CHAPTER - VIII

RANADE: THE PIONEER OF INDIAN LIBERALISM

Many Notable Judges have sat on the Bench of the Bombay High Court. Justice Ranade was one of the most notable. In the domain of law he was pre-eminent. He was an erudite Judge who made a marked contribution to the development and elucidation of Hindu Law. But although to succeeding generations he will be known as a great Judge, he was not merely a Judge, he was much more than that. He did not believe in living in the ivory tower of judicial detachment. Every minute of his life he was conscious of "the felt necessities of the times". He knew the problems of his people, their hardships and sufferings, their dreams and aspirations and the measures that should be taken to bring the realisation of those dreams and aspirations nearer. Even while he was a Government servant, and also when he was on the Bench, he was interested in politics, education, history, economics and social reform. And his interest was not that of a mere dilettante. He was a historian who gave a proper place to the Mahratta Empire in the context of Indian history. He was a pragmatic economist who refused to apply Western nostrums to Indian Conditions. He was a pioneer who visualised a Welfare State and the importance of industrialisation in a poor and underdeveloped country.
Ranade was so much engrossed in all the sides of national life in India and has produced so very lasting effect on all of them, that his life story is almost identical with the history of the progressive movements in India during the later half of the nineteenth century. This period was one of the gradual assimilation of the new political, economic, social, and intellectual forces set in motion by the British Conquest. In the diagnosis of the inwardness of the evil, in the criticism of the beautiful features of the new forces at work, in the forecasting of the new change and in actively initiating and hastening the advent of the revival, no single man, except perhaps Raja Rammohon Roy, has played so important a role as Ranade.

To write an account of the public activities of Ranade is to attempt an exhaustive survey of the genesis and early stages of the movement of Indian reformation. This movement extended to political, economic, social and religious fields, in all of which Ranade attained and kept the place of the foremost leader. Ranade's achievements in these fields constitute an important landmark in the history of the Indian national movement.

Piety and liberalism were the most pronounced factors of his complex personality which was different from that of his contemporaries as Dadabhai Naoroji, G.H. Deshmukh, Pherozeshah Mehta, Mandlik and Telang. There was
no militancy in him. Peaceful progress was his watchword and he shunned every kind of strife from the bottom of his heart. All his achievements have to be assessed within these limitations. All these men regarded the British rule as a blessing, but with certain reservations, it was not an identical feeling. Though all of them appeared to be moderate and disciplined men, all of them were not temperamentally moderate. Some of them were capable of being indignant, resentful and assertive on occasions, but never Ranade, whether in his private dealings or public. A spirit of humility was an ever-present attribute of his. Dadabhai regarded the British contact salutary, but was unable to forget that it was after all a fait accompli and he could do nothing about it, but he had to submit to it and make the best of it. Pherozeshah tolerated it because he saw it as a fact of life which could not be undone. Mandlik appreciated its merits and laughed out any revolt against it as puerile. Deshmukh accepted it in a spirit of resignation, and in his heart of hearts could be traced his dissatisfaction with the new era. Telang's acceptance of it was reasoned and judicious but Ranade's vision saw God's hand in its advent and he moralised that it was a course of discipline for Indians, that they had much to learn from the British as they had to from the Muslims and so for a sufficiently long time, they must patiently learn.
All these different shades of approach were apparent not only in the field of politics but also in other spheres like social reform. Superficially, Deshmukh, Phuley, Ranade, Agarkar and Behramji Malabari were grouped together in the public mind as social reformers. But each of these was not motivated and activated alike. Different impulses would be found to have moved them on a closer and deeper examination of their positions. Securing social justice and a compassionate deal to all human beings may be said to be their common objective. Yet it would appear that Ranade, Bhandarkar, Modak and K.C. Sen deplored more perhaps the morbid and mean practice of high Hindu philosophy, and the idolatrous, superstitious, credulous habits of the people than the inequity and inequality that prevailed in Hindu society on account of the caste-system and all that followed in its wake. Deshmukh expressed himself indignantly and scornfully against the selfish, crafty and unscrupulous practices of the Brahmin priesthood and their exploitation of the Shudras and others. Jyotiba Phule Waged a relentless war against all Brahmins who tolerated and acquiesced in this Hinduism in practice. Ranade became intolerant and at least once or twice employed intemperate language against Kirtane, Agarkar and Tilak because they expressed themselves in favour of qualified idolatory or denied the relevance and importance of God in the field of social reform. Agarkar
was a thorough going rationalist and a radical to whom nothing was sacrosanct or unassailable. He was a sworn enemy of all humbug and pretension wherever it might be found. His expression too was vehement and even violent and not infrequently offended against what was regarded as good taste. Malabari was no doubt a humanitarian and his only motive in pleading for reform of Hindu social customs could be nothing but pity and compassion for the oppressed and afflicted, but he was considered a busybody by no less a person than Tilak because he left his own Parsi Community alone and got the ear of the high dignitaries in Government circles to impose reforms on Hindus. Strikingly enough, Hume's attitude towards Malabari was similar to that of Tilak.

