Chapter – I

RISE OF MIDDLE CLASS

The emergence of new social classes in India was the direct consequence of the establishment of a new social economy, a new type of state system and a state administrative machinery, and the spread of new education during the British rule.¹

These classes were unknown to past Indian society, since they were primarily the offspring of the new capitalist economic structure which developed in India as a result of the British conquest and the impact on her of the British and world economy. The Indian people were reshuffled into new social groupings, new classes, as a result of the basic capitalist economic transformation of Indian society:

The process of the rise of new social classes in different parts of the country and among various communities was, however, an uneven one. This was due to the fact that the new social economy spread, both in time and tempo, unevenly, since this spread depended on the growth of political power of Britain in India. The conquest of India by Britain resulting in the economic transformation which it led to, was not a single simultaneous event. India was subdued by Britain by installments and through stages. Different parts of the country became more or less economically transformed on the new capitalist basis in sequence of their political subjugation. Hence, new social classes came into being earlier in those zones which came under British influence earlier. Bengal was among the first prizes which fell to Britain and where the British Government created, for the first time in Indian history, private property in land in the shape of Zamindari. Therefore, it was in Bengal that two of the new social classes, the zamindars and the tenants, came first into existence. It was also in
Bengal and Bombay, that the first industrial enterprises such as jute and cotton factories were started leading thereby to the emergence of such new classes as industrialists and proletariat. Further, it was for the same reason that in these provinces Britain established a complex, well ramified, administrative system and introduced new educational institutions imparting knowledge in modern sciences such as modern medicine, law, etc. thereby leading to the growth of the professional classes first here.²

However, as the British conquest of India finally enveloped the entire country, the new social economy, administrative system, and modern education spread all over India and gave rise to new social classes on a national scale.

The process of the rise of new social classes among different communities was also an uneven one. This was due to the fact that certain communities were engaged, in the pre-British period, in definite economic, social, or educational vocations. For instance, in pre-British society, mainly the Banyias were traders and shroffs, and the Brahmins, the custodians of education among the Hindus. In the new social environment, the Banyas were among the first groups (an-other being the Parsis) to take to modern capitalist commerce and banking and develop into new social classes, namely the commercial and financial bourgeoisie. Similarly, the Brahmins were among the first to study and assimilate the modern education introduced by the British government and project a modern intelligentsia and an educated middle class. The upper strata of the Muslim community in the pre-British period, were, on the whole, divorced from medieval trade or moneylending and were mainly engaged in military and administrative careers. Further, they predominantly resided in Northern India which came under British rule much later. The vast Muslim population of Bengal mainly belonged to the poorer classes. Hence a modern intelligentsia, a modern educated middle class and a bourgeoisie,
on a substantial scale, sprang from within the Muslim community later than from within the Hindu community.\textsuperscript{3}

In agrarian areas these were principally (1) zamindars created by the British government; (2) absentee landlords; (3) tenants under zamindars and absentee landlords; (4) the class of peasant proprietors divided into upper, middle and lower strata; (5) agricultural labourers; (6) the modern class of merchants and (7) the modern class of moneylenders.

In the urban areas, these were principally (1) the modern class of capitalists, industrial, commercial and financial; (2) the modern working class engaged in industrial, transport, mining, and such other enterprises; (3) the class of petty traders and shopkeepers bound up with modern capitalist economy; (4) the professional classes such as technicians, doctors, lawyers, professors, journalists, managers, clerks and others, comprising the intelligentsia and the educated middle class.

Primarily, the new classes came into existence as a result of the basic economic transformation brought about by various acts of the British government (such as the new type of land relations), the penetration of Indian society by commercial and other forces from the outside capitalist world, and the establishment of modern industries in India.

The introduction of private property in land in the form of Zamindari and Ryotwari by the British government brought into being the new classes of large estate owners, the zamindars, and peasant proprietors. Further, the creation of the right to lease land brought into being such classes as tenants and sub-tenants; the creation of the right to purchase and sell land together with the right to hire and employ labour on land, created conditions for the growth of the class of absentee landlords and that of the agricultural proletariat.

As Marx wrote in 1853: ‘The Zamindari and Ryotwari systems were both of them agrarian revolutions effected by British ukases, and opposed
to each other; the one aristocratic, the other democratic; the one a caricature of the English landlordism, the other of French peasant-proprietorship; but pernicious, both combining the most contradictory characters, both made not for the people who cultivate the soil, not for the holder who owns it, but for the government that taxes it.\textsuperscript{4}

As a logical working out of the new agrarian-economic system, a hierarchy of intermediaries developed between the zamindar and the cultivating tenant in the Zamindari zones, and a chain of intermediaries, namely moneylenders, absentee landlords, and merchants, grew up between the cultivating peasant and the state in the Ryotwari area. Due to the operation of causes enumerated in the chapter on agriculture, a large class of capitalist landlords similar to that in England and the U.S.A. or a preponderant class of economically stable and flourishing peasant proprietors similar to that in France, did not evolve in India.\textsuperscript{5}

Instead, along with the classes of zamindars, tenants, peasant proprietors, and land labourers, there developed in the agrarian area, on an increasing scale, such groups as modern moneylenders, merchants who were intermediaries between the peasants and the market, and absentee landlords interested only in securing rent. These classes and groups were unknown in pre-British Indian society.

Though the classes of moneylenders and merchants existed in the rural area in pre-British India, their function and position in the old economy were substantially, different from those in the new economy. The moneylender in the old Indian society played almost an insignificant role. He occasionally lent money to the village agriculturist or artisan, the interest strictly fixed by the village panchayat. Further, the moneylender could not annex the land or livestock in case a farmer did not meet the interest claim since the land belonged to the village community. Similarly, the village merchant, in old society, only reinforced the village with a few
articles which it could not produce. His role was, however, mogul field, even became transformed, when the new land 'gypsy tem was introduced, when land became private property and agricultural produce became a commodity. The merchant became indispensable to the peasant as an intermediary for the sale of his crop in the Indian or world market.\textsuperscript{6}

Since their roles were transformed, the classes of modern merchants and moneylenders in agrarian areas might be described as new classes linked up with the new capitalist economy and performing functions quite different from those which they performed in the social economy of medieval pre-British Indian society. The modern commercial bourgeoisie was also a new evolution.

Under the British rule, all production in India, rural or urban, agricultural or industrial, became production for the market. As a result of this, the internal market expanded and a large class of traders engaged in internal trade grew. Also during the British period, India became linked up with the world market far more extensively than before. This led to the growth of a large class of merchants whose function was to export and import goods from and into India. Thus came into being the class of commercial bourgeoisie, engaged in extensive internal and external trade, in the country.

