

# GOKHALEANA

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## GOKHALE'S MULA MANTRA "INDIA—A NATION"

Gopal Krishna Gokhale has passed away and all India is plunged into a deep and passionate grief.

In life Gokhale had naturally many critics on all sides ...both among those who wished ill to his country and among those others who loved it too well.

But now all differences are forgotten and the Pioneer of Allahabad agrees with Bal Gangadhar Tilak that Gokhale's life should be taken as an inspiring example by every good man in the country indeed we live and learn,—all of us.

Now, what are the principles that Gokhale lived for and worked for? These are two: (1) Indian Nationhood and (2) Indian Self Government. "India — a Nation", that was the mula mantra, the root idea, the basic affirmation of Gokhale's life and work. We all know for instance with what zeal and earnestness he worked for Hindu-Mahomedan unity. Thanks to Gokhale and other workers like himself, we are today in sight of the promised land.

We are all deeply grateful to the King Emperor for His Majesty's sympathetic message to Mr. Gokhale's family. It is a gracious act but, to us its chief significance lies in the fact that the august head of the Empire respects the life principles of Gokhale. Respect for a man's memory may not mean the acceptance of his opinions and doctrines in toto but it certainly means respect for his Dharma, his life work.

Even today, there must be certain political thinkers in our country who may not approve of Gokhale's life in everything that he did or omitted to do. — But may his soul rest in peace — his country has accepted his Dharma.

C. Subramania Bharati (the famous Tamil poet)

## Foreword

Search for materials about Gokhale and of his time is both entrancing and rewarding.

The latest biography of Gokhale by Prof. B.R. Nanda, published by the Oxford University Press is the only definitive biography which is fully documented. To know the quality of the book, a review of it published in the Candian Historical Review is reproduced in this issue of Gokhaleana.

The Maharashtra Information Centre, New Delhi brought out a commemoration volume in 1966, the Gokhale Birth Centenary Year containing appreciations and anecdotes about Gokhale by his contemporaries and admirers, some of which are reproduced herewith acknowledgement to the Centre.

A speech of Gandhiji on spiritualising public life while unveiling Gokhale's portrait in Bangalore in 1915, reproduced herein will be read with interest.

9-5-1980

S. R. VENKATARAMAN

# Public Life Must Be Spiritualised

—GOKHALE

(GANDHIJI'S SPEECH in unveiling the portrait of the Hon. Sri. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, under the auspices of the Social Service League at the Inter College Hall Bangalore, on 8-5-1915).

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,-

Before I perform the ceremony to which you have called me, I wish to say this to you, that you have given me a great opportunity or rather privilege on this great occasion. I saw in the recitation (a poem from Rabindranath Tagore's Githanjali) the beautiful recitation that was given to me, - that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thoughts immediately went to the end of my garment and found that it is not dusty and it is not tattered, it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached, but in these conditions too, I may fail, and you my dear countrymen, may also fail and if we do tend this thought well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning.

## SPIRITUALISING PUBLIC LIFE.

Mr. Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country should be to act, in the political field, should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualise the public life of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring, and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualise myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal. I may fail and to what extent I may fail, I call myself to that extent an unworthy disciple of my Master.

What is the meaning of spiritualising the political life of the country? What is the meaning of spiritualising

myself? That question has come before me often and to you it may seem one thing and to me it may seem another thing; it may mean different thing to different members of the Servants of India society itself. It shows much difficulty; it shows my difficulties and it shows the difficulties of all those who have love for their country who want to serve their country and who want to honour their country. I think the political life must be an echo of private life and these cannot be any divorce between the two.

Here Gandhiji referred to the beautiful hymn Lead Kindly Light of Cardinal Newman which he said Gokhale used to repeat to himself often and quoted the line.

"I do not want to see the distant scene, one step enough for me."

Continuing Gandhiji said that the progress has to be made step by step. One has to pass through the great Gangetic plains patiently and climb step by step in order to reach the top of Kinchinjunga, and other highest peaks of the world.

I was by the side of that saintly politician to the end of his life and I FOUND NO EGO IN HIM. I ask you members of the Social service league, if there is no ego in you. If he wanted to shine he wanted to shine in the political field of his country—he did so not in order that he might get public applause but that his country may gain. He developed every particular faculty in him, not in order to win praise of the world for himself, but in order that his country may gain.

