

BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA



PAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

T. R. DEOGIRIKAR

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GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

ABOUT THE SERIES

The object of the Series is the publication of biographies of those eminent sons and daughters of India who have been mainly instrumental in our national renaissance and the struggle for independence.

It is essential for the present and coming generation to know something about these great men and women. It is a matter of regret that, except in a few cases, no authoritative biographies are available. The Series has been planned to remove this lacuna. It is proposed to publish handy volumes containing simple and short biographies of our eminent leaders written by competent persons who know the subject well. The books in the Series will be 200 to 300 pages each and are not intended either to be comprehensive studies or to replace more elaborate biographies.

Though desirable, it may not be possible to publish the biographies in a chronological order. The work of writing these lives has to be entrusted to persons who are well equipped to do so and, therefore, for practical reasons, it is possible that there might be no historical sequence observed. I hope, however, that within a short period all eminent national personalities will figure in this Series.

I am grateful to my esteemed friend, Shri R. R. Diwakar, former Governor of Bihar, for agreeing to take up the onerous task of general editorship of this Series. Shri Diwakar's experience as a writer, as an editor and as a journalist, and his eminence in these fields, will help in getting the best possible books published in the Series.

A list of works that are being taken in hand immediately is printed separately.

New Delhi,
25th November, 1959

B. V. KESKAR



Builders of Modern India

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

T. R. DEOGIRIKAR



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Public life must be spiritualized. Love of country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale

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IMPORTANT DATES IN GOKHALE'S LIFE

1866. May 9. Born at Katluk, Ratnagiri District.
1879. Death of his father.
1880. Married.
1881. Matriculated.
- 1882-84. College education.
Took the B.A. Degree.
Joined Law Class.
Formation of the Deccan Education Society.
1885. Founding of the Fergusson College:
Assistant Master, New English School.
1886. Life Member of the Deccan Education Society.
1887. Married second time.
First meeting with M. G. Ranade.
1888. Edited English section of *Sudharak*.
Elected Hon. Secretary of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*,
and editor of its quarterly.
1889. Took part in the Indian National Congress held
at Bombay.
1891. Secretary of the Deccan Education Society.
1893. Death of his mother.
Collected funds for the Deccan Education Society.
1895. Joint Secretary of the Indian National Congress.
Fellow of Bombay University.
Editor of the *Rashtra Sabha Samachar*.
1896. Resigned Secretaryship of *Sarvajanik Sabha* and
editorship of its quarterly.
Organization of the Deccan Sabha.
First meeting with Gandhiji.
1897. First visit to England. Evidence before the Welby
Commission. Published in England complaints
on the plague measures in Poona.
First meeting with John Morley.

- Return from England. Apology incident.
1898. Took prominent part in plague relief work.
1899. Elected Member of the Bombay Legislative Council.
Criticized famine relief measures of Government.
1901. Opposed Land Alienation Bill. Walkout from the Legislative Council. Opposed introduction of communal principle in the District Municipalities Bill.
Supported temperance movement.
Death of Ranade.
1902. Retired from the Fergusson College.
Elected to the Imperial Legislative Council.
Delivered the first of his Budget speeches.
1903. Gandhiji stayed a month with Gokhale in Calcutta.
1904. Received title of C.I.E.
1905. Founded the Servants of India Society, June 12.
Second visit to England.
Presided over the Benares session of the Indian National Congress.
President of the Poona City Municipality.
1906. Third visit to England.
1907. Death of his brother.
Deportation of Lala Lajpatrai.
Undertook lecturing tour in northern India.
Congress split at Surat.
1908. Evidence before the Decentralization Commission.
Fourth visit to England.
Announcement of the Morley-Minto Reforms.
Arrest and imprisonment of Tilak.
Defamation suit against the *Hindu Punch*.
Founded the Ranade Economic Institute.
1910. Moved a resolution on indentured labour to Natal (adopted).