It is true that, in pre-British India, both internal and foreign trade existed but their volume and scope as observed earlier were limited. As a result of this, the merchant class in pre-British India, engaged both in internal and foreign trade, was extremely small. Its significance and specific weight in the country economy also was not very great.

The new commercial classes which grew out of the new economic situation were of a different type from their counterparts in pre-British India. The new merchant classes traded in all production, rural and urban, agricultural and industrial, in the country. They purchased agricultural
produce from the zamindars, tenants, and peasant proprietors, and sold it in Indian and international markets. They purchased industrial goods from the owners of modern industrial enterprises and likewise sold them in the Indian and world markets. While, in pre-British India, the role of the merchant class was small since the overwhelming proportion of the country’s products was outside the scope of the market, the role of the modern and new commercial class of India became an imposing one.\footnote{7}

The establishment of railways and accumulation of profits and savings in the hands of the Indian trading class, a section of zamindars and wealthy members of the professional classes, which could serve as capital, led to the rise of Indian-owned textile, mining, and other industries and the growth of the new class of industrial bourgeoisie in the country. Along with this class inevitably emerged the new class of modern proletariat in India. Indian society now included in its composition such new groups as mill-owners, mine-owners, and other owners of new capitalist enterprises; also such groups as factory workers, mine workers, railway workers, workers on the plantations. These classes and groups did not and could not exist in pre-British Indian society since there did not exist modern factories, mines, plantations, or railways.

Thus with the growth of modern industries in India, the new classes of the modern bourgeoisie and the working class came into existence.\footnote{8}

Indian industries were established and developed at a rapid rate only in the later decades of the nineteenth century and thereafter. The industrial bourgeoisie and the working class grew in number, in proportion as these industries developed.

The professional classes comprising modern lawyers, doctors, teachers and professors associated with modern educational institutions, managers and clerks working in modern commercial and other enterprises, officials functioning in state administrative machinery, engineers, chemist,
technologist, agronomists, journalists and others, formed another new social group which evolved in Indian society during the British period. The new economic, social, and state systems required, as personnel, cadres of educated Indians, versed in modern law, technology, medicine, economics, administrative science, and other subjects. In fact, it was mainly due to the pressing need of the new commercial enterprises and the administrative system which prompted the British government to inaugurate modern education and establish, on an increasing Neale, modern educational institutions in India. Schools and colleges imparting legal, commercial and general liberal education, were started to meet the needs of the new state and society. Thus there came into existence, in steadily expanding numbers as this society developed, the modern professional classes in India. Such social groups linked up with modern industry, agriculture, commerce, finance, administration press, and other sections of the new social life, were unknown to pre-British society since such a social, economic, and class system did not then exist.

In pre-British India, village panchayats and caste committees performed all judicial, administrative, and even economic functions in the legion of villages. The village intelligentsia was almost exclusively composed of the village priest and schoolmaster who were the servants of the village community and looked after the religious-cultural and secular-cultural interests of the people. In the cities lived highly learned pundits and maulanas, great artists and literateurs, astronomers and astrologers, vaidyas and hakims proficient in medical knowledge then existing, and artisans and mechanics embodying knowledge and skill of their respective crafts. These groups, however, flourished under the patronage of princes, nobles, and wealthy merchants, and mainly responded to the needs of their patrons. They were, in general, not public practitioners of their skill the advantage of which could be had by the population at large. Their artistic,
scientific, and technical capacities, were, in the main, annexed to their royal and other masters.\textsuperscript{10}

Modern professional classes which developed on the basis of the requirements of the new society and the spread of the rich modern western culture and education in India during the British rule, contrasted sharply with these groups of pre-British India. Economically, their knowledge and skill, artistic, scientific, or technical, could be at the disposal of any citizen who could pay for it. Socially they became an integral part of the new capitalist society which evolved in India. Further, these professional classes were trained in modern knowledge, in modern western sciences and arts. They were lawyers who studied and practiced the new jurisprudence and laws enacted by the British government; doctors who studied modern medicine; engineers who became acquainted with modern techno-logical science; teachers and professors who studied and taught advanced modern social, political, economic, natural, and other sciences, which developed in the west. They were journalists and writers who edited papers and published books which were sold in the market and the content of which was consumed by thousands of people. They were managers and officials who staffed the enormous and complex economic and administrative state machinery of a politically and economically unified India and tackled complex problems affecting the life of the whole nation. This was, in fact, a new social group evolved in the Indian society, to be distinguished from its meager counterpart in pre-British India where the specific talent and capacity of a schoolmaster, a physician, or an artist, were low and, further, were also a monopoly of the royal or other patron, or at the disposal of a small village community. In addition to the new classes enumerated above, there existed in the urban area, in every town and city, a big class of petty traders and shopkeepers which had developed with the growth of modern cities and towns.
Though the social economy of India had been transformed from a medieval to a modern capitalist basis (which represented a historical advance of Indian society) during the British period, this transformation had not been so thorough and intensive as in countries like France, England or the U.S.A. The factors explaining this thwarted development have been mentioned in a previous section dealing with Indian economy.

As a result of the insufficient industrial development, remnants of the old economy such as pre-capitalist handicrafts and village artisan industries survived in the country. Corresponding to these remnants of the old economy, classes of pre-capitalist Indian society—village artisans, urban handicrafts-men—also survived and coexisted with new classes in India.

It is, however, to be noted that these remnants of old classes were not identical, in function and characteristics, with the old classes of the pre-British period. Environed by the general capitalist milieu, they bore a number of new features. For he/twice, the village artisans—a class which was still numerous, did not work as the servants of the village community as in the past but usually brought their goods to the market. Similarly the urban handicraftsmen, who still existed in good did not work specifically for princes, nobles, or wealthy merchants as in the past. They also brought the pro-duct., of their skill to the general market. However, in technique and often even in organization, they retained the old characteristics.

The class Indian princes, pretty and big, ruling over about One-third of the Indian territory was another class of the pre-British Indian society, which also survived. Its survival was due to the decision of the British government to perpetuate it for political reasons. These princes maintained royal courts, held feudal functions, maintained the paraphernalia of the old feudal regime. However, they had to be distinguished from the pre-British princes in some salient features. A great majority of them had no sovereign
powers; all vital functions and powers of their states were taken over or were controlled by the paramount British power. The economic structures on which these states were based, were also on the whole fundamentally different from those on which the pre-British states rested. In fact, in spite of the survival of some remnants of the old economy and social relations like serfdom, basically the economies of these states became an integral part of the national economy of India.

A modern legal system was introduced in advanced states though absolutism also prevailed in a number of them.

Democratic liberties did not exist or existed in a very curtailed form in these states. This handicap retarded the social, economic, and cultural development of the inhabitants.