He did not seek public applause, but they were showered on him; they were thrust upon him; he wanted that his countrymen may gain and that was his great inspiration.

There are many things for which India is blamed; very rightly and if you should add one more to our failures,

the blame will descend not only on you but also on me for having participated in today's function. But I have great faith in my countrymen. You ask me to unveil this portrait today and I will do so in all sincerity and sincerity should be the end of your life.

(From Karnataka, 85-1915, with acknowledgements to Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore, Souvenir, 1965).

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**Extracts from the Gokhale Commemoration Number  
Maharashtra Information Centre, New Delhi.**

### THE POWER OF FAITH

What touches human hearts is the power of faith. It comes only to those who have suffered greatly. Though Gokhale knew Dadabhai Naoroji, Gandhi, Tilak, his heart was given to Mahadev Govind Ranade, who gave him the ideals which Gokhale illustrated in his life. In the prospectus of the Deccan Sabha Ranade said:

Gokhale easily identified himself with the condition of his people and consistently tried to raise it. Public work Gokhale felt, should have intellectual and moral foundations. Leadership, to be effective should have moral authority. His attempt was to spiritualize politics. Any one who leads a dedicated life, who is devoted to truth, and who avoids intrigue and factionalism in public life, he is a religious man though he may call himself a pagan or agnostic. Whatever work Gokhale undertook, he threw himself into it heart and soul. (Dr. S. Radhakrishnan P 1)

### AN AMBITIOUS SOUL

He possessed a phenomenal memory and could recite some of the text-books from the first page to the last. As

a teacher in the New English School, it is said, he used to teach sometimes without so much as opening the text-book.

Dinkar Hari Waknis, one of his fellow-students while in the Deccan College at Poona, has reported in his letter dated 2 September 1901, a story about Gokhale. Gokhale severely condemned himself for his failure to solve all the problems in the Trigonometry paper which would have got him cent per cent marks and not just ninety per cent which he expected. This was in the year 1883. Mr. Waknis observes:

'A monstrously ambitious soul,' I muttered to myself.

'I could only see the child then, but not the father of the present man'.  
(D V. Ambekar P-5)

## HE MADE A SUCCESS OF COLLECTING FUNDS

Then there was the essential work of collecting donations, work which was both difficult and far from congenial to his temperament, yet which could not be put away if the College was to be placed on a firm foundation. He made it a routine to utilize his holidays for visits in search of donations, and the long vacations for planned tours to distant places for the same end. Even of this uncongenial task Gokhale made a success. It was thanks to him that a buildings fund of about two lakhs was collected, and when in 1895, on auspicious 'Gudhi Padava' or the New Year's Day in Maharashtra, the new buildings of the College and its hostels were inaugurated by the Governor Lord Sandhurst, not a pie of their cost or any other liability in their behalf was remaining unpaid. If unlike the buildings of many a public institution, those of the Fergusson College and its hostels were opened without a debt, the credit belongs solely to Gokhale. (DVA P. 7)

Gokhale prepared to give all his Savings for Gandhiji's South African Fund.

That Gokhale supported the Satyagraha movement of Gandhiji whole-heartedly is evident from the following incident. Natesan, the well-known publisher from Madras, was a personal friend of Gokhale and Gokhale could write to him without hiding his feelings. He had been disappointed at Natesan's small contribution to the fund and wrote to him that his personal saving was not more than Rs 7,000, out of which he had contributed Rs 1,000 and was ready to give another thousand. Why, he would give all the seven thousand if needed. The letter had the desired effect and Natesan increased the amount of his contribution to the fund. (DVA P. 23)

#### FOND OF SHRIKHAND

Curds were a favourite dish, and he grew lyrical when he expatiated on the unequalled merits of a preparation of curds called Shrikhand. In all India there was no sweet to compare with it, and he found it in his heart to forgive the Peshwa who last an empire eating it. So he told Lord Kitchener at a banquet. I would like to believe his admiration was only academic, for he was not blest with the marvellous eupepsia of the ordinary Maharashtrian, who could account at one sitting for as much of it as unhusked coconut while the most I could boast of was two fingertips applied gingerly to the tongue. (V.S. Srinivasa Sastri P.26-27)

#### FOND OF THE YELLOW METAL

Gokhale had a whim once and yielded to it. He filled a shaving soap tube with sovereigns and kept it by his side. It was stolen. He took a similar tube at once and refilled it with the glittering metal.

