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SHRI SHAHU MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR
AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE
NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

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In the history of the Non-Brahmin movement, after Jotiba Phule follows the glorious role of Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. His rule at Kolhapur (Native State), though brief, contributed tremendously to the cause of Non-Brahmin movement in particular and social upliftment in general. He firmly believed that unless all people in India - men and women - were educated, the nation would never be free, united and strong. He was a prince under the protection of the British, but his expression of loyalty and gratitude to the British rulers was without prejudice to his concept of *Swaraj* or Independence. Further, he recognised education as the greatest boon of the British Rule in India. Though a prince of a small kingdom, he dreamt of an educated free India and a strong casteless society. Shri Shahu Maharaja had a set of determined aims and ideals which he cherished till his death. His contribution to the propagation of the Non-Brahmin movement was unnoticed largely due to the fact that he lacked the tools of publicity. Besides being averse to the arts of self-advertisement, "he was less known either in India or in England than many other Princes."¹

(Some documents connected with this issue have been found in Kolhapur Record Office, on which the paper is heavily based.)

Shri Shahu and his social thoughts :

Shri Shahu was greatly influenced by Jotiba Phule. Some of the main trends of thoughts left behind by Jotiba Phule were :

- a) "All men are the children of one God, who is thus their parent;
- b) As there is no necessity of any intermediary to approach the mother or to please the father, there is no necessity of an intermediary such as a preceptor to enable the devotee to offer his prayers to God;
- c) Anyone accepting these principles was qualified to be a member of Satya Shodhak Samaj and spread education among the Non-Brahmins."²

1. Latthe, A. B., *Memoirs of His Highness Chh. Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur*, Bombay, 1924, Preface, Vol. I, p. VII.

2. *Third Anniversary Report of Satya Shodhak Samaj* (See for details p. 155).

These thoughts of Jotiba Phule influenced Shri Shahu very much even though he himself was secular in his acts and deeds. "His Highness made inquiries in what Mr. Latthe aptly terms 'the Spirit of an Akbar', into various reform-movements of Hinduism, the Satya Shodhak in the Deccan, Brahmoism, Theosophy and the Arya Samaj, in search of the system which would satisfy the spiritual as well as the social needs of the Non-Brahmins."³

Shri Shahu, like Jotiba Phule, had to tread a thorny path as a revolutionary social reformer. He had to face many problems. To treat any human being as an untouchable is a grotesque travesty of religion, yet millions of them have been treated so for centuries. Those neglected people were now having their revenge on the community which had ill-treated them. Eradication of untouchability and uplift of the depressed masses by means of education had been the main plank of these social reformers. But the movement was originated by Jotiba Phule himself. Besides these influences, Shri Shahu's thoughts were also equally influenced by the then existing social and economic conditions. "The activities or the services rendered by him in furtherance of the Non-Brahmin cause and the uplift of the downtrodden section of the society cannot be simply brought forward, but they have to be assessed in the light of the critical situations and the environment in which he fought against the social odds of the Hindu society."⁴ Perhaps no Native Rule in the history has such a social history without wars. If at all there was a war, it was against the very root causes of the evil caste system of the Indian society. Shri Shahu had ideals not just as philosophy but he practised them and put them in the daily lives of the masses. He was much perturbed by the "strong religious and educational hold which Brahmins had in his Native State Kolhapur. Brahmin Bureaucracy was a great menace to his administration."⁵ The impact of English education gave rise to the development of social thought throughout India. But the social thought developed in Maharashtra had its uniqueness and it influenced the whole of Southern India. No Presidency (Bombay or Madras) or Native State remained uninfluenced by the social thought which emerged so strongly in Maharashtra, especially in Kolhapur. "The impact of English education resulted in two different schools of thought and the main bone of contention was : one, accepting the Westernization, and the other, rejecting the Western education and its social thoughts. The school which accepted the Western pattern brought forth the new ideals of social reforms in Indian society, and those who rejected, stood to revolt against the British rule."⁶ This conflict which affected the far South was known as Non-Brahmin movement. The leader of the accepted school was Jotiba Phule and after his death in 1890, "many of his followers thought that the Satya Shodhak movement was getting weak. But this cause was taken up by Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur."⁷

Shri Shahu was greatly perturbed by "the garb of religion which went so far as even to teach that a Brahmin can enjoy anybody's wife without the least idea of sin in his mind."⁸ "Shri Shahu, since his boyhood, had a cherished objective to overrule and break the Brahmin

3. Latthe, A. B. . . . Preface Vol. I p. VII.

4. *Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series*-P. B. Salunkhe, Shivaji University Extension Lecture Series (Under publication).

5. K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Wodehouse, File No. 34, L. No. 9, dated 19th February, 1919.

6. *Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series*, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Shahu's letter to Wodehouse, F. No. 34, L. No. 9 dt. 19th Feb. 1919.

bureaucracy"⁹ and "anti-Brahminism assumed a violent form which resulted in riots that occurred at Kolhapur".¹⁰ The reasons for this attitude of Shri Shahu are many, e. g., when he ascended the throne in 1894, the throne was under the Brahmin influence. His reign came under heavy attacks of the Brahminical fanatics. In Nov. 1900 the Kolhapur Municipality passed certain resolutions reserving a certain Ghat on the Panchaganga river for Brahmins for taking the *Ekadashi* bath. This is also known as the *Vedokta* ceremony. The Non-Brahmin class defied this resolution. Meanwhile, the Maharaja noticed that when he used to visit the Ghat at the Panchaganga river, the priest blessed him with *Mantras* without taking a bath on the grounds that Shri Shahu and Shivaji were "*Shudras*" and not Kshatriyas.

In 1901, during the *Navaratra Puja* it was claimed by the orthodox Brahmins that Ambabai (the principal deity of Kolhapur) was polluted by the touch of the Narayan Bhat (Sevekari) who had performed the *Vedic* rite in connection with the Maratha boys' *Shravan* in the *Shravan* month in which the sacred thread is worshipped."¹¹

In August 1901, Bal Gangadhar Tilak visited Kolhapur on some business, and he also delivered a speech in Kolhapur. "Poona had targeted its tactics towards Shahu Maharaja. Shri Shahu and Tilak could not see eye to eye"¹². In his speech at Kolhapur, delivered on 20th August, 1901, he stated, "Although I have no private concern of any sort with Kolhapur, still I have become very closely connected with you, the inhabitants of Karvir (i. e. Kolhapur) owing to "some circumstances of public nature."¹³ Tilak, an extremist, was both a nationalist and a traditionalist. In his speech at Kolhapur he was indirectly trying to interfere with Shahu's reforms by extolling Shivaji the Great, and by attacking the masses on the one hand, and terrorizing them against the reform-oriented efforts of Shri Shahu on the other. The so-called "some circumstances of public nature" in Shri Tilak's speech described earlier imply *per se* Shahu's activities in particular and the uplift of masses through them in general.

