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C H A P T E R I I IPOLITICAL IDEAS OF M.G.RANADE3.1 A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF M.G.RANADE:

Mahadev Govind Ranade was born on 18th January, 1842 at Niphad in Nasik district¹. He belonged to the famous Chitpawan Brahmin community, which has played a dominant role in the educational and political life of Maharashtra. Ranade's parents were orthodox and conservative and exerted influence on him to some extent. Ranade completed his early education at Kolhapur at the end of 1856. After this, his father sent him to Elphinstone High School at Bombay for further education. In 1859, he completed his Matriculation examination, and in 1862 B.A. examination, in First division and Honours examination in second class². His examiner was impressed by the knowledge and his reading, because of which he collected money from his friends and presented a gold medal and also books worth Rs.200/- to him. He completed his M.A. in 1864 and LL.B. in 1865. In 1861, he became the fellow of Bombay University and rendered useful service to the University in that capacity. He began his career as a teacher. Later on he worked as an oriental translator and then as a subordinate Judge at various places. In 1868 he was given permanent appointment as a Professor of English and Marathi at Elphinstone College, Bombay.

In 1871, he was given permanent appointment in Judicial Department as a First Class Subordinate Judge by Bombay Government and he rose to be a Judge of Bombay High Court, in 1881³. This office he retained till his death in 1901. As a Judge, Ranade was a great success, as his judgements bore marks of his considerable learning and a Judicious mind. Ranade throughout his life, had studied many books on various subjects. He had good command over Marathi, Sanskrit and English and had deep interest in History. He wrote his famous book on Maratha History, entitled ' Rise of Maratha Power'. His English knowledge gave access to new ideas. His studies of different subjects led him not only to take interest in subjects like politics and economics but also made him a great social reformer.

He began to work in social sphere from 1859, even during student days. In 1860, he read an essay on " Marathi Rajerajwade" in ' Dnyanprasarak Sabha' (1848). He was a guiding force of the ' Prarthana Samaj' and the ' Poona Sarvajanik Sabha' which were established in 1867 and 1870 respectively. He also started to write in 'Indu-Prakash ' (1862) on social evils⁴. In 1873, when his wife died and the question of remarriage arose; he could not marry a widow and instead he was forced by his father to marry a virgin girl who was only eleven years. This was a life long stigma that got attached to him.

In 1885, the Government of Bombay nominated M.G.Ranade as the Law Member of the Bombay Legislative Council in place of a British Civilian. He was the Law Member of Council again in 1890 and 1893. In the field of education, he inspired his friends to establish Deccan Education Society which came into existence in 1884⁵. In 1887, he established Indian Social Conference with the help of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao. He played an important role in the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885. So much so the founder of the Congress A.O.Hume acknowledged him as his political guru. Through Indian Social Conference, he decided to discuss and to solve the Indian social problems⁶. He was also appointed as a Member of the Finance Committee in 1886⁷. This distinguished jurist, economist, historian, social reformer and educationist died on 16th January, 1901 at Bombay.

It is true as C.Y.Chintamani has pointed out that, the gigantic intellect, saintly character, many sided activity, unflinching devotion to duty and passionate love to the ' Motherland ' of the late Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade ' were the wonder and inspiration of millions of his admiring countrymen' and that his whole life as ' a noble record of glorious exertions and self-sacrificing labours for the regeneration of his teeming millions in all the departments of our activity in general and in the holy field of social Reform in particular⁸.

3.2 MAIN FEATURES OF POLITICAL IDEAS OF M.G.RANADE:

Justice Ranade can be considered as the most important theoretician of Indian liberalism, because it was he who gave real thought content to liberal political ideas that were advocated by Ram Mohan Roy. Ranade was not only liberal, he was moderate also in the sense that he wanted the things to mature before they assume any definite form. Advocacy of social reform, role of religion, moderation, commitment to economic development of the country and secular and liberal ideas of nationalism, can be considered as the main features of political ideas of M.G.Ranade. This he devocated through his writings.

3.3 RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF M.G.RANADE:

Ranade was a deeply religious soul and firm believer in existence of God, as a Supreme Reality on whom, both man and nature depend. In his 'Theist's Confession of Faith' he explained that the intellectual capacity of a man is limited, therefore, a man cannot explain the things which are happening in the world. So also in many religious books is explained the origin and decay of the world. But all these books are written by men and not by the God; and hence if we were to believe in them naturally we would be called superstitious⁹. He accepted that by due devotion to God the chastening of conscience, the solid foundations of

Character are created. He had great belief in the purification of the human heart, in accordance with the dictates of conscience. The national mind of India cannot, in his view, be satisfied with agnosticism. Being a deep believer in the omnipotent majesty of God, he was persuaded of the truth that the divine force was active in history. History, thus is a manifestation of Divine Will. Even in the working of external nature, like the Stoic philosopher, Ranade found evidence of God's existence. According to him, the human soul is not identical with supreme Godhead and to this extent his position is different from that of Vedantism of the extreme monistic school. Thus, Ranade grants a measure of independence and free will to the human soul¹⁰.

