



THE SELECT GOKHALE

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**THE SELECT GOKHALE**



**GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE**

**1866-1915**

# THE SELECT GOKHALE

*Compiled & Edited*

BY

**R. P. PATWARDHAN**

**FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN EDUCATION SERVICE  
SOMETIME DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION  
BOMBAY**

**MAHARASHTRA  
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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THE MAHARASHTRA INFORMATION CENTRE had projected two volumes to commemorate the Birth Centenary of Gopal Krishna Gokhale which fell on May 9, 1966. The present volume, a sequel to the Centre's earlier publication, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale—A Centenary Tribute*, is a collection of speeches and writings of the great patriot—statesman.

These two publications form part of the Centre's larger plan to introduce Maharashtra, through a series of publications, to people in other States, as an experiment in the promotion of inter-State understanding.

The first volume brought out on May 9, 1966 in English, Hindi and Marathi was well received by the public and the Press alike. The Hindi and Marathi editions of the present volume also would shortly be in the hands of readers.

The Centre extends its thanks to Shri R. P. Patwardhan for his scholarly compilation of this volume and to Shri V. Y. Kulkarni for the labour he has undertaken in scrutinising the MS. and preparing the press copy.

# PREFACE

**GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE's** speeches and writings were published for the first time by Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras in 1908, during Gokhale's lifetime. Two further editions were published in 1916 and 1920 respectively. After that, there was no further edition for forty years, and for many years the book remained out of print. The Deccan Sabha, of which Gokhale was the first Secretary, therefore projected a new edition in three volumes, containing all his speeches and writings, and published the first volume in 1962. The work of bringing out the next two volumes was then taken up by the Servants of India Society. Volume 2 has already been published, and Volume 3 is at present in the press.

The three volumes thus published or to be published will cover about 2,000 pages in all. An ordinary citizen, interested in public affairs, and desirous of acquainting himself with Gokhale's thought on the problems of his day—and Gokhale's thought is still valuable for the citizens of today—can hardly be expected to go through these three bulky tomes. There was need of a volume of a comparatively small size, from which the reader could obtain an adequate idea of Gokhale and his thought. The Maharashtra Information Centre, New Delhi, was therefore supplying a real need when it thought of bringing out a volume of selections from Gokhale's speeches and writings as a part of the Gokhale

Centenary Celebrations of this year, and entrusted me with the task of making and editing the selections.

I can scarcely hope that the selection in the present volume will meet with universal approval. There is always room for difference of opinion in such cases, and especially in a case like Gokhale's, where the material from which the selection has to be made is of such uniform excellence. My attempt has been to make a representative selection, so as to give the reader an idea of Gokhale's views on all the important topics with which he was concerned. The selections have been arranged in chronological order, and a very few letters of Gokhale's, which serve to throw light on his character and personality, have also been included, each at its proper place.

The text of the speeches has been taken, as far as possible, from the original source of publication, and the original text has been strictly followed, except in a very few cases of obvious misprints or other errors, where the necessary corrections have been made.

It is my pleasant duty to thank the gentlemen who helped in various ways in the preparation of this volume: Mr. D. V. Ambekar, Member of the Servants of India Society, Poona, for supplying much-needed books and other material; Dr. A. C. Banerjee, of Calcutta University, and Shri S. B. Athlye, Commissioner of Income Tax (Retired), Bombay, for certain references; and, last but not least, Shri V. Y. Kulkarni, formerly in charge of the Sahitya Akademi Office in Calcutta, for seeing the work through the press and preparing the Index.

POONA

11 NOVEMBER 1966

R. P. PATWARDHAN



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# INTRODUCTION

Among the great men who contributed to the making of modern India during the century which elapsed between the consolidation of British rule in the country and the attainment of Independence, Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915) is one of the greatest; and indeed, if one's allotted span of life and the proportion of it spent in the service of the country be taken into consideration, his contribution will in all probability be found to be without a rival. At the early age of 18, soon after passing the B.A. examination, he joined the band of patriotic young men who had recently undertaken to live a life of poverty in order to spread the benefits of education among the people. Gokhale gave 18 years of his life (1885–1902) to this work of teaching at the New English School, and the Fergusson College, Poona. But not to teaching only: while working zealously as a teacher, for some years he wrote in the English Section of the journal *Sudharak*; worked as Secretary of the Sarvajanic Sabha and edited its influential *Quarterly*; attended meetings of the Congress and was a regular speaker at its meetings between 1889 and 1896; made arrangements for the holding of the Congress Session at Poona in 1895; went to England to give evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897; worked as a Plague Volunteer in 1898; and finally, in 1900 and 1901, worked as an Elected Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In 1902 he retired from the Fergusson College, and the remaining 13 years of his life—during which he was elected, term after term, on the Imperial Legislative Council—he devoted entirely to political work for the country. This is a record of work for which it would not be easy to find a parallel.

