

CHAPTER – III

Formative period of Gokhale

Introduction :

“It is now 10.30 p.m. and 9 a.m. writing in a train after a long and exhausting day. I have presided for six hours at the budget meeting of the legislative council. The only speaker of the slightest merit whom we possess in council is Mr. Gokhale from Bombay. He is a very able and courageous person, a Maratha Brahmin, a congressman, as you remember connected with Poona affairs... But he is not, I believe, disloyal; he represents a very important stratum in native thought and opinion & he is highly cultivated and not unreasonable...”¹

This important letter was written by Lord Curzon, the viceroy of India to secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton; wrote his great impression on Gokhale and also a great impact on him. It is clear that Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one the important and incomparable man among the other in front of Indians and also to the British.

Early life :

Thus, in the last quarter of the 19th century, India got the most important and most wanted political man, in Maharashtra; who was nothing but Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He borne on 9th May 1866 in the village of Kotluk in the Ratnagiri District of Bombay presidency, in a poor family. His father Krishna Rao belonged to Chitpavan Brahmin family, who were deposed by the British East India Company. Though they were deposed by the East India Company, the British had great phobia on them and it was proved from very beginning with the rise of Phadke, the British could not rely upon this family. Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bombay, wrote to Lytton on 3rd July 1879 that

“But nothing that we do now, by way of education, emolument or advancement in the public service at all satisfies the Chitpavans. They will never be satisfied till they regain their ascendancy as they had it during last century. They esteem it their charter from on high to rule over the minds of the Hindus ... their past to them – their glorious past – survives in their minds ...”²

Not only this Chitpavans, the descendant of Shivaji, the Raja also against the rule of the British. Thus, in short, Gokhale’s formative period which was started in such a area, where always the smoke of anti British feeling was flowing around him.

Born in a poor family Gokhale in his early life, had to bear a lot of struggle on him. After the completion of elementary education in 1876 from rural school, Gokhale was send to Kolhapur for high school education. Unfortunately he lost his father. But his elder brother inspired him to continue the education and by doing hardship in his student life he passed the matriculation examination from Bombay university in 1881. His elder brother inspired and helped Gopal to take higher education from the best university in India. However, Gopal in 1881, joined at first Raja ram College at Kolhapur but unfortunately the college failed to give the adequate facility to the students, which bound to Gokhale to join again in Deccan Collage Poona.

His education :

Gokhale finally completed his final degree course at Elephinstone College where he was much influenced by the lectures on English literature by principle Wordsworth, the grandson of the poet and the other one, the Mathematics by Prof. Howthornwaite. These two men inspired Gopal and the others not only love of English history and literature but respect for English character. In 1885, Gokhale opted his degree of law from Bombay University and in 1885 (January), Gopal Krishna Gokhale joined the new English school in Poona as assistant master which was too much beneficial for his family.

But what was his actual aim? It was clear from his own word, “My ambition, is to become a cabinet minister so as to be able to serve my country”³

So, the acquisition of a simple post of a schoolmaster was not only his aim and one could easily mistake by seeing this. The real aim was of him was to serve his country and it was to be said that was the great impact of the British rule on him.

Political and social attitude of the British – Rise of Gokhale

Nature of the Chitpavan Brahmin :

Neatly, fifty years before the birth of Gokhale, the Maratha confederacy had been overthrown and their territories was taken by the East India Company. The name, which was famous for doing this, was Mount Stuart Elephinstone. Mount Stuart Elephinstone was the resident at Peswas’s Court at Poona. He played a prominent part in the concluding stages of the struggle between Marathas and the British. The British became the administer of the Maratha kingdom. The British thought that the Marathas soon adjust with the British. But, the Chitpavans (Brahmins) were not satisfied by the British rule. The British tried to avoid any type of serious offence with these Brahmins. All things failed to satisfy the Brahmins and last of the 1884 they revolted against these Brahmins and later on, by Wasudeo Balabant Phadke, whose view was, “My mind turned against the English and I wished to ruin them ...”⁴

Not only that, we already mentioned the nature of the Chitpavan Brahman as described by Richard Temple. They (the Brahmin) wanted to stay their own land independently. The commissioner of Deccan Elephinstone acknowledged that these Brahmins had their own ancient beliefs; ritual and traditions bound them to keep their own heritage with them.

Facilities given by the Government :

The British like Elephinstone tried to make the transition from the old to the new order as per as possible. They gave them a number of facilities like cash payment to temples, annual Dakshina festival, opening the educational institutions like Poona Hindu College in 1821 and the arrangements for importing education in Advaita (philosophy), Shastras (religion), Vyakaran (grammar), Nyaya (logic), Vydic (medicine), Alanker (belles letters) etc. For doing these, Elephinstone tried to satisfy the Brahmins but failed to do it, moreover, he was severely criticized by his superior in London. His successors Robert Gorant complained that Hindu College was the centre of preservation and a best entertaining place of “The old Brahmanical interest, which is anti British in all its tendencies.”⁵

But this, criticism and condemn came into end when Poona English School in 1832 and the Bombay Government received a representation from a number liberal Brahmins who were protesting against the traditional educational system which was prevailing in Maharashtra. They displayed their view like that, “What the nation most wants in useful arts, science, morals and they should find them not certainly in the dead Sanskrit but in the animated English literature ...”⁶ In 1864, after forty three years the foundation of Hindu College was renamed by Deccan College and *Dakshina* fund turned over to the education department.

As a result of these westernisations, a number of Maratha, especially these Chitpavans also came under this influence. Among those Sardar Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-83). Vishvanath Deshmukh, Ranade etc. were famous. Though the western education sprang up and Ranade himself, who was regarded by the British as ‘dangerous man’ were not going far and fast enough, the English education i.e. western education and the knowledge of public affairs were still confined in the microscopic minority and the mass people remained untouched with existing state of affairs. This influence only influenced some the angry young men of Poona to take initiative, which was influence the public like of Maharashtra and also the carrier of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Thus, it was good sign that, the wheel of spreading western education was gradually destroyed the old, traditional education, replacing the secular education which helped the common man to free themselves from the hands of the Brahmins and gave a birth of some young educated elite in India, a 'dangerous man' like Ranade which helped to give birth of 'dozyens' of Ranade possessed of his strong nationalistic feeling. Among them one was Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Rise of Gokhale :

Since childhood, Gokhale had a strong ambition and it was proved when he was student. In the Barre case when Agarkar and Tilak were in trial and imprisonment, his performance was unpaired. He tried his label best for increasing the collection of funds and for these two brave men, whose name was very known to every one in Maharashtra. Gokhale saw something in the latter half of 1884. Agarkar and Tilak, whose personality, work, inspired too much to young Gokhale. The influence of two brave men was so deeper, which also influenced in the ambition of Gokhale after it. He decided to devote himself as a voluntary poverty as a member of the Deccan. Education society and it was really astonishing that all things were done only by a boy of twenty-four years only. This valuable and memorable sacrifice of Gokhale for his friend was rally astonished by every one. V.H. Kanilkar to Gokhale in 20th September 1886... "I am very glad to learn too that a friend of mine, spurning at (sic) wealth and power and such other things has placed himself into the most honourable person of serving one's country ... in my opinion, you have made good choice. I hope, I shall live to see you in possession of that distinction which men like you are destined to attain and which you have already given some promise of attaining in the world."⁷

Gokhale had a great intimacy with Agarkar because he owed much to Agarkar. Not only that both of them had a good friendship though they were coming from different atmosphere. They, against the education policy of Government opened a new school and contributed much for the improvement of this school.

Foundation of Schools as a protest of Government education policy :

The success of the new English school encouraged its founders to establish 'Deccan Education Society'. They wanted to administer and to set a number of schools in the same line. The formation of the Deccan Education Society and the opening of the Fergusson College were important landmarks not only in the history of education in Maharashtra but also in the life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gokhale enrolled his name as a life member and he served there twenty years at a subsistence wage.

Difference of opinion between Agarkar and Gokhale :

But the difference of opinion came in front between Gokhale and Agarkar taking a number of issues. Such as question of loan of Rs.500, his text book on arithmetic, his selection as Secretary of the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha* and his appointment as an editor of his journal. Gokhale became a standpoint of controversy in a number of times. Not only that, when Tilak handed a letter of resignation on 14th October 1890. Gokhale also had done the same case. He wrote, "I want to say that my withdrawal from the Body can induce Mr. Tilak to remain, I hereby offer my resignation as a life member."⁸ But it was later informed that it was nothing to do with Gokhale's connection with the society.

Contribution of Agarkar for the rise of Gokhale :

Gokhale was much owed from Agarkar. The young, enthusiast, energetic Agarkar had done a good lot for Gokhale. He insisted Gokhale for the publication of journal as because he was inspired by seeing Gokhale's respect for western thought and culture and as result Agarkar became a cause of distrust in the mind of Tilak and it was proved by a letter where Tilak indirectly made responsible Gokhale for his activities.

However, what the political differentiation was going on in Poona, Gokhale was not only the teacher of the new English school and Fergusson College but he had also a political ambition.

But the feed in the Deccan Education Society was departure of Tilak from it, which helped to keep the name of Tilak always in the mind of people of Maharashtra and helped to Gokhale to rise in the politics in India.

Practical training of political education to Ranade and his enter into politics

Introduction of Ranade :

The practical training of political education was taken by Gokhale from Ranade and he thus, was too much grateful to him and described Ranade as his political Guru. In 1885, a function was arranged by the new English school. In this function, Gokhale had seen first Ranade and the situation was a very peculiar because, Gokhale did not know Ranade and as a result of it, Ranade was stopped by Gokhale because Ranade forget to bring the invitation to get himself entry into this function. Latter on, S. H. Sathe introduced Gokhale to Ranade.⁹

Political training of Gokhale :

Before this introduction, Agarkar had already spoken many things about the ability of Gokhale which immediately put a great and good impression to the young professor, politician and appointed editor of the Sabha's quarterly journal.

The *Sarvajanik Sabha* had a lot of functions. Besides, the running regular function, this Sabha published articles on current issues. Gokhale owed much by serving here as editor. He learnt political lesson in political journalism and was easy to study the political problems, which were now surrounding in the minds of the people.

Quality of Ranade which influence Gokhale :

He had good relation with Ranade and continuous fourteen years; he learnt practical training from Ranade. It had great impact on him.

Gokhale was influenced by Ranade by seeing his patriotism, integrity, perseverance and his freedom from egotism. Not only that his work in the field of political, economic and social affair also helped him to influence on him. Ranade was worldly-wise thinker who also thought for the development of Indian progress. He realised the Indian problem and also sought to way for solving this problem. He knew that these problems should be solved with tactfully, otherwise psychological as well as institution factors should be the problem on the way of solving.