Ranade further said that, it is wrong to believe that everything is happening according God's Will¹¹. He did not accept the view that man was free and he could do anything as he pleased. But he accepted the middle way of the development of man as it depends upon his education, company, and circumstances¹². Though he believed in the existence of God he did not believe in the concept of ' Moksha ' or liberation. He argued that every man should believe in God, otherwise, he would not be in a position to perform virtuous acts and also a man should worship God. The worship of the God should not be done individually, it should be done collectively as due to it all people could come in close

contact with each other like Christians and Muslims. By starting this practices he noted that people would get religious inspiration and that would ultimately lead to the unity of Hindus¹³.

Ranade further pointed out how by visiting Holy places, we can remember the virtues and biographies of the great men and inspire us in emulating the examples¹⁴. Although he was not opposed to perform the religious ceremonies by the priest, he made it clear that there should not be any separate class of priests. It is wrong to suppose that the priests are the path makers of the ' Moksha '¹⁵. Ranade believed that God exists in every man and it would be found in his conscience, force and virtuous deeds. We should do our duties according to our conscience and should not interfere in other's rights, as well as we should not allow any one to encroach upon his rights. On 14th May, 1885, Ranade pointed out the importance of religion in his speech he delivered at Deccan College. To him, in India the religion is a valuable thing, because the Hindu had taught several lessons of tolerance and co-operation to the world. Every Hindu loves his religion more than his self¹⁶. He criticised the followers of Mill and Spencer; who accepted their views on religions. He was of the view that, agnostic views of these thinkers were the result of intolerant and feuding Christianity.

Speaking at Panchappa College in 1886, he explained the basic duties of faithful Hindu, pointing out the fact that the 'Hindu religion was not uniform in application, hence it was impossible to lay down exact or rigid code of duties. Due to this flexibility Hindus have the real knowledge of their worldly duties and therefore, we are the chosen people of God'¹⁷. It may be pertinent to point out that, it was Ranade's firm belief that we Indians are the chosen people of God and we may have fallen in distress, but one day we shall redeem our past and once again be spiritual guide of the world.

According to him, Hindu religion does not teach us to do things that would fetch us bread, but preaches us to do such noble thing in the world as our ancestors did. Mountaining their old tradition of performing noble duties the Hindus should take to work of social reform as a religious work, which would have the way for Indian regeneration¹⁸. Ranade was a great supporter of Hindu religion but he wanted Hinduism in its noble form without idolatry casteism, superstitions and other degrading social customs¹⁹. He attacked outdated superficial symbols of religion²⁰, and asked the people to strike a right balance between religion and science²¹. He also made it clear that religion did not belong to metaphysical sphere but it had

social relevance as Chh. Shivaji worked hard to establish an independent Maratha state for the protection of Hindu religion²². Hence he argued that Hindus should recognise the need of the hour and work for social reforms. He realised that India was a land of religious people and there was an inseparable link between religion and Indian people²³. He knew the intrinsic worth of Hinduism and was a firm believer of its ideas. Therefore, he criticised the Christian attempts to convert Indians. He explained that " they (Hindus) have their own national faiths, numerous schools of philosophy and literature on all the most abstruse and insoluble metaphysical problems;... The religious teachers and reformers like Shankaracharya, Kabir, Ramdas, Tukaram etc., cultivated the rational mind for purity of life, nobility of thought and sentiment, and devotion to truth. Therefore, it is not possible to believe that the Hindus would be easily converted to Christian religion"²⁴.

Ranade was deeply committed to religious reforms because India could not be reformed unless her religion was reformed because at present her people were living under the crushing load of unreason. To liberate Hindus from their inegalitarian tradition, the movements on the pattern of the European reformation would be desirable because causes; like social, economic, political and religious backwardness were interlinked and this interdependence was not an accident, but was a law

of nature²⁵, and to achieve the real reformation of the society, the ideas and thought that determined the outer form should be changed in right direction²⁶. He was of the view that regeneration of India and Maharashtra was possible if we adhered to the basic principles of our noble religion.