Gokhale's first recorded public speech (No. 1 in the present volume) was made in 1889, when he was just 23. Its superlatives

and exuberances mark it as the performance of an immature, albeit very promising, young man. But Gokhale outgrew this immaturity very quickly—evidently under the guidance of the great Ranade; and already in 1894 (No. 2)—and indeed perhaps even earlier—we find him exhibiting those characteristics in his public speaking which marked him ever afterwards: firm and measured statement, free from all exaggeration; complete mastery of the facts; lucidity of argument; and scrupulous fairness to points of view other than his own. It is not to be supposed that these great qualities were attained cheaply; they cost hard labour. But Gokhale, as his great disciple Mahatma Gandhi has said of him, had an infinite capacity for taking pains, and threw his whole soul into whatever he undertook. All his speeches were prepared with meticulous care; many of them—especially those on the Budgets—contained elaborate statistics, and it is noteworthy that no one ever questioned their accuracy.<sup>1</sup> During his tour in South Africa in 1912, Gokhale had to make an important speech at Johannesburg. ‘The preparation for it’, says Gandhiji, ‘had been on for six days previous to the day of the meeting. He acquainted himself sufficiently with the history of the problem and learnt by heart the figures which he had to cite. Then again on the previous night he burnt the midnight oil in order to settle the draft of his speech. The result was that he satisfied the Europeans as well as the Indians.’ After the speech, the Europeans of Johannesburg ‘vied with one another in shaking hands with Gokhale for the simple reason that in the speech he had made before them they had evidence of his deep affection for his own country as well as his sense of justice and appreciation of the opposite point of view.’ A similar story comes from another great disciple—Srinivasa Sastri. The matter was nothing more than a mere thanks-giving speech at the Congress of 1908. Gokhale wished to include Dadabhai Naoroji among the persons to be thanked. ‘I remember,’ says Sastri, ‘I was an early riser on the day he was to speak. He got up in the morning; I was downstairs and he was upstairs. Early morning I heard a noise upstairs. It was Gokhale moving up and down. When Gokhale wanted to think

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1. Except once, when the latest figures were not available to Gokhale, as they were to the officials.

hard on anything, he could not sit. He had to get up and move forward and backward. And then I heard a low murmur. He kept repeating some passage. Subsequently, I asked what it was. He said: "I shall tell you confidentially. I was preparing a sentence about Dadabhai Naoroji—I want to be correct and perfect." And it was perfect.<sup>2</sup>

Truly, the saying that 'genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains' never received a better illustration than in Gokhale.

No man ever became great without passing through a period of trial and suffering. To Gokhale the first trial came in 1895. He had been working with generous enthusiasm in various public causes, but the selfishness and duplicity and low intrigue which he discovered in public life produced a feeling of disgust, and he felt that he should give up all public work (No. 3). It may be that he was turned away from his purpose by the sage advice of Ranade. Two years later came a still greater ordeal, following the Apology (No. 6). But that fiery ordeal was the making of Gokhale. The noble words with which he ends his Statement (No. 7) became hereafter the guiding-star of his life:

'Public duties, undertaken at the bidding of no man, cannot be laid down at the desire of anyone. Whether one works on a higher plane or a lower one is a matter comparatively of small importance. One is always glad of the approbation of the public of what one has done. It is an object of legitimate satisfaction; it is also more; it is a source of strength and encouragement, and moreover, in this country, it constitutes the only reward in public life. But it is not the highest purpose of existence, nor nearly the highest. If it comes . . . well: if not, well also, though not so well.'<sup>3</sup>

When Gokhale entered on his public career, the New India was just emerging, and finding a voice for itself, namely, in the Indian National Congress, which held its first session in December 1885. The Government of the country was a centralized bureaucracy, being carried on by members of the famous Indian Civil Service, recruited by open competition in London. The seniormost among them rose to be Executive Councillors of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, and of the Viceroy and Governor-General in Calcutta.

