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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Subject:- A History of the Education of the Shudra Untouchables before and under the British Rule in India. (Circ: 2000 B.C. to 1947 A.D.)

The Shudra Untouchables are descendents of the Aboriginal Dasyu, natives of India who inhabited and ruled over the country before the Aryan invasion about 2000 B.C. The Aryans, ancestors of the Hindus, defeated them and made them dasas (slaves). Under the Hindu caste system, the Aboriginal Dasa natives were given the name of Shudras.

The Aryan Hindus excluded the Dasa Shudras from all social and educational privileges of their society. The Aryan Hindu priests laid down severe laws in their religious books for the social and educational segregation of the Shudras in all ages to come. Such penal laws were filling the ears and cutting the tongue of a Shudra if he tried to overhear or utter a syllable from their scriptures. These sanctions have been followed by the Hindus till the present day. (Section I - Ch.I).

The rise of Budhism promised social and educational equality to the Shudras who therefore joined the new cult in millions for its benefits. (Ch.II)

The Educational System in the post Budhist period - a period of the revival of Hinduism, was again unfavourable to the social and educational advance of the Shudras. (Ch.III).

Under the Mohammedans and later under the British, the priestly Hindus won the favour of the rulers and kept their social order, which was antagonistic to the Shudras, intact. Whatever money was allotted by the British for educational purposes, was all diverted to Hindu learning and culture. (Chs.III & IV).

The Hindu Congress, founded in 1885, followed a political programme rather than the social programme which would have been useful for the Untouchables. Its programme suggests the Hinduising of the Untouchables rather than their education. (Ch.VI).

The Hindu public, following Congress, have also opposed the education of the Untouchables. (Ch.VII).

Some of the causes of the denial of education advanced from generation to generation, have been that the Untouchables were racially inferior; and had no tradition or aptitude for learning, and (today) that they lack intelligence and are unclean etc. These allegations are without logical justification. (Ch.VIII).

During the Mohammedan rule, the Muslim kings, on the whole, recognised the equality of the Shudras. Hence the Shudras embraced Islam through the agency of mosque schools. (Section II - Ch.I).

The greatest service during this period for the elevation of the Shudras was through Sufi saints. (Ch.II).

During the British period the Christian missions intensified their efforts for the uplift of the Untouchables. The missionaries are the realpioneers of the education of the Depressed Classes in India. Their service is unique in the history of mankind. (Section III - Chs.I & II).

But if they had limited their work to the Untouchables, there would now be no Untouchables in India. (Ch.III).

The work of the British Government in opening its schools to the Shudra Untouchables is also unparalleled. Their period will remain memorable among civilized nations for this work. (Section IV - Ch.I).

But Britain could do still more if it chose to do so.(Ch.II).

In an independent India, the advance of the education of the Shudra Untouchables can be achieved (a) by the Untouchables remaining an independent block (b) by the adoption of a universal system of education by the Government in power. (Section V).

R.Kalota.
M.A.

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

by

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A HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES BEFORE AND UNDER THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

(Circ: 2000 B.C. to 1947)

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

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of the Depressed Classes) calls them the Untouchables - Introduction of the term 'Shudra Untouchables' by the writer - the new term based on evidence - Difficulty arises that perhaps the present Untouchables are not the real descendants of the Shudras of ancient times - Difficulty due to wrong application of the term 'Shudra' to some economically backward Hindu classes in South India - Clarification of the problem that the present Untouchables are the actual descendants of the Shudras, and that the pseudo Shudras are degraded castes of the twice-born - The cause of the degradation of the new Shudras was the refusal of Upanayana to them by the Brahmans - They enjoy all the privileges of Hindu society - The religious, social, economic and political status of the Untouchables in Hindu society - The degraded position attributed to them by the Hindus does not conform with their actual position - Insight into the religion of the Untouchables - The Hindu religion in sketch - Some anomalies regarding the apparent impression of the thesis removed, e.g. that the thesis is (a) against Hindu religion (b) an attack on Hindu civilisation (c) over critical of Brahmans, Brahmanism and its followers (d) Critical of all other bodies such as the Mohammedans, the Christian missionaries and the State (e) excessively pro-British (f) more of a socio-political than an educational study - Division of work into four sections (i) The policy of the Hindus on the education of the Shudras - Their exclusion from the Hindu educational system during the Early Hindu Period - facilities in the Budhist period - Again excluded in the Later Hindu Period - The opposition of the Hindus continued under the Muslims, and in the British Period - Opposition in the British period through Congress organisation and opposition of the general public (ii) The facilities provided by the Mohammedan rulers - The influence of the Mohammedan sufi saints for the inclusion of the low castes in the existing social and educational system of society (iii) The work of the Christian Missions in elevating the social and educational status of the Untouchables - Actual educational scheme followed for the Untouchable Christian converts (iv) The efforts of the British Government to raise the Untouchable population politically, socially, economically and educationally - The thesis mostly a result of personal experience of the educational backwardness of the Untouchables - The thesis contains much documentary matter because some sections of readers are ignorant about the problem of Untouchables - The ignorant sections are the Hindus, the foreigners and Untouchables themselves - The work includes the repetition of some wellknown aspects which touch educational problem of Untouchables in many respects - Such aspects are Hinduism, its civilisation; the Hindus, the doctrine of Karma and transmigration of souls; the caste system and Untouchability - The work has become out of date due to political change in India - The Introductory Chapter may also be regarded a part of the body of the thesis because it explains the social and educational problems of the Depressed Classes to a large degree.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,[1] "Booker T. Washington of India", leader of the so-called Depressed Classes, wrote a challenging book in 1945 entitled 'What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables.' It was just after the War when the Hindu Congress had begun to strive hard for the supremacy of the whole of India in anticipation of the withdrawal of the British from the country. The book greatly infuriated the orthodox population of India and the author says he has been threatened with assault for exposing the Hindus.[2] His work was also taken as a direct and wilful attack on the Hindus as a nation in general and on the Congress in particular. Of course it was a wrong conclusion because what had been written was based on concrete facts. However, one thing was certain, that he did reveal the hostile reaction of the hostile Hindu mind towards the social, educational and political advance of the Depressed Classes, which had been brought about by the continuous and unending opposition of the Hindus themselves for centuries past. Dr. Ambedkar showed, in addition, how the Hindu mentality pervades the official organisation of the Congress Party. It was an indication for the Depressed Classes of India, therefore, to ponder well in advance the possible attitude of that body towards them and their fate in case they may have to co-operate with them if and when they achieve power in a free India. He proved

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1. Labour Member, Government of India, 1945.
   Law Member, Dominion of India, 1947.
2. Ambedkar, B. R. "Who Are The Shudras" Int. (iii).

that the Hindu Congress with Mahatama Gandhi as its head were the greatest opponents of these communities. The work was so thorough and masterly that no reply came forth from the Hindu world. But above all this the most important fact which was stressed was that the Depressed Classes have been a separate element in the national life of India like the Muslims and Christians right from the time of their subjugation at the hands of the Aryans, the ancestors of the Hindus, until the present day.

From time immemorial the Hindus had kept the Depressed Classes in perpetual bondage with their Shastric Law.* When the Hindus had been under the Muslims for 600 years and for 300 years under the British, they thought that their own slavery was the worst possible, and that these powers had been most wicked and harsh to them. They have always exaggerated the tales of their own woe and misery under the above-mentioned powers, but as regards their treatment of the depressed communities, they have never thought for a moment about the sufferings they have themselves inflicted. The misery and woe of the Depressed Classes as a result of the deliberate attitude of the Hindus has been taken for granted.

Dr. Ambedkar's work showed that the Hindus had been restless for their own independence but quite unmoved and unconcerned for the freedom of the Depressed Classes from their serfdom. The Congress organisation posed as the most democratic of bodies

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* Shastras are the religious books of the Hindus. They contain severe civic laws for the Shudras.

representing all the communities of India. During the Round Table Conferences, London, 1930-1931, the Congress fought for the independence of Hindus on the one hand, and strange as it may seem, it struggled hard on the other hand to confirm its grip of domination over the Shudra Untouchables.

The account given by Dr. Ambedkar of the Hindu claims at the Round Table Conferences that they were the saviours of the Shudra Untouchables was puzzling enough. They had never done anything for the betterment of the Untouchables before. Their past record is blank and black. The greatest harm which any nation can do to any section or individual of a Society is the denial of education. All other disadvantages can be reckoned to be of secondary importance. And this has been done by the Hindus to the Depressed Classes. To my mind, no other exploitation of political, social and economic disadvantages can be greater than this. It is education that qualifies an individual to be successful in all other fields. In the case of the Untouchables, had education been their right like the other people they would have overcome successfully their social and political handicaps. It has been noticed that at times when they had an opportunity to rise they could not make the best use of such a chance. This was because by constant denial of education they had become unable to decide between right and wrong for their own benefit. Such examples are their half hearted co-operation with Islam, the neglect of wholesale conversion to Christianity. Recently, in the elections of 1937

it was found that a fairly high proportion of the Untouchable population could not exercise right judgment in voting. They were misled into voting for Hindu candidates. The cause of these mistakes was lack of education. For these reasons I have selected their education as the subject for my thesis. I knew that the path was beset with some difficulties. The first difficulty was the want of adequate material. There is no direct material on the subject. It is meagrely scattered over the religious literature of the Hindus and the accounts of foreign travellers. Even this material scarcely makes any mention of their education. Secondly, there was a danger of the Hindu public being annoyed. It would look like an attack on the Hindu religion and its sacred books, its civilisation, and a criticism of their manners and customs, especially when India has been depicted as a country having the oldest and the highest civilisation in the world. Thirdly, the problem was which University would accept this subject. After a thorough consideration I decided to work on the subject relying on whatever scanty material was available. The only consolation was that at least it would place on record the unfathomable injustice done by the Hindus to the Depressed Classes in paralysing them forever - the worst injustice the world has ever known. In answer to the second difficulty, I cast off my nervousness at the simple, rational thought that the sacred books of the Hindus do not call for respect from a community

which they treat with no respect. The sacred books deny the education of the Shudra so it would not irritate the Hindu world that an attack has been levelled at them from the side of the aggrieved community. The religion and its civilisation may be dear to the community to whom it gives all the worldly advantages but hateful to a section whom it penalises as much as it can. And then much has already been written about the Hindu religion and its civilisation by both Indian and European writers which is far more bitter than my criticism may be. The only difference is that nobody has written about its tyrannies over the education of Shudras. My aim is quite honest. I think that an enquiry into the neglect of the education of the Shudra Untouchables is a vital issue of national importance and consequently for the benefit of the Hindu nation. If they understand it with an open mind it will be of far greater importance than the religious books. So it would be childish for anybody to be angry about it. The third difficulty was solved by the University of Durham who accepted the subject for a thesis.

We have now to see whether the Depressed Classes are really a separate community from the Hindus or not, and whether the enquiry into the education of the community will be an appropriate subject for discussion. The reply to the first point is in the affirmative. It needs no proof. From centuries ago when they lost their Empire, the Shudras have had their own

beliefs. The Hindus themselves have kept them outside the pale of their religion denying to them all the political, social and religious privileges of their society and of the population in general. They carried out this policy with either force or cunning, directly or indirectly, by different means throughout the periods of Mohammedan and British rule in India. And they have succeeded in their intention of keeping them definitely a separate nation. Dr. Ambedkar in his book referred to above has expressed the same view. He says that it is folly to think that the Depressed Classes were ever a part of Hinduism and that the Hindus had ever liked such an idea. In his words "The scheduled castes are really a religious minority. The Hindu religion by its dogma of Untouchability has separated the scheduled castes from the main body of the Hindus in a manner which makes the separation far more real and far wider than the separation which exists either between Hindus and Muslims ... or Hindus and Christians."[1] This separation, in fact, had never been recognised by any of the Governments in the pre-British period. This underworld of India had never been made known to the foreign rulers and the outside world.

But we shall see that when they were given official recognition by the British Government, it was the first time in the history of India that any such step had been taken. It was the English who found out the injustice done to these classes by

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1. Ambedkar, B. R. "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables" Appendix VI - P. 334.

the Hindus and tried to redress their wrongs. I think it was a fundamentally new departure. The rule of the British in India will always be remembered in the coming times by impartial unprejudiced and unbiased historians, individuals and nations, for changing the barbarous race of the Hindus into a civilised people. The British have done great service to this nation by removing many unscrupulous and inhuman practices prevalent in their religion and social order. Among them may be counted the removal of customs like infanticide, satti (self immolation of widows), Thuggee and human sacrifices. Though their path of reform was not free from dangers yet they have left an immemorable legacy for the good of the race as a whole. Similarly, the recognition of the Depressed Classes as a separate element of the population, though bitter to the Hindus, was equally a good act. I refrain from saying that it comes up to the level of the reforms introduced for the Hindus, yet decidedly it was a new and courageous attempt, nor does it fall short of a reform because of its anti Dharmic nature. The first pronouncement of recognition of the Depressed Classes as a separate racial and religious minority community in India was made in 1917 in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Although it was a late step from the point of view of the Untouchables, yet better late than never. I do agree that the Government had been honest in their efforts to raise them to the level of an independent community as far back as 1882.[1] After 1917, the Government made a series of declarations by which the

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1. Indian Education Commission, 1882.

Untouchables came to be clearly known politically as a separate class.[1] In 1937, they had gained enough political power as a result of this separation. They were holding influential ministerial and secretarial posts and their opportunities for education had been raised to a fairly reasonable level. In 1945, the Government sent members of the Depressed Classes abroad for higher education on the same basis as the higher castes. So the work of the Government in this respect was decidedly a step of reform.

The population of the Depressed Classes in India is about 60,000,000 out of 400,000,000. It is the second largest religious community to the Muslims in the country.[2]

The community of the Untouchables definitely being a separate section, an independent enquiry into the status of their education would be a useful contribution to knowledge.

Now we shall deal with the questions, who are the Depressed

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1. Some of the pronouncements are:
   (a) Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reform 1917, Clause 155.
   (b) Fifth Despatch of the Government of India on the Report of the Southborough Committee on Franchise 1919, Clse. 13
   (c) House of Lords proceedings March 30, 1927. Speech from Lord Birkenhead.
   (d) Report of the Lothian Committee on Franchise 1932. Clauses 3 & 6.
   (e) Statement of Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, (i) 17th October, 1939. (ii) 8th August, 1940.
   (f) House of Commons - Speeches by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India - (i) 14th August, 1940. (ii) 23rd April, 1941.
   (g) Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, Statement in reply to Mr. Gandhi, 15th August, 1944.
2. Speech by H. E. Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, at the Orient Club, India, 10th January, 1940.

Classes? and what is their origin? and we shall attempt to show what state of oppression and degradation they are subject to and in consequence of this how far their civic status has suffered.

India is a country inhabited by four hundred million people. There are three major and a few minor communities in this mass of population. The major sections are the Hindus, the Muslims and the Depressed Classes. The Hindus are more than 50% of the population. The populations of the Muslims and of the Depressed Classes are one hundred million and sixty million respectively. There was a time when the Depressed Classes formed the major part of the population, but different movements like Budhism, Islam, Sikhism and Christianity thinned down their numbers. On the other hand, the population of the Hindus has increased. We will trace their origin in a moment, but it will be worth while to say that they were once like the Normans of Britain, the Franks of France, the Patricians of Rome and the Helots of Greece. While these communities have been amalgamated into the population of their respective countries and have become a part of their society enjoying the equal rights of a citizen, the Depressed Classes in India have been kept apart by the Hindus. As for their status of social inferiority, no corresponding example can be quoted but the hatred towards negroes in America - a country which is a torch bearer of Democracy - roughly corresponds.

As regards professions of the Shudra, they follow different trades in different provinces. But on the whole they employ themselves in agricultural labour, carpentry, as blacksmiths, masons, in basket making, rope making, oil pressing, skinning and tanning, shoe-making and sweeping, etc.*

The problem of their origin presents considerable difficulty. As stated in the previous paragraphs, no attempt has ever been made to explore their history. If some passing references have been made, there is much divergence of opinion. Some have shown them to be the descendents of the aborigines of India, others have traced in them the Dravadian converts to Hinduism. The latter view is taken by those historians who regard Dravadians as the real inhabitants of India before the Aryans. Returning to the point why there seems to have been purposeful neglect of the history of their origin, again the Hindus are found responsible. The first charge is that they have done it on political grounds. They did not like to show the greatness of the conquered race. Secondly, the University Research Chairs have been monopolised by Brahmans who are more concerned with the propagation of their own religion, history and civilisation than that of the Shudra Untouchables. In fact, they have used all State money for the investigation and preparation of their sacred literature. Thirdly, the writers of Hindu literature[1] have done great mischief in depicting the

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1. I mean Brahmans - Refer pp. 108-109.

* The Shudras followed these professions with a fair degree of skill before the Aryan conquest. When the Aryans made them slaves, the captive Shudras and the Shudra Dasyus out of the Hindu society continued to practice these handicrafts Refer O'Malley - India's Social Heritage, p. 10.

Untouchables in their sacred literature under numerous reviling names proving them to be inhuman and animals, which does not induce the historian to take up the investigation of their origin. But the track is not so difficult to follow as to make the task impossible. Hence, we shall try to clear the mist surrounding it. To begin with, the Untouchables were the non-Aryan original inhabitants of India - a race which was master of India at the time of the Aryan invasion of the sub-continent. They were a highly civilised race of rulers like the Mohammedans.[1] In the wars with the Aryans they were captured and made slaves. Thus they lost all the privileges of the ruling race at the hands of the conquering race. After some time in this state of serfdom, they were changed to Shudra caste under the caste-system.[2]

Rigveda, the first religious book of the Hindus tells us that the Aryans had to encounter a very hardy race of aborigines on their arrival in the new country. The whole text of Rig-veda is a long tale of fervent appeals of the Aryans to their gods to help them to gain victory over their aboriginal foes. The Aryans called them Dasyus[3] (foes), Pishachas and Rakshas[4] (demons), dragons[5] and fiends[6] etc. They have been called Dasas also. The Rigvedic text does not draw any line of demarcation between these two nomenclatures Dasyus and Dasas.

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1. Report of the Education Commission, 1883 - P. 149.
2. A. C. Dass - Rigvedic Culture - P. 133 & Ch. I P. 110.
3. Also an abusive word. by Frazer
4. A Literary History of India/- P. 220 Rig. V. X-87.
5. Rigveda ii-112-10 X 99. 6
6. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - P. 113.

The Dasyu chiefs like Pipru (R.V. I-51-5), Sambara (R.V. III-30-14; VI-26-5), and Vritra (R.V. II-11-7) are called both Dasyus and Dasas. On the whole, in some places they have been called Dasyus and in others Dasas.[1] There are lines which contain both words at once.[2] This confusion is important from our point of view and therefore it is desirable to explain it in more detail. The position is like this. The first enemy people were the Dasyus, but as soon as they had been captured in the wars their name was changed to Dasas (serfs or slaves). The bard writers of Rigveda who were Aryans made little attempt to make a clear cut distinction between the two words. It is because to the Aryans the Dasyus and Dasas were enemies both when independent and when in slavery. The captive Dasyu though called Dasa never became a friend of the Aryans. When the Aryans prayed for the complete destruction of their enemy, they meant both the Dasyus and the Dasas. We shall see later on that the Dasas were named Shudras in the epic period and became a regular part of the population without any improvement in social status.

Not all Dasyus became Dasas. There were many aboriginal Dasyu chiefs who fought gallantly and died fighting. Their followers withdrew to the southern regions of the country. They escaped captivity and preferred never to fall into the hands of the Aryans although they ran short of supplies and were turned from their homes for ever. They went to unapproachable hilly

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1. Referred separately as Dasas at 54 places and Dasyus at 78 places.
2. R.V. III, 28,4.

tracts of Southern India and kept isolated from the main branches of the population even after the completion of the Aryan conquest. Their descendants are now the Kols of Chhota Nagpore, the Santhals on the confines of Bengal, the Khonds of Orissa, Paharias of Darjeeling and the Khasi hills of Assam and other tribes like the Gonds and Bhils of Southern India. Their isolation for centuries has kept them far behind the civilisation of the population in the plains, but they seem to have preferred that life of freedom to the accepted slavery of their Dasa brethren. Those who had chosen to stay with the Aryan population by compulsion or at will and now form the body of the Depressed Classes, have not enjoyed a better life than the aboriginals. Their condition is worse. The only visible difference is that the aboriginals are backward but free, while Depressed Classes are both backward and slaves of the Hindus. The condition of the aboriginals is far far better than the Untouchable Shudras in matters of religion and social and economic status. Religiously they are not subjected to the penal laws of the Hindus because they have nothing to do with Hinduism. Socially there is no hatred against them; they have no difficulty in intermixing with the Hindus. Their touch does not pollute or kill a Hindu. Economically, they can be far better off if they choose to be. Their economic status is poor because they do not wish to leave the simple and free life which they have led in the hills; otherwise if they come down to the plains and want to follow any profession they

can do so.[1] The Hindus do not oppose them. They are men of quite independent character, while the Depressed Classes by constant pressure and oppression of the Hindus have lost their sense of independence. The Hindus do not oppose the education of the children of aborigines. The Education Commission of 1882 noted that the question of the education of the Depressed Classes was more difficult than that of the aboriginal population.[2] In short, their educational drawback is their social backwardness and lack of independence.

This brings us to another point for discussion. Should we conclude that all the ancestors of the Shudra Untouchables were made prisoners of war and that there were none who voluntarily came over to the enemy side? and that once they had accepted slavery there was no chance of getting rid of it? History and the later record of the Depressed Classes does not take this one sided view. In answer to the first question, the Dasyuswere made slaves in wars but there were some Dasyu chiefs who had betrayed their own chiefs, and also some Aryan chiefs who had joined the Dasyu chiefs.[3] Traitors have existed in every society and every age. The Dasyus and their descendents are no exception. After the Vedic period, the epic period gives us an example of the betrayal of Sugriva to Bali,[4] King of Kishkindha. This helped the Aryans to establish their rule

1. The Depressed Classes cannot follow any profession at will. (p. 38.
2. Report of the Education Commission - P. 513.
3. Rigveda (X-86,19; X 38,3; viii 24,27.
   (vi-60,3.
4. CH. I. P. 116.

in Southern India. The treachery of Vibhikshana[1] against unconquerable Ravana is another example. The former obtained the sovereignity of Lanka and the Aryans became masters of the land throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Even in modern times we have noticed some quislings joining hands with the Hindus for their personal gain clearly knowing that they are subjected to unmentionable indignities of life. Thus there were circumstances which forced them to submit to Hindu slavery, but they themselves helped further to maintain the degradation which had once become their lot. In reply to the second part of our question, just as in ancient times there were traitors to the Shudra community, so in more modern times, similar traitors by co-operating with Hindu society have prevented the Shudras from accepting the religions of Islam and Christianity. Only the self respecting element separated and joined these religions of Brotherhood. It is they only who, like the aboriginals,have regained their gift of independence by becoming members of these religions.

Whatever may be the cause of their slavery, by force of circumstances or their own folly, they have lived with the Hindu population for ages. But the Hindus have never treated them with that fairness which common moral obligation dictates.

Pursuing our enquiry into the origin and status of the Depressed Classes in later times, the Dasyus, after having been

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1. C.H. I. P. 116.

called Dasas, assumed the name of Shudras.[1] They retained the same title during the Rationalistic Age and carried it through until the Mohammedan period.

Apart from the three connotations of Dasyus, Dasas and Shudras, they have been called by many other different names. They were called Pishachas[2] and Rakshasas[3] (demons), barbarians, dragons[4] and fiends[5] in the R.V. period. In the Epic period they have been depicted again as Rakshasas and Banaras (Monkeys) Yavanas and Chandalas.* Ravana, the mighty King of Ceylone, was described as Rakshasa and his country was inhabited by the same people. Sugriva of Ramayana is shown to have been ruling the monkey people. Hanumana, the C-in-C, who helped Rama in defeating Ravana is shown as Vanar (monkey). In fact, they were not such. They were human beings. It was the mischief and partiality of the ancient Hindu priests who composed the Sacred Books which depicted them like this to conceal the high morale and greatness of the conquered race. Ravana was a great learned man[6] of his day. His people were so highly skilled in architecture that they had built the beautiful city of Lanka. We are told that King Jayapira of Kashmir called specially on Rakshasas from Ceylone to build him a specially designed tank

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1. Kane's Dharamshastra II (1) p. 33.
2. R.V. I-133-2 to 5.
3. p. 109.
4. p. 109.
5. p. 109.
6. p. 22.

* Literally means the offspring of a Shudra father and Brahman woman.

of worship. It was to be filled with water and the images of Budha, Rama, Lakshamana and Vishnu reposing on a snake were to be built over it.[1] Similarly, the population over which Sugriva ruled were different races of the south. Some may be superior and others inferior, but nothing other than human beings. Frazer has put it that "the monkey army who aided him* against the fierce demon Ravana represented the wild races of the south."[2] Oman further supports the view that Valmiki, the writer of Ramayana, has represented them in his poetical fancy as monkeys 'but if we may judge from their sentiments and actions' we may call them 'beings of a very superior order.'[3] There are other references in Hindu literature which prove that they were human beings. "The Aryan speaking conquerors inter-married with the Dasis or female slaves whom they had captured."[4] If they were demons such a contact would not have been possible. Bhimsa, one of the Pandus of Mahabharata had married a Rakshasi (she demon) Hidamba. She gave birth to a son.[5] If she had not been human, how could that have been possible? Ravana at one place in Ramayana advised Rama on the results of virtue and evil.[6] This would have been impossible from a sub human. Ilwala, called Rakshasa in Ramayana was well versed in the

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1. Refer C.H. Tawney - The Kathakosha Oriental Translations Fund Series - p. 91.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 305.
3. Oman, J.C. - Ramayana and Mahabharata - p. 54.
4. Ibid ; O'Malley - India's Social Heritage - p. 10. & p. 114. op. cit.
5. Dutt, M.N. - Mahabharata p. 221-223.
6. Dutt, M.N. - Ramayana p.(iv) INT.

* i.e. Rama.

Sanskrit language.[1] Should we suppose that he too was sub-human? In Mahabharata the Rakashas are referred to as wise and intelligent. The text reads "... the Rakashasas ... are wise and intelligent."[2] No sane person would say that wisdom and intelligence are gifts of the animals.

I sometimes wonder what future generations of the Hindus will think of the Untouchables and Harijans of the present day. These words are the latest additions to the list we have been considering, one meaning 'unworthy of touch' and the other 'men of God'. There is every possibility that future generations will imagine them as something different from human beings because modern literature uses such curious names just as the ancient literature did. But there is one escape from such a repetition and that is that some contemporary studies of the lack of civilisation of the Hindus also exist.

Then why did the ancient writers depict them like that? There is no reason for the Depressed Classes to be ashamed of this treatment. They should not forget that they have had thei own religion, civilisation and culture. It has been a habit with the Hindus to call other races by contemptuous names from the time of the Vedic Aryans to the time of their heirs, the present Hindus. They hate all foreigners[3] who are not Hindus. They think that others are inferior, uncivilised and irreligious.

1. Oman - Ramayan and Mahabharata - p. 39.
2. Dutt, M.N. Mahabharata Adi-Parva - p. 239.
3. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners & Customs - p. 14.

In short, they declare others to be devils breed.[1] They called the Greeks Yavanas[2] (barbarians). The Scythians and Sakas were called Mlecchas[3] (impure). The Muslims have been called Mlecchas and Navanas and infidels. The British have been called demons[4] and members of the Satanic race. All other Europeans are also bad in their eyes.[5]

Alberuni who visited India in the 11th Century says that the Hindus called the Mohammedans Mleccha (impure); they frightened their children by imitating their physical appearance their dress and other daily behaviour.[6] About the British, Oman quotes an interesting example of how they are mocked at religious festivals. He, while attending the Dussehra festival of the Hindus mentions their mentality. He says "I observed with surprise that within the enclosure (i.e. the premises of the Ramlila) several natives with painted faces personified Europeans of both sexes to the great amusement of the onlookers.[7]

I am again inclined to think that the followers of Hinduism in future ages, forgetting the greatness of the British race, will think that the British had no religion, civilisation or culture. As a Christian said "If England were now dispossessed of Eastern Dominions the Hindu historians would urge that we had no religion..."[8] They will disregard the contribution which

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1. Edward C. Sachau - Alberuni's India - p. 19.
2. A. K. Mazumdar - Hindu History - p. 627.
   Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - pp. 415, 425.
3. Dutt, M. N. C. - Raj-Tarangani - pp. 9-39.
4. Chirol Valentine - Indian Unrest - p. 17.
5. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 14.
6. E. Sachau - Alberuni's India - p. 19.
7. Oman - Ramayana and Mahabharata - p. 81.
8. Qtd. Arthur Mayhew's "Christianity & Government of India" p. 96.

the European races have made to the advance of humanity throughout the world, and will call them barbarous, Mlecchas and Yavanas. When they are reminded of all the scientific inventions which the West has contributed to their welfare, they will give no credit to the West and will go on thinking Rig veda and the epics to be the sources of all such satanic mechanical devices.[1]

Hence it was owing to this trait of the Hindu character that they called the Dasyu enemies and gave them curious and silly names because they were foreigners to them. Frazer has said that the aborigines who lived beyond the Vindhya mountains and who were foreigners to them were 'Rakshasas, fierce demons and ape like men.'[2] The same reaction was shown to the foreigners whom they met later on.

Before we continue with this consideration of the different names and nomenclatures during the Muslim and British periods, we must see whether the Shudras were really a savage race or whether they had some standard of civilisation. We will begin with R.veda our first source of information. The Shudras were more civilised than the Aryans.[3] They were full of all human virtues[4]. They had their own kings and princes.[5] They had powerful armies[6] and equipment of war and were quite efficient in the art of war.[7] Some of the aboriginal warriors like

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1. Refer P. 263.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 302.
3. Rawlinson, H.G. - India - A Short Cultural History - p. 21.
4. R.V. IV-30-15.
5. Griffith, Ralph T.H. - R.V. p. 70.
6. R.V. I. 133-2-5; II 20-6-7; VIII 96, 13 to 15.
7. ~~Rawlinson, H.G. - India - A Short Cultural History - p. 21.~~ IBID.

Sambhara, Vritra and Pipru and Krishna* fought hard battles and checked the advance of the Aryans. The R. Veda is full of lamentations and earnest invocations of the Aryans to their gods like Indra, Varuna and Agni to help them in their struggle. The aborigines lived in cities (R. V. i 53,8; i-103. 3). They were very wealthy (i-33-4). They had riches in gold and silver (R. V. I 33. 8; ii 20-8; A. V. V 28. 9). They had lands, animals and furniture (R. V. X 69. 6; ii 15. 4). They had strong forts (1-51,5,1-103-3, iii-32,10; vi, 20-10). They owned hundreds of iron and stone castles (R. V. i 33,13; ii-20,8; viii-14-17; iv 30-20). They maintained a high standard of military skill so much so that the Aryans thought them to have possessed magic arts (vii-99-4; viii, 14-14; x-73-7). And this characteristic of efficiency has remained at a high standard up to the present time, in spite of centuries of discouragement. Those Shudras who were given the chance to serve in the first world war proved excellent soldiers.[1] Even the British conquered India with the help of the Untouchables.[2] They used weapons in war which were as effective as those of the Aryans (R. V. viii 24. 27; iii 30. 5; ii 15. 4). They had prisons for criminals (R. V. iv. 67. 3).

The epic of Ramayana shows that after the Aryan conquest of Northern India, the Southern Peninsula had aboriginal chiefs

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1. Mayo, Katherine - Mother India - p. 160.
2. Qtd. in Evelyn Wrench - Immortal Years - p. 129.

* R. V. VIII-96, 13 to 15.

still ruling over certain parts. These chiefs had powerful kingdoms. The Great Bali was known for his power, wealth and prosperity. Students of Ancient History can explore the fact that as Rama's reign was the golden age of the Aryans, so Bali's reign was the golden era of the non-Aryans. The two reigns were contemporary and the power of Bali was one of the causes of Rama's enmity with him and of his alliance with Sugriva, Bali's brother. Even now the people of Malabar celebrate a national festival 'Onam' in memory of the peaceful age of the aboriginal king. Far down south, the mighty Ravana ruled over golden Lanka (Ceylone). He was so learned that he had studied all the Vedas and Shastras* of the Aryan Hindus. The Hindus make his effigy during the Dussehra festival with ten heads to show that he knew four Vedas and six Shastras. He was the mightiest of all the aboriginal chiefs. His capital called Lanka had forts, watch towers, lofty buildings and palaces. His kingdom abounded in wealth and afforded all the facilities of luxury. He was the most constitutional of kings with a complete sense of equity and justice. He was a man of high moral character. Sita, the wife of Rama, remained his captive for many winters, but she received royal honour and attention at his hands. He showed a full sense of chivalry towards a woman. But Rama, his opponent, who is depicted as most virtuous, brave and judicious, does not come up to him in any way. We had

* i.e. six Angas.

better quote the opinion of an impartial historian. He says "the strength and resources of Ravana were by no means negligible and the material civilisation of his country was hardly inferior to that of his opponent. In morality there was at least one point in which Ravana towered head and shoulders above his opponent. We need only compare the barbarous treatment that Lakshamana* meeted out to his sister Sarupnakha on the slightest provocation with the conduct of the outraged non-Aryan chief to his captive lady."[1]

The epic of Mahabharata indicates that Shudras had their own republics.[2]

These facts evidently prove that the non-Aryan people maintained a high standard of civilisation and the different silly nomenclatures are the distorted inventions of the perverted minds of the ancient Aryans.

Now, one may ask, with such great power and occupying such a high position, how did they come to fall? The answer is that they fell before the invaders because the Aryans had the advantage of coming from a cold country and showed at times better stamina than the luxurious and ease loving Dasyus. History shows that the Aryans themselves, in later times, underwent the baneful influence of the tropical sun and we have seen how they

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1. Majumdar, R. C. - Ancient Indian History and Civilisation - p. 270.
2. Mahabharata Sabha Parvan Ch. XXXII.
   Ibid Shanti Parvan Ch. 60, 38-40 & Muir Vol. I. p. 366 (Roy's Ed.)

*Younger brother of Rama who accompanied him during his exile.

fell before the Mohammedans and the English. Majumdar[1] has rightly expressed the opinion that 'History has repeatedly shown that the sons of India born and brought up in her general soil are no match for the hardy mountaineers of the North Western region who poured into the country at regular intervals.' The same happened to the Dasyu aboriginals faced by the Aryan invaders.

We shall pass on to the Mohammedan period now. The mention of the Depressed Classes as Shudras is not repeated during the Mohammedan rule. The reason is not far to seek. We have dealt with it in more detail in the chapter on the Muslim period. Let it suffice to say here that the Muslims belonged to a religion which believed in one God and not in many gods. They regarded all human beings, high or low, as sons of God. They had no conception of a caste system. Hence the members of such a sublime religion regarded the religion and social status of the subject people as equal with and as worthy as their own. They not only treated all the Hindus as a non Muslim block but included all the other communities as a part of it because they seemed like them. One example will make the position clear. On the invasion of Sindh by Mohammad-bin Qasim, the first Muslim invader of India, the Brahmans themselves had admitted that the Muslims regarded them all as of the same status. Addressing the people they said "... you know for

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1. Majumdar, R.C. - Ancient Indian ~~Hindu~~ History and Civilization - p. 22.

certain that Dahir[1] is slain and that the power of the infidels is at an end. In all parts of Sind and Hind the rule of the Arabs is finally established and all the people of this country, great and small, have become as equals both in town and country.[2] Another example may be quoted from the reign of Akbar the Great. Though he was a semi Hindu, yet the census which he took during his reign does not give any indication of the castes. The Imperial Mandate which was issued required the list of inhabitants to be made by names and occupations only.[3] This shows that they did not meddle with the theory of the caste system. The Brahmans were thrown down from the topmost positions held by them for ages past. They were shown as second in order of the division of society.[4] This means that the Muslims regarded worth as the criterion of status and not birth. This unity, though, was not in the interests of the Shudras. The Brahmans deprived them of their privileges for six hundred years and kept them socially segregated as under Hindu rule. We shall discuss this in detail later on at its proper place. What we have to note is that the hateful word with its accompanying adjectives did once disappear, although for the time being, rather than for ever, until it was revived in the British period.

During the British period many new names were added to the

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1. A Hindu Raja of Sindh.
2. Elliot & Dowson - History of India - p. 184.
3. Elliot & Dowson - History of India - Vol. vi p. 61.
   Vol. ii p. 16, 76.
4. Ibid.

list. The Depressed Classes began to be called Ati-Shudras instead of Shudras. Mahatama Gandhi[1] gave them another name: "Harijan" (Man of God). It is amusing to note that if he had given the same name to his followers they would have resented it very much and his head would have been chopped off long long ago. For it is a scornful name to differentiate the Untouchable from the touchable Hindu. It was another pinch of salt added to the smarting wounds of the Untouchables. Psychologically it made him more conscious of his enforced inferior position. The missionaries have called them outcastes and sometimes rightly called them the underworld of India. Other foreigners are familiar with the name of Pariah. The reports of the Government show them as the Depressed Classes or low castes. Some Census Reports mention them only as backward classes which is misleading to the outsider. The Government of India Act, 1935, removed the despised name and included the Shudra in the Act as 'the scheduled castes'. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the leader of the scheduled castes, made the name "Untouchable" current to show a clear cut difference between the polluted and the unpolluted. There are certain organisations of the Depressed Classes who call themselves AD-Dharmis[2] (North India) and Adi-Dravida[3] (South India). I have used the term Shudra Untouchables in this work when I refer to the British period

1. Now dead.
2. Literally meaning 'Original religionists' or the oldest religionists - Refer Simon Commission Report.
3. Literally meaning original Dravidas - Refer Progress of Education in India 1917-1922. p. 206.

because my conclusion is that the Shudra of the olden days is the Untouchable of today.[1] So the combined nomenclature will remind us of the link between his position in olden times and that of the present day. The Census Report 1881, summed up in the same way that they are called the "Depressed Classes, outcastes, the backward classes, the Pariahs, the unapproachables, the Panchamas, the Untouchables."[2]

During the course of our discussion this variety of nomenclature should not be allowed to confuse the reader. No uniform name could be adopted because as we have seen, officially or unofficially, through the different periods of Indian history they have been called by different names. We have also, therefore, used the different names current in different periods. These are all synonymous names for the Depressed Classes.

This leads us into another important discussion. Were the Shudras of the Ancient Hindu period, who were the victims of the Hindus and their Shastric penal laws and atrocities, really the ancestors of the present day Depressed Classes? The doubt is bound to arise because the term Shudra has begun to be used in certain parts of the country to denote those politically and economically backward classes of the Hindus who follow the same trades and professions as the Depressed Classes. They also are carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, laundrymen, weavers

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1. See P. 33.
2. Census Report 1881. p. 337.

and so on. At the same time, the genuine Depressed Classes have been given names other than Shudras in these particular localities. In Southern India, they are called Ati-Shudras, Panchamas and Pariahs. The Hindu writers and leaders have also helped to establish this new classification through their utterances and pronouncements. It is usual for the priestly Hindus to make division after division in the ranks of society. We have noted elsewhere that the Brahmans have talked of sub Brahman castes, such as the Kshatriyas and the Varshyas. The Shudras could not escape this sub-division. The Hindus have been happy to add a fifth caste to the four main divisions. The above terms, and also Mahatama Gandhi's 'Harijan' are quite new, and never existed in the pre British period. For according to the Hindu Shastras "there were only four castes in the beginning. The fifth caste never existed."[1] The Brahmans have, in fact, called the real Shudras Ati-Shudras or Panchamas, and have given to a new class of twice-born people the name and the place in the classification of castes which properly belong to the original Shudras. The result is misleading. To assume that the Shudras of ancient times are the loosely called Shudras of certain localities today, and that the Untouchables are not the right descendants of the Shudras but of quite different origin is a very wrong conclusion. It is a mischievous

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1. Manu X 43.

fabrication of the Brahmans in the recent past.

There is a simple test in support of our assertion that the Untouchables are the descendants of the Shudras and that the new Shudras are the poorer classes of the twice born. It is logical to say that the same low status 'without civilisation, without culture, without respect and without position' which was assigned to the Shudras of the Hindu period, is the fate of the Depressed Classes now. All the disabilities, penalties, tyrannies and oppressions which were the lot of the Shudras do not apply to the supposed Shudras. They are entitled to and are actually enjoying all the privileges of Hindu society. They mix freely with the Brahmans and Kshatriyas. There is no social Untouchability in their case. There is no opposition to the education of their children. Hence it is quite wrong to imagine that the Shudras of the Manu period were any different from the Shudra Untouchables of today. There is not the minutest difference between the positions of the two. There is a complete continuity in the kind of oppressions, suppressions and cruelties which were inflicted on the Shudras throughout all the periods of Indian history. It is only the name that has changed. Whatever name the Brahmans wanted to give they have given to the Shudras at their own sweet will, but they have not changed the Shastric Code to which they are subjected.

Another thing is that pseudo-Shudra themselves do not want

to be called Shudras. Recently a book has been written about them. They have been called 'Backward Classes' and not Shudras.[1] Their problem now is political and consequently economic. They grumble because they have not an equal share with the Brahmans in the administrative machine of the Government. Above all, they treat the Shudra Untouchables socially as badly as the Brahmans do. In fact, they police the villages more mercilessly than the Brahmans.

Who are they then? For this part of our argument we shall return to the findings of Dr. Ambedkar. In his recent book 'Who were the Shudras'[2], he has proved that the so called newly initiated Shudras are the descendants of Kshatriyas. We have noted elsewhere that since the Rigvedic age not only the Dasyu-Shudra-Untouchables have been the victims of the Brahmanical Orders, but the Kshatriyas and Varshyas also have felt the pinch of Brahmanical supremacy. They have always been reluctant to accept the intellectual ability of any member of other sections of the society from Kshatriya to Shudra. In the case of the Kshatriyas, the Brahmans ordained that they had the right of studying Veda but the teaching of such sacred books could not be undertaken by them. It was on this score that the famous conflict between Vasistha, a Brahman priest and Vishwamitra, a Kshatriya scholar arose.[3] The rivalry resulted in disastrous

1. Manuharjee, B.R. - Case of the Backward Classes 1946.
2. Ambedkar, B.R. - Who were the Shudras - 1946.
3. Mahabharatha Adi-Parvan vol. I. pp. 420-422.

results. There were certain self respecting and freedom loving Kshatriyas of the Solar race who thought that they were not 'merely the equals of Brahmans in matters of learning' but 'were their superiors.'[1] They challenged their supremacy and never submitted to them in matters of religion and social status. The result was that they were degraded to the status of Shudras. But it may be noted that they were not real Shudras; they were merely segregated from their own caste group.

What was the weapon which was used to make a Kshatriya a non Kshatriya and to turn him into an outcaste? It was the technique of Upanayana. Upanayana was a ceremony which the high caste pupil underwent to gain the stamp of the twice born.[2] Quoting again the writer of the Thesis referred to above: "the right to Upanayana is the real and the only test of judging the status of a person whether he is a Shudra or Kshatriya."[3] It was after the performance of this ritual that he became a sacred Hindu, in duty bound to bow his head always to the Brahmanical Sanctions. In the Aryan society the ceremony was obligatory. There were different ages for the three castes at which the ceremony could be performed. The lower age limit for a Kshatriya child was eight years from the date of birth. A higher or final age limit was fixed after which no Upanayana could be performed. This limit for a Kshatriya was twenty one

1. Ambedkar, B.R. - Who were the Shudras - pp. 225-232.
2. P.139.
3. Ambedkar, B.R. - Who were the Shudras - p. 190.

years. When the Brahmans were provoked against an individual they refused to perform the Upanayana ceremony at the requisite age. The result was that "according to the strict interpretation of rules, no Upanayana is to be thereafter performed for them, they are not to be taught Vedas, nor is anyone to officiate at their sacrifices and there is to be no social intercourse with them..."[1] As the Brahman had the exclusive monopoly of officiating at this ceremony, no-one else could perform this task and save the youth from the ensuing degradation. Those who fell a prey to the wrath of the Brahmans were denied the right of sharing the privileges of the Kshatriya caste. Such privileges were entry to Military Service and a share in the administrative posts of the State. These avenues of employment being closed, they resorted to manual work to earn their living. They took up the trades and professions followed by the Shudras. It is at this stage that some of the original Shudras had to descend to the more menial work of sweeping and scavenging, etc., because they could not stand the competition of the new entrants.

The denial of Upanayana was not the only technique used for segregation, but there were other supplementary devices also. A man who killed a cow could be degraded to the status of a Shudra as in the case of Prishadhar.[2] Sometimes prisoners of war who returned to their Motherland were made Shudras.[3] Again

1. Ambedkar, B.R. - Who were the Shudras - p.192.
2. Vishnu Purana 4-1-14.
3. Ibid 4-3-25.

any irregularity against Dharma[1] could degrade the twice born to the position of a Shudra.

Therefore we come to the conclusion that the present Shudras (wrongly so-called) are the descendants of degraded Kshatriyas, and that the Untouchables or Depressed Classes are the real descendants of the Shudras of the ancient days on whom the Hindu law givers had inflicted severe laws which must never be relaxed. Professor Altekar, an intelligent Educationist, has also concluded that men with professions like carpentry were members of the Aryan community and 'not the Shudra community,'[2] even in the early period. They were eligible for Upanayana and were allowed to receive any kind of education.

We shall give a glimpse of the position of the Shudra Untouchables in society as it was under the Hindus. This will confirm our line of argument that the extent of the atrocious and cruel treatment of the Shudras by Hindus has not decreased. Secondly, it will show how far the Shudra Untouchables differ from their ancestors the original Shudras, in their social, economic and political status.

From the religious point of view, they are not regarded as Hindus. They are Panchamas, the fifth caste outside the pale of Hinduism.[3] They are Unapproachables,[4] Untouchables, men of

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1. Explained Ch. III p. 187.
2. Altekar - Education in Ancient India - p. 44.
   Dutt - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - p. 151.
3. Despatch of the Government of India dated 23rd April, 1919 on the Report of the Southborough Committee on Franchise.
4. Address by the Sambava Maha Jana Sangham Madras to Sir John Simon, Chairman, Parliamentary Statutory Commission, 28th May, 1928.

God (Harijans) as if the Hindus were not also men of God.' They have no right to study the Vedas and sacred literature. The Educational Institutions which exist for the study of this literature are closed against the young men of the Depressed Classes.[1] If ever a member of these communities has been able to study Sanskrit, it is only through the State schools and colleges, where it forms a part of the curriculum. Secondly, they have gained knowledge of the sacred books through English translations.[2] The Hindu religious temples are closed to them through fear that they may pollute the stone idols.[3] When Mahatama Gandhi made his historic plea for the entry of Harijans to the temples, his voice was not heard by his followers. Or if some temples were thrown open, they were deserted by the Hindus and left for the exclusive use of the Untouchables. Similarly, the religious festivals of the Hindus are not to be celebrated by the Untouchables. They may imitate the ceremonies secretly at home, but openly they cannot do so. All the wells, tanks and rivers which are used in connection with religious rites are not approachable by them, nor available for their use.

Socially, no intermixing is allowed with them. "They are repelled from all social intercourse. If they come between the

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1. Ch. I p. 146.
2. Western scholars have made English translations of practically all the sacred books of India.
3. Cumming - Pol. India - p. 133.

gracious light of the sun and one who despised them, the sun is disfigured for that man. They cannot drink at the public water supply. They must make diversions of miles in order to satisfy thirst and they are tragically known, and they have been known for generations, as the 'Untouchables'."[1] They are made to live in isolated streets of their own in the villages and towns. No intermarriage or interdining is allowed with them. No Shudra Untouchable can stay in a Hotel where the high caste Hindus stay. He is not allowed to enter any restaurant, cafe or snack bar. Even the use of public places is prohibited to them. It was only in 1937 that a Mohammedan Ministry in the Punjab Province removed the restriction on entry to public places by law.[2] The Hindus are not allowed to suffer the touch of the body, or even of the shadow,[3] of an Untouchable. A Hindu may not eat food which the Untouchable has prepared, though their Rishis never lost their Dharma by eating the flesh of a dog. Rishi Bamdev, Agigrut and Bhardvaja are examples of this.[4] In addition to food, water which has been touched by a Shudra should not be drunk. If a Hindu commits such a mistake, he must undergo a type of purification. He may go to the Ganges[5] for a dip or to be economical he may take a bath in a tank of

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1. House of Commons - Speech by Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India on 30th March, 1927.
   Also Cumming - Pol. India - p. 133.
2. Scheduled Castes in the Punjab - Information Bureau Punjab, 1940.
3. Cumming - Pol. India - p. 133.
4. Manu X 106.
5. The Ganges river - sacred river of the Hindus.

stagnant water using cow dung as a soap, or he may drink the urine of a cow. For the Brahman the process of purification is harder still. He may purify himself not only by drinking the urine of a cow, but also by eating cow dung.[1] The Shudras may not wear clean clothes, or use ornaments of gold and silver, or wear other dresses or ornaments prevalent among the Hindus.[2] They cannot hoard wealth or property because the Hindus oppose their opening shops or following professions which bring gain by trade.

Every effort is made to put obstacles in the way of the education of their children.[3] Firstly, they are not allowed access to schools. The Hindus 'terrorise many illiterate and ignorant parents not to send their Untouchable children to the Common Schools. Why, even threats of setting fire to our huts' says a member of the Untouchables 'are hurled in case we go against their will.'[4] If through fear of the State they are allowed to attend a school, they are made to sit outside the school house from which distance they follow the lesson.[5] If, in rare instances, they are allowed to sit inside, they are given separate seats and are not allowed to touch the high caste children.[6]

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1. Atri-Purana p. 171.
2. Ambedkar, B. R. - Annihilation of Castes (Hindu Translation) pp. 4 & 5.
3. Ch. VII.
   Cumming - Pol. India - p. 133.
4. Quoted in "The Pioneer" Allahbad, 15th June, 1928.
5. Madras Mail, 27th August, 1928.
6. The Pioneer, Allahbad, 15th June, 1928.

The medical and sanitary officials will not treat them for fear of pollution, and rate their lives as 'cheap stuff where lives are not worth much.'[1] There have been millions of cases where the 'postmen refused to deliver their letters if their Depressed Classes name or occupation was not written in the address.'[2]

Politically, they are completely unconscious of their position. This is due to the regular campaign of the Hindus against their education from time immemorial. No better picture of the Hindu desire for their political exploitation in the modern world, not to speak of the days gone by, can be drawn than that of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his book on the proceedings of the Round Table Conferences referred to above. The unscrupulousness of the Hindus did not stop there, for when the British Government gave them political representation by the Government of India Act 1935, the Hindus, who were in the majority, won the seats which should have gone to the Untouchables by electing all their own candidates. This lack of representation has deprived the Untouchables of their share in the machinery of Government. Hence, in every political sphere they have been unrepresented. They have no legal protection either of life or of property. There can be no evidence of any crime which is committed against

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1. Address to Sir John Simon, 1928, by the Sambava Mahajana Sangham Madras.
2. Memorial to the Statutory Commission by the Untouchables of the Bombay Presidency - The Pioneer, Allahbad, 15th June 1928.

them. They are in a minority in every town and village. The Hindus form the majority, and they would never support any case against their brethren. The executive and judiciary are the monopoly of the Hindus who are always biased and prejudiced against the Untouchables. The probability is that all legal cases will go against them.