#### UNDEMONSTRATED LOVE OF HIS DAUGHTERS

Gokhale loved his daughters but never demonstrated it as other fathers usually do. They lived apart from him



Under his sister's care, and visited him at stated intervals. Sir Lallubhai Samaldas once told how his daughter remonstrated with Gokhale against an exacting time table of work that he framed for his elder daughter, now Mrs. Dhawale, who had fallen back a little in her studies. Miss Samaldas used some expression like this: 'You must be not only a strict schoolmaster but a loving father as well'. To this let me add an observation that Gokhale made to me when he was my guest in Sydogy Lane, Triplicane. News came from Poona that his second daughter was taken ill suddenly and his presence was necessary. For a few brief moments he seemed to hesitate about his movements. Was he to cancel his Elementary Education Bill tour and return home? I pressed for this decision, and while yielding he used words which after 34 years I cannot recall without emotion. He seemed he said, to hear her ask half reproachfully: 'What have I known of a father's love and care?' Poor thing, she did not survive that illness long: (Srinivasa Sastri P 26)

### A CHARMING PERSONALITY — METICULOUS IN ALL HE DID

The thing that struck one who saw Gokhale for the first time was his handsome and fuel fuel, his neat dress, and the impressiveness of his countenance. He was very careful and even meticulous in all that he did or said. This was the chief characteristic of all his work. He never made a statement which was not buttressed by unimpeachable authority, and he studied all the relevant literature on any subject which he dealt with in his speeches. (R. P. Paranjpye 36-37)

### FOND OF GAMES

He was keen in everything he did. He took a great deal of interest in cricket and was one of the earliest members of the Poona Young Men's Cricket Club, which later developed into the Deccan Gymkhana of Poona. He played a little tennis but I always used to beat him at it. On the other hand he was much better than I in

billiards, which he played at the Deccan Club, Hirabaug ; and among the members of the Club was his friend the late Bharat Ratna Sir M. Vishveshvarayya. He even hired for a time a billard table and kept it in his house, the Principal's bungalow which he occupied, for practice. I have a particular recollection of one afternoon in May 1904 when he challenged me to a game of billiards in which he gave me a handicap of 100 in 300. I don't remember the result of this match. (R P. Paranjpye P. 38)

### FOND OF CARDS

Gokhale was very fond of cards and used to play them very well. In round games he very often came out the winner as he remembered all the cards that had been played. I remember that once at Mahabaleshwar in 1904 we played cards for eighteen hours out of twenty four, the other players being Achyutrao Desai, Dr. H. S. Dev, the Rajasaheb of Miraj and myself. He also played other Indian games like Songtya and Dashavatari ganjipha very well indeed. He was very good also at chess (the Indian style, with its various endings of increasing merit—burji, mat, pyadi and huchmalli—I don't think he ever played the usual international game) and used to beat me always (RPP. 39-40)

### GOKHALE AND RELIGION

Gokhale had some half-hearted belief in astrology and often used to meet a young man who professed to be an expert in this pseudo-science. Although he did not make a display of his religion, he was, I am sure, not an agnostic like his friend Agarkar, with whom he was a co-editor of the Sudharak. He was certainly interested in Theosophy, though I do not think he was a regular member of the Theosophical Society. In 1895 there was a movement in the Fergusson College to start a Religious Society. A large meeting of the students was held at which Gokhale presided. I was a College Fellow at that time and spoke against religion, for I was a thoroughgoing

rationalist even then. Gokhale, I remember, rebuked me for my views. (RPP. 41)

### RANADE HIS GURU A SEVERE TASK MASTER

Soon after joining the Deccan Education Society he had the inestimable advantage of coming into contact with Mahadev Govind Ranade, who was one of the master minds of his age. His learning, versatility, patriotism, and saintly character inspired reverence in younger men who looked up to him as their Guru. Gokhale sat at his master's feet for twelve years and showed himself to be an uncommonly gifted, diligent, and faithful disciple during this period. It was no easy matter to please Ranade. He was a severe task-master. From time to time, he asked his disciple to prepare representations to be submitted to the local or to the Central Government. Gokhale had sometimes to sit up the whole night to finish the task allotted to him, because he was occupied during the day with his College work and the preparation required for the discharge of his professorial duties.

