CHAPTER - I

NINETEENTH CENTURY : SOCIAL CONTEXT.

Indian civilization is one of the four oldest existing civilization of the World. This has been both an asset as well as a liability for the Indian Social system. It has evolved through centuries of struggle, through victories and defeats, through moments of jubilations and distress. It has survived through histories great victories as well as defeats. From these momentous historical events, it has learnt and unlearnt many things. The unique technique it has developed from the ups and downs of the history is one of accommodation and absorption of the alien elements within its fold. In the process it has earned the unique quality of resilience and developed a highly complicated stratified social structure.

By far one of the most baffling aspects of Hindu Social structure has been the caste system with its numerous hierarchically placed sealed divisions strictly prohibiting vertical mobility. Prof. A.R. Desai has beautifully described the social structure stratified into the divisions identified as castes. He writes, "The Castes constituting the series were hierarchically graded, each caste being considered inferior to those above it and superior to those
below it. The status of a man born in a particular caste was determined by the rank of that caste in this hierarchy. Once born in that caste his status was predetermined and immutable. Thus birth decided his status which could not be altered by any talent he might show or wealth he might accumulate.\textsuperscript{1}

The complicated nature of the Hindu stratification has defied all attempts to understand and explain it. Serious Western scholars have also so far failed to arrive at some acceptable explanation of the phenomenon. To date numerous theories attempting to explain the origin of the caste system and untouchability have been piled up. But none can be regarded as providing satisfactory explanation.

Diversity of opinion among the scholars regarding the origin of caste is indeed staggering. Quite a few of them see the origin of caste system in the "Varna Vevastha." They maintain that the violation of Varna rules is the root cause of the Caste system. Whereas there are others who regard caste system as the legacy of the pre-Aryan society. In those days people from different directions were pouring down in India. In order to maintain the purity of these groups they closed each section into an endogamous group which later came to be known as castes.
Some regard it as vocational institution created volitionally and clamped on the defeated people by the conquerer Aryans.

However the racial distinction suggested in all these theories appears one sided and irrational. In the light of the scientific discoveries, the ethnologist today hold that men of pure race do not exist any where in the world. Instead admixture of races is to be found every where in the warrior classes as well as the Brahmins who are under the illusion that they are the pure race. Moreover as pointed out by Dr. Shinde, social institutions cannot be regarded as a creation of a person or a group. He further argues that the popular belief that the law givers like 'Manu' created the caste system out of imagination and fancy is erroneous. Instead he maintains, that at various stages of social development, social institutions like caste etc. emerge as per the exigencies of the time and later in the course of time, they get fixed into the body of social structure in the form of customs and tradition due to their long use. However, we need not go into a detailed discussion regarding the origin of caste system and the different theories put forth by the scholars regarding it, as it is not very much relevant to our topic under study. Rather nothing a few
characteristics features of the system is sufficient for our purpose.

Hindu society is stratified into numerous hierarchical layers. These layers are sealed and are called castes. At the top of the hierarchy are the Brahmins who are regarded as most pure and therefore most pollutable caste, whereas at the bottom are the Castes who are regarded as untouchables. Their touch or even shadow is supposed to pollute the higher castes. Status of each caste is fixed and well defined. Individuals status is decided by the status of the caste into which he is born. The system does not permit vertical mobility.

Hindu faith upholds the myth of the Divine origin of the caste system. It is reinforced with another myth of 'Karma'. According to the Karma Theory man has to pass through a chain of rebirths and for his good or bad needs in this life he is rewarded or punished by God in the next life. It is by way of reward or the punishment that an individual is born into a higher or lower castes. Together these myths do imperatively suggest that men should avoid violation of caste rules or else they will be further punished in the next life for their disobedience. This clearly legitimises the status and privileges of the higher castes rewarding the Brahmins the most.
its entirety the system retarded professional mobility and strengthened authoritarian structure.