Gokhale never admit his debt to Ranade. He was too much grateful to Ranade. When his greatest triumph in his in his life i.e. after the immediate evidence before the Welby Commission he never declared himself as a hero of it and never took the credit of it. He described himself as a "Conduit pipe"¹⁰ who had transmitted what Ranade had given to him. This gratefulness was only found from a true disciple to his Guru.

Thus, the most of the time of the formative periods of Gokhale was spent under the directions of Gokhale.

Gokhale's relation with Crawford :

Though these periods brought him a lot of sufferings but helped him to intimate with someone who were famous Indians of his times. Gokhale entered in the Poona politics in the year 1889 and this year was the year of the administration of Lord Reays, the Governor of Bombay. The Governor Reay sanctioned a big amount of grants for the Fergusson College and Poona High School for girls and also nominated some distinguished Indians in the legislative assemblies. Though Reay had done many things for Indian but at the last time of his departure, he was almost famous like his friend Ripon because he himself involved in Crawford case. He did a good deed not for Crawford. Crawford a senior member of civil service, who had sizin the post of commissioner and by virtue of post and power, he used to take bribe from his subordinate, by threatening them to transfer them to transfer them in remote and inconvenient place. When Reay decided to prosecute a case against Crawford at the

British judges declared Crawford as a clean man i.e. 'Not guilty'. But the Indian officers who were really party with Crawford decided to declare the truth of Crawford case and wanted to give evidence against these British officials.

The Anglo-Indian papers of the Times (London) and some of friends of Crawford started a smear campaign against the Indian officers and demanded the dismissal of these Indian officers who were given evidence against Crawford. Even, the Indian papers wrote against those officials and added also about the character of the Indians.

Role of Gokhale in Crawford case :

When a meeting was convened on 1st September 1889, this was the vital issue that the British newspaper had no right to write against the Indian officers and the character also. Both Tilak and Gokhale were in the meeting, which convened by Rao Bhadur K. L. Nulkar, C.I.E. a former Deccan of Cutch. Gokhale protested against it and moved a resolution on it. His attacked was on the Times of India where the misrepresentation of Crawford case was focused in front of the Indian. This paper condemned the Indian character by swallowing all bad words, which were; send from Calcutta, without judging anything. Thus, Gokhale declared. In my opinion, it is not for these persons whom are themselves living in glasshouses to throw stones at us ... "It is unwarrantable to draw any conclusions in the Crawford case and if unfortunately they are to be drawn. let them be drawn in a fair manner. I am afraid no community will have a case for rejoicing."¹¹

Though this was not Gokhale's first public speech. A few months earlier of this case i.e. in November 1888, he had spoken at the Bombay provincial conference at Poona. But it is true that his speech on the Crawford case was great blow to the British bureaucracy as well as the Anglo-Indian press, which also helped him to get a position in Indian politics as a growing politician.

Gokhale and his relation with Harris :

When the Crawford case was almost in its climax, Lord Reay retired from his post, succeeding Lord Harris, who was a fine cricketer. The most of the times of Gokhale's political career and secretary ship of the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha* was coincided with the rule of Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay. Lord Harris had a bad impression upon the Indians. According to him, ninety percent of the population was the agricultural class and they were always engaged to hate each other. In short, according to him, most of the Indians still in the Dark Age. Gokhale did not tolerate these types of words from Harris and described the administration of Harris as, "an unsympathetic and reactionary administration and under the fictitious name Gokhale wrote about Lord Harris's rule. Times of India, A Poona Brahmin¹² and he also described and written in quarterly journal of the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha* (April 1895). In the times of India, Gokhale wrote the course of events in the Deccan and ended with note particularly against the rule of Harris.

"A great deal has recently been said of a conspiracy, but it is for discarding not the Government, but the people of Deccan in general and the Poona Brahmins in particular.... I admit that some of the vernacular papers in the Deccan write much too strongly. Did they write like that during Lord Reay's time? Has Lord Harris ever shown the best regard for the press of the presidency? But is there no provocation to write strongly? Has he ever moved even so much as by the breadth of a hair, to conciliate public opinion? The entire press opposed the Mhowra Bill; the entire press disapproved the exclusion of the central division from the elective franchise. The entire press condemned the provincial service rules. Has Lord Harris shown the best shred of respect for these unanimous expressing of opinion?"¹³

Gokhale's writings against the administration of Harris was only the attempt to create a pressure on Government and it was for better than the misinterpretation and mispresentation about Lord Ripon and Lord Reay by the Anglo-Indian press.

Poona politics and Gokhale's relation with Hume :

In the early nineties, the Poona politics means a group of teachers, journalists, merchants and retire Government officials, who were generally engaged themselves in local politics and tried to keep pressure on Government by taking the questions of local grievances. Gokhale was the secretary of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* and his role was remarkable in this situation and he became familiar person on the political stage of Poona in the 1890's.

In 1892, the father of the Congress Mr. Allan Octavian Hume visited Poona, just before his departure from Indian and also got good reception from the Indians. He again came in Poona in 1893. His speech for Indian praised Gokhale and for this reason Gokhale said about Hume: 'For Mr Hume had enabled India for the first time in her history, to breathe and feel like one nation by bringing together men of enlightenment and patriotism from the various parts of the country to work in a common cause. He had tried to steady their faltering footsteps and turn their weak accents into firm speech. He had toiled for them in the midst of calumny and contumely of every kind ... [For their shakes he had] denied himself the comforts which old age demand and to their service he had devoted his time, his energy, his talents, his purse, his all.'¹⁴

Gokhale's relation with British as well as prominent Indians :

During this period Gokhale had a chance to meet a number of British member as well as the Indian, who later on became a part of freedom movement and it was for him to get this because he was the principle speaker of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. In 1892, another British man William Digby visited Poona and in 1893, Poona again welcome the grand old man i.e. Dadabhai Naoroji who just came from Lahore, where he presided the congress session.

William Digby was also a good friend of India. He described the orders of the Government of India on the report of the public service commission as "an insult to the

intelligence of the country', and its educational policy as 'unsympathetic and short sighted'. Gokhale along with Digby condemned the jury system of India, by saying a more wanton, a more mischievous, a more stupid and a more precipitately introduced measure."¹⁵

Dadabhai Naoroji delivered a speech towards the citizen of Poona by saying that "Citizens of Poona, I wish to address to you a few words... Here I observe with the greatest pleasure and gratification that you, from one end of this ancient city to the other, the lowest to the highest not only from one class or creed but from every class and creed, all have welcomed me; ... The lesson to be learnt from this is that whatever be the faith ... There is a national life beyond a sectarian life and that we are all really the children of India. We must work together, we must stand foot to foot for the progress and amelioration of our country ... Unite perfect harmony among ourselves in loyalty to the British people who have produced this phenomenon and to whom therefore all the glory is due rather than to me, the child of that British work ... Until we are able to satisfy the British people that what we ask is reasonable and that we ask it in earnest, we cannot hope to get what we ask for, for the British are a justice loving people that what we ask is reasonable and that we ask it in earnest, we cannot hope to get what we ask for, for the British are justice loving people but for forty years and I shall go on cherishing that idea...."¹⁶

In Poona where Gokhale started his carrier as a principal spokesman of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, had a chance to start a new type of political career with Mahatma Gandhi. Their first meeting in 1896 which helped them to state a new type of political movement in India.

Gokhale's as an educationist and his role in congress: In formative period

Before joining in congress as a political leader, Gokhale at first started his life as a lecturer of Fergusson College. He at first was a lecturer of English literature. But when Tilak resigned in 1890, Gokhale was generally taking the class of Mathematics. As a

lecturer of Mathematics and others, Gokhale learnt many things. He really understood the various statistical problem, economic problems and it was easy for him, by knowing everything, to criticise the Government. He got a very good chance to meet and to discuss with the two most wise and critics of the Indian economic problem with G.V. Joshi and M.G. Ranade. From them Gokhale learnt the value of the Blue Books and official reports for analysing the future and present policy of the Government.

Gokhale as a teacher :

Gokhale was too much upright teacher. From the collection of the students, it was clear to us, he was very serious in the classroom and in the running the class, only to impart the best teaching was the only motto of him. He was easy available to the students. From the recollection of the students it was also clear that he able to make the students serious in study in the classroom. For example, "The bell that tolled the close of the period, recalled one of them many years later, 'Often came as a deep disappointment.'"¹⁷

His idea about history :

Though Gokhale himself was a true teacher and loved too much to teach the student, did not treat history and economics as a mere study. He used to all the analyse at the present day with the help of those subjects and it was generally proved when he used to deliver lecture on economics, he always gave the stress on the necessity of a protective tariff for India's nascent industries and in the time of lecture on history, he also said the relation between India and Ireland. He was so sure that the trend of liberalism, which was started in Europe, would also reach in India. Thus, he used to say that, "The study of history, economic and politics would balance our judgements widen our sympathies and broaden our vision ... and if we have a large class of men well read in these subjects the level of public life will, of necessity be raised."¹⁸ Not only that, Gokhale wanted to make the students responsible which help them to undertake the future project for the Government of India.

Not only that, Gokhale was good orator and he had a capability to memorise the speeches. Thus, due to this quality, he was so much demand in Poona to deliver a speech in Fergusson College, the Deccan Education Society and the *Sarvajanik Sabha* in 1886, he also invited to deliver the annual address of the Bombay graduates association.

Not only a lecturer of College Gokhale engaged himself by editing of the *Sudharak* and the quarterly journal and also by the secretarial work of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*. He studied different papers and the various proceeding of legislative councils, official reports, without which, it was impossible for him to undertake the responsibility of the post. In addition of all these Gokhale was appointed as a examiner of the Bombay University in history and political economy. Gokhale took the interest to undertake the reform works in new Building of Fergusson College and he had a great interest to increase the funds for the completion of the building.

Thus, like other political leader, Gokhale was too much busy for his country rather to look after his family. From the various sources of information, Gokhale's domestic life was not so smooth. He always got the inspiration from his second wife in every respect. However apart from his domestic life, Gokhale engaged himself in political life.

After elected as a secretary of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*, Gokhale started his political carrier by attaining himself at first provincial conference at Poona and then in 1889 in Bombay session of congress where he first deliver his important speech where Mr. Wedderburn was present.

Demand of Gokhale to the Government :

In 27th December 1889, he supported on the amendment, which moved by Tilak on the reforms of Governor general's legislative council. Gokhale recalled the promise made the British Government through the charter of 1833 and the Queen's proclamation.