Many such incidents forced Shri Shahu to enter the Non-Brahmin movement. Otherwise the "Satya Shodhak Samaj movement was suffering from certain limitations after the death of Shri Jotiba Phule"¹⁴ remaining a solitary force. Shri Shahu was continuously facing the problems created by the Brahminical influences in his administration. "The Maharaja distrusted the officials. He became accessible to the poor while on shikar. He contacted the masses without formalities and realised that the bureaucratic administration established by the Political Agent was not serving the people at all."¹⁵ "Before assuming the full powers, the Maharaja made an extensive tour of the Kolhapur State to acquaint himself with the people and problems of his own State."¹⁶ Shri Shahu, though influenced by Jotiba Phule's thoughts,

9. *Ibid.*

10. Sinha, M. R. ed. *Integration in India*-Papers and proceedings of UNESCO-aided First All India Scholars Conference on National Integration, Bombay (71), p. 56.

11. Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Memorial Lecture Series, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur-Justice G. N. Vaidya, (II) p. 18.

12. Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur-P. B. Salunkhe, (II) p. 36.

13. In the High Court of Justice Kings Bench Division, Between Bal Gangadhar Tilak-Plaintiff and Sir Valentine Chirol and Macmillan & Co. Vol. II. Translations or copies of Articles, Editorial Notes, etc. in *Kesari*, *Maratha*, *Rashtramat* and *Kal*, all Marathi newspapers (1917). (Refer for details in connection with the conflict between Tilak and Kolhapur).

14. *Ibid.*

15. Latthe, A. B. . . . Page 373 Vol. II

16. Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Mem. Lecture Series, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur-Justice Vaidya, p. 2 (II).

was away from any movement like the Satya Shodhak movement, and this was largely because the "Brahmin Bureaucracy had such a strong hold both religiously and educationally over the Non-Brahmins that not even a few educated Non-Brahmins had the strength of character to go against them"¹⁷ and besides "His Highness was essentially an orthodox, religious man in various ways."¹⁸ Shri Shahu was in search of a religion or a system designed to serve the needs of the society which would help as a creed for the conduct of social and individual life. During the period from 1894-1913, Shri Shahu was busy with his own administrative problems and social reforms. But the events such as the *Vedokta* ceremony and the hurdles laid in his way of reforms by the leadership of Tilak and the extremists involved him deeply in strengthening the Non-Brahmin movement. "Under any circumstances the clever Brahmins had their own approaches"¹⁹ in creating problems against the classes who were rising against the age-old system. "During this period, Brahmins were a mobile community"²⁰ and they moved from place to place as and when required. It is perhaps because of their mobile nature that they had always prevented such religious, political or social movements which aimed at eliminating the caste system from becoming successful. In this process of survival, they acquired mobility and some new cultural traits. Once the Brahmins stabilized their position in different regions, they rigidly adhered to the self-imposed rules of caste. If there was any mobility in the caste system, it was within a permitted range. Groups moved upward or downward. When they moved upward, their superior status was rarely accepted but when they were downgraded, every caste accepted their lower status. It was this aspect which made Tilak ('Kesari' 22nd Sept. 1902) question whether, with the *Vedokta* ceremony, it was possible to turn a Maratha into a Brahmin. "Would Tanaji and Shivaji be Brahmins if they learnt the Vedas?"²¹ The clever and shrewd Brahmins had left no place for any other community or caste to be covered by them. Right since 1873, the beginning of Satya Shodhak movement, the Non-Brahmins started organising themselves, and in reaction to this, the Brahmins not only influenced the British but also Brahminized the national movement. All these factors compelled Shri Shahu to develop a Non-Brahmin attitude. Several incidents took place at Kolhapur. Shri Shahu Maharaja ascended the throne in 1894 but the Satya Shodhak Samaj "was established in Kolhapur in July 1933."²² From 1894 to 1913, Shri Shahu was not an active participant in the Non-Brahmin movement. He had always tried to maintain good and cordial relations with the Brahmins. "His Highness tried his best by obliging the Brahmins and giving them all good treatment, but His Highness found that they were all incorrigible"²³ in their approach. Ultimately he saw the discontent and was left with no alternative but to "break it by introducing Satya Shodhak and Arya Samaj. His Highness had approached Swami Paramanand of Agra who was to teach *Vedas* and help the Satya Shodhak Samaj and be useful to teach the untouchables."²⁴ It was the Brahminical atrocities that were responsible for his Non-Brahmin attitude. He wanted not one *Samaj* but "Samajas to come and counteract the

17. Shahu's letter to Wodehouse, File No. 34, L. No. 9 dt. 19-2-1919.

18. Latthe, A. B. . . . Vol. I p. 186.

19. Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur, P. B. Salunkhe, p. 17 (I).

20. Karve, I., *Kinship Organization in India*, Poona, 1953, p. 63.

21. *Ibid. Kesari*, quoted by P. B. Salunkhe. . . p. 16 (II).

22. Latthe, A. B. . . . p. 186, Vol II.

23. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, (File 1918) L. Nos. 7016 and 7017 both dated 19th Jan. 1918.

24. *Ibid.*

Brahmins. He felt that as long as other castes think that their Hindu religious worships cannot be done without Brahmins, their influence can never be lessened."²⁵ It is clear that Shri Shahu had a deep insight into the past and that he could foresee the future. It is because of this great quality that he played a significant role as a social reformer. "Preachers of reforms of many types have appeared from time to time, scholars and philosophers of the literate classes, saints, poets, and lovers of their fellowmen sprang from a variety of castes". "It may be doubted, however, if anything like a similar instance is recorded of a ruling prince who worked and suffered during his whole manhood in one long struggle against the deep-rooted evils of a complex social and religious system in order to effect the betterment of the humblest of his fellowmen."²⁶ "His Highness had no mind to enter the movement, but the Brahmins always misused his good offices by which the Maharaja made it his mission to work for the amelioration of all classes by emancipating them from the domination of the caste-system."²⁷ "The first task which Shahu had to undertake was to pull the Kolhapur administration out of the depth and darkness which it had reached in the course of years."²⁸ It is in this background that he developed his social thought. The environmental factor had a great influence on the mind of Shahu, and he decided to play a dynamic role in the Non-Brahmin movement.