Economically, they have been kept at a great disadvantage. As already stated, they have had no share of Government jobs. They cannot open shops for any kind of trade. They have to depend on handicraft vocations, unskilled labour and menial work. They cannot buy land and therefore have to depend on landlords for their dwellings. As a condition of such tenancy, they have been compelled to give forced labour without wages. Their rights of property and ownership have never been recognised although they are entitled to 'equal rights of ownership of property, of dwellinghouses and common fields as enjoyed by the other communities.'[1]

Hence, the Depressed Classes are bound hand and foot and all progress is denied to them. They have no free choice of action in any sphere of life. All their rights and liberties have gone. All political, economic, social and educational fields of opportunity are closed to them. The result is that their self respect is damaged; their social growth is checked, and their prestige has disappeared. Those Westerners who have

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1. The Pioneer, Allahbad, 10th October, 1928.

seen their condition have said that 'sewer rat of France, gutter snipe of England, Negro under the worst degree of America, had never so foul a destiny as the Depressed Classes have been subjected to under the Hindu regime in India.'[1] The Abbe Dubois, writing about their sad plight in the early days of the British Empire had said "Had I to choose between the two sad fates of being a slave in one of our colonies or a Pariah here, I should unhesitatingly prefer the former."[2] Dr. Ambedkar, their leader, is also very pessimistic about the effects of the gross injustice done to them. He says that the greatest wrong which the Hindus have done to them is that they have been given an inferiority complex.[3] Psychologically, this is natural. Any community which has been placed in an environment of constant persecution day in and day out in every walk of existence is liable to feel inferior to the aggressor community. But Dr. Ambedkar has confused civility with servility. The Depressed Classes are simple, straightforward, unbiased and unprejudiced and consequently mild in their talk.[4] I cannot spare the time to discuss the signs and symptoms of an inferiority complex and to prove whether either the Hindus or the Depressed Classes are suffering from it, but I may say that the aggressive and dominant behaviour of the Hindus is a surer sign of an inferiority complex than the inferior feeling of the Depressed Class. We have to admit that every action of the Hindus is calculated to

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1. Mayo, Katherine - Slaves of the Gods - Ch. X.
2. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 51.
3. Ambedkar, B. R. - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 296 + Evelyn Wrenches interviews with Dr. Ambedkar in 'Immortal Years'.
4. Ch. VIII, p. 380.

cause the Untouchable all possible mental and physical ills.

Here a word of caution is needed. The reader should not think that the Untouchables are really something sub-human. A European who once met me in England, during the course of our discussion, gave me the impression that to him the Untouchables were a class of lepers. On another occasion, an intelligent lady said that she was sorry for India and especially for the Untouchables who are imbecile, deaf and dumb. Nothing seemed to have been done for them although they formed a large minority On both occasions, when in the end I had disclosed that an Untouchable is just like myself, they agreed that their impression had been completely wrong. The Shudra Untouchables like their ancestors, in spite of all the educational and social barriers against them, are physically as good looking and as strong as the Hindus. A critical writer has concluded that among the present "Rajputs who represent the Kshatriyas (the fighting men of Aryas) there are many descendents of Aboriginals whose fighting qualities entitled them to respect."[1] In many cases their physique is better than that of the Brahmans.[2] Mr. Bannerjee of Raipur reported to the Census Commissioner in 1881 that 'in point of physique they are taller, fairer and better made than other inhabitants of the country.'[3] In character they are honest, sober and faithful people.[4] Intellectually, many of them are outstanding and they hold important positions in the Cabinets of Governments of Pakistan and India.[5] Their manners and social habits are, of course, quite wholesome.[6]

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1. O'Malley, L. S. S. - India's Social Heritage - p. 10.
Smith - The Oxford History of India - p. 6.
3. Census Report, Government of India 1881 - p. 43.
4. Mayo, K. - Mother India - Refer Ch. XII.
5. Ambedkar, B. R., Law Member, Dominion Government of India.
Jugjivan Ram, Labour Member, Dominion of India.
Mandal, J. N., Law Member, Dominion of Pakistan.
6. Ch. VIII.

We have said that the Shudras are a separate religious minority, and a discussion of their religious beliefs, manners and customs is therefore called for. This knowledge is essential because we will be discussing Hindu religion in the later pages. It is difficult to state clearly what is the religion of the Shudra. The reason is that centuries have passed since they lost their power and became slaves. There is no record of any kind left of the civilisation and culture of the Pre-Aryan races. The Aryans stamped out everything that came in their way in order to show in later times that the Shudr were savage and fit only for slavery. It appears to be an inferior racial characteristic of the Hindu community. The Muslims who kept them slaves for six hundred years, translated their scriptures, opened schools for their education and even opened the doors of their religion to them. Similarly, the English revived their religion and culture, discovered their history for them, which was a thing they could not do themselves even when they had their own kingdoms and when their so-called culture was at its height. It would be wrong to presume that they had no religion, civilisation or culture. After all, what difference do we find in form, figure or intelligence between the Hindus and the Depressed Classes? There is none, except that one has dominated the other for centuries.

Coming back to the subject of religion. It looks to the foreigner as if they are followers of Hindu religion. But this

is not the fact. They are not Hindus.[1] They appear to imitate the Hindu religion and many of its customs because they have lived with the Hindus for more than four thousand years and have been affected by their environment. Environment plays a large part in the development of a community. The Muslims also have been influenced in many ways by the Hindus.[2] In certain places we have noticed that they observed the caste system and took over other Hindu ways of life. Similarly, the Catholic missionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries in India had to accept many of the Hindu social customs[3], although they did not fit in with the principles of Christianity. The Depressed Classes never have been followers of the Hindu religion. They are not at present, nor is there any hope of their becoming so in the future. I cannot surmise the position if the Hindu religion will disappear altogether. The Hindus themselves have maintained the seclusion of the Depressed Classes at every step. Recently, organisations like Arya Smaj have started a technique of "shudhi" (i.e. purification) to admit the Shudras to the Hindu fold.[4] Similarly, the late Madan Mohan Malviya, the Manu Avtar (incarnation) of India, started a new movement to purify the outcastes through an initiation ceremony.[5] He wanted to rectify the mistake of his ancestors

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1. Refer Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - pp. 183-189.
2. Mayhew, Arthur - Education of India - p. 182; Mason Alcott -
3. Ch. on Christianity - p. 465. [Village Schools in India -
4. Laypat Rai - The Arya Smaj - p. 220. pp. 53 & 65.
5. The Hindu Madras 20th December, 1928.
[illegible]

after an interval of three thousand years. These are all attempts to show that the Shudras are non Hindus.

Our sources of information about their religion and beliefs are firstly the R. Veda and secondly the close observation of how they live at the present day. In the R. Veda they are definitely shown as following religious practices opposite to those of the Aryans. At the present time also their manners and customs are quite different. A systematic study reveals at the outset that their religion is more natural[1] and simple than that of the Hindus. They believe in one God. They do not believe in idol worship and in the worship of those other animate and inanimate objects of the earth which haunt the Hindus in the form of spirits. On the contrary the Shudra Untouchables are said to have mastery over these spirits. They are said to have magical powers. In fact they have no such powers and these ideas are phantoms of the minds of their racial opponents. From the earlier times the Shudra have been considered to have mastered the spirits because they do not attach any importance to them and have no fear of natural objects. This has led the Hindus to believe that they are animists. The Census Reports of the Government of India in many places call their religion animism, though the Hindus believe more in spirits and miracles than do the Untouchables. Abbe Dubois remarked that 'there is not a single

1. India Review, February 1909. Article by Annie Besant - 'The Uplift of the Depressed Classes'.

Hindu who would dare to raise the shadow of a doubt concerning the miracles.'[1] They do not believe in the doctrine of Karma[2] and the transmigration of souls. They do not believe in the caste system. It is for this reason that they are called caste less, outcastes and a single body of Untouchables. In fact the simplicity and natural trend of their beliefs has induced some thinkers to call them animists. Even if this view is accepted for arguments sake, it still helps us to confirm our view that they are non Hindus.

As regards their other manners and customs, they are free from the inhuman practices of infanticide, satti, child marriage perpetual widowhood and the Devdasi system. They have no prejudice against eating beef and other kinds of meat. Unlike the Hindus they have no prejudice against any foreigner as far as intermixing, interdining and intermarrying are concerned. As to their general character, they are simple, sober, trustworthy, straightforward in their dealings, 'fairly affectionate, grateful for the slightest kindness.'[3]

On the whole they have more in common with the Muslims and the Christians than with the meek and non-violent so called civilised Hindus. From their modes of living and behaviour, and also from their recent reactions to the third power, the British, it can be shown that they have religious beliefs,

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1. p. 584. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs.
2. Punjab Census Report 1881 - p. 154.
3. India Review, February 1909, thoughts of Annie Besant. Also p. 40.

customs and manners of their own which are quite opposite to those of the Hindus.

Now a word about Hinduism. We have discussed it in the body of the Thesis but here a passing reference is imperative for a comparative view of things. Firstly, Hinduism is a misnomer. It is not a religion founded by one originator or teacher, but a conglomeration of the teachings of many successive incarnations of gods.

We have noted that there are numerous gods. Hinduism has no philosophy of religion. There is no single book like the Holy Ko ran or the Holy Bible which may be regarded as the centre and source of divine inspiration. Beginning with Rigvedic times, the Aryan Rishis (teachers) were endowed with supreme vision. They wrote Vedas which are the revealed religious literature of the Hindus. Then during the epic period Krishna and Rama became the gods of the Hindus and Ramayana and Mahabharata became the most sacred books. After this, during the post-Budhist period, Brahma and Vishnu and Shiva are manifested in a thousand and one deities and idols which are worshipped in the temples. Puranas, the stories of creation, take on the status of sacred literature. You may call it Monotheism, Pantheism, or Polytheism or anything else you like.* In fact, to my mind, it is a sort of mysticism.

But as book after book has been written in the name of Hinduism, I have not challenged its validity as a religion.

* It is a hotchpotch of almost every fear, dream and delusion which has ever crept through the tangled shadowy jungle of man's brains. Beverley Nichols - Verdict on India P. 67

It believes in one God, but God does not remain one supreme force when other gods can come into existence and take on incarnate form. Every animate and inanimate object on the earth, from the monkey, the nearest species to man, down to the lowest worm crawling on the surface of the earth, and even oceans, rivers, trees, plants and shrubs, and all the diseases on earth, can become the incarnation of god, and worthy of worship. As a result, people do not know the one God, and the many gods become the creating, preserving and destroying forces on the earth. This has given rise to idol worship among the Hindus. They must worship idols otherwise they will become outcastes in the next world. This is the religion of a primitive race. There are three thousand three hundred million gods of the Hindus.[1]

The Hindu religion involves belief in the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls which implies the rebirth of soul in the next world. It also involves the theory of the caste system by which you must remain permanently in the one class in which you are born. No intellectual gifts or endowments or acquired initiative can promote or degrade the individual.

The prejudice of caste has made the Hindus ultra conservatives and fanatical opponents of the natural development of the innate endowments of the Shudra Untouchables. They have

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1. P. 336. CH. VIII.

monopolised all the special rights and privileges the Untouchables might have enjoyed, and have left them at the mercy of ignorance because the theory of caste sanctions their sad plight The disadvantages and disabilities of the Shudra have no limit.

The caste system is of the utmost importance in the study of the social development and educational progress of the Depressed Classes. It has been necessary to repeat this point at every step because caste is the source and origin of Untouchability. Again, indirectly, it has been the source of the denial of their education. Wherever the caste system was respected or protected, the neglect of the education of the Untouchable Shudra became a foregone conclusion.

Returning to our discussion on the Hindu religion, it sanctions Untouchability, which means that the touch of members of certain sections of the society can pollute a member of another section of society. The pollution can be caused by sight, by the touch of the body, or of an article of drink or diet. This Untouchability is the root cause of the refusal to admit Untouchable children in schools. It further sanctions human and animal sacrifices and other uncivilised customs like infanticide, child marriage, perpetual widowhood, self-immolation of widows and so on.

The Hindu religion is thus opposite to that of the Shudra Untouchables in its spirit, sanctions and practice.

We shall now deal with certain apparent anomalies in the body of the Thesis which call for explanation. They are:

Firstly That the Thesis appears to be a work against the Hindu religion and its literature.

Secondly That it appears to be an attack on Hindu civilisation.

Thirdly That it appears to be over critical of Brahmanism and Brahmans and the followers of Brahmanism.

Fourthly That it looks as if I have also criticised the Mohammedans, the Christian missionaries and the Christian Government.

Fifthly That the work appears to be excessively pro-British.

Sixthly That it is more a socio-political than a purely educational study.

Before answering the first point, it is necessary to point out that Brahmanism and Hinduism are one and the same thing. Brahmanism is Hinduism and Hinduism is Brahmanism. Hinduism is simply a different name of Brahmanism.[1] At the same time, while a Brahman is a Hindu, a Hindu is more than a Brahman, more because he tries to go one better than the Brahman in all the Brahmanic religious observances. In the case of their treatment of the Depressed Classes, the opposition is the same. The Brahman uses his brain to harass him, the Hindu both applies physical force and uses his head if he has one. There is no article of religion which the Kshatriya or Vaishya Hindu may dare to transgress in daily life.[2] He is so thoroughly trained

1. Dutt, R.C. - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol.I - p.62.
2. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p.613.

and tamed by the magic wand of Brahmanism.

Turning again to the point whether my work is against Hinduism and its literature, all I can say is that one feels inclined to be against the Hindu religion, its literature, the Brahmans and the devotee castes whoever they may be. But I have not done this, nor do I deem myself capable of such an arduous task. I hope that if need be some other learned scholar will do it. Why do I think so? The study of the sacred religion reveals that is the root of all the ills of the Shudra Untouchable. If he is regarded as inhuman, demon, Mleccha, Untouchable, unapproachable and Harijan, it is the dictum of this pious religion. It is this religion that makes him feel that he is eternally devoid of innate ability and the other advantages of life; that his goal in life is servitude and misery; that any aspiration to raise himself is a sin. It is Hinduism that sets him physiologically, sociologically and psychologically at naught. It is this religion that has bereft him of the use of the free gifts of nature like sun, wind, earth and water. A frog can drink the water in a well but an Untouchable cannot. The cows and buffaloes can be bathed in a village pond, but the Untouchable has no right to have a dip in it. Animals can tread the roads without fear, but he is required to leave the road at the sight of a twice-born. In the time of Shivaji, who liberated the Hindus from the hands of the Yavana Mohammedans, he had to hang a broom behind his back to sweep

his footsteps to avoid polluting a Brahman Devata (God). Had these gifts of nature been the creation of the Brahmans then this attitude of taboo would have been justified. A stray dog or a jackal can pass urine over the stone god but the mere sight of an Untouchable pollutes him. This religion has made one man do the greatest harm to another that can ever be done. This was the meaning of the religious Dharma. The Hindus guarded this Dharma for centuries and scoffed over the painful wounds of the unfortunate outcaste. As a writer has remarked 'Untouchability has been in existence for the last two thousand years, during which period the Hindus have day in and day out sucked the very blood of the Untouchables and have mutilated them and trodden upon them in every way.'[1] Thus they have crippled them, prevented them from doing anything for themselves and from making any contribution to the world outside. In short from the four comforts of human society, health, education, housing and labour, the first three have been monopolised by the Hindus for them and the last is left for the Shudra Untouchables. Therefore, in spite of my best efforts to avoid creating an impression of opposition and criticism, I must certainly appear to have failed. I have tried to give an objective treatment but the subjective element may well appear to enter into the argument through no fault of my own.

I should like honestly to suggest that the wiser section of

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 281.

the Hindus should themselves, for their own benefit, discard Hinduism in its present form, ignore its sacred literature and give up its crude social customs. It has been the cause of their decline and of the slavery of their beloved Motherland for more than a thousand years. It has lost respect for them as members of the Hindu religion in the eyes of outside nations. I have noticed with regret the contempt on the face of some outsiders as soon as you tell them that you are a Hindu. The reason is that whoever has once gone through their literature and known their customs and manners must feel disgusted with such a culture and such a civilisation. You say that you are a Hindu and the automatic hatred of the foreigner springs into action. Really, there is no pride in telling yourself you are a Hindu, a follower of Hinduism and an Indian.

As we follow the story of the high handed treatment of the Untouchables by Hinduism, we find that it does not stop at its own prescribed persecution of them, but whenever there arose any movement in the country favourable to their uplift, Hinduism stretched its shabby and cruel claws to destroy it. The most outstanding example is the fall of Budhism. Next in order comes Islam. We have noted in our main chapter on the attitude of the Hindus under the Muslims, how they allowed the Muslim emperors to remain ignorant about the low classes. In the fifteenth century another movement called Bhakti (devotion) arose as a result of the influence of the teachings of the Muslim Sufi saints. It is reflected in the teachings of Ramanand, Kabir,

Gurunanak and Ravidas, etc. The sects which were based on the teachings of these men were Kabirpanthism, Daduism and Sikhism. These new faiths attracted the Shudras in large numbers, but Hinduism stood in their way. We have noticed that the largest number embraced Sikhism. The Sikhs opened many educational institutions in the past where students from all castes and creeds could get the benefit of education, but the Hindus o-pened rival schools in order to force them to close. The last beneficial movement which has been opposed by Hinduism is the Christian movement in India. The workers for this movement have strained every nerve to secure the health, education and social progress of the Shudra Untouchables, but they have also encountered the bitterest opposition from the Hindu camp. We have noted that prominent organisations like the Aryasmaj and Harijan Sewak Sangh have opposed the missionaries' work in education, and the former have even gone to the length of attacking the Christian religion itself.[1]

In these circumstances, it will not be very inappropriate if an attack from the Untouchable point of view is levelled against Hinduism. But my thesis is not written with the intention of hurting anybody; it is an enquiry into the facts of the denial of education to the Shudra. Unluckily, the enquiry has brought to light the fact that it is Hinduism which has prevented his education and not any other religion like Christianity, or Islam. Therefore, Hinduism has had to be

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1. Dayananda Swami, Satyartha Prakash. Refer Lajpat Rai, The Aryasmaj 169,250.

referred to at every stage. The adverse comments have followed by the law of cause and effect.

Now let us turn to the literature; the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the fables of Ramayana and Mahabharata, the Dharmasutras, are all against the education of the Shudras. The Vedas say that the Shudra were the people who yelled. They prefer to put it this way instead of saying that their language was different and that the Hindus could not understand it. The Dharmasutras legalise the cutting out of the Shudra's tongue or the filling of his ears with lac or molten lead if he tried to utter or to listen to a word of these sacred books. In Mahabharata, the worshipped deity Bhagwan Krishna regards them as having risen from the baser element, and in Bhagavad Gita there is a passage which shows the Shudra as lower than a dog

> 'Sages look equally on a Brahman ... a cow ... even a dog and an outcaste.'[1]

In Ramayana, Rama himself pierced the Shudra Sambuka because he wanted to use his intellect to raise himself to the highest po-sition, as other teachers did according to the custom of the times.

All this literature contains an 'abominable social philosophy which is responsible for their social degradation'... 'its whole object is to sustain the superiority and privileges

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1. Quoted in "Immortal Years" - John Evelyn Wrench - p. 129.

of the Brahmans ...'[1] Hence, it should not hope for any respect from the aggrieved community. As Dr. Ambedkar says a 'respect and reverence for the sacred literature cannot be made to order.'[2] Of course I do not say that the literature is not dear to the community upon which it showers unlimited favours, but it is positively undesirable from the Shudras point of view. The difficulty is that the books like the Vedas and their off-shoots which contain all the anti-Shudric philosophy are said to be eternal, without beginning and without end, which also means that there is no hope of the end of the miseries of the Shudras. This is naturally unacceptable to them. I have noted their re-action where I say that they burnt the sacred books to ashes in public.[3] Apart from the social and educational objections to Hindu literature from the point of view of the Depressed Classes, there are also other objections from the moral point of view. Those points which are models of the highest morality to the Hindus represent a very low morality to an educated Untouchable. Such examples from the sacred books are quoted below:

(a) Draupadi was the joint wife of five Pandu brothers.

(b) Duryodhana dragged the same lady Draupadi naked in the court before an assembly of Aryan chiefs and people.

(c) Bhima killed Hidimba Rakshasa, a warrior, for nothing because he was in love with his sister. Similarly, he killed Krimira Rakshasa on duty

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1. Ambedkar - Who Were the Shudras - INT. p. xi
2. Ibid INT. p. x
3. Chapter VI. p. 242.

because he had challenged all the five Pandu brothers for wandering in the forest without the permission of the aboriginal chiefs.

(d) The act of Lakshmana, Rama's brother, in cutting the nose of Surpanakha, Ravana's sister, was a mean act unworthy of the chief of a race with any degree of civilisation. To do harm to a woman is not a chivalrous act.

(e) Again his act of killing Bali from an ambush was also a cowardly act.

(f) Rama's repulsion of his wife, Sita, was not an heroic act.

The religious sanction of customs like child marriage, infanticide and widowhood repeatedly mentioned and contained in the literature under reference also command little respect at the hands of the Shudra Untouchables. The other practices such as abstinence from meat eating, hatred for the foreigners, are prejudices and are discourteous in the eyes of the Depressed Classes. The literature contains laws against the education of Shudras. It does so on the basis of some superiority of its own. The Shudras therefore want to know what is that sacredness embodied in it. The celebrated sanctions and other acts of morale of sacred personalities in it, referred above, do not seem to them worth the praise. That is a vain superiority. It is on the basis of this false superiority that the Shudra is victimised. Because the Shudra is tyrannised by its sanctions so, from his angle, the greatness of the literature had to be seen. Hence, for comparative view of facts, the literature and its sacred clauses have come to the fore itself. It is not

that specially from a criticism point of view the literature has been taken up.

As to Hindu civilisation, we have had to treat it because we cannot study the educational system of a nation without dealing with its civilisation.[1] The Hindu civilisation, though highly spoken of, does not recognise the Untouchable. It has never considered the education of the Shudra to be permissible. Any society can be termed civilised which allows freedom of speech and action and affords equal opportunities to all its members. It can be called true civilisation where men are allowed to advance and develop according to their worth. The Hindu civilisation cannot stand this test. The twice born have the right of free expression while the Shudras cannot even ventilate their grievances. They have never been given equal opportunities of development under the Hindu regime, where birth has been the criterion of worth. How can such a civilisation be praised? In the opinion of those who suffer under it, such a system is no civilisation, but barbarism. The list of religious and social practices given above gives the impression that Hinduism has not arrived at the threshold of a civilised State. The Hindus appear to be still primitive and centuries behind the West in many of the aspects of civilisation. Charles Grant, writing in 1792, in a pamphlet 'Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain' had also

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1. Laurie - Pre-Christian Education - p. 4.

reached the same conclusion.[1] A Hindu educationist painfully admitted this fact when he said "Despite all the Hindu fitness of intellect and his idealistic religion, India seems typically barbarian."[2] Their is still a civilisation of one class, the Brahmans, maintaining as it does the undemocratic caste system and the institution of Untouchability. Even their economic conceptions are most primitive. An American, a member of a democratic country, and a great supporter of the Hindu Congress of India, while travelling in India said, "I can testify that while travelling five thousand miles in India I never saw any agricultural implement not used by the sons of Abraham three thousand years ago. They reap with a sickle and thrash with a flail that was old when Methuselah was a child."[3] Dr. Graves also remarked that "in India the twentieth and the first centuries are jostling with one another."[4] Mr. Mazumder complained about this remark because he thought his country's civilisation was of the highest.[5] The late Mahatama Gandhi was also much perturbed over the American's remark and replied "We have managed with the same kind of plough that existed thousand years ago."[6] The Untouchables think on the whole that this civilisation, to which high sounding praises have been given did achieve a satisfactory domestic system, but had no international significance. Mr. Mazumder also admits that "the

1. Qtd. in C. H. Phillips - The East India Company - p. 158.
2. Mazumder, N. N. - A History of Education in Ancient India - INT.
3. Claud H. Van Tyne - India in Ferment - p. 29.
4. Graves' "History of Education - p. 89. (before the Middle Ages)
5. Mazumder - A History of Education in Ancient India - (INT.)
6. Claud H. Van Tyne - India in Ferment - p. 129.

'.. still live in the forest, rather than the twentieth Century."

strength and excellence of the Aryan culture lay in their domestic virtues."[1] It has nothing to teach the rest of the world although Professor Max Muller is much enamoured of it in his Thesis "What India can teach us".

Therefore, from the Untouchable point of view, the Hindu civilisation cannot command praise because it is not great. It is not referred to here in order merely to criticise it, but in order to illustrate its effects upon the social and educational progress of the Shudras.

The fourth point is that the work appears to be directed against Brahmans and Brahmanism. Before we conclude that this is also a misapprehension, we must see who the Brahmans are and consider what they say about the education of the Shudra Untouchables. It is found from the historical record that Brahmans seem to be the greatest mischief makers the world has ever seen. They have always combined as a nation among themselves to strangle other sections of society for their selfish ends. They have been very conscious of their class interests from the Rig-Vedic[2] times until now. They are most reluctant to abandon their attitude of superiority. Ordinarily, it may not be discreditable to be proud of a class in which one is born, but if such class consciousness becomes a menace to others, it is naturally to be despised. Brahman class consciousness has

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1. Majumder, R.C. - Ancient Indian History and Civilisation - p. 270.
2. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 237.

definitely proved most disastrous to the education of the Untouchables. Further, it is curious that though they are the originators of Brahmanism, later on called Hinduism because the other Dvija castes were made to follow it blindly, they themselves do not sincerely believe in it. This is their beautiful magical cleverness and hypocrisy if one may call it so. Abbe Dubois remarked that "it is curious to note that the Brahman does not believe in his religion and yet he outwardly observes it."[1] But that is how the Brahmans rise superior to the Kshatriya and Vaishya castes.

In general, they have the darkest of characters, both as individuals and as a caste. They are depicted untrustworthy,[2] cunning, wily and deceitful,[3] double tongued[4] and double dealers[5] in every walk of life.[6] They are weakminded,[7] timid,[8] cowardly and cringing,[9] dishonest,[10] fraudulent,[11] slanderous,[12] extremely selfish[13] players of ruses, practisers of dissimulation,[14] wicked,[15] whimsical, rancorous[16] and full of vanity.[17] Morally they are depraved, debauched,[18] profligate, polygamous and lovers of prostitutes.[19]

Politically, the Brahmans have played havoc in reducing empiresto ruins. We shall see how later. They have always worked for their own political power and can never bear to see

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1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 302.
2. Ibid p. 309. 3. Ibid p. 291. 4. Ibid p. 291. 5. Ibid p. 309.
6. Ibid. p. 309. 7. Ibid p. 317. 8. Ibid pp. 317 & 294.
9. Ibid p. 296. 10. Ibid p. 309. 11. Ibid p. 309. 12. Ibid p. 317.
13. Ibid p. 317. 14. Ibid Ch. xii. 15. Ibid p. 314. 16. Ibid p. 316.
17. Ibid Ch. xii. 18. Ibid p. 312. 19. Ibid p. 313.

other sections of the society in positions of authority.

Religiously, they are equally uncompromising. As said above, they do not necessarily believe in their religion, but they indulge in pretences and make others into blind followers of the faith. They are very intolerant of people with other faiths.[1] They have a great abhorence of the Christians; undying hatred of the Muslims; disgust for Budhists; and great enmity towards the Depressed Classes. The Brahman thinks his religion is the best religion in the world.[2]

They are considered to be the root cause of the slavery of India for centuries owing to their treacherous dealings with the people and the country and because they introduced the most harmful customs of the Hindu society.

We shall later show more about their activities in this respect. They have ruined empire after empire, uprooted dynasty after dynasty and have been the cause of undesirable chaos throughout the different periods of Indian history. Plots in royal houses, domestic revolutions, usurpations and other inexplicable calamaties have been the feats of their visible or invisible hands.[3]

To glance at the facts of their dishonest record will further show their character. To go back as far as the Mahabharata period, King Vena was killed because he had displeased the

1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - pp. 304-5-6.
2. Refer Edward Sachan Alberuni's India - p. 19.
3. D. Theeratha - The Menace of Hindu Imperialism - p. 228.

Rishis who were Brahmans. They put his son Prithu on to the throne after his death with a promise that he would act according to their will and respect caste gradations.[1] The Mahabharata war was the outcome of their mischief. The Pandavas princes were very popular with the common people, which was against their principles. Therefore they created an atmosphere of rivalry between the two houses, the Pandus and Kurus. In Ramayana the fall of the Empire of mighty Bali was due to the intrigues of the Brahmans. Parrasurama waged dreadful war against the Kshataryas and defeated them.[2] The Brahmans are further responsible for persecuting Rama and his wife Sita. We have noted in Chapter One that King Janaka was a well-known intellectual and had challenged Brahmanic supremacy. But Rama had married his daughter Sita. At the same time, Rama himself was an independent prince who would not submit to the Brahmans like his father, King Dasaratha. They knew that his accession to the throne would mean a hard time for them. Therefore, they intrigued through one of the Queens, Kakai, to prevail upon the polygamous king to exile Rama for fourteen years. After his return from Lanka, Rama did not get peace at their hands. They wanted him to break an alliance with Janaka. This could only be done by abandoning Sita somehow or other. Rama was encouraged to suspect Sita's chastity at Lanka. He banished her on this doubt and the Brahmans came out victorious. Another

1. C. V. Vydia - Epic India - p. 191.
   D. Theeratha - The Menace of Hindu Imperialism - p. 228.
2. M. M. Kunte - Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilisation in India - pp. 248-250. [illegible] - p. 35.

victim was King Kanishka who was 'smothered to death in his bed. He was hated as a lover of Budhism by the Brahmans.[1] Kautilya, a cunning Brahman, plotted against the Nanda dynasty and placed Chandragupta on the throne of Magadha and established the Mauryan dynasty. The Brahmans induced Pushyamitra[2] to assassinate the last emperor of this dynasty and made him king. He obeyed them in the Budhist persecutions. We know that King Harrsha was a great patron of Budhism after Asoka. He had called a Budhist council in honour of Hiuen-Tsang, but an attempt was made by the Brahmans to assassinate him, and though the plot was found out, the conspiracy continued. At last the power of the Brahmans succeeded in breaking up his empire. During the Muslim rule they became the favourites of the kings and the accredited representatives of the rest of the population They sowed the seeds of the downfall of the Muslim empire in the reign of Akbar. Under Auranzeb, they were able to mislead Guru Govind Singh by joining his order and so brought him into conflict with the great Moghul. In the south they contrived to bring the Marhattas into conflict with the same emperor. They flattered the former by imposing on him the authority of the goddess Kali, and they said that the latter was 'a special vehicle of the goddess Bhivani.'[3]

They did not spare King Shivaji who had borne the brunt of

1. D. Theeratha - The Menace of Hindu Imperialism - p. 115.
2. E. V. Havell - Aryan Rule in India - p. 121.
3. D. Theeratha - The Menace of Hindu Imperialism - p. 160.

the fight against the Moghul emperor and who gave dakshina to fifty thousand Brahmans at his coronation.[1] For he was treated as a Shudra by them. His empire was wrecked by Peshwa, a Brahman minister. A period of rule by Peshwa followed. The Brahmans paid the Sikhs in the same coin. Firstly, they deserted the Sikh fold when Guru Govind Singh told them to follow the disciples of the faith. They tried to deceive him by imposing upon him the authority of the goddess Kali as they had done in the case of Shivaji. But the Guru saved himself though Shivaji had succumbed to their diplomacy. Lastly, they have brought the British to the point of saying goodbye to the country. This is an example of their craft in reducing empires to pieces. To some the action of overthrowing the British might appear a brave act, but two things are worth consideration Firstly, that they have been intriguing against the Kings of Indian denomination, as well as against the British. Secondly, this action is a premature step from the point of view of the advancement of quite a large class like the Untouchables and those other backward classes who together with them form the bulk of the population. They have also not been fair to their own devotees, not to speak of the irreligious Shudra Untouchables. They held the Kshatriya community down in the olden days by refusing to recognise the value of their intellect.

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1. Vaidya-Shivaji the founder of Maratta Swaraj - pp. 248-252.

They joined hands with the Rajputs during the period of Mohammedan rule and isolated the Vaishyas. Would it not have been wise for Birbal Brahman, in the interests of the whole Hindu nation to admit ~~the~~ Emperor Akbar to Hinduism as, according to the tradition it is said he had requested? During the British period Brahmans have gained more than their Hindu followers. The latest act of kindness by a Brahman is the murder of their beloved leader Mahatama Gandhi - the leader who was safe under the British, but lost his life in an independent India with a Brahman at the head of the Government.

This is the record they have themselves created and therefore my thesis should not appear to be anti Brahmanic. It was necessary to make repeated mention of the Brahmans because they are the greatest enemies of the education of the Shudra low castes. It is the Brahman who regards the imparting of knowledge to the Shudra as an inexpiable sin. The Brahman is the originator of the books which embody all the tyrannical laws against the social and educational well being of the Shudras. Where a Brahman has succeeded in achieving supremacy, the Untouchable's fate may be presumed to have been sealed forever.

Brahmanism is a creation of the Brahmans and is another name for Hinduism towards which we have already discussed our attitude.

The last point in this connection is that the Hindus, the

followers of Brahmanism, have been criticised. It was necessary to comment upon them because they are even worse than the Brahmans in their campaign of opposition to the Shudras. Every trait of the Brahman's character re-appears in their character.[1] They are the unpaid agents of Brahmanism. They also have become fanatics, deaf to any appeal of reason.[2] They think and act in line with the Brahmans. They are prejudiced like the Brahmans. Like the Brahmans they assert that they hate the Westerners and their scientific inventions. They ascribe the inventions of the telephone, microphone and phonograph to their own sages[3] rather than to the Western scientists.

The Shudra Untouchables live in the villages and are a minority. The Hindus, who are the majority in the rural areas, police the poor people with the Brahmanic law and prevent their children from attending schools. In short, a Hindu is an exact copy of a Brahman. Hence, as our remarks on the Brahmans have been critical so they must be towards the Hindus. It is the Hindu who is the enemy of the progress of the low castes, not the Christian or the Mohammedan.

The fifth issue is that I have criticised other social groups, for example, the Christians and the Christian Government. But where the facts are against them, I have had to bring them forward for critical analysis. They have both done wonderful service in the fields of social progress and of education. The

1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 309.
2. Views of others noted by Mayhew in "Christianity and the Government of India" - p. 94.
3. Oman - The Ramayana and Mahabharata - p. 99.

Depressed Classes have expressed their appreciation of this in clear terms. In a memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for India at Poona in 1910, the Untouchables said "Our Hindu rulers did not recognise our manhood and treated us as worse than cattle (the kindly touch of the Christian religion elevates the Mahar at once and for ever socially as well as politically) and shall not the magic power of British law and British justice produce the same effect upon us as followers of our ancestral faith?"[1]

The work of the Christian missionaries and the Christian Government has been criticised with due regard for their work. The Untouchables think that much money and energy has been spent in vain by the Christians. Similarly the Government also has adopted a wrong policy for a long time until it was too late.

The next point is that I am pro-British. This is hardly a justifiable inference. My answer is that I do not relish the idea of slavery. But at the same time I do not want to rule others. The Untouchables have not recovered from the slavery of the Hindus. But they have never seen the slavery of the British. Under the British they have always been conscious of a great boon. They had open opportunities in Military Service until 1892, when the Hindus ousted them and made their condition worse. After 1917, they also progressed educationally. I am sure that if the Untouchables are not too deeply involved in

1. Submitted in a memorial to the Secretary of State for India by a Conference of the Untouchables, Poona, in 1910.

some political tangle, and a new territory could be carved out for them on the transference of power to the Hindus, they would prefer to have some training under the British for a considerable time as the Hindus have done. In fact, the period of the British stay in India is one of those rare examples of a time when the Untouchables have felt their intelligence to be recognised on an equal footing with the Hindus, and have proved it so by merit. I can justify my remark by quoting the 'Sunday Observer', "Dr. Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., graduate of Elphinstone College, Bombay, of Columbia University in America, the London School of Economics, Barrister of Gray's Inn, former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, is the most brilliant example of how the Untouchables have raised themselves under the British."[1] Though the Hindus have gained more than the Untouchables have done, but the period of the British has been a promise of perfect freedom for the Untouchables. So if they are pro-British there is no wonder. And it is an admitted fact they are. But from my point of view I have a mind free and open to reasonable things. If the British have contributed something to world civilisation I will be most glad to accept it. If the Hindus are a blot on the fair name of civilisation, I will not hesitate to say so. I do not believe in sleeping over evils if India is to be counted among civilised nations. She may at one time have had an unique civilisation, but it is out of date now. If the Indians

1. Sunday Observer, 27th October, 1946 - p.7.

do not want to compete in worldly matters they can continue in the old way, but if they want to be one of the members of the family of nations, then an elimination of undesirable things is badly needed. I am, perhaps, too pessimistic about the lot of the Shudra Untouchables. But it is not me but the facts that make me think in that way. Who can help shuddering at seeing the tongue of a Shudra cut out from his mouth and hot oil poured into his ears because he endeavoured educationally to benefit himself? What a contrast under the British! They have gained all those privileges of a citizen which previously they could never even dream of. Though their progress for many reasons has not been satisfactory, yet the principle of education has been admitted and thousands of children are attending schools. Many have gone on to University education. In 1945 a batch of students was sent abroad for foreign studies. A few highly educated members have been holding highly responsible posts in the Government. To whom does the credit go? I think decidedly to the British Government. Therefore, I admit this service rendered by a free people towards the freedom of an enslaved people with the sincerest gratitude at heart.

The last criticism is that the thesis appears to be more of a socio-political and religious than an educational study. In this connection I must point out that education has a bearing on religion, sociology and politics. It cannot be separated from these fields. In a country like India religion has dominated every field of activity until the present time.

Education has not been free from its grip. Education and politics in India go hand in hand. Observers of the Congress movement have been well aware of the fact that the political leaders moulded the students to any side they liked during periods of political disturbances. When they were asked to speak against the sovereign power they didit, leaving their schools and colleges. If they were asked to take part in a campaign against any other organisation, they responded accordingly. Sociology and education have a reciprocal effect upon each other. In the olden days the Hindu students were required to learn a kind of literature which made them adopt a special attitude towards each separate caste in Indian society. We know that in our syllabuses, the teaching of civics prepares the student for a special kind of behaviour as a citizen. Narrowing down our argument to the Shudra Untouchables, their education has always been affected by the religious, social and political attitudes of the Hindus. In the case of the Shudras, it is not that education has had its effects upon these other spheres, but that religious, social and political trends have stood in the way of their education. During the Hindu rule the monster of religion hung over their heads. During the Muslim period, the Hindus gained political power and imposed their social system on the non-Muslim subjects according to their will. In the British period, though education became secular, and the Depressed Classes achieved equality before law, they were beaten

by the weapon of social boycott which segregated them from the schools. In all periods of Indian history, the religion, culture and politics of the Hindus contributed to keep the Untouchables behind in all spheres of life and particularly in education. In other words, where religion failed, politics helped and when both failed, social custom and culture crept in to help. But religion was always the source and inspiration of the opposition. Hence, the education or general uplift of the Untouchables could not be treated without dealing with the religion, social structure and political life of the Hindus. While considering the Hindu rule, in our whole discussion we have combined the treatment of social and educational disadvantages. This has been done to make it clear that when the Hindus launched an attack on the social status of the Shudra, automatically it shut the door of his education. His educational progress raises his social status, and social equality and freedom open the door for equality and liberty in the educational field.

We shall now turn to the nature of the text proper. We have noted that the work is new and the first of its kind. No attempt has ever been made by any writer to do any research on this topic. This is not because the subject is insignificant but because its investigation must reflect badly on the whole of Hinduism, its literature and its civilisation, and consequently the writer might easily be misunderstood as too critical. No Hindu would take such a step and displease his fellow

religionists, and a foreigner would refrain from meddling with such a subject lest he should incur displeasure.

The attempt being new is liable to contain controversial points because there is no consistent material. With regard to Hinduism there is no dearth of material. Innumerable books have been written on it and the material is so vast that my scanty notes here can hardly do justice to it. It may, however serve as an indication. But my work is not on Hinduism, but on Shudraism on which there are no books. Hence, under this handicap I am aware of my imperfections. However, I have referred to religious books of the Hindus and the writings of foreign travellers and scrappy notes on the subject by both Hindus and Western scholars in different books. But this was not enough. I have therefore had to speculate at times when the material available has left me in the wilderness. Still, by gathering direct or indirect references I have been able to clear a new road which can be metalled later on by some other interested scholar.

I have tried to make use of references for my purpose mostly from the Western writers because, from the Untouchables' point of view they are the least biased or prejudiced. I have taken some references from the works of intelligent and impartial Hindu writers, but I am aware of the fact that on the whole they are too much biased against these communities. Their comments upon social and educational progress are sometimes irresponsible and irrelevant. It is bound to be so because they have to save

their own skins. For example, they must approve of the commands of their own books that there is no need for the Shudras to be educated because they do not know the Sanskrit language, they are unintelligent and they have no traditions of, or aptitude for learning, and so on; and this attitude is applied without critical thought or logical reasoning.

The work will, therefore, tread the toes of the Hindus, but I believe there is a section of Hindus who have been advocating the cause of the uplift of the Shudra Untouchables as part of a programme of social reform. I hope such an enquiry will be met by them with open minds.

There is a further warning. The title of the thesis is misleading. It does not trace the educational history of the Depressed Classes, because there was never an education for them; but instead it traces the history of those opposing and antagonistic forces which imposed a well-planned system of 'no education' for the Shudra communities. It is an enquiry into the constant opposition levelled against them by the Hindus, which kept them illiterate, ignorant and consequently crippled them socially, economically and politically. It will tell the story of their loss of prestige, wealth and power during the whole period of Indian history. Moreover, it is an attempt to deal with:

(a) The doubts of some Hindus who are not certain that Hinduism may not have been at times sympathetic towards the educational uplift of the Untouchables. Professor Altekar is

the only educationist who has given a correct interpretation of the only stanza[1] that occurs in Hindu literature which may be regarded as the authority for the view that there was actually no education of the Shudras.

(b) The false claim of the Hindus that they politically represent the Untouchables.

(c) The critics of the British Raj for its neglect of the education of the Depressed Classes.

(d) The supporters of the Hindu Congress Party throughout the world, who are misled by its window dressing techniques.

(e) The needs of the Untouchables who are ignorant of their own political and educational history.

Above all, it is an attempt to give the reader an insight into the real nature of Hindu religion, literature and civilisation which are said to be the best, the most wonderful and of the highest order.

There is still another point which I must deal with in order to clear all the doubts and misunderstandings of some readers about the work. It is that the thesis has been written purely from the point of view of the Untouchables and that it does not take any notice of the greatness of the Hindu religion, great to the Hindus; the sacredness of their literature and the sublimity of their civilisation and manners and customs of however high a standard and however civilised they may be. This

1. Vaj-Samhita - Refer Altekar "The Ancient Indian Education" p. 44.

is not recognised because these things do not concern the Shudra Untouchables. The whole fabric of Hindu civilisation is great in its own way but the Untouchables are not benefited in the least by it. We have concerned ourselves simply with the facts about what the Hindus have to say on the education of the Shudras. We have also tried to show what has been the reaction of the Untouchables in the past to the injustice of the denial of their education and how should they act in the future. This has made the thesis a story of the Untouchables versus the Hindu and vice versa. We have not, however, entered into controversy about the historical dates of different books and writers. We have taken the dates and the books as they stand. I might say that the Hindus had no educational system worth the name and that the political history of ancient India has been more invented than discovered, but this is beyond our scope. In whatever form the Hindu educational system existed, it did give a sort of prestige and status to the educated individual in society. Similarly, I am not concerned with the type of educational system set up under the British, but I am concerned with how the Untouchables have benefited from it. I may further have taken no notice of the literacy of the whole country but I had to see what level of literacy the Untouchables had reached during the Hindu, Mohammedan and British periods. In short, the discussion has been narrowed down to what concerns the Untouchables and the conclusions have also been drawn from their point of view whenever they have differed from the

traditional, historical lines of argument.

To turn to the division of the work into chapters, it will be advisable to explain that the purely educational history of the race could not have been examined separately because there is no national history of the neglected race with which the reader may be assumed to be acquainted. In the absence of a regular political history an educational treatment alone was impossible to trace, and would have proved incomprehensible to the reader. Therefore, we have briefly sketched the political evolution side by side with the story of education, and especially in the beginning. Secondly, the thesis takes the form of an historical study rather than a discussion of theory and practice. This would have been possible if there had been any education. Wherever discussion of educational theory and practice occurs it is of the educational system of the Hindus and the Christians. It was essential to know the application of these systems to the education of the Shudras. It is only in the missionary period that a discussion of theory and teaching method has been included because the missionaries evolved a definite plan for their education. Otherwise it is the long tale of the opposition of the Hindus to the education of the Shudras.

Throughout, our aim has been to find out the direct or indirect causes of the neglect of the education of the Shudra Untouchables and, at the same time, to search out tendencies and sources which have directly or indirectly advocated his social

or educational advance. We have indicated elsewhere that we have resorted to indirect conclusions in many places. For instance, under the Muslims there was no definite system of special education for the Shudras, but the influence of Islamic preachings and of the common schools have been assumed to have been open to them as this is consistent with the character of the Muslim religion. The separation of the Shudras from the Hindu population has been assigned to the general character of the Muslim system of providing education for all through all possible cultural agencies. In the same way, the teachers of the Bhakti movement never started schools for them but their teachings stood for the uplift and education of all. They looked on all the individuals in society in the same way. Those who joined their orders attained the status of equality in all spheres of life.

Every chapter is more or less complete in itself. Each is informative and critical at the same time. Therefore they do not need separate criticism. But still we have devoted separate chapters of criticism. The only exception is the chapter on education during the Mohammedan period where no criticism has been given. It is because the material for the period is, from our point of view, much more indirect and speculative.

The whole work covers three main periods of Indian history, the Hindu period, the Muslim period and the British. A chapter has been added on the work of the Christian missionaries. This

comes under the British period, and the British period, therefore, has been divided into two. The period of the educational work of the State has been taken to date from the Charter Act of 1813 onwards. The period prior to this date includes the work of the different Christian Missions in the education of these communities. Hence the whole work has four main sections. A chapter of concluding remarks has been added to it.

The first period, the Hindu, has been split up into three sub-sections. The first section has been named the Early Hindu Period roughly from 2,000 B.C., to 200 B.C. Here we have principally tried to make clear the position of the Dasyus, the ancestors of the Shudra Untouchables, as a political power and have dealt with their subjection to the Aryan power. We have also tried to show the attitude of the Aryans towards them and have further discussed whether they were a savage horde or whether they had some civilisation. In the epic period we have noted their change of attitude towards the Shudra community. Apart from this we have discussed the various nomenclatures which were given to them. The changing of these nomenclatures of status has been dealt with in a fairly detailed way. The period has three sub-sections for educational purposes; the Vedic period, the Epic period and the Rationalistic period. We have mentioned the literature of the Hindus written during the period. A survey of the literature has been deemed to be essential, first, because the whole educational system of the Hindus was based on its teachings and secondly, because the

penal laws for the denial of education to the Shudras are contained in it. It was necessary to give the reader some idea of what the literature contained. This had to be done either in the introduction or in the text. It fitted better into the gradual development of the main theme in the text. At the end of our description of the content of each text we have shown its bearing on the education of the Shudras.

At the end of the Rationalistic period and at the beginning of the Budhist period, we have dealt especially with the Code of Manu. This has been done because it is the Bible of the Hindus. No act of the daily life of a Hindu in either the educational, the social or the political field is excluded from the laws of life contained in it. Routledge rightly said "The institute of Manu ... developed from the Vedas an elaborate system of religion, governing caste, social observance, labour, everything known in Hindu life and so minutely entering into that life that nothing escapes it from long before the child's birth to old age."[1] From the richest to the poorest Hindu and from the layman to the highest leader they are in duty bound to follow the Code. The whole Hindu Law at the present time is a copy of this Code. Since the Code is the greatest pride of the Hindu nation and they are its ardent worshippers, the education of the future Hindu citizen, particularly in his attitude to the Shudras, has been imbued with the Hindu religious, social

1. J. Routledge - English Rule in India - pp. 158-159.

and national spirit as expressed in the Code. It cuts short the liberty and educational advance of the Untouchables forever. As it is so important, it was deemed proper to mention it in order to put the reader on the road to an easy understanding of the position of the Shudras. A list of some of the relevant laws concerning the legal, political, economic and social status of the Shudras has also been prepared for the guidance of the discerning reader so that he may make his own judgment of the intensity of the injustice we have to record.

The second section is the Budhist period. Budhism was a great revolution against Hinduism. It spread the gospel of the equality of all human beings. It preached equal opportunity for all alike. It did not lift the long-standing ban on the education of the Shudras but it opened all the other rights of a citizen to them. It admitted the Shudras freely to the schools and admitted them even to the ranks of the teachers. We have described firstly its general character and principles, which attracted the Shudras to join the order in millions. Then we have dealt with the Budhist educational institutions with the rules and regulations governing them, the type of education they provided and its effect upon the Shudras.

Finally, the story of the Hindu persecutions aimed at the obliteration of Budhism from the Indian scene has been told. It is described in order to show how the Shudra had to suffer at the hands of his traditional opponents. It will not be out of

place to note that even at the height of the glory of Budhism, the Budhist emperors like Asoka who could with a stroke of the pen, cut the very roots of Hinduism, never took such a mean recourse but allowed Hinduism to flourish side by side with their own faith. This latitude was not given to Budhism on the revival of Hinduism.

In this chapter we have raised another issue for discussion. That is the influence of Hellenistic culture upon Budhism. This has been done to show that no cult of reformed Hinduism could ever alter the position of the Shudras. We think that it was the spirit of the pre-Christian culture which somehow or other infused itself into that Budhist thought which actually changed the orthodox Indian atmosphere to liberalism and opened the doors of its culture to the Shudras.

The third section deals with the later Hindu period. The Code of Manu was given practical application during this period. I have shown that it was the most glorious period of Hindu civilisation. It was the period of the perfection of Hindu glory and culture. Many new religious practices, customs and manners like child marriage, idol worship and Untouchability, etc., now practised by the Hindus were deeply confirmed during this period. Similarly, the educational system planned then has been followed as a model by Hindu educational institutions ever since. I have again departed from the general conclusion of the historians when I say that it was not a period of degeneratio

of the Hindu nation but a brilliant period of civilisation. Our conclusion is based on the care and pride with which the Hindus preserve the customs of those times as a national heritage. They are so sacred to them that any reform by any individual is taken as an insult to their religion and civilisation.

The section gives a detailed treatment of the existing educational machinery under different headings such as the state in relation to education, the minister of education, the teacher, the curriculum and extra mural activities. At the end of each part we have tried to conclude whether such a system would attempt to give any opportunity for the education of the Shudras. We have had to draw one-sided conclusions all the time because there was no sign of any educational benefit which could be credited to the Shudra side. Whatever system of education prevailed during this period it always had its anti Shudric implications.

The greatest achievement of the period was the revival of Dharma.[1] Dharma is a bugbear to Shudra education.* All the principles of Dharma are antagonistic to the advance of the Shudras. A special mention of the Rajputs is made. This is because they, being new converts to Hinduism, were the most zealous protectors of Dharma. Therefore, they did great harm in checking the social growth of the low castes by supporting the Brahmans and adopting Manu Dharma as a State religion.

We do not finish with the history of opposition to Shudra'

* Dharma dominates Hindu life in the present times in the same way as it did in the ancient Hindu period.
Refer Mason Alcott - Village Schools in India - p. 46.

1. Ch. III.

education at the end of the Hindu rule in India for we have tried also to show the Hindu attitude during the Mohammedan and the British periods. Our chapter on their attitude as subjects of the Muslims is not very direct. We have shown that they tried to act as the guardians of the whole population leaving the lower orders where they were. In this period another strange development is noticeable. It is that the Brahmans seem to have been taking up missionary work among the Shudras to prevent them from joining Islam. They had never done so in the Hindu period. Rather, they thought it a sin to talk to the Shudras or to give them any advice. But here they became the saviours of the Shudras. This policy was perhaps due to a desire to save them from the influence of the Yavanas.

The opposition under the British falls into two parts. First, their effort to monopolise for their own use from 1813 to 1882, the whole of the State money set apart for the education of the people. They used two methods to carry out their ends:

(a) Under the guise of a revival of oriental learning.

(b) By opening higher institutions of learning.

The existing indigenous Pathshalas (Hindu schools) were already run on Shastric lines where no Shudras were admitted. The revival of such institutions could bring no gain to the low castes. The stress on the higher learning was equally useless because the low castes had no basic school education.

Here a passing mention has been made of the Hindu

exploitation of the Muslims also. This is because there have been many things in common between the two minority nations. Once both Muslims and Depressed Classes had been the rulers of India. The Hindus adopted a policy towards the Muslims which had succeeded with the Shudras in the olden days, but they met with failure because this time the policy was tried under the rule of another power. Up to the year 1872, the Muslims were more or less subject to the same educational disadvantages as the Untouchables, although as a community they were quite advanced and well organised.