Of Ranade it could be said truly and with full justification that circumstances did not permit him heroic actions or, better still, he was not temperamentally so inclined, but was moulded for the role of a constructive nation-builder. Calmness and steadiness of mind which he possessed in an extraordinary measure prevented him from being exhilarated or excited and made him work patiently and unceasingly without being upset or depressed. Subjecting himself to severe discipline he developed marvellous self-control, forbearance and equanimity. No man judged himself more severely and others more charitably than Ranade.
He was scarcely known to lose his temper or return abuse for abuse. He readily forgave, harboured no resentment and made no enemies if he could help it. He chose the path of conciliatory co-operation for steady progress in all directions and mentally equipped himself for the same.

Just as Ranade believed in India's mission of leading the world towards peace and human brotherhood, Gandhi also believed in it and both exerted themselves towards the realisation of that end. Some passages from the writings of both are worth comparing in this connection. Ranade professed implicit faith in two articles of his creed: "This country of ours is a true land of promise. This race of ours is a chosen race". The mission before it was none other than the process of evolving an integrated human civilization for herself and propagating it abroad much in the manner in which the old Aryan or Hindu civilization spread over most parts of the then known world. Gandhi wrote, "I am confident that God has made me the instrument of showing the better way. My mission is to convert every Indian and finally the world of non-violence for regulating mutual relations whether political, economic, religious or social". Gandhi expressed his confidence in the world of tomorrow with perfect optimism, defining India's role in shaping it in the following worlds, "I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart that the world is sick unto death
of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of this ancient land of India to show the way out to the hungering world."

Silent, sustained, constructive work for the improvement of the moral and material condition of the people was as dear to Gandhi as it was to Ranade. This constituted an all-time programme for both of them. Gandhi called it a constructive programme which touched all aspects of life of every citizen. The items of his constructive programme were once enumerated by him as internal-communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, production and wearing of hand-spun and handwoven cloth by every man and woman, promotion of other village industries, basic education, education of adults, village sanitation, service of backward tribes, uplift of women, education in hygiene and health, propagation of the Rashtrabhasha i.e., Hindustani, promotion of one's own language, working for economic equality, organisation of Kisans, organisation of industrial workers, organisation of students, nature cure and Goseva i.e., promotion of India's cattle wealth, including sheep and goats.