Due to these reasons, Indian princes who governed these states could not be considered to be the same as the old class of princes in pre-British India. Though the states were not as yet, economically, socially, politically, or culturally, modernized, still they were also not the replica of those which existed in the pre-British period. ¹¹

The Indian princes also were not a pure class of medieval nobles who lived on revenue mostly derived from land. A number of these princes invested their money in modern commercial, industrial, and financial enterprises even in territory outside their state frontiers. To that extent, these princes were transformed into modern capitalists bound up with the new capitalist economy.

The Indian princes, modified survivals of the old class of princes of pre-British society, coexisted with the new classes which evolved in Indian society.

The survival of the remnants of old classes, even though existing in a modified form alongside the new classes, made the Indian society a complicated organism with extremely variegated and antagonistic social
forces struggling for their respective interests within it. The Indian people became a motley crowd composed of numerous old and new classes. Social groups belonging to various societies, past and present, constituted the new Indian society. Corresponding to this, old outlooks, which were the world conceptions of past epochs, interpenetrated modern outlooks which sprang from the basic modern social soil. This was one of the reasons which explain-ed the slow growth of national consciousness and national unity among the Indian people. We will now briefly refer to the interests, traits, problems, programmes, organizations, and movements of the important among these new classes.

The class of zamindars had been largely the creation of the British government.¹² N. N. Ghosh writes: ‘The zamindars with whom the Permanent Settlement was made, were an aristocracy manufactured by Lord Cornwallis. They were entirely the creatures of the state.¹³ Due to such genesis, the zamindars, on the whole, always supported the British government and opposed it only when their Zamindari rights were in any way encroached upon. The British government, on its part, counted upon them as a reliable loyal force and treated them with favour. 'Sir Lawrence showed the Talookdars all the attention and consideration in his power.¹⁴ Lord Lytton frankly stated that the conservative forces of the Indian society including the landed aristocracy should serve the support of the British rule in India (see Chapter X). In various reforms and constitutional schemes introduced by the British government, the zamindars were given special representation (see Chapter X) and the political weight of this class was thrown on the side of the British government, either Om struggle of the latter in legislatures or outside against the nationalist forces. The landed aristocracy almost always (NI the government when the Indian National Congress, mu Iv i Liberals, Extremists or Gandhi, put forth demands for democratic rights, administrative reforms or Swaraj, and or-
struggles, parliamentary or extra-parliamentary, to hack op these demands (see Chapter XVIII). This was due to the fact that the landed aristocracy apprehended that any democratic transformation, social, political, or economic, would jeopardize its class interests and even class existence.

The zamindars were, on the whole, conservative and unenterprising. They formed their principal organization, the British Indian Association, in 1851. E. S. Montagu described this organization in his Indian Diary, published in 1930, thus: 'The British Indian Association (is) more or less a conservative body headed by the Maharaja of Burdwan, the best type of conservative Indian. ... He has a fierce love of the British connection—not a passive acquiescence, but a firm belief in it. ... He is a large and very rich zamindar, and wishes to be made an independent chief.\\(^{15}\)

The Indian princes were the first to be associated with the state apparatus established by Britain in India. In 1862, the Maharaja of Patiala and the Raja of Benares were nominated to the Governor-General's Legislative Council. The next group of nomination consisted of zamindars. About this, K. B. Krishna writes: 'A group of nomination can be drawn as it were beginning with the rajas, zamindars, retired officials, merchants and professional classes.\\(^{16}\)

The zamindars took, on the whole, an anti-democratic stand, on vital questions affecting the life of the Indian people. B. C. Pal writes: 'To protest against the Press Act of Lytton, the Indian Association convened a public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta at the town hall. The British Indian Association, representing the Bengal zamindars, refused to join the meeting. But, the educated middle class, not only of Calcutta and Bengal but practically of the other provinces also, fully supported this protest of the Indian Association.\\(^{17}\)

Since the zamindars appropriated a good proportion of in-come from land, the economic condition of the mass of tenants in the Zamindari zones
steadily deteriorated. While the latter were increasingly impoverished, agriculture also, for lack of proper manure, seeds, etc., increasingly decayed. The nationalists as well as British statesmen recognized the precarious position of agrarian economy in the Zamindari area and the alarming poverty of the tenant population.

The critics of landed aristocracy, Indian and foreign, remarked that the zamindars did not play any productive role in the Indian economy. They stood for the rationalization if not the elimination of the Zamindari. They considered this as one of the indispensable prerequisites for the renovation and development of Indian agriculture on which the economic position of a great majority of the Indian population depended.  

Socially, the class of zamindars, on the whole, opposed far-reaching social reform. The Maharaja of Darbhanga declared in favour of the perpetuation of the anti-democratic caste system on the ground that the caste system was the best and surest safeguard against forces which menaced civilization (see Chapter XIV. 'The Crusade against the Caste System') . While a few enlightened zamindars supported and assisted the movement for democratic social progress, as a class they took sin attitude of reactionary opposition to it. Classes connected with landed property or nations who live on agriculture have been generally conservative in contrast to commercial and industrial communities. In his Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, Tawney remarks: 'The psychology of a nation which lives predominantly by the land is in sharp contrast with that of a commercial society. In the latter, when all goes well, continuous expansion is taken for granted as the rule of life, new horizons are constantly opening, and the catchword of politics is the encouragement of enterprise. In the former, the number of niches into which each successive generation must be fitted is strictly limited; movement means disturbance ... and, the
object of statesmen is, not to-foster individual initiative, but to prevent social dislocation.\(^{19}\)

The Indian zamindars exhibited this attitude of antagonism to reform and progress with a special emphasis.

As the nationalist movement developed with a programme of democratic reorganization of the Indian society and as sub-eminently the movement of peasants, tenants, and land labourers grew, the zamindars more than ever, looked to the British government for the protection of their interests and rights. Through their own organizations, they asked for appropriate representation in the legislatures.

The creation of Zamindari simultaneously engendered the of tenants in India. The tenants were rack rented, impoverished, and suffered from oppression at the hands of the zamindars.

In course of time, a series of intermediaries developed between the zamindar and the cultivating tenant whose condition thereby increasingly deteriorated. The Bengal Tenancy. Acts of 1859 and 1885 aimed at ameliorating the position of the tenant. However, the legislation did not accomplish much. The mass of tenants continued to live in an increasingly worsening condition.

In addition to the class of tenants in the Zamindari tracts, a new class of tenants also grew in the Ryotwari areas. Due to the progressive impoverishment among the peasant proprietors, land steadily passed from the hands of the latter to those of absentee landlords.