- Moved a resolution on Elementary Education (withdrawn).
 Criticized the Press Bill.
1911. Introduced the Elementary Education Bill.
 Opposed the Seditious Meetings Bill.
 Contributed a paper on "East and West" to the Universal Races Congress.
1912. Spoke on the resolution of Bhupendranath Basu on Police Administration in India.
 Moved a resolution on indentured labour.
 Defeat of the Elementary Education Bill.
 Fifth visit to England.
 Visit to South Africa. Meeting with Gandhiji.
 Appointed to the Public Service Commission.
1913. Sixth visit to England (with the Public Service Commission).
 Raised funds for the South African struggle.
1914. Seventh visit to England (with the Public Service Commission).
 Declined offer of K.C.I.E.
 Gandhi-Smuts agreement.
 Met Gandhiji in London.
 Congress compromise, its failure.
1915. Congress compromise controversy.
 Visit of Gandhiji.
 "Political Will and Testament."
 Death, February 19.

(Based on the 'Chronology of Events' given in Mr Srinivasa Sastri's 'Life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale').

Appendix I

GOKHALE—AS OTHERS SAW HIM

Gokhale did not write an autobiography, and he did not even want a biography of himself written after his death. He was not known to have spoken much about himself. He would have thought it immodest to have done so. Fortunately for us, however, some of his great contemporaries have given us sketches and estimates of Gokhale which enable us to have a rounded portrait of him.

How did he strike the greatest of them all, Gandhiji, who used to call himself a disciple of Gokhale? Writing on the affinity that existed between them and the reasons for it, Gandhiji said: "Mr Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian, who claims to love his country, should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualize the political life of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring it; and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualize myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal. What is the meaning of spiritualizing the political life of the country? What is the meaning of spiritualizing myself? That question has come before me often and to you it may seem one thing, to me it may seem another thing. I think that political life must be an echo of private life and that there cannot be any divorce between the two."

Gandhiji gives us further glimpses of his guru: "I was by the side of that saintly politician [Gokhale] to the end of his life and I found no ego in him. If he wanted to shine in the political field of the country, he did so not in order that he might gain. He developed every particular faculty in him, not in order to win the praise of the world for himself but in order that his country might gain. He did not seek public applause, but it was showered upon him, it was thrust upon him."*

*Bangalore speech, 1915, on unveiling of Gokhale's statue

"There was one thing Gokhale said to me, 'We lack in India character; we want religious zeal in the political field.' Shall we then follow the spirit of the master with the same thoroughness and the same religious zeal, so that we can safely teach a child politics?'"*

We turn to another great contemporary of Gokhale : Tilak differed from him in political method; yet he thought highly of his personal qualities, a regard reciprocated by Gokhale. Tilak once described Gokhale as a very simple, child-like person, believing easily in what others said and almost taking the goodness of others for granted.

After Gokhale's death Tilak said in an article in *Kesari* on February 23, 1915 :

"Gokhale had many virtues in him. The chief amongst them was his complete dedication at a very young age to the service of the country, with selfless devotion. There are persons who, after fully enjoying life at a young age, turn their attention to public service, for want of any other work. Their mental energies are dried up and their physical capacities are slowly ebbing out. For such persons one cannot have a very high regard. But at a time when all the physical powers are in full bloom, when the body is capable of undergoing all exertions in pursuit of self, when old age is at a distance, when the aspect of happiness in life is still attractive and when the tendency of being drawn in that direction is natural, if at such a time, especially when one is inwardly sure that the possibilities of his success in life are comparatively greater, a person diverts his attention from those alluring aspects and prepares himself for the service of the country, fully conscious of the dangers involved therein, and becomes ready to derive pleasure from such service, not minding the continuous labours, it all shows his strong control over himself. A person who

*Speeches & Writings, III ed., p. 246

not only exhibited that control, but practised it till the end of life, is really praiseworthy. Everyone is to be judged by the motives by which he is actuated. Gokhale was mild by nature and his natural tendency was to carry out his task by mild methods. To persons like us, these methods appeared to be unsuited. Even though two physicians had differed regarding the strict observance of treatment and the regimen, yet we acknowledge the worth of Gokhale as a physician."

The Aga Khan : "Gokhale was more than a statesman. He was essentially a creative artist of genius. His oratory was a work of art in words; but he was not only an artist in words but an artist in works and conceptions, and, like every great artist, he did not disdain in the search for his material to go wherever he could find it. He was not only broad-minded but charitable. His sense of human solidarity made him full of personal sympathy, not only to his opponents but to the selfish and the snobbish self-seekers. But his wrath and contempt were reserved for the poisonous and deadly vice of hypocrisy."