It would be seen that most of these items were found in Ranade's social reform programme also because, like Gandhi, he believed in all-sided development of society,
raising of the whole man to his full stature. Gandhi's merit lay in the fact, as distinguished from all others, that he formulated a programme of action, started organisations for the same and attracted a number of eminent as well as ordinary men to follow that programme. The efforts of Ranade and all the other saints and men of God who went before him were feeble and confined to an expression of pious wishes, more or less. Gandhi was a tremendous organiser and as such excelled every other humanitarian or benefactor of humanity. Gandhi once defined his mission in the following words: "My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But through realisation of freedom of India I hope to realise and carry on the mission of the brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should rejected that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always, in every case without exceptions, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large". Ranade would have endorsed every word of this declaration whole heartedly.
Last but not the least, one of Gandhi's great aims is to remove from India the reproach that is upon her because of her treatment of the depressed classes. Gokhale was Gandhi's political guru, and Ranade was Gokhale's. It is a great succession, and both the disciples learned Ranade's way of turning the searchlight inwards as well as outwards. Once Gandhi came to Ranade and consulted him on the problem raised by the treatment that Indians were receiving in South Africa. Ranade while condemning that treatment, used it as a mirror in which the young man might see reflected and evil thing that existed in the life of his own people. They ought not to treat us that way, he said, but do not forget to consider, too, how we treat our own brethren of the depressed classes. Ranade was too fundamentally cautious and had not in him enough of the spirit of pugnacity to make him adopt Gandhi's dictum that "a reformer's business is to make the impossible possible by giving an ocular demonstration of the possibility in his own conduct." Nevertheless, his service to social reform in India was immense, and was such as probably only a man of his type could have rendered. Wisdom is justified of her children.

The close connection of different kinds of social activities were ever prominent in Ranade's mind. He emphasised the need for social and religious reform while
the extremist nationalist school emphasised political reform. Ranade's writings in this context were mainly addressed to the followers of this school whose philosopher was Lokmanya Tilak. But at the same time, it must be mentioned that Ranade nowhere gave priority to social reform. He believed in the mutual dependence of the social, political and economic spheres of society. Nowhere did he condemn the political aspirations of the people. He thought that politics represented an important department of human activity and that without the rights and duties of citizenship no one would feel the full dignity of human existence. The Indian National Congress (which strove for political reform) and the Social Conference (which strove for social reform) were regarded by Ranade as two sisters who should go hand-in-hand if they wanted to make real progress. Ranade insisted that people cannot have good social institutions when they do not enjoy political liberties. They are not fit to exercise their political rights unless their social institutions are based on reason and justice. Similarly, if their social system is imperfect they are unable to achieve real economic progress. If their religious institutions are degenerate, they cannot succeed in the social, political and economic fields. No question is purely political or economic. It is a mistake to suppose that there are separate departments in the
composite nature of humanity. There is an interdependence between the parts, so that it is not possible to do justice to one without doing justice to the other also. This interdependence is not an accident but is the law of our nature. Therefore, liberation was to be sought not in one sort of activity or one sphere of social action but in all aspects of social life. There was, in Ranade's opinion, a need for developing the whole social being and renovating the whole human existence. Unless Indians reform their social institutions like the family, it was, according to Ranade, hopeless to fight for political freedom. Even if people succeeded in achieving political freedom it would be impossible to preserve it without establishing the liberty of the individual in the social sphere and extending equal rights to women in society, the social and political spheres of the society are dependent on each other and they change simultaneously.

The transformation of the society as a whole was to be achieved gradually and slowly. This belief in gradualness was a second important feature of Ranade's liberalism. Here, too, he agreed with Spencer's analysis of social evolution, according to which growth is always structural, organic and slow. Ranade maintained that change towards the liberal society and polity was to be achieved step-by-step over a long period of time. The process of social growth is
always slow and it would be so if you want real and sure growth. Some people desire to shorten the period of change but Ranade argued that this kind of temptation should be resisted by social and political reforms. He rejected the method of rebellion and preferred the moderate method of attempting each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth and doing the work which lies nearest to the hand of the reformer in a spirit of compromise and fairness. The moderate methods included legislation, executive action, public preaching, popular enlightenment and enforcing reforms by means of penalties by the state. But the last one (namely, the coercive method) was to be used only after the other methods were tired. In fact, Ranade believed that appealing to the conscience of the people, to their sense of right and wrong, sinful and virtuous, was the best method of reform.