II

The activities of Shri Shahu can be divided into two periods, viz., 1894-1913 and 1913-1922. During 1894-1913, as a protected prince, he limited his activities to his own field, and during this period of his rule there were heavy Brahminical influences. During 1900-1913, there were some important happenings in his life. The Maratha-Brahmin relations have been subjected to strains ever since the downfall of the Maratha Empire and the rivalry between the two castes is a historical fact; but under the British rule the rivalry was further widened because of the disparities in economic, political and social fields. Here the British policy of 'Divide and Rule' cannot be ignored. But what became an important factor in Shahu's life was that the National Movement was gaining ground and it had a Brahminical leadership and, therefore, he took up the Non-Brahmin cause, actively supporting any Samaj which counteracted the extremists. Shri Shahu's contribution to the spread of the Non-Brahmin movement throughout India should be considered along with his contribution to the Montford Reforms. Montford Reforms cannot be considered ignoring the Non-Brahmin movement in India, because it was the latter which led to the award of communal representation.

Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Non-Brahmin Movement

The British rulers had a soft corner for the Native States and they treated them "not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant Governor in the administration of the country."²⁹ The British were equally interested "in training the Princes of Native States to do something towards raising the whole tone and standard of life of the Native Princes and thereby to place

25. *Ibid.*

26. Latthe, A. B. . . . Preface, p. IV Vol. I.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur-Justice Vaidya, p. 1 (11).

29. Raleigh, W, ed. *Lord Curzon in India-A Selection from His speeches*, 1898-1905 p. 217-18, *op. cit.* Justice Vaidya.

their own future existence upon more durable foundations."³⁰ Because of the environment in which the Native Chief rulers reigned, they had developed a liberal outlook towards life and their rule. The British policy towards the Native Chiefs was also greatly influenced by the failures of the Christian missionaries in India. "The European missionaries have testified to the hold of the Brahmin over the bulk of the Hindus and this had to be broken if Christianity was to make headway in India."³¹ The British could learn that the Brahmins on whom they had relied primarily in the initial period were not loyal, and hence they thought of helping the cause of the Non-Brahmins. This change in their attitude made the British to have a sympathetic outlook towards the Native States. In the beginning of the 20th century the British rule was greatly influenced by the growing nationalist movement, which was dominated by the "participants coming from the higher castes whose members had been most exposed to Western culture in British commercial companies, administrative services and colleges. In terms of social background, there was little to distinguish the early nationalists from the Indians who served the British as partners and subordinates. Both those who agitated for reforms and those who collaborated with the British were drawn from the groups which traditionally enjoyed high status."³²

The British, fearing the growth of the Nationalist Movement and the disloyalty of the Brahmin administrators, thought of relying much upon the Native Princes and of attracting the Non-Brahmins. They themselves desired to uplift the downtrodden sections of the society in search of loyal administrators. Under these circumstances Shri Shahu got the opportunity to manipulate the situation when it was most conducive. The British were equally influenced by the Satya Shodhak Samaj movement and they changed their outlook towards Indian politics. (If it is ascertained that the two social reformists played a Pro-British role, it would not be wrong to state that the British played an anti-Brahmin role, or a pro-Shahu reformist's role.) The British attitude was extremely favourable to the efforts of the Non-Brahmin movement; because they could find that Brahminism was a great threat to their stability and continuity in India. And to the society at large, it was also a nightmare as it was afraid of the power being transferred to the hands of Brahmins through reform acts. Similar conditions existed throughout Southern India. Even in Madras Presidency the situation was similar: the British found that "Brahmin lawyers were taking a leading part in the anti-Brahmin national agitation; they calculated that they could secure support for the government from amongst the Non-Brahmins by making it appear that their interests lay with the Government rather than with the Congress."³³

Hence Shri Shahu, influenced by this situation and the background of his Native State, was forced to plunge into the Non-Brahmin cause. In his letter dated 19th Jan. 1918 (R. 7016 and R. 7017), he made it very clear as to how the Brahmin bureaucracy interfered in his administration. He had been subjected to various problems and humiliations even to the extent of being called a *Shudra*. No Prince could have tolerated this, and thus it had a great impact on Shahu's life. He even planned to establish an "Independent Research Institute in Ethnography on ancient points and methods of classification of the Hindu races."

30. Hamilton Papers (India Office Library, Vol. 17, No. 38) Private letter, *op. cit.* Justice Vaidya.

31. Srinivas, M. N. 'Caste in Modern India', *Journal of Asian Studies*, August, 1957, p. 532.

32. Maclane, John R. *The Political Awakening in India*, London, 1970, pp. 1-2.

33. Narasimhan, V. K. *Kamaraj : A Study*, Bombay, 1967, p. 13.

In this connection he applied to the Secretary, Council of Postgraduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, in November 1919. He was greatly interested "in finding the following :

1. Proofs from the *Shastras* to say that the caste system in its present form is not sanctioned by the *Shastras*;
2. Evils and hardships arising from the caste system in its present form.....
3. Duties of different castes according to *Shastras*, and the effects of non-observance of these duties;
4. Reasons laid down in the *Shastras* that lead to loss of caste;
5. If Manu is regarded as authority in matters of inheritance, adoption and so on, why not regard him as an authority in matters of caste also;
6. Objectionable passages from the *Puranas* etc. that give wrong direction in matters of religion and morality and so on."³⁴