The second part deals with the attitude of the Hindu Congress organisation. The Congress organisation was the result of the anti-British feelings. We have said that it started because the foreign Government had taken practical measures for the education of the Muslims in 1872 and the Depressed Classes in 1882, a policy which was unacceptable to Hindu religious ideas and ideals. It was though one of the causes. This break up of the monopoly of the Hindus in education and in other fields did not suit them. The result was resentment against the alien Government and against the new movement. The Congress was a purely Hindu organisation consisting of capitalists and rich professional classes. As Griffith's said 'the educated Hindu and professional classes form its spearhead while a number of industrial magnates are closely connected with it.'[1] Therefore, such a body could not be

1. Griffith, P.J. - British in India - p.7.

expected to look after the interests of the poor and oppressed sections of the population. They have proclaimed from time to time that they represent the Depressed Classes but there is no record that they ever took up the task of raising the level of these communities. The chapter discloses the fact that they have never included in their programme any scheme for the social uplift of the Harijans (a Congress term). We have pointed out that those Hindus who preferred social reform to political reform as a programme for this association were defeated badly by the orthodox Hindus who constituted the majority. Social reform was the only way to bring about the uplift of the Harijans.

This brings Mahatma Gandhi into the discussion. He rose to a high position in Congress politics in 1919, after which he became a virtual dictator. He played different roles in Indian politics under the guise of a Mahatama. We cannot ignore him because he was a personification of Hinduism and his word was law to every Hindu. To prove his sincerity towards the Depressed Classes we have given his views on Hindu religion, the caste system and Untouchability all of which are obstacles to Untouchable progress. We have come to the conclusion that he was never seriously in favour of the education of the oppressed classes because even in his greater days, 'his energies were being devoted to less educational and constructive work'[1] on the

1. Mayhew, A - Education of India - p. 270.

whole, much less for the Depressed Classes. His game was always political.

The third part of the chapter deals with the attitude of the Hindus as devotees of Congress. Here we show the tyrannies of the Hindus to the Depressed Classes living in villages. They put all possible obstacles from administrative officials down to the ordinary householder in the way of the Depressed Classes parents who wanted to send their children to public schools.

After we have finished the sad tale of the opposition of the Hindus from 2000 B.C., to 1947, through its various phases, showing the methods employed to hinder the Shudras' progress, we have added a chapter of criticism. The chapter is an enquiry into the causes of the opposition of the Hindus to the education of the Untouchables. We ask whether their superiority is a genuine one or whether it is just vain pride. Here we have discussed religion, social customs and other matters.

We have left the reader to pass his own honest verdict. The chapter may appear to offend but that is not our aim. We have taken everything from the religious books and the published opinions of the Hindu writers and have given as objective an account as possible. We want to show how the Hindus could stick to the most ridiculous practices such as worship of stones, trees and animals but disregard the very existence of human beings like the Shudra Untouchables.

We next deal with the Mohammedans on the subject of the education of the low castes. They had no direct scheme of education for these classes. In the introduction and in the main chapter elsewhere we have made clear the point that the Muslims considered the non-Muslim population as one bloc. They

did not recognise that the Hindu population had internal divisions. They were justified in this conclusion because their religion was one of equality, justice and freedom which recognised no such divisions. The first principle of their order was that the gift of education should extend to all its members. Therefore, they were great patrons of education. From the Shudra point of view this period, like the period of Budhism, was a period of relief for the low castes. If the low castes themselves did not enjoy the benefits of the order or were not allowed to do so it was their misfortune. But still we have reason to believe that a large percentage of them joined the Islamic fold. Conversion was easy because the Islamic teachings were very simple. Their educational institutions, unlike the Hindus, were free from complicated ceremonial religious observances. It has sometimes been argued wrongly that Islam was spread by the sword and that only high caste Hindus joined 'en masse.' But this is incorrect. Islam spread because of its greatness and the Hindus joined it for political reasons. The largest number of entrants who accepted the religion for its real worth were from the low castes.

The Muslims set up a network of schools for the education of all the people in the land, including the low castes. The low castes were attracted to the Mosques, and to other Islamic institutions, and once they attended any of these institutions they would never return to the Hindu fold. This was because the Hindus did not allow the Shudras to live amongst them. We have described the different educational institutions of the

Muslims. These institutions were the common right of all castes and creeds. But another line of argument which we have advanced is that the demolishing of Hindu temples by the pre-Moghul emperors brought good results for the education of the low castes. The greater the number of the temples razed to the ground by a certain ruler and replaced with Mosques, the greater was the number of schools ~~which~~ opened for their educational facilities to the Shudras. It was the Mosque which was open to him for education rather than the Temple.

During the time of the Moghul rulers this policy was changed. Most of the Moghuls were pro-Hindus and patronised Hindu learning and literature and translated most of their books. We can quote as examples the Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Darashikoh.

It may alarm the reader to find that I have criticised Akbar and supported Aurangzeb. This is a clear departure from the well-established theories of the political historians that Akbar was an angel and Aurangzeb was a tyrant. There may be political reasons for such a consistent verdict by the historians, but with that I am not concerned. My subject is different. My conclusion is based on a judgment of educational policy in general, and particularly of the opportunities made available for the education of the low castes. Politically, I feel that Akbar sowed the seed of the downfall of the Moghul Empire just as Lord Curzon sowed the seed of the downfall of the British Empire in India. Educationally, I think that Akbar did more harm even to the Muslims than Aurangzeb. The Untouchables fall into the same category as the Muslims. From our

point of view, if Akbar showed favouritism and a special inclination towards the Hindus and Hinduism it was a bad sign for the low castes. The protection of the Hindu means the neglect of the Shudra. On the other hand if Aurangzeb attempted to remove the Hindu influence from his court, or began to coerce the Hindus, or showed no regard for their religious literature, what wrong did he do to the Shudras? The neglect of a Hindu implies solicitude towards a Shudra. Therefore, these conclusions are justified from our special point of view.

This section has another sub-division which is the effect of the teachers of the Bhakti movement[1] on the general advance of the lower orders of society. These teachers preached the gospel of equality, fraternity and liberty for all sections of society from the Shudra to the Brahman. The movement did not open certain educational institutions for the education of the low castes, but it preached the equality of all, including the Shudras. Many low caste people joined Kabripanthism, Sikhism and Ravidasism. Once they became members of these faiths they were eligible to enjoy all the benefits of society. Of course, the credit of the inspiration of such a movement goes to the Sufi saints. There are some writers who have tried to give similar credit to the Christians in India, but to my mind that is improbable. The opportunities opened up by the growth and spread of Christianity, were less than those provided by the teachings of the Sufis under the Moghul emperors. We know too

1. Ch II . Section II .

that kings like Akbar were inclined towards Sufiism.

The work of the missionaries has also been given very elaborate treatment. The Christians were pioneers of the all round improvement of the general status and prestige of the Shudra Untouchables in India. Their attitude towards the betterment of the Shudras has been most unselfish and devoted. History does not tell us how far back the followers of Jesus Christ began their work in India. Some writers have shown that Christianity proper as it is now known began its work in the early A.D's but facts show that elements of what later became established as Christian culture had influenced India as far back as 1,000 B.C. The graded steps may have been like this. The Hebruic or Mosaic culture must have influenced India from the 12th century B.C., to the 6th century B.C., and after that the Hellenistic culture; both through trade contacts. In general, then, the Holy Spirit of Christ had come into contact with the Indian world in very remote antiquity. I have pointed out that it was the Christian spirit which had travelled to the land of the mystics and had appeared through Budha who was an emblem of the god of peace, like Jesus Christ.

We have here suggested that the Christian spirit existed even before the birth of Christ. We have noticed trace of Christian influences at work from the earliest possible times. But our belief is that the disciples of Christ were never inactive in India as they were certainly not elsewhere in the world. Their efforts have aimed at revealing the Holy Light

to all sections of society, but the outcastes have been the greatest beneficiaries. It was the Christians who in the class rooms made the Brahman boys sit side by side on the same benches with the outcaste boys.[1] When they began to receive this benefit is not known, but we must presume that even in the early years A.D., if they were there, they must have been doing their work amongst the neglected Shudras. No Hindu would either dare or care to talk to a Christian missionary, much less to discuss the possibility of embracing the Christian faith in those early times. At the same time, in the early days the question of political advantages never arose, as it did later, to attract the Hindus to the Christian fold.

The question may be asked that if the conversions began at so early a date, why was the total number of Christian converts so low? The answer is that Hindu Rajahs (i.e. kings) have always severely persecuted the converts in their kingdoms. We have dealt with this in the main chapter. The threats and persecutions of the Hindu chiefs have never allowed the converts to keep a balanced attitude of mind towards Christianity. Unluckily, there were no census reports which can give us an idea of the rise and fall of the converts year by year. Where ever we have given figures of converts they are taken from the writings of Missionaries and they apply to a particular limited time. Even these figures cannot be said to have come down to us in full. And many converts have been forced to give up

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1. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - pp.71,86 Vol.VI.

Christianity by rival Hindu institutions.

Another object of tracing the Christian work in India is to assess their educational work apart from their work for the general welfare of the people. We know that in the beginning they did not open separate schools for the Shudras only, but for all sections of society, but we find that the low castes formed the majority of the students on the rolls. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Untouchable never remains an Untouchable when he becomes a Christian. So when we deal with the whole matter in Chapter we refer to Christians and not Untouchables, but we must remember that most of these Christian converts <u>are</u> Untouchables.

There are three main groups of Christian workers. The first group belonged to the Syrian Church, the second to the Roman Church, and the third to the Protestant Missions from different countries. But these were not the only Missions, nor is what we have tried to describe the only work of the Missionaries. 'So multiform and numerous were the Christian Missions in India,'[1] that to compress their work into a few pages is impossible and the work is so great that an adequate tribute cannot be paid to them by my modest pen. We have just given a glimpse of how the missionaries worked. The figures of conversions or of the number of children in the schools are also only to give an idea of the kind of work done in a particular period; they are not the only figures, nor do they give any

1. Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India - pp. 63-64.

idea of the comparative increase or decrease of education in successive periods. A systematic table of figures could not be given because of the paucity of such material available.

The general educational work of the Missions ended with the Charter Act of 1813 when the State stepped in and broke their monopoly. After that their energies were concentrated more on the social and educational uplift of the outcastes than combined work for the Hindus. The regular educational scheme referred to above is a product of the period after 1813.

At the end of our survey we have added a chapter of criticism much against our wishes. We are aware of the great service done by the Missions to the underworld of India, but a still greater achievement could have been attained if from the beginning they had concentrated exclusively on these oppressed communities. In my opinion a vast amount of labour and money has been wasted on efforts to evangelize the Hindus and to open schools and colleges of higher learning for them. This attempt by the Christian societies has been fruitless, like the 'filtration theory' of the Christian Government in India.

The last chapter deals with the work of the State. The work of the State in providing facilities for the Depressed Classes begins with the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882. The work has been traced up to 1919 only. After this date, the responsibility of the State as a central body came to an end and the control of education became decentralised and taken over by the Provincial Governments with their Indian Ministers responsible to the Provincial legislatures.

The survey on the work of the Government is not very cheerful, partly because of its wrong policy in favouring the already learned section of the population, i.e., the Hindus, and this was due to ignorance of the structure of Indian society; and partly because it neglected to deal with the educational problem of the Shudras, owing too much fear of public opinion. The Hindus were against the education of the Depressed Classes, and so the Government also meekly submitted to their pressure. But leaving aside the Government's inability to cope openly with the Hindu opposition and thus to achieve the desired results, we have attempted to show its sincere and honest desire to make State education the equal privilege of all.

There has been one great drawback in our survey. It is the lack of a statistical estimate of literacy. The main reason for this deficiency is that the Census Reports of the different Provinces in India are not consistent in their references to social status and the professions. If, in one Province the work of one particular community may be shown, for example, as agricultural labour, in another Province the work of the same group may be shown as shoe making. This has caused difficulties in quoting correct census figures. In addition to this the Hindus themselves have increased the difficulty of making an accurate return of the numerical strength of the Shudras by including them in the figures of Hindus when they

might gain politically by doing so.[1] This has produced difficulties. The Progress Reports on Education, 1919, reported that "no general statistics that would bear scrutiny can be supplied of the educational progress among the Depressed Classes."[2] The same difficulty was experienced by the writer of the Education Report 1907-1912 when he remarked that 'census figures of literacy' if used 'prove the calculations to be valueless.'[3]

At the end we have added a few pages of criticism of the State. Such criticism of the State is also much against our desire. The Depressed Classes, unlike the Hindus, are conscious of the services of the British however small they are. They expressed this sentiment a few years ago in the following words, 'the Government have taken special precautions to root out all distinctions of touchability and untouchability, so far as the sacred precincts of education are concerned.'[4] Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of those communities also expressed the same view when he said 'the Untouchables are undoubtedly better off educationally today.'[5] This is the tribute of an impartial, unprejudiced and grateful investigator to what they have received. But on the whole the progress is below what might have been expected. In the words of their leader again, he was

1. Refer Cumming - Pol. India - p. 133.
2. Report Progress of Education in India 1917-1922 - p. 206.
3. Ibid 1907-1912 - p. 259.
4. The Pioneer, Allahbad, 15th June, 1928.
5. Qtd. in "Immortal Years", Evelyn Wrench - p. 129.

obliged to say on one occasion that the British had definitely a special responsibility towards his people[1] and their achievement had not reached the desired level. There are reasons for this. The Depressed Classes have taken the State to be the representative of a great nation which is known for its democratic institutions based on equality in law and justice. It performed many humanitarian acts towards civilising the Hindus by removing most of their heinous practices such as infanticide and satti, etc., but could not touch the caste system which is the great obstacle in the way of the education of the Untouchables. The British have been oversensitive on this issue.[2] [illegible] The Depressed Classes think that if this timidity was due to the fear that educational reform would arouse the religious sentiment of the Hindus, the reforms mentioned above were equally likely to have the same effect. The British forgot that it was not the Hindus who fought for the establishment of their rule in India, but the Untouchables who shed their blood for them. After that they have been the most faithful subjects of the Government. In addition they are tax payers. With all these considerations they deserved better attention than they have received.

In the last chapter nothing much could be said because the

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1. Qtd. in "Immortal Years", Evelyn Wrench - p. 129.
2. Section IV, Ch. II.

position of India has changed. The Hindus have again come into power, a class about whose injustices the whole thesis appears to have been written.

I have suggested three things for the amelioration of the Depressed Classes. Firstly, that they should stand as an independent political party in the country. Secondly, if that might prove impossible, that they should remain outside Hinduism by reviving their own religion or culture or by embracing the Christian or any other religion. I am sure that the Christian God is more easily accessible to them than the Hindu priest, the Brahman. Thirdly, they must adopt Urdu as a national language for the propagation of their literature and culture. If they continue to hanker after the Hindu religion they will remain the same hewers of wood and drawers of water as in the past. Their amalgamation with the Hindus will not help them. They should not expect any educational advancement whatever liberalism the Hindus may show. They may introduce a compulsory system of education but when compulsion is the right of all they will remain where they are. Moreover, the Hindu members of the Education Department and the Hindu general public may submit to the authority of the State and fall into a routine, but good results are never achieved without hearty co-operation, of which the Hindus seem to be incapable from their past record. The Depressed Classes may become literate, but the higher political and economic advantages of education will not come their way.

A few words more on the general treatment of the subject. My thesis is a result of my personal experience as a member of the Depressed Classes. I was brought up in a Hindu environment, passed through the throes of Hindu imperialism from very childhood, came into contact with the most conservative and also the most liberal Hindu organisations like Aryasmaj. After my student career I began life among different sections of the population, for example, the Mohammedans, the Sikhs and the Christians. This contact was possible because I held a job as a member of the Inspectorate of the Department of Education, Punjab. This gave me a chance to study the tolerance of the people towards a man of the Untouchable community working in an administrative capacity among them. I had the opportunity of studying the books of different religions and the behaviour of the followers of those faiths in my daily contact with them. Though I do not claim to have gained mastery over these different religions, yet I am glad to have understood the general spirit underlying them. My impressions in favour of the Christian people have been again confirmed during my stay in England. All this serving as a background, it has given me the chance of taking a comparative view of the facts and of drawing my own independent conclusions. I did not need much help from books.

Still I could not do without them. I had to document my work where I thought it was essential to do so for the reader. In places I have had to quote lengthy passages. This has made

the work a little bulky. Another reason for its bulkiness is that I have had to traverse a long period of Indian history. Such a voluminous work has forced me to ignore the artistic technique of writing. Above all there was another consideration which made me give a detailed treatment. I thought that if such a work is published in book form, it would fall into the hands of ignorant people who would prefer to find reference material ready for their reading rather than to enquire for themselves. Who are the ignorant groups of people? They are the Hindus, the Untouchables, and the foreigners. Beginning with the first, it goes without saying that the Hindus are most prejudiced. They follow their religion without knowing what it is. They criticise others without knowing them; they criticise the religions of others without a thorough study of them. We will cite one or two examples of this type of behaviour. As for their religion and literature, they have a very scanty knowledge of the tales like Ramayana and Mahabharata not to mention the revealed literature like the Vedas, Brahmanas and Upanishads. Oman remarked that 'it is a noteworthy fact that even the educated Indians are but little acquainted with the details of these poems, although both epics have been translated into the leading vernaculars of the country and also into English. I have known educated young men with more faith in their ancient books than knowledge of their contents, warmly deny the possibility of certain narratives having a place in these books...'[1] Mr. Griffith quotes another example of how

1. Oman, J.C. - Ramayana and Mahabharata - p.9.

they follow their leaders blindly without using their own reason. He met one highly educated Hindu who, though he differed with Gandhi's ideology, yet would not argue against him saying, 'If I think one thing and Mr. Gandhi thinks another I must be wrong for he is always right.'[1] 'Among the educated classes of India' says Mayhew, 'in Government service as well as in professional and political ranks, there are thousands who share his [i.e. Gandhi's] mistrust and we may add his distorted views of Western culture and civilisation, though they have never followed him in his political and economic remedies.'[2] The same intelligentsia may criticise Western institutions and inventions because some of their leaders have encouraged them to do so. It is strange that while they hate the new mechanical inventions,[3] they are, nevertheless, using them in their daily life.

Similarly, they say that education for the Shudras was laid down in their Dharmashastras although it was not.[4] They even deny the existence of Untouchability in India. Mr. Harry H. Field, in his book entitled "After Mother India", quotes an instance of an educated Hindu in one of the evening meetings in America who 'proclaimed that no Untouchables exist in India.' One of the Westerners in the audience was so hurt over this irresponsible utterance, this white lie, that he was obliged to say 'Why do you come here to insult our intelligence by telling

1. P. J. Griffith - The British in India - p. 146.
2. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 179.
3. Alston - Education and Citizenship in India - p. 153.
4. Altekar - Ancient Indian Education - p. 44.

us that Untouchables are unknown in your country? ... do not insult us by saying that Untouchables do not exist.'[1] Similarly, the late Mahatama Gandhi started a Harijan movement and under its auspices opened an Ashram* at Delhi, and influential foreigners are shown round the institution and given an idea of the great educational efforts which are being made for the Untouchables and of the non-existence of Untouchability in the country. This is all untrue. These are all examples of their purposeful ignorance. ~~I would not call it hypocrisy~~

Therefore, such people, who are ignorant of their own religion and civilisation and who ban the education of the Shudra castes, who follow blindly what they are told to do, whether it is wrong or not, and who deny even Untouchability, cannot be expected to be well-informed about the facts concerning the Shudra Untouchables in their literature. Nor can they ever be expected to take pains to find them out. Therefore we have given lengthy references just to keep the facts before their eyes.

The next group is the Untouchables themselves. They are mostly illiterate and ignorant of their own position. They do not know who or what has brought them to their present position. They may not be able to get reference books and search out references for themselves. Therefore we needed to make a good deal of material available for their use also. Thirdly, foreigners are not likely to be interested in going into the mass of Hindu literature because they do not normally need to

1. Harry H. Field - After Mother India - p. 163.
* A residential Hostel.

bother about it. It does not concern them, and therefore for their easy reading and to give them a chance to form correct impressions, quotations have been inserted.

The reader will further meet much over elaboration and repetition. Elaboration could not be avoided from the Untouchables' point of view. They are sometimes pessimistic about their position. In order to help them a comparative study of the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims and Christians who have been treated more or less in the same way had to be given. As for repetition the same difficulty was there. The Hindu religion, its sacred literature, the Brahman and his agents the Hindus, are closely related to each other and work as a team. They are all antagonistic to the education of the Shudras. They have never changed their position, and their attitude through all the periods under discussion has been uniform. So at every step reference to them has been essential. Unfortunately, our investigation has proved that the Hindus have been the only element responsible for the oppression of the Untouchables, and therefore references to the Hindus and the Shudra Untouchables have repeatedly run side by side.

I have made use of the works of both Indian and European authors where I needed. I owe a debt to them irrespective of my differences of opinion with them. I have done my utmost to put all the quotations in inverted commas, but if by mistake

some quotation has been left unnoticed I apologise for the oversight. I have followed my own line of argument and have drawn my own conclusions, but if there are some authors and scholars who concur with my arguments, ideas and thoughts I shall be most glad to give credit to them for having, without bias and impartiality, analysed the condition of the Untouchables

One word more about the investigation. While this introduction was being written events in India have taken a new turn. Two changes have happened. Firstly, the Sovereignty of the British in India has ended and the country has become an independent Dominion. Secondly, Mahatama Gandhi, the soul of Hindu India has been murdered. Therefore it became necessary to make one or two minor alterations, and especially many passages about Mr. Gandhi's role in Indian affairs had to be cut out. The main body remains the same. The enquiry we have undertaken ends before the transfer of power to India on the 15th August, 1947. But these two changes have made the thesis more dealing with times which are already past and gone. However, I am content to keep the work as a permanent record with the University of Durham.

Lastly, as mentioned in the beginning, the work being the first attempt of its kind has presented two main difficulties. Firstly, there is no political history of the Untouchable Classes and this has made their social and religious history obscure. Secondly, at no time before the British rule was there any direct attempt to provide them with education. If

I had not mentioned these two drawbacks the reader might not have been able to appreciate the worth of the work. Therefore much investigation had to be done for Introduction too and there were many explanations to make. The result is that the Introduction has become very lengthy. But this had to be done and it has not discouraged me. Rather I am glad to clear the road. Consequently the Introduction forms an additional full chapter of my work, and also serves as a synopsis of the whole thesis.

The credit for the preparation and completion of this new investigation goes to some of the individual educationists of this country, to many scholars, writers, authors, publishers of books and Librarians, all of whom I have to thank.

I begin with my sincere thanks to Professor Godfrey H. Thomson, Head of the Department of Education, University of Edinburgh, under whom I worked during 1945-46. It was he who brought me to the notice of another keen Historian and well known Educationist, Professor Brian Stanley, Professor of Education at King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Director of the Institute of Education of the University of Durham. He recognised the importance of working on such a subject and secured its approval by the University Senate. I owe a debt of gratitude to him for showing a general interest in me and in the development of my work from time to time when I have visited him.

But perhaps my Thesis would not have been completed without the kind help of my Supervisor, Miss M. S. Coey, Principal of

Neville's Cross College, Durham, to whom my debt is immense. I cannot express in words my obligation to her for useful suggestions at every stage of the work. She has been unwearied in advice, guidance and valuable criticism. At the same time, she has been very encouraging. I have enjoyed my work under her supervision because she has lived in India for a number of years and has made a close study of India, its religions, its social and educational problems, the manners and customs of the people, both the High Castes and the Shudra Untouchables. However, I must make clear one thing, and that is that all those arguments and conclusions, which may appear quite untraditional and provocative to the uninformed reader who is not conversant with the real situation in India, are my own. Miss Coey has no hand in them. But she has given me the advantage of a very critical supervision of the work.

I have to record my thanks to all the scholars, thinkers and writers, Hindus or non-Hindus, Indians or Europeans, whose writings I have consulted in order to complete my work. I cannot make differences of opinion an excuse for not expressing this obligation. Where differences of opinion exist, they are due to my adoption of the honest point of view of the Untouchables. The publications of a few writers particularly have given me food for thought and reflection and have made me think critically. They are Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Arthur Mayhew, Reverend James Hough, J. E. Sanjana and Swami Dharma Theertha.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Directors and

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1. The British Museum Library, London.
2. The Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London.
3. The School of Oriental Studies Library, London.
4. The India Office Library, L ondon.
5. The Bodlein Library, Oxford.

Apart from this I will be failing in my duty if I leave out the local Librarians and the staff of the Libraries where I spent most of my time. Among them may be included:

1. The University Library, Durham.
2. The Literary and Philosophical Library, Newcastle upon Tyne.
3. The Public Library, Newcastle upon Tyne.

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* Now Professor of Education,

SECTION I

HINDUS ON THE EDUCATION OF THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE MODERN TIMES.

CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATION OF THE ABORIGINAL SHUDRAS IN THE EARLY HINDU PERIOD - 2000 B.C. TO 242 B.C.

Entry of the Aryans (the ancestors of the Hindus) into India about 2000 B.C. - Their original home Central Asia - Left the homeland in search of food and new homes - India inhabited by Dasyus (the ancestors of the Shudra Untouchables) the Aboriginals of the land - Aboriginals an equally civilised race as the Aryans - But are called barbarians, demons and fiends by the Aryans - The Aryans had to wage war with the Dasyus - The first encounter in the Punjab - The Aryans destroyed Dasyus' castles, towns and villages - The captured were made slaves - They begin to be called Dasas - Some Dasyus shifted to the Southern parts of the country - The second step of conquest in the Ganges Valley - Origin of caste system after this conquest - The captive Dasas called the Shudras - The Shudras devoid of all social and educational privileges of Aryan society - In the South, Kingdoms of native chiefs (the most important being Bali and Ravana) still unconquered - The Native Chiefs called Rakashasas and Monkey Chiefs by the Aryans - These kingdoms also brought under subjection by 200 B.C. - Study of educational system of the Aryans - Knowledge of their literature on which educational system is based is first essential - Three phases in literature corresponding to the three periods of conquest; (1) Composition of the Rig-Veda (2) The other Vedas, Brahmanas Aranyakas and the Upnishads, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata (3) The Dharmsutras - All this literature contained matter antagonistic to the social and educational welfare of the Dasa Shudras - Direct educational references from Aryan literature - Rigveda refers to them as inhuman, demons and fiends - Consequently considered unfit for education - Educational references in Rigveda indicated that Dasa Shudras were not admitted to Aryan Schools - They are depicted as without speech or language- The epic period indicates the supremacy of the Brahmans as educators and educand - Three types of schools during epic period The scheme of education followed in these schools was for the twice born only - Examples from epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana illustrating exclusion of Dasa Shudras from educational and social life - The Dharmsutras contain rules and regulations for the education of the twice born and make no mention of the education of the Dasa Shudras (particularly on the supremely important Upanyana ceremony) - Upanayana ceremony allowed to defective persons but not to Dasa Shudras - Caste of pupils asked on admission - Teachers Brahmans - The Shudras detected in an attempt to utter or to overhear a single syllable from the Aryan literature penalised by cutting of tongue or filling ears with molten lead - The Code of Manu the most important religious document from the point of view of social segregation of and denial of education to Shudras - Citing of relevant quotations from the Code - Shudras were no insignificant class as treated in the Code.

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In dim antiquity some 2000 years B.C., a nomadic race called the Aryans, the ancestors of the Hindus, entered the soil of India through the North Western passes of the country. Their original home was somewhere in Central Asia.[1] The circumstances in which the population had to move out were a heavy drought which made human existence hard there. Hence, troubled by the shortage of food for their own subsistence, and of fodder for their animals, they trekked on with their cattle, tents and bullock carts towards the southern latitudes. One branch of these wandering tribes entered the Punjab, fertile in agricultural production. The pastoral tribes poured into the land of the five rivers, not in simultaneous exodus, but in successive waves of caravans. This method of movement in bands was pursue in the colonization of the eastward and southward parts of the country in the succeeding periods. The preliminary aim of these people was to find pastures, plunder and to form kingdoms, if possible.

These early invaders did not step into an icy desert or primeval forest without human habitation, nor did they come to a 'land of mere barbarism and darkness'.[2] But they had to encounter a race, far tougher than their own, who were the original inhabitants of the soil. The new arrivals called the

1. V. A. Smith, The Oxford Early History of India - p.7; Mazumdar - Hindu History p. 92.
2. Mazumdar, A.K. - Hindu History - p.12.

aborigines Dasyus[1] (i.e. foes) and many other reviling names. The aboriginals had established their kingdoms all over the country. The religious books and other general literature of the Hindus contain references to show that they had their religion, culture and civilisation[2] too according to the standards of the time. The Vedic Aryans depict them as valorous, powerful as giants,[3] and as demons and goblins[4] possessing magical powers. They were very stout hearted people and warriors of high degree.[5] They offered the severest opposition to the invaders. Even the Aryan warrior god had many tough encounters with the Dasyus in different battles fought between the two races. This ideal warrior chief of the Aryans killed one Dasyu chief, called the dragon Vrita, with great difficulty, not to speak of others. H.G. Rawlinson has described him like this. "Indra ... who rides in his war chariot, armed with the thunderbolt, helping his worshippers in their battles against their foes the Dasyu, and quaffing huge cups of the exhilarating sonna-juice* ... His chief exploit was the slaying of the dragon Vrita who had shut up the kine, the storm clouds which bring rain to the fields, in the mountain caverns."[6] The whole text of Rigveda is so full of his exploits against the Dasyus, that it is not possible to quote it all here. But one or two quotations will suffice such as 'Indra destroyed with his thunderbolt

1. Muir, O.S.T. Vol. I. p. 174.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - pp. 64-65.
3. Ibid - P. 62.
4. R.V. X-87-1.
5. Dunbar
6. H.G. Rawlinson - India - pp. 28-29.

* A kind of drink.

many Dasyus (I-100-18) Indra destroyed the towns of the Dasyus. (I-103-3) He is said to have made the earth the burial ground of the Dasas (1-133) He won fame ... became graceful ... by casting down the malignant Dasas (II-20, 6 & 7) Indra slew thousands of Dasas (IV-16,13; 30,15)' It all shows that the original masters of the soil offered the hardest opposition to the Aryans. There are frequent allusions to these wars in the text of the Rig. Veda.

The aborigines in the R.V. are called the despisers of Indra, fierce foes and cannibals.[1] The bewailing appeals of the Aryans to their gods in the R.V. show that the aborigines attained higher military skill than the conquering race. In their States they had established a certain standard of law and order of their own because they are described as keeping alien laws[2] and are at times called lawless[3] because their laws were different. Because of their hostility to the aborigines the Aryans have not recognised their qualities. They have been called inhuman[4] godless[5] as contrasted with the Aryans with their whole race of gods; they celebrate no rite;[6] have no beliefs;[7] offer no sacrifices and do not worship;[8] they are devoid of language[9] and finally they are nothing less than fiends.[10] But as already noted above they had a high standard of civilisation;

1. R.V. X 87 2 ff.
2. R.V. X 22-8 3. R.V. X 175-3.
4. R.V. Ch.I 174-7,8 also Refer Mazumdar - Hindu History - p.87.
5. R.V. X-22,8.
6. R.V. Ch.IX 41-2, 1,51-8; 1,132-4; VI, 14-3.
7. R.V. VII - 6-3
8. R.V. VII-6-3; 1,131-44; VIII-59-11.
9. R.V. V-29-10.
10. R.V. III-30,16 Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p.152.

indeed some later Hindu historians have investigated the facts and have said "that the non-Aryans had a high state of material and moral civilisation."[1]

This highly civilised race, described by the early Aryans as inferior human beings were the ancestors of the present day Depressed Classes or the Untouchables.

The first hordes of ancestors of the Hindus came into conflict with the ancestors of the Shudra Untouchables, the then Dasyus, in the Punjab. The opposition of the local chiefs was very stiff. The early aboriginals were very hard. When their armies were defeated in the open battlefield they took to guerilla tactics. "They hung about in every fastness and in every bend of a river, they waylaid and robbed travellers, harassed villages, killed or stole cattle and sometimes fell upon the Hindus in great numbers. With that dogged tenacity .. they disputed every inch of ground as they retreated, they interrupted the religious rites of the conquerors, despised their gods and plundered their wealth." The Aryans therefore 'dreaded and hated the despised barbarians with a genuine hatred, killed numbers of them when they could ... called them yelling hordes and men without a tongue and brutes below the rank of men...'[2] It took approximately six hundred years for the invaders to advance up to the river Satluj. But bit by bit they succeeded

1. Mazumdar, R.C. - Ancient Indian History - p.270.
   Frazer - A Literary History of Indian Culture - p.6.5.
2. Dutt, R.C. - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol.I p.82.

in conquering the territory and the real rulers of the land fell before them. This was chiefly due to the disadvantage of the hot climate. The Aryans had descended from the colder regions of the Northern Hemisphere and had a longer span of endurance. The aboriginals had lived under the hot sun for a long period of time, how long is not known to history, and had fallen into an easy disposition. In addition to this, they had led a comfortable life owing to the easy productivity of the land. This factor has on several occasions played a prominent part in the later conquests of India, by, for instance, the Mohammedans and the British. The Dasyus were no exception to the rule. 'They laid down their lives in hundreds and thousands on various battlefields[1] but ultimately succumbed to the attacks of the enemy. The Aryans destroyed their castles,[2] burnt their houses[3] and reduced a large number of their men to slaves.*[4] Those who continued the fight were driven to the Southern swamps and the forests of the Peninsula. The same fate was met with in all theatres of war till the Aryans completed their conquests. The subjugated people were made serfs and set to work on the estates of the conquerors. In this capacity they have been called Dasas. In those days there were no international laws to secure the proper treatment of prisoners of war, and hence the treatment meted out to them was

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1. A few examples:-
   R.V. II-14-16 One Hundred Thousand (100,000)
   R.V. IV-30-15 One Hundred Thousand and Five (100,005)
   R.V. IV-30-21 Thirty Thousand (30,000)
   R.V. VI-26-5 One Hundred Thousand (100,000)
   R.V. VII-99-4 One Hundred Thousand (100,000)
2. R.V. I-51-5; 1-113,3; 111-12,6; IV-32-10 3. V-29-10.
4. R.V. VII-18-18; X 62-10; VIII 19-6 (Women)

* Both men and women.

of the severest cruelty. The Dasyus who withdrew to the Southern regions were also pursued in later invasions and those who fell into the hands of the enemy were made slaves or put to death. Those who still escaped and fought desperately and bravely preferring liberty to slavery, had to find refuge in the hilly districts and other unapproachable spots of the country. Historically, this period has been called the Vedic period.

After the Aryans had established their rule in the Punjab they crossed the Satluj and advanced towards the rich plain of the river Ganges. In roughly four hundred years, from 1400 B. C. to 1000 B. C., they brought under their domination the territory embracing the Ganges and its tributaries as far as Magadha. The most important kingdoms founded here were the contemporary kingdoms of the Kurus, Panchalas, the Kosalas and the Videhas. The epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata give in detail the account of the civilisation of these four dynasties. The Dasyus here also were mercilessly extirpated, thrown into prisons and put to death. The status of the prisoners was reduced, as usual, to that of slaves. This period has been called the Epic period in Indian history.

On the completion of the conquest an important change took place which is of vital importance from the point of view of the relations of the Hindus and the Depressed Classes and will influence our whole discussion of the education of the

latter. The religion which worshipped the gods of natural phenomena, the sun, the sky and the dawn, and offered up simple prayers to them, gave place to a religion of ever changing pomp and ceremony, including sacrificial rites. For these sacrifices rules were formulated which eventually established the supremacy of the Brahmans over all the other castes and in particular excluded the Dasas from the privileges of the society of those times. The religion was further clarified by the theory of Purushasukta,[1] the hymn of Rigveda, which laid down rigid rules for the caste system. Henceforth all human rights and privileges were dictated by the accident of birth, to the neglect of intellectual and personal worth. From the point of view of our thesis, the change in the theory of the caste system is of greatest importance. As explained above, the Aryans had acquired a large territory by this time and this had brought under their control a large number of Dasyu slaves. The Aryans were no longer shepherd clans of graziers and drovers.

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1. The Purushasukta hymn in R.V. (X-90-12)* divides the society into four castes, the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras. The first three were called the Dvija Castes and the Shudra was excluded from this category. The Dvija Castes were entitled to all the educational privileges of the day while the Shudras were excluded and were highly penalised if they ever tried to share in the benefits of education. We have explained the theory of the caste system elsewhere.

   * H. H. Wilson - R.V. Sanhita - Vol. VI - p. 253.

They were becoming settled and civilised. There were two factors which contributed towards their progress in civilisation their conjugal unions with the Dasa women, and the richness of the soil which made them want to settle down in peace instead of continuing to live the life of wandering tribesmen. Having achieved this stability and security of life and property they developed the theory of the caste system. This meant that they divided the population into four sections called the castes. There were four castes; the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vashyas and the Shudras.

> "The Brahmans first, the Kshatriyas Caste,
> The Vaishyas and the Shudras last,
> Sprang from her[1] mouth the Brahman race,
> Her chest the Kshatriyas natal place,
> The Vaishyas from her thighs, it is said,
> The Shudras from her feet were bred.*" [2]

The first three were the Aryans and the fourth caste were the subjugated Dasyu dasas (slaves). As the Aryans wanted to keep their racial superiority over the servile aborigines, they excluded them from the performance of 'Aryan religious rites and prevented them from acquiring the religious knowledge[3] which formed the basis of education. The aborigines were required to remain in subjection to the first three Aryan castes. This servitude to the Aryan castes was supposed to be the highest type of education for them.[4] Their destiny was thus sealed by

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1. Kasyap's wife. * The Hindu Shastras regard a woman as nothing more than the shoes of the feet. The Shudras are further shoes of her feet.
2. The Ramayana of Valmiki by Ralph T. H. Griffith - Book III Canto XV - p. 246.
   M. N. Dutt - Ramayana - p. 538.
3. B. K. Dutt - History of Civilisation of India - p. 12.
4. See p. 138.

the laws of the caste system which kept them in a position of oppression and wretchedness in the Hindu society of later ages. The only lucky people who saved themselves from this eternal slavery to the Hindus were those aboriginals who escaped captivity. They enjoyed freedom for ever and remained free from the tyrannies of the Hindu Aryans. They are the present aboriginal tribes like the Gonds, the Bhils and Santals of India.

A distinction which was part of this theory was that between the first three castes who were known as the 'twice-born',[1] and the Shudras who were called the 'once-born'.[2] The ceremony which was performed to award this 'cachet' to the Aryan castes was the Upanayana or initiation ceremony which we shall explain later on. Here it is sufficient to say that it was the 'twice-born' only who could enjoy the benefits of health, education and hygiene.

The Hindu Aryan conquest of Northern India was almost complete and the native population had been brought under subjection and made Shudras, but still a vast tract of the Indian Peninsula remained unexplored where many refugees had sought shelter under their native rulers. The epic of Ramayana tells us of the vast kingdoms of Great Bali and his brother Sugriva. Farther down South ruled the mighty

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1. Vasishtha D-S II,3; Yajn I,39; Aitareya-Brahmana I,1; Manu II, 169-70. -Sam.
2. Gaut D-S I,10; II,4-5; Apast -D.S II,15,19; Vasish -D.S II,4-6-7; Manu II-170 VIII-270.

Untouchable King Ravana.

The Aryan Hindus called them also 'Rakshas, fierce demons and ape like men.'[1] King Ravana has been called a demon king and Hanumana the leader of the Sugriva, a monkey chief. Similarly, the people were called Rakshasas, demons and apes. Of course, they were not so. They were simply the different races of the South,[2] but the Aryans thought that all the inhabitants beyond the Vindhaya mountains were demons and apes.

Eventually, however, they did succeed in annexing the southern part of the country. The methods used here were quite different. There was a certain amount of conquest, as before, but the principal methods were first, to form more and more alliances with the aboriginal rulers like Sugriva, a method which began in Vedic times[3] and secondly, to send as emissaries[3.4] the Aryan missionaries, called rishis, who preached their religion and so caused conflict between the native chiefs. Sage Agastya is said to have been the first to cross the Vindhyas and preach the Aryan religion. In addition, use was made of the faithlessness and treachery of the "quislings" amongst the natives, like Sugriva, brother of Bali, and Vibhikshana, brother of Ravana, who became rulers over the empires of the aboriginals after they had fallen to the enemy.

It was in this way that Hindu rule expanded over the

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1. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 302.
2. Ibid p. 305.
3.4 Refer Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 312.
3. INT. P. 14 ; OMALLEY - Indias Social Heritage P.10.

country of the ancestors of the Untouchables. Roughly by 180 B.C., the following Hindu dynasties had flourished at a fairly high standard of civilisation: the Pradxota Dynasty (779-655 B.C.), the Saisunaga Dynasty (655-405 B.C.), the Nanda Dynasty (405-313 B.C.), and finally, the Maurya Dynasty (312-180 B.C.).[1] It is during this last dynasty that we may consider the end of early Hindu aggrandisement and the beginning of the Budhist period to have occurred. The aboriginal kingdoms were completely extinct by this time. This period has been called the Rationalistic period of Hindu history.

Now with the establishment of complete Hindu rule in India, and the beginning of the total slavery of the Dasyu Shudra to the Hindu regime, we may turn to the educational system of the Hindus, and the place of the Shudras in it. In order to understand the education of the Hindu Aryans we have to know something about their literature, because the whole educational system is based on the religious literature. Our sources of information for the education of the Shudras also will lie in these religious parables and myths. We shall not deal first with the bearing of the literature on the education of the Shudras but we shall trace the story of the literature generally and its order of composition. This is essential as it is the literature that we find embodied in the curriculum of Ancient Hindu education. We shall also find that the Hindu literature

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1. Dates according to Mazumdar, A.K. - Hindu History - pp. 494, 496 & 502.

will reveal the deliberate and vigorous campaign of the Hindus against the education of the non-Aryan Shudras.

Hindu literature is purely religious. It was written during the various stages of the Aryan settlement. Just as the conquests fall into three periods, so the literature forms three well defined strata[1] related to each successive period of colonization.

The first collection is the Veda Sambita, the principal one being the Rigveda. The Rigveda is a religious document[2] dealing in mythical form with the social and religious institutions of the early Hindus. It was composed by the religious teachers of the Aryans. It consists of ten books called the Mandals. The hymns in each book 'are generally simple and betray a child-like and simple faith in the gods' to whom sacrifices are offered, to whom libations of soma juice are poured, and to whom prayers are offered for an increase of progeny, cattle and wealth, for help in the still doubtful struggle of the Aryans against the Dasyus, with whom they are at constant war. The important point is that the major portion consists of prayers to the gods, like the sun, fire, the wind, the dawn and the storms, to help them to gain victory over the enemy. The Rigveda throws a flood of light on the relations of the Aryans with their non-Aryan foes, whom they call at every stage inhuman demons[3] and fiends.[4] It gives us a picture

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1. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 29.
2. Dutt, R. C. Vol. I. p. 51.
3. R. V. I-51,4; I-51,11.
4. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 113.

of Aryan social life[1] and of the type of civilisation they had as compared with that of the enemy population. From the educational point of view, the book is the origin of certain very important theories which have been used against the education of the Shudras. Examples of such principles are the worship of the gods, the supremacy of the Brahman priest; "Heaven is gained ... by those who bestow liberal sacrificial gifts on priests;"[2] the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls,[3] and lastly, the theory of the caste system.[4]

The literature written during the second stage of conquest, called the Epic period, consists of the three other Vedas, and the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upnishdas which are all commentaries on the Vedas. In the early years of the period the three Vedas, the Samveda, the Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda were composed. They were followed by the commentaries which are mentioned above. Later in the period occur the epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana.

Briefly, the Samveda consists of verses with music, mostly a selection of verses from the Rigveda to be sung on sacrificial occasions. The Yajurveda has two sections, the White Yajurveda and the Black Yajurveda. The former contains the explanations of the sacrificial formulae and rituals for the use of the Brahmans. The latter gives further explanations of the rules of sacrifice and the formulae and ceremonials connected with

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1. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 162.
2. Ibid p. 116.
3. Ibid pp. 117, 224.
4. R.V. X. 90-12.

them. The Atharva Veda consists of remedial formulae for protecting men from harm from spirits, from the attacks of different diseases, and from the curses of the animals. It gives an account of 'imps and hobgoblins,' incantations for longevity of life, and for acquiring wealth and other blessings of life. This literature has a bearing on the Dasas in that the musical verses of the Samveda cannot be sung by the Dasa Shudras, and the sacrificial formulae and ceremonies of the Yajurveda are the birth right of a 'Dvija' alone. The rules for healthy living of the Atharva Veda are based on crude superstitions principles, and are again the privileges only of the Aryan castes.

The next series of literary works, the Brahmanas, are theological treatises elucidating the sacrificial rituals of the Vedic texts. They also explain the hidden meanings of the Verses which deal with curious myths and legends. A single discussion on one point is called a Brahmana. All the Vedas have their Brahamanas.

The Aranyakas are the last portions of Brahmanas. They are a sort of supplement to the Brahmanas. The difference between the Brahmanas and the Aranyakas is that the former contain rules for the sacrifices and rituals of householders performed in their homes,[1] while the latter were read in the forests[2] for the same purpose. They have been called "Forest

1. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 34.
2. Ibid p. 34.

books."[1] At this time there had grown up in theory in Aryan society a custom at any rate that after the age of fifty the Hindu householders should retire to the forests to lead an ascetic life. As with the Brahmanas, every Veda has its Aryanaka.

The significance of this part of the literature to the Dasa Shudras is that they were never allowed the right of celebrating sacrificial rituals either at home or in the forest, nor were these books accessible for their study. The ascetic life of the Jungle was as forbidden to them as was normal intercourse with society in the towns. Any secret attempt by a Shudra to practise a ritual act in the forest was a severely punishable offence. We will see that Sambhuka,[2] a Shudra, who endeavoured to suffer penance in order to improve his social status was pierced right through the body by King Rama of Ramayana for this offence.

The Upnishdas are religious books devoted to the enquiry into the nature of the Universe, and to speculation about the nature of the soul and of God. They contain some of the doctrines already mentioned in the discussion on the Rigveda Texts, which directly oppose the education of the Shudras. Thes are the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls, which teaches that your present life is the reward of your actions in a past life and that therefore your actions in your present life

1. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 34.
2. See - p. 136.

may bring you an improved status, but not until your next re-birth. This Doctrine means that if you are born as a Shudra, it is no good grumbling about it; you must remain a Shudra from birth till death. Your conduct, however, good, cannot promote you to the Dvija caste in this life, whatever happens in the next. The fate of the Shudra thus sealed, he has no right to aspire to education which remains a privilege of the twice born only. Nor is there any need for his innate ability to be allowed free play, because that will not change his status in this world. To crown all this, the Shudra is regarded as wicked from birth. According to the gospel of the Upanishads he must remain wicked in his next life also. 'The wicked are born again as outcastes[1] (Chandalas) dogs or swine.' So a Shudra is born as a Shudra, remains a Shudra and can be nothing but a Shudra. What a beautiful philosophy.' The doctrine of transmigration, a highly prized doctrine of the Hindu philosophy of religion, is made null and void in its application to the improvement of the Shudras because, as Miss M. S. Coey points out, 'Since he was denied access to the scriptures, the Shudra was thereby automatically almost denied the means of living the good life and therefore of changing his caste by transmigration in his next incarnation ...'[2] This is true, because it is only the good who can aspire to be re-born in the next higher

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2. M. S. Coey, Durham University, in her thoughts on the application of doctrine of transmigration to Shudra without education.
1. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 224.

grade of caste, but the Shudra had no means of being good. But Manu (IX - 335) was extraordinary in allowing an exception to this rule by saying that the Shudra could hope to improve his status on rebirth if he passed his whole life meekly, without pride or reward, in the service of the twice-born.[1] But without this there is no salvation from being an outcaste in any future reincarnation. But the remedy is not logical nor soundly reasoned. A person who is to serve without the reward of wages cannot improve his economic status. The other means to greatness, prestige and power, - education - is already denied to him. It is difficult to understand what is the correct interpretation of Manu with regard to the Shudra. If slavery, poverty, wretchedness, which can produce wickedness, is to be regarded as goodness, then the wicked should not be re-born as outcaste, dog, or swine, as quoted above.

The last of the series of texts are the epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana. They give us a thorough insight into the actual working of society and the position of the Shudra in it. They reflect the sense of superiority of the Aryans over the non-Aryans. The whole of the literature so far considered was regarded as revealed literature.

In the last phase of the conquest the Hindus are said to have added to their literature the Dharmasutras. This literature is written by human authors as against the "revealed"

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1. Refer - p. 148.

texts of the previous period. "They are compendious treatises dealing with Vedic ritual on the one hand and with customary law on the other." The whole matter is in condensed form. They were written for the use of high-born pupils in schools because they could not be expected to go through by rote all the existing literature, verbose as it is.

There are three types of Dharmasutras. The Srautasutras, the Dharmasutras and the Grihyasutras.[1] The first deal with the duties of Hindus as worshippers at sacrificial ceremonies. The second relate to their manners and customs, their 'religion and morality' and the laws of the times. The third describe 'the household ceremonies or the rites to be performed with the domestic fire in daily life.'[2]

The number of Dharmasutras is large, but one needs special mention because it is the masterpiece of the work of the Hindu lawgivers. It is the Manva Dharmasutra. A more detailed analysis will be given later on. Here it will be enough to say that it has gripped and governed the Hindu mind through the ages. It has been held in high honour from the Sutra period down to the present time.

The Dharmasutras embody penal laws against the education of the Shudras. In general they advocate the education of the Aryans and clearly prohibit the education of the Shudras. The very fact that the previous religious material was condensed into metrical form was a device to preserve the Brahamanic

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1. & 2. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - P. 37

monopoly of it and to make sure that it remained beyond the grasp of the non-Aryan population even if they tried to learn it. The Brahmans alone could understand and teach the condensed manuals. The language was made difficult so that it would be beyond the comprehension of the Shudras. It would be a sin for the Brahmans to reveal the complexities of the Sutras to non-Aryans. We know that the Shudras were already denied education because they were supposed not to be able to understand the Sanskrit language in its natural form. The Dharma-sutras formulated rules and laws to exclude them from the protection of the law, which meant that they had to endure all the tyrannies that the Hindus chose to mete out to them in matters of education, social contact and law. As we shall see later, the twice-born could cut out the tongue of a Shudra if he had tried to utter any verse from the Vedic or other sacred text, or fill his ears with molten lead if he had attempted to listen to a word from the text, and yet the Hindu law never recognised these outrages as criminal offences. The Grihya sutras lay down the social and educational rights of the Dvijas, to the definite exclusion of the non-Dvija population. In short, all the literature of the so-called Rationalistic period is most antagonistic towards the Shudra caste as a whole. It trains the Hindu youth from birth to death to carry out a thorough plan for the exclusion of the Shudra from social and educational privileges. The effect of this literature is so great that it has become a daily Dharma (duty)[1] in the life of a Hindu from

1. Explained in Chapter III.

the king down to the lowest member of a privileged caste, to carry out its teachings. Hence the Hindus have taken the greatest care to preserve it. "No nation has taken greater precautions than the Hindus to implant in the mind of every member of society his religious, social and legal duties." [1] It is a very unfortunate fact for the Shudras, because the more attached the Hindus are to their Dharmic literature, the greater is their bias and prejudice against the social and educational improvement of the Dasa Shudra. But unluckily it has happened.