Even since the theistic movement was started in Western India, Ranade attached himself to it and actively promoted the cause. The Prarthana Samaj movement avoided the pitfalls besetting such movements generally, and its supporters remained within the pale of their respective communities. Religious reform was not a new thing in the Maharashtra. Ranade claimed for the Samaj movement a long ancestry. "We are representatives of an old race, as old as the Bhagwat Gita and the Bhagwat Purana, much older still, as old as Narada, Prahlada and Vasudeva and the nine sages
who visited Jaraka. From that time there is a continuity of Sadhus and saints down to the present day." Revelation is not for particular times or for particular peoples. Indian theism, according to Ranade, preaches that revelation is a perpetual stream which never ceases to flow. God is an abiding presence, a presence not to be put by. The individual soul has direct communion with the soul of the universe to which it is linked by the tie of faith, hope and love.

The Theist's Confession Of Faith' gives, in a convenient form, the most cherished belief of Ranade, and shows how sedulous he is of being near the old landmarks and how anxious he is to make the faith vital and growing and equal to all the needs and aspirations of the soul. There are two kinds of tolerance - the tolerance of unbelief and the tolerance of conviction - the tolerance that recognises the utility and falsity of all, and another that recognises the soul of good in all. Ranade's tolerance was one of conviction - a part of his religion. He could say with Guru Nanak that he was neither Hindu nor Mahomedan (nor Christian, he might have added). It is purblind patriotism that would ignore the claims of the Mussalman and the Christian in the shaping of the future destinies of India. Ranade's was not of that sort. "The historical differences of national creeds will continue to exist like
the different styles of architecture. The Christian Church will not look in outward appearance like a Mahomedan mosque or an Aryan temple, but the differences of style and form will not interfere with the spiritual unity of purpose". Ranade was naturally attracted by the large-souled quest of Akbar, and if he were given to the study of poetry, 'Akbar's Dream' must have proved a great favourite. "There is light in all. And light, with more or less of shade, in all Man-modes of worship", would be subscribed to by the Indian theist.

As Ranade has unsuccessful to convenience the stalwart of the Indian National Congress for the inclusion of the social issues in the agenda of the Congress. Therefore, in 1887 he along with the likeminded established the Indian Social Conference with the declared objective of the taking of social issues, like raising marriage ages, prohibition of imprisonment for women in conjugal rights cases, discouragement of marriages in which differences in ages between the parties exceeded thirty years, reduction in marriage expenses, remarriage of child widows, prevention of disfigurement of child widows, inter-marriage between castes which inter-dined, discouragement of the custom of paying a bride-price, discouragement of polygamy and Kulinism and number of other issues of the burning importants.
The conference met for several days each year, with only one exception, after the Congress sessions had concluded. In the early years of this Conference, several hundred persons attended as delegates as well as interested local inhabitants, including students. Most observers of the proceedings were not active social reformers, and few were present only out of curiosity and sometimes even hostility. Ranade ordinarily took charge of the local arrangements and sent out the invitations to reform associations to send delegates. The choice of president almost always narrowed to a prominent local figure, the agenda and even the wordings of resolutions were decided by Ranade and a small group of his supporters. That group, although varying in composition, was made up of leading reformers from the major regions, including the Conference officials. The Parsis of Bombay who were quite active with social reform movement, did not show much enthusiasm in this Conference. From Bengal the Conference received little backing, due to the absence of any interaction of its leaders with the organised social reform associations of Bengal. Muslim leaders generally avoided the Conference, which they, considered as another Hindu organization.

Toward the close of the century, the Conference, there were evidences that social reform leaders, increasingly concerned with the problem of general progress, were
willing to confront the caste system, although with little success. The inferior condition of women was an equally basic problem, and reformers had long been actively aware of it, but programs for female progress continued to be restricted to women of the upper caste. Non-remarriage of widows, child marriage, ill-assorted marriages, heavy bride prices, and polygamy were all customs associated chiefly with high-caste groups. Recognition of the caste system as probably the greatest obstacle to progress appeared in early social reform writings, but no public bodies had ventured to take a stand against the organization of Hindu society on caste lines.*

Ranade's writings on economics breathed the spirit of compassion. In its formal structure each article was an array of statistical or historical facts and of opinions of all concerned persons, followed by an analysis and a conclusion. But the conclusions had an intimate relation to the problem of India's poverty. There was no article which did not say something of importance for the solution of that problem. Though living in ample comfort, Ranade felt uneasy with poverty all around him. Underlying the apparently dry discussion of economic facts, there was a glow of love and sympathy, which occasionally revealed itself in a phrase or

* For detail see my M.Phil dissertation.
two. "He is truly a saint who regards the miserable and the harassed as his kin", this was the verse of saint Tukaram which was ever on Ranade's lips. Herculean efforts were required to remove the poverty of the Indian people, and the Government which alone could undertake them was indifferent. This caused him deep agony.

