CHAPTER - IV

GENESIS OF INDIAN LIBERALISM — A

The changing features of social and economic life, such as the growth of towns, expansion of the artisans class, and the rapid development of trade, and commerce were closely linked with changes in another sphere, that of religion and philosophical speculation. Many aboriginal non-Aryan tribes, which remained unaffected by the knowledge of social, legal and economic privileges, lived at a very low level of material culture. The culture lag of the aboriginals, living mainly as hunters and fowlers in contrast to the Vedic-divided society which possessed the knowledge of implements and agriculture, perhaps led in the post-Vedic period to the growth of untouchability. The conflict between the Vedic religious practices and the aspirations of the rising social groups led to the search for new religious and philosophical ideas which would fit the basic changes in the material life of the people. Thus in the sixth century B.C. in the Gangetic Valley there emerged many new religious teachers who preached against Vedic religion and tradition.

The sixth century B.C. was a time when men's minds in several widely separated parts of the world were deeply stirred by the problems of religion and salvation. Many
sects arose advocating the most diverse opinions concerning the nature of God and the soul, the relation between God and man, and the best way of attaining salvation. The numerous schools of and sects which then sprang up or flourished died out in the course of time save two. The doctrines of two surviving sects now known as Jainism and Buddhism have brought into existence two powerful Churches or religious organizations which still affect profoundly the thoughts of mankind. The teaching of Mahavira the Jain and of Guatama the Buddha was based on the doctrine of earlier prophets.¹

Jain teaching lays stress upon the doctrine that man's personality is dual, comprising both material and spiritual natures. It rejects the Vedantist doctrine of the universal soul. Jains believe that not only men and animals, but also plants, minerals capable of growth, air, wind, and fire possess souls endowed with various degrees of consciousness. They hold that it is possible to inflict pain on a stone, or even on air or water. The belief in a Supreme Diety, the Creator of the universe, is emphatically denied. God is defined as being "only the highest, the noblest, and the fullest manifestation of all powers which lie latent in the soul of man." From that point of view Jainism may be said to anticipate Comte's "religion of humanity".² Unlike the Upanishadas, Jainism preaches that the purification of souls cannot be achieved through knowledge but only through a long course of fasting, rigorous practice of non-violence, truth, nonstealing, renunciation and sexual continence.³

1. Vincent A. Smith: The Oxford History of India, p.76.
2. Compare Wordsworth, Prelude (IInd., 1852), Books III, p.49
3. D.N. Jha: Ancient India, An Introductory Outline, p.34.
The Hindu tradition of political thought met its most radical critique at the hands of Buddhism. Buddhism was atheistic in the sense that it did not see the need to postulate the existence of God, it denied the divine origin and the authority of the Vedas, it rejected the caste system, it admitted women to the religious order, since it had originated under a republican (or rather semi-oligarchical) system of government, it had pronounced quasi-democratic sympathies, it founded monasteries, organised them along the lines of the republican assemblies and gave India the first experience of organised religion, and so on. More important, Buddhism attracted the loyalty and support of the economically powerful but socially inferior class of traders, cultivators, artisans, merchants and skilled craftsmen. It also welcomed and assimilated such foreign settlers as the Greeks, Shakas, Kushanas and Huns whom the caste-based Hindu society had kept out of its fold. Buddhism also attracted the Sudras, who could shed their low social status by joining a caste-free religion and improve their material circumstances by escaping the expensive religious rituals required by the Brahmans. Buddhism thus represented a mass movement consisting of the bulk of the Vaisyas, some Sudras, foreigners, women and the isolated tribal republics that had still managed to survive.
Buddhism developed a quasi-contractualist theory of the origin of the government. It postulated a peaceful and harmonious state of social existence when men had few desires and were at peace with themselves and with their fellow-men. Over time men began to develop limitless wants and desires, and the institutions of private property and family came into being. Disorder and discord set in, and the institution of the government became necessary. People elected one of the "noblest" among them as a ruler and authorised him to rule over the rest. He was to exercise his authority in cooperation with the assembly of people's representatives, who were not generally elected but were heads of noble families and men of status. The Buddhist writers advocated legal and social equality, but did not extend it to the poor, the propertyless and the Sudras. They accepted the Hindu view that the king's principal duty was to maintain Dhamma, but rejected its caste-based definition and content. Dhamma for them largely meant the basic social morality as expounded by the Buddha. They stressed the autonomy of cooperations, guilds and sanghas, and advocated religious tolerance.4

To sum up, in spite of the protestant character of Buddhism and Jainism neither waged any powerful struggle

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against caste system and untouchability. On the contrary, Buddhism, like Brahmanical religion, seems to have recognised the phenomena of untouchability, which originated in the post-Vedic period and remains to this day an appalling features of Indian social life. The Chandals and Nishadas, originally aboriginals, were recognised as untouchables of Buddhism.

The pattern of association of these two heterodox sects - Buddhism and Jainism - with urban centres and largely with the lower castes was repeated in the later centuries with the various phases of what came to be called the Bhakti and Sufi movements. The Bhakti cult stressed the idea of a personal God, and pointed out the absurdity of the caste system in the presence of God and the futility of external rules and ceremonies. "Bhakti consists in firm and overwilling affection for God with a full sense of His greatness, through that alone can be emancipation". Sufism, on the other hand, strove to achieve the inner realization of divine unity by arousing intuitive and spiritual faculties. Rejecting rational argument, the Sufis plunged into contemplation and mediation. Some of them were over-

5. L. Mukherjee: History of India, p. 110.

powered by ecstasy and frenzy, but sobriety was generally considered essential to Sufism. In various ways and in differing degrees, the Bhakti movements set forth in their scriptures ideas of religious and social reform. Among Bhakti saints the reform in religious practices perhaps most generally subscribed to was a renunciation of idolatry, more accurately and assertion that God was not embodied in a material object. Among with that reform was often coupled the proclamation of men's direct access to the divine spirit, without any mediation by priests, who were supported in their claims to be venerated by their management of idols.

From the historical point of view the most significant contribution of the Bhakti movement during this period came from Kabir and Nanak. Theirs was neither an attempt to reform institutionalized Hinduism by attacking the system of worship, nor a means of escape through submerging consciousness in devotion. The new attitude can perhaps best be understood in the idea of God as described by Kabir and Nanak. Their stress was on a recoding of society on egalitarian lines and not the mere co-existence of differing ideologies. The call to social equality was a powerful magnet, and expressed itself in the firm denunciation of caste by both Kabir and Nanak.

But citing the Bhakti movements' social messages does not answer the question posed by an Indian scholar, "How was it that, in spite of the great democratic Bhakti Movement which swept all over India during the pre-British period and which attacked the caste system and elevated the position of women, Indian's social life as well as the status of women, at the time of British advent, stood on a low level? "To the question above three suggestive replies were offered by the questioner herself: (I) The Bhakti movements fostered equality only in the religious sphere, not in secular life. (II) Although criticizing certain social practices the movements offered "no alternative program of social and economic reorganization of Indian Society". And, she added, "In fact their appeal was emotional rather than rational. (III) The movements never built up organizations which could carry out any positive social program, even if they had one, at best, they produced individual, not collective, opposition to the status quo.\(^\text{10}\)

Generalizing for the whole of India, B.B. Misra, has observed that his study led him "to a conclusion that although popular forces like Jainism, Buddhism, or

devotional cults tried to break the orthodoxy of the Karma-ordained and caste-ridden Hindu society, they could not leave a lasting impression [such forces for change] where in fact assimilated by the established Brahmanical order except in modern times when the growth of Capitalism and English education created new classes ... Who brought their political influence and power to effect Liberal reforms and changes .... Western education and modern economic development became the basis of change in India, not India's own tradition ...."11 The contrast between traditional Hindu thought on the origin and nature of ethics and Western ideas on that subject was vividly presented by Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer:

"The one great difference ... between Greek and modern thought on the one hand and Hindu thought on the other is that the Hindu is satisfied with tracing the origin of rules to some text of scripture or some authoritative tradition and does not press home the question as to the rational basis of the rule. He is satisfied with an appeal to authority and does not believe that mere unfettered intellectual reasoning can furnish guidance in matters of morality."12

Indian social reform movements in the 19th century and the religious reform movements on which they frequently based their creeds, differed in inspiration, in aims, and in methods from the Bhakti movements of previous centuries and from contemporary religious reform sects based on the Bhakti spirit. The differences can be accounted for by the influence on 19th Century Indian thought of Western ideas and the examples of reforming endeavors provided by Christian Missionaries, to a lesser extent British and Indian officials also provided stimulation to the movements. Notions of political liberty might come from missionaries, judges, or from reading Locke, Herbert Spencer, Jeremy Bentham and J.S. Mill, ideas of Christian morality might be founded in the Bible or in the decisions of district magistrates, scientific conceptions of the World would be learned through a public works department or a medical college. N.G. Chandavarkar in the 1890's spoke as follows:

"If today there is an awakening among us on the subject of religion and society, that is a great deal due to the light brought by Missionary .... 'To the Christian Missionary... is due to a great extent the credit of the religious and social awakening of which the

school of "Hindoo Protestantism" of the present day is the fruit .... Christ, too, was a Bhakta, and the law of love which he preached has been the cardinal principle of the Bhakti School ...."¹⁴

Thus, Indian Liberalism is the product of European Liberalism. The Indian intellectual have almost literally sat at the feet of English Liberals and derived their inspiration from them. They repeated the same arguments which were advanced by Mill and Macaulay. Their ideals were the same. Parliamentary Government in those days was considered to be the panacea for all ills: it, therefore, was assumed to be the ideal suited to India also and capable of solving her problems. Give us democracy, they said, give us the same Parliamentary institutions which you Englishmen enjoy, and we will do the same wonderful things which you did. They were the genuine disciples of Bentham and Rousseau. Their great merit lay in being the interpreters of European Liberal ideal to the people of India. They were fired by the constitutional history of Great Britain and the self-governing Colonies, and they naturally concluded that the same history would have to be repeated in India.¹⁵

¹⁴. Speeches And Writings of Sir N.G. Chandavarkar, op. cit., PP. 43-45.
The beginnings of the 19th century social revolt, easily identified with the thought of Rammohun Roy, established the tone and substance of what was to follow. Roy vividly described the degraded state of society and acknowledged without embarrassment the virtues of Western learning, liberal legal and social institutions, and the Western social ethic. His revolt against living Hindu society and his appeal to Indians to purify their religion and reconstitute their social institutions echoed throughout the century after his death from the lips and pages of his followers, acknowledged or not, whose ideas were affected in some way by this "First Modern India".  