Untouchability is undoubtedly the most pernicious aspect of the caste system. Its origin is obscure and is a matter of controversy to this day. To Iravati Karve it is a sub-caste of Shudras.\textsuperscript{10} Whereas Ambedkar regards it as a bye-product of the caste system. There is however general unanimity of opinion as to non-existence of untouchability during the Vedic period.\textsuperscript{11}

Leaving aside the controversy let us skip to the point more relevant to our main theme, namely the inhuman disabilities forced on the Shudras and the untouchables. Both these sections have been relegated to the underprivileged status in Hindu society. However the brunt has to be mainly borne by the untouchables. They were required to live outside the villages, do all the dirty work for the higher castes without complain and for any disobedience they were severely punished.\textsuperscript{12} King was responsible for the strict enforcement of the caste regulations.\textsuperscript{13} At the lower level Jagirdars and local landlords strictly enforced caste rules in general and inferiority of Shudras and Ati-Shudras in particular. Besides there were councils and village Panchayats which enforced the caste rules strictly.\textsuperscript{14} With minor local
variations, the pattern was followed throughout the period till the advent of British.

In Maharashtra the situation was worst. The miseries of the Ati-Shudras reached its maximum under Peshwa rule in the 18th Century.\textsuperscript{15} Pernicious tradition like wearing the thread round the necks, tying a hanging broom to the waist to clean the road, carrying the earthen pot tied to the neck to spit into avoid possibilities of polluting the caste Hindus were revived and strictly enforced on the untouchables.\textsuperscript{16}

By and large it was village economy that sustained the system over the centuries. A self-sufficient village, based on agriculture carried on with the wooden plow and bullock power and handicrafts by means of simple instruments was basic feature of pre-British Indian economy.\textsuperscript{17} Villages were self-sufficient with respect to raw materials needed for artisan industry.\textsuperscript{18} The agricultural and handicraft production fulfilled almost all the needs of the villages. Each caste group was pursuing its hereditary occupation. The interdependence of different caste groups was thus perfected in the village organization.\textsuperscript{19} Exclusive dependence on land in the absence of money economy compelled villages to provide locally for all
such services as were needed to make the community compact and self-sufficient. Production was geared to the local requirement. Hence there was little scope for exchange with outside world. However, the villages were permitted to carry their surplus products to a market place in a big village in the vicinity on specific week days.

The status and position of merchants and handicrafts-men pursuing their hereditary occupations, was inferior to the socially and economically dominant elites. There was no question of an individual improving his social status by his own skill or ability. Social rigidity thwarted all mobility. The peculiar backward economy also reinforced social immobility.

The social structure and the economy together impeded the development of large scale industries. Any economic innovation or adventure on the part of an individual was neither possible nor permissible in the village set up. The mutually buttressing socio-economic structure sustained itself through centuries, forcing economy to remain at low level that in turn sustained authoritarian and paternalistic social structure. The very appearance of a village in Maharashtra set it apart as a miniature world, self-sufficient in itself, and geared to a style of
calling for a minimum of contact with the world outside. Native or foreign rule mattered little as long as they did not disturb the existing socio-economic milieu.

The prevailing 'Joint-family' system in the villages also in its way, retarded mobility, ingenuity, innovation and adventure on the part of the individual and paved way for nepotism in both business and politics.

Another worst aspect of the Hindu social order is the degraded position of women. Hindu socio-religious values demanded of women almost total self-abnegation, self-denial and submissiveness. The paternalistic joint-family and the rigid caste structure necessitated utmost degradation of women. Pernicious custom like child marriage, polygamy, sati, ban on widow marriage were in fact a natural outcome of the paternalistic joint-family and together they demanded very exacting behaviour from women.

Hindu socio-economic structure with all its heinous dimensions continued, tightening its grip till the advent of the British power.

**COLONIAL POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT:**

The advent of British in India, gave a rude shock to the tradition-bound social institutions based on inequalities. Besides politically unifying the balkanised sub-continent, they introduced. British came here with
a new world of ideas. The institutions, concepts, administra-
tive skills etc., all that they introduced here was indeed new to the people of this ancient land. First they
over-powered the native rulers with their superior military power and diplomacy and then slowly started in-
fluencing the Indian people at large with their innovative techniques both in business and administration. It is
interesting to see how the British policies and changes introduced by them in different fields influenced Indian
society.