Under the Brahminical repression, Shri Shahu left no stone unturned to see that he should bring solace to the Non-Brahmin communities. He, under the heavy attacks of the Brahmins, decided that if he advocated the cause of the Non-Brahmins, they needed a religion of their own. He stated : "I want to break it by introducing Satya Shodhak Samaj and Arya Samaj. The former has got a solid foundation in *Vedas*. I am thinking of teaching *Vedas* to other castes meaning to say that, that is *their* religion which the Brahmins do not like at all."³⁵ He wanted to work out the aims of Satya Shodhak Samaj by introducing the other Samajs which could preach the society other than the Brahmins"³⁶ and what the Satya Shodhak Samaj lacked was a religious base. Hence Shri Shahu had shown a great inclination towards the Arya Samaj. Some of the most experienced and enlightened of the ruling chiefs showed livelier appreciation of the subversive tendencies of Indian unrest than that shown by those responsible for the governance of the British India. "Some of them like the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Maharaja of Patiala have been brought face to face with the same violent and even the same criminal methods of agitation as the government of India has had to deal with in Provinces under the British administration."³⁷

Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur made vast progress "superior to the British India in material prosperity, in education, in the encouragement of industrial development and in respect of separation of the Judiciary from the Executive functions"³⁸. The influence of Shri Shahu grew to such an extent that Kolhapur became the ideological epicentre of the Non-Brahmin movement, which enabled the seeds of the ideology to spread to the whole of South India. "Till the end of his life His Highness continued founding and endowing new schools and most important of all hostels in order to extend the benefits of higher education to those who hitherto had possessed little desire or power to seek them. The special value of such hostels is now recognized by all educational authorities in India; but in no city throughout the continent has the system been developed to the same extent as in Kolhapur, or with the same success in supplementing the lack of religious teaching in the schools."³⁹

34. Shahu's letter to the Secretary, Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, dt. 20th Nov. 1919 (File 1919).

35. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, File 1918, Letters No. 7016, 7017, both dated 19th Jan. 1918.

36. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, File No. 34, L. No. 9, dated 19th Feb. 1919.

37. Chirol Valentine, *Indian Unrest*, Macmillan, 1910, p. 190.

38. The Modern Review : Feb. 1916, Article, Self-Rule in Indian States, p. 239.

Even this hostel movement had its influence in Madras city. On the same lines Shri Shahu organised the Non-Brahmin movement: "C. Natesa Mudaliar, a Vellala Medical student who was the secretary of the Madras Dravidian Association, began gathering funds for the establishment of a hostel in Madras city, for Non-Brahmin youths and colleges."⁴⁰ By 1920 separate hostels had been started in the Maharaja's small capital for no fewer than eleven different sections of the community including the Indian Christians and the so-called untouchables. All his reform work and his mission extended itself beyond Kolhapur and not merely to the Marathas, in the caste sense of the term.⁴¹

Shri Shahu Maharaja could not remain aloof from the most vital and urgent social problem. "The most vital and urgent social problem in Bombay, in Southern India or elsewhere was the uplift of the depressed classes, the untouchables who form the masses of the people in India."⁴² It was his efforts in this direction that made him active not only in his Native State but also in the Northern and Southern India. It was from 1913 that he started developing contacts. Even a cursory glance through the *Shahu Daftar* gives an idea of Shahu's widening influence and of the *modus operandi* through which Shri Shahu planned to achieve the goal. There can be no doubt that it was his dynamic personality and grim determination to eradicate the caste system that made him enjoy a towering position among all the Native Princes. This can be conclusively ascertained from his vast correspondence with other States in India, which helps us in getting a clear picture of the "Non-Brahmin Movement" influencing many social, economic, political or religious activities under his dynamic leadership.

Shri Shahu, with his determination to save the masses, the indigenous Indian culture and tradition, contributed his mite by opening to them the portals of hope and comfort. For him no form of religion had any life-value; because it failed to yield a living inspiration for social service, especially the service of the lowly and the overburdened, the afflicted and the downtrodden, the depressed and the fallen. He thought that a religion must inspire one to go out among the depressed classes with love for humanity and a sense of service. "His Highness himself freely mixed with the labour class and merchants which very few princes did."⁴³ It was with this grave concern for the depressed classes that he approached the Montford Reforms Commission and advocated for communal representation. Jotiba Phule was the pioneer in modern times of the movement calculated to improve the conditions of, and to secure social equality to, the untouchable and unapproachable classes. "Next to him came Maharshi V. R. Shinde, the twentieth century torch-bearer of Phule spirit who started a movement by establishing the Depressed Class Mission in Bombay."⁴⁴ Further, when Montford Reforms were to be introduced even this "Mission had consulted His Highness for his advice. This office was also in touch with the Gujarat Untouchables."⁴⁵

39. Latthe, A. B. Vol. I., page V

40. Irschick, F. Eugene "Politics and Social Conflict in South India, p. 45.

41. Latthe, A. B. Vol. I, p. VI.

42. *The Modern Review*, Jan. 1916, Article, "The Indian Theistic Movement", Presidential Address by Hon. Dr. Nip Rathana Sircar.

43. Shahu's letter to Mr. Cadell, File 1919 L. No. 10/1, dt. 11.1.1919.

44. Gurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India*, p. 235.

45. Chhatarsingh Lalji Utaker,
Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road,
Bombay-4, Secretary Depressed
Classes Mission Office, Charni Road, Bombay

To

The Private Secretary to
His Highness the Maharaja
of Kolhapur, dt. 12th Feb. 1920.

Shri Shahu was always sympathetic and generous towards all the Non-Brahmin associations, and their meetings and conferences. This resulted in his acquiring knowledge of all creeds and castes. His progressive ideas and policies of education—upliftment of depressed classes, scholarships for Non-Brahmins—had a nationwide impact. It is interesting to note from L. No. R-11312 (K.R.O.) which he writes to Col. Wodehouse on the 19th January 1920, “how he was regarded even by the Mahommedans. It also throws light on his attitude towards and interest in the education of the backward classes.”⁴⁶ He was also approached by various other classes. The letter of K. N. Yadav, the Secretary of the *Somavanshi Arya Kshatriya Dnyan Vardhak Samaj*, Gwalior, to him also sheds ample light on his position as a Non-Brahmin leader. The backward communities looked upon him as “an able guide to lead them on to enlightenment. It was felt by them that their humble prayers were listened by the Almighty God; had fructified and His Highness was granted to them to lead them. His Highness always favoured the young Non-Brahmins, and encouraged them to further themselves in higher education.”⁴⁷ He established centres of Non-Brahmin movement wherever he went. He was a moving spirit. In 1920 he presided over the Arya Samaj Conference at Bhavanagar, the Kurmi Kshatriya Conference at Cawnpore, the Maratha Conference held at Khamgaon, Navasari, Baroda, Delhi etc. He was consulted by many Princes of Native States in India in matters relating to educational policy or their attitude towards British politics. It may be added that, though a loyal British Prince, he never subordinated the interests of the Indians, sacrificing them at the altar of British rule. The way he was regarded by the other Native States shows as to how faithful he was to the cause of India as well as to the British rulers. As far as his policy in educational matters was concerned, “His Highness Yuvaraja of Mysore had sent Mr. C. R. Reddy, Inspector General of Education in Mysore, to Kolhapur to study His Highness’ progressive State.”⁴⁸ In both aspects—social reforms as well as British policy—he enjoyed a unique position both as a leader of masses and as a reliable Native Prince on whom the Britishers bestowed all colours. “In Travancore also the Brahmin domination had been a great bane as in most other parts of India, where the Brahmins had taken care to be exempted as much as possible from punishment,”⁴⁹ “and the Maharaja of Travancore was also in close touch with Shri Shahu. His Highness of Travancore appreciated the scheme prepared by Shri Shahu for the proposed Chamber of Princes.”⁵⁰