Rammohun Roy's immediate problematique was the religious and social degeneration of his native Bengal. His biographer has given the following description of the then decadent condition of that society:

"Thick clouds of ignorance and superstition hung over all the land, the native Bengalee public had few books and no newspapers. Idolatry was universal and was often of a most revolting character, polygamy and infanticide were widely prevalent and the lot of Bengalee women was too often a tissue of ceaseless oppressions and miseries while, as the

crowning horror, the flames of the Suttee were lighted with almost incredible frequency even in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta. 17

How is it that irrational and corrupt religious beliefs and practices which militated against the social comforts and political unity of the people were actually followed by them? Rammohun's answer was that the priestly class which invented and perpetuated those dogmas and doctrines derived benefits from them. He wrote:

"Many learned Brahmans are perfectly aware of the absurdity of idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the purer mode of divine worship. But as in the rites, ceremonies, and festivals of idolatry, they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they ... advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their scriptures concealed from the rest of the people". 18

From this diagnosis, he concluded that religious reform is both social reform and political modernisation. He conceived of reformist religious associations as instruments of social and political transformation. Accordingly, he

founded the Atmiya Sabha in 1815, The Calcutta Unitarian Association in 1822 and The Brahmo Sabha in 1828, which later became The Brahmo Samaj. The original manifesto which he himself wrote for The Brahmo Samaj reads as follows:

"No graven image shall be brought in the Samaj. No sermon, discourse, prayer or hymn shall be delivered except such as may have a tendency to promote the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe, to the furtherance of Charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds." 19

The significance of the religious Sabhas or Samajs for social reform is brought out by Charles Heimsath:

"Secular reformist crusades usually for legislative social enactments or caste reform, succeeded in drawing adherents, but alterations in personal and family lives in India required revising religious beliefs and practices. Roy foresaw this connection, as Gandhi did a century later." 20

His attack was directed, in particular, against polytheism and idolatry. He rejected Kali because in her worship, 


"human sacrifices, the use of wine, criminal intercourse, licentious songs are included" and "because debauchery ... universally forms the principal part of her followers," he rejected Shiva because he was a "destroying attribute" and a family man, and he rejected Krishana because he seemed a "debauch" and had killed his nurse-maid by sucking her blood while being breast-fed. In other words, not only the themes of homicidal mother and acquiescent father, but also the themes of matricide and "infanticide" had to be eliminated from the Hindu projective system. These, he says, must be rejected, for which he offers the following justification:

"If mankind are brought into existence, and by nature formed to enjoy the comforts of society and the pleasure of an improved mind, they may be justified in opposing any system, religious, domestic or political, which is inimical to the happiness of society, or calculated to debase the human intellect."

Rammohun Roy is well known for his pioneering thought and action on the emancipation of women and especially on the abolition of Sati. He, to use the words of David Kopf, found Bengalee Hindu Women "uneducated and illiterate, untrained...
deprived of property rights, married before puberty, imprisoned in Purdah, and murdered at widowhood by a barbaric custom of immolation known as Sati." Roy's opposition took several forms, such as the submitting of petitions to The East India Company, organizing vigilance committees, and writing two tracts published in 1818 and 1820. Roy's efforts culminated in success when the rite was abolished by law under Lord Bentinck's administration, in 1829.

The need for this is indicated in another statement in the Introduction to Roy's English Works: Education among females was unknown. To promote the cause of education, he founded an English School in 1816, which was the first English School in Calcutta financed completely by Indians. He also established a Vedant College in 1825, where he tried to combine Western and traditional Indian learning. Roy's views and activities in the field of education influenced a number of people, especially Thomas Macaulay, whose famous Minute On Education was instrumental in the government's decision in 1835 to establish an educational system in India on British lines. Roy's belief in equality led him to oppose caste as well. In a 1821 issue of The Brahmunical Magazine he wrote that"... our division into castes... has

been the source of want of unity among us." In The Precepts Of Jesus, he pointed out that God makes no "distinction of Caste" and thus man should not either. All are equally God's children, sharing alike in his bounteous mercy, and equality should be a ruling principle in men's relations with each other.  

In his political thinking, he admired the British system of constitutional government for the civil liberties it gave to the people. He wanted to extend the benefits of that system of government to the Indian people. He wrote:

"I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs".  

Broadly speaking, there were two main reasons for Roy's favourable attitude towards British rule in India. First, he was persuaded that British rule, unlike the despotic and tyrannical rule of the Mughals or the Rajputs, provided security and other civil liberties to the Indian people. Second, and relatively, he felt that the introduction of capitalist norms and principles by the British were contributing to India's economic development. Thus he


welcomed British rule over India. Commenting on his philosophy, B. Majumdar writes:

"He was the first Indian who imbibed the spirit of the English Constitution and demanded civil liberty with all its implications. Fully aware as he was of the limitations of the Indians of his age he never thought of demanding political liberty for them. He was conscious of the ignorance and superstitions that enveloped the minds of his countrymen, who betrayed a deplorable lack of public spirit in their conduct. So he could not think them capable of exercising self-government. The great problem which confronted the well-wishers of India in the first half of the nineteenth century was not autonomy for India but the bare recognition of the principles of justice and security of life and property."\(^{26}\)

In 1827 was passed a new Jury Act. The mischief of the Act lay in the fact that thereby there had been introduced "religious distinctions into the judicial system of the country". He was the first to protest against it, and sent petitions for presentation to both the Houses Of Parliament signed by many leading Hindus and Mohammedans. In 1828 the executive Government Of India passed a regulation

authorising its revenue officers to dispossess the holders of rent-free lands at their own discretion, without any judicial degree having been sought or obtained against the validity of the title to such lands. Rammohun instantly placed himself at the head of the landholders of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and in a petition of protest addressed to Lord W. Bentinck, condemned such arbitrary and despotic proceedings. The representation failed. The matter was carried to England where, too, it proved unsuccessful. But it points to the promptitude with which Rammohun exposed the black spots in the administration, of which he was as ardent a well-wisher as he was of his own people.27

Both through his writings and through his activities, he supported the movement for a free press in India. When press censorship was relaxed by Lord Hastings in 1819, he founded three journals: The Brahmanical Magazine (1821) the Bengalee Weekly, Samvad Kaumudi (1821), and the Persian Weekly, Mirat-ul-Akbar (1821). John Adams, who succeeded Lord Hastings reimposed press censorship in March 1823. Against this a petition was made to the Supreme Court - by Rammohun Roy and others. When the petition was rejected by the Court, he submitted an appeal to the King-In-Council which too was rejected. Rammohun argued

27. L.F. Rushbrook Williams: Great Men Of India, P.499.
that a free press will help to generate such a public opinion. He also maintained that precisely because India was a colony, it stood in greater need of a free press if a revolutionary overthrow of the rulers was to be avoided.  

The second great figure in time after Raja Rammohun Roy, the pioneer of the Indian Renaissance, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was unique in embodying the humanist aspect of the Renaissance in a profound way. He made "humanities" as distinct from "divinities" the first concern in his scheme of life, and his faith in reason and science had its roots in his love of mankind, particularly in his love for the poor and oppressed of the earth. He added to Roy's humanism in two distinct ways - negatively, by refusing to be drawn away from his own selected field and well defined purpose by religious inclinations and abstract speculations, and positively, by infusing into Roy's humanity a clear tone of objective spirituality, kindness, compassion and aesthetic sensitiveness.

After he became principal of the Sanskrit College in 1851, Vidyasagar immersed himself in written pleas for marriage reform, which included not only widow - remarriage but also the abolition of polygamy. On the latter question considerable support was forthcoming from Liberal Indians, who condemned the specific privileges of the Kulin Brahmins.

28. T. Panthan, K.L. Deutsch: Political Thought In Modern India, P.47.
29. Donald H. Bishop: Thinkers Of The Indian Renaissance P.70.
The latter were customarily permitted to "marry" an indefinite number of Wives in order to satisfy the desires of the brides' families (Who often paid large sums for the contracts) to have daughters wedded to men of one of the highest of Brahmin castes. The much-married groom frequently never saw his wife after the ceremony. "Women"! he wrote in 1856, "in India, thy lot is cast in misery!"

Indeed, the entire society seemed rotten to the reformer's sensitive perception:

"How miserable is the present state of India! It was once known to nations as the land of virtue. But the blood dries up to think that it is now looked upon as the land of depravity .... From a view of its present degradation it is vain to look for a speedy reformation." 31

Vidyasagar's agitation in favour of Widow remarriage started in the early 1850's and culminated in the publication of his major work on the subject, "Marriage Of Hindu Widows, in 1856". In that book he sought to prove Shastric sanctions for the remarriage of widows and stated his unwillingness to rest the case on reason alone. In a statement typical of 19th century social reform appeals he argued that "A total disregard of the Sastras and a careful observance of mere usages and external forms is the source

30. **See Chintamani:** Indian Social Reforms, I, 186.
31. **I.C. Vidyasagar:** Marriage Of Hindu Widows, pp.93-94.
of the irresistible stream of vice which overflows the country". After cataloguing the miseries of widows he concluded with the rebuke,

"Countrymen! ... You are not willing to follow the dictates of your Sastras, to give them in marriage again, and thus relieve them from their intolerable sufferings, and yourselves from miseries, crimes and vices."  