Gradually an awakening started taking place among the tenants in various provinces.\(^{20}\) In the U.P., Bihar, Bengal, and other areas, they formed their tenants' unions or joined kisan sabhas which sprang up and which were composed of peasants, tenants, and land labourers—of all those who worked on the land. These tenants' unions and kisan sabhas formulated the specific grievances and demands of the tenants and even
organized movements to back up these demands. Since the organizers of these unions, sabhas, and movements were staunch nationalists like Jawaharlal Nehru, Professor N. G. Ranga and Swami Sahajanand, the tenants along with other categories of those who worked on the land, came under the influence of nationalist propaganda and increasingly joined the nationalist movement under their own flag and with their own class demands. The nationalist spirit began to percolate steadily to the economically and culturally backward tenants. The kisan sabhas and tenants' unions began to be critical not only of the British government but also of the Indian National Congress which, according to them, was on the whole, solicitous of looking after the interests of the zamindars. They formulated their programme of demands such as reduction of rent, abolition of the practice of illegal dues extorted by the zamindars, rackrenting etc. Kisan sabhas even described the Zamindari system itself as wasteful, inefficient, iniquitous, and against national interests.

The creation of property in land in the form of Ryotwari engendered the class of peasant proprietors in India, which was broadly divided into three main categories according to the economic strength, viz., the upper, middle, and lower strata of peasant proprietors. As a result of the operation of factors like heavy land tax, small holdings, fragmentation of plots, growing heavy indebtedness, and others enumerated before, this class had been increasingly impoverished since it came into existence. It had been in a state of permanent disintegration. A process of differentiation was constantly at work within it, a meager minority of the mass of peasant proprietors ascending to the level of rich peasants while a large number falling into the ranks of the poor peasants, tenants of the absentee landlords, or land labourers. This process of differentiation grew at an accelerated rate since the rate of impoverishment of the peasantry increased. This led to the increasing passing of land from the hands of the
peasant proprietors into those of moneylenders, merchants, or others, who formed the new class of absentee landlords. The middle stratum of the peasantry was steadily dissolving and its number diminishing as growing impoverishment constantly drove a section of its members into the ranks of lower peasantry or even paupers or agricultural proletariat. As seen in the chapter on agriculture, both the classes of absentee landlords and agricultural proletariat grew at a high and geometrical rate in India in subsequent years.

The peasant proprietors developed national consciousness earlier than the tenants. This was due to the fact that the peasant proprietors were directly linked up with and had directly to deal with the state to which it paid the land tax while the tenants came into conflict with the zamindars over the question of rent and not with the state.

There was another reason which explained why the peasant proprietors acquired national consciousness earlier than the tenants. The Indian National Congress led by Gandhi was dominated by the Gandhian ideology of class harmony and formed its programme, on the whole, in the spirit of that ideology. According to that view, the zamindars and tenants were Indians and any programme which would take up and fight for the demands of the tenants would thereby only betray partisanship of that class and antagonize the zamindars, resulting in damage to the national united front of all classes in the struggle for Swaraj. However, the growth of the Kisan movement exerted some pressure on the Indian National Congress which, under that pressure, formulated a programme of demands for the tenants. Swami Sahajanand, Professor N. G. Ranga, Indulal Yagnik, and other leaders of the Kisan movement, however, criticized the Congress leadership for not enthusiastically working for that programme and even asserted that in Bihar and a number of other provinces, the right wing leaders holding the Gandhian viewpoint allied with the zamindars against
the tenants. They further pointed out how the Congress government even used coercive state power against the legitimate struggles of the tenants.\textsuperscript{22}

It was after 1918 that the kisans began to develop political consciousness, take part in organized national struggles and subsequently even build up their own organizations under their own flag and programme, and organized struggles for the fulfillment of that programme under their own leadership.

There had, however, taken place before 1918, a number of peasant movements which were spontaneous, spasmodic, and having limited and local economic aims.

The period between 1870 and 1897 was interspersed with severe famines in India, among which those of 1870, 1896, and 1897, were most devastating. This led to great misery among the kisans in affected areas. Periodically occurring economic depressions also led to great hardships among them. As a result of this, occasional kisan struggles broke out against the zamindars, moneylenders, and the government.

In 1870, the Bengal tenants were hit hard by the economic depression accentuating their general poverty. Thousands of them 'came to consciously refuse rents, disobey the dictates of courts, obstruct their eviction and finally to fight with what-ever weapons were available. ... A regular state of anarchy came to prevail in a large part of Bengal and Santal country-side. ...' The rising was quelled by the government which, however, appointed an Inquiry Committee and subsequently enacted the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1885.

The slump in cotton prices after the end of the Civil War in America hit the Indian kisans hard. Their debt burden as a result became very heavy and, in the Deccan in 1875, the Maratha peasants rose against the moneylenders who, with the aid of Courts, threatened them with eviction. They raided the houses of moneylenders, destroyed documents of debts
and even killed some of them. The riot was quelled. The government, however, recognized the necessity of relief to the peasants and passed the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act in 1879.

A revolt of the peasants threatened with loss of their land to the moneylenders took place in the Punjab in the last decade of the nineteenth century. To ease the situation, the government enacted the Punjab Alienation Act in 1902-3.

During the time of Lord Curzon, a Resolution of the Government of India on Land Revenue Policy was adopted aiming at protecting the tenants from the heavy pressure of the demands of the zamindars.

In India, a modern intelligentsia developed decades before modern industries were established and the industrial bourgeoisie came into existences' Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group constituted the first group of intelligentsia who studied western culture and imbibed its rationalist and democratic doctrines, conceptions, and spirit.

The number of educated Indians was small in the first decades of the nineteenth century. It was only after the British government established more and more schools and colleges, private effort of the missionary groups and enlightened Indians reinforcing this growth, that a big class of educated Indians developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, projecting from it a large section of intelligentsia.

The role of the intelligentsia in the history of modern Indian nationalism was decisive. They integrated, to a great extent the Indian people into a modern nation and organized various progressive socio-reform and religio reform movements in the country. They were the pioneers, organizers, and leaders of all political national movements. They brought ideas of nationalism and freedom to wider and wider sections of the Indian people, through educational and propaganda work which involved great self-sacrifice and suffering. They created rich provincial
literatures and cultures, trying to impregnate them with the spirit of nationalism and democracy. They produced great scientists, poets, historians, sociologists, litterateurs, philosophers and economists. In fact the progressive intelligentsias, which assimilated modern western democratic culture and comprehended the complex problems of the Indian nation, were the makers of modern India.

With the establishment of Universities in the country after 1857, the numerical strength of the educated Indians rapidly increased. The educated Indians were the first to acquire national consciousness in India. Outstanding members of the Indian intelligentsia backed up by a commercial and incipient industrial bourgeoisie founded in 1885 the first national political organization of the Indian people, the Indian National Congress. The language adopted by the Congress was English. The intelligentsia thus became its first leaders.(See Chapter X).

