him as a huge joke, a pageantry or farce is evident from what he said on one occasion to one of his friends.

After all is said and done, though there is much that is mysterious about life and human destiny, you cannot get rid of one fact to which Wordsworth has given the best expression when he says, 'there is not a man that lives who hath not known his god-like hours and feels not what an empire we inherit as natural beings in the strength of Nature.' You feel in spite of all your doubts and uncertainties that there is something in you which is not human and that something calls for faith.

To him the highest pleasure of life was to live a life of culture and rectitude. Life inspired with a feeling solemnity, reverence and awe. As we read what is said in this connection by three of the best men of his time, one, a European and the other two Indians we cannot help being struck with a similarity in this respect between Mr. Telang and Arthur Hugh Clough.

In his essay on Arthur Hugh Clough, Bagshot describes Clough's frame of mind thus:—

There are some minds which feel and rightly feel that every image, every translation, every mode of conception by which the human mind tries to place before itself the Divine mind is imperfect, halting and changing. They feel from their own experience, that there is no such mode of representation which will suit their own minds at all times and they smile with bitterness at the notion that they could contrive an image which will suit all other minds. They could not become fanatics or missionaries or even common preachers without forfeiting their natural dignity and foregoing their very essence. To cry in the streets to uplift their voice, to be pained with 'hot thoughts,' to be preachers of a

dream, would reverse their whole cast of mind. It would metamorphose them into something which omits every striking trait for which, they were remarked and contain every trait for which they were not remarked. On the other hand it would be quite opposite to their whole nature to be the followers of Voltaire. No one knows more certainly and feels more surely that there is an invisible world than these very persons who decline to make an image, or representation of it. If you offer them any known religion they won't have that, if you offer them no religion, they will not have that either: if you ask them to accept a new and as yet unrecognised religion, they altogether refuse to do so. They seem not only to believe in an 'unknown God,' but in a God whom no one can ever know.

This is what Bagehot has to say about Clough and this, we venture to say, also summarizes exactly the attitude of Telang, which was that of "truthful scepticism" so correctly reflected in the following lines of Clough:—

'Oh, thou, in that mysterious shrine
 Enthroned, as I must say, divine;
 I will not frame one thought of what
 Thou mayst either be or not.
 I will not prate of "thus" and "so"
 And be profane with "yes" and "no."
 Enough that in our soul and heart
 Thou, whatso'er Thou mayst be, art.

Telang was raised to the Bench in 1889, public honours which he regarded as so many opportunities for the better performance of civic duties, came to him in rapid succession. His learning and scholarship found recognition in his being elected in 1892 to succeed Sir Raymond West, as the President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. His educational work was rewarded by the decoration of C. I. E., and by his nomination* to the office of the Vice-

Chancellor of the University, an honour which he did not live long to enjoy. He died in September 1893.

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India lost in Telang

One of her wisest counsellors, one of her most brilliant scholars, one of her choicest speakers and one of the best of men. No bigotted firebrand, no disappointed place hunter with a grievance, on the contrary, the friend and the trusted advisor of governors and Councillors, with wealth and honour and troops of friends, he was even the incorruptible patriot, the sternest critic of the Government when he thought it to be in the wrong, the sturdy champion of the lawful demands of his fellow citizens.

That is the testimony to his work, by John Adams. The life work of Mr. Telang came to a sudden end through the dispensation of Providence. He was cut off too soon and yet he has left behind enough to serve us for guidance, help and instruction. His had been a vitalizing influence in his time. "It is by the work and the example of him and his like that India will be regenerated and the moral endowments of her children made nobly serviceable for the general welfare of mankind."

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