(H.N. KUNZRU P 58)

### BRITISH CONNECTION—TILAK

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was looked upon as the leader of the new Party in the Congress, appeared to stand for complete independence in 1906, but subsequently he advocated consistently the goal of self-government within the Commonwealth. He wrote in his paper, the Kesari, early in 1907 that 'the colonial model sufficed for him as an ideal to work for.' His differences with the Moderates, he repeatedly pointed out, was not with regard to the objective but only with regard to the methods of agitation to be pursued by the Congress.<sup>1</sup> Again in 1919, he said in England: 'The British Empire is already a League of Nations?'

Why should Indians—believers in world Polity—wish to separate from Commonwealth of Nations?<sup>2</sup>

## C.R. DAS

C. R. Das spoke of the deep spiritual significance of the Commonwealth idea and he believed that it was 'for the good of India, for the good of the world that India should strive for freedom within the Commonwealth and so serve the cause of humanity.'<sup>9</sup> In the manifesto of the Congress Democratic Party of which Tilak was the leader he said in April 1900: 'This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of mankind, but demands autonomy for India and equal status.'

## NEHRU

Soon after the Lahore session of the Congress, presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji wrote: 'The Independence Resolution need not frighten anybody, I have repeatedly declared that for me as for all other Congressmen, Dominion Status could mean only virtual Independence; that is, partnership at will for mutual benefit and to be dissolved at the instance of either partner. (HNK P62,63)

## GOKHALE'S GREATNESS

Gokhale made such an impression on British public men during his visits to England that Mr. Massingham, who was one of the best known journalists of his time and the editor of the Nation, said to Sir C. Y. Chintamani in 1919 that 'there was no statesman in England comparable to Gokhale' that 'he was easily greater than Mr. Asquith himself.' He added: 'Lord Morley's success as Secretary of State for India was due chiefly to Gokhale's advice'. (HNK P. 68)

As a member of the Bombay Legislative Council Gokhale is best known for his severe criticism of the Bombay Land Revenue Bill 1901. On reading his speech,

Sir Dinshaw Wacha wrote to him : 'What a marvel of patient and scientific industry you are !'

### ONE GREAT OBSTACLE

The greatest obstacle to our freedom being 'the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin', he exhorted those who wanted to serve the country to be inspired with 'a fervent patriotism which rejoiced at every opportunity of sacrifice for the Motherland.' (HNK P. 88)

### SAROJINI NAIDU

Shrimati Sarojini Naidu described Gokhale as 'the great saint and soldier of our national righteousness, whose life was a sacrament and whose death was a sacrifice in the cause of Indian Unity'.

### GOKHALE'S APPROACH WAS SECULAR AND NON-RELIGIOUS

For the most part both in its origin and purpose Gokhale's national, as well as international, plan of action was secular and non-religious. (D.G. Karve P. 144)

### GOKHALE ON THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

'I remember a speech delivered seven or eight years ago by the late Mr. Ranade in Bombay, under the auspices of the Hindu Union Club. That was a time when public feeling ran high in India on the subject of the treatment which our people were receiving in South Africa. Our friend Mr. Gandhi had come here on a brief visit from South Africa and he was telling us how our people were treated in Natal and Cape Colony and Transvaal - how they were not allowed to walk on foot-paths or travel in first class carriages on the railway, how they were not admitted into hotels, and so forth. Public feeling, in consequence, was deeply stirred, and we all

felt that it was a mockery that we should be called British subjects when we were treated like this in Great Britain's Colonies. Mr. Ranade felt this just as keenly as any one else. He had been a never-failing adviser of Mr. Gandhi, and had carried on a regular correspondence with him. But it was Mr. Ranade's peculiar greatness that he always utilized occasions of excitement to give a proper turn to the national mind and cultivate its sense of proportion. And so when everyone was expressing himself in indignant terms about the treatment which our countrymen were receiving in South Africa, Mr. Ranade came forward to ask if we had no sins of our own to answer for in that direction. I do not exactly remember the title of his address. I think it was: "Turn the search-light inwards." (GKG P, 146)