3.4 IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL REFORMS:

M.G.Ranade is rightly counted as one of the greatest man who contributed to the building up of renascent India. The idea of social reform was very much in the air at the time when Ranade went to Bombay for his higher education. The ' Paramhansa Sabha ' (1849) had been established to eliminate social evils. During that period, in Maharashtra and also in India many a social evils were prevailing like caste system, child marriage, untouchability, ban on foreign travel and prohibition of widow's remarriage. Generally, the people were ignorant and superstitious in every sphere of life. He realised that all these social evils were a hinderance to the development of society. Therefore, he had given first preference to social reforms. Ranade says, " You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice"²⁷. Therefore, he took keen interest in the activities of social reform, such as the Widow marriage Association (1866), the Prarthana Samaj (1867), the Indian Social Conference (1887) etc.

From 1860, he began to take part in social activities by reading an essay on "Marathi Rajerjawade" in 'Dnyanaprakasha Sabha' and advised, Maharashtrian nobles to acquire new knowledge and to follow the part of Bengali nobles²⁸. When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, some of the leaders thought that, side by side with political problems, they should also discuss social problems. But there was a controversy, therefore, the Indian Social Conference met separately for the purpose of promotion of social reforms. M.G.Ranade, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao were responsible for its establishment.

Ranade felt, Social reform was a means for the solidification and purification of the character of the nation²⁹. The intention of neutralization of unfounded prejudices and baseless superstitions was to vitalize the foundations of social and natural character. Therefore, he laid stress on promoting social evolution³⁰. He realised through the study of history, that social change could be brought about by slow process and not by revolution. Therefore, he advocated organic conception of society and believed that, man's social web of relations should be instilled with the spirit of partnership and co-operation. Ranade put forward the objects of social reforms in 1892 at Allahabad Social Conference. He argued "The change which we should all seek is thus a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from

status to contract, from authority to reason, from unorganised to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of human dignity"³¹. He recognised that behind the weakness and prostration of the country, there were social causes at work, and hence social emancipation was organically related to political salvation. He said at the Social Conference of Amraoti in 1897, " Now what have been the inward form or ideas which have been hastening our decline during the past three thousand years ? These ideas may be briefly set forth as isolation, submission to outward force or power more than to the voice of the inward conscience, perception of fictitious differences between men and women due to heredity and birth, passive acquiescence in evil or wrong doing, and a general indifference to secular well-being almost bordering upon fatalism. These have been the root ideas of our ancient social system. They have as their natural result led to the existing family arrangements where the women are entirely subordinated to the men and the lower castes to the higher castes, to the length of depriving men of their natural respect for humanity"³². He was of the view that the above mentioned social ills and weaknesses should be removed from our society so that it could emerge as a secular and modern society that was wedded to progress.

To create the favourable views in the minds of Indians regarding social reforms, he had given some historical examples to drive matter home that social practices were not eternal and they changed as time demanded. He gave example of polyandry in Maharashtra. He further argued that in ancient times, women had equal rights with husbands in all respects like marriage, religious rites, divorce or remarriage³³. He again expressed a view that, the Brahmins were responsible for interpolating later on evil practices to further their own interests. They condemned all the old, approved institutions such as celibacy, sea-voyages, late marriage and widow-marriage as being unsuited to the new Kali-Yuga and therefore, these practices were forbidden, though they were practiced here in old times³⁴. He had taken help of Maratha History to show that Bajirao II, passed strict orders prohibiting the sale of girls in consideration of marriage, and in certain condition the right of remarriage of child widows was granted³⁵. He also pointed out, cases of reformation in the Maratha History in connection with religious ceremony, caste distinction etc. Ranade did not desire to bring sudden changes in social sphere. He was aware that the sudden changes are not beneficial for the country. He also advised conservatives, to absorb the new ideas and gradual assimilation of new practices³⁶.

For social reforms he suggested four methods. The first method was as the traditional method meaning basing reform on

the old texts, taking the old texts as the basic, and to interpret them so as to suit the new requirements of the times. The second method was that of appealing to the conscience of the people, leads to disputations and therefore, they advocate the method of appealing directly to their sense of right and wrong, good and bad, sinful and virtuous. The reformes should to seek to bind men, by their own pledge or promise. The third method sought to enforce reform by means of penalties, imposed either by the caste or by the state, in either of which case it is equally a constraint imposed by the wise upon the ignorant in their common interest. The fourth method was that of dividing from the rest, and forming a new association like 'Brahmo Samaj' ourselves³⁷.

Apart from these methods, he advocated the State to intervene effectively to hasten the pace of reforms. It is true that the state intervention was anathema to the liberals but, the India liberals always advocated the positive role of the state in abolition of the evil practices. Ranade's view was the reforms like permission for widow remarriage, restrictions on child marriage, ban on self murder of jogees on the bank of Ganges, and giving compulsory education etc., should be introduced by the Government with her law and force. Although, individual liberty of action is a great force, but this liberty has its limitations in India, therefore, these evils, could be more effectively minimised by the state than

by the individual effort and without leading to other abuses³⁸. Along with that he stressed the fact that the social reformers, should have faith, charity and hope in their work³⁹.