Having sketched the historical story of the political fall and consequent social degradation of the Aboriginals, and the parallel growth of Hindu civilisation embodied in its literature and having shown the status of the Shudra in the eyes of this culture, we will now turn to consider the social and educational aspect proper. To begin with the Rigveda, we are immediately confronted with two problems: whether in those days there were such people as Shudras, and whether there was any system of what could be called education. Our answer to the first query is that the Shudras were the Dasyu Dasas. They were captive hordes working as slaves of the Aryan population of the country. As for education, there was no such thing in the real sense of the word. As hinted previously, the Rigveda is a long collection of hymns containing the fervent appeals of the Aryans to their gods for the complete annihilation of the Dasyu Rakshasas

1. Dutt R. C. History of Ancient Civilisation. Vol. II, P. 7

(demons). Every victory over a native chief* is ascribed to the help of some god, the sun being the most prominent. But this enmity between the two opposing races does not provide us with any evidence of or traces of education. The Hindu historians have tried to show that there was an educational system, and we have accepted it. There were priestly schools where students were trained for gaining efficiency in the performance of sacrificial rituals. These were family schools, individualistic in nature. We find that they were purely for the sons of the Brahmans and no non-Aryan youth had the right of admission to them. There is a reference in the Rigveda in the chapter on frogs.[1] These frogs are supposed to be satirical pupils at school repeating the words of their Brahman teacher chanting some prayers. Both the teachers and the students are Aryans, for the Dasyns who were now known as Dasas, have no access to the language and learning of the master race. Another verse which speaks of the learning of the Brahman youth under Brahman teachers is Hymn (X 71 - 10) in the Rigveda.[2] Here a debate is mentioned, but the audience consists entirely of Aryans.

For the correct performance of the ritual at the sacrifices, three types of youths had to be trained who would take on the duties of priests in their later life. These functionaries were the Hotri, the Udgatri and the Adhvarya.[3] The first

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* We have traced the history in Introduction
1. R.V. vii - 103 - 4, 5
2. R.V. X, 71 - 10
3. R.V. X 71. 11. H. H. Wilson, P. 197.

recitedthe Vedic hymns at the sacrifice, the second sang certain auspicious hymns, and the last dug the altar and arranged material such as wood, butter, etc., for the sacrifice. Different schools seem to have arisen for the training of these types of youths. In all these branches of learning "only young Brahmans were admitted[1].....", so much so that even from work of a menial nature such as digging the altar and collecting the wood, for which it was not necessary to speak the Sanskrit language or to study the literature, and in which there was no other fear of pollution, the Shudra slave was still excluded. The initiation ceremony, which had to be performed at the beginning of a child's education,[2] could be performed by a Brahman only. Many reasons have been given for the exclusion of the slave population from the Aryan learning. The Aryans called the Dasas inhuman,[3] and as they could not understand their language they said they had no language except yelling like dogs.[4] They were presumed to be incapable of studying the Aryan language because they were noseless.[5] They were "hostile speakers"[6] and hence would not take any trouble over the correct pronunciation of the Aryan language.

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1. Keay Ancient Indian Educ. 1918. P. 16
2. A. V. 5. 3. & Kane's History of Dharmashastra Vol. II (i) (pp. 281-283
3. R. V. X. 22 - 8
4. R. V. I - 133, I - 182-4, IV - 38, 5 to 8, V - 29. 10
5. R. V. V - 29, 10
6. Ibid.

To Indra:-

> Thou slewest noseless Dasyns with thy weapon
> and in their homes
> Overthrewest hostile speakers.

They were foolish, faithless, and rude in their speech. They had no sense, and therefore the gift of education would not benefit them.

Above all the Rig-vedic people divided their society into four castes,[1] creating two opposing camps, the Aryan and the non-Aryan population. The Aryans were the recipients of all knowledge and the non-Aryans were debarred from it. Lastly, the Veda itself became a tabooed book to the Dasa Shudra.[2]

During the Epic period, and the period following, the Rationalistic, which witnessed the composition of the revealed literature like Brahamanas, the Aranyakas and Upnishdas and the unrevealed Dharmasutras, more vigorous efforts were made to forget any moral responsibility for the education of the Shudra youth. The educational curriculum was based on religion and the sacred texts. When Narada went to Sanat Kumara he tells him the subjects he has learnt. They are the four vedas, Itihasa - Purana[3] (History and theogony) and the dandaniti (criminal law) based on the principles laid down in the Dharmashastras. The caste system became rigidly the basis of

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1.a R.V. VII 6.3.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p.3.
3. (c) Chhand. Up. VIII 1,2.
   (b) Brih. Arany. Up. III 4,10.
   (a) Satap. Br. XI.
1d. R.V. X 22.8.
1e. ante p. 113.

the educational system. The supremacy of the Brahman ran so high that even some of the Kshatriya chiefs began to feel the pinch, not to speak of the appalling condition of the Shudras. The most striking example which can be quoted is the enmity between Vasishtha and Vishvamitra. It was more than personal rivalry between the two individual priests, but implied rivalry of castes - enmity between a priest of Brahman caste and one of Kshatriya caste.[1] A second example is the downfall at the hands of the Brahmans of another group of learned non-Brahman scholars like Janaka of Vidtha and Ajatsatru, King of Kasis. There were some learned men of Shudra origin who revolted agains the Brahmanic domination but they did not succeed. Among them were Kavasha,[2] the son of Ilusha, Satyakama[3] Jabala and Janasruti Putrayana.[4] They were not the product of the learning or schools of the Brahmans but had acquired knowledge by "self-help" and had then tried to compete with the Brahman teachers. But the superiority of the Brahman over others was a superiority of pride, but for the Shudra it meant severe rules which completely extinguished his educational privileges.

The Brahmans were tolerant and accommodating to the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas because they were followers of the same religion. The real war was with the Shudras. To gain their end of preventing the education of the Shudras, the most

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1. Ambedkar, B. R. - Who were the Shudras - p. 166.
2. Aitareya Brahamana II-19
   Mazumdar - Hindu History - p. 268.
3. Chhand. Up. IV-4
4. Ibid IV-2.

successful method they used was to flatter the Kshatriya kings, tactics similar to those which they used later with the Rajput kings in order to exterminate Budhism in the earlier Middle Ages of Indian history, and with the Marhattas to defeat the Muslinis in the 17th Century. The Kshatriya kings were extolled as the saviours of the human race. Their superiority of head and heart was recognised. In return they were required to follow the Brahmanic religion and to carry the tenets of its Dharma. Part of the fulfilment of Dharma involved the protection of the social and educational rights of the high born and the suppression of all intellectual and technical ability in the Shudra. This would be considered one of the highest acts of religious devotion. The Kshatriya kings, in addition to the recognition of their academic worth, were to gain worldly advantage too. For the Brahmans instituted house to house propaganda throughout the country in support of the virtues of the kings, their religion and general administration of the State, and thus commanded popular support for them. In return, the kings made the Brahmanic religion a State religion, and the Brahmanic literature became the sacred literature of the State. They took care to encourage the propagation of Hindu learning and to discourage the learning of the Shudras.

Let us examine the Brahmanic Educational Institutions and see how they affected the Shudra population. They were:

(a) The Royal Courts;
(b) The Parishads;
(c) The individual Brahman teachers.

We have pointed out above that while the kings accepted the Brahmanic religion, it became their primary concern to agree to the educational restrictions which the Shastras imposed upon the Shudras. The groups of learned scholars at the Courts consisted of the Dvija castes and the policy which they transmitted to the other educational agencies was all pro-Brahmanic.

The individualistic schools of Vedic times had been changed into public schools called the Parishads. We know from the Brihadaranyaka Upnishad Sevataketh went to the Parishad of Panchala in search of education.[1] The scheme of education followed in these schools was mapped out by the Raj-Guru (i.e. Royal Preceptor) or the Purohit, one of the educational members of the king's council of ministers. He was always a Brahman and had great influence over the king. He enforced the curriculum strictly in accordance with the principals of the caste system. The kings always accepted it. Kings like Janaka, Ajatasatru and Janamejaya Parikshita "founded schools in villages and towns and they developed a new social system based on caste distinctions."[2] In fact, the whole educational fabric reflected the caste system,[3] and consequently its constitutions had no place for the Shudras.

Thirdly, all the individual tutors who practised as teachers were Brahmans. Even the Kshatriyas were not recognised

1. Brihad. Up. IV.
2. Dutt, R.C. - History of Ancient Civilisation - Vol. I. p. 168.
3. Dasgupta - The Educational System of Ancient Hindus - pp. 23 & 54.

as teachers. The contention of the Brahmans was that they alone had the right to study the Vedas. The Brahmans being the exclusive custodians of the privilege, took on tuition work in the towns and villages. In addition they performed religious ceremonies, held religious discussions and addressed public meetings on such subjects as Hindu philosophy. On all such occasions it was their bounden duty to ensure that the Dvija castes strictly followed their religion, understood its literature and complied with its sanctions. As we shall see in a moment, the religion and the literature strictly forbade the education of the Shudras. Consequently, these teachers were indirectly the greatest opponents of the education of the Dasa Shudras.

So far we have shown the general trend of educational policy but a few direct references to the religious texts will make explicit the high-handedness of the Brahmans towards the culture and citizenship of the Shudras.

We will consider the epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana. In Mahabharata there is a reference to Ekalavya, who went to the archery school of the famous Darona Charya but was refused admission because he belonged to a Nishada caste.[1] The jealousy of the Brahman teacher was not satiated by the refusal of admission, and he also inflicted physical harm on the innocent child. It is said that the young boy, disappointed by

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1. Mahabharata Adiparvan 143-43
   Legge - fising p. 1-4

Darona went to the forest and made a clay statue of Darona, kept it before him and practised the art himself. He attained exceptional perfection by his own efforts. One day Arjuna happened to come across this young man in the forest and noticed his wonderful feats of archery. He reported this to Darona who went to the spot and asked for a fee for using his personification in a statue. The student replied he had no money but was willing to comply with any of his commands in order to pay off the debt. This was a good opportunity for the hypocritical Brahman to rob the boy of his skill. He asked for his thumb. "Ekalavya ever devoted to truth and desirous of keeping his promise ... at once cut off his thumb with a cheerful face and unruffled heart and gave it to Darona."[1] Thus the Brahman wreaked his vengeance upon the student and spoilt the skill that he had gained by his own efforts.

Not only did they make every effort to save their literature and language from being defiled by the Shudra, they also had no scruples about laying their hands on the lives of destitute women and children. When the Pandava princes were in exile and were caught in a lac house designed by the Kurus to kill them, they escaped by setting fire to the house while a Nishada woman with her five children was asleep.[2] As Frazer puts it "The cunning of the Pandvas had succeeded. They set the house

1. M. N. Dutt Mahabharata Adi-Parva - pp. 192-193.
2. Ibid p. 214.

on fire and disappeared through the underground passage. The low caste woman and her five children, whom Brahmanic justice, sees no moral wrong in slaying, were burnt to death."[1] On the other hand, the Pandvas were saved by Vidura's knowledge of the native language for he had discovered the plan of the Kuru princes.[2] He was a Shudra and according to Shastric principles his knowledge should not have been made use of. But when their safety was at stake, the Pandvas cared little for their religious principles. They were unwilling to teach the Shudras but did not hesitate to make use of a Shudra's knowledge when it suited them.

Lord Krishna is the godlike incarnation of the Hindus. His teachings in 'Bhagvad Gita' are supposed to be most saintly and philosophic. Such a godly personality should see all human beings with one eye without any social discrimination or hatred. Yet we learn that his teaching is that the twice born are virtuous and the Shudras are of base birth.[3] This means that all social and educational privileges are barred to the lowly Shudras. Further, in the same sacred book 'Bhagvad Gita' the Shudras are considered to be even lower than animals.

> "Sages look equally on a Brahman adorned with learning and humility, a cow, an elephant and even a dog and an outcaste."[4]

When an outcaste has been classed as lower than an animal by

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1. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 218.
2. Dutt, M.N. Mahabharata Adi-Parva - p. 211.
3. Turner, J.E. - The Original Gita - Ch. IX Verse 32 - p. 78. S.B.E. Vol. VIII p. 85.
4. Qtd. in Evelyn Wrench's "Immortal Years" p. 129.

god, how can followers of god see in him any intelligence or ability to acquire knowledge?

Let us pass on to the Ramayana which is another sacred book of the Hindus. The age of the Ramayana is said to have been the most peaceful period of the Hindu rule in India. Its memories are so fascinating that even Hindu leaders like Mahatama Gandhi, if ever they aspired to create an independent India have said that they would like it to be transformed into a Rama-rajaya.[1] But a king like Rama considered it his dharma (duty) to punish Shudras who attempted to take steps for their own intellectual improvement. He killed Sambuka, a Shudra, for practising an austere penance in the forest. Any attempt by the Shudra to secure free play for their innate endowment was taken to be irreligious. It was the privilege of the twice born which could not be shared by the once born. Rama could not tolerate it.[2]

> "There came a voice from Heaven
> Commanding him go forth and seek Sambuka,
> One of an outcaste origin engaged
> In pious penance; he must fall by Rama."[3]

He went to the Shudra and asked, "Art thou a Brahman or an irresponsible Kshatriya or the third caste Vaisya or Shudra?" The Shudra told the truth of his birth. This was enough for the pious king of the supposedly democratic State much praised and admired by the present day Hindus. "Rama took out of its

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1. Subhash C. Bose - The Indian Struggle - p. 327.
2. Winternitz - A history of Indian Literature - p. 495.
3. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 293.
   "Uttra Rama Charita" by Bhavabhuti (VII Book of Ramayana).

scabbard a beautiful sharp sword and chopped off his head therewith.

> And that Shudra being slain, Indra, Agni and other celestials praised Rama again and again and showered flowers on him."[1]

This is the attitude of the gods and the kings. The reactions of the Hindu public can be judged by the intelligent reader himself.

The epics are a most shabby picture of the early aristocracy and of the supremacy of the orthodox Aryans over the non-Aryan Shudras. This is probably because they were written by Brahmans.[2] They depict the open social and educational rivalry between Aryans and the Dasa Shudras. The content of education was made up of religious doctrine, literature and sacrificial rites and other ceremonies, manners and customs. There were the avenues to health, wealth, power and prestige. But a study of the Epics shows that all these benefits were denied to the Shudras, who were thus labouring under the greatest of disadvantages.

The literature of the succeeding period continues the campaign against the education of the Shudra. To begin with Manu, he says that education is the monopoly of the Brahmans[3] and other satellite castes. The Shudra has no right to study

1. Dutt, M.N. - Uttra Kandam Sec. LXXXVII - p. 1790.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 211.
3. Manu II-114.

the Vedas or to use the liturgy,[1] because to impart education to a Shudra is merely to throw seeds into barren soil. A teacher had

"Better die with his knowledge than sow it in a barren soil."[2]

The Shudra was supposed to be unintelligent, with no aptitude for or tradition in learning. His education is merely the service of the Brahmans[3] and the other twice born castes.[4] In their service he should feel sufficient intellectual superiority. Other knowledge cannot help him.[4] The criterion of his superiority is simply age.[5] The longer the time he passes in the service of the other castes and the older he grows the greater is his knowledge. To avoid any mistakes in carrying out this programme, many barriers, checks and obstacles were imposed during the course of the educational process from admission until the end of the academic career. It is worth noting that the Grihya Sutras tell us that every Hindu had to pass through a series of different Sanskaras (rituals) at every stage of life from birth till death. Some of them such as the Vidyarambha Samaskara, the Yajnopavita Samaskara marked the end of his period

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1. (Manu) I-115
   (Vasis) D.S. II-8-10
   (Nirukta Yaska's parivasa) (VI) XXIX 9-10
   Apast.'s Yajna. Sutra II-4
   Katyana Sranta Sutra I-2
   Jaimani's Mimansa Sutra I-1.6
2. Chhand. Br. (Mantra Brah.) VI-1,25-38.
   Svetas. Up. VI-22
   Mait. Br. Up. VI-29
   Manu II 113-115
3. Manu IX-334-335 - Apast. D.S. II-2-3; II-10-11. Gaut. D.S. XI-29.
   Kantilya's Arthshastra - p. 8. Vatsyanas Kamusutra Ch. II. Book I - S 34.
4. Ibid Manu X-122. 5. Manu - II-155.
   I-91.
6. Ibid

of studentship. A very close check was kept on all these Sanskaras to see that no Shudras were participating.

The first step of the educational ladder was the Vidyarambha Sanskara at the age of five years.[1] The performance of this ceremony indicated that the young man was fit to enter school. Its aim was to make the parents feel their responsibility towards the preliminary education of the youngster and to make him feel prepared to go to his teacher. The Yajnavalkya Smriti does not make mention of this ceremony for the Shudra.[2]

Perhaps the clearest form of educational ritual ceremony after this first Sanskara at home, was the famous Upanayana or initiation ceremony.[3] It marked the actual beginning of formal education when the child was admitted as a Brahamchari (i.e. a student) in the eyes of the world. The irregular home life of the child ended and he began a disciplined life under his teacher. This beginning of his apprenticeship to his teacher was considered to be a second birth.[4] The Shudras were not admitted to this ceremony[5] and so the right of study was enjoyed by twice born students[6] only. This was the deadliest weapon used

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1. Yajn. Smriti I-13. Refer - Sanskara Ratnamala of Gopinath Bhatta.
2. Ibid I-13.
3. Manu II-36.
4. A.V. XI, 5-3. Macdonell p. 252.
5. Apas. Gr. I-4,5-16,23,25,28,32. Sat. Br. XI 5-9. Sutra Sthama II-5. Manu II 68-108. Gautma II,8,30,35. Vast. 9-15. Baudh D.S. I-3,16,4. Yajna Sm. 4-8/25.
6. Apas. D.S. I 1,5,8-21. Gaut. Sutra I-5-14. Manu II-36-38. Vasis D.S. II-3, XI-49-73. Baudh. D.S. I-3,7-12 Yagn. I-14.

against the education of the Shudras. Its importance was so great that it became the final test for judging whether an individual should be called twice born or once born i.e. Shudra. This investiture became the passport to the acquisition of knowledge and learning.

One shudders to note that this ceremony "Upanayana was allowed for the deaf, the dumb, the idiot and even the impotent"[1] among the high castes but the most intelligent Shudra had no right to it and so had no means of entry to the Hindu Vidya Mandirs (i.e. institutions of learning). Similarly the "blind, lunatics suffering from such diseases as epilepsy, white leprosy or black leprosy[2] were entitled to partake of this ceremony. Even the trees were eligible for this right.[3] But the Shudra was not so privileged. After this ceremony the young student was equipped with another emblem of the twice born. It was the Yajnopavita (sacred cord) worn over his shoulder and under his arm.[4] It differentiated the twice born from the once born Shudra. As Macdonell puts it "The sacred cord is the outward token of the Arya or member of one of the three highest castes and by investiture with it, he attains his second birth being then ... a 'twice born' man (dvi-ja)".[5] It was the most

1. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 191.
2. Ibid p. 191.
3. Baudh. D.S. ii-10.
4. Vyasa I-19, Sankhya II-6, Vishnu Purana XXVII (15-17) Vasishtha Ch. X.
5. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 253.

conspicuous visible index to distinguish the high and low and to equip the former with a sense of superiority over the latter because it was worn habitually and ostentatiously twenty four hours a day.

After the elaborate ceremony of Upanayana, the student permanently stayed with his Acharya (i.e. teacher). The teacher began the first lesson of the novice with the Vedic Mantra known as the Gayatri Mantra.[1] Again, recitation of this Gayatri Mantra is forbidden to the Shudra.

The sentiment of the caste system was so deep rooted in the minds of the teachers that every endeavour was made to ascertain the caste of the student on his first admission. When Satya-kama Javala went to the teacher Haridrumata, the first question put to him was "Of what family are you?"[2] If the student happened to be of Shudra origin, the admission was refused, however high a fee he might offer for his schooling. Nachiketa went to Yama, but was refused education on these prejudiced grounds.[3] Ravika approached Janasruti Pautrayana but was abused because of his Shudra status.[4] He had taken 'six hundred cows, a necklace and a carriage with mules' but Ravika replied 'Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Shudra[5] together with the cows.' Of course, later on an exception was made in

1. R.V. iii (62-10)
2. Chhand. Up. IV-4. S.B.E. p. 60. Mund. Up. I-1,3. Shand. Up. IV-4,4.
3. Yajn. Samhita I-28. Shukra-niti-Sara Ch. III / line 637.
4. Chhand. Up. IV-2.
5. IBID.

his case when he doubled the bribery for greed seems to have overpowered the corrupt Brahman.

The work of teaching was confined to the Brahmans and other twice born people,[1] though anyone who was not a Brahman was not respected very much by the students.[2] No Shudra was ever allowed to become a teacher even if he had qualifications attained by effort of self study. If the Shudras were accepted as teachers there was danger of them disregarding the Shastric law by relaxing the rules of admission in favour of a Shudra. Scholars like Vidure who was of Shudra origin and who was well versed in Aryan and non-Aryan languages could not find favour with the educational governing bodies. In any case the supremacy of the Brahmans over the lower castes[3] offered little hope of education for the Shudras for the Brahman teachers took special care to exclude the Shudras. Manu had ordained that the Shudras should not receive their education[4]. No twice born teacher had ever to give secret help in study even. The punishment to the offending teachers was very severe. They lost their caste status and their other social privileges. The exclusion was so rigid that texts could not be read anywhere where Shudra could hear them.[5] It was considered a great sin to recite the Vedic mantras (verses) near the dwelling of a

1. Satap. Br. X 6,59, III-35-37, Manu X, I.
   Usa. Sambita X-77.
2. Apas. Dh. Sh. II 2,4, 25-28. Gaut. 7 1-3. Baudh I 2-40-42.
3. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 25.
4. Manu - III-156.
5. Yajn. Sm. I-199. Manu IV-99, 108. Gautama XVI.

Shudra.[1] He should not be given even verbal advice.[2] If a Shudra were even suspected of indulging a desire for learning, the Shastric law inflicted on him the severest punishment.

> "The ears of a Shudra who listens intentionally when the Veda is being recited are to be filled with molten lead. His tongue is to be cut out if he recites it. His body is to be split in twain if he preserve it in his memory."[3]
>
> (Transl. Rhys Davids p. 158.*)

This penalty was recognised by Hindu Law.

Those twice born students who attended the schools were carefully trained to preserve their sense of superiority over the Shudras in later life. In those days the Brahamcharis (students) supplied their daily needs by begging food and clothing from householders and by doing menial duties in the families of teachers. They were specially directed not to accept any food or alms from the Shudras.[4]

After the student had finished his student career it was laid down in the convocation address that he should preserve his superiority[5] over the low born and follow the Dharmasutras[6] throughout his life. We may conclude that the study of the Dharma-sutras, containing such anti-Shudric laws, would never

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1. Gaut. XII-4-6-7. Vasis. XI.
2. Manu IV-80.
3. Gaut. XII-4-6.
   Frazer - a Literary History of India - p. 153.
4. Usana Samhita - I-54. Yajn. Sm. I-29.
   Gaut. D.S. II-35.
5. Apast. II-11, 29.
6. Tait. Up. I-2.

* Buddhist India.

broaden the students outlook and make him accept the right of study of the Shudra commnnity. During a census no king would include the Shudras in the literacy figures of the State. The Shudra were probably illiterates but their education was not the concern of the State; in fact the State itself took positive measures to prohibit their education. King Asvapati of Chhandogya Upnishad claims that his kingdom had no illiterate men in it.[1] He meant that the twice born population was one hundred per cent. literate.

This then is a glimpse of the education of a Shudra as shown in the sacred literature of the period. Our survey would be incomplete if we left out the account of the Greek traveller Magasthenese who visited India in the fourth century B.C. The Dharmashastras show us the minds of the Hindus themselves, but his record is valuable as it enables us to see through the eyes of a foreigner. There is no direct reference to the Shudras, but he does mention the system of caste and says that the lower castes were very badly treated. Their position was the worst of the lot. They " neither settle in towns nor in villages but live in tents."[2] Their duty was the service of the others in freeing the people from pests, beasts and birds. This segregation suggests the boycott of education too.

The early Hindu period developed the most valuable literature for the Hindus. Almost all the religious Law Codes

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1. Chhand. Up. V. 11. 5.
2. McRindle's Translation Magasthanese Arain. II. p. 78.

governing Hindu society and the sacred writings upon which Hindu civilisation has rested in later ages, were completed by the end of the philosophic period. Then a new composition came into being - a work of the most wonderful character. This was the Code of Manu. The metrical Code epitomized in itself all the broad principles of the previous literature from the Vedas to the Dharmasutras. It codified the basic rules of religion, law, politics and education of the Hindus. In later ages it became the Dharma of a Hindu to follow the rules of Manu Smriti in word and deed day in and day out. The Code is the backbone of Hindu society. Though the Budhist movement checked its full play in the period when it was written, it became the most precious treasure in the later Hindu period when it completely dominated the Hindu mind. It also dominated the Hindu mind during the Muslim period. Its grip was a little shaken by the Bhakhti movement, but all opposition soon vanished before its teachings and its embodiment of the principle of the Brahmanic mind. It has been the guiding light of the Hindus in all walks of life during the British period too, when the Hindu Law was based on it. The reforming movements of modern Hinduism like the Arya Smaj and Brahm Smaj have not been able to challenge its sway over the Hindu mind. A great leader of the calibre of Mahatama Gandhi could not weaken the iron wall of conservatism which its teachings set up against the Shudras.

From the Hindu point of view it was a most wonderful

achievement of the Brahmans to establish the everlasting religious, social and educational superiority of the high born over the outcastes. In all past ages the Hindus opposed the education and social freedom of the Shudra because the Manava Code preaches this doctrine. The best educational institutions of the past like Taxila and Benares,[1] and the present Snatan Dharam Colleges and Schools are run in fulfilment of the Institutes of Manu and admission is refused to the Shudras. Recently a girl student, Kalyani Kaisthya was refused admission to the Vedvidyala of the Hindu University of Benares because she was not a Brahman.[2] Similarly, no admission is granted to non-Brahmans in the Sanskrit Vidya Pith at Lahore.[3] The members of most of the big representative organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Snatan Dharm Sabha and the Swayam Rashtriya Seva Sangh, seem directly or indirectly pledged to the spirit of the Code. Because of the effects of this adherence to the Code we have noted in later chapters the work of some of these bodies in connection with the education of the Shudra Untouchables. So great is the responsibility of the Code for the social and educational disqualification of the Shudras in all ages, that we must give a brief sketch of its provisions, and of the disabilities, pains and penalties and general injustice which it inflicts upon the Shudras. It will help us throughout the

1. Imp. Educational seat according to Altekar - Benares past and present - Refer p.110.
2. Also because women are treated as Shudras by the Dharma-shastras. Refer Sant Rain "Democracy and Caste System" (Urdu Translation) 1946. p. 8.
3. Ibid p. 8.

thesis to understand the permanent Hindu attitude towards the Shudra population. The teachings of the Code are a recapitulation of the ideas of the previous Hindu law givers, and at the same time an anticipation of future Hindu doctrine on the social and educational treatment of the Shudras.

Beginning with the origin of the Shudra, the Code says that he is a living organism of insignificant entity. There are two possible sources for his birth. The first is that he has "sprung up from the non-existent".[1] If he may be considered to be the offspring of an animate organism at all he has sprung from the Asuras[2] (demons - fiends). The Brahmans and others have arisen from the gods.[3]

Manu further repeats the theory of Purusha Sukta that the Shudra sprang from the feet of Purusha.[4] Following in order the many Sanskaras in the life of a Hindu,[5] the next step is the name giving ceremony. The Code proclaims that the Shudra child should have the most contemptible name.[6]

> 'Let (the first part of) a Brahmana's name (denote something) auspicious, a Kshatriya's be connected with power, and a Vaisya's with wealth, but a Shudra (should express something) contemptible.'[7]

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1. Muir - Original Texts Vol. I. p. 21. T. B. i 2 6 7.
2. Ibid Vol. I. p. 21.
3. Ibid
4. Manu [illegible]. I-31.
5. p. 138.
6. Manu II-31.
7. Transl. Max Mullers S. B. E. Vol. XXV

Manu requires the twice born castes to live in the best parts of the country for the proper growth of themselves and their children but 'a Shudra may reside anywhere.'[1] That is, there is no need of healthy environment for their growth and the growth of their children. Then the Vidyarambha and Upanyana ceremonies should not be performed for the Shudra but only for the twice born.[2] Without the performance of these particular rites or duties[3] he remains once born in comparison with the others who become twice born[4] and as such the door of any kind of knowledge is shut to him.

As he is to grow up at the mercy of nature without that human education which brings the worldly advantages of human society, how is he to earn his living? Manu requires his whole life to consist of services to the higher castes[5] performed meekly and ungrudgingly[6] without reward. This is the highest flight of his intellectual faculties. Knowledge does not give him any superiority in life. His intellectual endowments are reckoned by the number of years spent in the servitude of others.[7]

> 'The seniority of Brahmans is from (sacred) knowledge ... of Kshatriya from valour ... of Vaishya from wealth ... but that of Shudras alone from age.'
>
> (Transl. G. Buhler).

If he is impudent enough to take up an independent job, disregarding the teachings of the Code, in an emergency, for instance

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1. Manu II-31.24
2. Manu II-36; X-4.
3. Ibid IV-80 & X 126.
4. Ibid II 68 & 169-170.
5. Ibid VIII-413 IX-334
6. Ibid I - 91.
7. Ibid II-155-56.

if his children or wife are threatened with hunger, he must revert to menial work.[1] He may not attempt to follow the professions of the higher castes. If he does so any earnings or property so obtained will be liable to confiscation by the king.[2]

'A man of low caste who through covetousness lives by the occupations of a higher one, the king shall deprive of his property and banish.'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

Even with his menial job he should not try to accumulate wealth because that will give pain to the Brahamana.[3]

'No collection of wealth must be made by a Shudra, even though he be able (to do it); for a Shudra who has acquired wealth, gives pain to Brahmans.'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

He should, in other words, live from hand to mouth. Thus he may have no money for food or clothing, much less for education. The Brahmana has also the right to snatch away his earnings if he finds that the Shudra is accumulating wealth.[4]

'A Brahmana may confidently seize the goods of ... Shudra ...'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

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1. Manu X-99
2. Manu X-96.
3. Manu XI-129.
4. Manu VIII - Miscl. 417-XI-13.

He should be made to do only servile duty without reward

'For he was created by the self existent ...
to be the slave of a Brahmana.'[1]

(Transl. G. Buhler)

If he passes his life in obedience to the teachings of Manu he can look forward to a higher station in his next life.[2]

'A Shudra who is --- servant of betters ...
free from pride ... always seek a refuge
with Brahmanas, attains (in his next life)
a higher caste.'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

This concession is the reward of life long slavery. Should he miss this opportunity he will remain Shudra in all re-incarnations to come.

Now let us see what was his social status or worldly position. The Dharmashastra does not recognise his rights as a citizen. It is useless to aspire to health, wealth, kindred and education because such endowments which Manu regards as the vehicles of worldly respect,[3] cannot ensure respect for him. There should be no social contact[4] with him.

'He who associates with an outcaste himself
becomes an outcaste after a year ... by using
the same carriage or seat or by eating with him.'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

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1. Manu IX-326.
2. Manu IX-335.
3. Manu II 135-37
4. Manu XI-181.

He should not touch members of superior castes because there is a danger of pollution. Even a dead Brahman should not be removed by a Shudra because he will thus be defiled in heaven.[1]

'Let him (i. e. Brahmana - my addition) not allow a dead Brahmana to be carried out by a Sudra ... for that burnt offering which is defiled by a Sudra's touch is detrimental to (the deceased's passage to) to heaven.'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

Not to speak of touch, he should take care never to sit where a Hindu has taken a seat. The penalty is that he should be branded either on the hip or the buttock.[2]

'A low caste man who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished ...'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

He should live far away from the abode of the higher castes. The Brahmans especially should never live near the Shudras.[3] No interdining is permitted with a Shudra.[4] Nothing is to be eaten from his hand because it would impair intellectual capacity.[5]

'The food ... of a Shudra impairs his excellence in sacred learning ...'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

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1. Manu V-104
2. Manu VIII-281-283
3. Ibid IV-61
4. Ibid XI-181
5. Ibid IV-218

Even water[1] must not be accepted from him. No food touched by his hand should be eaten.[2] He should not look at a Brahman when he is eating. 'A Kandala, a village pig, a cock, a dog ... must not look at the Brahmanas while they eat.'[3] On the other hand it is a sin to give him food, and he who transgresses the rule will go to hell.[4] Inter marriages with Shudras[5] are not allowed.

He has no protection at law. You can kill him without any fear of the penalties of the law. You can kill him and be excused by feeling a little sorry for him.[6] To kill him is a petty offence.[7]

'Stealing grain ... slaying Shudras ... (are all) minor offences.'

(Transl. G. Buhler)

Manu commanded the sovereign heads of States not to interpret the law to him.[8] If the king neglects his duty in this respect his kingdom will be ruined.[9]

'The kingdom when Sudras are very numerous ... which is destitute of twice born (inhabitants) soon entirely perishes ...'

(Trans. G. Buhler)

The penalties for offences committed by the Shudra are of the severest nature while for the same offences the twice born are

1. Manu XI-149
2. Manu IV-223.
3. Ibid III-239 See Apast. II-17,20; Gaut. XV-24.
4. Ibid III-249.
5. Manu III-16, XI-181.
6. Ibid XI-127.
8. Ibid VIII-20.
7. Ibid XI-67
9. Ibid VIII-20-21.

set free, slightly reprimanded or lightly punished. Brahman, the Bhudeva (Lord on earth) cannot be killed for any offence however serious.

> "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahman; a king therefore must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brahman."[1]

The king should exhaust all his resources to feed the Brahman.

> "The kingdom of that king in whose dominions a learned Brahman pines with hunger will ere long be afflicted by famine."[2]

He

> "is the root of all law. By his origin alone he is a deity even to the gods; his word is authoritative for men."[3]

And then compare him with a Shudra. A Shudra may be full of virtue, yet he cannot aspire to be classed as virtuous.

> "A degraded Brahman is better than a Shudra."[4]

Further still, if a Brahman is ignorant, he is still far far better than an educated Shudra.

> "Let a Brahmana be ignorant or learned, he is still a great deity."[5]

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1. Manu VIII - 381 (Transl. G. Buhler). & Bhagvata Purana.
2. Ibid VII-134. Qtd. in Ketkar - History of Caste in India - Vol. 1. p. 162.
3. Ibid XI-83-85. Qtd. in Ketkar - History of Caste in India - Vol. iNi. p. 162.
4. Ketkar - History of Caste in India - Vol. iNi. p. 134. Refer index p. 173.
5. Qtd. in Ketkar - History of Caste in India - Vol. iNi. p. 161.

The same provision applies also to the other Dvija castes. If a Kshatriya defames a Brahman he shall be fined one hundred Panas[1] while a Shudra shall suffer corporal punishment.[2] Further, if a Shudra insults a twice born man his tongue shall be cut out.[3] 'An iron nail, ten fingers long shall be thrust red hot into his mouth'[4] for mentioning the names or castes of the twice born with contumely. If he shows arrogance and tries to teach the Brahmans their duty, 'hot oil shall be poured into his mouth and into his ears.'[5] That limb of a Shudra should be cut off with which he may hurt the twice born.[6]

'With whatever limb a man of a low caste does
hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes)
even that limb shall be cut off...'

(Transl. G. Buhler).

That is the teaching of Manu.[7] If a low caste man should try 'to place himself on the same seat with a man of high caste ... (the king) shall cause his buttock to be gashed.'[8]

A strange concession is given to him in certain offences like stealing. The guilt of the Brahman who committed such an offence was considered to be sixty fold while that of a Shudra was eight fold only.[9] This is perhaps intended to encourage the Shudra's criminal tendencies to grow and thus to keep him unconscious of any civic sense. The Shudra was not allowed to

1. A kind of coin of those days.
2. Manu VIII - 267.
3. Manu VIII-270.
4. Ibid VIII - 271.
5. Ibid VIII-272.
6. Ibid VIII -279.
7. Ibid VIII-279.
8. Ibid VIII - 281.
9. Ibid VIII-337-338.

give evidence in cases against the twice born. His value as a witness is not accepted by the Hindu Lawgiver.[1] The same view is repeated in Shukraniti (viii 63) which says that no evidence should be recognised from "one ... of bad fame, nor a Dasyu, nor one who follows forbidden occupations."[2] If he committed adultery with a woman of another caste, he could be killed outright.[3] The same punishment did not exist for high caste people who committed the same act with Shudra women.

A king who follows these laws will go to heaven.[4]

To put it in a nutshell, the Shudra has no position of respect in the social order. He is impure and defiled and therefore he should not be touched; he should not acquire knowledge, and therefore it is a sin to extend to him any educational advantages. He must not own property. He must not hold office. He is born in servility and must die in servility. He must serve the higher castes. The penalties for offences are heavy for him as compared with other offenders. His life has no worth or value. He may be killed without any compensation.[5]

Such was the status allotted to the Shudra by Manu in his Code. Such are the cruel and barbarous laws laid down for him in this auspicious Hindu Code. And to crown all there is no explanation. "The Shudra is punished just because he is a

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1. Manu VIII-66-68
2. Qtd. in Ketkar's "History of Caste in India" Vol. I. p. 134.
3. Manu VIII-374. 4. Manu VIII-420.
5. See Dr. Ambedkar also "Who were the Shudras" - p. 43.

Shudra." His disabilities have no relation to his personal conduct, they are the automatic results of infamy.[1]

Let us then keep this position of the Shudra in mind, and note how little the Hindus in different atmospheres in both town and country have changed in later ages down to the present time. Our treatment will be divided into three sections dealing first with the policy of the Hindu kings, secondly, with that of their organisations, and thirdly, with the attitude of the Hindus as individuals.

A final word: the Shudras must not be thought of as insignificant beings in Indian society. Though the Dasyus had been reduced to ordinary Shudra slaves and were now living as a slave section of the population, there were also Shudra aboriginal kings who still ruled in the southern parts of the country. Frazer points out that "there were Shudras and Shudra kings in India at the time of the compilation of the laws of Manu."[2] Thus the Code was a deliberate attempt to suppress the privileges of quite a respectable section of society.

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1. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 55.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 187.

CHAPTER II

BUDHIST PERIOD

The rise of Budhism - An anti Brahmanic movement - Its promise to the Shudras - Gautam Budha an originator - Probable influence of outside liberal sources on him - Religious precepts different from Hinduism - Concessions to Shudras and their acceptance - Asoka's efforts for its spread - Budhist Educational system and the equality of Shudra in it - Causes of its downfall and the consequent harm to the Shudras.

At the end of the Rationalistic period there arose a great anti-Brahmanical movement in India. It was called the Budhist Movement and its religion was Budhism. The new cult was the result of the teachings of Gautama, an ardent Hindu reformer. It flourished for about four centuries in India from the Third Century B.C., to the First Century A.D. The teacher of Budhism had preached his Gospel in the Fifth Century but after his death the religion was brought before the world by Asoka the great Emperor of India in the Third Century B.C. He was the most zealous follower of the new Faith and therefore made it the religion of his State.[1]

We have noted the glory of the Brahmanical religion in our last chapter. This height of Brahmanic civilisation had not exterminated the Shudra only, subjecting him to all the possible disabilities of human existence; but the lower caste Hindus had also felt the pinch of the complicated ceremonial

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1. ABarth - The Religions of India.

observances of the Brahmanic Faith. The greatest victim of course was the Shudra who was straitened hard by the iron system of this caste. "The pride of the race had put an impassable barrier between the Aryans and the conquered Aborigines."[1] We further concluded in the preceding period that the code of the great Manu hung like a sword over the head of a Shudra. He was segregated from the pale of Hinduism; the whole educational scheme was against him; religious rites were tabooed; social status was denied; unjust and oppressive laws were framed against him. He was, in short, an outcaste slave. This type of unbearable human treatment made it impossible for the mental and physical efficiency of the Shudra to grow. There was no relief, no consolation, no sympathy for him. The worth of his abilities had no recognition and play. They wanted to be out of this wretched fate and looked for new hope of relief. "Millions of intelligent, virtuous and influential Shudras sighed for a recognised status in the religious system of India."[2]

His lamentable sighs were fruitful in the new revolution, the most direct and deliberate repudiation of Brahmanism. This revolution, as said above, was brought about by the teachings of Gautam Budha and was against Brahmanical Hinduism. It centred around one rallying point of disregard of all distinctions based on race, class and creed, the very life of the pre-Budhist period. "Budha repelled no one and within

1. Rhys Davids - Budhism - P. 23.
2. Dutt R. C. - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol. II. P. 305.

the circle of his disciples there were no other distinctions than those of age and merit."[1] Naturally it brought a new hope for relief to the Shudra population; this is what he had desired. "It came like a salvation to the humble and the lowly in India."[2] It was a divine gift for him to avail himself of the opportunity and get rid of his attachment to the Hindu ways of life. And he did accept it. They "eagerly embraced it as a refuge from caste injustice."[3] The new faith was free from distinction among men. It was a simple, clear cut religion treating the Brahman and the Shudra alike, drawing no line of demarcation between the ignorant and learned, rich and poor, as human beings. It promised fame and distinction for him in society.

We shall further know more about the originator. What possible circumstances could possibly bring such a liberal thought into play in the most conservative Hindu atmosphere. What are its religious precepts? What social and educational advantages did it give to the Shudras? How was its fall brought about with what effects upon the Shudras?

The study of the history of religions reveals one ethical fact, that whenever sin dominates virtue, there have descended some divine personalities on earth for the guidance and uplift of human beings. When Arabia had become idolatrous and had plunged into silly superstitions, the Prophet Mohammad came to the rescue of the race; when the western world had forgotten

1. ABarth - The Religions of India - P. 124.
2. Dutt R. C. - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - P. 244
3. Ibid.

God and people grappled in darkness under the influence of sin, there arose a light in the form of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God to guide the misguided souls.

Although it is too much to compare Gautam Budha with these great Souls, yet we have to admit that he ranked to a fairly high degree on the same level. The oppression, suppression, and tyranny over the common man and Shudra in India had reached a high pitch. It was most inhuman to see parts of the bodies of human beings cut into pieces because they clamoured for ordinary human rights. There was a need of great reform. To eradicate this vice of inequality, Gautam Budha appeared on the stage. He preached the gospel of equality, liberty and fraternity.

Born of Sudhodana, the King of Kapilvastu, he got ample opportunities of studying the Hindu religion, its philosophy and social order at a very early date of his childhood. He moved extensively in the country for personal observations. After this study, curiously enough, he exhibited a great aversion to the fundamental principles of the religion in which he was born. The silly ceremonial observances, the caste system, prejudice and hatred between man and man did not satisfy the touchstone of his reason. How this revolution in ideas occurred is a controversial discussion. Was it a pure vision as it has happened in the case of great prophets of the world, or was it the result of some external force on him? If it was of outward origin, what was it? We cannot accept that it was a pure vision because his birth and the later incidents

of his life do not prove him to have been a superhuman miraculous soul, though they certainly prove him to have been as great a reformer as the world has ever seen. While taking the second point he may be regarded as the product of Greek influence if we follow those historians who say that the Greeks had great influence on India. Some may say that India had influenced Greece at some stage of the historical development. I am prone to think that Indians could never influence the outside world because they were very conservative people. According to their religious literature they were forbidden to go out of their country and if for supposition's sake we may say that they moved outside, they were not permitted to pass on their knowledge to others.[1] On the other hand, other nations, particularly the Greeks, have been very adventurous people even in the early years B. C.

The teachings of Budha very much correspond to the later teachings of Christianity and therefore many historians have said that Budhism had great influence upon the teachings of Christianity. But to my mind, this view does not appear sound. I think that the Christian spirit was infused into Budhist thought through the Hellenistic or Hebruic thought in the Indian atmosphere. We have discussed the point in more detail in our chapter on Christianity. Here we will be brief in saying that outsiders had been going to India from about 1000 B. C. They had influenced Indian thought by their contact with

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1. Sanchau Edward. Refer. Alberuni's India P. 19.

the people of the country. Gautama might have been influenced by some during his wanderings and it is then that he departed from orthodox Hinduism and preached liberal ideas. Now amongst the foreigners may have been Arab traders and Greeks.[1] There is a greater possibility of Indo-Hellenic intercourse than Muslim because Greek influence has been proved to have been, in general, more widespread. They had approached India through countries like Persia. The inscriptions of King Darius the Great, who ruled the people of North India in about 600 B.C., help us to say that 'a gleam of light from Western sources flickers for a moment on the social and political life of India during the few centuries preceding the Christian era.'[2] 'At the command of the same Darius, a Greek named Skylax is said to have travelled in India.'[3] Professor Weber takes us even back to 1000 B.C. While examining the poem of Ramayana, he tells us of the influence of the Greek on the social life of India. He says that the tale of the abduction of Sita and the expedition of Rama to Lanka corresponds with the rape of Helen and the Trojan war and Rama's exploits of bending a bow at Sitas Swayamvara (the choice of husband in public) are based on the adventures of Ulysses.[4] Further the mention of Greeks (Yavanas) is found in Book I and in Book IV of Ramayana.[5] Next, the Greek

1. Weber - The History of Indian Literature - P. 151.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - P. 169.
3. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - P. 409.
4. Indian Antiquary 1872: Refer Weber 'The History of Indian Literature' P. 194 - (Footnote).
5. Griffith - The Ramayana of Valmiki - PP. 66, 550, also A. Barth - The Religions of India - P. 139.

rhetorician Dio Chrysostomos (50-117 A.D.) stated that the Indians sang in their epic language the poetry of Homer, the sorrows of Priam; the laments of Andromache and Hecuba; the valour of Achilles and Hector. The similarity of some of the leading characters of the Mahabharata to which the Greek writer alludes caused him to suppose that the Indian epic was a translation of the Iliad.[1] Dr. Buhler, while discussing the question of Indian writing, adds another proof of the very early contact of the Greeks with India. He says that the writing then used was based on the oldest Northern Semitic. "He argues that it was introduced about 800 B.C., into India by traders coming by way of Mesopotamia."[2] "According to Greek tradition, Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras Democritus and others undertook journeys to oriental countries ..."[3] This contact has been carried on in the succeeding years. Famous philosophers like Pythagoras probably have been to India.[4]

Due to lack of accurate historical evidence the record of contact is weak and interrupted but the above mentioned references show that the outsiders had been on Indian soil long before the birth of Gautam Budha. It was through the influence of such people in one form or another that he came to preach the cosmopolitan religion[5] in an atmosphere of

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1. Refer Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - P. 414.
2. Refer Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - P. 16.
3. Refer Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - P. 422.
4. Refer Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - P. 422.
5. ABarth - The Religions of India - P. 131.

conservatism, superstition and prejudice. The conclusion that the sight of an old man, a decaying corpse and a dead man influenced him so greatly as to contract an aversion for Brahmanism, and consequently renounce the world for the good of mankind, is ...inadequate. These factors would be insufficient of itself to work so powerful an effect on the mind of one who was not already keenly sensible to the mysteries of sorrow and of death.'[1]

Now as to the religious precepts and their benefits to the Shudras. The religion had many principles which postulated the equality of all human beings. To begin with, the essence of his system was self restraint and self culture. 'Doctrines and beliefs are of secondary importance in his system.'[2] Every human being from the Brahman to the Shudra could practise it. He had no faith in God. It was, perhaps, that he was struck with the heinous injustice of man over man in the Kingdom of God. However, he was agnostic. He did not take the same view of the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of soul as the Hindus did. As he was of Hindu origin, so he could not completely forget some of the doctrines of Hinduism, but he modified them to suit the needs of the poor people. He had different conception of the doctrine of Karma, i.e., the "doing" or "action." He did not care much to emphasise the existence of the soul and its survival after physical death, but he was concerned more with the actions of

1. Rhys Davids - Budhism - PP. 29,30.
2. Dutt - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol. II. P. 231.

the people. The Hindus explained in the doctrine of Karma and of the transmigration of the soul that whatever actions you do in this world will be counted in the next world towards a good or a bad rebirth. If you are a Brahman you remain a Brahman in this world whatever virtuous or wicked actions you have to your credit, and vice versa for the Shudra. But Budha preached that the result of your good or bad actions is in this world. If the individual maintains good conduct he is entitled to be called good. So, from his point of view, if the Shudra is intelligent and observes the common standard of conduct he has chances of promotion to the higher status of the twice born, and the twice born has, on the other hand, chances of degradation in the eyes of society. The Hindus believed that if you have performed all good deeds in this world you will attain a state of eternal Bliss in the next birth, but "Budha was eager to bring that bliss within the reach of all at once."[1] According to him, one should do good here and earn an immediate reward. If the Shudra has intelligence he may be admitted to educational facilities. There is no need to wait for the next world. This changed interpretation of the doctrine was more beneficial to the low castes. Under the old doctrine they who were not free to have education, to perform other religious observances and to enjoy social privileges, how could they accumulate good deeds for the next world? This is a problem which it is beyond the capacity of human mind to solve. Of course, one can

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1. Mazumdar - Hindu History - P. 556.

conclude that Shudras will remain Shudra for all births to come. But Budha had no place for such a fantastic theory. His rule was simple and logical. The attainment of bliss, referred to above, was the result of certain simple rules, which he called the paths, and which was the right of all, and not only of the selected few, to follow in this world. There were eight noble paths:-

Right - Belief
Right - Aspiration
Right - Speech
Right - Conduct
Right - Means of Livelihood
Right - Exertion
Right - Mindfulness
Right - Meditation [1]

Men should follow these rules and attain salvation from all the sufferings of the world. This state was called Nirvana. The above rules for its achievement are clear. There were none of the religious rituals or ceremonies of the Brahmans in it. There were no sacrifices to be performed. There were no grammatical rules of the Sanskrit language to be learnt. The grasp of the rules was within the reach of a Commoner. A Brahman might follow it or a Shudra might act upon it, and both would get their proper reward. Both are privileged to attain the state Nirvana. As Rhys Davids puts it 'the road to Nirvana was as open to the lowest outcaste as it was to the proudest of the 'twice born' '[2]

Budhism respected man for his intelligence, virtue and

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1. Mahabagga. 1-6
2. Rhys Davids - Budhism - P. 84.

learning and not for his birth. We have said beforehand that "caste was unknown within the order and lost its sting among laymen outside the order for it was open to the lowest born among them to embrace the order and thus win the highest honour."[1] The utterances of the teacher himself will further illustrate our point that the distinguishing mark of man was work and not the accident of birth. It is said that Vasishtha and Bhardvaja had some differences of opinion on the problem of "How does one become a Brahman?" They came to Gautama who proved that Brahman could not be called Brahman because he was born to a Brahman parent, but right conduct could designate him as such. "I do not call one a Brahman on account of his birth or of his origin from a particular mother ... but one ... who is free from anger, endowed with holy works, virtuous without desire ... him I call a Brahman."[2] In Assalayana Sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya, Assalayana a learned Brahman challenged Gautama's teachings "that all castes are equally pure." But the great teacher was convinced that on the basis of the existence of equality of instincts, emotions and sentiments in all human beings, there is no such differentiation. On one occasion he said "No Brahman am I nor a King's son nor any vaisya ... Do not ask about descent but ask about conduct."[3]

All human beings were one in the order. "As the great

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1. Dutt R.C. -A History of Hindu Civilisation - P. 246.
2. Vasettha Sutta.
3. Sundarika Bharedvaja Sutta.

streams ... when they reach the great ocean lose their old name ... and bear only one name,- the great ocean - so also do Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras lose their distinctions when they join the order."[1]

The position of Brahmanic superiority in the Budhist order has been beautifully exposed in the words of "Sutta" where it is said "It is merely empty words to give it out among the people that Brahmans are the best caste and every other caste is inferior; that the Brahmans are the white caste, and every other caste is black; the Brahmans are pure ..."[2]

Budha knew 'that man is defiled only by sin and the very Chandala, who is less than a dog, is received by him as a brother.'[3] Budha had himself converted Upali, a barber, and Sunita, a sweeper, both Sudras, to his order. He had not hesitated himself to dine with Chunda, the blacksmith.[4]

To recapitulate, these teachings, which had no regard for the silly and cruel Vedic rites based on animal sacrifice and the later misleading and meaningless ascetic practices, and the other disagreeable practices of the Hindus laid down in the Dharma Sutras; which did not agree with the Hindu doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of the soul, and which positively disapproved of the mischievous caste system, prepared the mind of the Sudra to accept the Budhist order for

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1. Dutt - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol. II. (P. 244.
2. Chalmers, J. R. A. S. 1894. P. 360.
3. ABARTH - The Religions of India - P. 119.
4. Dutt - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol. II. (P. 304.

his own good. It was an order which did not distinguish between the high and low, the ignorant and the learned.[1] It offered equal opportunities in learning, religion and social status to those Sudras who had the chance of accepting the order.