M. A. Jinnah : "Gokhale was a fearless critic and opponent of the measures of the Government and the administration of the country but in all his actions and utterances, he was guided by reason and true moderation. Thus he was a help to the Government and a source of great strength and support to the cause of the people. One of the greatest lessons that his life and work teach one is the example of what one single individual can achieve, how powerfully and materially he can help and guide the destinies of his country and his people and from whom millions can derive true lead and inspiration."

M. Visvesvaraya : "I had known Mr Gokhale for 25 years as one who placed healthy and decisive limitations on ambition. He had a balanced intellect and studied both sides of the subject too well to take extreme views. . . . Latterly Gokhale had acquired an international reputation. Indians in every country were proud to point to him as an example

of their countrymen who could rise to the level of the best in any country."

Pandit Motilal Nehru : "Gokhale was a noble soul fired by a patriotism all consuming. A born leader of men, he never aspired to anything but to be the humblest servant of the motherland in whose service he brought such devotion into play that it is now a matter of history. He lived up to the very ideal which he set before himself and his countrymen."

V. S. Srinivasa Sastri : "In Mr Gokhale's character there was a great element of reverence and gratitude to those that taught him, nothing but admiration for those who had done great things and undergone great trials for the sake of the country. . . . It was marvellous how, even when he became a great man himself, he spoke in terms of the utmost humility, when he spoke of Ranade or Joshi or a person like P.M. Mehta. Even when we discussed the person who assailed him continually and against whom he frequently defended himself, Mr Tilak, he would not allow anyone of us to speak disparagingly of him. 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. His natural endowments are first-rate. He has improved them for the service of the country. Although I do not approve of his methods, I never question his motives. Believe me, there is no man who has spent so much for the country, there is no man who has had in his life to contend against the powerful opposition of the Government so much as Tilak; there is no man who has shown grit and patience and courage so rare that several times in the course of these struggles he lost his fortune and by his indomitable will put it all together again'."

Lord Curzon : "In fact he was the Leader of the Opposition and in that capacity I had often to suffer from the weight of Mr Gokhale's blows. . . . I have never met a man of any nationality more gifted with parliamentary capacities. Mr Gokhale would have obtained a position

of distinction in any Parliament in the world, even in the British House of Commons. Widely as we differed, I never failed to recognize either his ability or his high character."

Lord Hardinge : "He was the Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Council, really a good orator and debater, a statesman and a man for whom I had the highest respect. I have always regarded him not merely as an important member of any council but also as a friend."

E. S. Montagu : "It is not too much to say that his annual contribution to the debate on the Budget proposals in India was one of the outstanding features of the proceedings of the Viceroy's Council and was eagerly awaited even by those who could not see eye to eye with him in his criticisms. That a man should interest himself in the complexities of Indian economics and finance is in itself a tribute to his powers of mind, that he should master them and should display his mastery at an age at which few people would care even to study them cursorily was a sign of ripening intellect and a serious endeavour which served to lay the sure foundations of Gokhale's work. And with all his comprehensiveness of judgment and mental clarity he never dropped into the academic fallacy of contempt. He impressed one as being among the most candid and unassuming of men, and he was equally ready to give or take advice where it seemed most serviceable. His mind possessed the qualities ascribed to statesmanship, without ever losing the fire of its enthusiasms or its warm human interests."

Ramsay MacDonald : "In him India had a faithful and devoted son. He belonged to that race of Indians who retained that calm dignity of mind and spirit which comes from an unassailable belief in their own race and its destiny.

"He knew the West, its powers and its kingdoms. No one paid a more whole-hearted homage to its attainments. But he knew the East too. The breath of the life of Mother India was his own breath of life. Jealously he guarded her reputation, faithfully he strove to remove her

defects. Where she had fallen, he sought to uplift her; where she had triumphed he sought to praise her.

"I have sat for many days with him on the Royal Commission... His knowledge, his resource, his nimbleness, his persistence, his authority, have been a source of endless wonder to me."

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson : "Gokhale always reminds me of Mr Gladstone, possessing in my opinion much of the greatness and many of the weaknesses of that statesman."