Vidyasagar proposed that the government pass legislation which would legalize marriages of which the bride was classed as a widow, that is, a woman whose husband had died, even if her marriage to him had never been consummated and she had never left her parental home. Under existing legal prescriptions the courts, guided by the opinions of Hindu Pandits on customary law among the higher castes, would declare illegal marriages involving a widow. Unlike the Suttee legislation, which created a prohibition affecting everyone, the measure proposed would have no universal applicability. It was intended simply to provide government backing for widows who wished to remarry and the men who consented to marry them, and, of the greatest psychological importance, support for the advocates of widow remarriage.  

32. IBID. : P.93.  
He thus sought the government's official sanction for a reform which seemed a natural development from the Act prohibiting Suttee: after protecting widows from self-immolation, the government might be disposed toward removing restrictions on their remarriage. The Government finally passed the "Widow Remarriage Act of 1856", the battle won in part because of Vidyasagar's personal influence in that quarter.

Quite unexpectedly, after his first success in getting the Widow Remarriage Act passed, Vidyasagar began a campaign against polygamy. He was particularly against the practice of Kulinism among the Bengalee Brahmins, which was a social restriction, without any religious sanction whatsoever. Kulin males made marriage a profit-making undertaking. They married irresponsibly, did not meet the wife without an additional fee. The Kulin girls from many poor families had either to remain unmarried for life, or marry, for the sake of the honour of their father's families, any polygamous male without having the chance of motherhood. Vidysagar pleaded with the public and government for a law against Kulinism and the evil of polygamy. As usual, he planned the campaign with press propaganda and pamphlets, giving factual details about this evil. Unfortunately, the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857.

34. IBID. : P. 82.
One of its causes was said to be the Sepoys' resentment against the Widow Remarriage Act. A result of the outbreak was that the British rulers decided not to interfere any more in the social affairs of their subjects and the campaign against polygamy suffered a setback.\(^{35}\)

In the early history of the social and religious development of modern India, Swami Dayananda Saraswati occupied a significant place. He was the chief architect of Indian socio-religious reform movements. The Swami was the Indian Luther inasmuch as he tried to liberate Hindu society from the bondage of dead customs, orthodoxy, superstition and idolatry. He fought against the prevailing caste system, the organised forces of Christianity which had moral, political, intellectual and financial support, the analytic tendencies of modern science, which denied God, revelation and religion and substituted materialism, the everactive propaganda of Islam, the pessimism, apathy, fatalism and inertia which had been engendered by centuries of political and intellectual decline and suggested a new pattern of social order.\(^{36}\)

The Vedas occupy a central position in the philosophy of Swami Dayananda. They are the main source of

\(^{35}\) Donald H. Bishop: *Thinkers Of The Indian Renaissance* P. 81.

\(^{36}\) Lajpat Rai: *A History Of The Arya Samaj*, P.105.
his thought and it was his mission to propagate the Vedic principles with a view to establishing a social order cast in the mould of such ideas. Aurobindo Ghosh writes in this respect:

"Dayananda accepted the Vedas as his rock of firm foundation, he took it for his guiding view of life, his rule of inner existence, his inspiration for external work, but he regarded it as even more, the word of eternal truth on which man's knowledge of God and his relations with the Divine Being, and with his fellows can be rightly and securely founded." 37

According to Dayananda the Vedas are of Divine origin. They are the Wisdom of God, revealed, and universal, i.e., meant for all mankind. In his own words" ... God has given us the way to happiness in the Vedas, ... as the great Vedic age clearly demonstrates. Why have we Aryans changed so much? .... By going against the Vedas. The way to recapture that ancient glory is to act in accordance with the Vedas." 38 One must take into account, however, that his outlook was coloured by his belief that the Vedas are the sources of all knowledge.

Dayananda was opposed to this kind of polytheism. To him there was only one God, all the gods of the Hindu pantheon had no existence. Thereby he discarded the whole mythological superstructure of Hinduism and propounded that "there is one God only. He alone is to be worshipped, and He must be worshipped spiritually, not by images". His concept of God was of the Upanishadic description, the personification of Satchitananda meaning that it is his nature to be the fullness of being, all intelligence and blissful. God is all-pervasive, omniscient, formless, unborn, infinite, almighty, just and merciful. This concept of God, as we shall see, later, was adopted by the Arya Samaj in its constitution. 39

Rather than birth as the basis of caste, he suggested Guna (Character), Karma (action), Swabhav (nature) as criteria. The caste of a person was to be determined by his character, by the actions he performed in society and by his nature. Those born Brahmans who undertake good actions are Brahmans and those low-born also whose merits, profession and temperament are of higher kind are of higher Vernas. Similarly high born persons doing low things should be reckoned in the low Verna .... It means that a man

or a woman should belong to that Verna for which he or she is fit.40 Further, he writes:

"The Upper caste will always bear in mind that if their children would remain ignorant, they would have to go down to the level of Sudras .... Moreover, the lower castes will have incentive to climb up to the higher classes".41

Dayananda denounced untouchability as inhuman and tried to prove that it was contrary to the dictates of Vedic religion. Untouchability was not divinely ordained. It was the result of bad environment, association and training and the resulting deterioration of character. This evil practice originated with the ostracism of such persons who violated established social customs and morality. It was, therefore, a matter of cleanliness, character-training and improvement in environment. Accordingly, any Sutra who was clean in body and mind had the right to be a Dwija, twice-born. He was also opposed to the evil practices of child-marriage and enforced widowhood. These social evils, he said, had no sanction in the Vedas.42 One unique view

40. Satyarth Prakash: P. 128.
41. IBID.: P.134.
42. T. Pantham Kenneth L. Deutsch: Political Thought In Modern India, P. 60.
of Dayananda's was his advocacy of Swayamvara, marriage by choice. He claimed it was the most ancient form of marriage and that it was sanctioned by scripture and more conducive to marital happiness. The real factors in marriage are the bride and bridegroom since it is they who have to live together, and thus, they and not their parents should make the final choice. 43

Dayananda had the utmost faith in the power of education as an instrument for moulding individual character. He believed that the main objective of a sound system of education was the character formation of individuals of society, its aim was not to create ill-fed, aimless or half-starved individuals. A sound educational system should be based upon moral and religious foundations. Like Plato, he recommended compulsory education of children by the State:

"It was the duty of the king to arrange that girls and boys both should practise Brahmacharya (Celibacy) and receive education. The recalcitrant parents should be penalised. Nobody should be allowed, under state rules, to keep his daughter or son at home after the age of eight years." 44

A burning issue in the 1870's was the controversy over

43. Donald H. Bishop: Thinkers Of The Indian Renaissance, P. 61.
44. Satyartha Prakash: P. 114.
foreign travel, he ridiculed the practice, citing the records of Indians in the past who pursued trade and even empire-building as (he thought) abroad. "Those who do not hesitate to go abroad", he wrote, "...

"Become fearless and bold, and attain great power and prosperity by studiously imbibing the good qualities and adopting the good customs and manners of the foreigners and rejecting their faults and evil habits and bad manners. Oye foolish people! Your character and faith are not lost by having sexual intercourse with a low despicable prostitute, but you consider it harmful and debasing to associate with good men of other countries"! 45

If for his social and religious beliefs Dayananda looked to the Vedas, he sought inspiration from the Manusmriti for his political ideas. On the whole, the political ideas of Dayananda contain the essence of both the Vedas and the Manusmriti. The king should be an ideal Ksatriya whose primary duty was to protect the world and Dharma. Kingship for him was a divine as God created kingship and kingly power, Danda for the sake of truth, justice and Dharma. The main function of the ruler is the protection of his people. "The king, in whose kingdom robbers rob and kill the

45. IBID.: P. 317.
subjects even before the eyes of the government officials, should be supposed to be dead along with his officials". Rulers must be held accountable and responsible to the people and can be removed for corruption and incompetence. Dayananda's state's, in a nut-shell, is not a theocracy but a welfare state with wide-ranging obligations. Dr. Jordens writes in this respect:

"If (the state) should provide universal education and protect the Dharma, it should be responsible for social welfare, providing support for widows and orphans, and pensions for state servants, and it should root out the evil practices of child-marriage and polygamy".

All his writings, speeches and activities are a veritable proof of his earnestness for social and religious reform. He was inspired by the ideals of social justice, social integration, religious revival and national unity, strength and emancipation. He reformed Hinduism and raised a banner of revolt and protest against the divisive forces and cumbersome customs of Hindu society. His scheme of national education based on the sounder foundations of moral values, his vehement attack on caste divisions, his enthusiasm for bringing back the 'out-castes' and the untouchables into the

46. T. Pantham Kenneth L. Deutsch: Political Thought In Modern India, PP. 61-62.

47. J.T.F. Jordens: Dayananda Saraswati, His Life And Ideas, P. 264.
Hindu fold, his advocacy of equal treatment and enlightenment of women-folk, and his full-throated eulogy of the Golden Age of the Vedic values testify to the fact that he was a radical reformer of modern India.  

His individualism was not that of a man seeking personal salvation by isolating himself from society. He demanded that Indians participated more fully in social endeavors, the object of which was to liberate society from poverty and ignorance. A noted Western authority, H.D. Griswold, wrote that Dayananda "Succeeded in founding an indigenous Indian theism, non-polytheistic and non-idolatrous, right in the very home of pantheism, polytheism and idolatry. This was certainly a notable achievement".  