To appreciate the significance of Ranade's writings on economics, it is necessary to note that, unlike what obtains today, the Government was doing absolutely nothing to promote economic welfare. The agrarian riots in certain districts impelled it to pass the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act in 1879 to protect the poor and illiterate cultivator from the greed of the moneylender, and the series of famines in the last quarter of the century compelled it to pass measures to mitigate suffering in the famine-stricken areas, but these were humanitarian measures to relieve acute distress. It was Dadabhai Naoroji and Ranade who first saw that the whole problem of national poverty needed to be solved, and it was Ranade who first stressed the great role which the Government was required to play if poverty was to be removed.

To remove the poverty of the country, the most essential thing was the development of manufacturing industries. Growth of steamships and railways had been drawn India into the world market, and British-manufactured
goods had been destroying Indian cottage industries, while India had been exporting more and more of raw materials. The damage done by the destruction of her industries was far greater than the advantage gained from increased exports. Natural resources were favourable for the growth of industries, but the industries must be of the manufacturing type, utilising power-driven machinery, like those in England. Only manufacturing industries could withstand foreign competition. They could then attract labour from rural areas, and relieve the excessive pressure on rural agriculture caused by the destruction of the old-type industries of Indian towns. India would no longer remain wholly dependent on the single and precarious source, namely, agriculture. Industrialisation, however, required immense capital. Indians showing courage to invest in industries were extremely small in number. Ranade organised the Industrial Conference largely to spread the gospel of financing and starting industrial concerns. Ranade, through his addresses and essays, tried to persuade people, with all his eloquence and might, to save and invest their savings in industries, and, on the other hand, he tried to persuade the Government, with all his learning and debating skill, to render active help to the process of industrialisation. The Government was unwilling, firstly, because its masters in England were obsessed by the
doctrine of Laissez-Faire and, secondly, because the British masters were compelled to defend British manufacturers. Ranade, therefore, quoted an example of an imperialistic government itself promoting, of its own accord, economic and industrial development of the subject country, namely, the Dutch Government experimenting with the "culture system" in Netherlands India. He refrained from proposing a policy of protection because it would be unacceptable to the Government, but he pressed for Government help in various other ways, such as providing technical assistance, finding markets, and supplying capital. The most urgent need, however, was capital. "The want being national, the nation has a right to expect its rulers to supply the want". Local or municipal boards, or specially created corporate boards of trade and commerce, should undertake the development of industries in their areas, the Government should lend money to these bodies at low rates of interest from people's savings invested in Government stocks or in Post Office savings accounts. In deserving cases the Government should guarantee minimum profits in the initial period, or help a company to float its own debentures. "There can be no doubt", Ranade says, "that the permanent salvation of the country depends upon the growth of Indian manufacturers and commerce, and that all other remedies can only be temporary palliatives."
However, the difficulties of agriculturists, who formed the bulk of the population, required urgent consideration. Ranade agreed with the objects of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, namely, protecting the ryot from the frauds of the moneylender, simplifying the procedure of law, and granting relief to the farmer from the weight of indebtedness. He worked as a Special Judges to try cases under it for its success. But he held that the chief cause of the farmer’s misery was excessive and increasing land revenue imposed by the Government. Moreover, he pointed out that the Act was a negative measure giving protection to the farmer, positive action was required to supply to him the needed capital. Acting on the theory that the State was the owner of all land, the Government imposed as heavy a revenue as possible and revised it upwards from time to time. Ranade wanted that the Government should give up this theory, recognise the ownership of the ryot, impose only a reasonable rate of revenue, and refrain from raising it in future except to adjust it with rising prices.