Ranade tendered advice to Hindus as well as Muslims as he said " in this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mahomedans join hands together, and are determined to follow the lead of men who flourished in Akbar's time"⁴⁰. He pointed out that both, Hindus and Mahomedans lacked many virtues.

As far as social reformers are concerned he pointed out that they should endeavour to improve themselves. He argued " The reformer has to infuse in himself the light and warmth of nature and he can only do it by purifying and improving himself and his surroundings. He must have his family, village, tribe, and nation recast in other and new moulds, and that is the reason why social reform becomes our obligatory duty, and not a mere pastime which might be given up at pleasure"⁴¹. Ranade pleaded for the loosening of old bindings of religion that had destroyed the inner force of self control. Therefore; they had to be slowly removed. He was of the view that new bindings of law should be introduced, because these bindings were not as rigid as religious bindings; the bindings of laws could be changed according to new circumstances and needs⁴². He was of the

view that the people should convince the Government to introduce such reforms by the force of law, that were necessary for the society; for example the customs like ' Sati ' could only be checked by the strong arm of law⁴³. Though he was a great supporter of social reforms, he did not want to use revolutionary methods because, according to him " The process of growth is always slow, where it has to be a sure growth. The best natures naturally want to shorten this long process in their desire to achieve the work of a century in a decade. This temptation has to be resisted⁴⁴.

3.5 THE INTERPRETATION OF THE RISE OF MARATHA POWER:

Ranade studied Maratha History and wrote a book " Rise of Maratha Power ". In this book he made an attempt to establish the fact that in India there existed nationalism. In this book, Ranade had considered the religious, social and political conditions of those days and tried to explain philosophical background of Maratha Samaj, which arose in seventeenth century⁴⁵. Ranade explained the importance of the study of Maratha history, because some thought that, the History of Marathas was a sad story of the rise and fall of a freebooting power⁴⁶. But Ranade tried to explain that the above charge was not true.

Although the Maratha Power arose in Western Maharashtra, it eventually came to include a greater portion of India within its control. For fifty years the emperors at Delhi were made or unmade by the Agents of Maratha Power. Therefore, Ranade says " ... the immediate predecessor of the British rulers of India were not the Mahomedans, as is too often taken for granted but they were the native rulers of the country, who had successfully thrown off the Mahomedan yoke. Mr. Grand Duff, indeed claims for Maratha History, this particular feature of interest, and describes the Maratha as " our predecessor in conquest in India, whose power was gradually gaining strength before it found a head in the far-famed adventure of Shivaji Bhosale". Except in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast, the powers displaced by the English conquest were not Mahomedan Subhedars, but native Hindu rulers who had successfully asserted their independence"⁴⁷.

According to Ranade, the foundation of Maratha empire was not the outcome of the successful enterprise of any individual adventure, but it was the upheaval of the whole population, strongly bound together by the common affinities of language, race, religion and literature and seeking further solidarity by a common independent political existence. It was national movement or upheaval in which all classes co-operated⁴⁸. Therefore, the history of Marathas deserves our special attention, though the Maratha attempt of nation

building lacked that solid foundation which the Europeans had successfully established⁴⁹. Ranade further argued that the Maratha people worked as the soldiers for six months and as the farmers for six months in a year and enjoyed their 'Vatans'. This feeling of patriotism illustrated most forcibly the characteristic result of the formation of a nation in the best sense of the word⁵⁰.

Ranade was of the opinion of that Shivaji's efforts were solidly supported by the masses. The political upheaval was caused by the social upheaval generated by Maratha Saints like Dnyaneshwar, Namdev, Ekanath, Tukaram. He wrote "this Bhakti movement was similar to the Protestant movement of Europe, because it was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy, it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against all forms and ceremonies and class distinction based on birth, and ethical in its preference"⁵¹. The advice of the Saints like Dnyaneshwar, Namdev, Ekanath, Tukaram, Ramdas, Chokhamela, Narahari Sonar, Savita Mali, Shaik Mahomad, Kabir was responsible to reduce intensity of class, caste and religious distinction among the people of India in general⁵². These saints preached Maharashtra Dharma to the masses and elevated them to national conception of Man's spiritual nature to shake the hold of caste intolerance"⁵³.

The religious movement which was started by Dnyaneshwar through his priceless literature raised the 'Shudra' classes

to a position of spiritual power and it also raised the status of women. It made the nation ready to hold together by mutual toleration. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mahomedans... it checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action and prepared, it in a way no other nation in India was prepared to take the lead in re-established a united native power in the place of foreign domination⁵⁴.