After the suppression of the revolt of the 1857, the British gained complete control and political suzerainty
over the sub-continent and the power was transferred from East India Company to the British crown.

Thereafter the British could take to long term planning and make uniform laws for whole of the subcon-
tinent. They created and maintained law and order situation in the country. However, it should be remembered
here that the objective of all their policies had been consolidation of their imperial power over the subconti-
nent for the sake of better colonial exploitation of the resources, and not humanitarian intention of introducing
social reforms in the country. They gave an explicit assurance in the Queen's proclamation that the British crown
had no intention to interfere in the socio-religious matters of the natives and their status and privileges would not be altered.\textsuperscript{30} However, there was reason for them to have respect and sympathy for the religion and social practices of the natives.\textsuperscript{31} Hence they could not be expected to enforce Hindu laws and customs. Thus while framing their policies they would not care for the Hindu customs and tradition. This loosened the grip of custom and tradition on the different sections of Hindus and they were emboldened to criticise, oppose and even violate the socio-religious regulations. Thus they witnessed for the first time a free atmosphere in these matters. It is interesting to see how the British policies in different areas affected Hindu mind and created an unprecedented intellectual firmament in the country.

\textbf{EDUCATION:}

The introduction of English education in India indeed constituted a dynamic factor. It provided Indians an easy access to modern English literature, western philosophy, and introduced them to western culture, science and technology.\textsuperscript{32} It was responsible for changing the outlook of the English educated. Growing application of science and technology made them skeptic of their own
tradition and custom. This led to introspection on the part of the educated Indians. They started feeling that the fall of the nation was due to their dehumanizing social institution and humanizing them was the prerequisite of nationalism and national emancipation.33 Tarktirth Laxman Shastri Joshi has succinctly pointed out the impact of western education on educated Indians. He said that it provided three new values to evaluate and judge our old tradition. These values were rationalism, individualism and equality. Besides it gave scientific method to understand the universe. Together they created a secular outlook among the Indians.34

ADMINISTRATION:

The age-old Indian administration based on nepotism and consideration of social ranks and privileges was replaced by the modern administrative system based on the principles of hierarchy, unity of command and merit-based recruitment. Their primary consideration was drawing for themselves maximum of profit at lowest possible cost.35 It is for this reason that they managed to keep every thing under control and strict supervision.36 One of the reasons for imparting English education to the natives was exploiting their services in the colonial administration of the vast country.37 The government, therefore, entrusted the
key-administrative posts to the British and filled in the subordinate posts with educated Indians. The policy had two unmistakable consequences, (i) destruction of old feudal vested interests and (ii) emergence of a middle class of Indians loyal to the British empire who could be easily made into the willing tools of imperialist economy.

**Trade and Commerce**:  

We have already seen that the Indian economy in the pre-British period was village centered and that it was based on two principles namely village self-sufficiency and production for consumption. Further, there was a kind of domestic union of manufacture and agriculture. Obviously trade in both agricultural products and manufactured goods was minimal. In addition lack of modern means of transport and communication affected the growth of trade and commerce. Transportation was performed by traditional means as with the help of horses, camels or bullocks. Traders collected goods from the household producers and carried them to other villages and towns for sell.

Laying of railway lines and introducing a net work of post-offices throughout the length and breadth of the country by the Britishers facilitated transportation that led to the sudden development of trade and commerce. It paved the way for the unification of Indian society.
British policy to promote compradore trade and commerce in India with a view to sell British goods and their policy to curb Indian industry laid a severe blow to Indian economy. It hurt the old feudal structure and paved the way for urbanization.

The colonial masters thus succeeded in subordinating Indian economy to the British and world economy. Its main purpose was to furnish cheap raw materials to feed the growing industries in England. Together these policies increased pressure on Indian agriculture and caused untold miseries to the Indian masses. India thus was turned into an exporter of cheap raw materials and importer of manufactured goods from England.