Bal Gangadhar Tilak is another social reformer, popularly called Lokmanya, was born in a middle class. As the Maratha rule was the last viable native regime in India to be extinguished by the British, he was roused to thinking about India's national independence. He resolved to devote his life to the cause of education, which he felt was the best way of serving the people. After graduating from Deccan College, Poona, in 1876, he along with some co-patriots, started his public career by launching New English School, Poona, an English-language

48. T. Pantham Kenneth L. Deutsch: Political Thought In Modern India, p.65.
weekly, Mahratta, and a Marathi weekly, Kesari. His editorship of these journals made Tilak deeply involved in the social and political affairs of Maharashtra and Western India. In Kerari, he developed his unique style of communicating ideas, which was both forceful and homely, and full of allusions to Sanskrit, regional lore and history.50

Tilak, felt that political reform ought to receive prior attention, but he never stood for orthodoxy and the old order as such as is generally believed. He believed that mass education was, the best lever for social reform and that in promoting it an ounce of practice was worth a ton of precept. The gulf between principles and actions of the Champions of reforms rightly invited his derision. He also against the imposition of social reform by the British rulers, not merely because they were alien and irresponsible but also because of their fundamentally different religions and social background.51 Tilak was not merely a platform reformer. He practised what he preached. His social creed can be best summed up in his own words the famous rejoinder he gave to Dr. R.P. Paranjpye in the columns of The Bombay Chronicle a year before his death:

50. T. Pantham Kenneth L. Deutsch: Political Thought In Modern India, P.110.
"I do not hold that social reconstruction must be undertaken prior to political emancipation. I attach much greater importance to the latter. Without the power to shape our destiny, our national regeneration cannot, in my opinion, be effected and I have throughout my career tried to preach and emphasise these views. When I opposed the Age of Consent Bill, I did so mainly on this ground. I did not think, nor do I think now, that a legislature, which is not wholly responsible to the public, is competent to deal with social questions."

He was opposed to child marriages but he did not share the sweeping belief of social reformers that child marriage was the main cause of our national degradation. Against the marriages of old men with child brides, he raised his voice with the passionate fervour of an Agarkar. Tilak is equally explicit about widow-remarriage and removal of untouchability:

"While the widow-remarriage movement was its height, it was myself who proposed to the reformers to come to a compromise with the Shankaracharya and the leaders of the Hindu orthodoxy on a reasonable basis. In my opinion, the evil of prohibition of widow-remarriage is not a general one but is

52. IBID.: PP. 35-36.
confined only to Brahmins and such other castes as have thought fit to imitate Brahmin customs and manners. What I proposed, therefore, was that through widow-marriage is not sanctioned by the later Hindu Law, yet a compromise could be adopted by including it in the forms of marriage sanctioned by the Shastras and thus removing, with the sanction of the orthodox, all disqualifications arising from social ostracism".  

As far as political aspect is concerned, he emphasised the spiritual freedom of the individual, basing it on the Vedanta philosophy of non-dualism. In his Gitarahasya, he wrote:

Freedom was the soul of the Home Rule Movement. The divine instinct of freedom never aged .... Freedom is the very life of the individual soul which Vedanta declares to be not separate from God but identical with him. This freedom was a principle that could never perish. In keeping with the political thought of the Vedas the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Kautilya's Arthashastra, Shukraniti and Kamandaka Nitisara, Tilak asserted that it was the duty of the king to promote the welfare of the people. After tracing the term Swarajyam (self-rule) to the

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53. IBID. : PP. 36-37.

54. T. Pantham Kenneth L. Deutsch: Political thought In Modern India, P.114.
Vedas, he pointed out that since the people have the essence of God in them, they have the right to remove oppressive rulers. He, in other words, believed in the divine right of the people to hold their rulers accountable to themselves.

Tilak recognised four connotations of term Swarajya. First, it means that the ruler and the people are of the same country, religion or race. Second, it refers to a well-governed state or a system of rule of law. Third, it means a government promoting the well-being of the people. The fourth connotation, for which Tilak had his strongest preference, was that of a government elected by and responsible to the people. Tilak supported the right of the people to participate in the government of their country. According to him, a democratic government, by its very nature, is bound to promote the people's welfare. He opined that the ideal of democratic polity would be better served if political science were to be redesignated Rajanitishastra (theory of political morality). He maintained that as Indians were suffering from the harmful effects of British rule and had become aware of the advantages of democracy, the time was ripe for Indian nationalism and Swarajya.

Swarajya, for Tilak, had not only a political connotation (i.e., Home Rule) but also a moral/spiritual
connotation (i.e., self-control and inner freedom). He described Swarajya in the following words:

"It is a life centred in self and dependent upon self. There is Swarajya in this world as well as in the world hereafter. The Rishis who laid down the law of duty betook themselves to forests, because the people were already enjoying Swarajya or people's domination which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kshtriya Kings. It is my conviction, it is my thesis that Swarajya in the life to come cannot be the reward of a people who have not enjoyed it in this world. At the Lucknow Congress of 1916, Tilak raised the now-famous slogan "Swarajya is the birth right of Indian."55

He, like T.H. Green, justified direct action against bad laws. Tilak, however, not only theorised about the right to resist bad laws but also practised it. He, along with Aurobindo, led the passive resistance programme of Swadeshi, boycott and national education. This resistance was the precursor of Gandhi's non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements. In fact, in Young India, dated 25 July 1921, Gandhi wrote:

"Of all the men of modern times, he captivated most the imagination of his people. He breathed into us the spirit of Swaraj. No one

55. IBID.: P.115.
perhaps realised the evil of the existing system of government as Mr. Tilak did. And in all humanity I claim to deliver his message to the country as truly as the best of his disciples. But I am conscious that my method is not Mr. Tilak's method.\textsuperscript{56}

The impact of Western political thought on the Indian mind has been enormous. Most Indian leaders, intellectuals and scholars have been swayed by the Western onslaught. Mohan Dask K. Gandhi, as perhaps the tallest leaders of our times, not only resisted the external influence in shaping his ideas, he also retained his indigenous identity. He strengthened his convictions on the basis of traditional and scriptural native resources. He had developed a unique conversion-mechanism to turn a foreign concept into his own idiom. He was able to transform the tradition-modernity syndrome to suit his paradigmatic needs. Gandhi used non-Western sources as a skilful alchemy in order to absorb the spirit but not the form of Western theories. Gandhi's major doctrines Satya, Ahimsa, Satyagraha, Aparigraha, Sarvodaya and Swaraj are all concepts rooted and inspired by Sanskrit classics and belong to non-Western, indeed, oriental sources but astonishingly they have a rich Western content underneath. Gandhi's reluctance to accept Western

\textsuperscript{56} IBID., P. 119.
norms at their face value produced in him a strong urge to turn to a literary legacy bequeathed by him. This was his way of countering the mighty Western invasion of the Indian mind. His critical interaction with the West is an interesting phenomena.57

Gandhi, like Plato and Aristotle, recognised the necessity of power to coordinate and direct human activities for the good and welfare of humanity. He also agreed with Hobbes and Machiavelli in holding the view that the pursuit of power is embedded in human nature, but he draws attention to the fact that the pursuit of power, in the absence of moral values, tends to corrupt political institutions, and the greater the concentration of power, the greater the propensity for corruption. Therefore, Gandhi was opposed to excessive centralization of power in the state.58 As he says:

"I look upon an increase in the power of state with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which, lies at the root of all progress".59


58. IBID.: P. 28.

The individual is the one supreme consideration for Gandhi. He stressed the value of the individual in his philosophy and consequently adopted a critical attitude to the claims of the state. In this, perhaps, there is an affinity of his mind and the English liberals. The individual in Gandhism, is harmoniously integrated with the universe and acquires vast potentialities of self-realization. The liberty of the individual, thus, consists in following a law of action which leads to his best development. This moralized concept of the individual and his liberty flows for Gandhi from the ethics of Dharma. It recognizes the role of individual conscience in all matters social and also gives him a choice for a course of action. Individual alone is the moral agent and his moral authority is logically prior to the authority of any state. Power resides in the people, not in legislative assembly, executive branch and judiciary. A government comes in office only to serve the people, and as Gandhi observes:

"A Government is an instrument of service only insofar as it is based upon the will and consent of the people. It is an instrument of oppression where it enforces submission at the point of the bayonet."61


61. Young India: October 1919.
Being a strong advocate of the liberty and freedom of individual, he did not believe in the absolute power of the State. For him political power was not an end in itself but one of the means of enabling people to better their conditions in every sphere of life. He considered state sovereignty as a challenge to the moral right of the men to shape his destiny.\(^6^2\) The reason for Gandhi's rejection of the state as an essential form of organization in an ideal society is, it would seem, the intrinsic inability of the state to provide an ideal ground for the free interplay of individuals and their ideas. The state, in so far as it is an organization based on force, tends to coerce individuals to favour certain modes of association and to make certain kinds of decisions rather than others. The state, however, is a necessary evil because men are never so perfect as to regulate themselves in the best interest of themselves. The classical statement of Thoreau that government is best which governs the least. Hence, Gandhi is convinced that it is possible to relax the role of the state without abolishing it, and to effect such social and political organizations as are necessary to promote communication, to form face to face relations, and to establish the community in which alone democracy can properly function.\(^6^3\)

\(^{62}\) Budhadeva Bhattacharya: Evolution Of Political Philosophy Of Gandhi, P. 352.

\(^{63}\) K. Rama Krishna Rao: Gandhi And Pragmatism, P.186.
Democracy is self-rule (Swaraj to describe a society run in the Swadeshi spirit. It meant self-rule or autonomy and implied not only formal independence but also cultural and moral autonomy), where individual freedom will have the fullest-play. Freedom, however, does not consist in unrestricted individualism, but in the individual's choosing for himself intelligently his role as a partner in the common endeavor for social progress. There is no opposition between individuals on the one hand and society on the other. He questioned if individual ceases to count, what is left of society? He considered individual as a unit and believed that state and society derive their powers from individuals. It is only individuals that act and interact. And therefore, "the individual is the one supreme consideration". But the actions of the individual have social consequences which impose certain necessary restrictions on them. And therefore, "unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle".

Satyagraha, the constructive manifestation of the virtues of non-violence, was conceived by Gandhi as an instrument of social transformation. When applied to politics, it took the form of a technique and developed the moral resistance of the people to injustice of all sorts.

64. Young India: 13.11.1924.
It could as well be applied as a mode of social reform prior to the capturing of political power. Infact, Satyagraha could operate outside politics also. It aims at change of heart on the part of the Wrongdoer by igniting in him the spark of morality and social justice. Gandhi was sure of the efficacy of his remedy for social conflicts and considered Satyagraha to be the legitimate way of resistance in democratic society having self-rule. The theory of non-co-operation, as a part of Satyagraha, may be stated thus:

"The sole justification for the existence of the State is the assumption that it promotes the well-being of the people. This alone constitutes its claim to the allegiance of its subjects. Therefore, when the State fails in its duty or begins to pass orders and frame laws which are contrary to the conscience and the best interests of the people, it loses its right to their allegiance, and it not only becomes necessary but a matter of religious duty for the people to withdraw their support from the State when the dictates of conscience require it violent resistance is one possible way for the people to express their resentment, but evil can never be overcome with evil, hence that is no remedy.