To provide adequate supply, Ranade suggested the organisation of credit. Agricultural banks should be started, meant especially for the benefit of agriculturists. The Government should give financial help, and even guarantee, to these special banks. The banks should lend money to small Sowkars at low rates of interest, and the
Sowkars in their turn should lend this money to agriculturists at controlled rates. For this scheme, the Government would require funds, these could be borrowed from the public. Side by side with these banks, Ranade advocated co-operative banks, he was a pioneer in this field.

On Indian public finance, Ranade endorsed the views of Fawcett, a member of the British Liberal Party, that India being poor, additional taxation was most inexpedient, that severe retrenchment in expenditure was necessary, and that economy should be effected by substituting cheaper services of Indians in place of those of Europeans involving much higher salaries. Ranade also endorsed Fawcett's condemnation of abolishing the cotton import duties to please the Manchester manufactures, thereby causing a loss of revenue at a time when the Government of India faced financial difficulties. Officials in India obstinately opposed Ranade's views, on the ground that they were opposed to the sound economic theory of the Classical School, according to this school, non-interference by the State in economic affairs was the beneficial policy. Ranade then embarked on the refutation of the doctrines of the Classical School itself. This he did in 1892 in his address at the Deccan College, Poona, on the subject "Indian Political Economy". As against the Classical School, he commended the latest doctrines of the Historical School and those of the German economists, List.
In this development of the Indian point of view, Ranade's contribution was greatest. J.C. Coyajee, a well known economist of a later generation, says of Ranade: "He was the first economist of India ... He was the first in the sense of approaching almost all the most important economic problems of our country and in giving a comprehensive view of these in the light of a proper background of economic theory". It was Ranade who provided a theoretical basis to the economic thought of his Indian contemporaries. He well deserves the title later economists conferred on him, "Father Of Indian Economics".

The main area of darkness was Ranade's failure to understand the character of the colonial state. In this respect, Ranade's public position was the weakest of all, especially when compared with that of Dadabhai Naoroji, G.V. Joshi and G. Subramaniya Iyer or even R.C. Dutt. He did, of course, point in general to the link between economic and political dependence, Commercial and Manufacturing predominance naturally transfers political ascendancy, he said in 1890. Ranade had also pointed out that political subordination prevented Indian people from undertaking measures that would promote industries and thus avoiding the fate of becoming drawers of water and hewers of wood to the civilized nations of the world.
But he failed to follow or make explicit the political logic of his own economic position. He was undoubtedly demanding fundamental changes in the existing economic relations between India and Britain. He was opposing the subordination of Indian economy to British economy and challenging the very basis of British rule. Yet he failed to draw the requisite political lesson that British economic policies in India were not the result of ignorance or failure to understand Indian society and reality or of dogmatic adherence to Classical Political Economy, but were rooted in the basic structure of the colonial relationship - they were the concomitants of foreign rule, they were closely related to the very nature and character of foreign rule, in other words, the fundamental purpose of British rule was to enable the economic exploitation of India. He did not reach the point of grasping, or at least stating, as other nationalist economists like Dadabhai Naoroji, G.V. Joshi and G.S. Subramaniya Iyer did, that it was in its political condition and the resulting foreign control of Indian economy that India differed most not only from Britain but also from other free nations and that the economic development of India required a political system conducive to it, that it demanded self-government in some form or another.
Ranade repeatedly said that Indians should not chase after the unattainable but confine their efforts to the achievement of the possible or of what the rulers would agree to grant. By saying so, he was of course raising a tactical issue. But a basic question was involved in his understanding of what was attainable and what was not. Tariff protection was not feasible because deep-seated belief in Classical Political Economy was involved along with political considerations, but state policy of direct and systematic promotion of industrial development was quite feasible within the existing political structure. Missing here was the linkage between colonial economic structure and the colonial state, between colonial interests and what was possible or feasible as colonial policy, and therefore an understanding of the basic character of the state in India as a colonial state. Others among nationalist economists and leaders did make this connection.

