

INDIAN NATIONALISM AND NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

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It was a general practice among the extremist political leaders in the pre-Gandhi period to regard themselves as the patriots and to denounce the social reformers as opponents of Indian nationalism. Shahu Chhatrapati, the ruler of Kolhapur, and social reformer too, in his lifetime was criticized as such, especially by the newspapers from Poona. With the emphasis on social reforms by Mahatma Gandhi and the passage of time, the role of the social reformers in the growth of Indian nationalism has been looked upon in the proper perspective. The role of social reformers, to say the least, was definitely not inferior to that of political leaders in the development of Indian nationalism.

The editor of Samagra Lokamanya Tilak, published in 1968, has, however, commented that Shahu Chhatrapati opposed national movements and the Loknayak (meaning, leader of the people) and supported directly or indirectly

the British Government. His attitude regarding Shivaji Club and the adoption of Jagannath Maharaj, the editor continues, was opposed to (Indian) nationalism.¹

The incognito editor has, however, not substantiated his charges. In all fairness, therefore, it become necessary to seek the historical truth in the matter. Such a study must, by necessity, attempt to understand the meaning of the concept of nationalism and on its basis the contribution of Shahu Chhatrapati to Indian nationalism. It would not be, moreover, out of place to note the contribution of Lokamanya Tilak and attempt a comparative study.

CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM :

After studying the various aspects of nationalism like land, culture, language and history, Stanley Benn in the Encyclopedia of Philosophy defines nation and nationalism as follows :

"A nation exists, then, where there is a group of individuals attached in this way to a common body of symbols, who recognize one another as fellow members sharing similar attitudes to those symbols and who, because of this feel a loyalty and concern for one another that they would not extend to outsiders."²

The feeling of fellowship among the people and loyalty and concern for each other are, therefore, primary

requirements for the development of a nation. A dispassionate student of Indian history would frankly admit not only the lack of this feeling among Indian Society divided by religion, caste, untouchability, and wealth, but also the lack of action in removing these barriers, for the proper development of Indian nationalism.

"The concept of nation and nationality", Max Hildebrecht Boehm says, "have been subject to two interpretation". While one is political, the other is cultural. Politically, nationalism "represents the tendency of the subject national group to achieve independence or, in the case of an already existing national state, to increase as far as possible the prestige and consciousness of power of the dominant personality Nationalism of this sort assumes an emotional character which easily becomes aggressive, thrives on the negation of other alien peoples and ethnic groups and rises to extreme forms of passionate hostility to all foreign manifestations".³ Nationalism of this type, it may be added, can be also negative even within its group if it does not give due consideration in thought and action to social and economic justice.

Though nationalism usually has both the social and the political aspects, it is the former which is basic and significant, Anthony D. Smith in 'Nationalism' says,

A nationalist movement always aims, therefore, at territorial self-government, at an autonomy which may fall short of political sovereignty but cannot be viable or meaningful without a socially recognised home. Even though there may be no 'nation' as yet, the brotherhood of nationalists can always identify it if only they can give it a home, for then they can discern the people's lineaments in its neglected or forgotten habitat From a social Psychological standpoint, nationalism is a process of self discovery, of the formation of collective identity. Some of the elements that go to mould this identity are collective pride, common enemies and an ideal of fraternity among its members.⁴

The question that arises is whether the Indian leaders of the Home Rule movement were capable of providing home or an ideal of fraternity for the development of nationalism. While it was easy to borrow the idea of Home Rule movement from outside, the feelings of brotherhood, collective pride and identity had to be purposefully developed for the proper growth by Indian nationalism.

In the development of this feeling there were certain definite, traditional barriers. The Indian society has been divided among Hindus and Muhammadans, rich and poor. Within the Hindus, the majority community, there had been caste hierarchy leading to caste patriotism restrictious on inter^{d.}lining and inter-marriages among the castes. The woman, like the atishudra suffered a very low social position.

The social, religious, economic realities definitely came in the way of initiating the feeling of brotherhood among the Indians. It would be interesting to note the approach of the leaders to these problems.

The paper is, therefore, divided into :

1) Social Aspect of Indian Nationalism

1) Caste Patriotism.

ii) Restrictions on interdining and intermarriages among the castes

iii) Women : their social status and education

iv) Social Reforms and Democratic Legislature.

2) Religious Aspects of Indian Nationalism :
The Muhammadans

3) Economic Aspect of Indian Nationalism.

4) Political Aspect of Indian Nationalism :
Shahu Chhatrapati's Relations with the British Government.