The order reached its full bloom during the reign of Asoka the Great. He adopted all possible means for the furtherance of the faith. For example, he adopted it as a state religion. He appointed Budhist officials in the State. He held councils and meetings for the propagation of the Faith. The monks and bhikshus were sent out to different parts of the surrounding country for missionary propaganda. A special department was set up to look after the morale of the subjects according to the tenets of the religion. He had edicts inscribed on pillars, rocks, stones and walls. The substance of the inscriptions was equality of all human beings in religion, education and before the law. The campaign was continued until Kanishka. During the four centuries of its existence the lion and the lamb drank water side by side as happened during the British Raj in India. "No Brahman, no Brahman temple, no Brahman God, no sacrifice, no ritualistic act of any kind is ever, even once, referred to,"[2] in support of anything with which a Brahman had anything to do.

Even the Sanskrit language which was one of the excuses for the denial of the education of Shudra was discarded.

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1. Rhys Davids - Budhism - P. 54.
2. Rhys Davids - Budhist India - P. 151.

"From Takksila all the way down to Champa no-one spoke Sanskrit. The living language everywhere was a sort of Pali."[1] The grants to Brahmans on birth right were stopped.

The simple nature of the order and the suitability of its principles for the social uplift of the Shudras, and the earnest campaign of the Budhist Kings to level the high and the low, attracted the Shudras, as referred to above, to join the new Faith in large numbers. The period of four centuries may be called the Golden Age of Shudraism.

This is a general and brief survey of the Budhist religion and its promise for the elevation of the general status of Shudras. We shall now make direct reference to the educational system during the period, and its opportunities for them.

The Brahmanic education was religious through and through. Its working according to the system of caste made it purely undemocratic. But for the first time under Budhism education became secular. It was not "based on Vedic study, its teachers were not Brahmans unless those who had become converted to Budhism. It was open to all comers and not merely to the three 'twice born' castes. All castes were equally admissible to the Budhist Community ..."[2] and its educational institutions. The whole educational atmosphere was changed. There was no Hindu conception of a caste system, no dragon of Dharma and no doctrines of Karma or transmigration of the soul to deprive

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1. Rhys Davids - Budhist India - P. 211.
2. Keay - Ancient Indian Education - P. 88.

the Shudra of the right of learning.

Education for all became the slogan of the day. The State was the guardian of the education of all people and not of the chosen few. It spread a net of educational institutions all over the country. These institutions of popular education were called Viharas or monasteries in which both elementary and higher learning were taught. These institutions have been described as shelters of sentiments of humble and sincere piety and the most heart affecting virtues.[1] The monasteries were mostly nationalised but some private individuals[2] also opened schools for the education of the converts. Viharas were the right of all. There was nothing in them to pollute like temples.* [3] 'The act of admission was called the pabbajja'[4] and the schools were open to children of all castes and creeds. At Takkşila the famous seat of learning, two outcaste boys, Citta and Sambhutta, were reading side by side with the Brahmans. Unluckily, the Brahman boys had protested later on owing to their natural instinct of hatred against them, but it is enough to know at least that the Shudras were admitted to the Budhist schools.[5]

To secure an unbiased admission of students to the Viharas, a committee of ten Bhikshus sat on the selection board. It is said that only students suffering from some disease were

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1. ABARTH - The Religions of India - P. 137.
2. I-Tsing (Takakusu's transl.) - Ch. X. P. 65.
3. Refer ABARTH - The Religions of India - P. 123 * Its Church was the monopoly of all.
4. Keay - Ancient Indian Education - P. 89.
5. Mahavagga - I. 36.

refused admission but not on a caste basis.[1]

There is another example of the University of Nalanda where the door keeper satisfied himself about the identity of a new entrant with a form of questionnaire. The questions in it do not make mention of the caste.

The novice called the Samanera after completing a full course of studies attained the status of a Bhikshu. He might stay in the monastery or become an independent preacher. All the students were not admitted with a view to becoming Budhist Bhikshus but the Viharas were open to students of all castes for general education too.[2] This was done to give opportunity to those who could not 'join the order as a life-long profession.'[3] But generally, the education was so satisfying that the Samaneras would love to spend their lives in the cause of the Budhist faith.

The teachers were Bhikshus. Their virtues were quite opposite to those of the Brahman teachers. As A. Barth says that "the Budhist Bhikshu ... is not like the Brahman, a worker of miracles, a mediator between man and the deity; he is ... a preacher, a director of conscience, a teacher of the faith and at times a first rate missionary. Humble by profession, possessing nothing without family, without interests other than those of the order..."[4] It was this type of personality who

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1. Keay - Ancient Indian Education - P. 88.
2. Keay - Ancient Indian Education - P. 104.
3. Keay - Ancient Indian Education - P. 103.
4. A. Barth - The Religions of India - P. 127.

was on the Selection Board of admission of students to the Viharas. As the admission to the order was never made on a caste basis, the Brahman teachers eventually disappeared. The profession was open to intelligent people of all castes.[1] Only pupils suffering from certain diseases were not selected. The Shudras commanded high respect at the hands of Brahman students. In Amba-Jataka, there is an instance of a Brahman student sitting at the feet of a low caste chandal teacher to learn about charms.[2]

The curriculum, as remarked above, had no provision for the study of the Shastras. The 'Vedas were denounced, reviled and held as unworthy the consideration of wise men.'[3] Subjects like law, mathematics and astronomy which had been "too much the exclusive possession of the Brahmans" were removed from the syllabus.[4]

The medium of instruction became Pali from Sanskrit, the hereditary language of the twice born. Pali was a simple language which became the language of the common man.[5] Budha had left a definite injunction for his followers to use a simple language for the benefit of the people and for the propagation of the faith - quote - "you are not, O, Bhikshus, to put the word of the Budha into (Sanskrit) verse. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukatta. I allow you, O, Bhikshus, to

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1. Refer Hiuen-Tsang by Takakusu - pp. 105-150.
2. Francis and Thomas - Jataka Tales, Amba Jataka No. 474 - p. 337.
3. Monier Williams - Budhism - p. 8.
   Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 128.
4. Mahabagga I-39. p. 150.
5. ~~A. Barth - The Religions of India - p. 122.~~
   RHys Davids - Buddhist India P. 211.

learn the word of the Budha each in his own dialect."[1] This wish of the Master was practiced in Budhist schools.

Those students who aimed at serving the Budhist order after the completion of their studies, remained in the monasteries day and night. In fact, the Budhist educational institutions, on the whole, were of a residential type[2] like the boarding schools of the Christian Missions, and leaving aside a few day scholars who attended the monasteries for individual educational gain,[3] all students lived there until the completion of a prescribed course. The domestic life of these schools showed an exemplary brotherhood amongst the boarders. All the students lived as a family. Every student[4] received individual attention from his tutor (Bhikshu preceptor).[5] As the Bhikshu tutor could be of any caste, his relations with the students had a very effective measure of equality. The tutor and the student were like father and son. One can well imagine the happy results of the contact of a Shudra Bhikshu with a Brahman student, especially when the preceptor taught some of the golden rules of conduct such as respect for one's superior in talents or of one's senior in years, of whatever caste he may be.

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1. Chullavagga V-33. 2. p. 151. S. B. E. vol. XX.
2. A. Barth - The Religions of India - p. 122.
3. It-Sing tells us that in rare cases day scholars also attended schools (qtd. in Keay - Ancient Indian Educ. - p. 103).
4. In boarding life the student was called Saddhivihārika* equivalent to Brahmchari of Hindu social system.
   * Mahabagga I-25
5. Keay - Ancient Indian Education - p. 90.

The students led a community life. They had common games, common lodgings and a common mess. They performed some other functions in the Vihara together such as the cleaning of 'the cell, the store room, refectory and fire room etc.'[1] The community life prepared in the Saddiviharikas a sense of equality which he retained in later life.

Summing up, the Budhist educational institutions "stood for the ideal of freedom in learning and welcomed knowledge from all sects[2] and creeds ... were genuine Universities and not mere secretarian denominational schools."[3]

This was the equalitarian Budhist popular educational system which at least once in the history of India opened its doors of knowledge to the Shudras; gave them status and prestige in life and forced the divine Brahman to abandon his Shastric theories against the Shudra and to sigh for his lost legacy of supremacy. There has never been born in India such a great reformer as Budha who had the courage to assert that the whole of humanity is equal in human rights. Thanks are due to the unknown outward influence which gave him the inspiration to act like that.

Our discussion will be incomplete if we omit to investigate the causes of the downfall of Budhism because its fall was also the fall of the Shudras. This enquiry will also tell us who were the new enemies of the Shudras who brought down the Budhist

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1. Keay - Ancient Indian Education - p. 91.
2. Contrast Manu's teachings. He said that it is a sin to get any knowledge from a Shudra. Refer Ch. I.
3. Beal's "Life of Hieun Tsang" p. 112.
   Dasa, S.K. "The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus" p. 168.

movement and restored the low castes to the level of pre-Budhist times.

The enemies were no new people. They were the old Brahmans and their followers, and the causes which led to the downfall of Budhism were the following. The first was the inner lifelessness of the Order and the lethargy of the Budhist monks. Indirectly, both these deficiencies were brought about by the treachery of the Brahmans. The Budhist monks consisted of all castes, as has been already said. Many of them, therefore, were Brahmans.[1] They had crept in, as usual, for their worldly gain. Otherwise at heart they thought it a great sin to be Budhist; a sin of which hundreds of expiation ceremonies could not wash away the contamination.[2] Thus they held posts of distinction in the Budhist courts and in the monastic order. It was they, perhaps, who persuaded the Budhist monarchs to carry out the policy of religious toleration and to allow Hinduism to flourish side by side with Budhism. This ulcer ultimately burst in the Budhist body and destroyed it. We know that even in the days of Budhist glory, the Hindu religious and educational institutions were respected. In the monastic order the Brahmans became pretty influential. As they were instinctively of Brahmanic faith they influenced the order in the direction of Hinduism. We find that in the later period the Budhist

1. Rhys Davids - Budhism - p. 84.
2. Refer Winternitz "A History of Indian Literature" p. 558.

monks began to worship Budha.[1] Besides, there grew up secret rites, ceremonies on idolatrous[2] lines, yogic feats and mystic thought. The Budhist burial mounds began to be adorned with the religious arts of the Hindus.[3] Hence there arose lifelessness in the order. On the other hand, the Brahmans produced a split among the monks. It is also probable that they did not tolerate, at heart, the equality of the Shudra monks. The Brahman monks must have tried to mould the principles of the order in their own way, while the Shudras preserved the true Budhism. This tussle was bound to undermine any active co-operation in the working of the order.

Secondly, the environmental conditions were not favourable. The success of the spread of every religion depends upon its environmental conditions. Hinduism and its offshoot sects did not afford a free field for the growth of Budhism. In fact, they were 'fanatical to an intense degree'.[4] Budhism was thus never free from danger. The Brahmans were always on the look out to attack it. When mighty Asoka died, his death was welcome news to the Brahmans, and the Hindus succeeded in bringing about the speedy end of Budhism.

Thirdly, there was a regular crusade of persecutions and violence against the monks and the followers of Budhism by the Hindu kings,[5] especially the Guptas, and the Hindus.[6] Its

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1. It-Sing - Ch. IX. P. 45. Ch. XXXI. p. 45.
   A. Barth - The Religions of India - p. 128.
2. It-Sing - Ch. IX. p. 39.
3. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 147.
4. A. Barth - The Religions of India - p. 135.
5. Refer Dutt - A History of Ancient Civilisation in India - Vol II p. 30
   A. Barth - The Religions of India - ~~p. 135.~~ pp. 131 & 136.
6. ~~Ibid~~

medicants and celibate monks were slain and monasteries burnt. Discoveries at Sarwath, near Benares, have shown that "all has been sacked and burnt, priests, temples, idols altogether; and this more than once."[1] And then many Budhists were compelled to leave the order on pain of death. Ywang Chwang, a Chinese traveller informs us that a Brahman King Devadatta, allured many disciples of Budha to himself.[2] Rhys Davids confirms this. He says that five hundred young brethren were seduced from Budha by Devadatta.[3]

Fourthly, vigorous efforts were made to leave no trace of Budhism in India. Even the facts that King Asoka existed and that he patronised Budhism were not allowed to be known. Rhys Davids again remarks that "Brahmanic records completely ignore him until the time when ten or twelve centuries afterwards all danger of his influence had definitely passed away ... this tradition had been carried down all the time, though not one word about it had been allowed to transpire."[4] With the same end in view, Budhist schools were demolished and Hindu temple schools were built instead. The Budhist sacred literature was distorted and destroyed.

Lastly, the Hindu preachers preached its extermination in every corner of the country. The most determined foes were

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1. Major Kitto in Cunningham's Reports.
2. Watters - Ywan Chwang - p. 390.
3. Rhys Davids - Budhist India - p. 390.
4. Ibid p. 273.

men like Shankracharya and Kumaril Bhatta. They were devout exponents of the old Brahmanic order, the consolidation of the temple system and the restoration of the caste system. They fanned the flames of Brahmanic jealousy by their preachings to the Brahmanical Hindus who left no stone unturned to exterminate Budhism completely.[1]

This is the story of its fall. The major victims of the campaign of persecutions were the Shudras because they formed the bulk of the order. The other measures like the destruction of literature and schools affected the social and educational progress of the Shudras because there was nothing left for them to depend upon. The fall of Budhism in general was the greatest loss to the Shudras. They lost all opportunities for social and educational uplift. They fell again into an abyss of degradation and ignorance. The code of Manu again became the determining factor in their destiny and in all spheres of their existence. Thus the epic of the intellectual freedom and social gain of the Shudras vanished for many centuries to come, until the sons of Christ appeared on the Indian scene.

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1. A. Barth - The Religions of India - p. 135.

CHAPTER III

LATER HINDU PERIOD

The period of the Hindu revival - The most brilliant period of Hinduism - The whole present social order established during this period - Inclusion of orthodox literature in the curriculum - This tends to prevent the education of Shudras - The devotion of Hindus to 'Dharma' the most destructive weapon against the social and educational elevation of Shudra The Medieval system of Hindu education and its anti Shudra educational character - The State - The Minister - Local bodies - The choice of studies - Unity of instruction - The teacher - Miscellaneous devices.

Now we enter upon the period of Brahmanic reaction against Budhism, a system which had challenged the law, religion and social culture of the land. It had forced the Brahman to heave useless sighs over the absence of his Shastric Dharma. The Shudra had been allowed the advantages of education, the greatest pinch of equality which the Brahman had to bear, hence there was a great need to change the degenerated civilisation of the highest rank. It is often argued that the later Hindu period was a period of degeneration of the greatness of Hinduism But the argument is not supported by actual facts. It is rather the opposite. In fact the Hindus achieved all possible

glories of the past in this period. They strained every nerve and used every fair and foul means to exterminate Budhism and revive Shastric laws of the famour Code of Manu which had remained dormant during the Budhist reformation. The teachings of Kumaril Bhatta and Shankaracharya were all aimed at reviving the writings of the pre-Budhist age. What the period witnessed was the confirmation of all Hindu law, manners and customs, bringing in its purview the education too. In other words, the ball set rolling of the completion of Hindu civilisation at the end of the Rationalistic period began to roll smoothly in this period. In fact, it was the most brilliant period of the Hindus. The laurels achieved in regard to religious ceremonies and other customs like infanticide, satti, idol worship and the protection of the caste system were highly esteemed by them during all the succeeding ages. These observances were continued during the 600 years of Moghul rule and 300 years of the British rule in India. In no way have they lost their respect in the present times. The rock on which these systems once stood, stand more firmly even now. 'Even when this puranic Hinduism has been challenged by the disruptive movements such as the Brahmo or Arya Smajes, it has entrenched itself more firmly than ever among the orthodox Hindus who form the overwhelming majority.'[1] The civilisations of the ancient nations like China, Egypt and Babylonia, vanished in dust, but this civilisation flourished with greater glory in every succeeding period. Some well-wishers of India suspect that

1. M. S. Coey, Principal, Neville's Cross College, Durham, argues that movements like Brahmo Smaj and Arya Smaj have tried to reform Hinduism.

after the freeing of the country, when satanic materialists would leave the shores of Holy Bharat,* the same well cherished civilisation will attain its greatest glory.[1]

Such a sublime order which has gone deep into the Hindu mind and circulates into every vein of the individual Hindu as fresh as ever, cannot be said to bring discredit to the period of its origin. To the Hindus today, the caste system is as dear as it was in that period; the custom of satti is equally liked now though it has been removed by the satanic British rule; the practice of infanticide, although prohibited by the Mlechhas may be practised in many homes without the notice of the legal authority; the Devdasis, another product of the period, still have a respectable place in the Hindu temples and their presence is much appreciated by the Hindu nation; child marriage is also considered to be in conformity with the Shashtric law. There was a hue and cry raised in the Central Assembly in 1928 by the Hindus when the question of the raising of the age of consent to marriage was taken up.[2] Apart from many heights of civilisation which the period achieved on the basis of the religion of the Hindus, rigidity of Untouchability was a further factor of which the world has no conception. The idol worship which has gripped the Hindu mind in all ages is another boon of the same period. There are certain other practices, such as abstinence from beef eating and from the use

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1. Refer last chapter.
2. Legislative Assembly Debates, 1925, Vol. V. Part III p. 2890

* That is - India.

of wine and fermented liquors which are not observed by the nation at the present time, although the ancestors of the Hindus ate the flesh of cows, calves and buffaloes with pleasure and used soma juice as a part of their daily life. They had utensils of hide skins; and they had married aborigines women.[1]

Ibn-Khurdaba, an Arab historian who visited India in the latter part of the 9th century A.D., writes about the same state of prohibition followed then by the Hindus. He says that Brahmans totally abstained from the use of liquor and wine. They did not give their daughters to lower castes on account of caste restrictions and in India the number of religious sects was 42.[2] We find that there has been a great increase after that period. Al-Idririsi, another Arab historian (1180), also confirms the views of the above-mentioned historian. In addition, he says there was a great craze for idol worship, "they worship idols (whom they consider to be) to intercede with the Most High" (i.e. "Ishwara").[3] Abstinence from all these things is preached by many sections of the Hindus now. Recently the Bombay Government put restrictions on the use of liquors in the Province, and it is widely known that beef eating is prohibited on a national scale. All these facts show that to call the present period one of degeneration is a sentimental view. Rather it has improved enormously in other respects, e.g., the 40 castes have multiplied to thousands of castes, and the number of Deities have increased by millions. There are at

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1. Chapter VIII P. 384.
2. Illiot & Dowson - History of India as told by her own Historians - Vol. (i) p. 16-17.
3. Ibid Vol. (ii) p. 76.

least 2,300 castes in India.[1] It is said that every member of an Indian family has his own Deity. There are 330 million gods of the Hindus.[2] On the side of abstinence from meat eating there are sections who consider the use of onions or garlic a sin; on the side of Untouchability the Shudras had been given the name Ati-Shudra. Should the reader conclude that this process is degeneration or progress in a nation? I am personally of the opinion that when people begin to disregard, and disbelieve the religious principles of their religion, the civilisation is on the road to collapse, but if the people of a nation have a great regard and are devotees of their past religious customs, they are on the way to progress. The Rationalistic period is a period of the highest glory of the Hindus according to the above facts. After all we cannot invent history, we have to discover it, and the discovery makes us deviate from the general line taken by some historians.

The application of the discussion in relation to the Shudra is that the higher the advance of civilisation the less the chances of the elevation of the position of the Shudra. The disabilities of which he became victim at this time were never removed from him during the later periods.

On the literary side during the period, new additions to literature were made. The new Shastras were promulgated, Puranas and other religious literature were regarded as revealed

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1. Valentine Chirol India p. 17.
2. Stanley Jones - The Christ of the Indian Road - p. 5.

works. Much distorted literature was prepared in the form of prose, drama, ethical poetry, fairy tales and fables like the Panchatantra and Hitopadesha. This literature was produced for the needs of the common Hindu. This was all done to give all the literature a flavour which was to the disadvantage of the Shudra population. To complete the revival, many Sanskrit compositions were attributed to some ancient sage to show their antiquity and authority and to give a religious tinge so that the Hindu of the future might believe them. Thus "all the 18 Puranas prove to be the works of Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas,"[1] and the Dharamshatras are mostly ascribed to the names of Atri, Vishnu, Brihaspati and Vyasa and so on. To establish the validity of other legendary tales and fables, dramas were written embodying the principles of the new religion to give it a nationwide success.

In order to see that the Hindu religious thought was properly infused into the mind of the proletariate, the Brahmans obtained the support of the Rajputs. According to the legendary tales of Puranas, the Rajputs were brought on to the Indian scene by the Brahmans. Being new converts to Hinduism they supported the Brahmanic[2] religion with all zeal and effort and this was not a happy sign for the social and educational uplift of the Shudra. The Rajputs have been described as very rough and cruel to those whose beliefs were opposed to Hinduism, and

1. Dutt, R.C. - Epics of Indian History - pp. 155-157.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 254.

would therefore be cruel to the non-Aryan Shudras. The Shudras suffered untold sufferings at the hands of these new Hindus. The freedom enjoyed by the low castes during the Budhist period was snatched away by the Brahman and Rajput confederacy.

All these moves made great contributions to the Hindu civilisation of the period but had a retrograde effect upon the education of the Shudra. The tale of his advance is a melancholy one. The preparation and addition of new Tantra[1] manuals to the literature, the changes in the social system and in the religious institutions helped greatly to deepen the ignorance, servility and disorganisation of the Shudras. Budhism, which had entitled him to social and educational privileges, opening vast fields for his talents, was counting its last minutes before it suffered extinction. With the revival of Hindu thought and philosophy, humility and service again became the highest education[2] of the low castes. Above all this there grew another tendency which created a still wider gulf between the two races. It was the sensitiveness of the Hindus towards the new ideology called Dharma.* The whole social, economic and educational order of society centred around Dharma. In education particularly, first, the whole curriculum was prepared with the principles of Dharma in view, and secondly, the education on the whole became preparation of the youth to understand his Dharma in later life. The fulfilment of Dharma became an obligatory duty of every Hindu.

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1. A kind of literature

* message in a non-Christian world P. 159.

2. MANU-1-99. Comparative Religion

* Dharma means the peculiar type of behaviour that is one's cosmically and socially predestined lot. H. Kraemer The Christian *

What was Dharma? Who were its custodians and what scope did it allow to the Shudra? Dharma meant to the Hindu the protection of his religion and scriptures, the determination of rules and ideals of education, careful observance of the caste system, and the fixing of the different duties of different castes,[1] and the practice of the worship of the gods in the temples.* The proper discharge of these functions was the highest performance of Dharma sanctioned by religion.

Like the caste system it has its root in Rigveda. In Rigveda, it meant to the Hindu Aryan "religious ordinances and rites or righteous acts;"[2] it "fixed principles or rules of conduct;" it meant "merit acquired by the performance of religious rites and the whole body of religious duties."[3] In the later period, Dharma includes in its definition the protection of religion, rules of study of scriptures and sacrifices and duties towards members of society.[4]

The most zealous custodians of Dharma were the originators, the Brahmans themselves. "The Brahman is born to fulfil Dharma[5]..." commanded the Shastras. The other twice born as usual were to obey and copy the Brahmanas. The period brought a big change in the theory and practice of Dharma. The change was not in its principles so much as in its application to the daily duty of the Hindu. Here it became the duty of the king,

1. Manu I-88-91
2. Wilson - Rigveda Sanhita - I-22-18; V-26-6; VIII-43-24.
3. R.V. IV-53,34; V-63 & 75; VI-70,16; VII-89,57.
4. Chhandogya Upnishad 2.23.
5. Qtd. in Ketkar - History of Caste in India - p. 160.

* 'Like castes there are hundreds of Dharma.'
H. Kraemer - The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World - p. 159.

the ministers, the village councils, the feudal lords and the bounden duty of all other adherents of Hinduism. Manu ordered a system of grants in cash or kind to Brahmans because they protected Dharma.[1] The rulers of the period were very enthusiastic in liberally granting lands and village after village to Brahmans.[2] The Brahman students who came out from Brahmanical Educational Institutions well versed in the study and methods of the propagation of Dharma were to be given the highest honour by the king. Every penny spent on their maintenance as a State duty was "considered to be the imperishable treasure of the king ..."[3] This practice has continued in the present Hindu states of Cochin,[4] Baroda and Travancore.[5] A certain percentage of revenue was earmarked for the agencies which stood for the protection of Dharma.[6] Briefly, right from the king to the common Hindu, the protection of Dharma by all possible means became part and parcel of the life of a Hindu.

Therefore, the protection of Dharma was in contradiction to the education of a Shudra because the religion, the religious books and the social order for which it stood have special provisions for his condemnation. The Rigveda stood for the extinction of these aboriginal enemies. In the epic of Mahabharata the teachings of Lord Krishna are that he should be

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1. Manu - VII-201.
2. Tod-Rajastan - Vol. I-XIX. pp. 539, 542.
   Raj-Tarangani - VI - p. 147 (Dutt).
   Chola Kings granted lands to Brahmans for the protection of Dharma.
3. Qtd. in Ketkar - History of Caste in India - p. 161.
4. Travancore State Manual 1906, Vol. III, XVIII. p. 31014.
   Theory of Genuine Land.
5. South Indian villages Economic Studies, Vol. I.
6. Tod-Rajastan - p. 536.

regarded as inferior to the animals. King Rama of Ramayana thought the killing of Sambuka a divine order. Manu Dharama Sutra and other law-givers have ordained that the Hindus should cut his tongue out if he tried to utter a word from the sacred books or should pour hot lead into his ears if he made any attempt to listen to a syllable of the auspicious scriptures. The stone idols were polluted by the very shadow of a Shudra. Therefore, the philosophy of Dharma was the most destructive weapon against the individual liberty and civic rights of the low castes.

After dealing with the general movements which grew up during the medieval period to undermine the freedom and education of the Shudra, we shall turn directly to the educational system of the times and find out how it fitted him into the scheme. To repeat, the whole ladder of the educational system was in a way designed in accordance with the eternal Dharma, the principles of which play no less an important part in keeping the Shudra uneducated than did the Brahmans, its originators.

Under the system there was a Minister of Education in the King's Council. He was to direct the whole educational policy of the State. Then the local bodies called the Town Councils had come into existence to provide local educational facilities. The choice of studies fostered the principles of Dharma. The temples, in addition to worship, became places of instruction. The Brahman teacher became a prominent member of the educational

machinery. The medium of instruction was regularised through Sanskrit. Let us take all these items for more detailed treatment.

State in relation to Education

In medieval times the church was supreme over the State. The Church was the Brahmans and the State was the Rajput princes. The Rajput kings desired to be the sole dictators of the sovereign authority but the Brahman influence was great over them. Therefore, they had to carry out the wishes of the Brahman minister and since the Brahman was interested in the propagation of Dharma, so the kings had to take an interest in it to please their religious masters by spreading education. The Rajput princes built temple schools throughout the length and breadth of the country. The local bodies were also bound to follow the educational code of the central authority. The State educational policy governed by the Brahman minister, based on the tenets of Dharma, carried through in the temple schools, stood for the literary interests only of the Dvija population.

The Minister

He was always a Brahman; the selection being traditionally on the qualifications of birth and religious education. He held the portfolios of religion and education. Thus he exercised much influence over other members of the Cabinet also. It will help us to know his past trend of thought towards the non-Aryans if we trace his previous position. He was a Raj-Guru

(royal preceptor) or high priest of the pre-Budhist period,[1] Mantrine[2] (secretary) of the Manu Smritic period was more commonly known as a Purohit of the period under discussion. He held high authority as sole agent of the Hindu population and framed anti-social rules and regulations for the non-Aryans throughout all periods of Indian history except the Budhist and the British periods. In the period under discussion, his word was sacred to the king in thought[3] and action. The king praised or reprimanded the educational work in the State on his advice only. In Kalidasas Shakuntala there is a reference to the Purohit's influence over the king. It runs "I always bestow through the Purohita gifts and grants on Brahmans[4] of literary merit."[5] The Dharmashastras, in fact, induced the king to worship Brahmans. As is said "Let the king after rising early in the morning worship Brahmans... and follow their policy."[6] They threatened the stability of any principality[7] if the ruler showed any disregard of their schemes. Sometimes when the king granted lands to them they became feudal lords. In that capacity they worked havoc by way of inner plots and revolts.

The presence in such an influential position of a Brahman Purohit did not leave any hope for the Dasa Shudras of any place

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1. Yajnavalkya - i,312; Bloomfield S.B.E. Vol.42, p.XLVI also I viii.
   Mahabharata Shanti - Parva Ch.85.
2. Manu - VII - 54.
3. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p.27.
4. Brahmans were teachers who would do satisfactory or unsatisfactory work.
5. Shakuntala - V - pp.53-54; Malavikegnimitra - V.
6. Quoted in Ketkar - History of Caste in India - p.161.
7. See Keith's Comments on Kashmir - History of Sanskrit Literature - p.61.

in the educational scheme of the times. He appointed Brahman Superintendents of Education called Dharma-Adhikars.[1a & b.] These Dharma-Adhikars naturally would carry out the scheme of the social, political and educational segregation of the Dasa population in conjunction with the principles of Dharma. The Superintendents would consequently give favourable reports to those teachers and speak highly of the local bodies or calculate a higher percentage of grants which benefited the Dvija population more than anybody else.

Local Bodies.

The next unit of the educational machinery was the village councils. In India the village councils have played a prominent role in the village government. Sir Charles Metcalf has rightly remarked that these councils have remained very stable during the political upheavals of the country. "They seem to last where nothing else exists."[2] This permanent aspect has played a vital part in the evolution of education and social organisation[3] also.

Now how is the Shudra served by these beneficent councils? The first indication of his betterment can be judged from the fact that the powers of the councils are derived from the Dharmashastras.[4] The councillors are twice-born and their

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1. a. Kalidasas Shakuntala - I 24,28 (Ed. A. W. Ryder).
   b. Note the designation 'Dharma-Adhikars.'
2. Sir Charles Metcalf. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832 - Vol. III. Appendix 84, p. 331.
3. Maine's "Village Communities" p. 103.
4. Manu - XII, 110,111. Baudh I, 1,1,8.

qualifications were knowledge of the Vedas, Nirukta and Institutes of Manu.[1] The qualifications of admission to the Local Bodies were such as could be attained only by the "twice born."[2] The places of instruction were the temples. The whole atmosphere of the councils was not wholesome for the provision of any educational facilities of the once born. They could be strictly watched for any endeavour by an Untouchable to slip into any of the schools because the villages were small units and the move of any member could be easily detected.

The Choice of Studies.

The traditional curriculum had comprised the Dharmashastras from the Vedic times, i.e., the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Upnishads and Dharamsutras. Now the Code of Manu became the encyclopedia for the guidance of all courses and teachings. It also formed part of the syllabus. Another addition of subjects to the curriculum was the inclusion of the Puranas, the most orthodox literature. They did not enquire into cosmogony but dealt with '... the exploits of ancient gods, saints, heroes, accounts of Avtars of Vishnu ... they also contain rules about the worship of the gods by means of prayers, feastings, motive offerings, festivals and privileges.'[3] To this were added Itihasa[4] which includes Puranic tales, history tales, Dharam-shastra civics. The tales of Mahabharata and Ramayana provided

1. Manu - XII, 110,111. Bandh I. 1,1,8.
2. Narada - X-3, S.B.E. XXXIII.
3. Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p.300.
4. R. Shamasastry - Kantilyas Arltshastra - p.11.

more interesting and popular courses of teaching. We know that Rajshekhra abridged these epics into Bal Bharat and Bal Ramayana[1] for the Aryan children. Poems like Kalidasa's Meghaduta Ritusamhara and Uttraramicharita became part of the teaching of geography. The teaching of domestic science and housecraft was another addition to the scheme of studies. It included the training of students in orthodox Hindu ways of worship such as the adoring and ornamenting of the idols with rice, flowers and other material; the practice of blowing the conches and the postures of prayer during the worship of the idol; making clay models and images of different gods; practice in designing dresses suitable for the high-born; ways of make up, such as painting the forehead, ears and arms - binding the turban and Dhoti* etc.[2]

This type of syllabus of studies of the period was so thorough and peculiar that the Hindu young men were trained in best form of orthodoxy and conservatism. The scheme helps us to conclude that firstly, all the subjects were tabooed for the study of the Shudras, and secondly, the study of the subjects would poison the minds of the students against ever admitting the Shudras to a share of Hindu education. This is because the

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1. P.V.Kane's Sahitya Darpan.
2. The sources of this curriculum are (a) R. Shyamashastry - Kautilyas Arthshastra, p.11. (b) Vidyadhar Ekavali xii (c) Ridding, C.M. - Chandrapidas Education of Kadambri in Bana's Kadambri, pp. 59-61. (d) Kamasutra by Vatsayan.

* a loose pyjama.

Dharmshastras contained laws that any attempt by the Shudra for education should be brought to the notice of the king who 'will order his tongue to be cut off.'[1] The training of young men for idol worship confirmed their belief that it was the monopoly of the twice born. The typical way of dressing and making up distinguished them immediately from the Shudras who were not permitted to dress in the same way.

Units of Instruction

The schools were the temples built by the State, the local councils and by the private philanthropists. The kings,[2] the landlords and the common Hindus all contributed towards the building of such places of worship and education. The temples were places of inspiration for the Hindu youth but the entry of a Shudra into their premises was prohibited because there was a fear of his polluting the idols of the gods like handsome Ganapati riding a mouse, the goddess Kali devouring in streams the blood of human beings and animals, or Shiva with a necklace of serpents round his neck. In addition to the danger that the stone images might lose their sanctity, the Shudra was frightened into thinking that he would go to hell. "Shudras, uninitiated persons ... who touch an image of Vishnu or Shiva, go to hell."[3] Hence, there was no opportunity for him to approach the Mandir (i.e. temple) still less to attend a lesson. It may be mentioned here that these temples were also the courts of

1. Dutt, R.C. - Later Hindu Civilisation - p.195.
2. Dutt, R.C. - Raj-Tarangani - p.47.
   Tod(Trans. Crooke) Annals of Rajasthan - Ch. XIX, p. 536.
3. Qtd. in Winternitz - Vol. I, p. 558. (A History of Indian Literature)

justice where caste disputes were settled. The Shudras were highly penalised according to Manu Law for any offences. All this happened before the eyes of the students. They knew that theirs was the right of education and worship in this temple school.

The teacher

The teachers were generally Brahmans as mentioned in our previous discussion, and the temples were the places of instruction. The teacher was a worshipper and a teacher. He wielded much influence over his co-religionists because of these combined functions. He was the best guide of the twice born in religion, politics and education. Being a Brahman, he took all possible care to see that education was imparted on the strict principles of Dharma and religion. The Dvijas invited him and his students to dinner at all possible religious ceremonies and festivals.

Apart from these stationary teachers, there were wandering teachers who travelled round the country teaching and preaching to the people on methods of idol worship and other Dharmic duties. They were analogous to the individual teachers of the Epic period. They were called Puranikas (readers in scriptures) Rathakas (lecturers in legendary Puranic literature) and Haridas (preachers on ethics and religious and traditional heroes of the past). They moved from village to village, temple to temple, taking part in religious functions, moulding public opinion on

Dharmic lines. The Hindu was bound by religion[1] to hear them otherwise the village Subhas (i.e. Councils) would boycott him from the local society which would reduce him to the status of a Shudra. This meant the loss of all his social and educational privileges in the society.

The presence of the teacher of Brahman origin, his double duties as a worshipper and teacher and this also in a temple, and his enormous influence over the public were unhappy co-incidences for the education of a Shudra. Neither the Brahman himself nor his followers could accept the approach of a Shudra to their places of learning.

The wandering bards, to whom medieval education owes so much, were more harmful because they moved into the most remote places of the country to preach the Dharma. Their techniques of work by poetical recitations, short preludes and singing had a great effect upon the common Hindu in protecting their religion and opposing the non members of the religion. The Shudras were the non-Hindus hence it was they who suffered at the hands of the Hindu villager.

Miscellaneous Devices

There were certain other devices which were most beneficent to the Hindus but baneful to the Shudras. One was the revived use of Sanskrit. The Pali language had disappeared, the dead language again became Lingua franca.[2] We know that Shankara

1. Vishnu Purana Introduction.
2. Bilhanas - Vikramanka deva Charita Stanza (5-6).

used Sanskrit as the medium of his lectures.[1] Then the period witnessed the composition of dramas, romances and story literature. The matter which was included depicted mostly the superiority of the Hindu race, its religion and its different modes of expression. The dramas were staged before the ignorant people to educate them by visual means.

The Sanskrit language was difficult for the ignorant Shudras to pick up in comparison with Pali, the Budhist medium of speech. The Shudras had already been kept away from this sacred language for a long time. Now when it became lingua franca it would naturally put them at a disadvantage. The additional educational device of the stage for the adult population was equally useless from his point of view. The superiority of the twice born was maintained by showing plays like Ravana Vadha (death of Ravana) by Kalidasa[2] or Bali Bandha 'binding of Bali' and episodes in the history of Krishna.[3] How silly it must look to the discerning reader that in books like Panchatantra animals have been shown to 'devote themselves to the study of Vedas and to the practice of religious rites'[4] but that writers with enough imagination for this could not advocate study by human beings.' The admission of the Shudras to these plays was on the whole forbidden[5] but an exception was made in

1. Jacobi - Introduction xii - Samaraiccha Kaha.
2. Refer Macdonell - Sanskrit Literature - p. 331.
3. Ibid p. 347.
4. Ibid p. 371.
5. Keith - Sanskrit Drama - p. 370.

the case of those who worked on menial jobs in the Royal Courts. But great distinction was made in the seating arrangements. They were given black seats[1] while the Brahmans had white ones. Probably this was arranged to imbue the Shudra with a sense of the inferiority of his position in relation to the high born. In the actual course of the stage performance he was mocked at. Whenever the part of the Shudra was played he was shown as dressed in black[2] meaning thereby that there was something evil about him. In the Mahabharata play there is an analogy of the summer being represented by Aryan white and winter by Shudra black, 'the white Vaishyas fight with the black Shudra for the sun.'[3] In Balcharita, the seer Madhuka enters the stage in the guise of a Chandala[4] in hateful form with his retinue of Chandalas forcing their way into Kansa's palace.[5] In Kalidasas Shakuntala, Raja Dushyanta is represented as chasing a Yavana woman[6] without regard to her sex.

The period ended with a reign of terror against the Shudra rights. It raised the pride of the Aryans on the one hand but on the other proved a great curse to the non-Aryan. This intensive scheme of education was designed to meet the educational needs of the twice born and to create circumstances which

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1. Keith - Sanskrit Drama - p. 370.
2. Ibid - p. 366.
3. Ibid - p. 24. Sankhayana Aryanyaka - p. 72.
4. Another hateful name for a Shudra.
5. Keith - Sanskrit Drama - p. 99.
6. In the Epic period the Yavanas were the aboriginal races to the Hindus.
   C. H. Tawney - Oriental Translation Fund Series.

would keep the Shudra away from all opportunity to ~~harm~~ learn. It was nothing less than making him the despicable slave of the high castes. For him oppression was increased and the dream of social rights was as far away as ever.

CHAPTER IV

THE ATTITUDE OF HINDUS TOWARDS THE EDUCATION OF SHUDRAS UNDER THE MUSLIMS

The gaining of favour of Muslim Kings by the Brahmans - Ignorance of the Mohammedan rulers of the social order of the non-Muslim population - Efforts of the Brahmans to maintain their social order for the non-Muslims - persistence of suppression of the voice of the Shudras - The nature of the Hindu order maintained - again in opposition to the interests of the Shudras - Ways and means adopted by the Hindus to establish their wishes - (a) by enforcing their social order (b) by leading the Mohammedan rulers to accept a policy that suited their ends.

The injustice of the Hindus towards the social and educational stagnation of the Shudras during the six hundred years of Mohammedan rule in India should not detain us long. The Brahman pantheon continued to oppress the low castes as do the modern Hindus, in spite of the best efforts of the State. The only difference was that during their own period it had openly poisoned the victims but under the alien rulers it acted in an underhand fashion. As usual, the Brahmans[1] became the favourites of the new invaders and got the help of the Rajputs to become allies in the later ages.[2] The whole structure of the non-Muslim population was so carefully planned and such manners and customs were introduced to maintain the superiority of the Aryan races that the Shudra seems to be out of existence during the period. There is very little mention in historical records that such a race ever formed part of the non-Muslim population.

1. Refer case of Dahir. P.204.
2. The Rajputs have been easy people to be won over by the Brahmans - joined hands during the reign of Akbar.

The priestly Hindus represented them and usurped all the social and political rights meant for them. We shall note further that the same game was played for a long time under the British in India also.

The actual system of education prevalent during the Mohammedan period and its benefits to the low caste Shudras has been taken up in a separate chapter. Here we shall only find out how the Hindus carried on their opposition with regard to the social and educational betterment of the low castes. How did they, as a nation, attract all sources of gain towards their own people and keep the poor Shudra population out of the scene?

The Mohammedans belonged to a religion quite different from the Hindus. They were members of a religion of universal brotherhood - a religion which knew no distinction between man and man. It was a religion which treated the king and the beggar alike for all the human rights of a citizen. The most distinguishing feature of the religion was equality for all. To bring about this sense of equality they believed in equipping the individual with the gift of knowledge. The doors of learning under the order were the equal privileges of rich and poor, high and low. Thus in their homelands they had established very democratic systems of education. They carried this precedure to India also. They proved to be ardent lovers of learning and patronized learning in their courts and provided facilities for the non-Muslim subjects without any distinction

of caste or creed.

But unluckily, the Shudras who remained with the Hindu population could not benefit by the democratic nature of this educational system. The Muslim emperors were not aware of the different gradations of the Hindu population. They believed the non-Muslim population to be one community like their own. This ignorance of the new rulers, as noted above, afforded good opportunity for the Brahmans to dominate and keep the ill fated Shudra in his old oppressed state. It was the Brahman who remained the unquestioned master of the fate of the lower sections of the population. These accredited agents devised means to prove to the new rulers that they were the guardians of the non-Muslim subjects. The reader may note that for the first time in the history of India the Brahmans became representatives of all the people, comprising all sects and denominations. Formerly, during their golden age, they had considered it a sin to count Shudras as part of the population. They were dexterous enough not to undeceive the rulers with regard to the true state of affairs so that they should have the chance to represent all and grind their own axe. Had the Shudras manifested themselves as a separate element, they would have attracted the attention of the rulers and would have got sufficient benefits. Hence, the Brahmans monopolized all religion, education and law of the non-Muslims. They were the first to join the Maktabs and Madarsas of the Muslims and pick up Persian in the same way that English was picked up under the British. This knowledge of the language of the conquerors

gave them wealth, power and prestige in the kingdom while the low caste people remained ignorant, poor and wretched as before. It was not that they never desired a better state of affairs, but no opportunity was left for them to come to the fore and prove their worth.

What were the means and methods they employed to fortify their lordship over the low castes and keep them in permanent subjection? The Brahmans always impressed upon the new entrants on the Indian soil that they held the destinies of the people. They always asserted that if they were shown favour the administrative machinery would move smoothly. The idea was attractive. Any ruler would accept it. We will give one example to show that they were right and the rulers were also justified in accepting their guardianship. When the first Mohammedan, Mohammed Bin-Qasin, invaded Sindh, and defeated Raja Dahir, the Brahmans approached him in a deputation. They laid claim to the same right of superiority over the population and asked his favour of recognition. Mohammed Bin-Qasin put two conditions as a test to their honesty. Firstly, that they should bring the family of Dahir to him, and secondly, that they would make intensive propaganda in his favour in the country and collect taxes. They carried out both the things and became the victorious lords of the population.[1]

In many cases the followers of Brahmans, especially the Rajputs* gave their daughters in marriage to the Muslim princes and won favours. The son of Ala-ud-din had a Hindu lady named

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1. Elliott - History of India - Vol(i) p. 184.

*Rajputs have always worked shoulder to shoulder with the Brahma

Deval Devi as his wife. King Akbar had many Rajput ladies in his harem.[1] We will support our conclusion by quoting the remarks of Abbe Dubois. He said that by their cunning, flattering, intriguing and hypocritical conduct they (Brahman Hindus) have always gained access to the Indian princes at the expense of the other sections of the population. Mohammedan princes were not out of their grip. They 'became necessary even to the princes ... The Mohammedan rulers generally make a Brahman their Secretary of State through whose hands all the State correspondence must pass. Brahmans also frequently fill the positions of secretaries and writers to the Governors of Provinces and districts ... when it is a question of plundering the people or extorting money from them, they employ a thousand vexatious means.'[2]

Once they had gained power at the court their supremacy was established over all the lower orders of the population. With the attainment of this supremacy everything they planned was adapted to the needs of the high born population to the neglect of the Shudras. Once the Brahman is in power, he is terrible. He will use every possible means to serve his ends at the cost of others. Abbe Dubois remarked 'No one can be harder, more cruel or more pitiless ... than a Brahman invested with authority ...'[3] They promulgated the laws of Manu for the internal administration of the population to which the alien

1. Smith - The Oxford History of India - p. 357.
2. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 292.
3. Ibid p. 667.

kings had no objection and of which they had no conception. They actively kept the revival of Hinduism alive. The Shastras were recast, the Puranas were interpolated to uphold their supremacy.[1] R. C. Dutt calls this literature the creation of the diseased mind.[2] Perhaps it was actively applied for the purpose of degrading the low castes. The observance of caste system was made very oppressive.[3] The customs of satti, infanticide, child marriage were made the subjects of national pride. The rules of social intercourse between the sections of the population were tightened. The rules of pollution against the Shudras were made strict, i. e., people taking up useful crafts such as weaving, laundry work, carpentry or blacksmith, etc., became objects of impurity. The sacredness of idol worship became the order of the Hindu society. The Hindus began to give their elder daughters to the temples[4] for life long service. The establishment of this kind of order left no scope for the rise of Shudras in any social and educational sphere. The atmosphere in the countryside was very unwholesome for the lower sections. As in the early British period, the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus in checking their social and educational advance was deliberate as ever. Those parents who took steps to send their children to Muslim institutions were forced to stand an all-round boycott of the necessities of life. They might be forbidden the use of water, grocery stores might be stopped for them, and in many cases

1. Dutt, R. C. - Epics of Indian History - pp. 155-157.
2. Dutt, R. C. - Later Hindu Civilisation - p. 98.
3. Ibid p. 72.
4. Sewel - A Forgotten Empire - pp. 402-403.

completely isolated in their homes. This was their lot as members of Hindu society. If they embraced Islam, they could save themselves from this oppression. And they did join the Islamic fold in millions.

Another trick which the Hindus played with these ignorant people was to preach amongst them the principles of a fraudulent literature. I presume that the people themselves were given access to these faked preparations. Thus most of the Shudra population remained with the Hindus in spite of the great injustices. Probably they thought that they might be admitted to the Hindu religion and thus become equal recipients of civic privileges like others. These preachings of the wandering Brahmans were a temporary phase. They did stick to the Hindu society and most of them lost the opportunity of joining the religion of equal brotherhood.

Thus by all possible means they were kept in the background.

This order did not work under one king only but the high caste people retained their leadership practically under all kings, so much so, that many of the Muslim rulers were brought under the magic wand of the Brahmanic system.

Our first example is Emperor Akbar. He had gone a long way towards the ways of Brahmanic Hinduism. His 'mode of life ... ceased to be that of Muslim because Hindu prejudices were humoured ... stringent restrictions on the use of flesh meat were imposed ...'[1] 'The worship of the sun, fire and

1. Smith, V.A. - The Oxford History of India - p.360.

light with sundry ritual observances ... were enforced at the court. The erection of new Hindu temples ... of immense size and cost was freely permitted ...'[1] Shershah built temples and Dharmashalas (free religious inns), dug wells for the use of the public. These types of institutions restricted entry to the low caste people. Jahangir followed the footsteps of his father, Emperor Akbar. His religion was not purely Muslim. He was not a Muslim at heart.[2] Many Hindu temples were built during his reign.[3] Darashikoh, the eldest son of Shahjahan translated Hindu literature. Aurangzeh Alimgir, who has been depicted as a great bigot by some historians, had many Hindus in power[4] at his court. He was a versatile genius and therefore could not allow birth, environment and education to be the special privileges of Hindus alone. As soon as he took up the task of reshuffling the administrative machinery, the affected Brahmans fanned the wave of opposition in the country against the emperor and a sort of revolt arose which swept away the Mughal Empire. The point is that so far the Brahman and Rajput alliance remained gainers, and the low castes ignored, the position of the Mughal King remained quite safe.

The success of the Hindus in carrying out their national integrity and social order was another brilliant achievement over the educational retardation of the Shudra communities.

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1. Smith, V.A. - The Oxford History of India - p. 421.
2. Ibid p. 380.
3. Ibid p. 397.
4. Census Report Government of India - p. 233.

CHAPTER V

THE POLICY OF HINDUS UNDER THE BRITISH 1813 - 1882

Entry of the British into India as a Trading Corporation - Contrasting sections of subject population - Efforts of Brahmans to gain the favour of the Company - Their main motives - Abbe Dubois' remarks on the Brahmans and the policy of East India Co. - Success of the Brahmans - Their devices to secure the introduction of their social order through (a) Temple revival (b) Establishment of caste order (c) enforcement of caste in all State departments including education - Policy of Brahmans to use State grant for the revival of their own language, literature and culture (1813-1882) - Their reaction to the first Parliamentary Grant (1813) - Opening of Hindu Colleges - The Orientalist and Anglicist controversy - The Minute of Lord Macaulay - Oriental learning maintained till 1854 - Criticism of Hindus towards Macaulay's work and to the reforms of William Bentinck - The actual sufferers again the Untouchables - Sir Charles Wood's despatch - The attitude of the Hindus to it and their efforts to make it ineffective - Their hand in the backward condition of the Muslims - Hindu progress in 1882 and the poor condition of the Untouchables - Some doubts about literacy and compulsory education removed - The inception of the Indian National Congress as an anti-Government movement and its uselessness to the Untouchables.

The British set foot on Indian soil in the capacity of a Trading Corporation and therefore had more economic interest to begin with than desire to interfere politically. There were two big blocks of population, the Mohammedans and the non-Mohammedans. The non-Mohammedans formed the majority of the population. They had two sections, the Hindus and the outcastes (i.e. the Shudra Untouchables). Even if we exclude

the Untouchables the Hindus were in majority. The Untouchables formed the large minority. But from a political point of view the Hindus represented the non-Mohammedan section of the population. The Mohammedans, on the other hand, were also a fairly large minority community. In a way, the whole population had three main social groups, the Hindus, the low castes, and the Mohammedans.[1] The low castes seemed to be following the Hindu way of life, but the Mohammedans were a distinct group. They had many religious and social principles common with the new race of Britishers. For example, they belonged to a universal religion of Islam which is not inferior to Christianity so far as its fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are concerned. They had a high degree of civilisation like the British. But these facts remained out of consideration for a long time. Neither the outcastes nor the Mohammedans with their religious and social greatness were allowed to come to the fore. Those who took the start in the field were the Brahmans. They impressed the foreigners that they were the leading section of the country. They also convinced the new entrants that they were the leaders of the non-Muslim population. Their policy has always been in the fore. They had succeeded in gaining their ends under the Mughals. They cast their snare before the British also and got success for a long time. The East India Company had only commercial interests and whoever showed greater cringing attracted their notice.

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1. Explained more thoroughly in Introduction.

The Company wanted some interpreters to carry on their business in the beginning. The Brahmans managed to come to the notice of the traders. They got into their confidence. Another aim of joining hands with the traders was to cast off the Muslim yoke if this could be manipulated. They had known the inner weakness of the Mughal administration and in comparison they found the strength of character of the new traders far superior. They cleverly envisaged the fulfilment of their end. Even at this stage they had been serving under many Mughal chiefs of the tottering Mughal Empire and on the other side they became friendly with the traders. This gave them the chance of playing a double role and creating bad blood between the two parties. There were incidents when the Mughals have shown an unnecessarily hostile attitude by withdrawing commercial facilities granted to the Trading Company by themselves. On the other hand the East India Company had re-acted in an undignified manner though in pursuance of their trade rights.

Who were the instigators? The facts make it obvious. The result of all this skirmishing was a chain of wars and at last the battles of Plassey and Buxer threw the burden of administration of the country on the Company in addition to their trading duties. In other words, the wishes of the Hindus were fulfilled in changing the masters.