#### "GOKHALE A MAN OF RELIGION" GANDHI

Gokhale's life was that of a man of religion. Everything he did was done in the spirit of a devotee, as I can testify. Gokhale once called himself an agnostic. He observed that he had not, but wished he had, Ranade's faith. Even so, I could discern a religious strain in his work. It would not be improper to say that his very doubt was inspired by religion. A man who leads a dedicated life, who is simple in habits, who is the very image of truth, who is full of humanity, who calls nothing his own - such a man is a man of religion, whether he himself is or is not conscious of it. Such was Gokhale, as I could see during the twenty years of my friendship with him. (P. 158)

#### GANDHIJI ON GOKHALE

A meeting was held in the Town Hall at Cape Town a day after he landed, and was presided over by the Mayor. Gokhale's health was not at all adequate to the task of attending public receptions and making speeches. Still he insisted that the onerous programme which we had drawn up for him be left intact. He thus attended

the reception at Cape Town and won the hearts of the Europeans at the very first opportunity.

### A SAINTLY MAN

Every one felt that a saintly man was in their midst—Mr. Merriman, the famous veteran statesman of South Africa and a man of liberal views, said to Gokhale: 'Sir when men like you visit our country, they purify the atmosphere.' (P. 159)

### ON HINDU MUSLIM UNITY

As regards Hindu-Muslim tension too, Gokhale's stand point was purely religious. Once a Hindu monk came to him in order to prevail upon him to grant an inferior status to the Mussalmans and to secure an advantage for the Hindus. But Gokhale would not listen to him. The monk complained that the great leader did not take pride in Hinduism. At this Gokhale frowned and said: 'If Hinduism consists in doing what you say, I am not a Hindu. Please, therefore, leave me'. (Gandhiji P. 161-62)

Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj, by B.R. Nanda, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1977. 520 pp. \$ 25.00

— A Review By F. E. C. Moulton

In modern Indian historiography the first generation of national political leaders, the so-called "moderates," who dominated the Indian political scene from the 1880s to 1915, have not received a fair deal. Just as the limelight of history from the early twentieth century tended to fall first on their more militant nationalistic rivals, the "extremists," and subsequently upon the uniquely Indian phenomenon of Mahatma Gandhi, so historiography since independence has tended to focus primarily on these more colourful, dramatic and decisive phases of the national liberation struggle. Even the label, "moderates," by which the founders of the nationalist movement have become known, is far from appropriate. True, they wer

more thoroughly committed to constitutionalism than their "extremist" rivals, but they believed with the "extremists" in the same ultimate goal of self-government along the lines of the white dominions. In their belief in secularism, in social reform and in modernization generally, the "moderates" were in fact far more radical than the "extremists" who tended to be traditional Hindu chauvinists or, at any rate, catered to that section of the population. More pragmatic and realistic in their political approach than the "extremists" and more cosmopolitan in their outlook, they had their true successors in the Nehru generation of independent India. As Dr. Nanda correctly emphasizes, the "moderates" bequeathed to the later generations "the ideal of a humane, secular and democratic nationalism" (493). Indeed, Dr. Nanda is to be commended for helping to restore to these pioneering, nationalist modernizers the credit which they deserve.

The author has achieved this even though his study is not a general history of the "moderates" but rather a political biography of their most notable and influential leader, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Born in 1866, Gokhale belonged to the prestigious Maharashtran caste of Chitpavan Brahmins but his family had little economic means, and it was by their sacrifice and his own hard work that he managed to get a good English education, culminating in a B.A. degree from Bombay's Elphinstone College in 1884. Beginning his career as a teacher in Poona, the vibrant centre of political and social reform movements in western India, Gokhale soon came under the influence of M.G. Ranade, the outstanding Maharashtran leader of the time and thus quickly gained a prominent position among the Poona reformers. By 1889 he was secretary of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the foremost political association in Western India, and editor of its influential Journal. That same year he attended his first session of the Indian National Congress, established only four years earlier. Within a decade he became a recognized member of Congress elite. He was elected president of the 1905 annual session and from then until his premature death