2. Sastri: *Life and Times of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta* (1945), p. 124

3. See p. 50 of the present volume.

The only outside element in the machinery of government consisted of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, and the Viceroy, who were generally non-service men, and taken from the ranks of politicians in England. For legislative purposes, the Executive Councils of the Governors and the Governor-General were enlarged by the nomination of certain additional members (4 to 8 in the case of the Governors, and 6 to 12 in that of the Governor-General). The Civil Service, which formed the steel-frame of the machinery of government, was theoretically open to Indians—the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 had promised equality to Indians with Europeans; but as the examination was held in London, and the age limit was fixed very low (at 19), very few Indians could obtain entry to the service. In the Army, similarly, the higher ranks were closed to Indians, the highest-ranking Indian officer ranking lower than the lowest British officer. Education had made very little progress, about 90 per cent of the population being illiterate. Sanitation, even in cities, was primitive. Famines occurred frequently, the death rate was high, the living standards of the masses were low, and were getting lower (this was, however, denied by the officials).

The Indian National Congress asked for certain moderate reforms in the system of administration. They asked for simultaneous examinations in India and in England for the Civil Services, reform of the Legislative Councils, separation of Executive and Judicial functions, permanent settlement of the land revenue, reduction of the duty on salt, reduction in military expenditure, larger grants for education and sanitation, etc.

As observed above, Gokhale attended every session of the National Congress and spoke on one or another of the above-mentioned topics, between 1889 and 1896. After 1896, he did not speak again from the Congress platform till 1904.

But by that time, a change had been slowly coming in the thinking of politically conscious India, and it was destined to gather force with the lapse of time. Hitherto, politically conscious India had been passionately loyal to the British connection; it believed that the British people were essentially just and righteous and freedom-loving, and that if the administration of India was not all that was to be desired, all that was necessary was 'a reasoned appeal to

the authorities for the redress of grievances and a moderate demand of new concessions and privileges.’<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, ‘an irresistible statement of facts followed by irrefutable arguments to prove the justice of the popular cause are to be met with everywhere in the speeches supporting the Congress resolutions and the addresses delivered by Congress Presidents.’<sup>5</sup> But when 18 years’ agitation and representations seemed to yield but meagre results, it was natural for people to think that there was something wrong with the existing Congress ideology. Moreover, a new spirit was abroad in the whole eastern world. ‘The victories of Japan over Russia had aroused new hopes and aspirations throughout Asia. The avowed policy of the United States to prepare the Filipinos for self-government and that of Britain to grant representative government to its erstwhile enemies, the Boers in South Africa, was jealously noted by the Indians.’<sup>6</sup> They contrasted with this the unwillingness of the bureaucracy in India to part with any of its power, and concluded that however great England might be, she was not great enough to forgo voluntarily the gains of power from considerations of mere justice or national honour.<sup>7</sup> Thus arose the New Party in the Congress, which denounced the existing Congress methods of petitions and representations as ‘mendicancy’, pleaded for more vigorous methods of ‘self-reliance’, and held up the ideal of complete independence for the country. These views had a powerful appeal for the masses of the people, and especially for the younger generation. Impatient young men were led by them into forming secret conspiracies, resulting at times in deeds of violence.

Gokhale viewed the new trend with anxiety and alarm, and did his best to counteract it. In his view, the continuance of the British connection was the *sine qua non* of all further progress in the country. No doubt he followed in this his master Ranade, to whom ‘the present contact between India and England was a Providential arrangement brought about in order that this aspiration (i.e. that India might become a great and living nation,

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4. B. P. Sitaramayya: *History of the Indian National Congress* (1935), p. 97

5. *Ibid.*, p. 98

6. S. R. Mehrotra: *India and the Commonwealth* (1965), p. 33

7. See p. 238 of this volume.

etc.) might be realized. His (i.e. Ranade's) conviction on this point never wavered, whatever happened.'<sup>8</sup> Not that the patriotism of either Gokhale or Ranade was any the less fervent for this belief. They were both proud of India's past: 'And, my friends,' says Gokhale towards the end of his address on Ranade, 'our Motherland, whatever may be her present condition, is worthy of the best work we can give her, of the highest sacrifice we can make for her. She was at one time the home of all that is great and noble in the life of a nation,—a noble religion, a noble philosophy and literature and art of every kind.'<sup>9</sup> 'The people of India... had attained a high degree of civilization long before the ancestors of European nations understood what civilization was.'<sup>10</sup> And what India *was* once in the past, she was capable of becoming once more in the future. 'We still retain many of those characteristics which once placed us in the van of the world's civilization—the depth of our spirituality, our serene outlook on life, our conception of domestic and social duty. And other races that have from time to time come to make their home here have brought their treasure into the common stock.'<sup>11</sup> But before India can rise to the full height of her capacities, a long process of discipline... is necessary.<sup>12</sup> This is because 'with all her contribution to human progress in many fields... India did not develop the national idea or the idea of political freedom as developed in the West.'<sup>13</sup> 'God does not give everything to every people, and India in the past was not known for that love of liberty and that appreciation of free institutions which one finds to be so striking a characteristic of the West.'<sup>14</sup> India has therefore to be trained in the practice of liberty and of free institutions. 'The future Indian self-government must be popular self-government, shared equally by all classes and races of the country. The steps by which such self-government can be reached must necessarily be slow, as, for the advance to be real, it must be from experiment to experiment only,'<sup>15</sup> depending 'upon the degree and extent to which a feeling of national unity, capable of bearing a considerable strain on occasions, was evolved' among the people.<sup>16</sup> A feeling of national unity had begun to spread in the country, but it required