The subsequent history of the nationalist movement in India which developed, mainly under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, a broad middle class basis in the first decade of the twentieth century and a still broader mass basis after 1918, has been narrated in the chapter on politics. The important thing to note, however, is that in all its phases of development, the nationalist movement was led by the intelligentsia whichever section of it led it and however different its ideology, methodology, and programme, from those of other sections. During the Liberal phase, the nationalist movement was led by such outstanding Liberal intellectuals as Gopal Krishna Gokhaie, Dadabhai Naoroji, S. Bannerji, M. G. Ranade, Pherozshah Mehta, and others, who were the product of modern education inaugurated in India by the British government. In its next militant phase, the movement was guided by such great and sacrificing leaders as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B. C. Pal, Aurobindo Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai who themselves belonged to the modern
English-knowing intelligentsia. Even the terrorist movement which, as a minority current, grew in the country, was initiated and led by educated middle class youths who had studied the Irish terrorist and Russian nihilist movements. After 1918, when the nationalist movement, due to a number of historical reasons (see Chapter X), acquired more or less a mass basis, its leadership was provided by members of the intelligentsia such as Gandhi, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel, C. Rajagopala-chari, Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose and socialist and communist intellectuals.

The various social reform and religious reform movements among the Hindus, the Muslims, and other communities, were organized by the members of the intelligentsia of those communities. For instance, B. R. Ambedkar, a member of the intelligentsia, led a movement of social reform and political education among the depressed classes. In fact, almost all progressive social, political, and cultural movements which took place during the British rule were the work of the intelligentsia who had imbibed the new western education and culture.

The intelligentsia has been the organizer and leader of all progressive movements in all countries in the modern world. In countries like China, India and others, where the general mass of population has been illiterate and ignorant, the intelligentsia has been playing a particularly important role, since the illiterate and ignorant masses of these countries could not take even a minimum initiative in self-organization and self-enlightenment. It was the educated Indian who, having studied the history of trade union and peasant movements in other countries, gave a lead to the Indian workers and peasants and helped them to form their class organizations and movements. If the Indian masses had been literate, they could have known by study, the trade union and other movements in other countries, and would have, on their own initiative, formed such
organizations. Similarly, the educated Indians who had assimilated modern ideas of democracy and freedom and who knew about the social, cultural, and scientific achievements of other peoples, spread this knowledge among the illiterate Indian masses.

The educated middle class was the product of the new system of education inaugurated by the British government in India. It was composed of lawyers, doctors, technicians, professors, journalists, state servants, clerks, students, and others. The educated middle class steadily grew in number in the second half of the nineteenth century and after, as a result of the increased establishment of modern educational institutions in the country.

The Council Act of 1861 was a concession to the educated aristocracy. ..."The Council Act of 1892 was another index to the growth of the professional classes and to the concessions given to these classes."23

The growth of modern education in India was not paralleled by a proportional economic development of the country. Industrial development which guarantees a general economic development of society, thereby increasing its wealth and amend prosperity and creating an ever increasing number of jobs and other avenues of income, was slow in. India due to a number of factors of which the economic policy of the British government was an important one. As a result of this disparity, by the end of the nineteenth century unemployment among the educated class had already assumed serious proportions. Political discontent born of the economic suffering and to unemployment among the educated middle class was an important factor in the growth of the political current of militant nationalism of which Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala 101, Lipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo Ghose were the principal leaders. It also led to the growth of the terrorist movement.
As the educated middle class grew in the country in the subsequent decades and became more conscious of its own sectional interests, its various groups began to form their own organizations and formulate their own demands. Thus, there came into existence, in increasing numbers, organizations of these groups over and above their general organizations such as the Youth Leagues, Volunteer organizations, and others. This in 'Denim became particularly swift after 1930. A number of unions and associations of such groups as teachers, lawyers, engineers, and others, emerged to defend and organize struggles for getting redress of their grievances. These organizations were similar to trade unions or kisan sabhas which protected the sectional and immediate interests of workers and peasants. The rapid growth of students organizations and unions, particularly after 1934, all over India, culminating in the formation of all-India students organizations, was also notable.

Modern Indian Bourgeoisie: Its Interests, Organizations and Movements

We will next consider the rise of another new social class which emerged in the Indian society. As a result of the enormous expansion of internal and foreign trade, the establishment, in course of time, and subsequent growth of modern industries and banks in India, during the period of the British rule, a new class developed, the class of modern commercial. industrial and financial bourgeoisie. This class was, as in other countries, economically and socially perhaps the strongest class in India.

The rise, and development of the Indian bourgeoisie was bound up with the expansion of trade, commerce, industry and banking in India. The history of the expansion of the latter has been narrated in the chapter on the rise of modern industries. We will refer to the principal interests, traits, problems, organizations, and struggles of this class.
It should also be noted that the Europeans were also eng-aged in trade, industry, and banking in India. Pursuing their interests, they formed their own organizations separately or together with the Indians according to the nature of the economic enterprise.

Due to its very conditions of life and labour, the working class develops specific characteristics and capacities which distinguish it sharply from the peasantry or even the urban middle class and which make it easier for it to organize itself, unite and put up a collective struggle, to secure its class interests. First, a proletarian being property less is more militant than the peasant, who owning a meager plot of ground has a stake which makes him hesitant in action. Secondly, the workers are concentrated in factories and workshops in the industrial centers. This renders the task of organization of the workers easier in contrast to that of the peasants who are scattered over a vast area and hence difficult to be welded into unions. Further, the workers operate modern power-driven machinery and are not dependent on the capricious forces of Nature like rain for the fruition of the labour they invest in the production process. This has a tendency to make the worker sell-confident, logical, and clearheaded, in contrast to the peasant who develops self-diffidence and defeatism. Moreover, I.110 labour process in which the worker is engaged is based on a more complex and extensive division of labour. The daily necessity of co-operating with other workers in the propitiation process itself slowly engenders in the worker a collective urge and a capacity to co-operate. This is one of the reasons why trade unions spring more rapidly and strikes and collective actions are more frequent than peasant unions or Peasant movements.

Further, it must also be noted that the working class occupies key positions in contemporary society. It runs factories, operates railways and buses, generates power like gas and electricity, digs coal and carries on the
work of postal and telegraphic transmission. The role of this work is, socially and economically most vital to maintain modern society. coders the social specific weight of the modern working class out of proportion with its numerical strength.