Railways, thus, besides facilitating social, administrative and economic unification of the country, also slowly but definitely delivered a mortal blow to Hindu social order by rendering impossible the observance of the rules of caste and untouchability. People started to move around and intermix. The effective means of intercommunication facilitated spread of progressive social and scientific ideas among the people. In this connection Marx had written, "The railway system will become in India, truely fore runner of modern industry ... Modern industry resulting from railway system will dissolve the hereditary
division of labour, upon which rest Indian castes, the divisive impediments of Indian progress and Indian power."  

PRESS:

The colonial rulers introduced free Press in India to keep themselves abreast of the public opinion. The Act of 1835 provided considerable liberty to the Press and except the brief interval it enjoyed this liberty of 1878. The Act of 1861 and the Press Act of 1867 encouraged the natives to have their own newspapers and this resulted in the growth and expansion of newspapers both in English as well as vernacular languages.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of nationalist Press in India realised that Press could be an effective weapon for social awakening and social improvement. Since then the Press served as a powerful weapon in the hands of social reformers for social awakening. It enjoyed tremendous influence on the government as well as society. The educated elite contributed profusely in the expansion and growth of Press. It prepared ground for political activities in the 20th Century under the banner of Indian National Congress. It became the carrier of the seeds of nationalism. Bengal took initiative in this respect. In Maharashtra it was Tilak's Kesari that played the role.
editors and founders of some of the leading newspapers were present at the first session of Congress in December 1885. Besides drawing attention of the people towards socio-economic malady of the country, the Press introduced and popularised western political ideals like liberalism, governmental accountability, nationalism, rights of individuals, etc.

RESTLESSNESS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS:

The new order led to the formation of a sizable middle class consisting of the elite of education and of those engaged in the modern trade and commercial activities. These two sections of the elite together, helped the British rulers in carrying out the administration of the country and in their commercial endeavours. This class though, on the whole, satisfied with the British Raj, was nonetheless restless on the question of their social tradition and custom as it obstructed their progress on the modern lines by prohibiting them from using the new avenues opened up by the British.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES:

Missionaries were active in India even before the advent of the East India Company. Infact the East India Company, contrary to general expectations, instead of supporting the missionary activities has tried to curb them. Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances the missionaries
continued with their activities which played an important role in the awakening of the Indian society.

Obviously, the primary objective of the missionaries was spreading of Christianity in the subcontinent. They believed that human characters could be quickly and totally transformed by a direct assault on the mind through the educative process. They criticised Hindu customs of widowhood, celibacy, sati, child marriage etc., and even challenged the validity of the Hindu Religious philosophy. The continuous tiring carried over a long period promoted Indian spirit of enquiry and led them to examine their own social system in comparison with that of the West. The educated Indians started reinterpreting Indian Tradition in the light of western concepts like individualism, equality, rationalism etc. The Missionaries did not succeed in eradicating evil practices of Hindu society, but they enjoyed tremendous influence on the outcastes.

Thus on the one hand English education and the British policies in general created dissatisfaction among the Indian elite regarding their social system whereas on the other hand the missionary propoganda and exemplary philanthropic activities created a ferment in the Indian society that had suffered stagnation over a long period. Together these factors succeeded in promoting an unpresidented intellectual awakening which inaugurated a long drawn social
reform activity in the country.

SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENT:

As the social reform movement in India was the result of a number of factors working simultaneously on the stagnated Indian society, its thrust, appeal, and effectiveness changed with the changing effectiveness of the different factors at different times. In the early stages when missionary tried against Hindu faith and custom was thick, the question was one of saving Hindu faith and culture from total annihilation. Thus the first generation of reformers attempted to free it of some very irrational aspects of custom like sati, child marriage, forced widowhood idolatory etc. Later the missionary tirade lowered down due to government attitude towards it.