Ranade wanted to illustrate three lessons from the rise of Marathas (1) the Rise of Maratha Power was not a mere accident but it was a genuine effort in nation building. (2) It achieved success because it was supported by all classes of society (3) the attempt failed but failure itself was an education in the highest virtues⁵⁵. Here Ranade tried to explain that even today the people of Maharashtra should try to emulate what their ~~bre~~thers did in the past.

3.6 ECONOMIC IDEAS OF M.G.RANADE:

M.G.Ranade had deeply studied European economic thought and drawbacks of Indian economy. He suggested the measures to overcome it. Therefore, he was called as a father of Indian economics⁵⁶. He expressed his economic ideas through his various essays and lectures. In 1864 he read an essay on

evils of over population and made it clear that in India the people thought that they were suffering due to their misfortune, but this type of thinking created laziness in the life of man. He further argued that in India it was believed that giving birth child was a sacred duty of man in his life. But increasing population was the cause of increase in diseases and famines, and Indians had no chance to establish their colonies as free nations' people for their livelihood. Therefore, customs like child marriage and joint family system should be abolished to check the growth of over population⁵⁷.

In December, 1872, he delivered a lecture on ' Indian Commerce ' and pointed out to the people how Britishers were exploiting the Indians and destroying Indian arts and handicrafts. In India, imports were exceedingly larger than exports. Therefore, he argued that this condition should be reversed. But the commerce and also political power were two instruments that were in the hands of foreigners. Therefore, Indians should develop their own industries but for it, there should be our own capital i.e. money⁵⁸. To mobilise resources, he suggested some measures. He argued that from 1861 to 1870 one hundred and fifty crores rupees were given to Indians in the form of gold, but out of that one-half gold was used for ornaments and some was buried in soil, remaining one-half was used to mint the coins.

Instead of making ornaments of that gold, it should be used for the development of commerce and industries. This would create more employment⁵⁹.

Due to monopoly of Britishers in commerce, Indians were getting only wages for their daily live^hood. Therefore, the people of India should take the advantage of minerals and should cultivate fertile land and should develop their commerce and industries⁶⁰. Indians should develop their own inter-states commerce rather than outside commerce as independent nations to maintain equality in imports and exports⁶¹.

The view of Europeans economists was that country like India should import machine made goods from Europe as it would be beneficial to both of them. In this connection, Ranade argued " of course, as far as the natural advantages of climate and situation force our hands, economically backward races must submit to such an arrangement,^{but} it is fairly open to question whether there is any such inevitable necessity which justifies a line of separation, which has a tendency to accentuate natural deficiencies and make them a source of permanent weakness"⁶². To inspire pride of past skilled products of India, he said " the Torrid Zone people may fairly appeal to past history, when their skilled products found already market in temperate kingdoms, and excited

such jealousy both in ancient Rome and in Modern England"⁶³. He pointed out that the market and raw materials were available in India, therefore, Indians should start manufacturing products as it would be more beneficial. He also pointed out that the people depending upon agriculture would not become rich and prosperous. They could not achieve unity and could not fight with tyranny. On the contrary, where the number of various type of workers was large, one would find greater unity and less individuality as well as greater wisdom and wealth. Hence they could fight collectively against the tyrannical rule of the Government⁶⁴. He again pointed out that "the Britishers, along with their political dominance; were trying to establish industrial monopoly also, which will eventually destroy all our powers", it can be said that by saying this he indirectly stressed necessity of freedom"⁶⁵.

Ranade told the people that, the Indian people were using telephone, train and other foreign machines for their comforts but it was shameful thing for them; because they were not in a position to produce these instruments. He was of the view that due to lack of these crafts Indians were becoming lazy and slaves⁶⁶. In 1873, Ranade reviewed the economic condition of Maharashtra and gave the report to the Government. In this report, he pointed to the people how Government's policy was responsible for their poverty and

exhorted them solve their own problems without the help of Government⁶⁷. He also explained to them the reasons why the condition of people was miserable during the period of famine. He was of the view that there was no scarcity of foodgrain at that time but there was loss of purchasing power of the people. He wanted to prove that the poverty of people was the result of Government wrong policy⁶⁸.

Six years stay at Poona, Ranade resulted in opening the shops of Swadesh goods and people started using Indian made things and avoided to use foreign's goods⁶⁹. He also helped to collect shares for the construction of paper mill⁷⁰. He advised Indian Nobles to enter the commercial field like the Britishers and to invest their wealth in commerce and industries as a capital. As the common people always needed capital, the Nobles should inspire the common people by giving financial aid to them for commerce⁷¹. In his inaugural address at the First Industrial Conference, held at Poona in 1890, he explained the main hinderances to the industrial development in India and suggested some measures to overcome it. He made it clear, " Foreign competition; not because it is foreign, but because it is the competition of Nature's power against man's labour, it is the competition of organised skill and science against ignorance and idleness, is transferring the monopoly not only of wealth, but what is more important, of skill, talent and activity to others"⁷².