Montague–Chelmsford Reforms were an important factor which enabled Shri Shahu to establish rapport with almost all Native States of India. It was he who infused new life into the agitation, so much so that Montague and Chelmsford, in their Indian Political Reports, had to grant the demands advocated by Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. From Lord S. M. Fraser’s letters to Shri Shahu from Mysore, Hyderabad and Trivandrum—he was a close companion of Shri Shahu throughout his life—it is clear that he had travelled widely in Southern India as a consolidating force of Non-Brahmin movement. “Lord S. M. Fraser was His Highness’ appointed tutor and His Highness had considered him as his Guru.”⁵¹ From the letter of Lord Fraser, from the Residency of Hyderabad, one can see that, “on the one

46. Letter from Shahu to Col. Wodehouse, L. No. 11312 dt. 19th Jan. 1920.

47. Letter of K. N. Yadav, Dist. Judge, Shivapuri, to Shri Shahu, L. No. 11442 dt. 26th Feb. 1920.

48. Letter from Yuvaraja of Mysore to Shri Shahu, dt. 23rd Oct. 1919.

49. Gurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India*, p. 15.

50. Maharaja of Trivandrum’s letter to Shri Shahu, dt. 27th Oct. 1919, File No. 26.

51. Latthe, A. B. p. 433 Vol. II.

hand he appreciates the part being played by Shri Shahu in the Non-Brahmin movement, and on the other, he speaks of the "Deccan Ryot", which also points to his interests in the Non-Brahmin cause."⁵²

It was Lord Fraser who wrote the preface to A. B. Latthe's *Memoirs of His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur*. He writes in the Preface: "His Highness did not confine his efforts to his own territory. Always bearing in mind that the Native States and the British Provinces are interwoven parts of one Indian Empire, he did not allow his rank as a Ruling Prince to deter him from presiding over numerous conferences of the backward and depressed classes in and beyond the Bombay Presidency. The record of his life, however, it is safe to assert, contains materials which no historian of the New India, growing up under our eyes, can afford to neglect."⁵³ The letters of Lord Fraser and the contents of the Preface make it amply clear that Fraser's visit to Southern India was related to the shift in British politics towards the spread of the Non-Brahmin cause.

Shri Shahu's leadership made the Non-Brahmin movement the common cause of both the North and the South. His impact on the movement in the North and the South could be better illustrated from the letters which he had received from Sampatrao Gaikwar, written to Shri Shahu on 19-3-1919, and from the letter of K. N. Yadav, District Judge, Shivapuri. In the letter of Sampatrao Gaikwar he (Shri Shahu) is referred to as a unifying force and it has been explained as to how he combined in himself both loyalty and leadership. It seems that he had consented to preside over the *Kurma Kshatriya Community* but he was unable to carry out the promise. "Sampatrao Gaikwar stated that his absence would be felt by the people of North,"⁵⁴ which indicates his influence in the North. The Northern India had always acknowledged Shri Shahu's leadership in the Deccan and this can be pointed out from the letter of K. N. Yadav, District Judge, who felt that the *Karajgar* community should also be blessed by him. Shri Shahu's presence was by itself considered a great impetus to any movement. The movement under his leadership contributed to the rise of various other Samajas, e.g., the Somvanshi Aiyar Kshatriya Dnyan Vardhak Samaj, Gujarati Untouchables Depressed Classes Mission Society, Kurmi Kshatriya Samaj, Maratha Samaj, Mahommedan Samaj, Lingayat Samaj in Mysore and, no doubt, the Madras Dravidian Association. Even the Andhra leaders like P. Tyagaraja Chetti (a Telugu Beri Chetti) and Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras were in touch with Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. To all these various Samajas, Shri Shahu was the leading force, uniting them all in one movement, the Non-Brahmin movement.

It is worthwhile to examine some of the speeches delivered by Shri Shahu at the various conferences in his capacity as the President. Shri Bhagwanrao Bapusaheb Jadhav has published these speeches under the title *Rajarshi Shri Shahu Maharajanchi Bhashane* (Marathi edition), and they indicate the various places Shri Shahu visited carrying on his Non-Brahmin movement beyond his Native State. In his speech delivered on 27th December 1917, as President of the 11th All India Maratha Education Conference at Khamgaon, he made it clear what patriotism meant. He identified Home Rule with education and he replied to