The Indian working class, like the working classes of War countries, being divorced from the modern means of production which it itself operated on the basis of wage system, Increasingly gravitated to the conception and programme of a socialist society. This was reflected in the constitution the All-India Trade Union Congress which set as its aim the establishment of a socialist state in India. As the history of Britain, France, and other countries shows, by its very position. In modern society, the working class orients towards and struggle for this final goal. While other classes of con-Willful ail, Indian society desired a free India, Indian labour dreamt of a free socialist India.

There were, however, factors and forces in Indian society which operated to retard the process of self-organization of the worker for which their conditions of life and labour created a favorable premise. These were chiefly their cultural howl' w 'lump', caste and communal divisions which split them, influence of religious superstition and a fatalistic attitude towards life which weakened the will to act boldly

One striking characteristic of the new social classes was their national character. This was due to the fact that they were integral parts of a single national economy of India and further, they lived under a single state regime. This engendered community of economic, political and other interests, of the members of each of the new social classes on an all-India national basis. As the individuals and groups comprising the class became conscious of this basic identity of interests (though they might compete among themselves within the framework of this basic identity of interests),
they felt an urge to organize themselves on an all-India scale and start movement to advance their common interests on a national basis.

It was not so in pre-British India, when no single national economy or state regime existed. In pre-British India, the village artisan, for example, had no common economic ties or interests with artisans in other villages since he was a part of village autarchy. Similarly, the town handicraftsman had no common economic ties or interests with the handicraftsmen of other towns. India was, in fact, then divided into a conglomeration of almost unconnected local economies and a congeries of states. Hence, there were neither common political nor economic interests of all the artisans, handicraftsmen, or agriculturists. This led to the absence of impulse to organize and struggle on a national basis and scale.

The new social classes which emerged on the basis and lived under the auspices of the single national economy and state rule stood in sharp contrast to the old classes. The industrial-sobs, the factory and transport proletariat, the modern merchants, peasant proprietors, tenants, land labourers and even professional classes, had respective common interests and problems touch as protection, ratio, wages and conditions of work, Ana regulation of prices, level of revenue imposition, freight, services, and others in the economic field, or franchise, representation in legislatures, civil liberties for advancing their own stoup interests, and others, in the political sphere.

This was why with the establishment and development of the new economic system, which brought into existence the contemporary capitalist (notwithstanding some survivals of the past society) society and centralized state regime in India, we observe that each new class, urged by the compelling force of Its specific common interests, as it became conscious, moved towards a national, i.e., an all-India organization. The bourgeoisie increasingly felt as a national bourgeoisie and built up its
Indian Chambers of Commerce and Federations of Industries. The proletariat felt as a national proletariat and built, in course of time, its all-India organizations such as the All-India Trade Union Congress. The kisans, though a culturally awkward and poverty-stricken amorphous mass of land labourers, peasant proprietors and tenants, made the first attempt to evolve an all-India organization such as the All-India Kisan Sabha.

All such social groups, as students, women, depressed clas-ping, doctors, editors, and others, who as they became conscious of common interests endeavored to organize on a national Neale and built organizations like the All-India Women’s Conference, the All-India Medical Practitioners’ Associations, the All-India Journalists and Editors Conference and others.

Even the Indian princes, the modified survival of the corresponding old class, organized themselves on an all-India basis, in the Indian Chamber of Princes.

Another feature of the new Indian society was that while he new social classes moved towards national organization and strove to accomplish their respective ends, allying or struggling among themselves as the exigencies of their interests dictated, these classes, in varying degrees, increasingly became conscious of certain common interests of Indian people such as the development of productive forces and the general economic advance of the Indian society, increased control of state power by the Indians and spread of modern education and culture. The enlightened sections of the new classes increasingly recognized that sectional advance of those classes was bound up with the general advance of the Indian society as a whole; that for the rapid development of industries, restoration and reorganization of agriculture was indispensable, and also that a prosperous agriculture implied, as a prerequisite, the
expansion of industries which would relieve over-pressure on agriculture; that the prosperity of the professional classes mainly depended on the general prosperity; and that spread of education and culture were vital prerequisites for social and economic progress. They also further recognized the role of political power in bringing about the social transformation. This led to the growth of a united nationalist movement of all progressive social classes and groups in the country with a common programme embodying such demands as radical administrative reform, control of executives by the legislatures, comprehensive civil liberties, universal primary and increased higher, liberal and technical education, Home Rule, Dominion Status, and Swaraj.

Further, national and class consciousness did not grow among the new classes simultaneously. The intelligentsia, who assimilated the ideas of nationalism, democracy, and rationalism, were the first to feel the democratic and national impulse and, thereby, also became the pioneers and leaders of all progressive social, religious, economic, political, and cultural movements. Subsequently, the educated middle class, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the peasantry, in increasing numbers, developed a national outlook. It was after 1918 that the conditions for a broad based nationalist movement matured and a united nationalist movement came into existence (see the chapter on politics).

The tendency towards a united national movement for political freedom and social, economic and cultural advance at Ilea Indian people, was, however, retarded by the growth of communalism (to be distinguished from the growth of nationality consciousness among certain provincial and minority groups) and other factors which worked for disruption. reactionary section of the educated class, reinforced by a section of vested interests, tried to keep alive and even accentuated mutual distrust among different communities, generally with the object of serving
their own sectional interests such as those posts in services or seats in legislatures or rivalry in trade, (see Chapter XIX, 'Problem of Nationalities and Minorities') The cultural backwardness of the people helped the communalists in their anti-national work.

The demands for a greater spread of modern education and culture, of extensive industrialization, of a democratic revision of land relations and modernization of agriculture, of democratization of the state system, of Independence, and others, which constituted the programmes of progressive new social classes, separately or jointly, had a progressive and national character since they were conceived on a national scale and aimed at building a prosperous national existence. Higher material and cultural existence for the Indian people become the objective of those programmes. The desire for democratic social and state structure, a prosperous economy and a rich advanced cultural life in a greater or lesser degree, Inspired these programmes.

It should, however, be noted that all the new classes were not consistently democratic in dealing with some vital national problems. For instance, though a radical revision of land relations involving loss of the valuable rights of the zamindar, not to speak of the abolition of Zamindari itself, was essential for the restoration of agriculture and the improvement of the economic condition of the agrarian population, the Indian bourgeoisie exhibited no enthusiasm for any radical agrarian reform. Here, they sacrificed the general interests of national economic advance to their sectional interests which were opposed to the overturn of Zamindari (see chapters on politics and agriculture). Another instance was found in the fact that when the Congress governments were installed, they showed their pro-capitalist bias by enacting the Bombay Trade Disputes Act which was an infringement of civil liberties.
Living in the epoch of general capitalist decline and sharpening inter-capitalist economic rivalries, increasingly dependent on British or American finance capital, interlocked with indigenous landed interests, having a colonial status and without real state power, and further, confronted with the steadily developing movements of the workers, farmers, and tenants, whose economic position was deteriorating, the national bourgeoisie was, by the very logic of its class position and interests, becoming increasingly un-progressive and even reactionary. It brought into the sphere of ideology religious mysticism, and in politics authoritarian conceptions like 'One leader, one party, one programme, and curtailment of civil liberties (workers' freedom to strike, etc.). This was the growing tendency of this class.