1) SOCIAL ASPECT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM :

1) CASTE PATRIOTISM :

Tilak, on 14 August, 1905, presided over a meeting regarding social reforms at Amaravati. The Social reforms discussed, however, were confined only to bring about unity among different subcastes of Brahmins like the Shukla

Yajurvediya and Madhyandin.⁵ If he had chosen to preside over a meeting for social reforms covering all castes in Maharashtra, a different political picture might have arisen in India. But given the attitude of Tilak such a wider outlook appears beyond his vision.

The attitude of Tilak towards Hindu religion was one of pride and he did not wish to have any reform in the religion ^{or} ~~of~~ society based on the religion. In his speech at Pune on 15 September 1907 he declared that Hindu religion was the most tolerant and among the Hindus there were neither high or low. He had to admit paradoxically in the same speech that among the Hindus there were many castes with high or low status.⁶ He, however, did not speak against this inequality in the Hindu religion. Tilak wanted to have unity among the Hindus without in any way destroying the inequality among the Hindus. His analysis, as he admitted, was based upon the old works of Hindu ^{li} ~~re~~gion.⁷ Tilak did not explain how unity could be achieved without social understanding among the people.

In his speech at Khamgaon on 5 May 1908, Tilak cited the story in Ramayana regarding the death of the son of a Brahmin because a Shudra (by name Shambuk) was practicing tapascharya, meaning penance, and that he was executed by Ram.⁸ This was regarded as a good example of kingship by Tilak. In his speech at Belgaum on 1 May, 1916, Tilak referred to the people (by which he meant Non-Brahmins) getting some rights

from the British Government. Tilak wanted the non-Brahmins to say that the rights should be exercised by the Brahmins only. He wanted the non-Brahmins to say that they were not fit to exercise these rights. Only when they would speak in this manner, he said, he would regard that they were speaking the truth.⁹

The mention of Brahmins as distinct from others is quite evident in these speeches given by Tilak. He thereby indicated Brahmins and non-Brahmins as distinct groups, even before the birth of Non-Brahmins movement. A demand was made by the non-Brahmins for separate electorate.

Tilak in a speech made at Athani argued against communal representation in a very strange and partisan manner; in characteristic sarcasm he argued whether the gains and the ^mLiugayals (representing the ^{merchant} ~~werch~~ community) going in the Council would hold a scale of balances there and whether the peasants would till the soil with a plough there. Shahu in his speech at Nasik on 16 April 1920 retorted that Tilak should be ashamed of himself in expressing such thoughts in his newspaper and meetings.¹⁰ Shahu argued that there was the sore need of the development of the new non-traditional leadership, which could only develop when it would be allowed to work on its own.¹¹

Tilak in his editorial, in the Kesari of 18 September, 1917, entitled Swarajya, Brahman ani Brahmanetar claimed that the Brahmins would remain neutral or silent regarding the separate electorate for the non-Brahmins and pointed out that

the Brahmins were in administrative service in large proportion to their population, because of their education.¹²

Tilak was writing as the spokesman and leader of Brahmins and not as a leader of all people in Maharashtra. A. B. Latthe in a letter to Tilak (which was published in Kesari of 25 September 1917) rightly pointed out the positive support given to the Muhammadans by Tilak in the Lucknow Pact vis-a-vis professed passive neutrality to the claims of the non-Brahmins. If education became the criterion for franchise, Latthe wrote, Swarajya would become the rule of the educated or rather the rule of the Brahmins,¹³ because the Brahmins enjoyed the monopoly of education.

Tilak moreover, opposed compulsory primary education in the Poona Municipality area on the ground of economy.¹⁴ In opposition to this thought, Shripatrao Shinde, editor of Vijaya Maratha delivered a speech from the same platform, with the result that Tilak had to leave the platform in Poona, without completing his speech.¹⁵

Shahu, on the other hand, started hostels for students of different castes and encouraged education of all. In his speech at Nasik on 15 April 1920 he reiterated the principle of "no cake to a few until all are served with bread", and vehemently upheld that primary education should be made compulsory rather than spending money on higher education

as Tilak suggested.¹⁶ In July 1917 he sanctioned Rs.80,000/- out of the revenues of the state and Rs. 20,000/- out of the new Devasthan (charitable gifts) for the purpose of making primary education free and compulsory.¹⁷ The practice of taking fees from primary students was consequently abolished.¹⁸ In 1918-1919, ninety-five primary schools, as against twenty-seven of the last year, were started in Kolhapur State.¹⁹

All the social and educational reforms of Shahu Chhatrapati cut across caste patriotism. While speaking before Lloyed George, Governor of Bombay he said, "My principle has been to take care of the weak among my subjects more than the strong."²⁰

Shahu Chhatrapati till 1916, educated the untouchables and employed them in public and personal service. But this was not enough. In the post - 1916 period, he removed the traditional economic and social disabilities of the untouchables and opened new fields of occupation to them.²¹ In November 1921, he ordered that the word asprushya should not be used. In the All India Untouchables Conference held at Nagpur in May 1920 he said, "The leaders of the asprushya (untouchable) castes from all over India have gathered here today. It is highly derogatory to use the word asprushya to any person You are not asprushya. You are more intelligent, more brave, more thoughtful and more self-sacrificing than many of the persons who call you ^aasprushya. You are a part and parcel of the Indian nation. I do not regard you as asprushya. We are brothers and sisters with equal rights."²²

In the State of Kolhapur, the asprushyas were to be called as the suryavanshi.²³ Was not Shahu Chhatrapati developing the feeling of fraternity and nationalism by these thoughts and actions?