H. W. Nevinston : "Certainly Gokhale was a Congressman... But in him there was nothing of the froth and fume of the legendary Congresswallah. If eloquence is, as Lord Curzon eloquently assured a Calcutta audience, the besetting sin of Indians, Gokhale had none of it. He had no rhetoric. He cared nothing for impassioned language and magnificent periods. I have never heard a calmer or more self-restrained speaker. His was the eloquence of perfect knowledge, of entire devotion to his cause and utter disregard of self or any other consideration. But however quiet his speech, the courage of unyielding conviction and that regardlessness of self or fortune or applause was always felt behind it... Courage underlying a sweet reasonableness was the characteristic of the man and his speaking. It made him a speaker of singular attraction and lucidity. But he was never satisfied with words. He knew that speeches accomplish nothing unless action follows and with the knowledge he founded the 'Servants of India Society'. Courage, self-assertion and discipline in public life were the qualities he found wanting and which he hoped to develop through the Congress and such missionary means as his order of the 'Servants of India Society'. He knew it would be slow work."

Appendix II

EXTRACTS FROM THE FAREWELL ADDRESS TO FERGUSSON COLLEGE

On September 19, 1902, the students of Fergusson College presented Mr Gokhale with a farewell address to which he replied as follows :

Mr Principal, Brother-Professors and Students of the College, it is not possible for me to rise without deep emotion to reply to the address which has just been read and to return thanks for the great, the overwhelming kindness with which you have treated me today. All parting in life is sad, but where the heart's deepest feelings are involved, the severance of old ties, and the necessity of saying good-bye, is about as trying an ordeal as any that a man can be called upon to go through. For eighteen years now, I have tried, according to the humble measure of my capacity, to give the best that was in me to this Society. Through good report and through evil report, through sunshine and through storm, it has been my endeavour to work for this institution with a single aim to its welfare, till at last it has become impossible for me to think of myself as apart from this College. And now, when the time for my withdrawing myself from all active work in this institution has come, my heart is naturally stirred by conflicting emotions, in which a feeling of intense thankfulness is mingled with a feeling of deep sadness. I feel thankful, profoundly thankful, that it has pleased Providence to give it to me to discharge the solemn and onerous obligations of a vow taken so many years ago under the influence of youthful enthusiasm, and that no matter what happens to me in the future, I shall always be able to look back with pleasure and pride on this part of my career, and say to myself, "Thank God,

I was permitted to fulfil my pledge." But, gentlemen, side by side with this feeling of thankfulness, there is a feeling of deep regret, that my active work for this great institution is now at an end. You can easily understand what a wrench it must be to me to thus tear myself away from an institution to which my best work hitherto has been given, and which always has been first in my thoughts and affections, no matter in how many fields it was my lot to work.

* * * *

Public life in this country has few rewards and many trials and discouragements. The prospect of work to be done is vast, and no one can say what is on the other side—how all this work may end. But one thing is clear. Those who feel in the matter as I do must devote themselves to the work in a spirit of hope and faith and seek only the satisfaction which comes of all disinterested exertions.

This is not the place where I may speak of my future hopes or lines of work. But one thing I know, and it is this: whether I am permitted to press onwards and prove of some little use to the public in another capacity, or whether I have to return a weather-beaten, tempest-tost, ship-wrecked mariner, my thoughts, as you have said in your address, will constantly be with this institution; and, on the other hand, I shall always be sure of a warm and hospitable welcome within these walls, whenever I choose to come here.

And, now, before concluding I wish to say one thing to the students of this College. I hope and trust that they will always be proud of this institution. I am about to leave you and so I can speak on this subject now with less reserve. I have been nearly all over India and I have naturally felt special interest in the educational institutions of different places. Nowhere throughout the country is there an institution like this College of ours. There are other institutions better equipped, and also with older traditions; but the self-sacrifice of men like my friends, Mr Paranjpye and Mr Rajwade, surrounds this College with a halo of glory

all its own. The principal moral interest of this institution is in the fact that it represents an idea and embodies an ideal. The idea is that Indians of the present day can bind themselves together, and putting aside all thoughts of worldly interests work for a secular purpose with a zeal and enthusiasm which we generally find in the sphere of religion alone. The ideal is the ideal of self-help, that we may learn slowly but steadily to rely less and less upon others, however willing to bear our burdens, and more and more upon ourselves.