Instead, let people purify themselves, let them cease directly or indirectly to participate in the evil of the State and it will reform itself."^67

Gandhi saw that Hindu society was sharply divided into the caste Hindus and the untouchables. This would be a serious problem for national integration. It was necessary to put up a united front against British imperialism. Removal of untouchability could be an eminently suitable step to defeat the policy of divide and rule employed by the British. It is for this reason that he advanced the argument that Indians could not claim equality with their rulers unless they themselves granted equality to millions of their own countrymen; on one occasion he compared the atrocities committed towards the untouchables by caste Hindus to atrocities committed by the British rulers in the Punjab in 1919. His heart was so much grieved at the disabilities and humiliations heaped on the untouchables that he expressed a desire to be reborn an untouchable in the next life so that he might share the sorrow, sufferings and affronts levelled at them.\(^68\) It was essential for religious people to embrace the untouchables as love is the root of religious people to

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67. A. Appadorai: Indian Political Thinking In The Twentieth Century, PP. 42-43.
68. See Young India: 4 May 1921.
embrace the untouchables as love is the root of religion and the lowly should be raised to one's heart.

Another plea that he advanced was that exploitation of the untouchables was the root cause of India's slavery. It was a just retribution for the wrongs done to them. He wanted the end of all exploitation of one country by another, of one community by another, and of one person by another. He also wanted the end of hatred between one community and another as he held hate to be the subtlest form of violence. Swaraj to him had no meaning unless it meant the removal of untouchability and also of its attendant disabilities. There was indeed a more dire need of Swaraj for the untouchables than for others. As he observed:

"I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English Yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any Yoke whatever".69

In talking about equality, Gandhi did not mean absolute economic equality which applied to everyone in the same way. At the economic level, he insisted, equality, "simply meant that everybody should have enough for his or her needs".70 Although this kind of equality could be

69. R. Singh, S. Sundaram: Gandhi And The World Order, P.38.

70. Harijan: 3 March 1946.
achieved through government ownership of all property, Gandhi rejected such a solution because it rested on centralized power. He feared that centralized governments, and particularly socialist governments, do "the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality." But for Gandhi, equality should enhance individual freedom, not retard it. Accordingly, he wanted the range of economic differences significantly narrowed. Limited differences would not only promote responsibility and fruitful, comprehensible dialogue, they would also, as in Rousseau, assure that no one was so rich as to be able to buy someone else and none would be so poor as to be forced to sell himself to someone else.

Gandhi's political system consists of a number of small units called village Panchayat. Every village is a "complete republic". It has to be self-sustaining and self-sufficient for the basic needs of food and clothing. It is based essentially upon individual freedom. "The individual is the architect of his own Government". Even though each village is a semiautonomous unit, it does not exclude dependence on and willing help from neighboring


72. T. Pantham Kenneth L. Deutsch: *Political Thought In Modern India*, P.316.

villages and other countries of the world". In this structure composed of innumerable villages there will be ever widening never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages..."  

The term Swadeshi, according to him, "is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusive of the more remote." The Swadeshi concept has political and moral as well as economic implications. But Gandhi worked out more fully its economic implications by his emphasis on Khadi (home spinning and weaving industry). This does not mean to hatred foreigner goods or the fellow countrymen. "My patriotism", Gandhi once remarked, is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humanity I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. When applied to economics, Swadeshi takes the form of encouraging and propagating Indian-made goods, particularly the minor,
small-scale home industries like Khadi. Concerning the form
of ownership, Gandhi proposed his well known theory of
Trusteeship, an economic extension of his philosophical
concept of man as a trustee of all he had, including his powers, capacities,
energy and time. The theory was intended to avoid the evils
and combine the advantages of both capitalism and
communism, and to socialise property without nationalising
it. As he imagined it, every industrialist employing more
than a certain number of workers was to look upon his
industry not as his property but as a social trust. He was
to work along with his employees, take no more than what he
needed for a moderately comfortable life, look on them as
"members of his family" and jointly responsible with him
for the management of industry, and to provide healthy
working conditions and welfare schemes for them and their
families.

To sum up, Mahatma Gandhi was a multifaceted genius
who applied his mind to a large number of human concerned
and left an indelible impact on the social, economic and
political forces of the day. Gandhi's ideas are becoming
more and more relevant with the passing of time due to two

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77. See Young India: 26 March 1931 and 26 November 1931
Harijan, 3 December 1938 and 3 June
1939

78. Bhikhu Parekh: Gandhi's Political Philosophy, P.138
reason: first, in regard to the use of non-violent method for rejecting violence for the resolution of social and political conflicts and secondly, for trying to bring to grips the problems of the culture of consumerism in the industrial society. Whenever there is a problem we can get the solution through Gandhian technique to.

Today, Gandhi has become a global phenomena, which is more relevant today than before. Many of the local and national controversies have almost died down and he has emerged perhaps as the greatest figure after Buddha from the East. He is not only a saint but also a warrior and so he had been a fountain - head of social change apart from a lamp post of moral and spiritual regeneration. Truth and non-violence have been preached from time immemorial. Gandhi's historic mission is to organize and socialize them. So he discovered the moral equivalent of war, spiritual dimensions of politics and economics and the last but not the least an integral vision of civilization and culture. In this respect, his Hind Swaraj is a manifesto of the new civilization.
We find in the eighteenth century a large Muslim community scattered throughout India. It possessed a large aristocracy of office and landholders, a small middle class of professional men and government servants, and a large proletariat of agriculturists and artisans. The eighteenth century was a time of stress for the community. Their political dominion collapsed, and with it went their hold on the chief offices of state. The British monopolized (from the time of Cornwallis) these offices for themselves, leaving the upper classes to jostle for subordinate posts with Hindus, or else to stand aloof in pride and poverty, soon western education was added as another and unacceptable condition for office. The decline of Islam in its homeland reduced the value of such contacts as remained, thus depriving Indian Islam of the spiritual and cultural streams which had so long nourished it. Islam in India was politically depressed and culturally isolated. It was in this condition of political eclipse and cultural depression that Indian Islam was confronted with the challenge of the West. At first bad seemed to grow worse, for while the Muslims stood aloof, the Hindus took advantage of the new Western education, this securing a lead in the new world and
the administration which they never lost. The Mutiny made things worse, for in spite of its Hindu origin the Muslims were thought to have revealed their disloyalty to and hatred of the new regime.\footnote{Vincent A. Smith: \textit{The Oxford History Of India}, PP. 801-2.} After the Revolt of 1857, according to Sir Alfred Lyall,

"The English turned fiercely on the Mahomedans as upon their real enemies and most dangerous rivals, so that the failure of the revolt was much more disastrous to them (Muslims) than to the Hindus. The Mahomedans lost almost all their remaining prestige of traditionary superiority over Hindus, they forfeited for the time the confidence of their foreign rulers, and it is from this period that must be dated the loss of their numerical majority in the higher subordinate ranks of the civil and military services."\footnote{Sir A.C. Lyall, \textit{Asiatic Studies: Religious And Social}, PP. 239-40.}

In these circumstances, there were only two alternatives before them. Either to face boldly their misfortune, cast out the moral weakness which paralysed their will, build up a clean, God-fearing and upright society on the basis of the teachings of the Holy Quaran, and in co-operation with their countrymen of other faiths, evolve a political order which would guarantee free exercise
of faith, equal opportunities of welfare and advancement, and a self-respecting dignified life for men of all creeds, all races and all colours. Or, to surrender the dream of independence for all time, accept the rule of the alien masters and endeavour to enlist their goodwill to obtain Government patronage - a share in the services and in the positions of influence like the municipal councils, legislative bodies, and in other places. The first alternative was adopted largely by the Ulama - the custodians of traditional learning and ideals. The second was followed by the Muslim leaders educated on modern lines in the schools and colleges established to propagate the Western arts and science.

The school of the Ulama which advocated religious reform and political freedom traced its affiliation to Shah Wali Ullah who had inspired the leaders of the so-called Wahhabi movement and the many divines who had joined the Revolt of 1857. The Ulama represented the interests of the Muslim masses about whom Lyall's opinion was: "It would, I believe, be much nearer the truth to say that the inconsiderate and uneducated mass of them are against us". Their primary object was to purify the religious practices of the people, to remove the accumulation of superstitions.

and un-Islamic elements from their midst, and to persuade them to lead a life on account with the injunctions of the 'Quran and the Hadith' - the teachings and example of the Prophet. More than this, they felt that so long as Indian remained subject to foreign rule, it would not be possible to carry out these reforms. According to them, the politico-religious issue could only be resolved after the removal of British domination, which threatened to destroy Islam politically as well as culturally. They were, therefore, prepared to make a common cause with the non-Muslim inhabitants of the country and to throw themselves whole-heartedly into the struggle for national freedom. They believed that once India was free, their religions and cultural freedom would be secure.  

But the most effective movement in favour of English education and for co-operation with the British Government was initiated and successfully led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He is one of the most dynamic and resplendent personalities of the 19th century. At once a theologian, scholar, social reformer, educationist, politician, author and journalist, he contributed many essential elements to the resurgence of modern India. "Amongst the mighty forces", wrote a well-informed contemporary, "which have been silently changing the aspect

of affairs in India during the last forty years, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's name will, to future generations, occupy a conspicuous place". In fact, he was the first Muslim in Modern India to catch a glimpse of the dynamic character of the coming age and he dedicated his whole life to what he thought to be the supreme need of the hour - the uplift of Indians by apprising them of the problems of the modern world. He ignored all hurdles in his way and strove, patiently and incessantly, to bring about a reorientation in the outlook and behaviour of the Indians, particularly the Muslims, who were more backward in education and learning than any other Indian Community. He thus became a social and a moral force which accelerated the processes of transition from the medieval to the modern age.