Shahu Chhatrapati encouraged the leadership of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the leader of the untouchables in India by various methods. He publicly invited Dr. Ambedkar for dinner,²⁴ (He had been eating and living in the company of ordinary untouchables for many years) and requested the untouchables in the All India Untouchables Conference at Delhi in February 1922, to follow the example of Dr. Ambedkar.²⁵ Dr. Ambedkar too understood the importance of pioneering work done by Shahu Chhatrapati. In a statement of Bahishkrut Bharat²⁶ in 1927 he said "the Untouchables had no friend like Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaj and I doubt whether they would have a friend and companion like him in future." The statement was made when Dr. Ambedkar was introducing Mahar Watan Bill in the legislature of the Bombay Presidency and five years had elapsed after the demises of Shahu. The model for Dr. Ambedkar's Bill was the measure adopted by Shahu Chhatrapati in abolishing the Mahar Watan in the Kolhapur State.

On the other hand, Dr. Ambedkar strongly criticized Tilak and his Kesari. In an article he said that the policy of Kesari was to oppose the work of social reform.²⁷ He further criticized in very pungent language the discouraging attitude

of the Kesari, when he started the Muknaik. The Kesari was not ready to publish an advertisement regarding Muknaik and did not write the review of the paper.²⁸ Shahu Chhatrapati had provided financial assistance to Dr. Ambedkar for starting the newspaper viz. Muknaik.²⁹

It was by adopting such a sympathetic policy that Shahu Chhatrapati was providing home for the socially disabled.

While Shahu Chhatrapati understood the existence of caste differences and the necessity of providing special care for the development of backward castes, he was aware of the danger of caste patriotism for the development of Indian nationalism. In his speech at Nasik he emphasised the need of controlling caste patriotism, which was, he said, the result of caste system itself.³⁰ In destroying the caste system, he reiterated at Nagpur, that the upper castes should take the initiative. He further stated that even the Marathas (a caste to which he belonged) should be forced to form unity with the others by destroying caste restrictions.³¹ In his speech at Kolhapur Shahu advised that though it is difficult to forget completely caste patriotism, it should be controlled and should not form an hinderance to nationalism. Like a person who in his whole life cannot look beyond his family, a person who cannot work beyond his caste should be blamed for his narrow vision. One must serve, he said, the large society existing beyond one's own caste.³² One should not forget that one is Indian with the

responsibility in the prosperity of nation.

In this manner Shahu Chhatrapati attempted the progress of the backward castes, and thereby the development of Indian nationalism.

Shahu Chhatrapati started boarding institutions on caste basis in Kolhapur and it is sometimes averred that by adopting such a policy Shahu furthered caste differences, and promoted caste patriotism. This was done as there was no other alternative before the non-Brahmins. Professor D.K.(Annasaheb) Karve started Anath Balikashram (institution for the upkeep of destitute women) at Hingane (near Pune). V.R.Shinde, a caste Maratha and later on the founder of the Depressed Class Mission, requested Karve in 1895-1896 to admit his sister Janakka in the said Anath Balikashram. Prof. Karve, however, refused to admit Janakka in the ashram, as she was a Non-Brahmin.³³

This practice of not admitting non-Brahmin women, it appears continued in the twentieth century. Shahu Chhatrapati in his speech at Hubli in July 1920, charged that while the institutions like the Anath Balikashram were raised with the public money, the Brahmins alone gained all the benefits.³⁴ In another speech, Shahu Chhatrapati pointed out that the Brahmins had started institutions like Brahmansabha, Shankarwadi, and Mimansa vidyalaya exclusively for their own welfare, and thereby ^wsowed the seeds of dissension in the society. The Brahmins, as an educated community, Shahu expressed, should

have treated the other castes with the feeling of equality and laid down an example of unity and love, which others could emulate.³⁵

In Kolhapur itself there existed a hostel with non-sectional name in 1896, but in it only the Brahmin students were admitted. After having vainly waited for four years to see a change of heart in the management of the hostel, Shahu Chhatrapati started the hostel institutions on east-basis.³⁶

The caste patriotism went to such an extreme in the pre-British period that there were restrictions on interdining among the castes. These restrictions have continued, to some extent, even up-to-date. These restrictions, added to the restrictions on intercaste marriages, made it very difficult for the Indians to form a real 'home' in India. It would be, therefore, enlightening to note the approach of both Tilak and Shahu to this aspect of Indian life.