So there were two simultaneous movements in the country, both on a national basis and on an all-India scale. The first movement comprised all separate movements of various social classes pursuing their own respective interests and aims, such as the industrialists, merchants, workers, kisans, professional classes, students, women, and others. Each social class or group organized itself and struggled to satisfy its own interests. Thus, there arose numerous and distinct movements of various classes to serve their specific interests. The inter-relations of these classes were determined by every concrete historical situation which determined their episodic alliances or conflicts.

The other movement was the joint movement of all or a number of classes, episodic or permanent, against foreign rule. It took the form of the Indian nationalist movement for Home Rule, Dominion Status, or Complete Independence. This movement was based on the common interest, namely the removal of political control of India by another nation. Each social class, however, had its own conception of the form of state and socio-economic structure after the achievement of power.
The phenomenon of separate class movements on a national scale and a united national movement for political freedom, economic advance, and cultural progress, was non-existent in pre-British India.

The public opinion in favor of the sea-voyage was gaining ground day by day. The kayastha conference, though it did not pass any definite resolution in its favor, resolved to set up National Fund or common Fund to help the desirous students of the community either in the prosecution of higher studies in a foreign country or in the preparation for the covenanted civil serf dice examination. Thus, the kayastha conference supported and encouraged foreign travel. It is gratifying to note that the proposer of the resolution was a Bihari kayastha, Jai Prakash Lal of Arrah. The Bihar Industrial and Educational Association offered two scholarships of the value of Rupees 125 a month each, plus the passage money to selected students for receiving technical education in England.

As a result of these measures, in 1908, a batch of 6 kayastha students proceeded to England with the blessings of the Imam brothers, Dip Narayan Singh and Langar Singh. Thus, the efforts of the Bihari middle class to break the restriction on sea-voyage was crowned with success. The fear of excommunication for crossing the sea was ended.

The Bihari middle class wanted to emancipate women, to bring them to light and to do away with the rigour of the purda system. It was Syed Hasan Imam, who for the first time, tried to emancipate women from the shackles of the purda- system. He was convinced of the fact that without the liberation of women, no reform who possible. In 1909, he proclaimed at the Gaya students' conference, “With the: depressed classes in a state of eternal servitude and the women in a state of hopeless mewled and unreasonable subjection, your wheel of progress will more likely run backward than forward.” He did what he said. He brought his two daughters out of purda and imparted them the highest education. In 1915,
he took them to England. Thus, he banished the purdah system for all time to come from his family. His example was followed by other. Pandit Ramavtar sharma sent his daughters to the Banaras Hindu university to receive English education.\(^{30}\)

The rise of the middle class was synchronized with the growth of newspapers and the societies for the intellectual development of mankind. Muzaffapur published two newspapers one the chasm Elm and the other the scientific society's paper.\(^{51}\) The latter was devoted chiefly to educational subjects.

The Bihar Herald and the Behar Bandhu in English and Hindi respectively were the two Weeklies of Bihar. The former was started in 1874 and had no influence on the messes. It was the mouthpiece of the Bengali residents of Bihar and was "the medium for expression of race Jealousies". The latter advocated the cause of Hindi. many Hindu gentleman subscribed to it with a view to encourage the Nagri script though they themselves could not and did not read the paper.\(^{31}\)

Govind charanl, the first Bihari M.A., started the Indian chronicle, an English newspaper in collaboration with Eisheswat Singh, the founder of the B.N. College, Patna. Its publication gave Bihar a political entity and a recognized place among Indian nationalities.\(^{32}\) Besides these, several other newspapers and magazines were also published an educational magazine called the siksha.\(^{33}\) Besides these, several other newspapers were the Patna Institute Gazette, kaisth Gazette, array’s Aglabi Alam, the Tirhut courier etc. The Darbhanga branch of the kayastha sabha published an urdu weekly, while Bettish published the champaran chandrika.\(^{34}\)

But the real progress in the riled of journalism began in 1894. In that year Sachidanands Sinha, a very Bihar conscious Bihari.\(^{35}\) in collaboration with other educated Biharis started a paper, the Bihar time. The paper under the editorship of Mahesh Narayan fought a relentless war for the
separation of Bihar from Bengal. with the help of figures and data’s, it revealed the inconveniences which Bihar had to surer for its connection with Bengal. Thus, it created public opinion in favor of separation. Really, the periods of renaissance began in Bihar with the birth of the paper. Unfortunately the dream of Mahesh Narayan did not blossom forth in his life time. He died in 1907. But he did much to enlighten the public opinion in Bihar. He was really the “Father of public opinion in Bihar”. After his death, the paper was renamed Bihari. The educated Mohammedans joined hands with Dr. Sinha in his efforts to make Bihar a separate province. Thus, the Hindus and the Mohammedans wee united together. They eschewed their communal differences and put up a joint front. The credit for this goes to the educated men of both the communities.

However, the struggle for separation did not end in fiasco. In 1912.Bihar was separated from Bengal. The separation was the direct result of English education. The segregation of Bihar from Bengal was necessary for the growth and uplift of the province politically and economically. The middle class realized this, fought for it and got it.

The growth and development of education led to the foundation of societies. The most important of them were the Bihar national Improvement Association of Bhagalpur and the Bihar Institute of Patna. The former tried to spread education among the Bihar’s with a view to bring them at par with the Bengalis. The Bihar Institute came into being due to the efforts of Bisheswar Singh. Its object was “the promotion of the intellectual, social moral and physical welfare of the young men of Patna and the cultivation of good feeling between persons of various face and creed”. It attracted a good numbed of educated persons. Its inaugural meeting was attended by not less than 400 persons. Hindi could find a place in the university examinations due to the efforts of the Institute. The Anjuman Islam Institute of Monghyr supported 63 orphans and met the
cost of education of many of them. The scientific society of Muzaffarpur was an educational institution. It set up schools. The Hindu Boys Association of this place aimed at encouraging religious study and moral practice among the Indian youth. The Dharma samaj of Muzaffarpur was a religious body. It also tried to eradicate social evils.

The Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj had their branches in Bihar, but they had little influence over the masses. Their doctrines of widow remarriage and the freedom of women were not at all liked by the people. The Brahma samaj was established on the 14th April 1867 at Hazribagh, but its influence was limited to the Bengalis only.