Gokhale made a comparison of the Indian struggle with British with the struggle between 'Patrician and plebeians' in ancient Rome and between the classes and the masses in modern Britain. He repeatedly put the demand to the British Government to take the I.C.S. examination simultaneously in India and England. He said, "For posts in our own country, if we are not to be examined in our own country, I do not know what justice and equity are?"¹⁹

Gokhale was not only a good orator but also a good writer. The evidence showed from the issue of 1890, the quarterly journal of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Gokhale wrote an article on the Bombay congress where he gave detailed particulars of this session.

Gokhale always supported the representative character of the congress and also analysed the intentions of the people who always condemned it. Among these groups, Gokhale pointed that the people who were uncompromising foes of all political and educational progress of native of this country, who were selfish in mind and had an elasticity in moral sense. Gokhale protested against the changes that the Muslims and Parsis were keep away apart from congress. According to Gokhale, there were few numbers of Parsis community and among them; there was a well representation in congress.

Regarding the question of the Muslims, they were actually lagging behind the Hindus in education but more or less few Muslims were also in congress. The congress was failed to represent the interest of the common people; this change also be reputed by Gopal Krishna Gokhale. By sitting the evidence of founding the technical school, separation of the judiciary and the executive, the reforms of the police and revenue administration, Gokhale proved to the function of the congress for national interests.

Gokhale clearly differentiate the educated and uneducated class. He said that though the Anglo-Indian administrators generally lived separately and generally had no contact with Indians, was knew more the condition of the Indians than the Indians because they generally had a good contact with common man.

After one year, the congress met at Calcutta, where Gokhale repeatedly said about the reduction of the tax of salt. According to him, when income tax was imposed by the Government, there was wave of protest every where but in the case of salt tax, “the masses were almost certain to suffer silently without protest whereas their wealthier brethren were ... certain to denounce any taxation on them in the public press and at St. Andrew’s dinner speeches? Gokhale said, “we are appealing to the sense of justice of the Government of India. We are appealing to their statesmanship, to their righteousness and I even go further and say to their mercy ...”

Being a moderate leader, Gokhale used to say and criticise the Government in every sessions of the congress. In Allahabad congress December 1892, taking the question of Indian share in the Government, Gokhale said, “If ever a mountain was in labour and brought forth a mouse, it was in the present instance of the public service commission ... I say it would be well for them [the British] to openly and publicly fling into flames all these promises and pledges as so much waste paper and tell us once for all that after all we are a conquered people and can have no rights or privileges.”²¹

Again at the Lahore congress (December 1893), Gokhale charged the Government due to taking the “policy of retrogression”, and treating the educated classes “with increasing jealousy”, He condemned and criticized the rules for the legislative councils framed under the Act of 1892.

From 1889, Gokhale regularly attended the every sessions of the congress and tried to put the pressure on the Government. Being a secretary of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, it was for Gokhale to acquaint with different leaders of India.

In 1891, he was elected as an elected number of ‘subject committee’ and in 1895, Gokhale became one of the secretaries of the reception committee and this session brought a culminating point of local politics of his life, which helped him to come out in broad politics in national level.

His bitter experiment in local politics :

Gokhale had a bitter experience in local politics and this fact inspired him to come out from local politics to national politics. As a moderate minded leader Gokhale did not realise the politics, which ran between Tilak and Ranade. Taking the question of 'Cow-protection' Act, the observation of *Ganapati* festivals, Shivaji festival, there was a great conflict between Ranade and Tilak. Actually, to avoid any kind of communal problem or the conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims. Tilak criticized the excuse to the opposition by saying, "A. S. Rao Bahadur (Ranade) has been bound by silver chains (as a Government servant), and we can not say that his opinions on political matters must always be to our good."²² Thus, taking the questions of the age of Consent Bill, the *Ganapati* and Shivaji festivals, the communal riots were the basis questions, for which the difference of opinion came out between Ranade and Tilak. The final breach came at Poona session in December 1896.

The difference of opinion and political competitions

Between Ranade and Tilak :

The main reason of final breach was the appointment of Tilak as a joint secretary of the committee. Actually, Ranade had different will. His main intention to raise the fund and to use the congress position in 1887 session and this was reason of Ranade to support Tilak as a joint secretary of this committee. Tilak realised the fact but he was interested to do it. Because social reform was very explosive subject of Poona and it was ventilating the various problems of Poona which would to some extent damage the prestige of congress. Thus, Tilak wrote in the paper *Maratha* (8 December 1895), the use of the congress position ventilating social grievances is very likely to make congress itself unpopular."²³ Ranade finally decided to organize the different stage for social conference. Initially, Tilak was succeeded to break the unity in Ranade's group. From this Gokhale gained a bad experience in the internal politics in Poona. Gokhale

continued his secretary ship in the *Sarvajanik Sabha* and the editor of it's quarterly journal.

Gokhale had a bad experience once again. Because, most of the members of Tilak joined in this Sabha which pushed the Ranade's group in minority form Gokhale became one of the secretary of this Sabha. But due to poor number of member of the Sabha, the power and control was passed under Tilak and that it was a transformation to minorities to majorities.

In such political condition, it was very difficult for Gokhale to continue it. This was revolution against Ranade, which was not liking by Gokhale. In a letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale wrote to him," Developments of a distressing character have already taken place in the political life of this city. God's curse seems to be resting on this country, else how should it always be that directly some good and useful work is began, dissensions wise to undo it! The *Sarvajanik Sabha* - a child of Mr justice Ranade's - for which he has worked nobly now for a quarter century, has been taken out of his hands and for a whole year. The Sabha has done absolutely no work. The whole attempt here is to drive out of public life all workers who sympathise with cause of social reform by discrediting them with the masses by all manner of means..."²⁴

This event created a bad impact upon Gokhale's mind and decided to wash hands from Poona Politics. He was so pained that he expressed his view to G. V. Joshi on 8th Feb 1896: "I have grown absolutely sick of public life in Poona. Recent events have opened my eyes very wide indeed ... I wish now to wash my hands of all political work in Poona. There is so much that is selfish and ignoble here that I would fly from it to the furthest extremities of the world if I could."²⁵

Thus, the quarrel between Ranade and Tilak made Gokhale very uncomfortable. Due to this reason, the *Sarvajanik Sabha* lost its effectiveness and the *Deccan Sabha* did not prove a remarkable instance in the field of social reform and did not place itself as a substitute body of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*. After the death of Ranade, Gokhale once more

tried to improve the condition of it but he ultimately failed to do it. Even he lost the control over the Sarvajanic Sabha. He then, finally decided to resigned from it and plunged himself in his duty as a teacher. One of the remarkable facts was that after this fact he luckily came in front as a national leader not as a local politics and leader

Rise of Gokhale and his role in formative periods

Condition of early congress and the role of the British :

Gokhale's entry into national politics was very important stage of Indian freedom movement. A. O. Hume, the founder of Indian national Congress, had clearly shown that in India, write to petition to the Government was useless manner for getting freedom from the British because unchangeable and unchanging bureaucracy was in India. Hume and his friends, therefore, made a beginning in 1888 with the setting up of an 'Indian Agency' in London. Wedderburn, a Indian ex-civil service and Dadabhai Naoroji were elected to Parliament in 1892 and 1893 respectively and formed the 'Indian Parliamentary committee'. This committee had played as a pressure group. In 1893, it at first moved a resolution for pressing to the British Government for holding the I.C.S. examination simultaneously in India and England. In the same year, it pressed against the parliament for enquiring about the expenditure and equitable redistribution of financial burdens between India and Britain. To set up the financial problem, the Royal Commission was set up by the British. Due to the continuous pressure from the Anglo-Indian officials, the Government bound to set up the Royal Commission whose head was sixty three years old Kelby.

It was decided at first that Ranade was represented there from India but viceroy's advisors argued that Ranade's selection was an 'unfortunate one' and he was unwanted and unacceptable to the Europeans. Thus, later on Ranade himself decided his own disciple, Gokhale to participate the meeting and Gokhale was nominating the member of *Deccan Sabha* to participate there. For attending there, whatever the required fund, it

should be collected or arranged by the ruler of Baroda and Kolhapur. Gokhale took the initiative to know the subjects and the real economic problem of India from G. V. Joshi and finally from his Guru Ranade and for that reason he stayed ten days in Sholapur.

Gokhale's visit to England and his role over there :

On the request of Ranade, Gokhale decided to go England for attending in Welby Commission. But his journey to England was not smooth one and finally when he stepped in England, he was ill and the doctor advised him to take a complete bed rest. When he was ill his ex-student R.P. Paranype came to visit Gokhale. As Gokhale was ill, he was decided to dictate him a part of his evidence for Welby Commission. Fortunately, when he felt well enough, he decided to appear before the commission on 12th and 13th April. His statement was good and a clear presentation. His main intention to present for the implementation of equal distribution of wealth between India and Britain. He protested against the favourism of the British Government. The British Government had always favoured own. In the case of industry, they followed the policy of 'drainage of wealth', capitals garrison etc. The policy of drainage of wealth was strongly protested by Gokhale. Gokhale did not confine himself on the issue of economic problem but also he criticised the different policies like, social and political problems of India. According to him, "For years past we have been treated as a vassal dependency bound to render services to the suzerain power and to place our resources, whenever required, at its disposal. As a result, millions upon millions have been spent on subjects which have not advanced the welfare of the Indian people so much as by an inch – even the empty sense of glory, which is a kind of barren compensation to self-governing nations for such a large expenditure of money is not available to us as a consolation."²⁶

His role in Royal Commission and Welby Commission :

Not only that, Gokhale made speech in the Royal Commission by saying that, "We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority and the tallest of us must

bend in order that the exigencies of the existing system must be satisfied ... Our administrative and military talents must gradually disappear owing to sheer disuse till at last our lot as hewers of wood and drawer of water in our country is stereo-typed.”²⁷

Gokhale’s criticism about eco-policy of Government specially the railway system:

Moreover, Gokhale criticised the economic policy, specially the railway system. According to the British Government, the working expense of Indian railways was very minimum in the world. But Gokhale directly said that, the Indian people felt that the railway construction was undertaken particularly for moneyed class and for the commercial interest of the Government. Not only that Gokhale criticised that at the time of famine and seeing the Indian poverty, the Government imported billion into India as evidence of increased prosperity in India. Mr. Welby the chairman when suggested to import of gold into India which showed ‘the great taste of the Indian people ornaments which is a form of luxury; Gokhale in the same way crossed the words of Welby by saying that, “they [Indians] have to spend large amounts on funerals. They groan under the system and have to go to the moneylender, but they must do it, it is the social life of the people.”²⁸

Credit’s of Gokhale and a path of rise :

Gokhale’s cross-examination continued for two-days, 12th and 13th April. But it was most interesting that his evidence was the best one and he became very popular in Britain and also among the British officials. One thing was very interesting that Gokhale did not forget the debt of his political Guru Ranade and G.V. Joshi, who were responsible for giving a brief particulars regarding the subject matters which was just now presented by Gokhale and gained much praise from foreign. The most important fact was that what Naoroji and W. C. Banerjee had taken one year, it was very shortly adopted by Gokhale and became famous in Britain.