52. S. M. Fraser's (Residency Hyderabad) letter to Shri Shahu, Letter No. 6/1 dated 20th Dec. 1919-File No. 19.

53. Latthe, A. B., Preface P. XI-XIII. Vol. I.

54. Letter from Sampatrao Gaikwar of Gwalior to Shri Shahu, dated 19th March, 1919.

the extremist critics who had criticised him as anti-nationalist. He declared in his speech that he also stood for "Swaraj." "We want Swaraj and we are also using our energies in that direction. British education itself has taught us the meaning of freedom, but I agree with Lord Sydenham who states that Independence with caste system would be meaningless, and we fear that under Swaraj, the whole power would be vested in the hands of the upper castes". Shri Shahu, in his speech, referred to the example of Japan as to how she got rid of the caste system. "He assured that the earlier the society got rid of the caste system the sooner would the Home Rule be achieved".⁵⁵ In Bombay, on 10-11-1918, he addressed the labourers in Bombay (Parel). Here in his speech, "he addressed the labourers and advocated for labour unions and criticised capitalism."⁵⁶ He was also a great socialist in mind and in his own Native State "he had established credit societies to help the agriculturists."⁵⁷ His Highness was in touch with the Lingayats of Mysore State. Under the Brahmin bureaucracy the masses in Mysore State had also been subjected to various problems. "Under the powerful influence of Brahmins, the British administrators in Karnatak had been persistently refusing the Lingayats the practice of parading Vyasantol for nearly a century. Under these circumstances, the Maharaja was approached for permission for the Vyasantol parade in connection with the procession of the high priest or the Jagadguru of the Lingayats who had his headquarters in Mysore. He allowed the parade which, to the great joy of that community, in Karnatak, was held with due pomp and show on May 12, 1911 in Kolhapur city. As this took place in Kolhapur, the authorities in Belgaum also changed their view and allowed the Vyasantol processions in several places like Athani, Munoli, Yagathi and others."⁵⁸ These relations of Shri Shahu with the Lingayats in Mysore further developed in July 1920, when the leaders of the Non-Brahmin movement, like Rao-Bhadur Kambli, Gavai, Menshinkai, invited him to preside over the Non-Brahmin Conference, held in Hubli. In Hubli a huge procession was held in honour of Shri Shahu Maharaja. Here it is to be noted that Shri P. Tyagaraja Chetti was present on this occasion. Shri Shahu, at the very outset, expressed his gratitude and acknowledged the presence of this Non-Brahmin leader of Madras. In his speech "at Hubli he stated that in the absence of the British rule in India and in the absence of Western education, the Brahmin hold over the caste system would have tamed our castes like dogs and cats, making the other castes to lead a life of dogs and cats. His Highness here also condemned the *Mahabharata*."⁵⁹

Further, these were the years of the most intense Non-Brahmin activity throughout Southern India and the Maharaja of Kolhapur, as a leader, left no corner untouched, and the leaders of the Non-Brahmin movement were no longer left to work in isolation. "One feature of the peninsular Non-Brahmin movement may be disposed now. The unifying feature of that movement was the dislike of, if not hatred for, the Brahmin."⁶⁰ His Highness was against caste but not communal. To the leaders of the different communities he said, "I have only one message to convey : Do not be short-sighted. Have a vision of the future. To

55. Jadhav, B. B. *Rajarshi Shahu Maharajanchi Bhashane*, Kolhapur-1971, p. 5-13.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, Letters No. 7016 and 7017 both dated 19th Jan. 1918.

58. Latthe, A. B. . . . Vol. II p. 354-355.

59. Jadhav, B. B. *Rajarshi Shahu Maharajanchi Bhashane*, p. 5.

60. Srinivasan, M. N. *Caste in Modern India and other Essays*, Bombay, 1970, p. 22.

dissolve castes is a necessity. To uphold them is a sin. Castes are obstacles in the path of the common advancement of all of us and our duty, therefore, is to remove them with all the courage we can muster. Hold your caste-meetings, but ignore not the point that they are only a means to end the castes. Let not then your caste-meetings help to mend the castes."⁶¹

Shri Shahu, true to his outlook, was admired by one and all, working for the cause of Non-Brahmin movement. He was in close touch with the Non-Brahmin leaders of Madras also and was a guide and a philosopher of the Justice Movement. They were his close associates and there was a frequent exchange of views. Letter No. 1/5 in File No. 19, K. R. O. speaks for the close association of the Non-Brahmin leaders of Madras and Shri Shahu Maharaja. As has already been pointed out, though the Presidencies were two, the administration was one. Lord Sydenham, Ex-Governor of Bombay, encouraged both the Satya-Shodhak & Justice movements in the early 20th century. In this letter it is clearly pointed out that Lord Sydenham, Lord Curzon and others would see that the Bill (against favouring Non-Brahmin Representation) did not stand in the Parliament which was influenced by the despotic Brahmin bureaucracy who wished that communal representation would not be allowed.⁶² From this letter it can also be inferred that Shri Shahu and Dr. T. M. Nair were no less good friends and the establishment of the Justice Party "by a small influential group of men maintained all-India perspectives. They also were trying to connect Madras public life with that of Bengal, Bombay and the rest of British India."⁶³ The Non-Brahmin movement of Madras was also the result of the pre-existing social rivalry. The social thoughts which the Justicites had developed agree with the thoughts of Shri Shahu. The Justice Party "was established within a few days of the announcement by Montague in the House of Commons."⁶⁴ The two Non-Brahmin movements (Madras and Bombay) worked in collaboration with each other. Dr. Nair and Shri Shahu worked in close association and the former "was also invited by the latter to Kolhapur."⁶⁵ "Dr. Nair had also promised visits to Belgaum, Dharwar to canvass for communal representation."⁶⁶ The relation between the two movements can be best illustrated by the fact that the union of the two kindered spirits based on community of nature and principles resulted in endowing a memorial scholarship in the name of Dr. T. M. Nair. "This token of his admiration for the Madras leader testifies in that Presidency to the solid unity of purpose between the two sections of the Deccan."⁶⁷ Shri Shahu was in constant touch with the Madras affairs either through his visits or through his pleaders in the Tanjore case, pending in Madras High Court, or through his friendship with Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir Tyagraja Chetti etc.

Further, there is a lack of source material indicating the links between the Non-Brahmin movement of Bombay and the Non-Brahmin movement of Madras, but this does not mean that Shri Shahu left Madras unrepresented when he advocated communal representation. During the Delhi Conference, "the Dewan of Kolhapur, Sir Chitnis and Nair were put up

61. Latthe, A. B. Vol II, p. 470.

62. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, dt. 11th Jan. 1919, File No. 19 L. No. 1/5.

63. Irschick F. Eugene, "Politics and Social Conflict in South India," p. 2. Bombay, 1971 (Oxford.)

64. Spratt. P. D. M. K. in Power, p. 20. Bombay, 1970.

65. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, File No. 19, L. No. 1/5 dated 11th Jan. 1919.