Ranade saw the state as the representative of the public, of the collective will of society, and as the national organ of the national will for development or as the guardian of the community. But he failed to see, or at least articulate, that the Indian state was a colonial state and not a national state and that a colonial state was as incapable of promoting development in any basic manner as of ending the Drain or of providing meaningful or effective tariff protection against imports from Britain.
Ranade believed that in God's providence Britain had been entrusted with a great mission in India. "The sole rationale of British rule in India", he once wrote, "is its capacity and its providential purpose of fostering the political education of the country on the largest scale in civil and public activities". Even in days of political reaction and of popular disappointment, he held fast to his trust that God's providence was over all, and that the good sense and innate justice of the British character would acknowledge the rightness of India's claims. Ranade, thus, had faith in the moral sentiment and the political wisdom of the English people. He held that even though the rulers were foreign, they should not possess "imperialistic ideas" but should "govern India in the interests of its (India's) own people". They should welcome independence of views among Indians. It is from this moral political stand-point that he praised or condemned administrative policies or actions. Such writing must have stirred the conscience of Englishmen and raised moral indignation among Indians.

There was in his writings a combination of the vision of the ideal and the realisation of what was practicable. For instance, in his recommendations regarding a typical constitution of a Native States, he proposed just those changes in the direction of responsible government which had a chance of being accepted and worked out with a
fair amount of success, considering the reluctance of the British to part with power and the political incapacity of the people in the States. The misgovernment in the Native States was due to the irresponsibility of the Native rulers, Ranade was content if this irresponsibility was checked. He, therefore, proposed nomination of a "responsible" minister appointed by the ruler, subject to the approval of the Governor-General, whose tenure would be secure from the whims of the ruler. The ruling chief must not exercise power except when there was an appeal against the minister, and decisions on new taxation, innovations in administration, and problems relating to relations with other States or with the paramount power would be taken by a Council of Superior Officers (heads of departments) in the administration. There would be separation between private purse and public funds, between the executive and the judiciary, and between civil and military duties. Laws would be written. Thus, in his proposal, Ranade aimed at a clean well-organised administration, and did not raise issues about the ideal form of government.

Important among other subjects he dealt with were the civil service appointments policy, local government in England and India, and the proposal of factory legislation in India. He argued that behind this proposal was the Government's concern, not for labourers, but for the
Manchester manufactures. In Indian factories actually, there was no overwork or danger to life or limb against which protection was needed. The proposed measure was calculated to put obstacles in the way of the Bombay Cotton Industry which competed with Manchester. If the intention was really to protect labour, why were the jute mills, ginning factories, indigo, tea and coffee plantations, all of which were owned by Englishmen, exempted from this legislation?

In 1880, the conservative-imperialistic regime ended. Gladstone of the Liberal Party became the Prime Minister of England, and Lord Ripon the Viceroy of India. The aggressive, racialist policy was reversed, peace was made with Afghanistan and the Vernacular Press Act was repeated. A beginning was made in local self-government by establishing a system of local boards or corporations. These measures gave educated Indians the first taste of democracy of the virtues of which they had, till then, only read in books. Ranade wrote in commendation of these liberal measures. Lord Ripon was in sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians and received due praise. But for holding these very views, he had to face opposition from a majority of European officials in India.