Ranade loved so much Gokhale and as a result of it, he requested Sir. William to give a chance to Gokhale for addressing meeting in Britain. For this reason, a lecture tour had in fact been organized by the British Committee for Indian witness before the Welby Commission Gokhale delivered lecture on 13th May at Lambeth, at Hastings on 26th May, at Dublin on 4th June at Gloucester on 16th June and at Acton on 26th June.

Visit in different places and criticise the British Government :

In different meetings Gokhale was always tried to erotised the Government. Putting the native dress, Gokhale acknowledge the efforts, which were made by the Government of India for, relieve famine; was the Government Selby responsible for it. 'No people could be so well governed as by men who knew them well ... But the Indian people were living under a despotic and perfectly irresponsible Government by ... officials whose interests were to take care of their own position, ... who ... did not care to know the language and did not mix with people.'²⁹

Moreover, what the Government promised in the charter Act of 1833 i.e. the question of equality was not keep properly. Thus, the lecture tour, which was led by Gokhale, had created a great impact upon the Government.

During his tour, Gokhale visited some educational institution as well as met with some prominent people in England and learned lesson from it.

Visit of Gokhale in various places in England :

His speeches in different places in Europe made him a remarkable one. He was invited by the countess of Warren, where he discussed with him on 'Female education' in India. He was invited from Indian National Association and national liberal club. To discuss about the educational problem he met with Sir. William Hunter. He visited Eton, Cambridge, Dulwich College and Bedford College for women. He attended the educational congress in the women's section.

In his visit, Gokhale met with Morley, a prominent member of the liberal party. Gokhale and Morley's discussion took half an hour and Gokhale was very satisfied. According to Gokhale, he (Morley) was very simple and heard the words of Gokhale very carefully.

Gokhale's visit to England was one of the remarkable one because he was such a man who able to seat on the House of Commons and say something for Indians. Thus, Ranade described him 'our rising man' and he proved it in all respect; visiting with number of visitors; gave lecture in different parts of the country, sitting in the House of Commons, which helped him to raise a remarkable member of Indian politics.

Gokhale's bitter experience and apology incident :

But Gokhale had a bitter experience in Poona politics. The 'apology' incident was one of the bitter experiences of Gokhale. Actually, before the Welby Commission, Gokhale expressed the terrible condition of famine and the condition of famine-affected areas. Along with this famine, bubonic plague was added another problem to the Government. This plague was so serious that the Government threatened to shut out British ships bearing product from India. Not only that the Bombay Government decided to form a plague committee, in March 1897. This committee had a power to supervise the eradication of plague from Poona. Even the cavalry and in fan try were engaged to perform these 'operation plague'. This military group entered into the most of the rooms of Poona, which was another cause of angry of Poona Brahmin. According to them, in the name of eradication of plague, the British soldiers harassed the people by destroying the household goods. They complained to Rand, the chairman of this committee.

When they did not get any result from Rand, they sent their demand to the Governor of Bombay and this initiative was taken by both the *Deccan Sabha* and Anjuman Association the premier organization of the local Muslims. Their demand to set up of the substitution of the plague committee by such other agency.

But unfortunately, some superstitious Brahmins of Poona fired upon Rand and Rand did after few days incident. This incident recalled the history of 1857 revolt and a smear campaign was spreading through various newspapers by the British, which hit the prestige of the educated Indians.

Not only that, taking the question of press and others, a problem was spreading in Poona. To solve this, Wedderburn decided to campaign for a impartial enquiry regarding the Poona fact and wanted for an arrangement of a meeting of the Indian parliamentary committee in the conference room of the house of commons on 1st July, and invited to it the four Indian delegates who had appeared before the Welby Commission. As a representative member of *Deccan Sabha*, Gokhale gave an interview on 2nd July, where on the basis local correspondent about the plague administration and what the policemen had done towards the Poona Brahmin. But in his, the result came out and Gokhale was charged for his false report, which had no basis and no trace in Poona, as it was described by Sand Hurst. According to him, "regarding Gokhale's letter alleging violation of women, from all inquiries I have made, I am convinced this is still more gross and malevolent invention than that about stripping of women."³⁰

But on 15th July when Manchester Guardian was published, there was the version of Gokhale where he again explained the misconduct of the soldiers. Thus, the British Government became angry due to repeated words of Indian moderate Gokhale and waiting for his arrival.

It was very unfortunate one, that on the basis of local correspondent, Gokhale should not say the same thing repeated by which had no basis and it was hampered the prestige of the British Government. Thus, the British were very eagerly awaiting for Gokhale and when he (Gokhale) stepped in, he was faced a lot of question regarding his baseless statement.

After meeting Ranade and his friend, Gokhale realized that there was no chance for escaping from this incident and was really very difficult for prove it.

Apology of Gokhale :

Thus, as usual after landing of five days Gokhale was called by Sand Hurst with a full statement containing explanation, full retraction and 'an unqualified apology' which was also directed to all, to H.E. the Governor, to the members of the plague committee and to soldiers engaged in plague operations.

This incident was very painful. On 4th August by Lord Sand Hurst, on 5th August by M. Bhownagree described this incident in various way which was one kind of spot towards Gokhale. For example, Bhownagree said in the House of Commons; 'There had appeared before them the precious Mr. Gokhale, who under the guidance of the Hon. Member for Banff (Sir. William Wedderburn) defiled the threshold of this building.'³¹ Not only the British, the Indian press like, Gujrati (8th August); Tilak's paper like, Maratha (8th August), the *Kesari* where Gokhale's 'overwhelming apology' was criticized.

It may be the case or circumstances that Gokhale had agreed to apology in front of the Government. It was thinking that under the threat from the police commissioner of police had bound to do this thing by Gokhale. The letter of apology was drafted by Bennet, the editor of Times of India.

This 'apology incident' by Gokhale had lowered the prestige of the state and had also lowered the prestige of Indian moderates as well as all freedom fighter. He (Gokhale) had shown want of courage, which helped indirectly the Government to put any repressive measures towards Indian.

Thus, this apology incident of Gokhale was one of the serious blow towards Indian. After this incident Gokhale really became alone in political life as well as he was also detached with Poona Brahmin society due to breaking the laws of foreign travel.

Seeing his loneliness, he was recalled by other moderate leaders in next congress session at Amraoti. Gokhale was such a many who was hunger for public work not for

the best of public appreciation and that's why he on the basis of local correspondent, got the shameful result from public.

Thus, the incident of 1897 was an important fact which helped him to sweep from local politics and pushed in national politics and public work.

Participation of Gokhale in election of Legislative Assembly :

The year 1897 was a remarkable year for Gokhale's political life in his formative period. It brought public humiliation, political eclipse and the criticism from his rival like Tilak. Thus, Gokhale wanted to get rid of all these obstacle by getting a chance to enter into legislative assembly. He at first plunged himself into the campaign against the plague in Poona. But all these activities did not satisfy him. He wanted to regain the fame, which was lost by him. "The day will come, he told to the critics when I shall cover my country with glory by way of compensation for the wrong I have [been] alleged to have done."³² Gokhale had a problem that, after this apology incident no one will willing to support him and sponsor him. But to improve the political life it was necessary to get entry at first at Bombay council, then a seat in the imperial council and finally in the house of commons.

Gokhale's entry into Bombay Legislative Council and condition of Legislative Council :

In 1900, Gokhale entered in the Bombay legislative council. The most peculiar was the composition of this council. There were twenty four members included three of the Governor's executive council, the advocate general and twelve nominees of the Government. The most of the members were Europeans. The council generally met at long intervals and for short period. In 24th January of 1900, Gokhale to his seat for the first time. Seating in the council first time Gokhale asked eight questions which covers almost on famine and plague and in the next two meetings Gokhale asked twelve questions on 14th February and 26th March.

Gokhale criticised the economic and political policies of the Bombay Government. He said "Famine and plague, plague and famine, these have been our lot without intermission. 'He also said about the irresponsible of the British officers. With the help of the Government Gazette, and the Blue Books, he tried to prove the statement of irresponsibility of the British Government of Bombay.

Regarding the peasant's taxation Gokhale said, whoever, therefore, among the Indian people may be lightly tared, the peasant is surely the most heavily burdened among them all. In the best of times his lot is hard and when Mother Nature growing unkind, not all the efforts of a benevolent Government save him from immense misery. He, however, endures all meeting, patiently, without a word of complaint surely, it will be a mark of the highest statesmanship to introduce a ray of hope and light into the gloom, which generally surrounds his life."³³

After the protest of Gokhale and other Indian officials, the British Government forced to amend the land revenue bill.

But the Indian critics R.C. Dutta, after studying the everything wrote to Gokhale by describing the bill.

Gokhale's role in Imperial Council :

"As a reactionary piece of legislation. The bones of Cornwallis, Thomas Munro, Elphinstone, Canning and Lord William Bentinck must rattle in their graves at this 20th century idea of helping the cultivators of India by depriving them of their tenant rights which have been recognized and fostered since the commencement of British rule in India."³⁴

Gokhale studied very carefully and in detail the problems. He realized the evil of land transfers to moneylenders but the problem of rural indebtedness should be tackled systematically. He knew that by a mere manipulation of the legislative machine could not solve the problem of the agriculturist. If the Government really wanted to solve the

problem, it was at first duty of the Government for making a rural bank. Not only that, the Government should at first select an area, then do experiment on it.

Impact of protest :

Gokhale's proposal was almost praised by the British. He, at that time, looked like an economist rather than a politician. The oppositions unitedly protested against this bill in the imperial council. Gokhale declared that, "We, the elected members of this council are absolutely unanimous in resisting this bill and though our voting power is not large enough under the constitution of this council to prevent the passing of any measures which Government are determined to carry, we represent where we are unanimous, a moral force, which it is not wise to ignore. For better, for worse, you have introduced the elective element into your councils and according to your own English ideas, you must now accept us as speaking not for ourselves individually but in the name of those who have sent us here ..."³⁵

Gokhale protested against it but its result was not so much satisfactory. It seemed like that it had no effect on the Government. But the protest of Gokhale stirred the mind of another moderate, which helped the Indians to do something against the Government.