Therefore he further stated that " The evils (are) is too great, and of long a standing to be brought under control by private individual efforts. We have to work with a will, to pull long and pull all and to pull till we succeed"⁷³. In connection of industrial development he suggested to the people to keep in mind twelve most important points. In the 8th point, he said that " No handmade industry can hope to thrive in competition with industry moved by cheap Natural Agents. But for the use of Natural Agents there is need of large capital and hence there should be established organisation on the joint stock principle for collective and large undertakings"⁷⁴. During that period, some people thought that due to a heavy tribute India had to pay to England, we were doomed and could not do anything to help ourselves. In this connection Ranade advised the people that " I would not therefore, desire you to divert and waste your energies in the fruitless discussion of this question of tribute which had better be left to our politicians"⁷⁵.

In a lecture which was delivered in the Deccan College, at Poona in 1892, he pointed out that the assumptions like laissez faire, perfect competition, perfect mobility of factors of productions etc. which were illustrated by economists like Adam Smith, Ricardo, Senior etc., were not universal. He said " As these assumptions do not absolutely hold good of even the most advanced societies, it is obvious that in

in societies like ours, they are chiefly conspicuous by their absence. With us an average industrial man is, to a large extent, the very antipodes of the Economical man. The Family and the caste are more powerful than the individual in determining his position in life... Customs, and State Regulation are far more powerful than competition"⁷⁶.

To defend Indian arts and handicrafts, he suggested imposition of import duty on foreign goods⁷⁷. In India, Ranade realised the need of credit i.e. of securing loans on easy terms, due to irregularity of rainfall and food famines, the people were worse off. They could not get loans on easy terms. Therefore, he said " If this task was undertaken in the same spirit by those who feel its importance here in the promotion of national well beings... the Nation would soon start upon a new race of life with its powers invigorated"⁷⁸. He suggested that the Government, the Banks and the Credit Institutions should provide the loans to the people for their economic needs at low interest rate on their real property.

Ranade quoted the view of Mill about the duties of government " A good Government will give all its aid in such a shape as to encourage and nurture any rudiments, it may find of a spirit of individual exertion. It will be assiduous in removing obstacles and discouragements to voluntary enterprise"⁷⁹. One can say that Ranade was the

first Indian Economist to study economic problems of the people. He had understood the causes of India's backwardness and argued that vigorous industries and business and commerce were necessary. Also he pointed out the role of Government in improving economic conditions of the people as laissez faire policy would not succeed in backward country. Thus, Ranade was a prophet of modern industrial India that could liberate the people from the bond of the tradition.

3.7 RANADE'S ADVOCACY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF SECULAR AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY:

Ranade was much impressed by Western democratic thought and his faith in the social reform lead him to advocate the cause of secular and democratic society. Although he was aware that the social and political reforms were equally important, but he had given first preference to the social reforms because according to him without establishment of social democracy and modernization, Indian political institutions would not succeed in the political sphere and therefore, even if we acquired political independence; individual would not become really free, because of our harmful social bindings. They would also slavishly follow social evils. He was of the view that social tyranny was more harmful than the oppressive laws of the state⁸⁰.

While describing his creed, he pointed out " Liberalism and Moderation will be the watchwords. The spirit of liberalism implies a freedom from race and creed prejudices, and steady devotion to all that seeks to do justice between man and man... Moderation imposes for condition of never vainly aspiring after the impossible or after too remote ideals, but striving each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth by doing the work that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of compromise and fairness. After all, political activities are chiefly of value not for the particular results achieved, but for the process of political education, which is secured by enticing interest in public matters and promoting the self respect and self reliance of citizenship. This no doubt is a slow process but all growth of new habits must be slow to be real⁸¹. Ranade was deeply religious but he did not support the use of religion in public matters. To him, all men were the children of God, and to please God it is a duty of every man to co-operate with each other as brothers⁸².

Ranade believed in Democracy as he would never support totalitarianism or a State to be authoritarian. He wrote that one of the worst effects of absolute power was that it warps men's perception of the innate dignity of human nature. He was critical of absolute power on political as well as social grounds. He held that it " Corrupted the rulers and

degraded the government". Centralization of power also enervates and demoralises all the local springs of action. D.G.Karve says that, " Ranade's scheme of a democratic constitutional structure included,

- 1) Supremacy of law.
- 2) Representative legislature with representation to princes in the upper chamber.
- 3) Common courts for states.
- 4) Parliamentary Government.
- 5) Representation of India in the Imperial Parliament pending the full development of the Indian Constitution.
- 6) Decentralization and popularisation of judiciary"⁸³.