The Brahman confederacy being victorious brought them in still closer conspiracy with the new masters who had been guided so faithfully at every step. They became the same victorious

lords as they had become during the time of the old masters. The comman man was far behind the scene. Abbe Dubois, a French traveller, writing in 1816, records his impressions of the Brahmans at the time when the East India Company had gained political power. He noticed that it was the Brahmans who reigned supreme. He says "The Brahmans have always been clever enough to work their way into favour with the great European power that now governs India. They occupy the highest and the most lucrative posts in different administrative Boards and Government offices as well as in the judicial courts of the various districts. In fact, there is no branch of public administration in which they have not made themselves indispensable ..."[1] But as a keen historian he was not unaware of the treacherous part they had played in exploiting their own nation and ruining many royal dynasties in different periods of Indian history. He was sensitive to the unwise dependence of the Company on them. He said "But woe to the European head of the office who does not keep strictest watch over the conduct of these said subordinates and who places implicit confidence in them. He will soon find himself the victim of his own negligence, with his position seriously compromised."[2]

The suspicions of the observer were well founded. As in the Mughal period they had exploited the poor classes and the Shudras, so they did in the British period. In the Mughal period, the whole power being in their hands, the common man developed a mutinous feeling against the Mughal Emperors which

1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 293.
2. Ibid p. 293.

culminated in open revolt in the time of Aurangzeh. In the British period recently the common man, including the Depressed Classes have begun to think that the cause of all his ills are the British because he has never seen a single happy day.* The administration of the country has got very loose. When the masters will be changed by the Brahman is not known, but changed they will be.

We are concluding that though dangerous for the new masters yet the Brahmans did establish their supremacy. It was the most unfortunate for the Untouchables too. With this start of their rise to power however, they threw the Muslims into the background and left the Untouchables out of the scene. The next point for the Brahmans was to strengthen their hold by enforcing Brahmanical order. That would raise the twice born up and exclude the once born from sharing his privileges. In order to achieve this end they resorted to their favourite devices of caste system and temple religion. During the Mohammedan rule, Hinduism had not lost much because the Muslims were tolerant,[1] still certain traits of the rulers had influenced indirectly, such as the interest in idol worship. "Idol worship in India" on the whole "was on the downgrade."[2] It had to be so under the non-idolatrous rulers. With this loss of interest many temples had gone into disuse and neglect.

To rejuvinate the national fervour of religion of the Dvijaism, they attended to the temples first. The temple is a

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1. Refer Muslim period. 394
2. Pillai, P.C. - Right of Temple Entry - p.4 of the Appendix.

* In Southern India there has arisen a party called the 'Justice Party' against the Brahmans who hold all political power and have snatched all privileges of the non-Brahmans including the Depressed Classes.

great unifying force of Hindus. Its neglect is a symbol of 'Religion in danger.' And to bring the non Brahman Hindus to muster strong in one camp its care was imperative. Some of the temples needed repairs and some required new buildings. It will not be out of place to mention that another cause of the bad condition of the temples was the wickedness of the Brahmans themselves. They had got money from the Mughal treasury for the repairs of Hindu places of worship but they had squandered it for their own use and not spent a penny for repairs.[1]

They sought this favour from the new masters. The East India Company did not favour any particular religion but the Hindus brought them more on their side. The reasons for this were firstly that the Hindus had convinced them that the Muslims were their enemies. Even if the Hindus had not persuaded them, the conquering nation would have thought so because they had snatched sovereignty from them. Secondly, the East India Company had an obligation to protect the religious feelings of the majority community - a community whose centre of religion is the temple. 'The entire idol system had no strength to raise itself again.'[2] The Company rose to the occasion. It 'rebuilt the temples and saw to it that the idol, festivals and processions were celebrated with their pristine splendour. The whole structure of Hinduism put on a new dignity and new prestige so that in the eyes of the people it

1. Refer Pillai - Right of Temple Entry - Appendix p. IV.
2. Ibid

appeared to be as it were born again ...'[1] A Hindu writer has misrepresented the intention of the servants of the East India Company for the interest in the repair of the temples. He thinks that they were induced by the Devadasis (temple dancing girls and their human cravings. 'The dancing girls must have been another inducement for the Christian gentlemen to take a hearty interest in their proper management ...'[2] It does not seem to be a wise conclusion because to think that Devadasis were prostitutes and the sacred temples brothel houses is too great an injustice to the national prestige. However, the temples were wide spread in the country.

The next step towards the Brahmanic religion to be brought up for the stagnation of the intellectual development of the Shudra Untouchable was the fortification of the caste. The British without going deep into its nature and conception, thought it a religious institution. And truly it is. Hence to maintain the Brahman overlordship, the caste system was given a legal colour. The East India Company was made to start a caste Kutchery (court). The Brahmans were to sit on the bench and the Laws of the Code of Manu were to be enforced.[3] This unhappy combination was the most deadly menace to the free social and educational advance of the Shudra Untouchables. They could be penalised on the caste basis in every sphere of advance. The tribunal reminds us of the temple courts of the later Hindu

1. Refer Pillai - Right of Temple Entry - Appendix p. IV.
2. D. Theertha - The Menace of Hindu Imperialism - p. 167.
3. Ibid pp. 169-170.

period. Apart from the State certain Europeans became pro Hindus like some of the Mughal emperors. The example is of Sir William Jones who was no less than a Pandit[1] judge. The credit of the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society goes to him. He translated many Hindu religious books including the Code of Manu. He was a great friend of Brahmans but the Depressed Classes have no tribute to make to him, nor any other member of his school of thought. No attempt has ever been made to explore the history of the pre-Aryan races of India. The work of the Royal Asiatic Society may be a great pride of the Hindus.

The caste system did not remain in the Courts of Justice but crept into the civil machinery of the East India Company. Consequently, it extended to the education department also. All the civil servants of the Company from the highest to the lowest official were required to state their caste of birth. No dealing in the Court was possible where caste was given. This would naturally provide close scrutiny of 'who is who' taking share in the Governmental privileges. The Hindus would never allow the entry of a Shudra Untouchable to any Department if they found out his caste. This also affected the schools. "No child could get admission to a pial school without his caste and sub-caste being stated in the application.[2]" This is how the Brahman succeeded in general, in enforcing his superiority over the ignorant sections of the population. Further, it

1. Another name for a Brahman. Literally means "learned".
2. D. Theertha - The Menace of Hindu Imperialism - p. 174.

remains for us to gather facts to see how they tried to change the educational system to their benefit. The East India Company took direct responsibility for the education of the subjects in 1813 A.D. Prior to this, the work of education had been done by missionary societies for Hindus in general and Depressed Classes in particular. Warren Hastings had also shown his patronage of Hindu culture previously when a Sanskrit College was opened at Benares in 1792, associated with the personality of Jonathan Duncan, a distinguished member of the East India Company. The first land mark in the history of Indian State education was the Parliamentary grant of £10,000 a year to be spent for the people of India. It was to be used for "the revival and improvement of literature" and "the encouragement of learned natives of India."[1]

The very first step was towards the revival of Hindu learning. The clause mentioned the revival of Mohammedan learning also, but the later facts indicate that the stress was laid on the revival of Brahmanic lore. Learning had already been the monopoly of the Brahmans[2] and now the cry was again for the care of their educational institutions. The propaganda had begun long before 1813 when Lord Minto was made to deplore the principal seats of Hindu learning, Benares, Nadia and Tirhat were deteriorating.[3] The present Charter was again proposed to make enquiries if the 'literature and sciences'

1. E.R. Selections from Bureau of Education, Government of India, I-22, Section 43 of the Act.
2. O'Malley - History of Bengal, Bihar and Orisa - p.741.
3. Ibid p.743.

already taught in the Hindu Orthodox learning centre of education, Benares, could be supplemented.[1] Benares was an orthodox fort of Hinduism. This formula was applied to other Hindu Institutions "which were distinctly religious in character. Their object was to promote the study of the Hindu scriptures (shastras). Only members of the higher castes (the twice born) were admitted ... the ideal they attempted to embody is seen in all its severity in the Laws of Manu ..."[2]

Now the efforts for the promotion of Sanskrit literature meant total neglect of the educational interests of the Depressed Classes. It is the language which had been set as the plea of the denial of his education. The encouragement of the learned natives also definitely implied the encouragement of the Hindus because they were the only educated people at this stage of enquiry.

Here one can say that what is the fault of the Hindus? It was the East India Company which was to be blamed. The thing is that firstly the East India Company did not know that the revival of oriental learning did not mean the revival of the language and culture of all the sections, and, secondly, learned Indians could ever mean total exclusion of the Untouchables. The whole Hindu section of the population was one for them. And above all the pressure of the Hindu population was responsible for the adoption of such a resolution. Whenever there was any

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1. Letter from the Court of Directors dated 3rd June 1814.
2. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problem p. 124. E. R. I. 22-23.

enquiry about the educational state in India the reports from the Hindus were that India had a democratic and efficient system of their own in the country like any other people of the world. It gave an impression that all the sections were recipients of it. The Census Report, Government of India, 1901, is clear on the deliberate attitude of the higher castes to monopolise education at the cost of low castes. It says that "when the efforts of the State were directed towards the advancement of education, it was too often this class who reaped the benefit of measures which were adopted, whether they took the shape of grants-in-aid to ... indigenous schools . or the establishment of new schools under direct management." [1] Still further. "In Provinces when caste feeling is strong the indigenous schools were maintained almost solely for pupils of the higher castes and where they received State recognition, there was still a tendency for those castes to monopolise them." [2] This speaks in favour of the honest effort of the ruling body for the provision of money for all. The further complications were foreign to them. We shall see that these complications remained as such for a pretty long time up to 1882.

The first result of this policy was the opening of a Hindu College at Calcutta in 1817. The College was started

1. Government of India Census Report 1901 - p. 161.
2. Selection from Educational Records, Bureau of Education, India - pp. I-1781-1839, p. IV.

'to instruct the sons of Hindus in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences.'[1] After the fall of Marhatta power in 1818, the Hindus forced Elphinstone to set apart some part of the revenues of Marhatta dominions for the advance of the Hindu learning. Another Hindu College at Poona was started with this fund. In 1820, a scheme was outlined for the foundation of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta.[2]

Then came the appointment of the education committee of 1823 to look into the problem of public instruction. As a result of the recommendations, three Sanskrit Colleges were established at Delhi, Agra and Calcutta. In order to appease the Muslims Arabic seats of learning were set up at the same places but no mention is made if any other community was also considered fit to be brought up on the list of educational facilities. According to some provisions of the Committee's recommendations a special amount was earmarked for the publication of valuable books in Sanskrit language. These books further were to be translated into the English language.

More and more money was spent to over balance the Hindu side in comparison to the other communities until 1833. The reason was that after the Parliamentary Grant of 1813, there had arisen a big controversy as to the use of the allotted amount. There were two groups who divided themselves on the issue of Oriental learning and Western learning. The Hindus

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1. Saint Nihal Singh - Progressive British India - p. 28.
2. E. R. I. 80.

wanted the money to be spent for the propagation of their culture and learning. The Muslim element wanted it for their own. Their side was taken by men like Mr. Adam of the Bengal Government and Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras Presidency. These two influential dignitaries wanted the revival of Oriental learning. 'People should be left to manage their schools in their own way,' advocated the Minute of Sir Thomas Munro, 1826.[1] Mr. Adams said that 'every effort should be made to enlist the co-operation of the learned classes and the spiritual leaders of the people in the promotion of sound learning and higher education.'[2] In this controversial period between 1813-1833, the larger sharers were the Hindus for whom many Colleges were opened and grants to their centres of learning were liberally assessed.

This brought the historic minute of Lord Macaulay, 1835, into the field. He was the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction. He maintained that the best use of the State money could be to spend for the diffusion of knowledge of the English language and Western sciences. He wanted to enrich India with Western thought, culture and civilisation. He claimed that "whoever knows the language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations." It would give the prejudiced Hindu the key 'to

1. Minute of Sir Thomas Munro, 1822.
2. Mr. W. Adams' Report for the Improvement of Education in Bengal, 1838.

the best thought and knowledge of the world,' which might benefit them in the long run. He thought that it might prepare the people for attaining the art of self government. It would, in his opinion, give enormous advantage in the internal social uplift and we have seen that his prophecy has come true. But Mr. Wilson, the Secretary of the Committee, was opposed to him and had sympathy with the Orientalists for whom everything was being done in the meantime. The balance was struck by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General, in favour of Macaulay, and the Macaulay-Wilson controversy ended.

During this affair, one shrewd Indian Brahman, Raja Ram Mohem Roy had come on the scene. He knew that the Christian Government would not yield to the old prejudices of the people and continue to benefit one section of the population by opening Colleges and advancing their language and culture. He caught the time and opportunity by the forelock. He joined hands with Macaulay. He knew that the knowledge of the English language would give them the chance to come closer to the rulers and afford chances to hold high administrative posts. So as soon as the verdict was passed in favour of the Anglicists, they changed to mould the circumstances to their side. Now the introduction of secondary education was taken up. New State High Schools with English as medium of instruction were opened. The Hindus opened their schools in large numbers. The Government had to spend vast amounts for subsidiary grants to

denominational institutions. It is a pity that Macaulay, the fruits of whose policy have been so sweet and fruitful to the Hindus, has been vehemently criticised for the introduction of the English language and learning in India. They think that he gave a death blow to their language and culture by opposing the Orientalists. His intention has not been taken as honest. He is charged with having taken this line for the preparation of clerks for help in English offices. They have been regarding the English education system as 'hateful to the gods'.[1] In the words of a writer 'It is the fashion to denounce Macaulay as the evil genius of Indian education."[2] The preparation of English knowing natives may have been one part of his aim, but to condemn the whole intention is nothing short of ~~insanity~~ prejudice. Such people on their wrong logic are 'bound to go a step further and maintain that the railway, the telegraph and manufactory ought to have been excluded from India.' Such a wish is another silly addition to such existing notions of superstition. Macaulay's intentions were far broader and far more honest. It was he who 'laid the foundations of United India.'[3] in consequence of his scheme. He had expressed his desire that Indians "having become interested in European knowledge, may in some future age demand European institutions ... when ever such a day comes, it will be the proudest day in English history."[4]

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1. W. W. Hunter - History of Orissa - Vol. ii. p. 146.
2. William Archer - India and the Future - p. 241.
3. Ibid p. 244.
4. IBID — P.282) India ~~Old and New~~ → p. 76.
   Refer → IC HIROL VALENTINE

His prophecy proved to be true. 'It has played the chief part in the creation of modern India.'[1] 'The Indian with the knowledge of English was brought into contact with the culture of the West and with the progressive liberating forces of modern life.'[2] It was that much hated gift of the wellwisher of the Hindus that "has effectively trained leaders for the aggressive work (work of political army*) and given them a small but selected staff. Western learning has encouraged the growth of Nationalism and a determination to prove that India can work out her political destiny for herself on lines free from Western blemishes (because the Congress and its Leader, Mahatama Gandhi call the West a symbol of satanic materialism*) adapted to Oriental conditions. It has also developed a knowledge of the methods appropriate to political education that will leave a permanent mark on the British Empire."[3] It is due to Western education that India has materially, culturally and morally advanced. It is due to Western language and learning that the doors of education, shut to Hindu women,[a] have opened and the 'Indian nightingales'[b] have moved into the garden of the satan.[c] In short, Indian Hindus have no genuine cause of complaint. It is simple prejudice to be critical on their part.

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1. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problem - p. 136.
2. O'Malley - History of Bengal, Behar and Orisa under the British Rule - p. 752.
3. Arthur Mayhew - Education of India - p. 140.

a Hindus regard women the shoe of the feet. Their shastras prohibit education to them. (Whitehead's Indian Probl. p. 119)

b Mrs. Sarojani Naidu, poetess of India, is called 'Nightingale.'

c West

* Addition in brackets mine.

Who should grumble? Are the Untouchables justified in saying that Macaulay's policy was harmful to them? No, they should also be thankful for the change from the old traditional terror of Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature to the English language and literature because it benefited them in the long run. It is due to the influence of the Western learning that the Untouchable is no Untouchable now. The translations of the sacred books of the Hindus into English helped them to guard their future. Of course, the Minute of Macaulay where it laid the principle of 'filtration theory' did harm to their educational progress but that is a different subject with which we shall be dealing in its proper place. Here they should think of the good effects of the Western language and learning on them. The ban on education was lifted only on account of the influence of it.

Now what do the Hindus think of the reforms of William Bentinck such as the abolition of infanticide, satti (immolution of women) and Thuggee? All the three customs were part of the Hindu religion. They regard these reforms an attack on their religion and culture. But in my opinion they have been changed from a state of barbarism to a civilised state and if they have the sense of goodness, they should worship him more than Kali.*

Taking the provisions of the Minute of Macaulay (1835)

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* Goddess of sacrifice.

still the Hindus stood to gain. The change was only change in the medium of instruction and not any other change which affected their interests. Moreover, the schools for Oriental learning were not discontinued but translations into Sanskrit or Arabic were discontinued.[1] As already said, the State and Private body High Schools flourished, and it shared more money from the State by way of grants. In the State schools and their own schools, the Hindu children formed the major percentage of rolls.

The next step in educational progress of India is the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, 1854. It laid the foundation of mass education. It recognised local vernaculars as medium of instruction in the new Primary schools and left English to continue in the Secondary schools. The principle of the admission of children of all castes and creeds was established. This act was a thunderbolt to the Brahmanic prestige. It made a hole into the wall of Brahmanic fort of supremacy established over the low castes for four thousand years. Because now the State Primary schools were to be opened where all the classes could send their children. They had kept their 'Pathshalas' (Hindu indigenous schools) for the use of the 'twice born' but now the State schools would be the right of the once born also. Nothing could be done about that. But how did the clever Hindu proceed to drain the larger proportion of money on his side? It was done through the demand for Universities and

1. Cumming - Modern India - p. 123.

Government Colleges.[1] The Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established. As the Hindus were educationally at the top, so they had to gain from the new Institutions of higher learning. In 1857 they persuaded the Government to fix a high standard of qualifications for entry to All India services. The principle of merit was stressed for civil services. They knew that although all communities were now to start education it would take time for them to achieve the standard. They would still be able to maintain their monopoly by this method. They did succeed up to 1872 in the first instance, and 1882 the latest.

The first blow to their well planned schemes to use money for their benefit at last came in 1872. Here by the selfless efforts of Sir Sayyed Ahmad, the British Government was made to realise the mistake of spending vast sums of money which were going to the Hindus in every possible means. The Mohammedans were not being benefited, not to speak of the Shudra Untouchables. This brings us to give a short view of the condition, educationally, of Mohammedans because it will show again that really the Hindus had been the gainers all the time. They did not always lay an axe on the neck of the Depressed Classes but tried to strangle others also. The condition of the Mohammedans was also very backward. Going as far back as to the circumstances after the first Education Grant

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1. Refer Sir Richard Temple - India in 1880 - p.477.

1813, we have been told that the Mohammedan Institutions were 'far less numerous than the Hindu Colleges. In the City of Calcutta, for example; there are said to have been twenty eight schools of Hindu learning in 1818, while in the district south of Calcutta, known as the twenty four pergnnahs, there were one hundred and ninety. But at that time there is no record of more than one school of Mohammedan learning in Calcutta and in the surrounding districts and that was probably the one endowed by Warren Hastings and superintended by Government.'[1]

In 1835 to 1854, Mohammedans were 'far behind the Hindus in the matter of education. In Bengal there were no elementary schools in which education was given in Urdu, the vernacular of the Mohammedan community.'[2] The other reasons were the abolition of Persian as Court language in 1837,[3] and the abolition of the Qazis[4] and the rival Hindu environmental pressure. The result of these factors was that their prestige was gone, their language shelved and their education was shorn.[5] The Hindu pressure to look to their education played the greatest part. About the eighties of the 19th century, Routledge wrote that 'in Madras Mohammedan education was hardly in name.'[6] The state of affairs was very discouraging. The Hindu schools, colleges and other cultural institutions were many. At the

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1. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problems - p. 125.
2. Ibid p. 124.
3. W. W. Hunter's Essay "England's Work in India". Cumming - Modern India - p. 124.
4. Ambedkar - Pakistan or the Partition of India - p. 31.
5. Ibid
6. J. Routledge - English Rule in India - p. 163.

same time the Government was spending sufficient money. But the result was that one community was at the top, the other was in a poor condition and the third was out of the picture. Under these circumstances, the Government first took special measures to look to the Mohammedans in 1872. Their backwardness was recognised and proper facilities were afforded. The last blow was the Education Act, 1882 by which for the first time in the whole history of India, the educational rights of the Untouchables were recognised and announced in specific terms. This stage was a turning point in the long pursued campaign of the Hindu community for their benefit disregarding the interests of the other sections of the population. Now was the hour to chalk out a new line of policy for the safety of the Aryan race because the satanic* race was up in bringing the Mleccha* and Rakshasa* races to their level. Especially in the case of the last they had strained every nerve to keep them slaves for centuries by refusing education to them. The British Government was getting aggressive from many other angles which were against their interests. There was a desire to revive their rule and enjoy the benefits of freedom. Hence the educated classes organised themselves to discuss the situation. In order to give the meeting an official status they started an organisation called the Indian National Congress. Its object was given to be (a) 'to enable the most earnest labourers in the cause of

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* Satanic = British
Mleccha = Mohammedans
Rakshasa = Untouchables

national progress to become personally known to each other (b) to discuss and decide upon the political issue to be undertaken during the ensuing year.[1] In its first meeting it proclaimed its aim "to be governed according to the ideas of Government prevalent in Europe" with loyalty to the British Government [2] but these pronouncements of passivity assumed definitely purely political shape and an anti-British movement. They made it a movement of purely political slogan. When it held its official session in 1886, its President, Dada Bhai Naoroji declared 'We are met together as a political body'.[3] It was not at all in the best interests of the Untouchables because they were still in a state of Universal illiteracy. Their interest lay in the social programme of the country. But the Hindus could take up such a programme because their educational advance was enough. The literacy figures which were meant to be of the whole of India were, in fact, their own. They were fairly high in proportion to the percentage of their population. Sir Verney Lovett, giving a picture of atmosphere at the inception of the Congress in 1885 said that whatever the advantage of English education was then it was the share of the Hindus. "The English educated too, were then, as now, mainly Hindus of the peaceful caste."[4] Whatever share was therefore

1. Lovett - A History of the Indian National Movement - p. 35.
2. India's Claim for Home Rule - Ganeshard Co. p. 433.
3. Ante Ch. VI - p. 6.
4. Lovett - A History of the Indian National Movement - p. 31.

for Indians in highest state posts, it was also their share. "As very few Indians, for the most part Hindus, were Judges of the High Courts."[1] The Muslims and Untouchables were practically out of the field. If I am asked that the literacy percentage was low, as the Hindus insisted, I would say that how could it be higher in the face of their opposition to the education of the Depressed Classes and other minority communities? A writer has correctly said, "It shows that if illiteracy is prevailing in India, it is only due to the Backward Classes and Untouchables."[2] One more question may be raised which does not require much discussion from the point of view of my work, but it certainly has some connection. It is the charge of lack of compulsion in education against the Government of India which perhaps may be used as an argument that had there been compulsion the Hindu opposition would have become impossible. Consequently, the education of the Untouchables would have begun at an early date. Without going too deeply into this, it will suffice to say "Why could they not be allowed entry at least in State schools without the plea of compulsion?" There was no legal ban on the Hindus from the British Government to prohibit their admission to schools. Moreover, for the sake of argument, if their charge against the British Government may be accepted, the question arises who would allow the compulsory education to succeed? We do appreciate the

1. Lovett - A History of the Indian National Movement - p. 32.
2. Case of Backward Classes - p. 27.

enthusiastic efforts of Mr. Gokhale for Universal compulsion in the country, but firstly, he wanted it without additional taxation, and had the Government taxed the people, the same Brahman would have been the first to revolt against the Government; secondly, he did not know the mind of the correligionists. They would never have allowed it a success. Hindus are generally fanatics and very suspicious of the West. With the introduction of compulsory education, they would have taken it another method of proselytisation. Even if we may leave this line of argument, the Hindus would not have allowed its effect on the Untouchables. I have seen how the Hindu teachers nullify the Compulsory Education Act in the case of the education of these communities. The procedure adopted by them is as follows. They do their best to exclude the children from the primary list of the school going age. If the boy is shown on the list, he is shown to have some defect for which he cannot be brought to the school. In case he attends the school, he is discouraged by the teacher himself in the way described previously. When he gets irregular no case is prepared against the defaulting parents. Still, if he is regular, he may be given no attention so that he becomes a stagnation case and after sometime he is removed from the rolls. This is the picture of what has been happening in recent years. One can imagine the degree of injustice in what would have happened in the days of Gokhale.

Concluding our survey, we can say that the Hindus organised themselves to put forth their demands of political freedom before the British Government[1] and started the Congress Movement in 1885. In the next Chapter we shall sketch the attitude of the Congress towards the education of the Shudra Untouchables.

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1. Refer Lovett - A History of the Indian National Movement - p. 32.

CHAPTER VI

THE WORK OF THE CONGRESS ORGANISATION - 1885 - 1947

Congress claim to be representative of Untouchables - Congress a Hindu representative body - Established to oppose the Government in the Hindu interest - Originator an Englishman - Its preliminary aims - Its main aim political - India's need for social reform in the interests of the Hindus and the Untouchables - Mr. Ranade's Party's efforts for social reform - Their support by Government officials such as Sir Aukland Colvin - Opposition to this programme by Congress under Mr. Tilak - Acceptance of the Social Reform Party by the Untouchables - Their resentment to the opposition of Congress to it - Defeat of the Social Reform Party by Congress - Consequent loss to the Depressed Classes - Some speeches of the Congress Presidents against the Social Reform Party - Rise of the Tilak Party - Its demands met by the Minto Morely offer 1909 - The years of internal conflict and of struggle with the British Government (1895-1917); a period that hampered educational progress of the Untouchables - The first step towards the inclusion of educational uplift in the Congress plan (by its Resolution of 1917) - The real motive behind it - Its honesty inferred from the views of the President of the Resolution, Mrs. Annie Besant, and the attitude of Congress towards the Resolution after the Reforms 1919 - The entry of Mr. Gandhi as Congress leader - His character in general- His intellectual equipment - His views on Hindu religion - Literature, civilisation and culture - the caste system - Untouchability - The meeting of the Working Committee of Congress at Bardoli in 1922 on the 1917 Resolution after the capture of Congress by Mr. Gandhi - Addition of the new clause - The dissatisfaction of Swami Shradhanand a well-wisher of the Untouchables - Consequent removal of the Swami from Congress - The resolution shifted to the Hindu Mahasabha for implementation - Hindu Mahasabha an Orthodox Hindu Organisation - Preachings of Mr. Gandhi to the Untouchables - Mr. Gandhi's attitude at the Round Table Conferences of 1930 & 1931 - Mr. Gandhi's fast on separation of the Untouchables - His life saved by the leader of the Untouchables - Promise of Congress to work sincerely for the education of the Depressed Classes - Establishment of Harijan Sewak Sangh (H. S. S.) - Mahatama Gandhi's tour of the country for the Harijans - Real purpose of the Organisation - Political and not social - Efforts to Hinduise Untouchables through H. S. S. Schools - Picture of work in schools - The H. S. S. inimical to the Untouchables' pro-British attitude - Slackening of the work after Government

of India Act 1935 - Work of the Congress under its Ministries in the Provinces from 1937-39 - Introduction of anti-Shudra cultural devices to retard their educationa progress, e.g., through (a) the Sanskritised Hindi (b) the imposition of Hindu cultural ways on them - Position after 1939 - Policy at the formation of the Congress Interim Government - Stoppage of the Scholarship Scheme for Untouchable students' studies abroad - Treatment given to foreign-qualified students - Mr. Savarkar's views on the rights of minorities including the Untouchables in Free India.

Now let us examine the attitude of the Hindus as a national bloc separate from the Government. The body began to be calle the Indian National Congress. It was a purely communal body. The Muslims had their Muslim league as their representative body; the Untouchables had scheduled Caste Federation to represent them. Mr. Gandhi, the leader of the Hindus, had once tried to show to the world at the Round Table Conference, 1931, with his usual slogan that he was the representative of all the Indian communities, but his claim was repudiated by the late Sir Mohd. Shaffi and fallacy removed by Dr. Ambedkar. Sir John Cumming in his "Political India" has rightly analysed the position of the Congress body, saying 'It is a sectional ... represents a party rather than a people and in composition is predominantly Hindu. Even its appearance changes. Its meetings although swelled by large numbers of agriculturists and town labourers present the appearance of a mass demonstration rather than of a Parliament.'[1] One should not think that

1. Cumming, J.- Political India - p. 61.

the Indian Congress is on the parallel of the American Congress which is a representative body of the whole nation. It is 'sectional not Indian'; partisan not 'national', a caucus, not a 'Congress.'[1]

The circumstances in which this body was constituted in 1885 have already been indicated in the previous section. For the sake of uniform link we have to say that the Hindus had reaped all the advantages of education. All the principal leaders of 'Bengal society had now received some degree of Western education ...' The same applied to other Hindu Associations. They now needed nothing more but to devise a plan how to keep the other sections back. 'The period of fifty years of English education had given them the highest literacy percentage'[2] and now they were in a position to cast off the British rule as they had once done with the Moghul rule, for their own advantage only. The priestly class of the Brahmans were highly educated and their faithful devotees had also achieved a fairly high percentage of literacy. They wanted now to have the revival of their rule to guard the honour of the Shastras, the forefathers and the gods. The educational backwardness of the Muslims and the appalling illiteracy of the Untouchables was not the concern of the jealous and selfish Hindus as the tendency of the Government had grown towards mass

1. Cumming, J. - Political India - p. 64.
2. Calcutta University Commission Report 1917-19, Vol. I. p. 51.

education which professed to bring all high caste and low caste on one level. The Government which had treated the Brahman and the Shudra low caste on the same plane before law, a Government which had attacked the Hindu religion by the removal of satti, Thuggee and infanticide; a Government which had attacked the Hindu civilisation by the introduction of satanic devices of modern means of transportation and communication must be checked now from its growing influence and popularity towards the backward sections of the community. This satanic rule must be replaced by the revival of the Hindu Rama Rajya.[1] The present rule did not fulfil the virtues of the Rama Rajya. The greatest pinch was that at this stage the Government had purposed equal opportunities for the education of the Shudra outcast in contradiction to the Dharmashastras. Had the policy of the Government continued in their favour it would have been alright but the Government was getting more or less anti-Hindu from their point of view. The Government in their opinion, had no right to interfere in recognising the civic rights of the communities whom they did not like to give themselves. It was in violation of the laisser faire policy. It was against their tradition and Hindu Dharma. It was their own internal social concern to bring one community up and keep the other down. All these issues in addition to some others brought the Hindu Congress into existence.

The originator was a sentimental Englishman, Mr. A. O. Hume,

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1. A rule of Rama (referred in Ramayana). Ch. I.

of the Bengal Civil Service (1829-1912), called by his followers "the Father of the Congress."[1] Lord Dufferin recognised it as a political organisation. The eminent Indian champions were Messrs. Surendra Nath Bannerji, Dadabhai Naorojee and Ferozeshah Mehta in the beginning. For propaganda purposes many branches, secret as well as open, were opened in many countries of the world. Mr. Wedderburn acted as representative in England for Parliamentary work from 1889 to 1918.[2] There is no record to show that this representative ever spoke for the minority communities of India. In fact, the apparent programme of the Congress was to put constitutional pressure on the Government for the establishment of representative legislatures and to advise the Government to pass administrative power to Indian hands. In other words, the aim was purely political.[3]

Hence, indirectly, it appears that it was aimed to harm the Christian Government, the Muslims and Untouchables from different angles. The British Government had recognised it as a political body. Therefore the Congress claimed due representation in the Government administration. As they were the only highly educated people they could keep the start intact in their own interests. The representation would give them some executive control by which they could be in a position to undermine the administration of the British Government and pave the way for the revival

1. Lovett - A History of the Indian Nationalist Congress - p. 34.
2. C. Y. Chintamani - Indian Politics since the Mutiny - pp. 55-75.
3. Refer Speeches of the Presidents of Indian National Congress ~~and pp. 6 - 38~~ 243-44.

of Hindu imperialism. Sir Stafford Cripps admitted the same results in his debate in the House of Commons before transfer of power to India.[1] Another motive which was served was that by holding key posts in different Departments they could carry on stagnant policy of the progress of the Depressed Classes by sleeping over any facilities for them.

Therefore, the Congress pursued the political programme in preference to the social reconstruction of the country because it would ultimately suit their ends. India needed social reform in general. It would not improve the position of the Shudra Untouchables only but help the Hindu Society in a long way. Now to plead that the social reform was a crying need for the country in the beginning of Congress movement in 1885, looks fantastic and ridiculous when the Congress is going to win its goal with its accepted programme from the start. But to my mind it will not be a real achievement. The Society is as disorganised as before. The sixty million Shudra Untouchables are the same victims of the Hindus. It will not be real freedom. From this, two questions arise (a) Whose freedom without social reform? (b) How long shall the wall of sand last? The answer is difficult to anticipate, but if the Congress will achieve its end with social evils existing in it, the golden rule will fall. How will it happen is not in my purview to explain.

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1. House of Commons Speech by Sir Stafford Cripps 5th March, 1947.

Coming back to 1885, we were saying that a social programme was of vital importance for the country as a whole and the social and educational advance of the Untouchables in particular But this was not taken up, neither did they entertain the idea of their uplift nor did they like the move of the Government in that respect. But there were some reformers even among the Hindus who wanted the programme of social reform to be the aim of the Congress. They were keenly interested in the uplift of the Depressed Classes. The group of individuals who stood for this programme consisted of M.G. Ranade and Raghu Nath Rao. They stood more for social reconstruction than for political humbug. They opined that the need of the country was the removal of social evils and social wrongs from the Hindu society. But their voice was not given any weight in the Congress circles. Therefore they were obliged to form a separate organisation called the Indian National Social Conference. Its first Conference was held at Madras in 1887 with Sir T. Madhav Rao presiding. The proceedings of the Conference with aims underlying it were disliked by the Congress Centralist Party. As the programme of the Social Reform Conference was right therefore they were able to win many friends in the Government of India also. The chief amongst them was Sir Aukland Colvin a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council who said that it was better for the Congress to turn their attention to social reform

in preference to their endeavours 'to teach the British their duties with regard to the Government of India.'[1]

The above-mentioned Congress leaders were tolerant of the cries of the Social Reform group but they had no place for such propaganda through the Congress Party. The Social Reform Party was an eyesore to the Congressmen. Its greatest opponent was Mr. B. G. Tilak a Brahman of the south. He was 'a fierce opponent of Western culture' and secondly opposed to any social constructive programme. He founded a left wing party in the Congress. The result of all this opposition was that the Social Reform Party had helplessly to give way to the Orthodox Congress wing without achieving its desired ends in 1895. It happened that in 1895 in the Poona session of the Congress the 'anti-social reform section rebelled and threatened to burn the Congress Pandal,* if the Congress allowed it to be used by the Social Conference.'[2]

This was the beginning and end of the plan which was chalked out to bring the Depressed Classes on equal status with the other sections of the Society and to prepare them for an equal share in the political field which might ensue from the critical struggle of the Congress. But this idea was not acceptable to the Congress. The threat of Mr. Tilak and his party in checking the activities of the Social Reform Party by setting the Pandal

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1. Quoted Ambedkar, B. R. - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 12.
2. Ibid p. 17.

* Congregational Theatre.

on fire if they would talk on social reform, perturbed and hurt the sentiments of the Untouchables very much. They were conscious that the programme of the Social Reform Party was the only programme which would bring for them the facilities of education and social freedom. It is said that the Untouchables protested against the meanness of the Congressites. They 'organised a demonstration against the Congress and actually burned its effigy.'[1] Since then the Congress and the Untouchables became further inveterate opponents of each other. They became once and for all anti-Congress because the Hingu Congress had no programme for their uplift. The High Caste Hindus had exploited them up to 1884 in educational field by using all State grants for their institutions, and by the spread of secondary and college education. Now when the Government had itself taken their work in hand they had started Congress. They had even planned to burn the places where talks for their benefit were to take place. The Dharmashastras had sanctioned the burning of the tongue of a Shudra Untouchable if he tried to touch their monopolised knowledge, but now the disciples advanced a step further to burn the place where any discussion for the amelioration of Ati-Shudras condition was likely to be hinted at. This was being done two thousand years after the Manva Code was written and about one thousand years after the glorious period of modern Hinduism.

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1. Ambedkar, B.R. - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p.17.

Now the Social Reform Party was extinct. The Congress remained the only power in the field. It has spared no efforts to dupe the world by saying that it has done much for the Depressed Classes. We shall see what it had to say on the programme of the education of these communities. In order to see its benevolence we shall have to trace out the utterings of the Presidents of the Congress. This will give us the idea of the aspirations of the block.

Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of the Second Session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1886, said, 'We are met together as a political body to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, not to discuss social reforms, and if you blame us for ignoring these, you should equally blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of mathematics or metaphysics.'[1] Such were the wrong conclusions aimed at and wrong analogies given by the President of the earliest session of the Hindu Congress. Another President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, was against any reform. In his presidential address in 1892 he expressed that 'some of our critics have been busy in telling us ... that we ought not to meddle with political matters, but leaving politics aside, devote ourselves to social subjects and so improve the social system of our country; I am one of those

1. Speech by Dadabhai Naoroji at the Indian National Session at Calcutta 1886.

who have very little faith in the public discussions of social matters.'[1] '... ours is a political and not a social movement; and it cannot be made a matter of complaint against us that we are not a social organisation ...' was the address of Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee in a Congress Session held in Poona in 1895.[2]

We have cleared the hazy atmosphere of the aspirations of Congress. This policy though unfavourable to the Untouchables was followed until the year 1917. Here a change took place. Curiously, though not unusual to the Hindus who change feathers when there is some end in view, the Congress violating the Shastric law, brought the Depressed Classes (in their programme. What circumstances made the Hindus become protectors of the Untouchables and recognised them as a body of importance? And why they slept over the intervening period of twenty-two years since the effigy of the Congress was burnt in 1895. We shall answer the former query in the appropriate paragraph later on. In the meantime, let us answer the latter by having a bird's eye view of the events in Congress in the period. This will tell us that they were busy for themselves forgetting the needs of the needy sections.

Mr. Tilak, the left winger with the Tilakite Army, started anti-Muslim and anti-Western societies. He used his 'gifts of

1. Speech by W. C. Bonnerjee at the 8th Indian National Congress Session, 1892.
2. Speech by Surrendra Nath Bannerjee at the Indian National Congress Session at Poona, 1895.

leadership to fashion a political weapon out of the social and religious prejudices of the illiterates,'[1] a blind army of Hindus ever devotees of the Brahmans. Some Hindu religious fanatics like 'Swami Dayanand and Swami Vivekanada, each in his different way had already asserted on the spiritual side the superiority of the Vedic Hinduism over the Western world;' and 'the same impulse to vindicate an awakening pride in India's heritage became manifest in the sphere of politics.'[2] The Hindus, sentimentalists as they are, mustered strong around Tilak's ideology.

The struggle of the left-wing continued until 1904 when it became more active to take a more dangerous turn by the reforms of Lord Curzon. After the announcement of the partitio of Bengal in 1905, the Hindus formulated new techniques of boycott of British goods and use of home-spun cloth; the students part in politics, volunteer movements, non-violence, slogans like 'Swaraj is our birthright.'*

The left wing showed a rising tendency up to the Surat session of the Indian National Congress, 1907. The Tilakites had raised the emotions and sentiments of the younger generation by their fervent appeals of patriotism in schools and colleges to rely on 'direct action' rather than passive measures. They thought that the programme of Gokhalists was a 'mendicancy'.[3]

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1. Cumming, J. - Political India - p. 49.
2. Ibid p. 48.
3. Ibid p. 57.

* Tilak's pet slogan.

The Constitutional Party of Gokhale apprehended danger of unconstitutional move in the proposed Nagpur Session in 1907 because it was harmful to the nation as a whole. The aggressive methods did not get approval by the Government and some sensible people for a long time. Their fever was made to subside by the Morley and Liberal Government in England which reconsidered its policy towards India in 1909 by the 'appointment of the Indians to the Council of India and to the Viceroy's Executive Council the Minto Morley Reforms of 1909, and the revocation in 1911 of the partition of Bengal.'[1]

This rightest and the leftist remained busy with their own internal struggle based purely on political grounds. They had no time to attend to the other ~~more~~ larger and graver issues like the introduction of reforms for the Depressed Classes. The Depressed Classes also watched carefully the feats of the Hindu ~~dominated~~ dominated Congress. What was the nationalist movements of the leftists, rightists and centralists doing for them? What was the social uplift programme of this cock fighting of Gokhalists and Tilakites for them? This great National Congress which stood for the whole population of India and blew its trumpet from press and platform in and outside India, what were they doing for the education of the children of the downtrodden communities while their sons were becoming members of the Councils of States, the Viceroy's Executive Council, and of the

1. Cumming, J. - Political India - p. 57.

Indian Civil Services. The Hindu schools and colleges were flourishing by the Government Grant. What was being done to make up the disparity between the education of the sons of Brahmans and Banias* and the sons of the Untouchables for the years the Congress had come in power. Could the Depressed Classes see something or find out something from this Hindu churning of Indian atmosphere?

The reply was in the negative. The days of next reforms after 1909 were approaching nearer. Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, had announced in the House of Commons the policy of His Majesty's Government towards India on 20th August, 1917, and the Congress in response to that had prepared its scheme called 'The Scheme of the Nineteen' in anticipation of the proposed declared constitutional changes. The Depressed Classes had watched their behaviour since the Minto Morley Reforms. They had continued their quarrels for speeding up the race for the gain of the Hindu nation. There were no Muslims, no Christians and no Untouchables in their programme. The Social Reformists were dead and gone and the life of the Centralists who would have come on the right path[1] was at stake. Therefore there was no time for the Depressed Classes to slumber. They had to be cautious. Therefore they moved an independent Depressed Classes movement. They called their meeting under the presidentship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar

1. Mr. Gokhale was a moderate man. He had some good intentions like the introduction of compulsory education although open to controversy.

* The Capitalist classes.

at Bombay on the 11th November, 1917. The following resolution was passed 'As the population of the Depressed Classes, called Untouchables and treated as such is very large; as their condition is very degraded owing to that treatment, and as they are behind the rest of the people in point of education, being unable to secure fair opportunities for their improvement ... this meeting therefore prays the British Government ... to protect ... by granting ... the right to elect their own representatives to the said Councils in proportion to their numbers.'[1] And Resolution No. 4 'That the Government be prayed for the adoption with all convenient speed of a compulsory and free system of education ...'

The next meeting was held in 1917 under the chairmanship of Bapuji Namdev Bagade and the following resolutions were passed.

Resolution No. 2 'That this meeting cannot give its support to the Congress League Scheme ...'

Resolution No. 3 'That it is the sense of this meeting that the administration of India should be largely under the control of the British until all classes, especially the Depressed Classes, rise up to the condition to effectively participate in the administration of the country.'

Resolution No. 6 'That this meeting prays the Government ... make primary education both free and compulsory ... also request the Government to give special facilities by way of scholarships to the students of the Depressed Classes.'[2]

This step of separation of the Depressed Classes and the direct appeal to the British Government for educational safe-

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1. Paper submitted to the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India (1918) Parliamentary Paper Ed. 9178, pp. 74-75.
2. Ibid p. 75.

guards gave an astounding shock to the Congress. They thought their policy of 'ignore' would carry until they won Swaraj. But it was found that it was a delusion. Therefore they changed their course. The trick which they played was to win over Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who had sufficient control over the Depressed Classes. The Congress posed to repent over its neglect and promised to take up the work of the uplift as a part of their programme. It was never meant at heart, perhaps, which the later events will show. But now the Depressed Classes believed in the honesty of the Congress and promised to be neutral in the anti-British campaign of the Congress.

It was these circumstances which forced the Congress to make mention of the Untouchables in their programme in 1917 as referred above. The resolution of the Congress ran 'the Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by the custom of the Depressed Class, the disabilities being of most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience.'[1] It was the first appeal which the Hindus made for the elevation and amelioration of the Depressed Classes since they had first overpowered them and against the edicts of their Shastras. But what circumstances goaded them to do so have been explained in brief. In fact the demand of the separate representation by the Depressed

1. Proceedings of the Indian National Congress (1917) held at Calcutta under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Annie Besant.

Classes had made them alert and cautious to take up such an anti-Shastric step. But it is a pity that the Depressed Classes were deceived because the resolution was not based on honesty. The resolution had purely political motives behind it for which the Depressed Classes' sentimentalists had no judgement and did not understand its superficiality. There was no real sympathy at heart. The stigma of hatred was as fresh as ever. Our charge is proved from two angles. First, what were the views of the President of the Resolution on the education of these communities and, secondly, how far did the Congress stick to the resolution.

As to the first point, Mrs. Annie Besant, the founder of the Theosophical Society, was the president. She was of the opinion that the segregation of the Depressed Classes children in schools was entirely justified. 'It was Mrs. Besant who invented an esoteric spiritual reason for segregating Untouchable boys from high caste ones in schools. She solemnly declared that the unclean aura of the Pariah urchin would do great damage to the pure aura of the Brahman boy if both were made to sit together in the same class.'[1] In her own words, "Here as everywhere, education is the lever by which we may hope to raise them, but the difficulty arises at the outset ... for the children of the Pariah community admission to the schools frequented by the sons of the higher classes ..." From the

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 119.

gist of this article it is clear that she does not think it practicable to give equal status to the children of the Depressed Classes with the sons of the high castes. The aspirations of the Depressed Classes to see their children seated with the children of the high castes cannot, in Mrs. Besant's opinion, be fulfilled. They are unclean. Their admission to the high caste schools is considered unhygenic. This is how she expresses her views further on the point, "The children of the Depressed Classes need first of all to be taught cleanliness, outside decency of behaviour, and the earliest rudiments of education, religion and morality" ... if at all they go to schools "the first daily lesson in a school for these children should be a bath, and the putting on clean clothes ..." instead of three R's.[1] It shows that the children of the high castes are free from these defects and drawbacks.

In answer to the second, the Congress left the resolution on paper as soon as their purpose was served after the Reforms, 1919. Morality required the Congress to abide by the sentiments expressed in the resolution and especially when the Congress had got support from the Depressed Classes 'the Congress did nothing. The passing of the resolution was a heartless transaction. It was a formal fulfilment of a condition which the Depressed Classes had made for giving their support to the Congress League Scheme ... the resolution was a dead letter. Nothing came out

1. Indian Review, February, 1909. Article 'The Uplift of the Depressed Classes.'

of it.'[1] Here ends one chapter of the dishonesty of the Congress.

In the year 1919 another change in the Congress history took place. It was the year when the Congress was carrying on with its anrachical methods after the announcement of Reforms, according to the desires of the left wingers. There entered another sublime figure into the field of Congress politics. He was Mr. Gandhi, 'a deep dyed Hindu' 'a most orthodox of the orthodox Hindus.'[2] He was the greatest Hindu saint the Hindu world had ever produced. He is said to be the apostle of common man's freedom. He stood for democracy. As Louis Fisher said "Gandhi is the pure democrat."[3] It is due to his efforts that India has been always united. It is by his honest and saintly efforts that the majorities and minorities in India have lived cordially. It is he who had united Hindus and Muslims, the rich and poor, the high and the low castes, the landlord and the tenant,[4] the capitalists and the labour,[5] urbanites and ruralists, strong and weak and above all, showed that he was the greatest friend of the Shudra Untouchables. He is said to have started the Harijan Sewak Sangh about which we shall talk later on.

This year is significant for two events. The one that the

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 18.
2. Ibid p. 299.
3. Louis Fisher - Atlantic Monthly (Readers Digest, April 1947).
4. Young India, 18th May 1921.
5. Navajivan, 8th June 1921.

Brahman confederacy afforded an opportunity to the Vaishya* to join hands. We remember that in the medieval ages the Brahmans had brought the Rajputs+ to join hands with them. The other was the defeat of the Centralists - the disciples of Gokhale. Now the Congress pursued more eagerly its ideal objective of driving out 'the satanic Government and liberating Hindostan from the modern civilisation.' It was, in other words, the establishment of the Gandhian ideology and rule. The entry of Mahatama Gandhi in the Congress was not a welcome news to the Shudra Untouchables because he was fully dyed in Hinduism. He called himself 'a sanatani Hindu'[1] (i.e. very orthodox). He was a follower of the Hindu Dharmashastras in word and deed. He wanted the Hindu civilisation to be brought to the pinnacle of glory. It is out of this sentiment that he called the Western civilisation in India 'a civilisation the creation of Satan.'[2] He was a strong supporter of the caste system.

The rise of power of such a man with such views could never help the Panchamas or Harijans.⊕ It has been proved by later circumstances and events. He proved himself the greatest opponent of the Untouchables during his time. He strangled them with his political and social manoeuvers in such a way that they

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1. Dharma - Manthana, p. 4.
2. Ibid p. 65.
   Young India, 26th January 1921.

* Mahatama Gandhi was a Bania (a Vaishya).
\+ They were given the status of Kshatriyas.
⊕ His favourite names for them.

have today again fallen under the Hindu regime.

'He* was born in 1869 at Porbandar ... in an orthodox family of Vaishnava Hindus.' In caste terminology, so dear to him, he was by caste a Bania[a] 'the worst parasitic class known to history.'[1] 'His parents were both religious and his mother, whose saintliness was an abiding memory in her son's life, was much addicted to ritual and penitential lines of Hindu custom. At the age of thirteen ... he was married to a child wife of his own age and began at once to cohabit with her ...'[2]

In 1887, he came to London for the Bar. 'Painfully nervous, shy and tongue tied ... he faithfully kept the vows which his mother had exacted from him, of chastity and abstinence from meat and liquor.'

On his return in 1891, he started practice but was a complete failure. He then went to South Africa and became leader of the Indians who had some grievances against the Government, in the 'dual role of ascetic saint and National champion.' He became an organiser of Indian National Congress in Natal in 1894. In the Boer War he helped the Union Government. Thus 'the teacher of non-violence became a recruiting officer and complained that his people had been deprived of the weapons of war.'[3]

He returned to India in 1915. By then he had become a Mahatama (a great Soul) by the study of Hindu scriptures, side

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 230.
2. Cumming, J. - Political India - p. 203.
3. Cumming J. - Modern India - p. 207.

* This chapter was written before the death of Mahatama Gandhi in February, 1948. a = A trading class.

by side a politician. In Indian politics he began as a Mahatama. To general education his debt was small because 'he distrusted book knowledge ...' because it obscured the capacity to perceive the inner light and inner vision,[1] the very essence of his saintliness. As to some of the personal qualities of his character, he physically does not come on the basis of charm of the leaders of other communities such as Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar, though according to the theory of the caste system, in which he had avowed belief, he, being the descendent of Aryans ought to have excelled the Mleccha[a] and Rakshasa[b] leaders in this trait of personality.

He wears simple dress like a Hindu Sadhu.[c] He attended the Round Table Conferences, 1930-31, in one loin cloth and a shawl. An Englishman once showed sympathy by suggesting to him that he should wear a pair of trousers, but the member of the Satanic West did not know that Indian conception of saintism means even complete nakedness. Those who have seen the 'Nanga Sadhus'[d] of India know the sanctity attached to their form. In India any Tom, Dick and Harry who can expose the naked form can command worship. What then of Mahatama Gandhi?

His diet is very simple. He drinks only fruit juice and goats milk. Other ingredients added to it may be cream cheese

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1. Miss Polak - Mr. Gandhi, the Man - p. 30.
   a = According to Hindus Mlecchas are Mohammedans.
   b = Rakshasas are Untouchables.
   c = A mendicant.
   d = 'Nanga Sadhus' naked mendicants.

and curds. But he is not a meat eater. He has great abhorrence of meat eaters. Once he had eaten goat meat and he says that all the time after that goats were bleating inside his stomach.[1]

He does not like the modern ways of living. He hates the modern scientific inventions and modern means of communication and transportation though uses them at every minute and step. He would prefer to reside in a hut when the work of the uplift of the Depressed Classes is concerned. He has lived in sweepers quarters at Delhi when there has been some political talks to be negotiated with His Majesty's Government. Some critics think that the standard of his hut is Birla House.*

He is a great moralist. He regards the life of celibacy the best gift of life. He respects women. To him all the lady doctors, political patriots and other devotees, who have helped in his political and Harijan uplift programme, are sisters and daughters.