Gokhale's entry into imperial Legislative Council :

Though the entry of Gokhale was not so smooth. The death of his wife, Radhabai and his political Guru Ranade were the great blow of his life. Not only that, Pheroz Shah Mehta wanted to resign from imperial council due to his health. Gokhale had a chance to occupy this post. But he was only thirty-four years and the 'apology incident' in London were two factors which put in doubt to Gokhale to get the highest gift in his formative period.

Gokhale knew that the key success to get the highest gift lay in the hands of Pheroz Shah Mehta and thus Gokhale requested Mehta to do it, by writing a letter. In 15th

January 1901 he said to Mehta in a letter: "I assure you it is not mere personal ambition which is urging me to seek the honour. My reasons are different ... In 1897 when a perfect storm of fierce criticism broke over my head in connection with my unhappy share in the incidents of that year, nothing wounded me deeper than Bhownagari's denunciation of me in the House of Commons as a 'despicable perjurer'. The words burnt into my heart and the sight I read them, I made up my mind to devote my life, as soon as I was free from my pledge, to the furtherance of our political causes in England, to which I had without meaning it, done such serious injury. And for this work a brief period of membership of the viceroy's council will be very useful ..." I myself feel that I am too young for the position but the fierce mental anguish which I have had to endure since 1897, has made me older in judgement and experience and in any case it is not wholly a disadvantage that I shall begin the new career at a comparatively young age."³⁶ By writing this letter, Gokhale clearly wanted to know to Pheroz Shah his aim.

Aim of Gokhale :

Gokhale was himself was ambitious once his slur about the apology incident hit his prestige as well his political character. Thus to remove it, he wanted plunge himself in clean politics and wanted to rise step by step whose end was this membership in House of Commons.

Role of Pheroz Shah :

Pheroz Shah, after receiving the letter from Gokhale, judge Gokhale's performance in Sarvajanik Sabha, in the Indian national congress and in the Bombay council and finally decided to push Gokhale with his full energy for rising his aim.

He resigned from imperial council on 1st March 1901. The fortune of Gokhale once again bloomed with light of joy because when he noticed from his intimate Bhatwadekar that his rival candidates, Ibrahim Rohimatoda Bomanji Dinshaw Pelity had withdrawn their name from election.

Mehta's support and the support of Bennett who gave promise to get one vote from European member i.e. S.M. Mozes which helped too much to Gokhale and bound to push the opponent from the contest.

Thus, from 1899-1901 was the lucky year of Gokhale with the help of Mehta, he became the member of imperial council which was really a good one and it also proved his ability. The Poona politics and the apology incident which really sent him dark place of politics but the victory in the contest of imperial council proved two important things i.e. he was not only a mere reflection of Ranade and secondly his ability, energy to work for his country.

Gokhale's entry in Poona Municipal administration as president

His role in Municipal administration :

After the grand success in the contest for the membership of the imperial council Gokhale was highly adorned by the Poona people and he was also invited to accept the post of President in Poona Municipal administration due to the death of Dorabji Padamji. Gokhale accepted this post and continued nearly four years and again he proved his ability and responsibility in the Municipal administration. As a president of Municipal Corporation, he had a special care for the expansion of educational facility. During his time, there was a good increase in number of students and school, which recorded ³³ and 1733 respectively. Gokhale did not only devote himself for the promotion of education but within the limitation of fund, he expended money for plague eradication, sanitation. He also borrowed money from provincial Government for this plan.

Thus in short, his activity in municipal administration gave him an insight into the real working of Local Self-Government and tried to promote the activity of Local Self Government.

Gokhale took his seat in the imperial council of Governor General as an Additional Member. Actually the council was set up accordingly the council Act of 1892 where a few members came from province to participate in the different aspects. Gokhale was a nominee from Bombay province and took part in the budget discussion of the Government.

In 1902, when the budget debate opened (26.03.1902) and was going, there was no problem. The delegates listened the speeches and took part in the session. Gokhale was the first man who pointed out the different faults of the budget. The first objection came from Gokhale. According to Gokhale, the British Government increased the tax of salt, the excise duty, the cotton duties etc. and the Government should not give any relaxation of the people and draught and famine effected area. He, thus, requested the Government for the relaxation of tax relief by cutting salt duty and increase in the taxable minimum for income tax to one thousand rupees a year. He also said for the abolition of the excise duty on cotton and by minimising the expenditure for military, the money should be used for the expansion of education, particularly technical education and for the development of the industry.

Gokhale stressed on foreign tour by the competent British and the Indians for gathering knowledge about technical education and to introduce in our country. According to him the Government had the vast resources and it should be used for the improvement of various field of education and to do it, it should be necessary for minimization of military expenditure.

Gokhale critically analysed the budget and expressed his view by saying that the territorial expansion beyond the border, by the Government, did not bring anything for country and a large sum of money was expend for this purpose.

Gokhale also condemned the budget's speech of Finance Minister who gave a good reason for the tax. According to finance minister, the imported fine cloth. Silver and sugar were generally used by the such class of people who have the capacity to pay the

taxes. Regarding the income tax and salt taxes, the Government's reasons were not acceptable by those people who were upper and middle class and also poor people. So, it should be considered by the Government.

Moreover, the taxes system for the upper and middle class (income tax) and the poor class (salt tax) was unchanged, which resulted the stagnation of the Indian economy. Showing the statistical figures regarding the salt consumption, agricultural output, imports and exports, Gokhale wanted to mean only the deteriorating economic condition of the country.

The history, which was just depicted by Gokhale, was complete true and it was based on the basis of Government's 'Blue Books' and also partly added on the basis of political and economic policies of the Government.

Thus, he concluded his speech by appealing the Government: "Let Englishmen exercise a certain amount of imagination and put themselves into our place and they will be able to better appreciate our feelings ..."³⁷ It was not meaning that Gokhale was not liking the British but he did not like the narrow imperialistic policy of the British Government.

Gokhale's speech in the imperial council was praised by the aminut Indians and others also. In the Amrita Bazar Patrika, in an editorial said: "We had entertained the ambition of seeing some Indian member openly and fearlessly criticizing the financial statement of the Government.

The ambition was never satisfied when members had ability, they had not the requisite courage when they had the requisite courage, they had not the ability ... For the first time in the annals of British rule in India, a native of India has not only succeeded in exposing the facilities which undoutie these Government statements, but has ventured to do it in an uncompromising manner."³⁸ M.K. Gandhi, Akbar Hydari and R. C. Dutta were too happy by seeing the activity of Gokhale R. C. Dutta wrote Gokhale in 8th April 1902.

“I am not in the habit saying more than I mean – and I can honestly assure you that I consider your budget speech to be the ablest and best that has ever been made from our point of view in the viceroy’s council.

More than this, it discloses the sad truths, which the officials try to conceal, and does this so effectively, so clearly and so convincingly that there is no answer to it. Your cagency of reasoning is admirable and your conclusion come with irresistible force of a sledgehammer and pound the official sophistries into astoms?

... The viceroy must feel to day – strong and self willed as he is – there are stronger forces arranging themselves in India in the popular causes ... Ten years hence these forces will be stronger than they are to day and I dare prophesy – knocking all the eminent public

In India, you will be the strongest, for almost and the most irresistible leader among them, because you are inspired by trust and the honest zeal for our country...”³⁹ A daily news paper ‘The Indian Daily News’, gave a picture of Gokhale’s impact on the imperial council.

“Mr. Gokhale, member from Bombay, made a slashing attack on the whole financial position of the Government and the explosion of a bombshell in their midst could hardly have created greater surprise and concentration in the midst of that sedate assembly with the daring of youth, Mr. Gokhale expounded ... The views of the Digby School ... with singular lucidity. His command of nervous English, his fluency of delivery and his logical arrangement of his argument made it a pleasure to listen to him.”⁴⁰

The role of Gokhale in the imperial council was a remarkable feature. The British officials like the finance member, Sir Edward law and Curzon praised the works of Gokhale. Lord Curzon, in a confidential letter to the secretary of state, Lord George Hamilton said, “Mr. Gokhale from Bombay who had made a very strong speech of the congress type denouncing our currency policy and

our fiscal policy in unmeasured terms. I should like to have had an hour in which to answer him but he was hardly worth the powder and shot.”⁴¹

Role of Gokhale in Imperial Council :

Not only that, the finance member, Sir Edward law appreciated the budget’s speech of Gokhale where he put the demand of reducing salt duty and by raising the fund, he suggested to raise the minimum taxable limit. Gokhale’s suggestions helped Sir Edward law for the rectification of budget statement. Thus, he said, “I am much obliged to him and I can only beg to be excused.”⁴² Another incident in train for Poona from Nagpur where Gokhale was insulted by Goldinghun but when he knew the fellow passenger was a member of the imperial legislative assembly, he apologized?

As a moderate critic Gokhale’s role was remarkable which gave him a good presentation from Lord Curzon. Curzon in a letter wrote to Gokhale, “recognition of abilities which are freely bestowed upon the service of your countrymen and of which I would ask no more than they should continue to be so employed. I only wish that India produced more such public men.”⁴³

Lord Curzon, really appreciate the works of Gokhale, though he was an opponent and as a result of hardworking his tenacity, ability – all these qualities helped him to be a famous in the Indian Nationalists, which upset many British and also North cote and Curzon because the British failed to buy Gokhale. But finally Curzon bound to admit the personality and quality of Gokhale who had an ability to stand against him. Thus for Gokhale, “Mr. Gokhale was a member of my Legislative Council during a period of, I suppose five or six years. During that time he was, I think, I may almost say, invariable opposition to the Government. He was, if I may also describe him, the leader of the opposition in the imperial Legislative Council over which I presided. In that capacity I often had to suffer from the weight of Mr. Gokhale’s blows, but I should like to say this, that I have never met a man of any nationality more gifted with what one could describe

in this country as parliamentary capacities, than was Mr. Gokhale. I truly believe ... [he] would have attained a position of distinction in any parliament in the world.”⁴⁴

Gokhale as a moderate leader

Gokhale's condition in Calcutta :

After elected as a member of imperial council, Gokhale now stayed in Calcutta in a official quarter, where his neighbours were mostly the Europeans. Gokhale had a little bit relation with them. But here, he was tensionless and free from factional politics what he was suffered much in his hometown Poona.