11) RESTRICTIONS ON INTERDINING AND INTER-MARRIAGES AMONG THE CASTES:

In his speech entitled Brahman va Brahmanetar at pune on 16 March 1920 Tilak pointed out that interdining and self-government were not inter-related. He spoke as a Brahmin and tried to defend the position of his caste.³⁷

He defended the position of the Brahmins who were reluctant to dine with the non-Brahmins and in support cited

the ^aexamples of restrictions on interdining among the non-Brahmins. His approach was parochial and intended to perpetuate the differences in the Hindu Society. Sir C. Shankaran Nayar in his autobiography has pointed out that the Brahmin leaders of the All India Congress used to avoid taking food with him.³⁸

Shahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur on the other hand not only shared food with the lowest of the untouchables, but provided for their education and services in public and in the palace. At the end of the Mangaon speech on 22 March, 1920, Shahu publicly requested Dr. Ambedkar to accept his invitation of dinner with him.³⁹

Tilak wanted to question the relationship between politics and untouchability. Shahu in answer [^]argued in his Mangaon speech under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar, that without treating the untouchables as human beings no political movement would be possible. Only those, who treat human beings as human beings, would be doing the work of the nation.⁴⁰

Shahu Chhatrapati was, therefore, fostering Indian nationalism in a far better manner than Tilak and the Brahmin leaders of the A.I.C., who though Sanskrit scholars had conveniently forgotten the Upanishadic prayer of living together and eating together.

The Brahmins in the medieval period, following their shastras and puranas, had imposed various restrictionsⁿ regarding the shudras and ati-shudras, who together formed the non-Brahmin group of the society. The same practice was continued by Tilak and others.

But unlike the past this restriction had its reaction from the non-Brahmins who started to pay in the same coin.

In his confidential and private letter to Mr. Cadell Shahu wrote -

".....But for a sitting with him one has to touch him(Tilak). But I think he (Tilak) is too unclean and polluted with heinous crimes to be touched. Sitting upon him is an honour to him. I should avoid his very shadow and put him in the class of real untouchables. He being my personal enemy, the above picture of the man may perhaps look overdrawn. But ... my conviction is firm."⁴¹

Shripatro Shinde, editor of Vijayi Maratha and Shamrao Desai, editor of Rashtraveer expressed similar views.

As a reaction to the untouchability and the restrictions on interdining imposed by the Brahmins, Shripatrao Shinde, editor of Vijayi Marathi, and a leader of the non-Brahmin movement was not ready to interdine with the Brahmins.⁴²

When Gangadharrao Deshpande, a prominent Brahmin from Belgaum invited Shamrao Desai, editor of Rashtraveer, for marriage dinner, Shamrao declined and said that he would not take food from the Brahmins, because the Brahmins did not take food from him.⁴³

The era of meekly submitting to untouchability imposed by the Brahmins was gone as a result of the non-Brahmin movement and in its place an eye for an eye approach was emerging. In the long run both the untouchabilities and restrictions were unjust and hinderance to the development of Indian nationalism. But it should be remembered that this 'new' untouchability was a strong and aggressive reaction to the untouchability and restriction in interdining imposed by the Brahmins. A great service to Indian nationalism would have been made if Brahmins at this critical hour had started the practice of interdining. The practice of intercaste dining in a limited extent started in the Gandhian era.

Shahu Chhatrapati tried not only to remove the barriers of interdining but also those on intercaste marriages. The Hindu Law, based on tradition and the Hindu Shastras was the first major hurdle in intercaste marriages. Shahu Chhatrapati by an order declared that no marriage among the Hindus and Jains in the Kolhapur State would be illegal on the ground that the bride and groom do not belong to the same caste. The order was ^{to} remain in force in face of any contradiction from the tradition and the dharmashastras of the Hindus and the

Jains.⁴⁴ As Shahu Chhatrapati believed in the priority of action to speech that he spoke about this order at Nagpur⁴⁵ in May 1920 and pointed out that the speed of progress in this country would ultimately depend on the speed with which the caste differences were destroyed. For the destruction of caste differences not only interdining but intermarriages also were necessary. And to promote intercaste marriages, the legal difficulty, which was the initial hurdle had to be removed.⁴⁶ Moreover, if in the merger of the castes there was the obstruction of tradition and dharmashastras, which were intended to perpetuate caste hierarchy, these too ought to be removed with firm hand by the Government. He had, thus, no respect for a religion which hindered the unity and therefore, the development of nationalism. Though he had removed the legal difficulty in his kingdom, he advocated the need of supporting the Patel Bill in the Legislature Council, which was intended to remove legal barriers in the intercaste marriages in British India.⁴⁷

By his initiative and efforts, the marriage between the Prince of Indore (belonging to Dhangar i.e. shepherd caste) and the daughter of the Kagal Junior, a close relative of Shahu Chhatrapati, was celebrated after the demise of Shahu.