8. See p. 126; 9. pp. 138-9; 10. p. 195; 11. p. 342; 12. *ibid.*; 13. p. 333; 14. p. 195; 15. p. 243; 16. p. 261.



to be consolidated, and for such consolidation, continued peace and order were absolutely essential. It was only fair to recognize that the existing peace and order were the work of the British Government. The tradition of order was comparatively recent; and it was always easy to stir up disorder in the country. It was therefore the duty of all public-spirited citizens to 'combat actively all unfair misapprehensions of the intentions and actions of the Government. For nothing weakened the hold of order on the public mind than such misapprehensions.'<sup>17</sup>

Gokhale attached the greatest importance to education as a means of fostering national unity and progress. 'A nation's true greatness', he said 'depends upon its average man and woman.' 'It is in the life, thoughts and actions of the average man and woman that the solid strength of a nation really lies.'<sup>18</sup> Individual Indians could be found in all parts of the country, who in character, capacity, and attainments could hold their own anywhere, but the Indian average was inferior to the English average.<sup>19</sup> 'The most important work before us, therefore, now is to endeavour to raise this average so that it may approach the English average.'<sup>20</sup> And the only way of doing it was education. The fate of the country was bound up with the spread of education among the masses.<sup>21</sup> That is why Gokhale made such heroic efforts over his Elementary Education measures (1910-12). That is also why he welcomed all extension of University education, even though such education might not be of the highest quality.<sup>22</sup> Significant, too, in this connection is his passionate plea for justice to the 'Depressed Classes' (No. 12).

Gokhale was concerned over the way the students were being drawn into active politics by the teaching of the New Party. He was not in favour of banning politics from Colleges as a dangerous subject; he was rather for students' 'efficient political education'. College students, he thought, 'should enjoy every possible facility for acquiring an accurate knowledge of political matters and forming sound views in regard to them. They should be encouraged to discuss such matters freely in the College,... should be at liberty to attend public lectures and addresses on political subjects,

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17. See p. 262; 18. p. 188; 19. p. 274; 20. *ibid.*; 21. p. 21; 22. p. 151.

and they may even attend political meetings with advantage, provided they are there only as spectators.' He would not, however, allow them to 'participate actively in political agitation, which would fill their minds with unhealthy excitement, . . . interfere with their studies, and prove injurious to their intellectual and moral growth.'<sup>23</sup>

While thus appealing to his fellow countrymen not to disturb the existing foundations of public order, but to devote their efforts to the making of the nation, Gokhale appealed to the rulers in another vein. He pointed out how the earlier English statesmen had said, quite sincerely, that they regarded India as a solemn trust, and that they would administer the country in the spirit in which all trusts ought to be administered—i.e. with the sole object of promoting the best interests of the Indians themselves;<sup>24</sup> that not England's profit but India's moral and material well-being was to be the object of the rule; and the people of India were to be helped to advance steadily to a position of equality with them—so that they might in due course acquire the capacity to govern themselves in accordance with the higher standards of the West;<sup>25</sup> how these pronouncements had reconciled the people to the new rule; but how when the Indians who had received Western education began to claim the promised equality, the bureaucracy showed little willingness to admit the claim. The educated classes, he pointed out, 'now clearly see that the bureaucracy is growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to their national aspirations,'<sup>26</sup> and a feeling of alienation has now supervened over the old feeling of attachment and respect for Englishmen. 'Any further alienation of the educated classes would be a course of supreme political unwisdom,'<sup>27</sup> because though small numerically, the educated classes are the brain of the community,<sup>28</sup> and what they think today, the whole country will be thinking tomorrow. Alienation of the educated classes can be prevented only by the fulfilment of past pledges, by admitting qualified Indians to a share in the administration, and by governing India, not for Britain's profit, but in the interest of Indians themselves.<sup>29</sup> The Government must be national in spirit, though foreign in *personnel*;<sup>30</sup> the