He found in education the panacea to all ills - social, political and economic - of the contemporary Indian society. If the people were educated, he believed, every evil would disappear, if not, they would themselves disappear. Addressing a public meeting at Amritsar, on January 29, 1884, he said:

"If the Government has not given some of our rights to us as yet for which we may have a


grudge, higher education is a thing, which, Willy nilly, would oblige them to give (those rights) to us".  

But, so far as intellectual culture was concerned, Syed Ahmad Khan was not satisfied either with the traditional system of Muslim Madrasas, or the modern teaching given in the colleges and universities established by Government. About the Madrasas he wrote:

"The Muslims have started in these days a number of institutions of old learning at Jaunpur, Aligarh, Kanpur, Saharanpur, Deoband and Delhi, but I say, in all sincerity, that they are utterly useless and wholly futile."  

He enunciated the aims of education thus, the strengthening of faith which required the knowledge of religious truths and the reconciliation of reason and tradition, the training of character through establishing residential institutions and promoting healthy activities, and the teaching of modern sciences up to the highest stage and evoking a rational outlook among students. The measures adopted by Sir Syed for the achievement of these aims consisted of opening schools, founding scientific societies, language}

7. **Lectures**, P. 189.  
and organising Muhammadan Educational Conferences. The scheme of education which he proposed for the community, contemplated three grades of institutions, viz., I. the highest grade which was represented by the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College\(^9\) for pupils above the age of 18, it was composed of three sections - English, Urdu, Arabic and Persian, (II) the middle grade, consisting of secondary schools for children between the ages of eleven and eighteen where the medium of instruction was the Urdu

9. The foundation stone of the College buildings was laid on January 8, 1877, by H.E. Lord Lytton. The aims and the objectives of the M.A.O. College were: to provide a Centre of Western learning for the Muslims of the higher classes - so they might recover the ground lost as a result of the opposition of the Ulama to Western education, to show the British rulers that Islam was not anti-pathetic to the West in culture, religion and social relations, to promote loyalty towards the rulers and solicit their favours, and to teach the Muslims that Islam was not a stereo-types static religion but a progressive and liberal religion in consonance with reason and the law of nature. See T. Pantham, K.L. Deutsch: *Political Thought in Modern India*, p.150.
language, and (III) the primary grade of elementary schools (Maktabs) for those between six and eleven years of age. In all these three types, religious education was to be compulsory.10

Syed Ahmad's task in the sphere of social reform was two-fold: first, he had to persuade people to give up habits and practices which stood in the way of social advancement, and secondly, he had to persuade them to accept the new scientific approach in all matters. He advised the Muslims: to develop freedom of thought and get out of the rust of custom and tradition. "So long as freedom of thought is not developed, there can be no civilized life", he declared, to get rid of those religious beliefs which had no real religious sanction behind them but stood as an obstacle to the growth of culture, to get rid of all religious and other superstitions, to educate children for no real progress was possible without literacy on a wide scale, to educate women and to teach them handicrafts, etc., to make collection efforts for providing educational facilities, and to develop various arts and industries.

He started a journal Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq, also called Mohammedan Social Reformer, with the purpose of creating an awareness of the problems of modern life in order to remove

all those abuses which were eating into the very vitals of society of the 459 articles that appeared in Tahzib-ul-Akhtaq, 208 were written by S.S.A. Khan himself. These articles give an idea of the nature and impact of his activities in the field of social reform. His vigorous pen touched more upon social and educational subjects than political. A mere glance at the titles of some of his essays would give an idea of the range of his reform movement. These include such titles as culture, education, table manners, customs and ceremonials, self-help, national solidarity, freedom of speech and opinion, hypocrisy, fanaticism, rights of women, slavery, etc. There is hardly any aspect of social life which has not been touched and scrutinized by him with his native clarity of thought and expression.\textsuperscript{11}

The most controversial among the problems were those related to slavery polygamy, Jihad, interest, and treatment of captives of war. His exposition made out that the Islamic view of these problems was both rational and in conformity with natural laws. He pointed out that Islam had laid down such liberal conditions for the treatment of slaves as to alter the very character of slavery, polygamy was allowed but only in rare circumstances, holy war was not

\textsuperscript{11} K.A. Nizami: \textit{Sayyid Ahmad Khan}, PP. 91-93.
justified against non-Muslims except when Islam was attacked, not every type of interest, but only the usury of pre-Islamic times was prohibited, men captured in war were not to be executed, nor women made slaves.12

Syed Ahmad's political thought was the outcome of his political experience and was based on a careful and realistic appraisal of the contemporary Indian life and its problems. It was the Revolt of 1857 which shook up his whole being and provoked political reactions and responses in him. He began to broad over the causes and consequences of rebellions and revolutions. In a brochure, "The Causes Of The Indian Revolt", he made a thorough study of the problem from all possible angles - political, religious, administrative, economic and military. In fact this brochure was not only his first work of a political nature, but "the first political pamphlet written by an Indian".13

The following factors contributed to the formulation of his political ideas: I. The failure of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's movement (1831) to regain political power made it abundantly clear to him that without knowledge of modern scientific developments, which had revolutionized every sphere of human life and thought, no attempt at political regeneration could fructify. II. The miserable plight of

the Indin people after 1857 convinced him that unless the people moved with the times and adopted Western science and learning, they could not get rid of their backwardness, ignorance and inertia. III. Since the Indians did not possess the requisite resources, organization, discipline and above all the determination to wrest power through force, he was convinced of the utter futility of the use of force for regaining political power and prestige. IV. Syed Ahmad though that education was more urgently required than political freedom. Without education, political freedom, even if obtained, could not be retained, but education could be instrumental in winning back the lost political power and prestige.14

Elaborating his point further, he remarks, that a very important cause of the conflagration of 1857 was the "non-representation of Indians in the Governor-General's Legislative Council". He insisted that it was in the interest of the Government that "people should have a voice in its council". It is from the voice of the people", he continued "that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received.15 He added:

15. IBID.: P.133.
"There is no reason, however, why the natives of the country should be excluded from the Legislative Councils, and here it is that you come upon the one great root of all this evil. Here is the origin of all the troubles that have befallen Hindustan .... I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated nations of Hindustan could be allowed to share in the deliberations of the Legislative Councils, or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. They are Knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure".16

He then drew the attention of the Government to the need of developing cordinal relations with the people and giving due regard to them:

The people and the Government I may listen to a tree, the latter being the root, and the former the growth of that root. As the root is, so will the tree be. Friendship, intercourse and sympathy and therefore not wholly dependent for their existence on the givers and recipients being of the same religion, race or country .......... Truth

compels me to state that Government has not cultivated the friendship of the people, as was its duty to do ....... One great source of the stability of a Government is undoubtedly the treating of its subjects with honour and thus gaining affections." 17

Just after the upheaval of 1857, he had demanded Indian representation in Council and had claimed freedom of speech as an inalienable right of man. Thirty years of close and careful study of the Indian character and conditions, however, led him to the painful conclusion that without adequate education all talk of Indian participation in administration and legislation was nothing more than self-deception. He rejected political agitation as dangerous and concentrated on education as a necessary pre-requisite to all political progress. Jawaharlal Nehru's remark that "Sir Syed's decision to concentrate on Western education for Muslims was undoubtedly a right one. Without that they could not have played any effective part in the building up of Indian nationalism", is based on a very sound and correct assessment of his political approach. 18

To sum up, Sayyid Ahmad was a man of cosmopolitan views and his movement for social reform and educational

17. K.A. Nizami: Sayyid Ahmad Khan, PP. 134-35.
18. IBID.: P. 168.
advancement was not narrow or sectional in its spirit. That he mainly worked amongst the Muslims was due to the fact that he found them more backward, ignorant and lethargic than the other Indian communities. His aim in the establishment of the M.A.O. College was to help the Indians, particularly the Muslims, get over their backwardness and attain a position of honour and respect in the family of nations. He also exercised profound influence on social thinking by emphasizing the need of developing virtues which give cohesion and unity to a society and ensure its growth on sound lines. True social life required every individual not to suppress the call of his conscience. If people acted according to their conscience, there would be a healthy social atmosphere, otherwise hypocrisy, flattery, orthodoxy and enmity would corrupt and corrode the society. In religious matters Sayyid Ahmad Khan stood for tolerance, broad-mindedness and catholicity of views. He interpreted it in terms of human service and identify it with those moral and spiritual values which give a forward pull to humanity and ensure its moral well-beings.

The other minority community is the Parsi, who had emigrated to Gujarat from Persia on the conquest of that country by the Arabs in the 8th century, and in the 17th century a Parsi colony arose in Bombay city. On public matters of political and social concern, as in commerce and industry, the Bombay
Parsis provided singular leadership for Western India in the 19th and 20th centuries, while they maintained their separate identity as a religious group. One of the first Indian groups to take advantage of Western education and the liberalization of social customs stimulated by association with Europeans, the Parsi Community substantially advanced the cause of social reform first, by carrying out reforms and welfare schemes for itself, and next, by providing leadership for reform movements in the general population. Parsi girls' schools were opened in the 1850's by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy's Parsi Benevolent Institution, Naoroji Ferdoonji formed a Parsi religious reform sabha in 1851, which was influential in breaking the hold of narrow orthodoxy over the community, beginning in the 1860's Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit added to the growing number of Parsi Charities and dispensaries.