Like the Shudra, the woman suffered low status in the Indian Society, and like the Shudra it was necessary to bring her in the national stream by giving her status and education equal to man.

iii) WOMEN : THEIR SOCIAL STATUS AND EDUCATION

In his attitude towards women, Tilak appears to have been guided more by the religious precepts of Hindus rather than by any humanitarian outlook. He, as is well-known, opposed the age of consent bill. He did not even wish to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of the bill.⁴⁸

Tilak had a ^tpriva~~g~~e talk with Shankaracharya at Poona in 1904. Tilak, it seems, was theoretically opposed to post-puberty marriages. He, therefore, suggested post-puberty marriage after performing prayaschitta, certain religious rites. The advantage as suggested by Tilak was that by such a practice the childwidow would not die as a virgin. ^ePeople would feel satisfied, he said, that the child-wife was deflowered by the husband.⁴⁹ He was looking to the question from the angle of husband without understanding sympathetically the condition of women in child marriages. He ridiculed the opinion that with the education of women, the next generation would be more advanced in learning. Tilak was also of the opinion that those who advocated female education wanted to divert the attention of people from political matters.⁵⁰

Tilak, to say the least, had very conservative and unfair approach to the better half of the Indian nationhood. It was only on 17 March 1920 a few months before his death that he accepted the importance of giving education to women as the way of imparting education to the next generation.⁵¹

The views of Shahu regarding women can be understood from his speech at Bhavnagar⁵² on 6 March 1920 "Child marriage, polygamy, alchoholism, prohibition of education to women and varnashramdharma are the dangerous social practices responsible for the lifelessness of the Indian society Women and shudras were denied many rights and consequently they were denied the right to the dnyanmarg, the road to knowledge."

There were separate girls' schools in the Kolhapur State under Shahu Chhatrapati. The number of girls' schools, the attendance and the amounts for their expenditure given by the State continued to increase in the reign of Shahu. While the number of girls' schools increased from 28 (in 1919 to 1920) to 31 (in 20-21), the attendance in the same period increased from 1533 to 1852.⁵³ In the next year (1921-22), the number of schools further increased from 1852 to 1918, the expenditure of the state also consequently increased from rupees 13,164 to rupees 14,425.⁵⁴

In his speech⁵⁵ before the thirteenth social conference of Indian Kurmi Kshatriyas (19 to 21 April 1919), Shahu Chhatrapati expressed his happiness over the practice of widow remarriage among the Kurmi Kshatriyas. In the castes, which did not practice widow-remarriage, he pointed out, there were many cases of adultery and infanticide.

iv) SOCIAL REFORMS AND DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATURE

Wrangler Paranjape in the Chronicle, a newspaper from Bombay, of 9 December 1919 criticized the thought and action of Lokamanya Tilak regarding vedokta, Patel Bill and communal representation. Lokamanya Tilak in reply, given in the Chronicle of 12 December 1919, tried to defend his position regarding Patel Bill and the Communal Representation. Tilak's statement in the reply is significant. He wrote, "I did not feel then (at the time of Bill of Consent) and do not also feel now that a legislature, which is responsible to the people, is competent to decide social problems."⁵⁶

Tilak had previously repeatedly pointed out that as he was busy in political field he had no time and energy for the social problems.⁵⁷ But given a representative and responsible legislature, he was not ready for social reform through it. This significant statement of Lokamanya Tilak given a few months prior to his demise and to his renown^{ed} critic reflects upon his belief in status-quo in the social matter and his opposition to social change by democratic methods. Were such thoughts of Lokamanya Tilak conducive for the democratic growth of Indian nationalism? They were not. A significant change in the social matters through a responsible institutions was the prime requisite for the development of fellowship and mutual loyalty among the Indians which, in turn, would lead to the development of Indian nationalism.

The political movements under Mahatma Gandhi assumed

for the first time national character, because of his all-inclusive policy of social reform.

In the social matters covering caste and caste-restrictions and the position of women, Shahu's attempts, as already noted, were directed to bridge the social differences and to elevate the down-trodden people in the society. It was in this context that Dr. Ambedkar described Shahu Chhatrapati as the pillar of the movement leading to social democracy in India.⁵⁸

Shahu Chhatrapati was a devout Hindu and yet his vision was not limited to his caste and religion only. He had good relations with the Christians. Fernandes was the Chief of Police in the Kolhapur State. He had especially good relations with Christian missionaries⁵⁹ and derived inspiration from them in his social reforms. He also gave encouragement to Muhammadans, who formed a sizeable part of Indian society, in education and service.

2) THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM : THE MUHAMMADANS

Not only within the Hindu religion, but also outside it, Shahu Chhatrapati tried to bring unity so as to foster territorial, and not religious, nationalism. There were Urdu schools in the Kolhapur State, which were given financial assistance. The number of Muslim students taking education

in it continued to increase. In the year, 1920-21, the increase was from 1022 to 1345 students⁶⁰ and the next year (1921-22) the increase was from 1345 to 1726.⁶¹

Shahu Chhatrapati, as was his practice, requested the prominent men in the Muhammadan community of Kolhapur to take initiative in starting an educational institution in Kolhapur. He promised them all support. But these prominent men failed to take initiative. It was necessary to provide hostel facilities to the Muslim students taking higher education in Kolhapur. Shahu Chhatrapati, therefore, admitted the Muhammadan students in the Maratha hostel.⁶² Usuf Abdulla, an Arts Graduate, was taken in the State service. The Muhammadan Hostel was started in 1906. "In Kolhapur, the fraternity of Islam is not in a very prosperous condition and His Highness could not make the institution thrive by these measures. If anywhere, it was here that His Highness had to lavish his generosity. He paid rupees 5,500/- to the Mussalman building fund. A suitable site was of course given free in June 1907 for this building. A grant of Rs. 250 a year was sanctioned. And last but not least, a total annual landed income of Rs. 6,745 was given to the institution."⁶³

Shahu Chhatrapati, thus, encouraged the growth of education among the Muhammadans and by breaking the monopoly of the British and the Brahmins in the service, employed Marathas, Jains and the Muhammadans in the services of the State.

On the other hand, Tilak despite the Lucknow pact, says Dhananjay Keer, was "the most hated man in India by the bureaucrats, feared by the moderates and suspected by the Muslims."⁶⁴

In his speech in the Non-Brahmin Conference at Hubli⁶⁵ in July 1920, Shahu Chhatrapati pointed out that in the armies of the Marathas there were Muhammadan sardars and conversely many Marathas Chiefs served in the armies of the Muslim powers. He further pointed out that the traditional or behavioral attitude of the Marathas and the Muhammadans was the same viz. loyalty to the master. Shahu regarded Arabs and Turks as the brothers of Indians. He, thus, tried to emphasize the fraternity of Hindus and Muslims.

In addition to the social and religious barriers separating the people into groups and hindering the growth of nationalism, there are economic considerations which divide people into haves and havenots. A national leader in the real sense of the term must chalk out policy and action to bridge the gulf.

3) ECONOMIC ASPECT OF NATIONALISM :

The feeling of loyalty and concern for one another and an ideal of fraternity among its members form^s the crux of nationalism. This fraternity must be also reflected in the economic condition of the people. While there should also be fair, if not equal, distribution of the economic prosperity among the individuals in a nation, the individuals would not

feel collective pride and that they ^{were} ~~are~~ living in "a socially recognised home", if there would be vast chasm between the rich and the poor.

The ^tthough of swadeshi, the belief in self-reliance by the people, was propagated by Lokamanya Tilak in a number of speeches. The concept of the Swadeshi was followed in practice by Shahu Chhatrapati. The first impact could be seen in the field of administration. During 1895 and 1897, Europeans like Miss Little, Miss Sykes, Mr. Shanon left the services of the Kolhapur State and in due course all European Officers, except Dr. Sinclair, had to resign from the services of the Kolhapur State. It should be borne in mind that Shahu Chhatrapati brought about Indianisation of services and thereby showed in practice that Indians ^{could} ~~can~~ administer themselves.⁶⁶

In order to bring about economic prosperity. Shahu Chhatrapati, despite the limited resources, started building a dam on the river Bhogawati in November 1909. In a period of seven years upto 1917 about thirteen and a half lacs of rupees were spent over the project in those days. He was personally involved in the work. "My life's work", he said, "will have been done when I complete this project."⁶⁷ The dam, at Radhanagar, the only completed dam in the region so far, brought about 'greenⁿ revolution' in Kolhapur and because of its hydro-electric power led to the growth of Udyamnagar, the industrial complex, at Kolhapur.

In addition, a weaving and textile mill was given free site, water tank and monopoly for a few years at Kolhapur by Shahu Chhatrapati. The mill, named after him, was later on taken over by the Kolhapur State. A Ginning Factory was also started at Shirol.⁶⁸ In order to spread the technical knowledge, a technical school and the practice of periodic technical exhibitions was started. Shahu Chhatrapati, thus, gave active and substantial encouragement to agriculture and industry in the Kolhapur State.