I trust that you, the students of this College, will keep this character of the institution steadily before your eyes—that your devotion to it, your enthusiasm for it, will be commensurate with the nobility and importance of its work, that even when you feel disposed to criticize it, you will speak of it with the loving solicitude with which we mention a parent's faults, and that you will always do what lies in your power to further its interests and enlarge the sphere of its usefulness and influence.

* * * *

In leaving you, as I am doing, I feel I am leaving the best work of my life behind me. I trust I may meet some of you hereafter as co-workers in other fields, that we may also occasionally meet within the walls of this College. God bless this College and bless you all.

Appendix III

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

For some time past, the conviction has been forcing itself on many earnest and thoughtful minds that a stage has been reached in the work of nation-building in India when, for further progress, the devoted labours of a specially trained agency, applying itself to the task in a true missionary spirit, are required. The work that has been accomplished so far has indeed been of the highest value. The growth during the last fifty years of a feeling of common nationality, based upon common traditions and ties, common hopes and aspirations, and even common disabilities, has been most striking. The fact that we are Indians first and Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees or Christians afterwards, is being realized in a steadily increasing measure, and the idea of a united and renovated India, marching onwards to a place among the nations of the world worthy of her great past, is no longer a mere idle dream of a few imaginative minds, but is the definitely accepted creed of those who form the brain of the community—the educated classes of the country. A creditable beginning has already been made in matters of education and of local self-government; and all classes of the people are slowly but steadily coming under the influence of liberal ideas. The claims of public life are every day receiving wider recognition, and attachment to the land of our birth is growing into a strong and deeply cherished passion of the heart. The annual meetings of Congresses and Conferences, the work of public bodies and associations, the writings in the columns of the Indian Press—all bear witness to the new life that is coursing in the veins of the people. The results achieved so far are undoubtedly most fratifying, but they only mean that the

jungle has been cleared and the foundations laid. The great work of rearing the superstructure has yet to be taken in hand and the situation demands on the part of workers devotion and sacrifices proportionate to the magnitude of the task.

The Servants of India Society has been established to meet in some measure these requirements of the situation. Its members frankly accept the British connection as ordained, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, for India's good. Self-Government within the Empire for their country and a higher life generally for their countrymen is their goal. This goal, they recognize, cannot be attained without years of earnest and patient efforts and sacrifices worthy of the cause. Much of the work must be directed toward building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present, and the advance can only be slow. Moreover, the path is beset with great difficulties; there will be constant temptations to turn back; bitter disappointments will repeatedly try the faith of those who have put their hand to the work. But the weary toil can have but one end, if only the workers grow not faint-hearted on the way. One essential condition of success in this work is that a sufficient number of our countrymen must now come forward to devote themselves to the cause in the spirit in which religious work is undertaken.

Public life must be spiritualized. Love of country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side. A fervent patriotism which rejoices at every opportunity of sacrifice for the motherland, a dauntless heart which refuses to be turned back from its object by difficulty or danger, a deep faith in the purpose of Providence which nothing can shake—equipped with these, the worker must start on his mission and reverently seek the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of one's country.

* * * *

The Servants of India Society will train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit, and will seek to promote, by all constitutional means, the national interests of the Indian people. Its members will direct their efforts principally towards : (1) creating among the people, by example and by precept, a deep and passionate love of the motherland, seeking its highest fulfilment in service and sacrifice; (2) organizing the work of political education and agitation, basing it on a careful study of public questions, and strengthening generally the public life of the country; (3) promoting relations of cordial goodwill and co-operation among the different communities; (4) assisting educational movements, especially those for the education of women, the education of backward classes and industrial and scientific education; (5) helping forward the industrial development of the country; and, (6) the elevation of the depressed classes. The headquarters of the Society will be at Poona, where it will maintain a Home for its members, and, attached to it, a Library for the study of subjects bearing on its work.

Appendix IV

SOME MEMORABLE SAYINGS OF GOKHALE

Swadeshi

Every year between 30 and 40 crores of rupees go out of India never to come back. No country—not even the richest in the world—can stand such bleeding.

Separate Electorates

Undoubtedly this is a pernicious doctrine—that any community in India should abstract itself from the general nationality and for election purposes consider itself a separate unit. This will impede the growth of nationalist sense in the country.