The existing system of legal administration discriminated between European and Indian judges, no
district and sessions judge could try a European on a criminal charge unless the judge was a European. One of the Indian judges complained that he is in his higher position could not try cases which his subordinate European joint magistrate could. The Bengal Government recommended removal of this anomaly. Lord Ripon agreed, and instructed Courtney Ilbert, the Law Member, to draft a bill accordingly. The introduction of this bill in 1883 provoked a huge uproar among Europeans all over the country. They regarded the bill as an encroachment on their legitimate privilege. They formed an association, collected a big fund, held meetings in all towns, and boycotted Lord Ripon's functions. Lord Ripon had to yield, and the bill was so modified as to satisfy Europeans. The whole agitation and its success was a great eye-opener to Indians. It taught them that they could not hope to win equality of status without putting up a long fight against the privileged class of Europeans in India. Indians too held meetings and published articles presenting the case for justice. When the matter was finally decided against Indians, Ranade wrote an article in "The Sarvajanik Sabha Journal". He said that the conclusion to be drawn from the controversy was that all Europeans in India belonged to the Conservative Party, while all educated Indians represented Liberalism. "There are the Liberal and Conservative forces at work in India". British rule has
done great good to this country, and it is the good effects of it alone which make it desirable. "The aegis of British protection is an acknowledged necessity ... But it is not as the representative of brute force, but of the order and genius of equal law, that we bow down to this supreme necessity". He implies that treating Indians as inferiors removes the moral justification of British rule. And he says further, "there can be no question that a nation of 250 millions can never be permanently held down by sheer force and sooner or later in God's Providence, and under the encouragement of British example and discipline, the people of this country must rise to the status of a self-governed community, and learn to control their own affairs in subordinate alliances with England". He thus frankly stated the political ideal and envisaged a struggle, in alliance with the British Liberals, to achieve that ideal.

Ranade was a great believer in the fusion of Hindu and Muslim Cultures, and the creation of Pakistan by carving out parts of India would have rent his heart as it rent Mahatma Gandhi's. But robust optimist that he was and believing as he did in the providential purpose, he would have again looked forward to co-ordinated and joint activity, on a voluntary basis between Pakistan and India. Though concerned with the predicament of his country, Ranade was no narrow nationalist. He found time to look outward
and even visualised the creation of a world organisation. Neither the medieval process of military conquest and occupation, nor its modern counterpart, imperialism, and colonisation were to his liking. Live and let live, learn and educate, buy and sell - these were his mottos. In his political scheme, there would be a common government for the world to order common interests and to allow of the peaceful evolution of culture and commerce. Wherever obstacles to such a process would be raised by selfish or mischievous forces, these would be curbed by the world power. So long as there is no earthly prospect of such a godly state of things coming to pass each state must indeed provide for its effective defence. It must, however, refrain from encroachment on the just rights of other states. Ranade was a pacifist who was prepared to fight. Ranade was an internationalist who was prepared to stand up for the just claims of his own country.

In the words of Dinshaw Wacha: "Ranade donned the white robe of the peaceful teacher and strenuously strove, with all the great ability at his command, to enlighten his less enlightened countrymen in their arduous and herculean work of regeneration. As such he was indeed a beacon light, shedding its light far and wide and showing his straight path which should in the fullness of time, bring all to the great goal of national unity and national progress. It is as a Teacher that Ranade will be best known and his memory
cherished by many a generation to come. He was one of those brave but unassuming standard-bearers in the vanguard of the early Indian patriots who held aloft the banner on which is inscribed in letters which are imperishable, the motto of Liberty and Progress”.

Ranade's message consists in an outline of these qualities which he wants us to develop and to express in our daily life. The end of all our venture is to be the development of the individual in respect of all his faculties for good. To supply to each individual an environment where his fullest freedom to develop would be assured is our main task. Freedom can hardly be used for a constructive and an expanding purpose unless the welfare of physical life is secured as a means to the moral and cultural achievement of the race. This indeed is a human problem affecting the whole world. Every person and every nation has to meet the challenge of the situation as they are confronted with it, not forgetting its significance for the wider human struggle. Work for securing the widest possible freedom for all to develop their capacities for good was Ranade's message that he strove to impart through various channels. A life of constant striving to secure freedom and equality for all - this would be a fitting description of Ranade's life and teachings. Gokhale, who knew Ranade's mind at least as well as any other person,
felt the same way about the meaning and purpose of Ranade's life. In a well-considered declaration on this subject Gokhale gives in the following lines the message of Ranade, the purpose of his mission.

"The message of his life must be recognised by us, especially by the younger generations, as sacred and binding. The principles for which he laboured all his life — greater equality for all and a recognition of the essential dignity of man as man — are bound to triumph in the end, no matter how dark the outlook occasionally may be. But we can all of us strive to hasten that triumph, and herein lies the true dignity of our life: "Work and sacrifice for the Motherland". This is the message which Mahadev Govind Ranade has left us".