During this period, the Indian elite had grown more anxious to utilise fully the widening opportunities for self-development under the British Government. Naturally grew intolerant which obstructed their free development. Thus now the reform emphasis shifted from correcting the Hindu faith to altering some of the social customs more relevant to their lives.
THE EARLY PIONEERS:

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's efforts constituted the first attempt at rational enquiry into basis of religion and society. The entire subsequent social reform movement was by and large guided and shaped by his pioneering work. He worked relentlessly to humanise Hindu faith and social practices that obstructed man's free development. He felt that Hindu society divided into castes and sects was incapable to breed nationalism or to provide social stability. He therefore pleaded social reforms for political advantage and social comfort. However, he never stood for total destruction of Hinduism. In fact despite number irrationalities and defects it contained he loved it and all his attempts were directed to save it. He tried to abolish the caste distinction and the practice of untouchability and wanted to reduce the gruesome burden of rituals from the Hindu society. He firmly believed that a democratic society characterised by liberty, equality and fraternity was possible only if caste divisions were eliminated.

He founded Brahmo Samaj for propagation of ideas and spread of his movement. It constituted a synthesis of western and eastern ethos. It propogated the ideas like abolition of caste and untouchability, sati, female infan-
ticide, polygamy, idolotry, hereditary priesthood and introduction of widow remarriages.

In Maharashtra the Prarthana Samaj was founded by such stalwarts like M.G. Ranade, Chandawarkar and Dr. Bhandarkar with a view to introduce and rationalism in Hindu faith. They embarked upon the bold programme of rejecting all irrational and cruel customs and practices that degraded human beings. The Samaj staunchly opposed caste divisions and stood for equality of men.

**INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS**

The efforts were also made by the educated Indians on individual basis. Gopal Hari Deshmukh (Lokhitwadi), for instance opened up a tirade against Hindu beliefs, and practices. In his 'Shatpatre' (Hundred letters) serialized in Marathi journals) he attacked severely most of the prevalent customs, traditions and superstitions of the Hindus.77 He may be regarded as the protagonist of secularism who insisted on seperating religion from secular professions.78

Another towering personality in this regard in Maharashtra was Gopal Ganesh Agarkar. He advocated a complete restructuring of Hindu society. He criticised Hindu faith and tradition. In fact he wanted rationalism and reason to be the sole guiding principles of human
conduct. He stretched his logic and rational thinking to the extent of denying the existence of God. His aim was to break the slavish bondage of Hundus to custom and superstitions. 79

SAINT REFORMERS:

Besides there were some saint reformers who tried in their own to reform and humanise Hindu society and faith. Swami Dayananda Saraswati from Gujrat asserted the pristine supremacy of Hindu religion. He looked back to the Vedas and traditions of Vedic period as the ideal models of faith and tradition to be followed by the Hindus. His insistence on going back and sticking to the pristine purity of custom based on the teachings of Vedas definitely had some progressive effect on the society. He rejected all practices that were not there in Vedic times. For instance, he denounced the caste system based on birth and the concept of superiority-inferiority attached to it and propagated mass education elimination of castes and sub-castes and establishing equality between men and women. 81 He stood for equality between men as well as between nations and preached widow marriages. 82 He founded Arya Samaj for the propagation of his ideas.

Of course, this movement, backward looking as it was, had its weakness as well as strong points. For instance,
though it insisted on the abolition of castes and sub-
 castes, it wanted the Varna system to be followed. To him
 Varnas were not based on birth but on merit and enjoyed
 mobility. On the otherhand, the Arya Samaj became the
 militant platform of Hinduism vis-a-vis Islam and Christ-
 tianity, as believed and preached the superiority of
 Vedas and Vedic knowledge. Prof. A.R. Desai has rightly
 observed about the net effect of this movement. He wrote,
 "The Arya Samaj played a progressive role in the earlier
 stages of Indian nationalism. However, as the national
 awakening broadened and deepened and richness greater and
 greater secular heights, it became a hindrance to the
 growth of Indian nationalism by contributing, though
 unconsciously, to certain kind of belligerent religio-
 communal atmosphere." 83

Swami Vivekanand's work definitely merits a mention
 here. Though a 'Sanyassi', he did not adhere to the clas-
sical Hinduism, instead he stood for a reinterpretation
 of ancient wisdom of Hindu saints in the light of modern
 knowledge in order to meet the pressing needs of contem-
 porary India. 84 Obviously, he did not believe in
 untouchability. Though a believer in Vedanta he reinter-
 preted it to preach importance of worldly life. 85 He
 believed in the essential equality of all men and hence
 had no sympathy with caste arrogance. 86
Vivekananda regarded spread of education as a precondition of social reform. However, the later glorification of ancient culture inherent in his Ramkrishna Mission's approach dealt a severe blow to the overall reform process that was in progress.

**THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY:**

Theosophical society was a spiritual movement aimed at the revival of ancient Hinduism. It preached universal brotherhood of men irrespective of the distinctions of caste, creed, race or sex. It laid special stress on greatness of Hinduism and Buddhism.

In India Annie Besant was the chief exponent of the society. She defended Hinduism in its entirety. Philosophy, Yoga, rites and rituals, ceremonies and the Varnashram Dharma. Her aim was the spiritual revival of India as against materialist ideas of the West being preached in India by English educated. Her enthusiastic preaching strengthened Hindu's pride in their religion and culture. The educated youth turned to theosophical society as its interpretation followed more orthodox line. However, it failed to strike deeper roots in India.
THE RADICAL REFORMER: JYOTIRAO PHULE:

Though the product of the same process of general awakening in the nineteenth century, Jyotirao Phule, a low caste (Mali) by birth took an altogether different perspective of the question of social reform. He looked at the question from below. His source of reference and idiom of expression were different from the liberal social reformers regarding the scope and strategy of social reform. He held that the liberal reformers were trying to protect Hinduism vis-a-vis missionary attack on it. It was a part of Brahminical strategy to continue their domination in the society.96 He bitterly censured the liberal reform movement led by the high castes, particularly the Brahmins.97

He believed in the equality of all human beings and wanted the society to be based on the recognition of this equality. The very foundation of Hindu religion (he called it Brahminical religion) was based on the conception of inequality of men not only in their physical or mental ability but also with respect to their rights, duties and claims for social status and dignity. The cardinal principles of Hinduism like existence of soul independent of body, its rebirth and reincarnation, the theory of Karma, the concepts of
Heaven and Hell constituted the **support structure** of the hierarchal stratification of the society. The scriptures and sacred texts upheld the principles and consequently also the graded social structure. Thus to him the Hindu religion and society were rotten beyond repair or reform and needs to be overthrown and replaced by new society and religion upholding principles of equality and rationalism.

Phule had no illusion as to the possibility of converting the high caste people in favour of the cause of eradicating caste system. He said their stakes lay in the preservation of the status-quo and that they would not willingly accept to forgo the benefits. So adopted a different strategy for social reforms. It contained no appeal to the higher castes, no reference to the sacred texts as they upheld the graded division of the society. His strategy constituted in awakening and uniting the lower castes. He used the so-called sacred texts of the Hindus not for supporting his reforms, but for analysing them like prophane literature to expose follies they contained and the cunning trick the Brahmin writers have played to keep the lower castes suppressed by fanning superstitions. He told the low castes that originally they had no castes, that they belonged to one race, that the castes were later imposed on them by the Brahmins who
belonged to another race in order to keep them divided and slave. He urged them to shed the notion of castes to unite together and to fight for their lost rights.

No wonder if the high caste people despised and hated Phuley. But it is interesting to note that even the low caste people did not join his movement. Understandably it was due to their ignorance and poverty. He raised the banner of revolt against the Brahminical religion and the slavery it entailed on majority of people. But it failed due to opposition from one side and lack of support from the other.

Thus until 19th Century, the stagnant Indian society was sleeping like a dragon. It was excited due to its introduction to western thought and institutions through English education as also because of their day to day contact with the British people who dominated the politics in the region due to their superior knowledge and techniques. The irritant over owed them and led to introspection that inspired the reform movement in the subcontinent. True that the reform movement did not succeed, but the society was never to be the same again. It was to continue through ups and downs turbulences and tensions, progress and set-backs but never to rest in peace.
FOOT-NOTES AND REFERENCES:


3. Ibid., p. 87.


7. All these characteristics are well-brought out in A.R. Desai's description of caste given above. Also see Rajeshwar Prasad, Social Reforms: An Indian Society, Y.K. Publishers, Agra, 1990, p. 189.