In 1877 in a letter that was addressed to Queen of England of Delhi Durbar, he requested to the Queen that " the British Government should start representative government in India". Because the British officials could not realise the inner wills of Indians as the Indians themselves could understand it⁸⁴. Even Muslim Emperors allowed shouldering of some responsibilities by Hindu Nobles and subordinate Kings, to strengthen their Empire⁸⁵. Ranade argued that she (Queen), should establish Council of Nobles and Kings parallel to the representative Council, which would help to develop political consciousness among Hindu Nobles⁸⁶.

During the period of famine of 1877, the people of Maharashtra stopped their famine work and they returned to their village, because of the tyranny of British officials. In this connection he pointed out that " The people of Maharashtra had enjoyed the fruits of freedom, therefore, they have inborn pride of it, than their life"⁸⁷. Ranade further said, " The British law is oppressive, but it is fruitless to violate it by single man, we should develop the views about it in other's mind also, and thus it will lead to the abolishing of the same law"⁸⁸. He criticised the social customs and beliefs that were hinderances in the way of untouchables to acquire knowledge and education. He wanted that all people should be educated, otherwise, they would not be in a position to enjoy their liberty. In 1882, he wrote an article on " Administrative Reforms in the Bombay Presidency " and in this article, he pointed out, " We are fully aware that the majority of our proposals will be denounced as purely visionary and radical by the bureacratic^u mind. In all ages and in all countries the vested interests have been the strongest opponents of progress and reforms. These opponents, must however, be met and overcome in constitutional manner. And this cannot be done unless a strong public opinion is created and brought to bear upon the bureacratic^u mind"⁸⁹.

He explained in details why British rule was essential in India. He realised that although the British rule was an oppressive rule but at present India needed it for maintenance of law and order⁹⁰. He was sure that our British connection would lead us to the development of democratic aspirations of Indian people. According to him, the government was the servant of the people and hence it would not make any oppressive law, which would be injurious to society⁹¹.

In 1892, Prof. Bein delivered a lecture on ' Liberty ' and said that, Liberty is not a birth right of man, it should be acquired by man and for that man should possess some qualities. Ranade criticised this view of Bein and said that when a person is born as a man, he would ultimately become eligible to use his right of liberty, this right was not dependent upon his qualities. The rejection of the right of liberty on this ground is shameful to humanity⁹². He was also of the view that, the people should try to achieve their rights from government in various spheres as English people had achieved in the past from their kings⁹³. Ranade illustrated the need of common associations and hoped that these associations would lead the people of India towards establishment of secular and democratic society. He said " This common character makes the deliberations of the Congress a matter of common anxiety to all,

Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians, Europeans, without distinction of colour or creed. There are no doubts even in political matters, subjects which interest the several provinces locally; and these were have to relegate to the provincial meetings⁹⁴. Again he said " Yet there is a background of common traditions, common religion, common law and institutions and customs and perversions of such customs, which make it possible for us to deliberate together in spite of our differences"⁹⁵.

Ranade expressed his political aim as follows. He said " In modern conditions of life, India that is to be born will have no room for mere distinction of Race, Creed, Colour, We aspire all of us to be Indians first, and Indians to the last over every other condition, which has separated us so long and made a united India impossible"⁹⁶. To inspire secular democratic spirit in the minds of Indians, he reminded the people of India about their past history. He said:

"... This country of ours is the true land of promise. This race of ours is the chosen race... Above all other countries, we inherit a civilization and a religious and social polity which has been allowed to work their own free development on the big theatre of time..."⁹⁷.

If the people of India would work strongly and heartily, they would achieve their own redemption.

Ranade knew the gulf between Hindus and Muslims, therefore, he tried to bring them together. He said " during the Muslim rule, India witnessed the continuous progress of the Arts, Science, Industry and Culture. The tastes and manners of Hindus were refined"⁹⁸. Spiritually also Hindus and Muslims were benefited by mutual intercourse. Ranade also gave the historical evidence of Hindu-Muslims affinity⁹⁹.

In 1874, Ranade managed a petition to be sent to the British Parliament, in which he demanded that Indias should have representation in the Parliament, in London and that Indian questions should be settled with their consent. He also asked for the introduction of self-governing institutions. To show that popular opinion wa^s in favour of the demand, he secured and appended thousands of signatures to the petition. Ranade knew that government would not agree to introduce such institutions. But he was of the opinion that it was the best way to impart political education to the people. His aim was to get the ideas of self government underlying the petition considered and discussed, so that people might begin to take interest in political matters¹⁰⁰. Ranade was a liberal democrat who believed in slow, but sure and continuous change. He worked to establish secular

and democratic state in India, that would not divide people in race, caste and religion. He had great faith in immense capacity of Indians as he called Indians as a chosen people of God. His social and religious reforms were aimed at the introduction of protestant ethics and new morality among the Hindus. His nationalism was also based on culture religion and history but his religion was reformist that would encourage secularisation of life and facilitate a gradual growth of nationalism. Therefore, he opposed revivalism and made it clear that there was nothing to revive as most of our religious practices were inegalitarian and backward.