Gokhale had a number of friends in Calcutta like Motilal Ghosh, Tilak and others. Motilal Ghosh described Gokhale in his paper the Amrita Bazar Patrika. ‘Mr. Gokhale has demonstrated ... that the members of the council have their duties towards their country and in performing them they must not think of self.’⁴⁵ As a member of the imperial council Gokhale tried to help Jagadish Chandra Bose. He wrote a letter to Sir Walter Lawrence, private secretary of Lord Curzon that, “I address you not because I am a friend of Dr. Bose – I made his acquaintance only in January last ... but as an Indian I feel proud of the position which he has achieved for himself in the world of science in the face of overwhelming difficulties...”⁴⁶

Gokhale met with many people :

Gokhale met with Rabindranath Tagore through Mr. J.C. Bose. J. C. Bose also introduced sister Nivedita, a disciple of Swami Vivekananda when he was staying in Calcutta; he met with a number of people and always engaged himself in work for the country. Thus, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his autobiography that, “... He never wasted a minute. His private relations and friendships were all for public good. All his talks had reference only to the good of the country and were absolutely free from any trace of untruth or insincerity. India's poverty and subjection were matters of constant concern to him.”⁴⁷ Not only that he was also praised by Sarala Ghosal, a daughter of J. Ghosal,

Calcutta's leading congressman. She herself deeply impressed when she heard the budget speech of Gokhale.

In 1886, Gokhale served in the Deccan Education Society as a life member. He joined also in the New English School, from 1st January 1885 and continued his politics and service jointly. But both the works created a pressure upon him, which badly affected his health. He was advised to do any one of its. Gokhale's will was to continue to serve the country and thus, he preferred much politics than leading. After taking a good farewell from Deccan Education Society, he plunged himself in the stormy political condition of India.

He was willing to stand again imperial council because his aim was to acquire a seat in the House of Commons.

Gokhale's maturity after the death of Ranade :

Gokhale's political maturity came when he lost his Guru Ranade in January 1901 and he expressed his view to Dr. Bhandarkar of Poona in 1896. "As regards Mr. Justice Ranade, my relations with him are such that any proposal emanating from him must, more or less inevitably presuppose me in [its] favour. I have now sat for eight years at Mr. Ranade's feet as a pupil and I feel that for the greater part of what real education I have received in the word, I am indebted to him. I know no man more selfless or more earnestly devoted to the service of his country. Add to this tie of gratitude and admiration, my respect for commanding intellect and it ought not to be difficult for anyone to understand why ordinarily I should be disposed to distrust my own judgement if it came into conflict with his."⁴⁸ Gokhale actually learnt everything from Ranade. Once, Ranade deputed him, to attend in the All Indian Social Conference at Lahore and Gokhale successfully had performed his duty as a representative of Ranade and not only this he was learnt at first to improve the social condition of India and to improve it, there were lot of works in front of him.

Weakness of congress and necessary for Gokhale's leadership :

The congress was founded by A.O. Hume and other Indians, specially W. C. Banerjee, S. N. Banerjee etc. played an important role in the congress. The first twenty years (1885-1905) after the establishment of congress, the congress believed the policy of the moderate and the reasons had already been discussed in early stage. But, due to these policies and the other reasons i.e. lack of the presence of W. C. Banerjee, because he was living in London; S.N. Banerjee who ran a newspaper, Lala Muridhar in the Punjab, Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma in the united province and P.N. Mudholkar in the central provinces were engaged in local organization. Moreover, after the departure of Hume, there was no full time secretary in the congress. Shortage of income or money was another important cause for the collapse of the British committee in London. Thus, Wedderburn described the cause of collapse this institution due to want of penance. Thus, Dadabhai Naoroji requested Gokhale to tackle this situation. Naoroji said, "... Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Hume ... have devoted the best years of their lives and what is more, their purse to the cause of India. Sir, William Wedderburn has, I think, spent not less than \$ 10,000 or perhaps up to \$ 15,000 in various ways in the furtherance of the cause of our country. But his personal work is of far more value and the congress cannot afford to lose it. His earnestness and experience cannot be provided by any new organization. Trusting you will ... do your best to listen my responsibility ... and adopt some mature plan for future financial requirements."⁴⁹

Actually, Gokhale had an experience how to improve the condition of any poor or disable or newly born Sabha. He served a several years as a secretary of Poona's Sarvajanic Sabha.

In February 1903, R. C. Dutta contacted with Gokhale about the Rene generation of the congress. Mr. R. C. Dutta gave a suggestion to form a small executive committee for carrying on the work of the congress throughout the years and thus, he wrote to Gokhale about this matter. "You have pointed out to me a new path of usefulness and fired in me a new ambition. And the last years of my life shall not be lived in vain if I succeed in

organizing our work in India and leading all the patriotic aspirations ... Let us suppose the next congress creates an executive committee consisting of Mehta, Charulu and myself for organizing and conducting congress work in India. I was even thinking of adding the names of Malaviya of Northern India and Mudholkar of the C. P. and Berar to make a committee of five members ... a central place for a permanent office (Bombay, Amraoti and Allahabad) ...”⁵⁰ [R. C. Dutta to Gokhale, 23 February 1903]

In another letter to Gokhale R.C. Dutta wrote: “The congress works for four days in the year. The executive committee should work throughout the year with the authority of the congress, making that body a living power in the country ... Pheroz Shah Mehta and myself, if the congress appoints us, will work very well together, sometimes meeting and always. Corresponding, so that every action taken shall be our joint action. To some extent Mehta represents Southern India, I represent Northern India. The congress should also provide for a paid secretary and personally I know of no better and efficient man in India than yourself. We shall make a capiled working committee with your help ...”⁵¹

R. C. Dutta, thus, gave a suggestion for the appointment of Gokhale as a paid secretary of the Indian National Congress. Gokhale was ready to accept the proposal of R. C. Dutta but he was not ready to accept any remuneration for political work. In the autumn of 1903, the congress committee at Madras proposed the name of Gokhale and work as a joint general secretaries of the congress and their names welcome by Naoroji, Hume and Wedderburn and after this decision, the difference of opinion which came in front, in Madras session was finished.

Plan and works of Gokhale and his leadership :

Gokhale did not attain the Madras session. He was staying in Calcutta during the winter session of the imperial council. This session was one of the busiest and remarkable sessions for Gokhale. There was a confrontation between Gokhale and Curzon. Not only this, by performing these works, Gokhale found time to attend the function of congress. He at first remitted \$ 400 to Wedderburn on 7th April 1904 as share capital

for a new company 'India Limited' whose condition in London was very poor. Moreover, Gokhale in London was very poor. Moreover, Gokhale enrolled 215 shareholders. But sorry to say that 185 potential share holders did not return and Gokhale bound to borrow from his friends for the remittance for the British committee in London.

He really very much astonished by seeing the activity of the people of Bengal regarding the fund raising matter. Gokhale did not loose his heart and effort. In a letter to Mr. Wedderburn on 7th April 1904. "I propose to spend August September and October of this year in Bengal and hope to secure annual contributions to the extent of about forty thousand rupees and at least one thousand subscribers to India. The present number is 200, and I think with proper work, 800 more ought to be secured without much difficulty ... My work in Bengal this year will be directed towards (1) Securing annual contributions ... (2) Re-organizing congress committees in all important centres with active earnest minded men as secretaries. (3) Securing for the congress the services of at least half a dozen earnest, devoted, self sacrificing young men in Bengal, working, all the year round in the spirit in which my colleagues in the Fergusson College are working for that institution and (4) Securing at least one thousand reliable subscribers to the India ... when this is done in one province, similar work in other provinces will be comparatively easy and next year, I shall take in hand N. W. provinces and Madras, reserving Bombay, Punjab and central provinces for the third year ..."⁵²

Praise of Gokhale by the British :

The plan, which was taken by Gokhale, was praised by Wedderburn and Hume. Wedderburn in his letter to Gokhale said, "You are working on the best possible lines"⁵³ Hume also praised the efforts of Gokhale, by saying this, "You did not sit in vain at dear Ranade's feet – and were he still with us, he would be proud of his disciple as I am of having long worked along-side of you. You have, I hope, many happy busy years and many triumphs for India's course before you"⁵⁴

The functions of Gokhale pleased very much to Hume, Wedderburn, & Dutta. They really became astonished by seeing the plan of Gokhale and how did he perform his duty with full responsibility. It was the time when India felt the necessity of an able leadership and Gokhale was unquestionable leader at the time. His personal life helped him to make himself to perform the work. The death of his wife in 1900; his election in the imperial council, his retirement from the Fergusson College – gave his undivided attention to politics. It was really very strange that some of them, who elected him in the Madras session in December 1903; perhaps could really imagine that within two years; he would be the president of congress. The main reasons for his upliftment were his unpopular activities with Curzon and others, the establishment of the Servants of India; which helped him to regard him as a political savior.

Poor condition of congress and plan of Gokhale to revive it :

After taking the charge of the president of the congress, Gokhale realised that the congress was only observed the 'three days festival' in the same of session and this was the reason for congress for losing its influence in India and England. To recover from this condition it was necessary at first to educate the people and try to infuse the political consciousness among the people.

Thus, after the foundation of Servants of India, Gokhale formulated the constitution of it. At first he wanted to apprentice the young men for five or ten years and then allowed them in their profession. Gokhale did not like the lifetime membership of this institution. But finally he offered them short period membership. The new members of it, took the guidance under the leadership of Gokhale himself.

Strict obedience was another rule of this institution. In the Article 5 of this constitution of the Servants of India said, every member shall during the time that he is under training place himself under the entire guidance and control of the first member and shall do such studies as the first member direct. Gokhale thus wrote to Krishnaswami Aiyer, that young men would be forthcoming in sufficient numbers. For the rest everything must

depend upon the personal influence, which I am able to exert on these men. The time to speak of that will be, say five years hence not now.

Objects of the servants of India :

To raise the political faith and to promote political consciousness, Gokhale founded this institution. To think himself at first Indian was the first motto of it. Gokhale said “Indians first, and Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees or Christians afterwards and the idea of a united and renovated India, marching onwards to a place among the nations of the world, worthily of her great past, is no definitely accepted creed of those who form the brain of the community – the educated classes of the country.”⁵⁵ Moreover Gokhale clearly explained the utility of the foundation of servants of India. He wrote, “To train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit, for the work of political education and agitation and will seek to promote by all constitutional means, the national interests of the Indian people.”⁵⁶ Gokhale wrote, ‘Love 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 mother land, a dauntless heart, which refuses to be turned back from its object by difficulty or danger, a deep faith in the purpose providence that nothing can shake – equipped with these, the worker must start on his mission and nespererently seek the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of one’s country.’⁵⁷ Thus, the establishment of servants of India played an important role in Gokhale’s formative life and others also.