10. Iravati Karve, n. 5, p. 43.


13. Trilok Nath, n.9, p. 23.


18. Ibid, p. 11.


20. B.B. Mishra, n.8, p. 55.


22. B.B. Mishra, n.8, p. 31.


30. Before the transfer of power in 1858, the East India Company too had attempted to adhere to the Principal of non-interference in socio-religious matters of the natives. However, they had intervened in either on the pretext of law and order or on the request of the natives themselves. See G.S. Ghurye, n.3, pp.283-84.
32. J.R. Shinde, n.2, p.27.

   Also see A.R. Desai, n.1, p. 140.
   Also, Paul S. Chinnappa, n. 33, p. 70.


40. B.B. Mishra, n. 8, p. 152.


42. Ibid., p. 129.

43. See B.B. Mishra, n.8, p. 35.
   Also, D.R. Gadhil, The Industrial Evolution of India, in the Recent Times, Oxford University Press, London, 1942, Chapter III, XII.

44. Alieen D. Ross, n. 14, p. 18.

45. Bipan Chandra, n. 35, p. VIII.
   Also C. Ramchandran, n. 43, p. 203.

46. D.R. Gadhil, n. 43, p. 205.
   Also Bipan Chandra, n. 35, p. 90.
47. A.R. Desai, n. 1, p. 90.
   Also D.R. Gadgil, n. 43, p. 112.
   C. Ramchandran, n. 43, p. 151.
50. Ibid. p. 133.
51. Karl Marx, *Articles on India*, Introduced by R.P.
52. Sushila Agrawal, *Press, Public, Opinion and Government in India*,
    Bombay, 1945, p. 3.
    Also Sushila Agrawal, n. 52, pp. 43-47.
55. Compare -
    "My only object is that I may lay before the public
    such articles of intelligence as may increase their
    experience and tend their social improvement and
    that to the extent of my abilities. I may indicate
    to the rulers a knowledge of the real situation of
    their subjects."
    *Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohan Roy*, quoted by
    Sushila Agrawal, n. 52, p. 103.
56. Ibid, p. 31.


58. Sushila Agrawal, n. 52, p. 28.


60. Ibid, p. 38.


64. Ibid, p. 47.


Also M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi, 1977, p. 60.
Also C.H. Heimsath, Indian Nationalism and Social Reform, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 11.
75. G.S. Bhatt, in Rajeshwar Prasad, n. 7, p. 143.
76. Manju Kumar, n. 74, p. 31.
77. J.R. Shinde, n. 2, p. 28.
78. Ibid, p. 28.
79. See P.B. Gajendragadkar's introduction to S. Natraj, n. 4, p. 5.
80. R.C. Majumdar, n. 70, p. 296.
Also S.R. Singh, n. 71, p. 344.
83. A.R. Desai, n. 1, p. 293.
84. Charless H. Heimasath, n. 73, p. 28.

86. Ibid, p. 28.

87. Compare -

"... Even for the social reform the first duty is to educate the people and you will have to wait till that time comes." Quoted in Biman Behari Mujumdar, n. 85, p. 28.

88. R.C. Mujumdar, n.70, p. 299.


92. S. Natrajan, n. 4, p. 76.


94. J.R. Shinde, n.2 p. 76.


97. For his criticism of the liberal Reform movement:
   to Marathi Granthkar Sabha, p. 307, in Keer and
   Malshe (ed.), Mahatma Phule: Samagra Wangmaya (M).
   Bombay, 1969.
98. See Phule, Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Pustak in Ibid,
99. See Phule, Slavery (Preface) in Ibid, pp. 76-77,
   83-84.
100. J.R. Shinde, n.2, p. 61.
101. Compare -
   We know perfectly well that the Brahmin will not
   descend from himself raised pedestal and meet his
   Coonbee and low caste brethren on an equal footing
   without a struggle. Even the educated Brahmin who
   knows the exact position and how he has come by it,
   will not condescend to acknowledge the error of his
   forefathers and willingly forego long cherished false
   notions of his superiority.