3.9 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM EXPOUNDED BY RANADE:

Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade developed several important ideas in the field of religious, social, economic and political reforms. Therefore, he is rightly called as a father of modern Maharashtra¹⁰¹. It is pointed out by Tilak that " Justice Ranade has done the work of warming up the corpus of Maharashtra which was hitherto remained like a frozen ball, and created a new sprit in it"¹⁰².

In those days the Indian society was rampant with superstition, poverty, bad manners and superstitious religious beliefs. Under those circumstances, even if Indians had got political freedom, they would not have been in a position to

retain it and instead, they would have remained the slaves of traditional customs. Therefore, whole society should be reformed. He established several organizations, to lay foundation of rich public life and initiated the organised activities of social reforms in Maharashtra and in India as well. And by means of various methods like applications, requests, meetings, speeches, magazines, he awakened the people in respect of religious, social, economic and political problems and thereby created nationalistic feelings. He exhorted the people to preserve the spirit of nationalism which we had lost due to our ignorance and social backwardness.

Along with social reformation, Ranade gave importance to religious reforms, because he knew that religion had a very powerful hold on the Indian society and therefore, if social reforms were to succeed, the people should change their religious attitudes. He opposed fanatic and narrow minded religious attitudes and advocated equality, liberty and fraternity, among people as that existed in ' Varkari Sampradaya '.

Ranade adopted a moderate policy in respect of religious reformation, and instead of launching an all out attack on the religious and social evils, he advocated a gradual change, of course in accordance with the main national stream of life. The reason for this softer line was the fear, that, if

an all out attack was directed against the social and religious evils prevailing at this time, he might be isolated from the society and his reformist activities might fail¹⁰³. But in a country like India, ^hwere the social and religious evils had taken deep roots due to ignorance, the gradual change would be achieved only at a snail's pace. However, Ranade did not realise that a softer attitude to bring about change in ageold backwardness and ignorance in social and religious attitudes delayed our political freedom. As a result, Ranade's nationalist forces did not acquire the expected momentum.

Ranade had drawn the attention of the educated and socially conscious people to his activities and thereby created social awareness. This truly helped in creating the political consciousness, but Ranade should have laid stress on political reforms along with social reforms. Had he been aware of the fact that, it was difficult for the people under an alien rule to come together to solve social problems as quickly as they would agree to come together for political problems, as it would have certainly added the vigour to nationalist movement. When the Extremists became dominant in the ' Sarvajanik Sabha ' Ranade in 1896 established the " Deccan Sabha " ¹⁰⁴ and even like wise after the foundation of the Indian National Congress (1885), just to consider social problems, he formed the Indian Social Conference in 1887. This helped to widen the gap between the moderates and extremists.

Ranade, as a social reformer failed to practice what he preached as after the death of Ranade's first wife in 1873, his reformist friends expected that he would marry a widow to set an example but instead, he married a virgin, because of this, he was badly criticised. Only the educated people participated in his social reforms movements; uneducated masses remained aloof.

Ranade advocated that the British economic policy was the root cause of our economic difficulties and to overcome these, the Indians should establish their own industries and the Nobles should start their own foreign trade on the British line, as it would be useful for the development of Indian economy. He questioned that when we had the necessary raw materials and market facilities, why should we not establish our industries? why should we not save to raise the capital? why should we not establish credit society? " He advised to utilise the indigenous materials to establish Indian Industries and thus created awareness among the people about their economic problem.

Ranade explained in detail the role of ' Laissez Faire ' policy of British government in impoverishing Indians and stressed the necessity of struggle¹⁰⁵, but when the Indian people began to complain against excess tribute he said "we need not engage ourselves in that fruitless discussion, But people were of the view, that Ranade should have discussed these matters which was not of lesser importance".

Ranade had faith in British sense of Justice. Therefore, he was of the opinion that the development of the Indians had to take place in connection with the Britishers, hence he did not want to sever the existing relations between India and England. He was of the opinion that the Indians must first achieve social reforms, and then they should demand political freedom.

Ranade accepted the manifesto of Queen of 1858 as the Magna Charta on which he laid the foundation of his political thoughts. But the history of Magna Charta is different¹⁹⁶. Ranade and his party had never realised that the political demands must get backed by some force as it was realised by the extremists. Therefore, they were more successful in their future political activities.

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