23. See pp. 268-9; 24. p. 195; 25. pp. 333-4; 26. p. 229; 27. p. 239; 28. *ibid.*; 29. pp. 226-7; 30. pp. 111, 340.

finances of the country must be administered with severe economy,<sup>31</sup> and the resources of the country must be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people by means of education and in other ways for political advance.<sup>32</sup>

Gokhale attached so much importance to the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration, that he made it the chief, if not the sole, criterion in judging of any measure. Thus, as regards Lord Curzon's Universities Bill (No. 14), although several other weighty reasons were urged by him against it—e.g. its tendency to turn the Universities into departments of Government—his main indictment against it seems to have been that it amounted to 'an emphatic condemnation, . . . of the educated classes of this country'—to a declaration that the existing system of University education had been a failure, and that the men educated under that system had proved themselves unworthy of being associated, in any appreciable degree, with the administration of their own Universities.<sup>33</sup>

To the argument that the existing arrangements made for efficiency of administration, and in the interests of that efficiency it was necessary that they should not be disturbed, Gokhale replied: 'The efficiency attained by a foreign bureaucracy, uncontrolled by public opinion, . . . is bound to be of a strictly limited character, and it can never compare with that higher and truer efficiency which is possible only under a well-regulated system of self-government.'<sup>34</sup>

We, who read these appeals of Gokhale after a lapse of 50 years and more, and feel the warmth of his hopes and the glow of his patriotism even as we read them, and who also know how the Fates were conspiring against them, can only lay them aside with a sense of pathos, and think that it was a merciful Providence which decreed that Gokhale should pass away when he did! Or can it be that things would have taken a different course if Gokhale had been spared a few years more? We cannot say. As it was, however, Gokhale's appeals turned out, for the most part, a cry in the wilderness. Anarchical violence on the one hand, repression on the other, went on as before. Gokhale underrated the strength of the extremist movement: in 1908 he expected Tilak to be brought

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31. See p. 99; 32. p. 226; 33. p. 169; 34. pp. 241-2.

back and set free after the inauguration of the Reforms,<sup>35</sup> and in 1910, he thought that the dark clouds in the sky would probably 'roll away before long.'<sup>36</sup> He considered the Morley-Minto Reforms to be 'sufficiently substantial to meet the pressing requirements of the day,' and that they had 'helped largely to ease the tension and restore a more friendly feeling between the two sides.'<sup>37</sup> The improvement in the situation, if any, was of very short duration. Then again, Gokhale did not realize the significance of the new Muslim League movement. In 1906 he thought that sooner or later it was bound to merge into the Congress.<sup>38</sup> In 1909 he spoke of it as a more serious problem. 'It was a commonplace of Indian politics that there could be no future for India as a nation, unless a spirit of co-operation... was developed and established between the two great communities in all public matters.'<sup>39</sup> But, 'there were certain special difficulties in their way, and the task at times appeared well-nigh impossible;' still, 'it was no more impossible than what Europe had to face for more than two centuries in the fierce antagonism between Protestants and Catholics. Spread of education, a wide and efficient performance of civic duties, growth of national aspirations and a quickening of national self-respect in both communities were among the forces which would ultimately overcome the tradition.'<sup>40</sup> Alas! Gokhale could little foresee that the problem was going to prove intractable, was destined to lead to partition of the country amidst scenes of unprecedented violence and bloodshed, and eventually to turn from a national into an international problem.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps if his own life had been prolonged, the Congress-League differences might have been composed, and the history of our struggle for self-government might have been written differently. But here we enter the profitless<sup>42</sup> region of the 'might-have-been'.

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35. See p. 250; 36. p. 287; 37. p. 336; 38. p. 239; 39. p. 264; 40. *ibid.*

41. The so-called Kashmir problem is nothing but a prolongation, into the post-Independence period, of the old Muslim League ideology.