In his sympathy towards the backward people, Shahu Chhatrapati employed the backward people like the Marathas, Mangs and Mahars in the services of the State. This was done in the teeth of opposition when Shahu Chhatrapati appointed Mr. Vichare, a Maratha in place of Mr. Shanon as an Engineer, Colonel Wray, the Political Agent of Kolhapur showed his discontent for not giving the post to an European. The Brahmin newspapers, on the other hand, criticized him for not having taken Mr. Tambe, a Brahmin, ~~a Brahmin~~. Thus, those who enjoyed monopoly in public services - Europeans and Brahmins - displayed their displeasure towards Shahu's attempts at making the services socially broad-based. Even the wandering, homeless community of the phanse paradhi (the trappers) were appointed in the state services as guards and were granted pieces of land for cultivation.⁶⁹ sanads, official orders, were issued to educated backward people permitting them to advocate in the courts of law.⁷⁰

In the Kolhapur State, moreover Shahu Chhatrapati introduced the Cooperative Credit Societies Act (Act X of 1904) by an order dated 4th July 1912.⁷¹ Within a decade, there were thirty-eight cooperative societies in the Kolhapur State, out of which 26 were agricultural and 12 non-agricultural.⁷² The principle of cooperation among the financially weak people for their economic growth took firm root in Kolhapur.

While Shahu Chhatrapati nurtured the cooperative movement for the economic welfare of the rural and urban people, he advocated the need of strong unions for the workers. In his speech at Bombay in November 1918, Shahu Chhatrapati said, "The interests of the workers, if they come in conflict with those of the capitalists, are not protected in England. The same condition prevails here. It would be necessary to establish unions of workers in India, as in England."⁷³ In another speech given at Bombay in the same month, he reiterated the necessity of the formation of unions of workers in India.⁷⁴

'The factories on Western Model', Shahu Chhatrapati spoke at Kolhapur, '^{are}~~were~~ not useful for India, as it ^{is}~~was~~ not proper to live on the mercy of selfish capitalists'. He, therefore, advocated cooperative factories^s and shops.⁷⁵

Indian people in their struggle for national identity were divided in haves and havenots. Shahu Chhatrapati by speech and action tried to uplift the latter and thereby provided them a home (where members equally share the wealth^{of} poverty) in

the Kolhapur State. His speeches on the need of labour unions reflects on his policy towards the workers and his feeling of fraternity towards them.

It has been already noted that "a nationalist movement always aims at territorial self-government, at an autonomy which may fall short of political sovereignty." But such a movement "cannot be viable or meaningful without a socially recognised home."

Nationalism, in the social sense depends upon "common pride, common enemies and an ideal of fraternity among its members". The feeling of fraternity and common pride, therefore, forms the very basis of nationalism in the social sense. If these feelings are lacking in the society the political movement becomes meaningless. Shahu Chhatrapati by his social reforms and sympathy for all the sections of the society fostered social nationalism, which was absolutely necessary to provide meaning to the political movement.

In the political movement, Lokamanya Tilak gave the leadership, but due to the negative approach to social reforms, he failed to carry the masses with him. The work of Shahu Chhatrapati in the political field and especially his relations with the British can be briefly mentioned here.

4) POLITICAL ASPECT OF NATIONALISM : SHAHU'S
RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

Shahu Chhatrapati, prior to the first world war, had

gathered following in the field of social reform. Within his state he did enjoy large power. Despite the opposition of the British bureaucracy, he employed Indians in the state service, and inspite of the opposition of the Brahmins, who enjoyed monopoly among the Indians for the services, he introduced the caste Hindus, untouchables and the Muhammadans in the services of the State. There are many instances when he did not brook any interference by the British Government in the affairs of his State.

Shahu Chhatrapati, as a ruler of a native State, however, was bound by the various historical treaties made by the British with the Kolhapur State. These treaties had circumscribed his words and activities. The very first speech given by Shahu reflects upon the limitation imposed on his right of speech; Shahu, as he candidly admitted, spoke what he was asked to speak.⁷⁶

Inspite of these restraints, Shahu continued his work of social and educational reform. The British Government could not possibly come in the way of Shahu. During the first world war^h and especially after Montague's Declaration, the political developments gathered pace in India. Shahu was also drawn in the political field as there was need to protect the political rights of the masses in the 'self Government'.

In understanding the relationship between Shahu Chhatrapati and the British Government at Delhi, it would be necessary to answer some questions. Was his leadership based on the powers of the British Government? Did he give more importance to his being ruler than to his devotion to the interests of the masses?