The Indian problem in South Africa

I pray to God that such a struggle as you found necessary to wage in the Transvaal during the last three years may not have to be waged again. But if it has to be resumed, or if you have to enter struggles of a like nature for justice denied or injustice forced on you, remember that the issue will largely turn on the character you show, on your capacity for combined action, on your readiness to suffer and sacrifice in a just cause. India will no doubt be behind you... But the main endeavour to have your wrongs righted will have to be yours. Remember that you are entitled to have the Indian problem in this country solved on right lines. And in such right solution are involved not merely your present worldly interests but your dignity and self-respect, the honour and good name of your Motherland, and the entire moral and material well-being of your children's children.

(Farewell speech in Pretoria, November 15, 1912)

The Depressed Classes

The elevation of the depressed classes who have to be brought up to the level of the rest of our people, universal elementary education, co-operation, improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry, higher education of women, spread of industrial and technical education, and building up of the industrial strength of the country, promotion of close relations between different communities—these are some of the tasks that lie in front of us, and each needs a whole army of devoted missionaries. Shall the need go unsupplied? Out of the thousands of young men that leave our Universities year after year, shall not even a few hear within them the voices that speak to the spirit, and respond gladly to this call? The work is the work of our country. It is also the work of humanity. If, after all the awakening of which we speak and over which we justly rejoice, these fields do not yield their harvests for want of workers, India must wait for another generation before she receives faithful service from her children.

(Speech before the Students' Brotherhood, Bombay, October 9, 1909)

The consequences of inequality among men

The humblest Englishman in the country goes about with the prestige of the whole Empire behind him whereas the proudest and most distinguished Indian cannot shake off from himself a certain sense that he belongs to a subject race. The soul of social friendship is mutual appreciation and respect, which ordinarily is not found to co-exist with a consciousness of inequality.

(From paper read before the Universal Races Congress—London, July, 1911)

Appendix V

GOKHALE'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

It is well to remember that this was only a draft proposal by Mr Gokhale made by him a few months after the outbreak of World War I. This fact was communicated to the press by the late Rt. Hon. Mr V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, successor to Mr Gokhale as President of the Servants of India Society.

The grant of Provincial Autonomy foreshadowed in the Delhi despatch would be a fitting concession to make to the people of India at the close of the war. This will involve the twofold operation of freeing the Provincial Governments on one side from the greater part of the control which is at present exercised over them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in connection with the internal administration of the country and substituting on the other, in place of the control so removed, the control of the representatives of the tax-payers through Provincial Legislative Councils. I indicate below in brief outline the form of administration that should be set up in different Provinces to carry out this idea.

Each Province should have :—

1. A Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration.

2. A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members, three of whom should be Indians and three Englishmen with the following portfolios:

(a) Home (including Law and Justice); (b) Finance; (c) Agriculture, Irrigation and Public Works; (d) Education; (e) Local Self-Government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief); and (f) Industries and Commerce.

While members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council, no place in the Council should be reserved for them, the best men available being taken, both English and Indian.

3. A Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 members, of whom not less than four-fifths should be elected by different constituencies and interests. Thus in the Bombay Presidency, roughly speaking, each District should return two members, one representing Municipalities and the other District and Taluk Boards. The City of Bombay should have about ten members allotted to it. Bodies in the *mofussil* like the Karachi Chamber, Ahmedabad mill-owners, Deccan Sardars should have a member each. Then there would be the special representation of Mahomedans and here and there a member may have to be given to communities like the Lingayats where they are strong. There should be no nominated non-official members except as experts. A few official members may be added by the Governor as experts or to assist in representing the Executive Government.

4. The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council so constituted should be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. The Council will have to pass all Provincial Legislation and its assent will be necessary to adding to, or changes, in Provincial taxation. The Budget, too, will have to come to it for discussion and its resolutions in connection with it, as also on questions of general administration, will have to be given effect to unless vetoed by the Governor. More frequent meetings or longer continuous sittings will have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall not depend, individually or collectively, on the support of a majority of the Council, for holding the offices.