66. Shahu's letter to Cadell, File No. 1919 L. No. 10/1 dt. 11th Jan. 1919

67. Latthe, A. B. Vol. II. p. 580.

together in Chandani Chowk."⁶⁸ This indicates the close contacts maintained by the Justice Party of Madras and Shri Shahu. Shri Shahu influenced the movement by keeping himself in touch with the Justice Party, even through personal visits. "He travelled from Ceylon through Madras to Peshawar and visited nearly every province of India completing his second tour of South India and Ceylon. In 1891 he visited Bijapur, Hyderabad, Madras, Pondichery, Tanjore, Tuticorin, Colombo, Candy and Newara Eliya. On his way back he paid visits to the two principal cities of Mysore State, namely, Bangalore and Mysore and when he visited Madras, His Highness found in Madras contrast with Bombay and Calcutta."⁶⁹ His Highness paid a visit to Madras in January, 1921, and the reactions of the Maharaja's Non-Brahmin policy were seen in almost all his activities. Further, His Highness was a close friend and a great admirer of Lord Willingdon, who was later transferred to Madras Presidency. "His Highness was a guest of Lord Willingdon."⁷⁰ "When Lord Willingdon had been transferred to Madras from Bombay, His Highness had used all his efforts to cancel the appointment of Lord Willingdon as Governor of Madras."⁷¹ This again points out his influence in Madras in all directions and spheres of the Presidency. "His Highness' speech at Nasik on April 15, 1920 had impressed the Raja of Panagal, the first Minister of Madras. "The Raja described it as an "epoch-making" speech. He also further stated that he was getting it reprinted from the columns of *Justice* for circulation and also thought of translating it into Telugu for publication so that even the Telugu-knowing Non-Brahmins may have access to its inspiring contents."⁷² "The legislative measures introduced in the Madras Council by the chief Non-Brahmin Minister there, the Raja of Panagal, is based on the same principle as guided by the Maharaja of Kolhapur in the policy he had laid down in this respect. He had been carefully studying the administration of these charities in his State ever since he came to power."⁷³ Shri Shahu was himself a great force, and in many regions the Non-Brahmin movement had various phases. In Andhra Pradesh, the Non-Brahmin movement was not without effect; the Non-Brahmin reforms did influence the thoughts of Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu. "His writings and sacrifices focused the attention of society on the plight of child-widows and urged widow remarriage. The literary work *Shatakas of Janapati Kamasashtra* (1855-1915) is full of odium against the evils of caste hierarchy in the society."⁷⁴ "Viresalingam Pantulu also helped advancement of education, the maintenance and up-bringing of orphans etc. He was known as *Vidya Sagar* of the South for the lifelong and strenuous efforts. He worked fearlessly for the social reform and social purity."⁷⁵ Though the Non-Brahmin movement in Andhra was the result of the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin conflict, the Telugu Brahmins of Andhra had escaped the experience of the Tamil Brahmins of Madras by joining the other castes in protest against Tamil domination. "Besides, the Telugu

68. Telegram from Sabnis Dewan, New Palace, Kolhapur to Chitnis, care of Dr. Nair, Chandani Chowk, Delhi, dt. 29th October, 1918.

69. Latthe, A. B. . . . Vol. I. p. 64.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Letter from Chelmsford, Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, to Shri Shahu, L. No. 11/1, File No. 19, dt. 18th Nov. 1918.

72. Latthe, A. B. . . . Vol. II p. 596.

73. *Ibid.* . . . Vol. II p. 596.

74. Sen, S. P. *Studies in Modern History*, p. III.

75. *The Modern Review* for July, 1919 (Notes) p. 91.

Brahmins were less concerned with pollution and more willing to attend ceremonies of other castes.⁷⁶ *

No movement had such a wide influence as that of the Non-Brahmin movement under the leadership of Shri Shahu. He as the leader of the Non-Brahmin movement was blamed whenever something went wrong with a Brahmin. "In one of the issues of the *Justice* at Madras, there appeared an article against Mr. Shastri, and everyone attributed it to His Highness and abused him for the same."⁷⁷ Shri Shahu Maharaja's work in the cause of education of the Non-Brahmins was not unknown to Madras publications. The *United India* and *Indian States* had published educational notes in reference to the educational policies. (Refer *United India* and *Indian States* dt. 20 July, 1920.) "His Highness was also in touch with publishers in Madras. K. S. K. Iyengar in his letter to His Highness writes in connection with the publications and his other plans."⁷⁸ Besides these contacts, Shri Shahu's lieutenants, like Rao Bahadur Sabnis, Mr. A. B. Latthe, Mr. Prabhavalkar etc., always tried to work for the cause of Non-Brahmins with a sense of unity with the Justicites. They also visited various places and acquainted themselves with the activities of the extremists throughout Southern India. "They had visited Bangalore, Malekote, when they had been there to see Mr. Setlur, the best authority on Hindu law, to consult him in the Jagadguru matter. They also express their desire to see Dr. T. M. Nair there."⁷⁹ Prabhavalkar, who was in charge of Tanjore case in Madras, was even asked by His Highness to go in search of 'Historical material' available when he had some spare time.⁸⁰

Shri Shahu, with various limitations and problems in his own Native State, led the Non-Brahmin movement to its greatest success. The limitations on his activities and the influence of the Brahmins in Native States are mentioned by him in every letter which he wrote

76. Foot Notes, Elliott Carolyn's *Caste and Faction in Andhra Pradesh*, New York, 1966, p. 9.

*Mysore and Andhra have not been immune to anti-Brahminism, but it has been much less virulent and politically significant than that found in Madras and Maharashtra. Kerala has not experienced much anti-Brahminism either, but this may be in part because of the links of blood and kinship that unite Nairs and Namboodri Brahmins, and in part because of strong Brahmin leadership of the Communist Party. The Telugu Brahmins of Andhra may have escaped the experience of the Tamil Brahmins of Madras, because of the history of the Telugu linguistic area. Andhra became aware of a distinct regional identity that differentiated it from Tamilnad-with which it shared a single political identity in the Presidency of Madras-earlier in the twentieth century. Telugu Brahmins were able to join with other Andhra castes in protest against "Tamil domination", which turned out, incidentally, to be mostly Tamil Brahmin domination, at a time when the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin conflict was joined in Madras. But it is also true that Indian and English observers at the beginning of this century, in contrasting Madras and Andhra, noted that Telugu "Brahmins were less concerned with the pollution and more willing to attend ceremonies of other castes."