Another important association, the Bihari students Conference, came into being in 1906. Its object was to supplement the education imparted in schools and colleges and to create an esprit de corps among students. The conference achieved much success. Rajendra Prasad has summed up its achievement the education imparted in schools and colleges and to create an esprit de corps among workers who devoted themselves to the welfare of their brother students and instilled into the minds of many the lesson of service and instilled into the minds of many the lesson of organization and the gushiness habit of running a movement even while they were studying in schools and colleges. It made them largely self-reliant and bold. It helped students also in their intellectual development and can claim the credit of having created many of our public speakers. It ordinarily kept itself out of active politics and confined its activities to training and preparing young men for future political and social work. It always held up high ideals before them.

The English education transferred the leadership of the masses from the hands of the aristocracy to the middle class. This new class regarded higher education a treasured possession. They developed a liking for English language and literature. So, when in 1869, the government
announced its policy to reduce expenditure on English education and to encourage vernacular education, the middle class, as a whole, protested against it. They regarded the withdrawal of the state aid from English education as “a grave misfortune” and “detrimental to the cause of the mental and moral progress of the people of the country”.

The Biharis had no love for industrial education, The legal profession was the peak of their ambition. This is why there was neither a medical nor an engineering graduate in Bihar till 1897. The scholarship offered by the Bhagalpur National Association to any qualified Bihari for the prosecution of his studies at the Calcutta Medical college went unlabelled of. The appeal of the Bihar Times to students to join the technical and industrial institutions was also not warmly responded.

But soon the tide was turned. The educate persons realized the importance of technical education for the material prosperity of the province. The kayastha conference came out with some definite plans for the encouragement of technical education. It suggested to open technical institutions at different places, of award scholarships and medals to deserving students and to encourage instruction in foreign countries. Gradually, students began to flock in the technical schools, But it is not known whether any English educated Bihari had taken to business or not. From the pages of the Bihar Times, we come to know that there was a decided hesitation on the part of the resign generation to take to industry or trade. The paper mentions the case of a practicing lawyer of Bhagalpur, who stuck to the legal profession though his monthly income was Rupees 20 only.

Thus, the educated Biharis had mainly literary education. They were greatly influenced by the English liberalism which came to them through English education. They tried hard to do away with the evils of the society. This, they achieved mainly through caste association, which in its wake
brought caste consciousness. But at that time caste associations were essential. No uniform law for all castes, having different loyalties and customs could be evolved. The caste shahs also rose equal to the occasion and played a positive role in removing social evils and promoting education. Though they made the caste system more rigid but they also broken the intra-caste barrier to some extent. The kayastha conference admitted the karana of pulling down the barriers between different castes fortified them. The calte consciousness of to - day may by the directly result of the caste sabhas.

It is notable that the middle class, which constituted the upper class and upper caste only practically, did nothing for the education and amelioration of the depressed classes. They were too much engrossed in fighting for the loaves and fishes of the office and the progress of the members of their own community. Only Syed Hasan Imam's was a lone voice in this respect.

Thus, the reform movement was confined to the upper class and caste only. The kurmis, were however, an exception. They had their conference like the kayastha conference and the Bhumihar sabha. The third kurme conference was held under the president ship of a Bihari Vakil, Mithila Saran Singh at Pilibheet in 1879. The conference passed resolutions for the setting up of hostels for students. It also resolved to publish the kurmi samachar and to establish kurmi sabhas at different places. Little information is available appears that the conference was not as successful as the kayastha conference and the Bhumihar Brahman sabha,

The setting up of schools and colleges by the educated persons for the spread and development of education was the immediate consequence to the liberal ideas which penetrated into their minds through English education. Langat Singh was an exception. Though he was not an educated
man in the strict sense of the term yet he was in touch with the western education and the English educated persons.

The Chotanagpur division also could not keep itself aloof from the influence of English education. There two forces were working simultaneously to change the mode of living of these tribal’s. They were the English education and the missionaries. The region had the unique privilege of coming in close touch with the English men and English education at the same time. The missionaries set up schools and through them brought a lot of the aborigines within the fold of Christianity. As a result of this.” The proverbial improvidence of the aboriginals was replaced by a spirit of thrift and mutual help and cooperation”. Drunkenness was discouraged, The old pun hayedsystem was reorganized. There was a marked improvement in their mode of living, in taste and cleanliness. The old faith in spirit was given up. The use of excessive metal ornaments was abandoned. The tribal dances, in which both men and women danced together, were banned in the Lutheran and Anglican Churches, because they encouraged immorality, while the catholic churches allowed them under certain restrictions.50

Thus, education and missionaries combined together to raise the status of the aborigines. Their efforts were crowned with success. A number of industrial schools were set up to free the aborigines from the fetters of economic degradation. They were not barren of good results. The non-Christians also did not lag behind. They imitated their Christian brothers and tried to ameliorate them-selves by giving up the obnoxious customs and educating themselves.

The Mohammedans of Bihar were more alive to the ad-vantages of the western education than their Hindu counterparts. Enlightened Mohammedans, like wilayat Ali Khan, Loot Ali khan and other encouraged the spread of education among their brethren by founding
scholarships for them. Their efforts did not go in vain. The Mohammedan students fully availed of these scholarships. In 1891, Khuda Buksh khan an English educated Mohammedan established the Patna oriental Library. It contains the worlds finest collection of Muslim literature, besides volumes dealing with biography, philosophy, logic, ethics, jurisprudence, theology, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, natural science, medicine, rhetoric and other subjects. The library has done much and is doing much in advancing the study and researches in the Muslim period of Indian History.

The sea voyage was not a dreadful thing for them, two Bihari Mohammedans, Syed Hossein and Syed sakhowat Hossein obtained scholarships to go to England for higher studies during 1879-1881. Also they outnumbered the Hindus. During 1895-98, Mohammedans were appointed to the executive posts against Hindus. In the judicial services till 1896, their number was double that of the Hindus.

But it seems that in spite of their elevated position and education, most of the Mohammedans were not in favor of female education. In their evidences before the Indian Education commission (1882), both Nawab Abdul Luteef khan Bahadur and moulvi syed Amir Hossein Khan Bahadur did not press the government to spread education among the girls of their community. The former admitted that “there are special difficulties greater than those which exist in regard to the female education of any steer class of Indian population”. The latter, on the otherhand, wished to speak ‘as little on the subject all possible’. But, later on, some of them realized the importance of female education and tried to promote it. The most distinguished among them were Badshah Nawab Razvi and syed Hasan Imam of Patna. The former donated a magnificent sum for the setting up of a girl school at Patna. The latter, on the other hand, not only supported a girl school at Patna but also banished the purda system from his family for good.
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