Members of the servants of India :

The call of Gokhale, stirred the heart of many young Indians and they took the membership of the servants of India. Srinivasa Sastri, Kungru; A. V. Thakkar, N. M. Joshi, N.A. Dravid, A.V. Patwardhan took the memberships of the society. These members enunciated; the all of personal ambition and willing accepted the simple life as directed by the constitution and this was proved by a letter of A.V. Thakkar who at first resigned from Bombay Municipality then joined in the servants of India society, to his

family that "... I have resigned my service from the Bombay Municipality...and shall immediately join the servants of India Society. I have consulted no one in this matter, and have acted entirely according to the dictates of my own conscience. I may have erred, if the voice of my conscience errs. Whatever it may be, I can ignore the voice no longer."⁵⁸

Some of people who were influenced by Gokhale's servants of India but due to some personal problems failed to join in this institution. C. Y. Chintamani, Rajendra Prasad, M. R. Jayakar were the important among the Indians who failed to join in this institution.

Confusion of the Government :

On the other hand the British Government could not see well the function and activity of the servants of India Society. Gokhale tried to remove the misunderstanding of Curzon and called on D. U. Boulay, the private secretary to Lord Lamington, the Governor of Bombay. But all the efforts made by different officials of British resulted in vain. But Lord Curzon admired Gokhale and wrote: " I do not believe in the least either in Gokhale or in his new brotherhood. Gokhale either does not see where he is going or if he does not see it, then he is dishonest in his pretensions. You cannot awaken and appeal to the spirit of nationality in India and at the same time, profess loyal acceptance of British rule."⁵⁹

Role of Gokhale as a president of congress :

Gokhale became the president of the Indian national congress in such a crucial time when the British for the own satisfaction partitioned Bengal in 1905. The partition of Bengal at first proved the total failure of moderate policy.

Difference of opinion between Gokhale and P. Mehta :

Not only that the Banaras congress faced with various problem. The partition of Bengal strong the hand of the extremist and it was necessary at first to cope with the recent discontent in a young section of the congress. The anti British activities which was going on in Bengal i.e. 'Swadeshi' and 'Boycott' was a vital issue in front of moderates and also for Gokhale for smooth running of session. Gokhale had an experience about it before this session. Only one man can solve the problem, which came in the mind of Gokhale was Pheroz Shah Mehta. Because, Mehta knew how to tackle with the critics and he able to handle the opponents in 1903 in Madras session.

But, Gokhale faced with another problem that, Mehta did not willing to go to Banaras. In the recent day, Pheroz Shah had no good relation with Gokhale; taking various issues and this recent relationship between Gokhale and Pheroz Shah Mehta was also highlighted in the newspapers (Vesari and the Maratha) and this adverse relation between two effected the session and Gokhale should be ready for it. The editor of the Gujrati was very close to P. Mehta and on the other hand Gokhale was his friend, anxiously wrote; "Please do not get offended, because I can mean no offence to you. But Sir P.M.M thinks that you are, inspite of yourself about to play into hands of men, who until recently persecuted and denounced you and who, you declared were not gentlemen to be argued with and were irreconcilable. This was said to a few select friends who have a high regard for both of you. The situation is very delicate and difficult and I only hope everything may pass off successful – N.V. Gokhale to G. K. Gokhale, December 1905."⁶⁰ Actually, the main reason, which was going on between them, was that, Gokhale's meet with Tilak at Gaikwad wada.

The selection of Banaras for the congress session was another important landmark of Gokhale's formative period. Banaras was a holly place for the Hindus and a cultural seat of India, not only that, a number of Sabha like the industrial conference, the ladies conference, the Rajput Sabha and the Kalwar Sabha etc. were going there

simultaneously. A meeting scholar presided over by R. C. Dutta was another coincident fact of 1905 session of congress whose president was Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Gokhale was warm welcome by the people of Banaras. In the plenary session of congress, which was held on 27th December 1905, Gokhale's name was proposed for the presidency by Pandit Bishambhar Nath, one of the oldest congressmen of U. P. and it was seconded by R.C. Dutta and G. Subramania Iyer. Bishambhar Nath described the congress as the crowning triumph of Pax Britannica with its untold numerous blessing.⁶¹

The political condition of India was not so good and it was clear to Gokhale. The tone of political discontent was coming out from various province of India and the delegates of these province already reached to attend the meeting of Gokhale. These discontent people of congress respected Gokhale no doubt but they wanted a good and satisfactory result from this session of congress. Thus, Gokhale, by realizing the situation, tried to satisfy the old and new radicals in the congress and tried to make a balance between them.

Gokhale's presidential address was a composition of political situation at the end of 1905, which were the recollection of the past history and a forecast of the future. He recalled the days when congress first met at Bombay in 1885, 'When the hope was warm and faith shone bright,' and they thought that by following the policy of the congress, could help them for political emancipation from the hands of the British. Due to the moderate policy, which was followed by the early congress, the function was going really very slow and common people lost their faith about congress. In spite of it congress determined to reach the goal that India should be governed in the interest of the Indians themselves and in the course of the time India should be governed by the Indians her selves and for this it was at first necessary for practical training and experiment only and also need the sit ness for acquiring the power.

Criticism of Gokhale to the British :

Gokhale sharply attacked to the monopoly power of the British bureaucracy in India. The British Government separated the Indian officials from the British officials, which hit the prestige of the Indians. It showed only the selfishness of the British officials towards the Indian and created a open hostile between them. Gokhale thus, thought about the value of local self Government. Because, the time which came in India for sharing the power from the British Government to the Indians. The British Government had an argument regarding “educated class” in Bengal. But in course of time, this question in the mind of the British was vague, because about fifteen million people could read and write and came under the influence of English education. It is true that though a small group of people came under this circumstances, but they had the capacity to control over the masses and also in press. In short, they were the natural leaders of India.

Gokhale's demand to the Government :

Thus, Gokhale called for the reform in administrative and constitutional facts, which was still present in India. Gokhale put a lot of demands which were, enlargement in size, elective element and power of the legislative the appointment of Indians to the councils of the secretary of state, the Viceroy and the provincial Governors, the formation of the advisory boards at the district level, the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, the reduction of military expenditure and the expansion of primary, technical and industrial education. It was remarkable that it was the credit of Gokhale that though these types of demands were equally sounded a number of times but the result was sit but in 1905 congress session, it should be considered very carefully by the British. Gokhale said that, “For the first time since the congress movement began, the liberal and the radical party will come into real power.”⁶² He said that the liberal Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell – Bannerman was a friend of freedom and had a great to Morley.

Gokhale hoped that this was a good time for freedom movement. He declared, "A more gratifying combination of circumstances could not be conceived and it now rest with us to turn it to the best advantage we can for our motherland."⁶³ The reason behind this hope was the partition of Bengal. The partition was, "a crud wrong inflicted on our Bengali brethren ... a complete illustration of the worst features of bureaucratic rule in India, its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant presentations to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people ... and its cool preference of service interests to those of the governed."⁶⁴

Gokhale tried to manage the Bengali delicacies by supporting the Swadeshi and Boycott. He never uttered a single word, which will hit the prestige of Bengalis. Seeing this Khaparde an associate of Tilak wrote to his diary on 27.12.1905; 'Mr. Gokhale's speech as president was not quite in the ultra moderate style and was cheered in its stronger parts.'⁶⁵ F.J. Bennett of the Times of India regretted that Gokhale had ceased to be "a steadying force on public feeling."⁶⁶ In the Times of India wrote on 28th December 1905 "The Mr. Gokhale who presided over the Banaras congress yesterday will seem to many readers of his inaugural address to a different person from the Mr. Gokhale whom they knew some years ago as a sober and dispassionate critic of the acts and policy of the Government."⁶⁷

Another credit of Gokhale, as a president of the plenary session of congress at Banaras, was to pass a resolution about the stage pageantry for the royal family. After the presidential speech, the subject committee decided the success and failure of any session and the Banaras session was no more exceptional. When the subject committee met after the presidential address on the evening 27th December got a blow on the matters of welcoming the Prince of Wales to India.

Controversy between Gokhale and Lajpat Rai and others :

A prominent extremist Lala Lajpat Rai put an objection on it. According to India had no time or money to waste for the royal family because due to the repressive policy of Lord

Curzon India hast after for famine and many other chronic diseases and after this, this was only the useless expenditure. Bal Gangadhar Tilak supported him. Not only that, Lajpat Rai and Tilak did not satisfy about the work of Benaras Session and threatened that they would oppose the resolution.

The Congress leaders cleverly kept the royal family matter above from politico but it now became the prestige for the Congress in India and also in England, when the liberal party existed in England. It also created about excitement in the minds of the Congressmen on 27th of December and Munshi Madholal and his friend feared for political tension in the Congress camp.

Gokhale's role for solving the situation :

In such political situation, Gokhale calmly watched the political situation. Just before, the starting of the Congress session on 28th December, Gokhale requested personally to Lala Lajpat Rai not to oppose the resolution on the Prince of Wales and sought his help for persuading Tilak regarding the same case. At the time of debate on the controversial issue, the opponents of the resolution kept outside of the debate and some of them were there, were forcefully driven out and from the session by Lajpat Rai and S.B. Bapat who were very ardent to Tilak. In such political situation, it was too easy for Gokhale to pass the resolution unanimously.

Gokhale's role in plenary session :

Gokhale did not willing to do anything, which would create an adverse result during the national movement. For this reason, after the partition of Bengal in 1905 by Lord Curzon, the boycott movement which now started by the Bengalees and a resolution was also played as a last protest of the Bengalees regarding the boycott of foreign goods and was the only Constitutional and effective way for them. Apart from this resolution there were twenty other resolutions, which contended the expansion of the Councils, the public service question, military expenditure, police and land revenue reforms etc.

Another resolution which was added to those, was the appreciation of work which was done by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in England and it was also a part of resolution to visit England again by Him and 'Urge the more pressing proposals of the Congress on the attention of the authority.'

His credit in the sessions :

The emergence of Gokhale in his formative period from the Banaras Congress was a great achievement of Gokhale. No one can deny his credit. The question regarding the partition of Bengal, which would hamper to some extent the session, was limited in the Subject Committee. Moreover, the question of a new tension, which was an important issue in front of Congress i.e., tension between old orthodoxy and new men, Gokhale tactfully manage the situation and smoothly ran the Plenary Session. His personal relationship with Lajpat Rai regarding the resolution was excellent which helped to put an influence on Tilak and it helped to maintain the unity in the Congress. This unity was essential in this political movement because it showed the Britishers the Indian's unity in India and abroad (England).