The crowning achievement of the Parsi reformers came in 1865 in the form of the special Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act. For decades an internal controversy among Parsis on marriage customs had been going on, and there was confusion in the courts about what domestic laws to apply to Parsis. In 1855 the Parsi Law Association was founded, and led by Naoroji Ferdoonji, S.S. Bengalli, and Framjee Nusserwanjee Patel, it succeeded in obtaining passage of the Act, which was partly based on the English Divorce Act of
1858. As a result of this Bengalli could claim in 1868 that "the Parsi may, with proper pride, point to the fact that, of all purely Asiatic Communities, they were the first ... Who have voluntarily imposed on themselves a law declaring bigamy a criminal offense ...." The Act promoted the emancipation of Parsi women which, with the encouragement of their husbands, was already under way.¹⁹

Accustomed to the advanced reform of his own community, Dadabhai Naoroji pressed more fervently than other Parsis to extent the social advantages enjoyed by a distinguished minority group to the general population. He was a unique figure in Indian public life for nearly half a century. He was one of the finest product of Western education in India. He was a pathfinder and original thinker in several fields. He was instrumental in founding, organizing and placing on a sound basis many a social, educational, literary and even religious institution, chief among which were the Literary and Scientific Society, the Bombay Association, the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, the Iranee Fund, the Parsee Gymnasium, the Widow Re-marriage Association, and last but not least the Victoria and Albert Museum. This is, by no means, a complete list of the institutions and associations promoted by Mr. Naoroji, but

it is sufficiently calculated to give the reader a clear idea of Mr. Naoroji's wide and varied range of activities. "These years", says Mr. Nooroji, "were full of all sorts of reforms - social, educational, political and religious". "Ah, those years!" he sighs after in his autobiographical recollection in the M.A.P. (to the well-known London Weekly - "Mainly About People"). Female education, free association of women with men at public, social and other gatherings, infant schools, student's literary and scientific societies, societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge in the Vernacular, Parsi reform, abolition of child marriages, re-marriage of widows among Hindus, and Parsi religious reform societies, were some of the problems shackled, movements set on foot and institutions inaugurated by a band of youngmen fresh from College, helped in some matters by the elders, and aided by the moral support and encouragement of such men as Sir Erskine Perry, Patton and others.

But as if even these and many other institutions, which he originated and for which he actively laboured were not sufficient for the scope of his unbounded enthusiasm and untiring energy, he started in 1851 A Gujarati weekly, Rast-Gofter, (Truth letter) - as the organ of the advanced and progressive party - to further social, religious and
educational reforms in the Indian Community. Therefore, we find Dadabhai busy organizing a Society to carry out this object. With the co-operation of Naoroji Furdoonji, the "Tribune of the people" as he was called, he succeeded in founding, on August 3, 1851, "The Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha, or "Guides on the Mazdayasnan Path. The avowed object of the Society was to expound the true tenets of the Zoroastrian creed, to take off the wrappings, to discover the vital and essential elements, and to restore the ancient religion to its pristine purity. The central idea of the Rahnumae at its start was to restore the Zarathosti religion to its pristine purity and simplicity.

In short, the whole of the ten years between his entering the world as a youth of twenty and his leaving for England as a young man of thirty, were devoted to hard and incessant work - educational, social, literary, scientific and even religious - in the interest of his country and his countrymen, and if to-day the vernacular press of Bombay is the best conduct and most successful in the country, if to-day female education is more advanced in Bombay than even


in Calcutta or Madras, if to-day there is a richer literature in Gujarati than in any other Indian Vernacular (except perhaps, in Bengali) if to-day social reform and progress have made greater strides in the Western Presidency than in the rest of India, it is greatly due to the initiation, devotion and self-sacrificing labours and youthful energies of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.22

The most courageous and outspoken critic of the economic policies of the Government was Dadabhai Naoroji. He built up the theory of the economic foundations of Indian nationalism. He pointed out that Indian economy was subjected to heavy "drain". The drain of India's resources resulted in the colossal exploitation of the country. The growing "immiserization" of the country was a heart-rending phenomenon. Thus Dadabhai became an eye-opener to Indians to the appalling story of their grim poverty. He made them conscious of the calamitous consequence of economic drain, famines, pestilences and starvation to which they were subjected. Dadabhai's "Poverty and Un-British Rule in India", wherein he expounds the "drain" theory, is a classical book in the field of Indian economics and Indian nationalism.23 Dadabhai, in a paper read before the East

23. V.P. Varma: Modern Indian Political Thought, P.144.
India Association, London, in 1867, on 'England's duties to India', posed the question, "Is British rule in India a benefit to India and England?" and replied, but now (under the British) as the country is being continually bled, its vitality and vigour must get low, unless permanent improvements already made, or future development of the material resources, shall restore it to its former health."^24

In these phrases, he raised the problem of Indian poverty and of the drain and their intimate connection. The detailed examination of these problems occupied the rest of his life, and as his studies progress and the enormity of foreign rule grew on his mind, his feelings of obligation for the benefits it conferred on India, faded. In 1873, he gave evidence before the 'Select Committee of Parliament appointed to enquire into the State of Indian finances, and in 1876, he presented the revised draft of his famous paper on the "Poverty of India' to the Bombay branch of the East India Association, in which he blamed the drain for the misfortunes of India."^25 He said:

"Owing to this one unnatural policy of British rule of ignoring India's interests, and making

it the drudge for the benefit of England, the whole rule moves in a wrong, unnatural and suicidal groove." 26

There was, no doubt, lavishness in respect of salaries and leave allowances, and in the immense gathering of civil and military officers from all parts of India at the hill stations during nearly half the year. The ever-growing military expenditure, which absorbed nearly a third of the gross revenue, was more than the ordinary military expenditure of the great military monarchies of Europe, more even than the expenditure by which England maintained the security not only of the country but also of the whole of the British Colonies, including Canada. Even the Controller-General Of Military Expenditure had remarked that military history presented "no instance of any army so constituted, or of one so costly". In Public Works Department was another illustration of unparalleled extravagance. One of the causes of the unsatisfactory state of Indian finance was the imperfect nature of the accounts also. There was, moreover, no periodical review of the administration, as was the case when the East India Company had to appear every twenty years before Parliament as a suppliant for the renewal of their Charter. 27 Hence the

26. Poverty And Un-British Rule In India, P. 125.
only way for the promotion of the economic prosperity of the
country was to check the ruinous drain. Dadabhai wrote:

".... that not till this disastrous drain was
duly checked, and not till the people of India
were restored to their natural rights in their
own country, was there any hope for the
material amelioration of India".  

He declared on 1st June, 1904 at a gathering of the London
Indian Society:

"There is only one remedy to the present dis-
honourable, hypocritical and destructive
system - a system that would break up the
Empire, if not saved by a peaceful prompt
revolution. That remedy is self-government
under British paramountcy .... When this one
fundamental remedy will be accomplished, every
evil or defect of the present system ... would
right itself".  

The poverty of the country once admitted, the question of
remedy resolved itself into the following heads: I. provi-
vision of capital necessary for all public works of a

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28. Dadabhai's Memorandum on "The Moral Poverty Of India
And Native Thoughts On The Present
British India Policy", Poverty And Un-
British Rule In India, P. 203.

India, P. 428.
permanent character required to increase production and to facilitate distribution (II) A just adjustment of the financial relations between India and England so that the political drain might be reasonably diminished, (III) The best way of attracting capital and enterprise to utilize the vast-cultivable waste lands, and (IV) The best way of increasing the intelligence of the people by a comprehensive plan of national education. In 1906, Dadabhai, as the President of the Congress, put the seal on the matter, by declaring bluntly that Swaraj or Self-Government was the goal of all India's political striving:

"Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services, departments, and details is in the hands of the people themselves of the country, so should we in India claim that the administration in all services, departments, and details should be in the hands of the people themselves of India ...." "As in the United Kingdom and all the colonies, all taxation and legislation and the power of spending the taxes are in the hands of the representatives of the people of these countries, so should also be the rights of the people of India".

30. IBID.: P.127.
It is easy enough to enumerate the aim of all political life in India, but the real difficulty Centres round the methods which will bring the people of India nearer and nearer the realization of their hopes (self-government). The Indian Liberals saw that there was no royal road to the attainment of political salvation. But they never doubted the efficacy of the one instrument viz. constitutional agitation. Constitutional meant agitation in two directions, an agitation to rouse the Indian people and an agitation to rouse the British people and the British Government. Their ideal was to obtain a recognition of equality in the Empire, and consequently their whole agitation was directed to convince the British that they were fit for more responsibility, that they had as much right to the control of their domestic affairs as the other peoples in the Empire had in their own countries.

Dadabhai, even in 1905, repeated the same cry - the need for more and more agitation. "What is wanted for us is to learn the lesson from the English themselves to agitate most largely and most perseveringly by petitions, demonstrations, and meetings, all quite peacefully but enthusiastically conducted ... Agitation is the life and soul of the whole political, social, and industrial history of England. It is by agitation the English have accomplished their most glorious achievements, their
prosperity, their liberties, and, in short, their first place among the nations of the world. The whole life of England, everyday, is all agitation. You do not open your paper in the morning but read from beginning to end, it is all agitation - Congresses and Conferences - Meetings and Resolutions - without end for a thousand and one movements, local and national. Agitation is the civilized peaceful weapon of moral force, and infinitely preferable to brute physical force when possible."