His Mahatamic secret lay in his spiritual feats. He is said to have worked wonders. The Hindus think that 'he can turn people into pigs.'[2] He is one of those rare spiritual beings whose very darshan (sight) take away sins.[3] He can cure people with the gift of his mental powers. Some people

1. C. F. Andrews - Mahatama Gandhi - His own Story - p. 38.
2. Whitehead - *Indian Problems* p. 299.
3. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. xii.

* Mr. Birla is a millionaire of India - a friend of Mr. Gandhi and President of Harijan Sewak Sangh (a society for the social and educational uplift of the Untouchables).

have criticised that it was all bogus because when he fell ill in 1924, he had to invite the help of the English Civil Surgeon, Colonel Maddock, who saved his own life. In fact, he believes in nature although his thoughts are borrowed from Ruskin, Rousseau and Tolstoy. However, as a spiritual Saint his speech goes deep into the hearts of his people. So simple and solacing is his Vani (speech) that 'when the Mahatama speaks, he does so in the language that they comprehend - not in the language of Herbert Spencer or Edmund Burke... but that of the Bhagwad Gita and the Ramayana.'[1] He is not a spiritual teacher of the Hindus but 'he is a world teacher with a new doctrine to teach.'[2]

In short, through this spiritual gift 'he is an incarnation of deity.'[3] His idols are added to the existing number of gods of worship of Hindus.[4] 'He is world saviour.'[5] 'He is Christ.'[6] 'He is God on earth.'[7] Sometimes he has been shown above Jesus Christ, though fantastic it might look. The Hindustan Times commenting on Mr. Gandhi's book entitled 'Conquest of self' said "It is time we read Mahatama Gandhi's writings more. Here is a well-edited symposium on several aspects of life which are usually ... least satisfactorily discussed. Here is no

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1. Subhas Chandra Bose Indian Struggle - p. 327.
2. Ibid p. 330.
3. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problem - p. 225.
4. Louis Fisher - Atlantic Monthly World Digest 28th April, 1947
5. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. xii.
6. Ibid
7. Prof. Radha Krishnam - Qtd. in Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 307.

St. Augustine or Thomas a Kempis, no Budha or Christ, but a man who has lived life and knows what it is."

Through his spiritual visions, he can grasp the political, social, economic and such like other problems of India and the world in his evening and morning prayers. On many occasions, he has talked the evils of the age of material West, in comparison to his 'Golden Age' of Rama, the Hindu Muslim Unity and the Hindu Shudra Unity. The economic problems have been discussed from these prayer meetings.

He is a symbol of patriotism. He has his own crude political, economic and social theories but skinned over by the modern standardised theories. Still, whatever he says is God's message to the Hindus. To a Western mind he is so 'unpractical and visionary, so full of perplexing contradictions.'[1]

Now let us see his views on religion, politics and economics.

Beginning with religion, his comparative study of the religions seems to be vast. But no religion is superior to Hindu religion in his estimation. In other words, he has one thing or the other to say about other religions like Islam or Christianity. For Christianity especially he had somehatred.[2]

1. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problem - p. 225.
2. C. F. Andrews - Mahatama Gandhi - His own story. - p. 53.

He does not think 'Christianity to be the final revelation of religious truth'[1] much less in Islam. The followers of Islam are bullies[2] and Christianity immoral. Hinduism is the best religion of the world. He is himself the orthodox of the orthodox Hindus. He says 'I have always claimed to be a Sanatani (orthodox) Hindu.'[3] He has the highest regard and respect of Hindu scriptures - rather he worships them. The Vedas are, to him, divine and unwritten. 'The spirit of Vedas' to him, 'is purity, truth, innocence, charity, simplicity, forgiveness, godliness ...'[4] He is a devout follower of Dharmashastras. He is a great devotee of Manusmriti.[5] Bhag - Wadgita is the main substance of his spiritual life.[6] He is an avowed follower of Ramayana. Upnishdas are the source of his philosophical thought. In short, all literature of the Hindus is God's revelation for him. He cannot challenge even the wrong teachings in them. He believes in the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of soul. He considers all other manners and customs of the Hindus based on rational thought such as the early marriage[7] and idol worship.[8]

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1. Cumming, J. - Political India - p. 208.
2. ~~Ibid~~ Gandhi M.K. - Young India - Vol. II, p. 33.
3. Ibid Vol. I , p. 473.
4. Ibid p. 471.
5. C. F. Andrews - Mahatama Gandhi - His own story - p. 53.
6. Cumming, J. - Political India - p. 207.
7. ~~Ibid~~ Gandhi M.K. Young India - Vol. ii, p. 807.
8. Ibid Vol. i , p. 1237.

He is a lover of caste system. He regards caste system the soul and saviour of Hinduism.[1] Its existence is most essential for the growth of ~~the~~ society.[2] It is a democratic institution.[3] 'I am one of those who do not consider caste to be a harmful institution.'[4] Birth is the criterion of one's worth. He advocates the principle of heredity to be maintained all through life.[5] 'I can see very great use in considering a Brahman to be always a Brahman throughout his life.'[6] 'Interdrinking, interdining and intermarrying, I hold, are not essential for the promotion of the spirit of democracy.'[7] 'In my opinion the idea that interdining or intermarrying is necessary for national growth, is a superstition borrowed from the West.'[8]

This leads us to find out his views on Untouchability. He believes in Untouchability. He wants to keep the Ati Shudras where they are. If he is kind to change their status they can only be called Shudras[9] but not twice born. Then in his opinion, it is not a part of Hinduism.[10] 'Hinduism does not regard Untouchability as a sin.'[11] Its mention in the Hindu scriptures is not the work of the Hindu Law givers but 'it is a device of a devil.'[12] It is the devil who has quoted scriptures.[13] Therefore, his advice to the Untouchables is to follow

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1. Young India Vol. i, p. 480.
2. Young India Vol. i, p. 480.
3. Ibid
4. Ibid p. 397.
5. Ibid p. 481.
6. Ibid p. 481.
7. Ibid p. 481.
8. Ibid p. 397.
9. Ibid Vol. ii p. 653.
10. Ibid p. 473.
11. Ibid Vol. i, p. 473.
12. Ibid p. 470.
13. Ibid p. 470.

Hinduism, its scripture and its manners and customs. Therein lay their salvation.[1] In short, it is not a vital problem for him. The programme of spinning wheel was more important than Untouchability.[2]

He has proved himself a shrewd politician in the garb of a Saint. At times he threatened the British Government,[a] played games with the Muslims,[b] befooled the Depressed Classes[c] and still won the sympathies of some outside democratic countries.[d] I think he has proved a second Indian Chanakya[e] and Italian Machiavelli.[f]

He has shown himself to be a great writer on all topics of the earth. Though his writings are full of twists and turns, and withdrawals and reversals on the challenge of the affected parties.

He has convinced the Indian Hindu world with his oratory. But other communities have challenged his competence as such at times. The ready examples are of Śir Mohammad Shaffi and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar at the Round Table Conferences. Even Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose suspected his eminence.[3] Some people have sympathised with his helplessness because they think he had missed

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1. Young India Vol. i, p. 476. 2. Young India Vol. ii, p. 582.
3. Subhash C. Bose - The Indian Struggle - p. 328.

a = In 1920, he demanded recall of the Viceroy, and the dismissal of the Governor and many officials (Cumming - Political India, p. 214).
b = During Khilafat Movement 1920.
c = During Round Table Conferences 1930-31, and by Poona Pact, 1934.
d = Like America.
e = He who brought Chandrajupta Maurya on the throne.
f = He who wrote 'The Prince'

the sense of appreciation of the subject of history, the root of oratory. His definition of history is that 'it is a record of the wars of the world, a record of the interruptions of the course of nature ... His ideas of history are such as might be derived from the school books of fifty years ago.'[1]

On the economic side, he can solve the ills of India with his Charkha (spinning wheel). The Lancashire mills are the devil's workshops for him. 'Back to the Vedas' is the only salvation of India. The wooden ploughs which were used four thousand years ago are his pride[2] before the tractors. Bullock carts are the best means of conveyance. The use of machinery by the people is a sign of insanity. He says he 'would not weep over the disappearance of machinery' in preference to hand weaving and country carts,[3] etc. In short, "modern civilisation has gone fatally astray because the complexities which come with mans increasing knowledge and command of natural forces involve a departure from nature's plan. Machines and railways are violations of nature's law, that man should labour with his hands and use his feet for locomotion. Hospitals are at best necessary evils in a society which has forgotten that the healing power of nature is the true remedy for all diseases." He says that serious diseases like leprosy can be cured by the 'path'

1. Indian Home Rule 1921, p. 60.
2. Refer Introduction.
3. ~~Cumming, J.~~ Gandhi M.K. - Young India - 19th January, 1921.

(i.e. reading) of Ramayana.[1] "He cannot think of man's mind with its invention and its conquests as itself a part of nature. For his mind is of the protomedieval type, to which knowledge is in a sense forbidden fruit and science is still a closed book."[2] All the economic or scientific developments of the West are not new for him. There were aeroplanes, microphones and atom bombs during Rama-Rajya[3 & 4] (i.e. rule of Rama).

From these few words on his views what are the conclusions which relate to our subject. The first thing noticeable is his birth in the most orthodox family. He was brought up in all the years of the growth of intelligence in a family which was too religious to leave his mind ever free from its effects in later years. He was surrounded by the pillars of Shastric[(a)] tenets all the years of his growth which haunted him even at the height of his political career. Even when he had the opportunity of a change of environment when he came to England, he did not allow the environment to leave any trace on him by his over anti-conscious behaviour towards them. He first remained in contact with a Hindu Mehta family[5] and then kept an independent flat, living his own way and cooking his meals himself, living all on one shilling and twopence a day.[6] He never enjoyed social life. He returned to India as a faithful son of the Hindu mother as

1. Qtd. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 252.
2. Cumming - Political India - p. 209.
3. Mazumdar Hindu History p. 154; OMAN - Ramayana + Mahabharata P. 9
4. For more ideas see Nava Juvan 8th June 1921, Young India 23rd February 1922, Young India 11th August, 1921.
5. C. F. Andrews - Mahatama Gandhi - His own story - p. 67.
6. Ibid. (a) = doctrine of Hindu scriptures.

most of the Hindu students do even now. On his return he was more orthodox than before. He assumed the form of a Sadhu* the primary symbol of strict Hinduism. His dress, diet and manners were orthodox Hindu. His spiritual philosophy was based on ideas of orthodoxy, superstition and ignorance. All this colouring of his life from early to manhood, was anti Shudric. It should find no place for the sincere accommodation of the Shudra Untouchable in it and it certainly did not. The bonds of the effects of these ideas were so firmly fixed in his mind that he could never be pro-Untouchable except on some ulterior motive.

His ideas on Hindu religion reveal unbreakable faith in it, and Hindu religion is a bugbear to the Untouchable. Hindu scriptures contain the voice of God in them but ~~which~~ they contain all the penal laws for the education of a Shudra. Manu Smriti+ is the source of his inspiration and that strikes terror in the mind of the Shudra. BhagwadGita and Ramayana resound in his heart giving him the highest philosophy and happiness of life. But Bhagwadgita considered the Shudra not better than a dog[1] and the days of Ramayana were the mourning epoch for the Shudras.[2] Even Mahatama Gandhi following the teachings of Bhagwat calls

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1. Ch. I.
2. Ibid

* Mendicant.
\+ Code of Manu.

them dogs, "Yadhishthira would not enter Heaven without his dog. How can, then, the descendents of that Yadhishthira expect to obtain Swaraj without the Untouchables."[1]

He is a strong advocate of caste system, the very root of Untouchability. Social intermixing is illogical for him. How can he support the cause of the Untouchable children attending schools with his children? Then Untouchability is a part of Hinduism and is not a sin and it is this stigma of Untouchability which is the enemy of the Untouchable education. All his political ideas are moulded directly or indirectly for the revival of Hindu polity, which is full of dreadful theories for the Depressed Classes. He has no lessons to learn from the true spirit of history and hence there is no likelihood of his giving a serious thought to the events of past Hindu history of wrongs done to the Shudras. His whole crude economical theories are again based on simple superstition and prejudice and directed towards the glories of the Hindu past of which the Shudras have already a bitter experience.

We shall see how these ideas would work in his sub-conscious mind during the cry of the social and educational Harijan uplift in the succeeding years.

Continuing our discussion of the educational programme of the Congress, we noted that one resolution was passed in 1917

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1. Young India Vol. i, p. 474.

and what fate it met has also been shown in the preceeding pages. Now when Mahatama Gandhi became the master of the Congress body, some show was necessary to put dust into the eyes of the world to carry on their programme of political exploitation. Therefore a meeting of the Congress Working Committee was called at Bardoli in February, 1922. The Committee was made to pass a resolution dealing with the educational uplift of the Depressed Classes. It will be worthwhile to point out here that to the ill luck of the Congress body, they had in those days one man called Swami Shradhanand, on the Committee. He was a man who had real sympathy with the educational advance of these communities and it was through his efforts that the resolution was taken up. The Bardoli Programme, as it is called, urged the Congress to "organise the Depressed Classes for a better life, to improve their social ... condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which the other citizens enjoy."[1]

Of course the resolution looks to be cleverly worded to show that the Depressed Classes were not keen on education when it says that the parents may be 'induced' to send their children to schools. The Depressed Classes have never been behind any other community in sending their children to schools. They have always been persistent in sending their children for

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1. Meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress in Bardoli, 1922. Resolution No. 4, p. 20.

education in spite of the acute Hindu opposition.[1]

We have seen the rise of political consciousness among them when they had burnt the effigy of Congress in 1895. The Congress has always rested on such false pretentions to show that the task of the Depressed Classes was very hard to perform.

Anyhow, let us now see the honesty and sincerity of the resolution. After the Bardoli Resolution on the subject was passed, the matter was referred to the Working Committee for action which appointed a Committee with Swami Shara Dhanand and two other Hindu members on it. A sum of two Lakhs* Rupees was put at their disposal to be spent on the formulated scheme. It also further appended the following resolution:

> Whilst therefore in places where the prejudice against the Untouchables is still strong, separate schools ... must be maintained out of Congress funds, every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow the Untouchables to use the common wells.[2]

The Swami was not satisfied with this petty sum for sixty ~~hundred~~ million people whose political rights the Hindus had been exploiting simply by keeping them out of public schools and by adopting different underhand means. The Swami felt the nerve and motive underlying the eyewash, and resigned on two grounds. Firstly, that the sanctioned sum was a mockery, and secondly, the Congress was prejudiced against the Untouchables and did not like the abolition of Untouchability because the

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1. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 260.
2. Qtd. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 24.

* one Lakh is one hundred Thousand.

Bardoli Resolution accepted the policy of separate schools. The resolution was 'the Bardoli programme in its note under Item (4) lays down that where prejudice is still strong, separate ... schools must be maintained ... this leaves a loop-hole for those Congress workers who are either prejudiced against the Depressed Classes or are weak ...'[1] In a letter which this friend of the Depressed Classes had written to Mr. Motilal Nehru the then President of Congress dated June 1922, he had placed the following amendment of resolution under reference of separate schools 'the following demands of the Depressed Classes ought to be complied with at once a ... b ... c ... their children get admission into national schools and colleges and are allowed to mix freely with students drawn from the so-called higher castes.'[2] In addition to his opposition to the undemocratic scheme of separate schools he expressed his sympathy with these communities against the 'shabby show' of the Congress in these words "I want to impress upon the members of the all India Congress Committee the great importance of this term. I know the Depressed Classes are in open revolt against the tyranny of the so-called upper castes and unless the above demands are conceded to them they will succumb to the machine of bureaucracy."[3]

The schemes of Swami Shradhanand were not acceptable. Mr. Motilal Nehru, the Secretary of the National Congress evaded

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, p. 311 Appendix No. I.
2. Ibid p. 312.
3. Ibid p. 312.

irrevelantly this change in the resolution in his reply to the Swami dated July 1922 saying, "As to the alteration in the Working Committee's resolution, in regard to separate wells and schools, the best course would be ... to recommend the change for the Working Committee to adopt it."[1] The Swami had written "that the immediate work among the Untouchables here is very urgent and I cannot delay it for any reason whatsoever. Kindly have my resignation accepted."[2]

What was the inner motive behind this indifference does not concern our subject. The result was that the Congress got rid of a man who understood the inner intentions of the Congress against the Untouchables and this policy of ignoring and keeping out of the field such men who really stand for the social and educational advance of these communities, has been pursued very shrewdly by the Congress in the later years.

Swami Shradhanand being out, the Congress at once tried to get rid of the work of the Untouchables from its hands altogether. It resorted to another trick. In a resolution of the Working Committee passed in May 1923, at its meeting held in Bombay, it 'resolved that while some improvement has been affected in the treatment of the so-called Untouchables in response of the policy of the Congress ... it requests the all India Hindu Mahasabha to take up this matter ...'[3]

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 313.
2. Ibid p. 314.
3. Ibid p. 22.

This is how the Congress washed its hands. 'This is the sad tale of the resolution, how it began and how it ended. What a shameful close to a blazing start.' '[1] As says Dr. Ambedkar.

The purpose of casting of the responsibility and shifting it to Hindu Mahasabha was to put a purposeful stop very cleverly because they knew that Mahasabha would not take the task seriously. Hindu Mahasabha is an orthodox communal body which does not want Ramarajya[a] back but Manurajya,[b] the education position of the Untouchables under which has been fairly dealt with in the previous pages. It is a body of a fanatical section of Hindus whose main purpose has been to hold political power in the country. Its chief aim has been to safeguard the interests of the Hindus. It stands for the honour of its scriptures and civilisation. Men like the late Madan Mohan Malviya and Vir Savarkar have been its main pillars. The former gentleman is known for his bigotry. He was even opposed to the reforms in his own society not to speak of any steps of reform in favour of the Depressed Classes. We know that he had resounded the walls of the Indian Central Assembly Chambers in 1927 against the 'Age of Consent' Bill and widow remarriage proposals. In his Sanskrit College at Benares no Untouchables can enter the premises of the Institution. The slogan of the latter worker has been 'Hindustan for Hindus.'

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 22.

a = Rule of Rama of the Epic period - See Ch. I.

b = Rule of Manu - the law giver - Refer Ch. I.

He wants none but Hindus in India. Hence to expect from such an organisation any programme for the Untouchables was nothing short of a daydream.

Now the question may be asked what part Mr. Gandhi had been playing after his capture of the Congress? The disposal of the shifting of work to the Hindu Mahasabha was completed when he was at the helm of affairs. The reply is that he knew that his lieutenants were acting according to his pious wishes. He 'took no interest in that part of Bardoli programme, which related to the Untouchables' of giving open recognition to Untouchability by providing separate wells and separate schools. 'On the contrary instead of siding with Swami Shradhanand he sided with the reactionaries and opponents of the same Swami Shradhanand.'[1] He busied himself in a different way of programme among them. He adopted three measures to pacify the Shudra Untouchables from open revolt against the Congress. He wanted them:

(a) To help the Congress against the British.
(b) To think the Hindus their best friends and kith and kin.
(c) To adopt Hinduism and hate Christianity or Islam.

To take up the first item, the Untouchables were keen on co-operating with the British Government, for it promised a scheme of educational uplift for them. Their uplift was their first concern. They did not entertain the idea of harassing

1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done for the Untouchables - p. 255.

the Government when they found that it was carrying on its administration quite justly. We may well recall the first resolution of the Depressed Classes passed in a meeting at Bombay in 1917 which ran 'loyalty to British Government and prayer for victory to the Allies.'[1]

To Mr. Gandhi the educational and social advance of these communities had no importance. His work was to prohibit the Untouchables from joining hands with the British for Hindu Swaraj.* He said "There are three courses open to these down-trodden members of the nation. For their impatience they may call in the assistance of the slave owning Government ... they will get it ... but Government aid is ... no solution ... the better way ... is for the Panchamas to join the great national movement that is going on for throwing off the slavery of the present Government.'[2] Secondly, as Untouchability is sanctioned by Hinduism so they hate Hinduism. They do not regard Hinduism their religion nor have any respect for them. The Hindus therefore also do not like them. There is no sense of brotherhood between the two. From the record of their activity and behaviour in the past it appears that they regard the Muslim or a Christian a better friend or a brother because they seem to have a respect for the members of any religion of Universal brotherhood and have great love for the members of scientific and democratic religion to their best. It shows

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1. Address submitted to the Viceroy and Secretary of State of India (1918) Parliamentary paper Ed. 9178, pp. 74-75.
2. Young India dated 20th October, 1920.

* Home rule.

that they cannot pull on with the Hindu religion which they seem to regard as undemocratic, unscientific and blasphemous. Mahatama Gandhi had never left his cry. While advising the Untouchables to revolt against the Government he had cherished his desire to call them his kith and kin, 'by seeking the Government aid they will be used for suppressing their kith and kin.'[1] He continued this propaganda despite refutations of the Untouchables at every step.

Thirdly, as already said ~~that~~ the Untouchables are not Hindus, so Mr. Gandhi would advise them to regard his religion best. He said 'the second is rejection of Hinduism and wholesale conversion to Islam or Christianity ... if a change of religion could be justified for worldly betterment* I would advise it without hesitation. But religion is a matter of heart. No physical inconvenience can warrant abandonment of one's own religion ... conversion therefore ... is no remedy whatsoever.'[2]

Instead of doing some constructive work and directing his body politic to fulfil their promises morally due to the Untouchables, he took resort to such pious ~~platitudes~~ teachings. As he slept over the question of the Depressed Classes, he pretended to have slept over the affairs of the Congress from 1923 to 1928. This period was a blank period with regard to any kindness of

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1. Young India dated 20th October, 1920.
2. Ibid

* Note characteristical saintly touch of the Mahatama in politics.

the Congress to the Untouchables programme but witnessed some struggle between the rightists and the leftists in the inner working of the Congress. The leftists had the upper hand.

In 1927 the 'Statutory Commission' under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, was appointed to make proposals for the next constitutional reforms. The Congress boycotted it and gave reception to the Commission with black flags. It kept itself busy in the fields of civil disobedience, boycott, non-co-operation, the breaking of the salt laws and adopting many other unfair practices both against the Government and the interests of the country on the whole.

This brings us to the Round Table Conference of 1931, the greatest landmark in the history of the Untouchables and the saddest drop im the stream of mean Hindu politics. Because for the first time the servile classes were allowed to send their separate delegates to a conference of world wide affair. The reader is reminded of the difference of equality and achievement under the Hindu rule and the British rule. Under one the tongue was cut for an attempt of any knowledge and under the other educational advance had reached so high a standard that the Shudras came to sit side by side with the aggressors and challenged their capacities of intellect. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and R. Sirnivasam were the two representatives of these communities

in the Round Table Conferences.

We have seen what constructive programme the Congress had chalked out for the education of the Depressed Classes and what had been Gandhi's suggestions and preachings to them during the dismissal of Swami Shradhanand who wanted an honest programme of their educational uplift and how the Congress remained busy with its techniques of civil disobedience up to 1929. It had never taken any notice of the Depressed Classes. But we shall notice now its assertions during the Round Table Conference about them. This will exhibit the deceitful mentality of the Congress towards their exploitation. In the proceedings of the Minority Committee of the Round Table Conference, strangely enough Mahatama Gandhi became their virtual leader. He spoke to the Federal Structure Committee in the following terms "The Congress has, from its very commencement taken up the cause of the so-called 'Untouchables.' Their was a time when the Congress had at every annual session as its adjunct the social conference ... the position the Congress took up in 1920 remains the same today."[1]

In the light of the discussion on the attitude of the Congress clearing its hands from the work of the Untouchables by leaving the work to the Hindu Mahasabha and now claiming its guardianship, one can call it an act of lowest degree. If Mr. Gandhi had been honest he would have supported the Bardoli programme and opposed the dismissal of the Swami but this was not done. Neither would he help himself nor ask his army to

1. Proceedings of the Second Session of the Round Table Conference, 1931. Federal Structure Committee 15th September 1931. (Vol. II, p. 563).

leave opposition nor leave the Government to do anything for the benefit of the Untouchables. Then what remarks should be passed on the actions of such a saintly personality. Evidently it was a very false claim. This false claim may be brought to light by another occurrence. During the period of silence of Mr. Gandhi from 1923 to 1931 the Untouchables had launched a Satyagraha in 1929 against the Hindus for moving them to sympathy to allow them to draw water from wells and request them to put no obstacles in the way of admission of their children to State schools at least. The one important example is that 'the Satyagraha' at the Chowdartank situated in Mahad, a town in Kolaba district of the Bombay Presidency, was organised to establish the right of the Untouchables to take water from public water places.'[1] The Untouchable men and women were beaten by the Hindus in majority. Neither Mr. Gandhi's weapon of 'Satyagrah' melt the heart of his follower policemen nor he himself took steps to save them from oppression. He is said to have condemned resort to such an action of the Untouchables.[2] A similar case happened in a village, Nangal Jarialan, in the Punjab Province where some members were fatally injured for an attempt to drink water from the Hindu places. The sufferers were beaten ~~for~~ to revenge for their persistence in sending their children to schools. This will prove the justification of his claim as their representative at the Round Table Conference.

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1. Qtd. in Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 274.
2. Ibid p. 275.

The discussions in the minority community of the Round Table Conference are interesting. Those who have gone through the records know that Mr. Gandhi shed crocodile tears over the claim of guardianship without any logical reasoning. But he could not succeed in his attempt because the representative leader of the communities gave him a crushing defeat. The result was that Mr. Gandhi fell into a strange state of mind. He got angry with everybody who had taken part in ~~producing~~ inducing the minorities.[1] The result of the Round Table Conference was the declaration of the communal award of the late Mr. Ramsay McDonald announced on the 17th August, 1932. Here again, the Depressed Classes were recognised as a clear cut separate entity for political and constitutional purposes. It is said that Mr. Gandhi had threatened the British Government to withdraw such a concession otherwise he would 'fast unto death.' The Government did not submit before this atom bomb theory of fast and took steps to carry out the decision. This left no alternative for him now but to wear the cloak of a saint and use his weapon of fast to undo the working of the Round Table Conference against the wishes of the Untouchables. He started his 'fast unto death' on 20th September, 1932 for the re-unification of the Untouchables with the Hindus. Indeed the formula of separation was very harmful to the Hindus. They had enjoyed their share in every field for long but now it was to

1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 70.

be stopped. The declaration of separation would mean the opening of their schools, colleges and Universities and bring them on equal footing of the Hindus in all respects. This step would result in snatching hundreds and thousands of administrative posts from the sons of the Hindus. They had experienced such a loss from the separation of the Muslims and the Sikh communities. His fast created much fuss in and outside India. The whole 'Goebbels' machinery moved in all countries where the 'Lakshami'* had trod. Dr. Ambedkar issued a statement to the Press about the fast as a political stunt.[1] This made Mr. Gandhi more desperate. There was no other recourse now but to encircle the leader of the Untouchables in time of need as they had done previously to Narayan Chandavarkar during the move of the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, 1919. Mr. Gandhi said to Dr. Ambedkar, "My life is in your hands; will you save me?"[2] He fell before his sentiments and the Congress succeeded once more in getting support of the Shudra Untouchables by inducing them to agree on the principle of joint electorate. The compromise was reached at Poona and called the Poona Pact, signed on the 24th September, 1932. The Congress promised to make every effort for the educational facilities of the children of the Depressed Classes. It also promised to remove other social disabilities. The fast of the Saint ended and the Depressed Classes looked forward to the

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - Appendix 4 - pp. 322-23.
2. Ibid p. 270.

* The Goddess of Wealth.

fulfilment of the Congress pledges.

But as soon as Mahatama Gandhi was out of the tangle, he changed his attitude and forgot what he had promised. The co-operation of the Depressed Classes was taken as an act of foolishness. Later events have proved that Mahatama Gandhi put the whole machinery of the Congress to undo the 'Poona Pact.' The leader of the Untouchables realised his unwise act of falling before the Congress. He called his act of saving the life of Mahatama Gandhi a 'response to humanity'[1] but he forgot that virtue has its own place. The Congress arena did not afford such a place. Dr. Ambedkar later on called the manoeuvres of setting the 'Poona Pact' at naught, 'a foul and filthy act' and 'vile and wicked act'[2] but there is no use crying over spilt milk. Opportunities once lost are never regained. And a leader who once falters ruins his people. As Reuter's reporter on one occasion remarked, "I am sceptical about Dr. Ambedkar's leadership. A leader who once makes a mistake ruins his people. Look at Hitler. And now look at Indian leaders, Jinnah being an exception ..."[3] Apart from the policy of political ruin of the Depressed Classes, in contradiction to the conditions of the Poona Pact, the Educational Scheme which was formulated under the Harijan Sewak Sangh which we shall take up in the succeeding pages, proved to be a

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 88.
2. Ibid pp. 270-271.
3. I have not been able to trace this quotation. It was probably a report when Qaed-i-Azam Jinnah addressed a meeting at London in February 1947. I was sent this quotation by the President Muslim League, Great Britain. (With apologies to him).

farce from its aims, objects and results.

Anyhow, after the signing of the 'Poona Pact' the propaganda machinery of the Congress moved fast. The people in a feverish activity passed resolution after resolution to throw open wells and schools to the Untouchables. It was to give an impression to the British politicians of the Congress sincerity and earnestness because the Communal Award had to be altered on the basis of the Poona Pact. The Congress and its devotees started the Temple entry programme, that is, the Untouchables should be allowed to temples of worship. Mr. Ranga Iyer proposed a Temple Entry Bill in the Central Assembly but the Hindus opposed it badly. It was a big show but quite useless from the Untouchables point of view. They needed education and not worship of stones. Dr. Ambedkar issued a statement on the Temple Entry Bill emphasising the point that the Untouchables regarded it an empty thing and their 'elevation lies in higher education, higher employment and better ways of earning a living.'

They also came to know it later on that this Temple Entry Bill was an empty slogan because (a) 'that not a single temple was thrown open to the Untouchables in Gujrat, the district which is the home of Mr. Gandhi.'[1]

(b) Mr. Gandhi had vowed to fast unto death if Guruvayur Temple was not opened to the Untouchables. But neither the Hindus

1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 272.

opened the temple to the Untouchables nor Mr. Gandhi fasted.[1] There lay the pledges of Mahatama.

In the light of these empty slogans how to keep face before the world? For this they planned to establish an organisation called the Harijan Sewak Sangh,[2] the main programme of which would be to provide social and educational facilities for the uplift of the Harijans. Its discussion is very important from the point of view of our subject. The first meeting of this organisation was held on 30th September, 1932, in Bombay, under the caption of the 'All India Anti-Untouchability League.' The most interesting point is that the honour of the presidentship was given to Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, 'Father of Sangathen,'[3] the pillar of orthodoxy, the Saviour of Hinduism, its Dharmashastras and civilisation and culture. It was simply ridiculous. However, the aims of the League were proclaimed as "carrying propaganda against Untouchability and taking immediate steps to secure as early as practicable that all public wells ... schools ... be declared open to the Depressed Classes ..."[4]

The Headquarters were to be in Delhi. The organisation was changed to the name of Harijan Sewak Sangh by Mr. Gandhi. The President was made Mr. G. D. Birla. To give it a wide publicity its branches were proposed to be opened in mostly provincial

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 266.
2. Institution for the service of Harijans. We will call it H. S. S. in our later references.
3. Unity.
4. Qtd. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 126.

capitals but under general control of the Headquarters.

Before we take up how the bubble of this stunt subsided as soon as Mr. Gandhi and his Congress were out from the political tangle again, we shall know what the Harijan Sewak Sangh did for the education of the Depressed Classes. Did it purely stand for an unpolitical social or educational work, or had it some political exploitation motive behind it, and lastly, how did it linger on for a long time?

Af-ter its commencement much propaganda was made by Mr. Gandhi to befool the Untouchables and the foreigners that much work was being done for these communities. In order to show to the world his honest purpose he made a tour of the country in 1934 and collected eight millions of rupees.[1] This amount was to be spent in all round planned uplift. On the educational side the most earnest scheme was that separate schools should be opened (a scheme as a protest of which one Swami had resigned in 1922),[2] and scholarships to High School students and higher College education may be given. But how much money was spent for such a big scheme? The Secretary of the Sangh published his eight year report in May 1941 and showed that it spent a sum of Rs. 2,767,307.[3] This comes to roughly 345,888 per year. This amount was to be spent for the all round welfare of sixty ~~hundred~~ million people. For education indeed the actual share

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1. Harijan - 3rd August, 1934.
2. Ante p. 268.
3. About 13 rupees = 1£ H. S. S. Report (1941) p. 58. Qtd. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 130.

was to be less than two thirds of the budget. If we calculate the whole two thirds share for education as planned in the normal budget, the amount would come to Rs. 230,592. This meagre amount is nothing short of a mockery as compared with millions of rupees which they collected for political purposes. With this small amount at the disposal of the H. S. S., the purpose cannot be regarded as very honest at heart. If there was any appeal for collection of funds for some Hindu purpose, the amount would have been quite large. To illustrate our point, a fund of rupees 13,000,000 was collected for Tilak Memorial. Very recently they raised a fund of Rs. 11,500,000 as K. M. Fund (the wife of Mr. Gandhi) a money 'earned by the patriotic contributors in black markets out of the sweat and blood of the poor and the lowly.'[1]

We have to answer the real motive behind this organisation. It was a political manoeuvre to bring the members of these down-trodden communities to accept the Congress ideologies and impress upon them to accept Congress politics against the British Government. We have instances to quote when the students of the Untouchable communities were refused scholarships because they hated the Congress and preferred to stand by the British. The Bombay branch of the H. S. S., 'had followed the policy of black listing some of the Untouchable communities

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 51.

residing in Bombay for its anti-Congress attitude. Students from communities which were black listed were refused scholarships and other educational aids. The Mahar community, which forms the spearhead of political movement of the Untouchables (in that part of the country - mine) and has all along fought with the Congress, was black-listed and Mahar students were generally subjected to discrimination unless the student proved that he did not share the anti-Congress sentiments of the community.'[1]

I think it will be better if I give the true picture of the work of the schools based on my own experience. I have a practical knowledge of the work of the Harijan Sewak Sangh, Punjab. In the year 1934-35, I worked as spare time teacher in its night schools at Lahore. These schools were run in name to throw dust into the eyes of the wellwishers of the Untouchables and Untouchables themselves. They were propaganda schools of the Congress. The teachers were required to show the existence of the school rather than show any educational progress. The children who were enrolled were those who had sometime back attended Primary schools. Those who were newcomers remained in the first or second standards and ended their period of studentship there. The time allotted for the daily work ranged from one to two hours. For propaganda purposes the children were to be taken out on Hindu Public occasions.

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 144.

It was to show to the public that enormous work was being done for their educational benefit. The children were required to sing songs of the greatness of Mahatama Gandhi, his satellites and of the Congress aspirations. The school rooms were decorated with the pictures of Mahatama Gandhi and his co-workers and selected passages from the Hindu religious books were hung on the walls. This presented the true picture of Hitler regime or the present Stalin Order. The teachers were very meagrely paid.

The Sangh had a well planned scheme of creating young Untouchable slaves of the Hindu Congress Fascist regime. The teachers and students were required to wear white rabbit caps* and observe other Hindu manners and customs in daily conduct of life. They were required to dress themselves in Congress uniform of 'dhoti' (a loose trouser) and 'chappal' (sandal). They were required to sing 'Bandi Mataram'[1] and other national freedom songs; the Hindu religious songs of 'Bansi Wala'[2] and 'Sita Rama'.[3] The one hour which was given, the whole of it, ended in this type of training without any attention to educational side. The boys and girls always began and ended on alphabet.

The purpose of the Sangh was not the education of the young

1. Hindu National song literally meaning 'Obeisance to Mother India'.
2. In praise of Lord Krishana, a deity in Mahabharata, literally meaning 'Player of flute'.
3. In praise of Rama and Sita, hero and heroine of the Epic of Ramayana.

*: Gandhi Caps.

but to kill the sense of self-respect and independence of character. The simple minded Shudra Untouchables who chose to send their children to these schools could not understand the underlying motive of the Congress. They could not follow the idea that on the one hand the Hindus could not allow their entry to public schools but on the other hand they had opened schools amidst their homes.

In addition to this, the scheme of the Sangh was on principle for maintaining Untouchability rather than for removing it. It is because the schools were opened in their exclusive localities, especially for their children.

All these devices were beyond the comprehension of the parents. In order to allure the children many temptations were given to children such as the distribution of sweetmeats, supply of soap, and free gifts of books and stationery. One may be inclined to think that these attractions were necessary because the Depressed Classes have no aptitude for learning. It is a wrong plea and propaganda put forth by the interested party, ~~It is that~~ because if they had no liking for going to schools, there would have been no tyrannies over them, cruelties which have been repeated at every step in the discussion.

Going back to our discussion of the H. S. S., we will deal more with its attempt of Hinduising the Untouchables. In certain parts of the country, the Sangh had opened residential schools for the village youngsters. It was a copy of the

Boarding Schools of Christian missionaries. We will take the work of the Boarding Schools somewhere else and find the difference. Here it is sufficient to say that while the Boarding Schools stood for the free development of character and freedom of speech and action, the H. S. S. Schools were dens of slavery and degradation for them. They were taught all arts of flattery by 'singing praises of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.' It was most detrimental to the general growth of the Untouchable children. But that was all intentional. The Congress wanted to weaken the growing generation so that 'they might not weaken the ranks of the Hindus' some day.[1]

Continuing the quotation from the Bombay Case referred to previously, the pro-British Mahars were opposed by the Congress. The Secretary of this beneficient Sangh seems to have gone to the extent of recommending the Government that the Mahar community students should not be given scholarships.[2] Why? Because they were anti-Congress and pro-British.

Therefore the H. S. S., has been kept as running Institution for propaganda purposes among the Hindus and that section of the Depressed Classes which is used by the Congress as a window dressing device for political purposes. In short it is a Hindu body. Those Untouchables who had joined in the beginning left it as soon as they came to know its inner tactics. Why did Mahatama Gandhi not want them on the managing body of an organisation

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1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 277.
2. Ibid p. 145.

supposed to be purely started for their social and educational programme? It is that perhaps he was conscious that if the Untouchables were members of the executive body they would first find out its hollowness and secondly, prepare high educational schemes which they never desired? In order to justify this injustice of why they should not be on the managing body, his saintly reply may be noted. He said that "The welfare work of the Untouchables is a penance which the Hindus have to do for the sin of Untouchability" therefore "the Hindus must run the Sangh. Neither ethics nor right would justify Untouchables in claiming a seat on the Board of the Sangh."[1]

I remember an incident of Mr. Gandhi's sincerity and sympathy towards Shudra Untouchables which occurred before my eyes. When he toured the Punjab for Harijan uplift after his fast[2] in July 1934, he was taken to Ranjit Singh Fort, sweeper school Lahore. During his stay there he was requested by an Untouchable member to drink lemonade from his hand. The Mahatama refused to do so. When the Untouchable parent came to know that it was a mere show, he took his son away from the school and asked me to close down the propaganda centre because I was a teacher there.

This political move of Mahatama Gandhi and his Congress decayed after the Government of India Act 1935 was promulgated on the basis of the conditions of the Poona Pact, in clauses

1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 142.
2. Ante p. 282.

relating to the Depressed Classes, as it had happened previously after the Reforms of 1919. The Hindu mind crouched to its original state as regards their behaviour towards the Panchamas was concerned. As Dr. Ambedkar writes "The reports appearing in the week to week columns of the 'Harijan'[1] subsided, became few and far between and ultimately vanished." He further concluded that to him it was not a surprise to find that the Hindu heart was so soon stricken with palsy because it was nothing but a lying propaganda engineered by Congress men to deceive the world.[2]

This is the whole tale of the educational charitable institution, the Harijan Sewak Sangh, of Mr. Gandhi.

We will describe another important chapter on the work of the Congress for these communities which ensued this work. By the Government of India Act, 1935, the first elections took place in 1937. The Congress returned in majority in seven Provinces out of the total eleven Provinces. The Congress formed their ministries there. Before we deal with the work of the Congress premiers and Congress Educational Ministers, let us see the first example of sympathy of the Congress towards the pro-Congress educated Untouchables. Because as it is said the Congress programme of the H. S. S., was to give education to Shudra Untouchables and prepare them for higher avenues of life. By the agreement of the Poona Pact the Untouchables had, although

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1. A Congress Paper.
2. Ambedkar, B. R. - What Congress and Gandhi have done for the Untouchables - p. 115.

by a political mistake, supported the Congress. Therefore, they looked for treatment of equality in Congress circles. But the proof was different. It happened that one Dr. Khare, Prime Minister of C. P., thinking that Mr. Gandhi was honest in his dealings of the Poona Pact, included in his Cabinet Mr. Agnibhoj, an Untouchable M. L. A.[1] He had high educational qualifications to be a Minister. But the Congress came in conflict with Dr. Khare and under pretext of non-agreement of Congress policy, turned him out of the Congress.[2] Mr. Agnibhoj was not wholly educated at the H. S. S., but had attained education by himself. The aspirations to be a member of the Cabinet on merit was regarded by Mr. Gandhi as 'raising absurd ambitions' in the minds of the Untouchables.[3]

Another point in this respect is that the Congress was so jealous of the highly educated members of these Untouchable communities, that during the election of 1937, those Untouchables who were chosen by the Congress on their tickets to defeat the Independent Candidates of All India Scheduled Castes ~~and~~ Federation, were almost illiterates as against the Hindu candidates holding the highest qualifications. Apart from the jealousy this was one way to discourage education among them because if an illiterate member could become a member of the Legislative Assembly, why should they try to go for any sort of education.

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1. Member Legislative Assembly.
2. Ambedkar. What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables. pp. 97-98 ~~pp. 68-69.~~
3. Vividha-Vritta 14th August, 193

Taking our work of the Congress Prime Ministers to the ill-luck of the other minority communities, the Prime Ministers of almost all the Provinces were Brahmans; the majority of the Ministers were Brahmans and the Parliamentary Secretaries also represented the Brahman majority. So the protection of Dharma must be the conscious or unconscious aim of the block. There was a fear of the Hindu injustice and tyranny to the minority communities. The fears unluckily came true. From the very start the Congress Governments began with schemes of suppressing the anti-Congress minorities rather than doing any constructive programme for their appeasement.

Not to speak of the fears of the Untouchables, the Muslims also came under its teeth. The All India Muslim League appointed an Enquiry Committee to investigate into the tyranny and oppression practised by the Congress Ministers over the minority communities. Unfortunately, they have not passed any remarks about the Untouchables but the findings of the Enquiry known as Pirpur Report,[1] in which a well organised community like the Muslims were suppressed, give a fairly good idea how the Untouchables would have been treated and spared from the oppression of the Hindus.

The things were pre-planned to carry out these underhand schemes single-handed and for this no members of the Untouchable were included in the Cabinets because that would divulge their

1. Allegations in Amrit Bazar Patrika Calcutta, 13th March, 1939.

plans. Mr. Rajbhoj of Poona said, "I had for a while joined the Congress Camp; none can know as I do the real inner mind of the Congress people."[1] There was also a danger of their putting forth extensive educational programme against the intentions of the Congress. Those who were taken by mistake in the Cabinet by some Prime Ministers, they were turned out. The example of Mr. Agnibhoj is enough to illustrate the pious intentions.

The Congress rule of twenty seven months was full of hardships and cruelties for the Shudra Untouchables. Mr. Gaikwad M. L. A., spoke of it at Poona. He said "We do not want the Swaraj of white caps ... If the Swaraj of white caps is to come, our future condition will be unsafe... at that time Congress people had made our position intolerable. If there is a Congress regime in future we shall be utterly crushed."[2]

Another member of the Untouchables Swami Kaljugaanand, leader in the United Provinces, the Province of Pandit Jwahar Lal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malviya, spoke about the Congress Raj in Bombay on 24th February, 1940. "The 'Zulums'* perpetrated in Congress Raj are not ordinary 'Zulums'; they are such as would make one's brain reel ... we had put an able member of our community in Allahbad as a candidate at the time of Assembly elections; but Pandit Jwahar Lal Nehru played a rather shabby part by putting up as a Congress candidate against him his own Chamar (shoe cleaner) and thus revealed his true policy in a

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 43.
2. Ibid pp. 162-163.
* cruelties.

naked form."[1] Continuing, the speaker said that the Manva Code was revived "the houses of these Untouchables were set on fire, they themselves were thrashed and their property was destroyed. Under the Congress Raj the Untouchables possessed no human rights; there was non to redress their grievances. They cannot go about on horseback (quite rightly vide Manu X51) they cannot move in bazaars without a distinguishing mark (to show that they are Untouchables) (quite rightly again according to Manu X55) ... the Congress has an income of Lakhs and out of this income are purchased traitors from each and every community."[2] Another pathetic story is revealed to show the heartlessness of the people under Congress Raj. An innocent girl of Vita (Bombay Presidency) was beaten by the Hindus for taking water from the village brook and when her mother was asked why she could not report the matter to the Area Magistrate, she looked to be frightened of the Hindus of the village. She expected no justice from the Hindu Magistrate. She knew her fate if she should lose the case. She is said to have explained sadly, 'We have to live in the same village.'[3]

There was another move to undermine the progress of education of the Shudra Untouchable. It was through the effort of the revival of Hindi, the daughter of Sanskrit, in schools. The reader will be well reminded of the Hindu struggle for Sanskrit and Hindi up to 1854. When the monopoly was broken by the

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - pp. 46.
2. Hindustan - Prajamitra 27th February 1940.
3. Bombay Chronicle dated 1st February, 1945.

Charter Act of 1854 the 'Pathshalas'* were converted to local body schools. Their number was quite large and therefore large sums fell into the lot of the Hindus. With the inception of the Congress in 1885, the programme of the organisation for national language had been Sanskritised Hindi. Now when the Congress came into power the first task was to undo the effects of the educational effects on them produced by the Acts of 1854, 1872 and 1882. The first step was to revive the Sanskrit language ideology under the garb of Hindi-Hindustani. Mr. Gandhi began to make propaganda in this favour with his saintly touch. His jargon was 'Hindiyane - Hindustani,' (i.e. He is real Indian who knows Hindustani - (mine)) or 'Hindi Athva Hindustani' or 'Hindi Hindustani' for short.[1] The Untouchables would also feel this Sanskritisation a forcible matter stuffed in their heads in comparison to local dialects or easy languages like Urdu. Even English would suit them better as it has proved in the case of African natives and Negroes of America.

With this end in view, the Congress prepared a Vidya Mandir Scheme, commonly known as Wardha Scheme. We shall refer to it later on. Here we will note a few more facts of the importance of the Hindu Congress for Hindi revival and the reaction of other minority communities like the Muslim, to it. The word Hindustani is misleading. It implies indeed the Hindi usage.

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1. Proceedings of the 'Indian Literary Conference' at Nagpur in 1936.

* Hindu Indigenous Schools.

One Maulvi Abdul Haq, 'the great champion of Hindustani, whose efforts were to make Hindustani a mixture of Hindi and Urdu so that it may prove as lingua franca of India, was disappointed to note that the Congress had no place for Urdu in their conception of Hindustani but pure Hindi was the pure aim behind it. In his words "The term Hindustani has ... been dropped and 'Hindi' alone remains."[1] He is said to have been disillusioned on Mr. Gandhi's interpretation of Hindustani language. He asked Mr. Gandhi the meaning of Hindustani, to which he replied "The Hindi which is going to be Hindustani in future."[2] Mr. Savarkar, the President of Hindu Mahasabha, another Hindu Organisation, has been more implicit than even Mr. Gandhi when he says that 'By Hindi we, of course, mean the pure "Sanskrit Nistha" Hindi as we find it for example in the "Satyartha Prakash."*' [3] In the Congress Session of Nagpur, 1936, Mr. Rajndra Prasad had clearly asserted that Hindi would be the national language of free India.[4] He did not even care to keep the Gandhiate veil of the word Hindustani. Similarly, at the All India Urdu Conference held at Bareilly on 14th July,

1. Qtd. in Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 88.
2. Star of India 2nd February, 1940.
3. Presidential Address Hindu Mahasabha Session Calcutta, December, 1939. pp. 21-23.
   * It is a book written in Sanskrit style Hindi.
4. Bombay Chronicle dated 27th April, 1936.

1940, Dr. Jafari said that Vijaya Lakshami Pandit as member was mad after Hindi.[1] Then in a statement in the Congress Urdu paper Ajmal (dated 25th May, 1936) and the Hilal (dated 29/30th May, 1936) he says, he had asked the Congress the reason for not recognising Hindustani as national language but Mr. Jwahar Lal Nehru the then President, 'sat silent.'[2] These were the plans to meet their own ends disregarding the facilities of other communities. For the Untouchables, as already said, it was not a favourable language to adopt. They prefer any other language to Sanskritised Hindi. In the Punjab Urdu was the aim for the propagation of their education and culture. Similarly, in other Provinces they had their different aims but definitely Sanskrit Hindi was not the aim in any Province. But the Congress trusted its own language. They had no other language to recognise for other sections. During their period of two years there was a report that in all the Gujrat, Maharashtra and the Madras Provinces, 'all institutions are propagating the "Rashtrabhasha," ' the national language are also known as 'Hindi prachar' (propagation) centres and the examinations conducted by them are Sanskritised Hindi and bear purely Sanskrit names and prominent Congress men associate and identify with their activities. For example, the Congress supported 'Hindi prachar' in Madras, and 'Rashtrabhasha prachar mandal' of Wardha (the purely Sanskrit name of this body is again worth noting) have

1. Leader - 22nd July, 1940.
2. Indian Literary Conference, Nagpore 1936.

been propagating Sanskritised Hindi as the national language.'[1] The educational societies were changed to Sanskrit names. The changes in curricula took place on these lines. Then One reviewer of Gujrati text books prescribed by the 'Gujrat Vidyapith' noted it. He remarked "The selections seem to have been made as if Hindu children were studying in middle schools . no wonder that for this reason Muslims &c., oppose the present educational scheme."[2] The text books were prescribed which had more vocabulary on Sanskrit Hindi side. The teaching of Sanskrit Hindi in short was speeded up under the command of the Hindu Congress irrespective of the feelings of other communities and benefit to them. The workers of the Congress from the top to the bottom put heart and soul in this revival of Sanskritisation. The State High Schools were changed in a way into the Hindu High Schools. The late Mr. Desai speaking to one of the Hindu gathering said "Today Hindi Prachar ... was one of the signal achievements of Mahatama Gandhi ... they had eight hundred thousand learners of Hindustani (in one part of South India). In 200 High Schools Hindi was being taught today ... Forty thousand young people were learning Hindustani today in Government and Aided Primary Schools."[3]

These few examples bear testimony to the fact that the Congress stood for a plan of 'Brahmanical Sanskritising' without any regard for the interests of Shudras and other like

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 89.
2. Gujrati dated 28th April, 1940.
3. Bombay Chronicle dated 26th December, 1939.

communities. We may see now particularly what baneful effect it would leave on the Untouchables. From the whole discussion of my thesis it is very clear that Sanskrit and Hindi have been the most harmful languages to the Untouchables. It is that inauspicious language which once became the root cause of the denial of education to them. The Untouchables were competent to learn it in the beginning but when other nations' languages came into the field such as Urdu, English or even Gurmukhi,* they left its idea for good. They wanted it in the beginning because it was the medium of all existing education. Now they have lost all aptitude for this language. No intelligence would prevail upon their learning this language. It is considered rather to have a retarded effect upon them. Therefore the efforts to thrust this language upon them is to put obstacle in their way. They ought to have the free choice of selection but there is no option before Hindi being a compulsory language.