5. The Provincial Government so reconstituted and working under the control of the Legislative Council, as outlined above, should have complete charge of the internal

administration of the Province and it should have virtually independent financial powers, the present financial relations between it and the Government of India being largely revised—and to some extent even reversed. The revenue under Salt, Customs, Tributes, Railways, Post, Telegraph and Mint should exclusively belong to the Government of India, the services being Imperial while under Land Revenue including Irrigation, Excise, Forests, Assessed Taxes, Stamps and Registration, should belong to the Provincial Government, the services being Provincial. As under this division, the revenue falling to the Provincial Government will be in excess of its existing requirements and that assigned to the Government of India will fall short of its present expenditure, the Provincial Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India fixed for periods of five years at a time. Subject to this arrangement, the Imperial and Provincial Governments should develop their separate systems of finance, the Provincial Governments being given powers of taxation and borrowing within certain limits.

6. Such a scheme of Provincial Autonomy will be incomplete unless it is accompanied by (a) liberalizing of the present form of District administration and (b) a great extension of Local Self-Government. For (a) it will be necessary to abolish the Commissionerships of Divisions except where special reasons may exist for their being maintained as in Sind and to associate small District Councils, partly elected and partly nominated, with the Collector to whom most of the present powers of the Commissioners could then be transferred—the functions of the Councils being advisory to begin with. For (b) Village Panchayats, partly elected and partly nominated, should be created for villages and groups of villages, and Municipal Boards in towns and Taluk Boards. The Taluk Boards should be made wholly elected bodies, the Provincial Government reserving to itself and exercising stringent powers of control. A portion of the excise revenue should be made over

to those bodies so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties. The District being too large an area for efficient local self-government by an honorary agency, the functions of the District Boards should be strictly limited and the Collector should continue to be its ex-officio President.

The Government of India

1. The Provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous, the constitution of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. At present there are four members in that Council with portfolios which concern the internal administration—Home, Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce. As all internal administration will now be made over to the Provincial Governments and the Government of India will only retain in its hands nominal control to be exercised on very rare occasions, one member to be called Member for the Interior should suffice in place of the four. It will, however, be necessary to create certain other portfolios and I would have the Council consist of the following six members, at least two of whom shall always be Indians.

(a) Interior, (b) Finance, (c) Law, (d) Defence, (e) Communications, (Railways, Post and Telegraph), and (f) Foreign.

The Legislative Council of the Viceroy should be styled the Legislative Assembly of India. Its members should be raised to about one hundred to begin with and its powers enlarged, but the principle of an official majority (for which perhaps it will suffice to substitute a nominated majority) should for the present be maintained until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for the Provinces. This will give the Government of India a reserve power in connection with Provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. Thus, if a Provincial Legislative Council persistently declines

to pass legislation which the Government regards to be essential in the vital interests of the Province, it could be passed by the Government of India in its Legislative Assembly over the head of the Province. Such occasions would be extremely rare, but the reserve power will give a sense of security to the authority and will induce them to enter on the great experiment of Provincial Autonomy with greater readiness. Subject to this principle of an official or nominated majority being for the present maintained, the Assembly should have increased opportunities of influencing the policy of the Government by discussion, questions connected with the Army and Navy being placed on a level with other questions. In fiscal matters, the Government of India so constituted should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State whose control in other matters too should be largely reduced, his Council being abolished and his position steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Commissions in the Army and Navy must now be given to Indians, with proper facilities for military and naval instruction.

German East Africa, if conquered from the Germans, should be reserved for Indian colonization and should be handed over to the Government of India.

Appendix VI

(Gokhale, like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to name only two, underwent the important stage of municipal chairmanship in his public life).

Gokhale himself was President of the Poona Municipality for several years, and knew well the disadvantages and handicaps which hinder the progress of Indian municipal life. In that capacity he showed a power of vigorous administration, which made his tenure of office memorable. The work of the municipal meetings over which he presided was done with thoroughness and despatch. He introduced a system by which the members of the municipality were permitted to interrogate the executive officers at the meetings on points of administration—the same system, in other words, of which he himself was to make such effective use in the Imperial Council after the introduction of the Minto-Morley Reforms. He also introduced a rule that the minutes of the municipal meetings should be printed and circulated to the members. His services to Poona as President of the municipality made it plain that Gokhale was no mere academic critic of other people's methods of administration, who would himself be helpless in a position of responsibility; but that he was a vigorous and practical administrator, able to translate his ideals into effective action.

J. S. Hoyland : *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*

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