The whole political literature of this period in India is permeated with a deep sense of gratitude for the innumerable blessings of the British Raj. He removed all ambiguity about the loyalty of the Indian mind in the second Congress:

"Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone, that we understand the benefits English rule has conferred upon us, that we thoroughly appreciate the education that has been given to us, the new light which has been poured upon us, turning us from darkness into light and teaching us the new lesson that Kings are made for the people and not the people for their Kings: and the new lesson we have learned amidst the darkness of despotism only by the light of free English civilization."}

32. IBID.: PP. 738-739.
33. Congress Presidential Address From The Foundation To The Silver Jubilee, First Series, PP. 7-8
To sum up, we require on the one hand to inspire the people of India at large with the desire of attaining and enjoying their birth and pledged rights and the absolute necessity of freedom and self-government like that of the colonies for their material and moral development, progress and prosperity. Without self-government the Indians can never get rid of their present drain, and the consequent impoverishment, misery and destruction. No palliative of any kind, whatever, no mere alteration and tinkering of the mechanical machinery of a demonstration, can and will do any good at all. The drain can only be stopped by the Government, by the people themselves. To be prosperous, India must govern itself like the colonies. Here are remarkable and true words uttered by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman: "Good government could never be a substitute for Government by the people themselves". Our need, therefore, is the utmost for government by the people themselves.
CONTRIBUTION OF MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE TO INDIAN LIBERALISM

In India, colonialism generated new classes. Along with the rise of the commercial bourgeoisie there arose a new middle class or intelligentsia which was a product of the colonial educational system. This educated middle class was composed of numbers of the traditional elite or high castes - the Bhadralok in Bengal, the Brahmans in Madras and the Brahmans and the Prabhus in Bombay Presidency. Liberalism as a doctrine and programme was developed by this social class in Indian society, mainly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dadabhai Naoriji, Surendranath Banerji, Pherojshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and a number of other prominent thinkers tried to present a liberal critique of Indian society and colonial state and to provide a set of liberal ideas for the transformation of Indian society and polity. But none of them succeeded in providing a comprehensive philosophical framework of Indian liberalism. With Raja Ram Mohan Roy it was just the beginning of what has been called the Indian Renaissance or the period of Enlightenment when systematic thought could not have been developed. Dadabhai's contribution was restricted to economics. Pherojshah Mehta was mainly an activist and never devoted himself to serious philosophic enquiry. Surendranath Banerji was known for his political ideas.
G.K. Gokhale was a direct disciple of M.G. Ranade and tried to more or less follow his Guru. G.G. Agarkar attempted to apply Herbert Spencer's evolutionary doctrine to Indian society. More than any one of these thinkers, it was Mahadev Govind Ranade who presented in a fairly systematic manner a model of Indian liberalism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Nationalism and social reform, as ideologies and as public movements, were united in the person of Ranade: a leader of the political activities of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, a vigorous lecturer and writer on economic and political subjects, a participant in the founding of the Indian National Congress and a "power behind the throne".¹ In that body until his death, and an organizer and the mainstay of the all-India social reform movement during the last two decades of the 19th century. In politics, economics, and in social reform his conception of Indian problems and their solution was truly national. Ranade's nationalism was grounded in his acceptance of the administrative unity of the country, achieved under British rule, and the new opportunities which that presented for advancement in all lines of endeavor through both private and governmental efforts. The British connection with India,

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¹ Surendranath Banerji: *A National In Making*, P.50.
Ranade thought, would last until India, inspired by long association with the civilization of the West, should have regenerated herself and prepared herself to "take her proper rank among the nations of the world". For him the forces making for Indian Unity were those associated with British rule - the civil service, the judicial system, modern communications, the English language and the new secular knowledge transmitted by it, and the economic structure.

But nationalism for him was more than the workings of these functional elements. Ranade's nationalism had its intellectual and emotional appeal in the belief that India was the home of a "Chosen race", which not by mere chance had survived, preserved from extinction "as though they were a people with a special mission entrusted to them". Indians, he said, "represent a continuity of creed, of traditions, of literature, of philosophy, of modes of life and forms of thought, which are particular to this land", thus, Indians "are under the severe discipline of a high Purpose". In modern times "vast energies" have been

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3. M.G. Ranade: Miscellaneous Writings, P. 125.
"set in Motion, by the guiding hand it is our privilege to recognize at every step (British rule)", which after decades, perhaps centuries, will fulfil the mission of Indian civilization.\(^5\)

Ranade's leadership of the social reform movement and his simultaneously immense influence in the National Congress offered a model of integrated nationalist activity which was not typical of the age. Although he understood the inevitable conflicts between certain social reform doctrines and those of nationalism, in his own practical philosophy those two doctrines were fused. Many of the Indians leaders of his day were prone to taking strong, uncompromising stands on political or on social questions, ignoring their complexity and interrelationships. Such rashness, or, if one likes, momentary courage, was usually followed by embarrassing recognition of errors and temporary let-downs in enthusiastic leadership. Ranade was rightly accused of a compromising nature, which may, in a time of growing self-assurance, be considered a weakness. Nevertheless, in his personal life and in his recorded achievements were brought together all the intellectual forces of the day, in a logical and harmonious blend which the more single-minded of his countrymen, then and later, were unable to achieve.

\(^5\) IBID.: P. 149.
The impetus of Western life and thought was conveyed into the heart of India's social and religious system largely through the writings and the agitations of Ram Mohan Roy - the great Bengal reformer and founder of the Brahmo Samaj. Ranade regarded Ram Mohan Roy as one who had turned the flow of the national current in the right direction, by his long fight for the abolition of Sati and other religious atrocities, and by his endeavour to remove the false accretions of ages and to return to the pure monotheism of Vedic times. He also saw in Ram Mohan Roy one who was a true patriot "long before our era of Congress meetings and Conferences". As a young man in Bombay, Ranade came into contact with many older men whose minds had absorbed, and whose actions embodied, something of that same reforming spirit that had found so distinguished an exponent in Raja R.M. Roy. Ranade was in touch, for example, in the persons of Dadoba Pandurang and Balsastri Jambhekar with men who were full of zeal for the advancement of education both among boys and girls. In Nana Sankarset he had before his eyes a beloved popular leader who had striven to remove misunderstandings regarding the Government action against Sati, who had supported the agitation against indecencies at the Holi festival, who had worked hard for

6. The practice of Widows allowing themselves often under heavy social pressure - to be burnt alive at the time of their husband's funeral.
the increase of English education among Indians, and who was a model of enlightened citizenship. In Vishnusastri Pandit he had come into close contact with a man who was carrying on in Western India the great work on behalf of Hindu Widows which Vidyasagar had started in Bengal. In Bhau Daji and others he came under the influence of enthusiastic students of history who were ever seeking to point the contrast between India's ancient glory and her present fallen state. In connection with the religious quest he must on several occasions have listened to the fiery eloquence of Kesab Chandra Sen. Such men as these were the channels through which the spirit of times poured in on Ranade's soul. But he absorbed that stream in such a way that it became in him a deep and living spring.  

Born a Chitpavan Brahmin at Nasik in 1842, educated at Kolhapur English School and Elphinstone High School in Bombay, Ranade passed the first matriculation examination of the Bombay University. Ranade became one of the outstanding students of Bombay University. He began his career as a teacher in the University but later joined the British judiciary and rose up to the position of Judge at the Bombay High Court in 1893. His service in the government as a judge did not restrain him from involvement in social and

political reform. His associations with public bodies, many of which he founded, were diverse in scope but, with few exceptions, limited to the geographical area of Bombay Presidency.

From the close of his college period onwards to the very day of his death we are conscious that Ranade has engaged his powers in the service of an ideal which goes far behind the attainment of personal ambition, and which sheds a brighter lustre than the individual success of a distinguished legal career. We see him now going forward to the work to which he has been called, a man of rare mental endowment, burning with a strong and steady flame of patriotism. We see him pursuing, with an exceptional catholicity of interest and wholeness of view, four great lines of combined mental research, and practical effort, seeking to forward the social, political, economic, and religious advance of his motherland. It is as though, up till 1871, Ranade had been serving his apprenticeship, after that he had emerged, the master craftman, to wield his tools in the shaping of his country's future. As these interests of reform dominate Ranade's life with clear

8. For a biography of Ranade, see My M.Phil Dissertation

9. James Kellock's list of Ranade's affiliations includes the Sarvajanik Sabha, the Industrial Conferences and Exhibitions, several small manufacturing firms and a bank, Fergusson College, the Female High School, the Prarthana Samaj, and the Marathi Literature Encouragement Society. These were not merely nominal affiliations. James Kellock: Mahadev Govind Ranade, P.80.
insistence from now onwards, so the remainder of this biography will be concerned mainly with the leading thoughts that Ranade reached and maintained in the social, political, economic, and religious fields, and with the efforts that he made to bring into effective operation the practical conclusions of his thinking. The main incidents of his life, its times of unwonted stress and dramatic tension, were but the inevitable domestic and official frictions that attended upon a man whom such a quality of patriotism inspired, and who seeking for his country a pathway from the old to the new, from the valued past to the beckoning future. In the varying occasions and forms of that friction and in the ways in which it was faced, we shall see the character of the man revealed. ¹⁰

One aspect of Ranade's emphasis on self-effort and social change was his insistence on beginning from within.¹¹ Those who seek to reform society should begin with themselves. It is hypocritical to attempt to change society if one is not a changed person himself. His unredeemed character only undermines or defeats his efforts. Moreover, as a person thinks and feels, so he acts. Only pure thoughts can give rise to pure deeds, just as impure thoughts lead to impure action. This was a message which

¹⁰. IBID.: PP. 22-32.
¹¹. Typical of Ranade's statement of inner reform is, "The reformer has to infuse in himself the light and warmth of nature, and he can only do it by purifying himself and his surroundings". M.G. Ranade: Religious and Social Reform. Op. Cit. P. IV.
Ranade also laid before his audience. Ranade believed that social and religious reforms should not be forced on people, for it creates resentment. Better appeal to tradition, to the mind and to the heart or sentiment. He was a man of magnanimous heart and breadth of mind, a characteristic which led him to develop a world consciousness, even though he was not a world traveller. That broad outlook led him to state that "instead of our country being a sealed book, we are now part of community of nations, feeling joy and sorrow in their prosperity or distress". Perhaps the most striking expression that he gave to this opinion was in the last year of his life when, as President of the First Bombay Provincial Social Conference, held at Satara, he urged that the different fields of human activity are inseparably interrelated, and that one can no more separate them than one can separate the shape of the rose from the perfume of the rose:

"You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economical system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideals are low and grovelling, you cannot succeed in social, economical or political spheres. This inter-dependence is
not an accident, but is the law of our nature. Like the members of our body, you cannot have strength in the hands and the feet if your internal organs are in disorder, what applies to the human body holds good of the collective humanity we call the society or state. It is a mistaken view which divorces considerations political from social and economical, and no man can be said to realise his duty in one aspect who neglects his duties in the other directions. 12

Nevertheless, a close study of Ranade's social reform addresses leads us to say that he does really in his own way give religion the predominant place in his social philosophy, or at any rate he leaves that place empty for religion to occupy. We can trace clearly in his writings the recognition that religion is the central spring of life, and that in religion we touch the organic life-power which can flow out in healthy activity to all the members.