His politics after departure of Lord Curzon and last phase of formative life :

After the departure of Lord Curzon, the political condition was changed. The new Viceroy Lord Minto came here. He was not at all similar to Lord Curzon. He himself realised that it would take time to know the Indian pulse. Gokhale first tried to influence on Minto about Samuel Radcliff the editor of the Statesman's case. The government put a ban on the Statesman to publish any government advertisement. But with the help of Gokhale, the Statesman published an apology and the government withdrew the ban.

The first success of Gokhale regarding the Statesman, was realized that the new Viceroy i.e., Lord Minto was cool and sympathetic ruler. Gokhale know it and planned to put a number of needful demands in the Legislative Council.

In the 28th Budget Session, Gokhale stressed on improving the system of works reduction in the salt duty and land revenue in the famine stricken areas, provisions for funds for local bodies, particularly for rural dents and water supply and drainage, the extension of primary education and the establishment of a technological institute. He also said the government should also give a stress on railway construction and for this requisite fund should be collected through loans or through taxation.

Criticism of military policy and compare with Japan :

Gokhale criticised the military expenditure policy of the government. He gave an example of Japan who easily defeated Russia and changed the military balance in Asia. The victorious Japan expended 37 million Yen, or a little under six crores of rupees; and she had 167,000 standing army in reserve and it was increased to 600,000 men. But in India, Gokhale said in the Imperial Council that India had 230,000 men with about 25,000 native reservists and about 30,000 European Volunteers. Moreover, the Indian barred from the officers cadre and they were excluded from all honourable participation of the defence programme. It was the cruel policy of the British towards Indian military soldiers who were one-fifth of the entire population of the world.

Comparing with Japan, Gokhale said, Japan had also come under the influence of west but they had a position in the world but India, though she was under the care of the British government but sorry to say, that she had no position in the world.

Thus, in the Imperial Council Gokhale told, "what the country needs at this moment above every thing else is a government national spirit, even though it may be foreign in personnel – a government that will enable us to feel that our interests are the first consideration with it, and our wishes and opinions are to it a matter of some account."⁶⁸

Gokhale concluded by saying, "My Lord, I have ventured to make these observations because the present situation fills me with great anxiety. I can only raise my humble voice by way of warning, by way of appeal, the rest lies on the knees of the gods."⁶⁹

Gokhale's speech in the Imperial Council was a good one. It included a severe criticism of the activity of the government. But he never said about the partition of Bengal and the boycott movement. Thus, in short, this session of the Imperial Council was very good for Gokhale himself highly pleased about it and wrote to G.A. Nateson on 2nd April, 1905 :

“You will be glad to know that my budget speech this year was extremely well received in the Council. The Viceroy specially sent for me at the conclusion of the proceedings and congratulated me in very flattering terms. He further assured me that it would be his ambition to advance to some extent at any rate, to work on the lines indicated by me during his regime.

Mr. Maker [Finance Member], with whom I had a long interview at his special request the next day, assured me that he would provide funds in the next year's budget for making a beginning in the direction of free primary education. He said very kind things, which I need not repeat here, but you will judge how friendly he is when I tell you that he made an earnest appeal to me not to retire from [Imperial Legislative] Council next year, as he knows it is my intention to do. He said : ‘give me to three years and I will make a beginning in regard to most of the things you are advocating, only you must be in the Council to back me up by your criticism and your demands.

Altogether, I feel the situation is most hopeful and I have never returned from Calcutta with such a sense of satisfaction within me as this year. Now that the Government of India have themselves taken up the question of a further reform of Legislative Council, my hands will be immensely strengthened in pressing the question forward during my forthcoming visit to England.”⁷⁰

Gokhale's visit to England on 6th April, 1906 :

Thus, in short, Gokhale's role in the Imperial Council was remarkable. He was so pleased in his work that it also reflected in his face and also in his friend circle. He was very cheerful when he sailed from Bombay to England on 14th April, his friend Aga Khan expressed his happiness and offered to contribute Rs. 5000=00 to its funds and also invited Gokhale to stay for a few days in Switzerland for improving his health. On the 30th April 1906, he reached in England where he was welcome by Dadabhai Naoroji. On 1st May he met the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. On

2nd May called on J.E. Ellis, the Under-Secretary of State for India. On 3rd May he addressed fifty M.P's at a meeting of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. After that, he was the guest of Wedderburn at Gloucester and lastly he attended the meeting of Indian Parliamentary Committee and a meeting also arranged there due to protest the 'Barisal incident in East Bengal'. During his busiest tour in England, he visited and attended Cambridge and Oxford and a peace conference at Birmingham and addressed the East India Association.

Gokhale clearly wanted to say about the self-government of India before the people in Indian Association on 11th July 1906. He was invited to speak in different places. In every places, Gokhale clearly said about the mentality of the Indian regarding the British. He said, Indians now were not willing to show any respect because they lost their faith on the British.

The British Government on whom i.e. faith, they stood in India and administered India, had now shaken by the Indians. There were reasons behind it. If we calculate the number of the English educated people we shall get only a million people out of 15 million of people. These groups of people had easily reached to the people who only knew their vernacular language only. They controlled the language of press.

Thus, the British Government had a lot of duties. Gokhale argued, "It was possible, that bureaucratic like the Bourbons never learnt, but it should not be difficult for Englishmen to realize that : You cannot, have institutions like universities working for more than half a century in India and then expect to be able to govern the people, as though they were still strangers to ideas of constitutional freedom or to the dignity of national aspirations. Those who blindly uphold the existing system and resist all attempts, however cautious and moderate, to broaden its base, prefer practically to sacrifice the future to the present. The goal, which the educated classes of India have in view, is a position for their country in the Empire worthily of the self-respect of civilized people. They wanted their country to be a prosperous, self-governing, integral part of the Empire, and not a more poverty-stricken, bureaucratically held possession of

that Empire. The system under which India is governed at present is an un-natural system, and however one may put up with it as a temporary evil, as a permanent arrangement it is possible.”⁷¹

Gokhale admitted that the self-government on western lines would failed to reach the goal quickly because their steps were very slow. The bureaucracy which prevailed in India will give any instalment of reforms to Indians and this policy should continue in India because a mass of people were still detached from public affairs’. It was the fault of the government because after a century of British rule, seven children out of eight in India continued to grow up in ignorance and darkness. Thus, education could help them to realize and inspired them to join the Indian public and administrative affairs.

Gokhale criticise the government by saying, “the efficiency attained by a foreign bureaucracy, uncontrolled by ‘public opinion’ was bound to be a ‘strictly limited character, that as things were, there was no one ever in the Indian government who is permanently interested in the country as only its own people can be interested : ... true well being of the people is systematically subordinated to militarism, service interests of Englishmen cantile classes”⁷² Gokhale condemned the British administrative policy. He condemned that all the higher posts of the Indian Administration was preserved for the Britishers. Gokhale warned the British government to pacify the educated Indians by giving them higher posts, which were still under the controlled of the British. He also said that if the government failed to satisfy the demands of them, the demands of them, the government should ready to receive another Ireland which they (the government) had already witnessed in their homelands. Gokhale thus concluded by saying that “I can not say that I have much hope that any such policy will be at once adopted. The struggle before us is, I fear, a long one, and in all probability, it will be a most bitter one. The following tide, however, is with us, and such a struggle can have but one issue.”⁷³

When Gokhale was visiting England he met with Mr. William Wedderburn. Mr. Wedderburn was playing as an in-experienced person’s adviser. With his help and

cooperation, he met with a number of M.P.'s including Ramsay MacDonald, Sir Charles Dilke, Keir Hardie and G.P. Gooch. Mr. Gooch was so impressed that he described Gokhale as the most eminent Indian statesman of his time. Gokhale also invited about forty member of Parliament to meet him at breakfast and Inter-Parliamentary Conference. Gokhale also receive a request from 'Anti-Imperialist League' of America to visit there and to deliver lectures on India.

Gokhale's visit in England in 1906 was another motto. The Liberal Party was now in England and his aim was to convince the Liberal Party about the condition of India. It was a good opportunity to Gokhale and R.C. Dutta wrote to Gokhale, "Now is the time for work, now never. If this Liberal Government fails to give a more representative character to the Indian administration, we shall never get only thing by peaceful methods, and England will be teaching us to pursue English methods in a country which has more 50 times the population of Ireland."⁷⁴

John Morley was a Secretary of State for India at that time. Though Gokhale met with him earlier on 1897 and 1905, now he had a good chance to meet him and convey the message of grievances and aspirations of the Indians. Gokhale wrote him on May 1906 to realize the great responsibility of his teachings in his present office and he was much moved and he spoke freely of his difficulties and intentions."⁷⁵

After reaching England Gokhale had made a good relationship with Morley. After eight days of his first meeting, Gokhale realized that Morley was "at last waking up to the situation and we may accept further developments yet."⁷⁶ Gokhale was happy that he wrote to Krishnaswami Aiyer, "I may tell you privately that I have been able to establish excellent personal relations with Mr. Morley."⁷⁷

The activity and role with Morley pleased very much to the members of House of Commons like Wedderburn and others. This news also a very good news to the Indians and their hopes rose high. Gokhale's friend R.N. Mudholkar wrote Gokhale, "You have

secured the ear of Mr Morley, you have opened his eyes. Through him you have moved that immovable barrier, the India office.”⁷⁸

Gokhale's effort to do something for Indian Constitutional reform through Morley was incomparable and the Indians also awaited for the Budget Speech of Morley on 20th July. Gokhale tried very hard but the result was known to everyone. Some of the problems had already hidden in the structure of the British Raj and others were a pressure on Morley. So, the expectation of Indians regarding the reforms of Indian Constitutional matter still remained with expectation.

Thus, in short, the formative period of Gokhale was ended with great hopes and expectations. Since his early life, he realized the Indian social and political situation helped much to British to control over Indians. Lack of literate persons, social backwardness, lack of communal integrity, lack of women education, problems of female society – all were the social evils, which helped the British government to seat here permanently. They had a great plea to handover the power to illiterate Indians.

Gokhale, for this reason, stage by stage, studied the whole problems. During his lecturer ship in the Ferguson College, he realized the mentality of the students and then he founded the 'Servants of India' to do social work and finally after assuming the Presidentship in Congress he really felt the structural problem of Indian polity and in England, when he tried heart and soul to mobilize the mind of Morley, he again realized the value of spread of western education among the Indians. Thus, finally he decided to launch himself in social and political re-organizations, which was broadly discussed in the next chapter of this title topic.

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