[Carolyn Elliott Faper, "Caste and Faction in Andhra Pradesh", delivered at the Association for Asian Studies, New York, April 4-6, 1966 (p. 9), quoted by Rudolph and Rudolph "The Modernity of Tradition", *Political Development in India*, Foot Notes p. 78.]

77. Shahu's letter to Mr. Ramaswami Mudliar, File No. 20 dt. 7th Jan. 1922.

78. Letter of K. S. K. Iyengar, Editor's and Manager's office, *United India and Indian States*, Pondicherry, to Shri Shahu, dt. 19th Febr. 1920.

79. Letter from Rao Bahadur Sabnis, The Modern Hindu Hotel, High Ground, Bangalore, to Shri Shahu, dt. 10th March, 1919.

80. Letter from Rao Bahadur Sabnis, Delhi, to Prabhavalkar, dt. 22nd Feb. 1922, File No. 20.

"At times His Highness felt that the Brahmins' stronghold is sure to press the Non-Brahmins, but he was always confident to fight them. His Highness felt that discouragement will not save us, but will kill us."⁸¹ It was this spirit which ran in the very blood of Shri Shahu. The greatest success of the Non-Brahmin movement was the introduction of the Montford Reforms by communal award. With this effort, Kolhapur itself was the centre of education for all the Non-Brahmins. Throughout his life he believed in educating the masses, by throwing open higher education to all the classes without any discrimination, preaching to these communities to develop a spirit of broad toleration among various communities. "His Highness Shahu Maharaja wanted democracy minus caste feelings. With continuous hurdles created by the Brahminical influence, His Highness was pushed in the struggle and his enthusiasm was so keen as he never gave up the struggle."⁸² This history of Kolhapur State was the pattern of politics for all Indians of all classes, and His Highness Shri Shahu had many advantages due to various coincidences. Shri Shahu faced numerous stresses and strains because of his determination to fight for the cause of the depressed classes. On 13th, 16th and 17th February, 1922 he presided over the Third All India Depressed Classes Conference held at Delhi where he delivered his last speech, after which unfortunately he was to leave this world on the 6th May, 1922. In his last speech, at the outset he acknowledged the work of Mr. Ambedkar, who was absent on account of his visit to England. "In this speech he called upon the people not to stick to their hereditary professions alone. He asked them to educate themselves and enter professions like those of pleaders, barristers, doctors and merchants. He asked the depressed classes that they should follow Mr. Bhimrao Ambedkar."⁸³

Shri Shahu's contribution to the Non-Brahmin movement was his life-work. This movement was united under his leadership to such an extent that the "Divide and Rule" policy of the British had no effect on Southern India. The British also tried to limit his movement and his efforts. This can be inferred when we go through Edwin S. Montague's "*An Indian Diary*". This diary was written by Montague from day-to-day during his visit to India in 1917-18 after the historic pronouncement of August 20, 1917 in the House of Commons. On 12th Nov. Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur met Montague and appreciated the services of Lord Willingdon and Shri Shahu "thought that no Viceroy or Governor such as Willingdon ought to be moved (transferred) during war."⁸⁴ On January 17th, 1918, Dr. Nair (leader of the Non-Brahmin Justice Party of Madras) met Montague and complained that "his relations were not good with Lord Hardinge"⁸⁵ (the then Governor of Madras Presidency). Besides, "His Highness on behalf of the Princes, Chiefs, Jagagirdars and the landed gentry of Bombay Presidency had requested Chelmsford that his Excellency Lord Willingdon may be permitted to remain as Governor of Bombay for another term of five years."⁸⁶ His Highness was a great sympathiser of Lord Chelmsford. "When extremists at their last Congress at Amritsar had criticised His Lordship and the Administration, His Highness had expressed his regrets for the attempts of

81. Shahu's letters to Mr. Curties, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Robertson. { File No. 24 L. Nos. 316, 317, 318 dt. 18 July 1919.

82. Latthe, A. B. Vol. II, 580.

83. *The Eastern Mail*, Delhi, 21st Feb. 1922.

84. Montague Edwin S, *Indian Diary*, London, 1930 p. 23.

85. *Ibid.*

86. Chelmsford's letter to Shahu dt. 18th Nov. 1918, File No. 19 L. No. 11/1.

extremists in making misrepresentations and misstatements."⁸⁷ In spite of such relations, Lord Chelmsford transferred Lord Willingdon to Madras. This makes it clear as to how the British played their role in the areas where Brahminism was in the fore-front. Lord Willingdon's services were required more in Madras Presidency than in Bombay Presidency, because Lord Willingdon was good at playing the game of Brahmins Vs. Non-Brahmins. Besides, by 1918 Shahu's personality had reached great heights, and this would be well checked by transferring Lord Willingdon from Bombay to Madras Presidency. On the other hand, this also indicates as to how the Non-Brahmin movement of Maharashtra helped the British to assess their own attitude to the Non-Brahmin politics. Shri Shahu pressed hard upon the British to avoid the transfer of Willingdon but he was not successful. This incident makes it clear that the British had always considered Bombay Presidency as an important centre of politics. Shri Shahu enjoyed a unique position in Indian politics, because of which his movement spread throughout India. The Justice Party of Madras owes a good deal to the efforts made by Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu Maharaja. "In this respect the Non-Brahmin movement of Maharashtra (Joti-Shahu) anticipated the programme of the Non-Brahmin movement in Madras. The measures advocated by Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu became the main items in the programme of the Madras Non-Brahmin movement."⁸⁸ Thanks to the greatness of Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur and his efforts, the special representation through mixed electorates was conceded to the Non-Brahmins in the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and that influenced the British in matters of appointments. "The pioneer reforms which he practised and preached for the untouchables half a century ago were later on to be embodied in the constitution of free India, the chief architect of which was none other than Dr. Ambedkar and on more than one occasion His Highness told the depressed classes to follow him and him only if they truly desired their liberation and salvation".⁸⁹

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87. Shahu's letter to Chelmsford, dt. 19th Jan. 1920 L. No. R. 113.3.

88. Srinivasan, M. N. *Social Change in Modern India*, Longmans, Bombay, 1972-p. 105.

(Foot Notes Refer as to how the Swayam Maryade or Self-Respect Movement owes its seeds to Satya Shodhak.)

89. *Eastern Mail*, Delhi, 21st Feb. 1922.

Note : The letters in the Kolhapur Record Office have not been classified. Hence the File Numbers and letter numbers are mentioned, wherever available.