in 1915 was the dominant leader of the organisation. By around the turn of the century he had also become directly involved in the practical work of government by being elected first to the Bombay Legislative Council, then to the Imperial Legislative Council, while Gokhale relished these legislative roles and laboured zealously and courageously in each council to promote the interests of India his first devotion remained to political work outside the ambit of raj administration. In addition to his pre-eminent influence after the turn of the century in developing the national policies and strategies of Congress, he played the key role in improving its organizational infrastructure and strengthening its financial base. During that period he was also the main link between the Congress in India and its branch organization in London. In that connection he undertook a number of highly important political missions to Britain, during which he vigorously publicized India's grievances and aspirations and managed to exert significant positive influence on John Morley and Lord Crewe, successive Liberal Secretaries of State for India from 1905 to 1915.

Probably ranking in equal importance for Gokhale with his India-wide work in Congress was that connected with his own Servants of India Society. Founded by Gokhale in 1905 the Society consisted of a small number (around 20) of carefully recruited and supervised members, well educated and secular in outlook, and dedicated to a self-sacrificing life devoted to the political and social regeneration of India. It was this consistent attitude of service and self sacrifice in the cause of India that attracted Gandhi to Gokhale and led him to acknowledge Gokhale as his political guru.

These basic features of Gokhale's career have been well known, for Gokhale was a very public person and a comprehensive collection of his speeches and writings was published in 1962 (edited by R.P. Patwardhan and D.V. Ambekar, Bombay). Moreover a number of studies, of

widely differing calibre, have been devoted to him in recent decades. What is significant about Dr. Nanda's work is not that it provides a new interpretation of Gokhale but that it gives the most thorough and comprehensive analysis of Gokhale's career. Based on extensive research into a wide variety of primary sources, approached with a spirit of sympathetic scholarly criticism and well written, the study is clearly the definitive biography of Gokhale. The major disappointing feature is that it provides so little information on the development of his personality and attitudes during the formative years of his life. Only six pages, for example, are devoted to the years prior to his graduation from college. During his subsequent career the author emphasizes the crucial importance of Gokhale's relations with Ranade though precisely why Ranade held such a strong moral sway over him is still not altogether clear. Dr. Nanda also devotes much attention for the first time to Gokhale's relations with Sir William Wedderburn, the leader of the Congress branch organization in Britain. Next to Ranade, Wedderburn seems to have been the most important influence in Gokhale's mature life. In the realm of inter-personal relations the considerable tensions between Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the financial boss of the early Congress, are thoroughly explored for the first time. For all this, we still know remarkably little about Gokhale's personality or, for example the intellectual influences on his life.

As one might expect, in view of Gokhale's position as a leader of the "moderates", much attention is devoted to his differences with the "extremists" and with his Maharashtrian rival, Tilak, in particular. But this subject has already been well explored by other scholars and the book adds little that is new in this area. In fact, at times Nanda is rather generous with Gokhale over this prolonged confrontation. An example is Gokhale's refusal to compromise with Tilak over the proposed "extremist" reunion with Congress in late 1914, an instance in which Gokhale was unduly inflexible and deserves more criticism than he is given.

Concerning Gokhale's attitude to and relations with British officials, the study presents both useful new information and fresh insights. Though Gokhale believed in maximizing constitutional opportunities open to Indians, the book demonstrates more clearly than heretofore that he was no toady of the British. Frequently, in fact, he was their most trenchant and convincing critic, especially in the area of financial administration where his expertise was often compared with that of Gladstone. Dr. Nanda also shows that despite his thoroughgoing constitutionalism, Gokhale was greatly disturbed by practically every senior British official who dealt with him. This illustrates, as Gokhale himself realized, the precise dilemma of the 'moderates', caught as they were between the stools of British intransigence and the impatience of their more militant compatriots.

A final commendable feature of the book is the extremely perceptive and balanced political sketches it provides of the numerous Indians and Britons with whom Gokhale was associated. In this sense the book is almost a general history of national Indian politics and indo-British relations from 1880 to 1900.

The study is a valuable addition to Indian historiography and will long remain the definitive political biography of Gokhale, University of Manitoba F.E.C. Moulton

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