42. Profitless, but alluring nevertheless. One is sorely tempted to speculate whether the course of the Indian national movement would not have run differently, and partition of the country avoided, if Gokhale had been spared for ten or fifteen years more;—and this, not only because of his personal relations with Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand, and Muslim leaders like the Aga Khan and Jinnah on the other, but also

Meanwhile, although the wheels of history cannot be turned back, it would not be without interest to see what price the country has had to pay, and is paying, for the deviation of its course for the struggle for independence from the one which would have commended itself to Gokhale. That price it would be impossible to measure: it is the daily round of strikes, *satyagrahas* and 'fasts unto death' for one thing or another; riots and police-firings on crowds—incidents which are ordinarily associated with an autocratic, rather than a democratic, regime, and whose cost, in mere material wealth, must be incalculable. Does it not behove a free India to bear in mind Gokhale's warning that peace and order are a fundamental need with us, and that it does not take much to stir up disorder in the land?<sup>43</sup>

There are several other lessons, too, that we might learn from Gokhale—the necessity, in a poor country like India, of severe economy in administration; the paramount importance of universal education (which Gokhale had looked forward to achieving within 20 years, but which has still, 50 years after his death, been left unaccomplished); the emphasis on honesty in public life (which is involved in his famous saying that 'public life must be spiritualized'), etc. In fact his speeches are a repository of political wisdom, and no one can read them without being better equipped for public life by such reading than before.

One question, somewhat puzzling at first sight, is bound to occur to a student of Gokhale's life and career: how is it that a man of such transcendent ability and character, who spent himself in the service of his country, 'an embodiment of public spirit and self-sacrifice,' 'utterly disinterested in his pursuit of patriotic ends, caring nothing for wealth and station', whose death was mourned by statesmen and publicists of three continents, of various nationalities and creeds—how is it that such a man lived and died without

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because of his political sagacity. He seems to have realized that the British type of Parliamentary democracy was unsuited to India. (In his scheme of post-war Reforms, known as his 'Political Testament', he asked for Provincial autonomy with an almost wholly elected Legislature, but an Executive irremovable by the Legislature.) When 'Responsible Government' was announced as the goal of British policy in India, partition became almost inevitable, because Muslims felt that being a permanent minority, they would never be able to form a government.

43. See p. 261.

obtaining that popularity among the masses of his countrymen—for whose welfare he really worked all his life—that one would expect in such a case (because it is an undoubted fact that while Gokhale was no doubt admired and eulogized by *some* of his countrymen, he did not enjoy the popularity of Tilak, or Mahatma Gandhi, or Jawaharlal Nehru)? The answer to the question seems to be, partly (perhaps mainly), that while Gokhale worked *for* the masses, he did not work *among* them. His speeches and appeals were addressed not to the masses, but to the educated middle-class. (It was indeed made a *charge* against Tilak by his opponents that he carried his agitation from the educated classes to the ignorant masses.) Partly, too, it seems that the opprobrium which attached to him in the Apology affair continued throughout his life. It is difficult to understand the popular fury against Gokhale roused by his Apology—to see in what way the national cause suffered through it. Gokhale was not a Parnell who stood out as the undisputed leader of his people, so that any disreputable act on his part might bring discredit on his country as a whole. He was as yet only a subaltern (though a very promising one), and nothing more. It is still more strange, and unjustifiable, that the odium against him should have continued after he had given his full and convincing Explanation—an explanation which satisfied Wedderburn and Hume and Dadabhai Naoroji,—the very men on whom he was supposed to have brought discredit by his conduct—but which failed to satisfy his critics at home. Indeed it is sad to find that there are men even today who think that Gokhale made the Apology because he had not ‘the stuff’ in him which Tilak had (just when Gokhale made the apology, Tilak had been sent to gaol for sedition). This allegation pursued Gokhale throughout his life, and when after 1906, the differences between Moderates and Extremists became acute, it was used by Gokhale’s opponents to discredit the Moderates. Gokhale himself, with his superb sense of fairness to opponents, never allowed his followers to speak with disrespect of Tilak. ‘He would always say: “Tilak might have his faults. I have many accounts to settle with him. But who are you? You are nowhere near him. He is a great man . . . Although I do not approve of his methods, I do not question his motives . . .” We of the Society heard these remarks more than

once from his lips.'<sup>44</sup> It is unfortunately true that no answering courtesy was evident on the other side. With all his greatness, and though not without tenderness in private life, the Lokamanya was merciless in public controversy. He gave no quarter to opponents, and expected none from them. In the result, during the last eight years of his life, Gokhale was subjected to virulent attacks, entirely undeserved, in the Extremist Press.

Sufficient time has now elapsed for people to forget the animosities of those days, and to form a just conception of the greatness of Gokhale, and it is hoped that the present generation will do him the honour which was denied to him by all except a small minority of his contemporaries.

R. P. PATWARDHAN

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