Shahu Chhatrapati's leadership had deep roots in the society and derived its power from the masses only. He had firm and deep loyalty with the people, especially the non-Brahmins. This loyalty was so firm that he was ready to give up the administration of the Kolhapur State in order to serve the untouchables and other depressed classes.

The public announcement in this respect was made at Nagpur on 30 May 1920.⁷⁷ But prior to this, it seems, that he was under pressure of relinquishing either the leadership of the masses or the rulership of the Kolhapur State. In a letter⁷⁸ written to Frazer, the Political Agent, three months prior to the Nagpur speech (of 30 May 1920) made his position clear. He wrote, "In order to fight with those politicians (Tilak, Vijapurkar etc.) I had to erect a party. The party was erected. In the time of Lord Willingdon's career I become a platform speaker, as I had to manage the mobs. The mobs which was the Brahmin bureaucracy. I had to subsidize papers, start newspapers." This participation in social and political matters was regarded as personal by Shahu Chhatrapati. He wrote, "I do not like my Government to help me by going out of way because I consider my interest individual and personal." Shahu Chhatrapati was making the position quite clear; he did not wish to have any support from the British Government. His leadership was on sound basis and did not need the crutches of the British Government. Shahu in the letter, discussed the first alternative before him, the

alternative of giving up his leadership. He says in the letter, "Now fortunately or unfortunately, intentionally or unintentionally I have created a position which I cannot assail, which is unassailable. If I retire from the position I displease the party which I have created before the war and which was loyal to me and which helped me through thick and thin through all my difficulties." This alternative was unacceptable to Shahu^h. He said, "I am thinking of retiring and handing over the administration to my son. I had already divided my administration between my brother, son and Dewansaheb."⁷⁹ Why was Shahu discussing these alternatives in a letter written to the Political Agent? It could not have been without the queries made by the British Government. He was quite clear and firm about his position. He was ready to relinquish the responsibility of administration in order to continue to work for the society; he wanted to work for the socio-political cause rather than to remain as a Prince.

The thought of retirement expressed by Shahu was the result of increasing confrontation he had with the British. Shahu asked Col. Wodehouse for the permission of contesting the election to the Viceregal Council. Shahu's request was not granted by the British, though the letter was worded in the feeling of loyalty and services to the British Raj. Lloyd George, Governor of Bombay, in his letter to Shahu dated 4 November, 1920, advised Shahu not to take active part in party politics of British India.⁸⁰ As the political leadership of

Shahu started developing and assumed national character, the suspicion of the British Government increased and it adopted measures to circumscribe the political activities of Shahu Chhatrapati.

Shahu, however, voiced his desire of resigning from the affairs of Kolhapur state and continuing his work of improving the social and political status of the backward castes of Maharashtra.

Lokamanya Tilak was a great political leader who replaced the 'mendicancy' by 'birth-right' and poured his lifeblood in the national movement. By his speeches and editorials he aggressively criticized the British Government. He actively espoused the cause of the 'swadeshi' and was in that sense a predecessor of Gandhiji.

The comparison, however, ends there only. Tilak "defended the defective and decaying institutions of the old social order with unabated ferocity" and "failed to look at the non-Brahmin problem from the angle of social justice and equality, its basic urge for a better social order in a changing age, and the needs of a changing social and economic life."⁸¹

While Lokamanya Tilak passed away in 1920, Shahu Chhatrapati expired in 1922. In the period following, the leadership of Gandhiji emerged in India.

The social reformers in Maharashtra, however, did not relish the conservative belief of Gandhiji in varnashramdharma. In due course, however, Gandhiji came to realize the pressing need of giving priority to the social matters over the political. "Gandhiji assessed more correctly the urgent necessity of the removal of untouchability, of women's education, of improving the lot of the working classes, and the necessity of a just solution of the grievances of the non-Brahmins."⁸²

Gandhiji, thus, in due course combined the two streams of the 'social' and the 'political' in the national movement. It was because of this all-embracing approach that the non-Brahmin movement came to an end in Maharashtra and all the forces were united on equal footing. The beginning of the new era became evident on August 1, 1920 itself, when the Lokmanya breathed his last. "Some of Tilak's Brahmin friends and relations desired that only Brahmins should lift the bier. When Gandhiji came forward and bent low to lift the bier, someone tried to obstruct him. Gandhiji stood up for a moment and said : "A public man knows no caste". He shouldered the bier, so did Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew."⁸³

The expectation of the Father of the Nation is also relevant for the growth of Indian nationalism. India has not as yet reached the ideal of nationalism completely. Many great workers and leaders in the social and political field have contributed to its growth. The present situation in India,

however, reflects that the social factors (like caste-patriotism, low positions of the untouchables and women), the lack of harmony among the followers of different religions, and the great economic gulf between the rich and the poor have been thwarting the proper growth of Indian nationalism in independent India.

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