We may now cast a glance over the cultural side. Culture is a part of education. The Hindus have their own culture and the Untouchables follow their own, no matter what it is. During the Congress Ministries the whole stress of the educational scheme was to infuse their culture into other communities and dissuade them from developing their own cultural advance. The State Schools have been secular institutions which gave perfect

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* a language of the 'Sikhs'.

freedom of development of one's own culture. But when the Congress was in power the whole attention was paid in the Provinces to bring in their cultural trend in State Schools too. This was the whole mischief of the 'Vidya-Mandir' Scheme which was given a brief trial in some Provinces like Bihar and C. P. The introduction of Hindu cultural ways in State Institutions affected the Untouchables very much. The introduction of idolatrous hymn 'Vande-Mataram', the offerings of prayers with folded hands and the worship of the immage of Saraswati (the Goddess of Learning) the greeting salutation 'Ram-ji-ki-jai (Hail Rama-sita)' 'to call India 'Mata' or a 'Devi,' to make 'Mandirs' (temples) of schools, to hoist the national flag on institutions commonly owned by all, to insist on prayers in political assemblies or in educational institutions,[1] became the daily routine of the schools. These were aids to bewilder the Shudra Untouchables.

The students were forced to wear rabbit caps, dhotis, chapals, as school uniform because they were told that 'it is not from their point of view of Hindu culture and religion that all students should wear shorts.' They should wear 'dhotis'.[2]

This is a glimpse of the two year Congress rule after the lapse of one thousand years. We do not find any difference of attitude towards the ancestors of Untouchables i. e. Shudras in

1. Refer Bombay Chronicle, 18th October, 1938.
2. Kesari - 11th August, 1939.

* Central Provinces.

the post-Budhist Period and towards Untouchables now in the Twentieth Century and still we find some historians deploring modern Hindu period as a period of Hindu degeneration.

The Congress rule ended in 1939. The Shudra Untouchables took it as a liberation from oppression. The other great minority, the Muslims actually celebrated the deliverance day on 22nd December, 1939.

We will be supplementing information and doing justice to our line of discussion if we give a view of the attitude of Hindu masses towards social and educational facilities of the Shudra Untouchables when the Congress was holding the reins of the country. They had to bear the worst of the time. They were encircled by the Hindu Shastric quiz. The villagers in the villages thought that they were free to do anything they liked because their kith and kin were in power. The rule of the British in their opinion had ended. The 'all political minded Hindus regarded the Congress Rule as purely Hindu and orthodox Hindu rule ... '[1] One, Mr. Sriram Gusavi addressing one gathering of the Hindus at Jalgaon in East Khandesh said "... this year is really full of hope for us Hindus ... the might of the demons is past, and the day of the gods have dawned ... British rule has vanished from the Province and our Peshwa regime has begun ... we have vowed to make real by means of our determination and our strength, the principle 'Hindustan belongs to the Hindus.' "[2] The influx of all sorts of cruelties over the Depressed Classes parents who insisted on

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 114.
2. Kesari 14th January, 1939.

sending their children to the schools and those already attending schools were made in many cases, to leave schools. The headmasters and teachers in village schools considered their primary duty to save the order of Dharmashastras and Dharma at the cost of the anti-Dharma people.* The caste system ran rampant in Government schools even. The students began to be seated in graded seating arrangements according to caste. The Untouchable boys were not allowed to sit by the high caste boys which under normal control of the British Government, was highly punishable. "The 1939 Vernacular School Final Examination was held at Satara in the Government High School building under the supervision of the headmaster. But the seating arrangements for the boys were made according to the castes; there was one block for advanced (higher) castes, another for less high castes and the third for backward castes ..."[1] The Education Minister was Mr. B. J. Kher of Bombay. The same Minister is said to have hushed the case against the headmaster of the Satara Government High School who had seated the Brahmans and non-Brahman students separately at the annual social gathering of the school. He had conducted the enquiry himself. There was no shelter from this lawlessness because the whole Hindu population thought that there was no punishment to their actions because their people were at the top. The teachers under the protection of the Educational Inspectors and the Inspectors under

1. Qtd. in Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 38.

* i.e. Shudra Untouchables.

the protection of the Education Minister all worked in team. Of course, in some isolated cases where the D. P. I's* were Englishmen things might have been different for the Untouchable children but still the Minister counted more than the Director of Public Instruction. One Mr. Narhari D. Parikh described conditions prevailing in Mr. Gandhi's district Khaira about the entry of Untouchable children to the District Board Schools in 1937. He said that 'the Harijans were so terrorised by the caste Hindus that they were morally afraid to send their children to Local Body Schools.' Continuing, he said that if they persisted, perhaps under the wrong impression that the Congress Ministers stood for their aid 'the very next day their huts, their hay stacks, their standing crops would be in danger ... They fear that their locations would be attacked, the hut, the hay stack or standing crop of any Harijan would be burnt down.'[1]

This is how the Ministers of ~~the~~ Mahatama Gandhi helped the Hindus to speed up their campaign of aggression against the Shudra Untouchables. With the war cry of 'Gandhi-ki-Jai' (Victory to Gandhi) the Untouchables had been hunted in all spheres of their efforts of religious, social and educational elevation.

The Times of India reported further when the Maharars - an Untouchable community, of Mukhed (near Nasik) attempted to carry a religious procession through the public thoroughfare it

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1. Harijan Bandhu 29th August, 1937.
* Director of Public Instruction.

is said that 'crowds of high caste Hindus from various villages made a general Lathi* charge with shouts of "Mahatama Gandhi-ki-Jai" on the Untouchable Satyagrahis* and scattered them in all directions.'[1] The same paper again reported that the Khaddar+ clad people assaulted a party of Untouchables when carrying their Holy Book in a Planquin, shouting, "Mahatama Gandhi-ki-Jai."[2] This was the help of Mr. Gandhi and his devotees in the free allowance of civic rights and free access to social and educational places to the Untouchables. This is the story of the two years rule of the Congress which has proclaimed time and again that they could not adopt measures of educational advance because the British Government had been a stumbling block in their way. We shall now examine the net result of the Congress on the date of expiry of their power and note some later events. The Congress paper Harijan Bandhu, in its issue of 10th March, 1940, wrote "The Untouchability of the 'Harijans' in the matter of entry into schools persists nowhere as much still as in Gujrat."[3] This is the net result of two years efforts of representatives of the population who called themselves builders

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1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 242.
2. Times of India - 3rd November, 1931.
3. Harijan Bandhu - 10th March, 1940.

* Followers of truth. Mr. Gandhi was the originator of this technique. When he found that his demands were not met by the British, he would resort to Satyagrah. It became a common word for all in the Indian language.

\+ Coarse linen.

* Staff.

of the nation including all castes and creeds. The schools were as closed for the Untouchables as ever. What was the achievement of the Ministers if they could not persuade and influence their followers even in Mr. Gandhi's native district. A paper quoted an extract from the letter of the H. S. S., Mr. Gandhi's great Untouchable institution, that "Harijans of Godhavi, in Ahmedabad district, were so persecuted by caste Hindus for sending their children to local Board Schools that ultimately forty-two Harijan families left that place ... and went to the Taluka town of Samad."[1]

Here, neither Mr. Gandhi came to their rescue nor the people refrained from their suppression. On the other hand when the Hindus oppressed the Untouchables, Mr. Gandhi preached to the oppressive communities to leave such a village. This was the final verdict on his work. Instead of using his Mahatamic powers over his devotees he submitted meekly to their wishes and encouraged them to continue their aggression. Let us take another example of his home district and his remedy to undo that. The Untouchables of one village named Kavitha, in Gujrat sent their children to the common school of the village ~~they~~ but were badly punished with social boycott like banning agricultural labour to them, shutting pasture lands for the grazing of their cattle, depriving their children of buttermilk and further pouring ~~carrowsee~~ kerosene d oil into their wells.[2] On this, the

1. Bombay Chronicle 27th August, 1940.
2. Qtd. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done for the Untouchables - p. 276.

suggestion of Mahatama Gandhi was that "There is no help like self help. God helps those who helps themselves ... I hope that well-wishers of Harijans will help those poor families to vacate inhospitable Kavitha."[1]

This is the preaching of Mr. Gandhi and its organisation after it had worked for fifty five years. The demand for entry to public schools means not the provision of such facilities but evacuation from them in the opinion of the Indian National Congress and its dictators.

We are ending our enquiry but there are a few more later and up-to-date facts which we cannot ignore. Sir Stafford Cripps visited India in 1942. He had put some proposals for the self-government of India. As a result of this an Interim Government including leaders of different communities was formed. Dr. Ambedkar represented the scheduled castes. He was in a position to bring the grievances of his people to the notice of the Government. Therefore, he brought the backward condition in matters of education to the knowledge of Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy of India. Due to his persistent efforts he was able to get some annual sum of money sanctioned and spent for the education of the Untouchable young men for higher studies abroad. When the Government of India planned to send students under the post-war reconstruction scheme in 1945 some selected students from the scheduled castes were also sent

1. Harijan - 5th October, 1935.

to foreign countries.

In the later constitutional developments, His Majesty's Government sent a Cabinet Mission consisting of Sir Stafford Cripps, Sir Alexander and Lord Pethick Lawrence in May, 1946. The previous Interim Government was dissolved and the new Government consisting of Congress nominees came into being. Mr. Nehru, a Brahman, conscious of his being of Brahman birth,[1] became the head of the Cabinet. The first kindness shown was that the educational scheme of the scheduled caste students was slackened while the selection of the higher caste students continued.* This was the last act of the Congress magnanimity towards the education of the Untouchables. In those days, Mahatama Gandhi was alive.

Those students who returned to India with improved qualifications were not very well recognised. A scheduled caste student, B. Sc., Agriculture, with a Diploma in Agriculture, University of Edinburgh, gives the true picture of the Congress mind. In a personal letter to me, he wrote, 'I was practically under watch of the Congress Government which made me to come down to the state of penniless beggar ... very little work is being done towards our community ... in my Province. It is very difficult to remove the prejudice that caste system is the creation of God.'[2]

Here we end the doings of the Hindu Congress as a nation-

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1. Qtd. in Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 222.
2. With an apology to the writer.

* Refer Report of the Selection Board - Government of India - Department of Education, 1946 - p. 4.

alist body for the education of the Untouchables as a hindrance in the State enterprise of education. The Congress ship had been steered by two groups of Hindus. From 1885 to 1919, by the Gokhalists and Tilakites, and from 1919 onwards by Mr. Gandhi. We have seen the efforts of the Tilakites in the first half of the period and the Gandhites in the latter period.

We will finish with the words of the leader of the Depressed Classes who applies Voltaire's words to Mahatama Gandhi's treatment of the Untouchables whom he did not like to get education nor the political advantages but advises them to go on scavenging.[1] The writer quotes "Oh! mockery to say to people that the suffering of one brings joy to others and works good to the whole! What solace is to a dying man to know that from his decaying body a thousand words would come into life?"[2] Mr. Gandhi's advice to those who have received education through State institutions is that they should follow their own hereditary professions. There is no excuse for the uncleanliness of the profession. An educationalist, a doctor or an engineer must revert to his father's profession. If his father was a scavenger or a shoe-maker or a blacksmith he should take up these professions rather than stand on his own qualifications. This is what Gandhism stood for the education of the Untouchables according to the dictates of the Smritis and Shastras.[3]

It has been found that Mr. Gandhi 'made full use of religion

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1. Young India - 27th April, 1927.
2. Voltaire's "Candide." Qtd. by Dr. Ambedkar - What Congress and Ghandi have done to the Untouchables - p. 304.
3. Ref. original views expressed on the subject 'Supra' pp. 286 ff.

to lull the people into false beliefs and false security.' The Untouchables seem to have been very bitter on this philosophy for their education. While paraphrasing Shakespeare they have expressed their views saying, 'Plausibility! ingenuity! Thy name is Gandhism.'[1] This is a record of Mr. Gandhi and his Congress for the social and educational uplift of the Shudra Untouchables and the reaction of the latter to this. In Mr. Savarkar's* Free India further mention of minority rights will not be unnecessary on principle but self contradictory.[2]

1. Ambedkar - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables - p. 304.
2. Speech by Savarkar at the Hindu Mahasabha Calcutta Session, December, 1939.

* Sometime the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

CHAPTER VII

THE OPPOSITION OF THE HINDU DEVOTEES OF CONGRESS TO THE EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES 1919 - 1947

Characteristic devotion of the Hindus to their ruler - Quite different from other nations - Faithful devotion throughout all stages of history - Continuation of the tendency under the Congress regime - Propaganda for the Untouchables - An outline of educational institutions and system - General devices of opposition, social boycott, physical assault - The role of the teacher - Intimidation of Untouchables from reporting to the Authorities, Education Departments machinery now favourable - Courts of Justice prejudiced - The reason behind the existence of educated Untouchables - Factual data illustrating how tendencies already seen to operate in Congress at the same time revealed themselves in the Hindu public - Explanation of commencement of our enquiry from 1919 - Circumstances before and up to 1919 - Harm to Untouchables during 1923 - 1928 - Cases of opposition of Hindu Public circ. 1928 - Cases of opposition during Gandhi's 'fast unto death' in 1932 - Opposition of the public during the corresponding period of Congress Ministries - Treatment during war and just after.

In Hindu polity, there is a saying that 'Yatha Raja Tatha Praja' meaning thereby that the subjects are the second proof of the king. In all other countries the kings have been despots in the olden times. They have sometimes carried it to the extent of the be all and end all in themselves like Louis XIV of France who had said 'I am the State.' The subjects under such rulers have been made to follow the king's wishes in toto. But this did not last long neither in France nor in Tsarist Russia or anywhere else. The common man became the ruler of himself, growing it into the democratic institutions by casting away the yoke of one man's rule or reducing him to the state of

constitutional head. In Hindu Indian nation things have been extraordinarily different. The Hindu Aryans had their rule for about three thousand years. During this period the kings were not followed by the people but worshipped voluntarily without pressure from the king. But it happened only in the case of those who belonged to the 'twice born' category. King Rama is the most outstanding example.

Then they fell under the Muslims. The centre of worship of the Hindu subjects were not Mahmood of Ghazni or Akbar but the Brahmans and the whole Hindu nation felt content in the observance of Shastric ideologies of the Hindu social order. The time passed and the English got the reins of the country. Here neither William Bentinck could be liked nor Lord Dalhousie or Lord Curzon could be praised. The reforms of the first were anti-Shastric hence anti-Dharmic; the introduction of the scientific means of communication and transportation of the second were irreligious 'satanic' devices aimed at converting them to Christianity; and the further reforms of the third were taken as the pitch of anti-national mischief. The whole Hindu population looked for some new body of their own which could be the target of following and worship, howsoever Fascist agency it might be. The wishes of the people were fulfilled with the birth of the Congress organisation. It gave the Hindus new promise, new hope and new tasks to perform. From Gandhi's rise to power since 1919, they had followed the Congress like

dumb driven cattle. He had become 'Congress' himself. He then became the deity of worship - an embodiment of their religion, culture and civilisation. The Hindus became faithful devotees of the Congress and thought it their sacred duty to follow the footsteps of this organisation. It was their 'Raja' (King) and they were the 'Praja.' (subjects). When the Congress held ministries in Provinces, the 'Praja' (subjects) as true to the 'Raja' (King) as ever and in accordance with the above quoted proverbial saying, the Hindus thought it their duty to follow the Congress in word and deed.

From our point of view, we have traced the work of the Congress as National body for the educational work of the Depressed Classes. Now we shall see the work of its devotees - police and army in towns and villages, mostly in the latter. They could not see if the 'Raja' was right or wrong but follow him blindly. We shall see that as the policy for the Depressed Classes moved at the Congress headquarters, its transmission to the mind of the Hindu proletariate was just a copy of it.

The first propaganda which the Hindus have been doing to strangle the outcastes outright is by saying that there is no Untouchability and Untouchables in India. Mr. Harry H. Field quotes an example that a Hindu young man had denied point blank saying "That no Untouchables exist in India."[1] We may write

1. Harry H. Field - After Mother India - p. 163.

for the interest of the reader that three agencies have been used to prove this. It is through Congress, press and platform, through its devotees and through the Untouchable Quislings But this lie reflects upon the inferiority of the character of the Hindu as a whole. Lord Curzon was right when he, while giving Convocation address to the Calcutta University, had stressed on the intelligentsia the need of 'truthfulness.'[1] The insight into one trait of the Hindu character can further be illustrated by the present writer. It is a hard job to say that the Hindus never accept what is right. It is a great prejudice which any race or nation can afford to keep it as a national pride. Miss Mayo wrote a few correct facts about India. She was taken to be a great mischief monger. Nobody tried to remove the evils from the society which she had brought into light but about a dozen books appeared asserting that the facts were quite wrong. I found certain copies of Miss Mayo's book removed from the libraries of other countries by some young men interested in Hindu mentality.

To say that there are no Depressed Classes in India is in itself the first proof to show how much seriousness there is in the minds of such a community for making provisions for the education of the aggrieved community. By denying their existence they feel free from any responsibility towards them.

In order to understand their further campaign we will find

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1. Refer P. 385.

out the field where they stretch their hands in putting obstacles in the free access to schools to the children of the Untouchables. For this we will have to take up the educational institutions in outline.

The Educational Acts of 1854 and 1882, are two Acts upon the scheme of which the whole present educational system in India is carried on.

The first unit of the educational ladder are the four or five years Primary Schools. They are followed by the Vernacular Middle or Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools or the High Schools. The student may pursue his studies to the High School direct after Primary or Primary-cum-Middle to High School. Then comes the four years course of College education. In some Provinces there are two years Intermediate Colleges. The post graduate course in the University is up to M.A., or M.Sc.

The Primary Schools are run by District Boards in Rural areas and by Municipal Committees for the urban population. The same arrangements continue in the case of High Schools. The Secondary education is partly controlled by the Provincial Governments and partly by private bodies. There are denominational institutions of the different communities running side by side the Government educational institutions from the Primary to the University stage. The District Boards and the Private School Bodies get grants-in-aid from the Government for their educational work. The managing bodies of Private Schools and

Colleges also get a grant from the Government. All the agencies getting grants from the Government have to let the doors of their institutions open to all sections and communities of the population.

In India, nearly eighty per cent. population live in villages, and the Untouchable population is also scattered in the villages. How do the caste Hindus stand in their way, we will just take up.

To begin with, usually the village school is the first institution for education for the children. If the parents of the Untouchable children decide to send them to the school the high caste people waylay the boys and snatch their books and punish them under one pretext or the other.[1] The next step of persecution on the persistence of the parent is to put him to social boycott. This means deprivation of labour by any high caste Hindu; the refusal to allow his cattle to go out for grazing in the pasture land; the refusal to supply food stuff by the village grocer; or to set his house on fire and destroy his property somehow or other, or even he may be threatened with murder.[2]

If he still insists, a quarrel is picked up on any meagre pretext and he is physically assaulted which is not counted as violence. The poor victim has no evidence to prove it to the Court of Justice nor are the Courts of Justice expected to give

1. Indian Education Commission Report, 1883. p. 514.
2. Sanjana, J. E. - Caste and Outcaste - p. 162.

him benefit of justice. Evelyn Wrench quoted the words of the leader of the Depressed Classes in an interview with him. He said, "There is no justice for Untouchables in the Courts of Law, as the Judges are nearly always high caste Hindus, which in practice means that in 99 per cent. of cases the verdict goes against them because the word of an Untouchable is not taken as evidence."[1]

If the Untouchables join together in common danger which they have begun to do now, the whole village joins against them and the same technique of social boycott is used against them. This time their crops may be burned, the water of their wells may be poisoned by throwing kerosene oil or poisonous shrubs.

Failing this, the last agency is the village teacher who is against them by tradition.[2] Firstly, he would oppose the admission in every possible way. The Government report at one stage noted that in many cases such teachers failed the local schools because many Depressed Classes students had come in.[3] The campaign of the Hindu teachers, where they could strike, continues until now. The teacher firstly evades ~~his~~ admission on the ground that the admission period is over, or if admitted, the boy will be allowed to sit outside the classroom.[4] If he sat in the room the place reserved for him is the far corner.[5]

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1. Evelyn Wrench - Immortal Years - p. 129.
2. Note his role in Hindu period also - ~~and~~ Ante p. 196.
3. Progress of Education in India - 1907-1912. p. 260.
4. Ibid 1917-1922.
5. Ibid 1907-1912. p. 259.

He is to use all his auditory and visual aids to see what is going on in the class. This is how they 'gather a few crumbs of knowledge.'[1] The progress of the boy is seldom checked by the teacher. In Muslim Provinces where the teacher has to do something he uses the Muslim boys to scrutinise the work of the Untouchable boy. Because the Hindus think that Muslims are Mlecchas and if they touch an Untouchable they are not polluted. If the boy is intelligent enough to carry on with the class without the help of the teacher he tries to use other different means to discourage him. He might scold him or punish him for a simple fault. The punishment may be sometimes so hard that it might be the first and the last for him to leave the school. If the boy is a bit backward, which he is bound to be due to lack of equal attention in the class, his removal from the school becomes simpler. The leakage figures in schools are mostly of the children of these classes. Another method employed in discouraging these boys is to check their promotion. Almost all the stagnation cases are also from the children of these communities.

A question may be asked, why can such irregularities not be brought to the notice of the superintending authorities, civil or educational? Also how is it that we still find educated young men among these communities?

To take up the first, the matters are seldom reported to

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1. Progress of Education in India - 1907-1912. p.259.

the Authorities. If the case is individual, there is a threat of terrorising the parent by the Hindus who form the majority. In all probability, due to this reason, the case is dropped, but if still the complaint is taken up, the village postmaster comes to the rescue. We have said that the whole Hindu machinery works in a team and this part of the machinery keeps an acute vigilance over such a complaint. As soon as it is posted it is missed from the post bag and destroyed, of which the complainant has no knowledge whatsoever. He keeps on waiting for the result but the paper is dead and gone. Sometimes the parents suspect such cases and go personally to the Education offices to hand over the report. But he seldom gets the result this way either. The reason is that the clerk in charge may throw it into the waste paper basket because he is in sympathy with his coreligionist teacher. If, to his good luck, the paper may reach the Education Inspector, the Inspector will sleep over it. Still if the enquiry is held it will not be successful either due to lack of evidence or the prejudicial enquiry of the Inspecting Officer who is habitually against.[1] The blame is always put on the parent in one form or the other to justify the wrong enquiry. This is how the administrative machinery does not exist for the Shudra Untouchables.

Apart from the Departmental approach, the next place for an

1. Indian Education Commission Report 1883. pp. 514-515.

independent justice is the Court of Law. The treatment he is given there is mentioned previously, but we may again note the words of Sir Valentine Chirol of the state of things in a Hindu Court of Justice. He says "In the native state of Travancore it is not uncommon to see Panchama witness in a law suit standing about a hundred yards from the Court so as not to defile the Brahman judge and pleader ..."[1] Then what hope is there for him to find justice in a place where the fear of pollution is the first consideration. These are typical instances of what happens in Hindu Provinces. We have quoted elsewhere the result of the enquiry of a Hindu Congress Minister The subordinate's attitude can be judged by the reader himself. The only areas where they get some facilities are the Mohammedan Provinces. There the Untouchables do pursue their cases and get the mischief remedied. In general, the picture is as I have depicted.

The reply to the second question that there are educated young men in these communities, is that it is due to the benign policy of the British Government, the Christian missionaries and the liberal treatment of the Mohammedan population. In the Punjab one Society Aryasmaj also did some work but we cannot give much credit because they had some political motive behind it. We have taken the work of all these agencies in the succeeding sections.

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1. Sir Valentine Chirol - Indian Unrest - p. 179.

We have depicted the general treatment meted out to Untouchables by the devotees of the Congress. The historical trace of this type of attitude during the corresponding period of the working of the Congress Organisation still remains. Here we will make a little deviation from the general way of our detailed treatment for purposes of brevity. It will not make any difference. The reason is that there has never been a change in Hindu behaviour towards the Depressed Classes at any stage of the history. When dealing with the work of the Congress as a National body we saw that whatever programme the Congress began in 1885, it left in 1947 in the same way. It may have increased its tyranny, as it did during its actual rule of two years, but never budged an inch back from the general policy. In the same way, we shall see its followers have followed the footsteps of the 'Raja' (ruler). At every step the same refusal of the teacher to admission, the same obstacles in the way of the children and parents; the same segregation of the boys in the classrooms by the teacher the pride of the Hindu public; the same leakage and stagnation figures of the Untouchable boys kept by the teacher, and the same discouragement and hatred of the educated young men in the society. Therefore, with this end in view we will present our factual data from the year of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms onward, when the public themselves became in charge of their education with their representative Ministers in charge of the education. It

was officially the beginning of diarchy in India. The education became a transferred subject from the Centre to the Provinces with the Indian Ministers. It was a good time for the Hindu Public to prove their zeal of doing work for these communities because all the time they had been shouting that they could not do anything so long as the British officials were administrative heads of education departments. Now we shall see the change brought about by them. To crown all it was the period of the height of the glory of Congress when Mahatama Gandhi was its dictator.

Before 1919, to give a sidelight, early in 1912, Sir A. Bourne had given a statement in the Government of India Report on Education that the 'Hindus take little interest in these people.'[1] They do not oppose entry into their own schools but give inhuman treatment even in Local Body* State Schools and if they are permitted to attend the Common Schools they may sit in the verandah for a 'few crumbs of knowledge.' Their teachers are unsympathetic, their inspectors are inimical towards their educational progress.[2] And the date on which we begin our chapter, the five years Report of the Government of India on education gave the same findings saying that the Depressed Classes children are not allowed entry into schools. If allowed, segregation is applied. They are made to sit on separate benches. In many cases they are made to sit outside

1. Progress of Education in India 1907-1912. p. 259.
2. Ibid
* Refer case of Bombay Corporation Schools. Qtd. in Sanjana Caste and Outcaste - p. 227.

the school in scorching sun and violent wind.[1] A new development which the last Report had revealed was that where separate State Schools had been started there the high caste boys filled all the allotted admission seats.

During the internal strife between the Congress ranks from 1923 to 1928, the Hindu Army of the Congress was busy instigating the Untouchable students from schools and colleges with other castes' boys to leave educational institutions and join them to help the Congress against the British Government. The Shudra students being in poor minority were in a fix as to what to do. I know that they had to succumb to the Hindu pressure. This harmed their studies much and many lost their careers. There were hardships over hardships. Even the forced alliance with the Hindu mob did not meet the hearts of the public. The position in 1928 was the same. The Times of India dated 7th November, 1928, reported that one, Mr. Pandu Mahar, a member of the Kharepatan School Committee, Bombay Presidency, took nine children for admission to a District Board School but the teacher refused to admit them saying that 'he would consult the local elders' and then inform him. The teacher was requested to allow them to sit apart if he feared pollution, but he still refused. The matter was reported to the Chairman of the Board but no reply came.[2] Another paper exposed that the Inspecting Officers gave bogus entries. According to the report "the

1. Refer Progress of Education in India 1917-1922. p. 206.
2. Qtd. J. E. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 225.

Order to admit Antyaja boys into schools remains merely on paper. In 95 per cent. of schools the boys are made to sit outside in the cold, heat or rain.'[1] In the Hindu State of Baroda 'the standing crop of a poor Antyaja woman was fired, and she herself brutally assaulted because she dared to send her little son to the local Primary school.'[2] The same treatment was repeated by the Ad-Dharm Mandal Punjab, giving evidence before the Simon Commission 1928.[3]

In the next stage when Mr. Gandhi was busy with his 'fast unto death' stunt* in 1932, for seeking the friendship of the Depressed Classes for the Hindus, all the devotees of Congress were feverish on one point, that if once the Untouchables agreed in saving the life of their leader, they would leave no stone unturned to fill the schools with Untouchable children. But on such a critical juncture a writer says that 'As for education of the "Harijans" even when the much boomed "Harijan Uplift" was in full swing, and the maudlin sentiment created by it was in full spate, practically the whole of touchable Gujrat, directly or indirectly, opposed the entry of Untouchable children into Public Elementary Schools ... Untouchables were so intimidated ... that they dared not send their children to schools.'[4] The same writer further informs that 'numerous villages refused to support National Schools which forced caste

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1. Saurashtra 18th February, 1928.
2. Sanjana, J. E. - Caste and Outcaste - p. 224.
3. Memorial to Sir John Simon – from the PUNJAB AD-DHARM MANDAL - [illegible] - p. Kishen Steam Press - Jullundhar, 1928.
4. Sanjana, J. E. - Caste and Outcaste p. 158.

* The Depressed Classes have called it as such.

children to sit with Antyaja children ...'[1]

This state of affairs did not only prevail in villages where the Hindus are buried deep into the caste system and hence active to take up the Congress programme, at the earliest opportunity blindly, but in urban districts where the educated and liberal element is supposed to reside and where their higher educational institutions exist, conditions were equally disappointing. It is said that in the Arya* Hindu College, Cawnpore, when a Chamar Untouchable student joined the College hostel, the Hindu students raised a protest and got the support of the Hindu servants working there. The Hindu menials refused to wash his utensils.[2] During the same period a similar case was repeated in the D. A. V. College, a Hindu College, Lahore, Punjab, where Mr. Ishwar Dass was boycotted in the College hostel. At Lahore, these were the days when the national sentiment of the Hindus for freedom was at its height. The preceding events were the reception of the Simon Commission with 'black flags' by Mr. Lajpat Rai, a great Hindu patriot, and the murder of a European superintendent of police by Bhagat-singh. Still another case took place in the Science Institute Banglore. Here the proposal was for the arrangement of a common mess for the high caste and the low caste. Upon this, the post graduate students protested in the hostel of the Institutes. 'They took a leaf out of the Mahatamic book;

1. Sanjana, J. E. - Caste and Outcaste - p. 219.
2. Pandit - Cawnpore 26th February, 1934. Qtd. in Dharma Mangala 3rd April, 1934.

* Said to be the very liberal section of the Hindus.

they went on strike, fasted, sat 'dharna'* in the foundation dug for the caste polluting hall.'[1] The Director of the Institute had to make separate arrangements for the demons of Rigveda, i.e. Untouchables. The 'Hindu', a Hindu paper of Madras appreciated the action of the Hindu students.[2]

When the Congress held power, we have noted in the previous chapter that the people thought that the British rule had ended and hence they carried on their campaign against the Depressed Classes more freely. We are informed that one, Mr. Parikshit Lal had tried his best to get admission to a school in the Baroda Hindu State village school, but the Hindus of the village (Pamol) foiled his efforts.[3] The High Caste Hindu teachers of the Sabarmati Vidyapith hostel refused to allow the Untouchable teachers to sit near them in one line for dining with them.[4] A girl student named Jamana Chhagan Lal was maltreated by the Hindu Headmistress of Public High School, Palsana (Bombay) for complaining that they were seated separately in the classroom.[5] These are a few examples of the educated element of the Hindus during the period.

The rule of the Congress was over by 1939. The second World War was in full swing. The country was surrounded from all sides by the enemies of the Allies. The Japanese were planning to enter India. The Congress had passed the 'Quit

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p.71.
2. The Hindu (Madras) 16th March, 1943.
3. Harijan Bandhu - 18th September, 1938.
4. Bombay Samachar - 10th July, 1939.
5. Dandio - 14th November, 1940.

* To sit motionless in protest.

India' Resolution of the British. The Hindu public took up the Congress programme with pleasure and zeal. The 'Quit India' resolution was followed by political disturbances in the country. The move was to bring freedom to all sections of the population of India. But it looked that the whole effort was for the revival of Hindu rule because the stigma of jealousy against the Shudra Untouchable education was the same. However, a change had taken place. Now the highly educated young men were looked upon with disfavour in the society, not to speak of the uneducated. In 1945, there is an instance of a Mahar Law Graduate of Bombay Presidency who could not get accommodation in any of the Colleges of Poona City. He was neither given any place to live in the City nor outside by the citizens. He was turned out from locality to locality. His high education did not raise his status and bring any prestige in the Hindu society.

It brings the discussion of the attitude of the Hindus as devotees of the Congress towards the Depressed Classes people, anxious for education, to a close. It is the stage when the Hindus are at the threshold of freedom.

CHAPTER VIII

CAUSES OF THE DENIAL OF EDUCATION TO THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES AND ITS JUSTIFICATION

(a) Racial superiority based on colour prejudice - Wrong theory - All Aryans were not white - The complaint of the Hindus against the Europeans in South Africa - Tyranny against the Untouchables for the same reason in the same period - (b) Religious superiority - the root of all evil - References to superiority in Rigveda - A sketch of Hindu religion, its sanctions and manners and customs, doctrine of Karma and caste system - The religion exhibits no superiority - (c) The question of language - the Aboriginal Sudhars said to have no language - This proved to be a wrong assumption - (d) The problem of intelligence - Shudras said to have no intelligence - The past and present record of the Shudra Untouchable race shows they were quite intelligent - (e) The Shudras without tradition of or aptitude for learning - Unfair argument as the Hindus had no tradition of or aptitude for the language and learning of the Muslims and the British - (f) the Shudras supposed to be temperamentally unfitted for learning - (g) Denial of education on account of unclean habits and lack of civic sense and truthfulness - Recapitulatory remarks.

We have traced in the previous seven chapters the long and well planned history of the opposition of the Aryan Hindus to the social and educational progress of the Shudra Untouchables right from the beginning of their entry into India down to the present time. During the progress of the research, two things have become clear as daylight. Firstly, none of the non-Hindu communities among the later migrants into Indian territory, for instance the Mohammedans and the Christians, have opposed the education of the Shudras. Secondly, the Hindus may have improved in some respects the general character of their culture, but they have budged not one inch back from their policy of oppression of the Shudra Untouchables. They

may even have intensified their oppression at times, but there is no evidence that they ever slackened it. This position being clear, we have to find out the causes of so persistent an attitude and to attempt to see its justification. The causes must have been very compelling from their point of view, because they seem to have treated it as a matter of duty. We have collected the following possible causes of the refusal of education to the Shudra Untouchables.

(a) Racial superiority of the Hindus.
(b) Religious superiority of the Hindus.
(c) Superiority of the language of the Hindus.
(d) Lack of intelligence in the Shudra Untouchables.
(e) Absence of tradition and aptitude for education in the Shudras.
(f) Temperamental unfitness of the Untouchables for the acquisition of knowledge.
(g) The unclean and unhygienic habits and character of the Shudras.

All these causes are considered by the Hindus to have remained constant in their application from ancient until modern times.

Racial superiority.

The first cause of difference between the two races is said to be the feeling of racial distinction. It is based on the assumption of colour prejudice, (Varna). The Aryans came from outside and are said to be of a whiter colour than the native Dasyus or Dasas.[1] In order to establish the fact of this superiority of colour (Varna), the Aryans established a permanent classification called the Chaturvarnya (the four different colours). According to this theory, the first three castes,

1. Dr. Ambedkar in his thesis 'Who were the Shudras' has refuted this theory of colour superiority, p. 75, but I am not aware of the reply to his findings.

the twice born, are supposed to be of white Varna (colour) and the fourth, the Shudras, of dark colour. It is on this assumption that the Aryans called themselves noble and the "Excellent Lords"[1] and the conquered Shudras, the dark. This fairness of colour has been taken as an indication of their high intelligence as compared with the poor ability of the Shudras.

One is inclined to sympathise with the Hindus and to allow them to assume a similar position to the Europeans for the satisfaction of their vanity, but unluckily, the physiological and psychological facts are against them. Physiologically, neither were they white in the past as their books say, nor are they now white as we see them; but curiously enough they have never tolerated the Untouchable children to mix with their children either in past times or at present. The truth is that if the Aryans were white and red the Dasyus were the same. In one of the Stanzas of the Rigveda, the Aryans say to their warrior Indra "O Indra! destroy the Pishachis who are <u>reddish in appearance</u> and utter fearful yells. Destroy all these Rakshasas."[2] Reversing the argument, if the Dasyus were dark, the ancestors of the Hindus were also dark as we can see today. One writer says after a search in their books that "The Vedic Aryans were not of one colour. Their complexion varied; some were of copper complexion, some white, and some black. Rama

1. Mazumdar - Hindu History - p. 227.
2. Rig-Veda I, 133, 2 to 5.

the son of Dasharatha, has been described as Shyama, i.e. dark in complexion, so has Krishna, the descendant of the Yadus, another Aryan clan. The Rishi Dirghatamas, who is the author of many Mantaras of the Rig-Veda must have been of dark colour if his name was given to him after his complexion. Kanva is an Aryan Rishi of great repute but according to the description given in Rigveda (X-31-11), he was of dark colour."[1]

The same is the position now. Nobody can distinguish a person in Indian society by his colour and say that one is a Brahman and the other an Untouchable. The explanation may come from the Hindus that this is due to blood mixing on both sides, but one would like to enquire the cause of such similarity in earlier times. Possibly it may be the same, and mixture of blood may have taken place long ago. But our main point is that there was never much difference in colour and that a mild fairness may have distinguished the Aryan. On this slight variation the air of superiority maintained on grounds of colour was unduly exaggerated.

This sense of superiority has made them so blind that they began to think they were white when they were actually dark. They have been successful in maintaining their false assertion before the Untouchables in India, but not before Europeans. And while they feel hurt when they have been in certain places debarred from certain privileges because of colour bar prejudice

1. B.R. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p.77.

they do not remember that they themselves have imposed far severer restrictions and penalties on the Untouchables for the same reason but in this instance a false one. I am referring to the situation of the Hindus in South Africa. It was a shock to me to watch their behaviour there. Some time ago, the Government of India, through Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, lodged a complaint with the United Nations Assembly about the bad treatment of Indians in South Africa owing to colour prejudice. Their complaint was that owing to the enforcement of the "Pegging Act" they were forbidden to occupy land in the Europeans' areas, and that by the "Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill" the ownership of land by Indians was limited to certain areas. As regards social and educational discrimination, they called it grossly unjust that their children were not all admitted to European schools, were not allowed to travel in the front parts of the buses, and that the use of certain cafes and restaurants was closed to them. In short they said they were subject to intolerable oppression. Pandit Nehru, the then Vice President of the Interim Government declared that "For India it is a moral and human issue."[1]

Now let us compare their attitude towards the Untouchable population living amongst them and the sense of morality therein displayed. The Shudra Untouchables cannot live where Hindus have their dwellinghouses. They are forced to settle down in

1. The Scotsman, 16th October, 1946.

separate colonies in towns and villages. They cannot own land at all. Manu left such legal penalties for owning property that one shudders to read them.[1] They cannot send their children to schools. If they do, they do so at the risk of social inconvenience and even of personal injuries. Their own Sanskrit Schools and Colleges are shut against them. In short, the restrictions of the Union Government are far less severe than their own laws against the Depressed Classes. They cannot tolerate colour prejudice in others, but they themselves are very proud of keeping it intact.

General Smuts responded to the charges in a very appropriate and correct way. And it was the only answer he could give. He said "Indians should be the last persons to throw stones at others and bring charges of class distinction against any other country."[2] Continuing, he is reported to have said, "Is there a country in the wide world where there is more social discrimination between communities and classes than in India? Is social discrimination not the very basis and pattern of Indian society?"[3]

While the Indian Brahman Vice President was busy with his complaint on grounds of humanity, the 'Sunday Observer' reported that the Hindus were ready to burn the Untouchables alive. It is said that on a certain pretext the Hindus went to a settlement of the Scheduled Castes ... burnt it down and tied two of the

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1. Refer Ch. *I*.
2. Glasgow Herald 14th November, 1946.
3. London Times 14th November, 1946.

people to trees to be burnt alive.[1] This shows that they have been very unreasonable. Their opposition to the education of the Shudra Untouchables on the plea that it is hurtful to them is completely unjustified.

Let us consider the colour question psychologically. Supposing the Hindus had a fairer colour than the Dasa Shudras in the past, and the Shudra Untouchables now, how can they assume that the lightness of the colour of a race is the only test of that intelligence which equips an individual to acquire knowledge properly? It is wholly unfair to refuse education to one person because his colour is not like that of another. If colour were the only test of ability, the intelligence quotient of the Madras Brahmans would have been zero compared with that of an ordinary white European in these days, or an ordinary Untouchable from North India. If the same argument is used, their sons should not be admitted to any of the educational institutions of the West. Hence the plea of racial superiority as an excuse for the denial of education to the Shudras is most unjustifiable for colour is not the test of an individual's intelligence. Have we not seen that the negroes of America have developed further in a period of sixty years than the Anglo Saxons who achieved the same level of development in a far longer period.[2] The Untouchables under the British Raj have also smashed the theory to pieces. It is not colour

1. Sunday Observer, London, 27th October, 1946.
2. Refer 'The Clash of Colour' by Basil Mathews Qtd. Valentine Chirol - The Indian Unrest - p. 108.

but heredity and equal opportunities which play a part in the unfolding of a fully developed personality.

Religious Superiority

The next cause to which unfitness of the Untouchables is attributed is religion. This is the root of all the troubles of the Shudra Untouchable from time immemorial. "Religion in danger"[1] at the hands of the Untouchable Shudras has always been the cry of the Aryan Hindus. They have waged war against any non-Hindu element in order to protect their religion and the honour of their religious books. The Shudra has been the easiest target for tyranny. It is the Hindu religion which has laid down eternal laws that the Shudras should be rigorously excluded from the benefits of education. Any Educationist who wishes to investigate the educational condition of the Depressed Classes cannot ignore the discussion of religion, the root of all the Untouchables' trouble. The sentiment of religious superiority had originated in the very beginning, in the Rigvedic period. It superseded the political issue at the first encounter, and the wars in the Rigveda were intensified by the religious differences between the two races.[2] This became more and more the cause of their difference. Even when some sections of the Depressed Classes imitated the Hindu religious practices, manners and customs, they gained no privileges for those who stayed outside the faith. Dr. Ambedkar is so much struck with

1. Moral and Material Progress of India 1921, p. 221.
2. B. R. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 137.

this superiority that he is ready even to exclude the racial side of the question when he says ' ... whatever the degree of conflict, it was not a conflict of race. It was a conflict which had arisen on account of difference of religion.'[1] And the result of this conflict could not be sweet. Religion has everywhere played a dangerous part in encouraging the persecution of those of opposing beliefs. The Dasyus or Dasas were definitely of a different religion. They did not perform the religious observances which the Aryans performed. Rigveda is itself explicit on this point. "We live in the midst of the Dasyu tribes, who do not perform sacrifices, nor believe in anything. They have their own rites and are not entitled to be called men ..."[2] There are a few other examples which show the difference of religion, such as 'they are without Aryan rites (i.e. Aryan)' (R.V. i 51,8; 9,132,4; iv.41,2) 'They are of different rites' (R.V. viii 59,11; x 22,8) 'They are without prayers' (R.V. iv 15,9) 'They are haters of those who preside at prayers' (i.e. Brahmans) (R.V. v 42,9) 'They are despisers of Indra' (R.V. i 133,1) (v 2,3; x 27,6) 'They give no gifts to the Brahmana' (R.V. v 7,10).

The whole point will be summed up if we say that the very word Dasyu was 'used to denote persons who did not observe the Aryan form of religion.'[3]

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1. B.R. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 69.
2. Rigveda X 22 8.; I-100-8.
3. B.R. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 107.

By the close observation of the manners, customs and different beliefs of the communities of the Depressed Classes, the difference of religion, manners and customs is noticeable.

The Hindus were always convinced that their religion was different and far superior to any other. They looked at other religions with contempt, and for this reason they kept the Shudras out of their own educational system and opposed their admission to the educational systems of other races, like the Mohammedan and the Christian. We must examine the nature of the Hindu religion from the Shudra point of view, especially as his own religion has been hated so much that his life has been made a hell by his religious opponents.

The Hindu religion on the whole admits the existence of God, although there are sects like Deva Smaj, in the Punjab, who do not believe in the existence of God. The early Aryans also did not speak much about God, but seem to have been worshippers of natural phenomena in the form of gods and spirits. They deified rivers, pools and also sacrificial implements. But later on they began to realise the existence of some supreme power. It may be that these ideas were taken from the conquered race. The Upnishdas contain such theories of speculative thought. After this period of investigation, they divided the supreme Deity (Parameshwara) into different forms of gods known as the Tri-Murti (or triad of forms which became characteristic of Hinduism.)[1] The three forms are Brahma (Creator), Vishnu

1. Monier Williams - Brahmanism and Hinduism - p. 44.

(Preserver) and Shiva (Destroyer). This Tri-Murti process has been wrongly compared with the Christian Trinity.[1] But we will not discuss it here. The Hindus have not been content to worship these three forms of God but they have further sub-divided them into thirty three hundred million objects of worship.[2] The Hindus hold as an invariable principle, that every object animate or inanimate which has the power of doing good or evil, should be worshipped.[3] In fact, the Hindus have never throughout the history of Hinduism developed a definite monotheistic conception of God. This trend of thought gave rise to the idea of idol worship. I think the Hindus are the only people on the surface of the earth who follow this practice in modern times. The worship of idols had its origin in the Vedic period when the Aryans personified natural phenomena[4] as gods and bowed their heads before them in prayer for the realisation of worldly gain. "In the Epic Age we find mention of temples, idols and their worship. The Pandvas prostrated themselves before the gods in the temple (Mahabh)."[5] It goes without saying that in the later Budhist period this hardened itself into a practice which became an object of National pride.

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1. Monier Williams - Brahmanism and Hinduism - pp. 44, 49.
2. Stanley ~~Roach~~ Jones - The Christ of the Indian Road - p. 5.
   Monier Williams - Brahmanism and Hinduism - p. 44.
3. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 556.
4. Refer Ch. I p. & H. P. Shastric - H. H. W. Historians History of the World vol. II, p. 529. I. G. I. Vol. II. p. 207, A. K. Mazumdar - Hindu History - p. 272.
5. A. K. Mazumdar - Hindu History p. 430.

Thus in the words of H. Kraemer, from this point of view, Hinduism is full of paradoxes.[1]

Every Hindu is a devotee of one god or another. Some may have their different favourite gods who do different things for them. None would dare to be without a god to worship. The punishment was very hard. Offenders would be re-born as creeping insects, or worst of all, as outcastes; and, knowing how much power and energy they had to use to keep the Shudra Outcaste down and what was his condition as a consequence of that they thought it was essential to worship a god of some sort in order to avoid this terrible fate. As a writer says that '... the gods who hold the destinies of men in their hands, ... have decreed that he who during his life has been an unbeliever .. shall be born again as a creeping insect, a wild animal, an outcaste, blind, poor, etc.'[2]

The whole educational system of the Hindus is directed at the training of youth for the proper comprehension of the religion and the right observance of its sanctions, idol worship being the most prominent in the list. This is Dharma, as already explained, and is also character training.[3] The liberal education of the West and modern scientific inventions have not been able to change the Hindu mind on this subject. A Hindu Professor in a College may be an efficient lecturer in English literature, poetry or drama or on English history or the British

1. H. Kraemer - Christian Message in a Non-Christian World - p. 159.
2. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 569.
3. Ch. III p. 187.

Constitution, but as soon as he goes home his mind is gripped by the thought of the fear of some god or spirit of an ancestor.[1] A Bengalee Babu (clerk) may be quite good at any liberal English office work but as soon as he returns home his head must bow low before the goddess of Kali (goddess of sacrifice).[2] Why was this so? Because the Pandavas, their ancestors, were also the worshippers.[3] The Hindu cannot ever bear the approach of a Shudra Untouchable to any of his gods. And the sanction of the gods is that education is the gift of the Brahmans, and hence the Shudra has no right to it. Even the goddess of learning comes to the Brahmans only[4] and in modern times to the twice born but not to the Shudra Untouchables. We have seen the exclusion of the Shudra from education when the temple, the abode of god was the only seat of learning in the later Hindu period. The present Sanatan Dharam Educational Institutions are closed against Shudras for this reason, because there are temples in them which house the gods.

Next, then, what are the animate and inanimate objects of nature which are worshipped? In what form are they worshipped? and what is the method of worship?

The first item of worship on the list among the higher species of animals is man. Personalities like Rama and Krishana

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1. Mayhew - Education ~~and Culture~~ INDIA - p. 180.
2. Ibid ch VIII - P 336
3. See ~~Mayhew~~, ~~Griffith~~, ~~and~~ ~~Alston~~.
4. Manu II-114.

are worshipped in every Hindu House. In recent times images or idols of Mahatama Gandhi have been added to the list. Then any ordinary householder or citizen who puts up an image of a rishi (ancient religious teacher) which can be taken as the symbol of some god and hence can command unquestionable devotion because the belief in saints is an accepted part of Hinduism.[1] The common avtars (incarnations) of gods are of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The outward form shows either the hair of the head and the beard uncut, one long loose gown of orange colour on the body and a pair of wooden sandals on the feet, or the head and beard shaven, the body naked with one loin cloth and leather or wooden sandals on the feet. Even complete nudity is permissible on religious grounds both for men and women.[2] There are examples in the mendicants of India and naked faqirs (mendicants). Mahatama Gandhi's form presents the most polished example. A man with such a form may be taken as a personality worthy of worship. No further question need be asked. He may himself tell the people that he is an incarnation of some ancient god. This will provide confirmation of the people's belief. The people do not question the divinity of such a man because they fear the wrath of the god whom the Mahatama (great soul) represents. The Hindus believe that the gods can assume

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1. The authoritative book on the subject is 'Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India' J. C. Oman.
2. General Practice from Olden Times - McRindle - Megasthenise Arrai +-/ p. 120.
(Mystics and Saints - p. 268.
J. C. OMAN.

human form and then perform all the worldly acts like human beings. Sir William Monier quotes one such act of God Brahma. It is said that 'God Brahma indulged an incestuous passion for Saruswati, who, really his daughter, afterwards became his wife.'[1]

In the animal kingdom, a few creatures like monkeys[3] snakes rats and fish may be mentioned. The greatest reverence is given to the cow. There are millions of temples in India which contain the images of bulls. The Hindus are mad on the worship of the cow. Those who eat its meat are regarded as enemies of the Hindus, like the Mohammedans and Untouchables in India. They are subjected to innumerable disabilities and taken to be barbarians. Abbe Dubois tells us that the British who eat beef are counted even below the Pariah Untouchables.[2] The feeling of reverence for the cow is so high that it is believed that "every part of its body is inhabited by some deity or other. Every hair on its body is inviolable. All its excreta are hallowed. Not a particle ought to be thrown away as impure. On the contrary, the water it ejects ought to be preserved as the best of all holy waters - a sin destroying liquid which sanctifies everything it touches, while nothing purifies like cow dung. Any spot which a cow has condescended to honour with the sacred deposit of her excrement is for ever afterwards consecrated ground, and the filthiest place plastered with it is at once

1. ~~Mayo~~ Monier Williams ~~Vol XIII~~ Brahmanism and Hendeism P. 555.
2. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 194.
3. Mayo, Katherine - Vol. II. Ch. XIII.

cleansed and freed from pollution, while the ashes produced by burning this hallowed substance are of such a holy nature, that they not only make clean all material things, however previously unclean, but have only to be sprinkled over a sinner to convert him into a saint."[1] Eating cow's meat is serious enough, but if by mistake you eat the hair of the cow, you will never be re-born as a Hindu which is a great loss in your next re-incarnation. Your re-birth may take place among members of some other impure race. It is said that once a Hindu saint had accidentally swallowed the hair of a cow, he was condemned to be a Muslim at his next re-birth.[2] The urine and excreta of the cow are used for the purification[3] of objects polluted by the touch of an Untouchable or a member of any other Mlechchha (impure) race. The urine may be sprinkled over the object and the dung may be besmeared over it. If a person feels polluted, he may drink the urine and give a massage to the body with its dung. In many cases it is used as medicine.[4] But it is a pity that the cows of Hindus die the most wretched death. As soon as the cow stops giving milk the poor creature is neglected and given to Goshalas (charitable cow houses) where they die with maggots in the body.[5] Otherwise too the animal is cruelly

1. Monier Williams - Brahmanism and Hinduism - p. 318.
2. Ibid
3. Thomas Waters Yuan Chwang's Travels in India - Edited Rhys Davids Vol. i, p. 147.
4. Refer Mahabharata Adi Parva p. 246 -(M. N. Dutt) for other values and Itsing J. Takakasu - p. 139.
5. Mayo, Katherine - Mother India - Vol. I. Ch. The Sacred Cow. Vol. II. Ch. The Old Grey Cow.

treated.[1]

Among the birds, 'Garuda' a kile like bird is highly venerated.

Natural phenomena which are objects of worship, begin with the sun, the moon and the stars. Rivers, mountains and springs are added to the list. Even stones appear as worthy of worship. All the gods are generally symbolised by stones. There is also one particular stone called the Saligrama stone, which must be kept by every Hindu family especially in every Brahman house. "It is written in Atharva Veda that any Brahmans house in which there is no Saligrama is to be considered as impure as a cemetery and the food which is prepared in it as unclean as a dog's vomit."[2]

In the plant kingdom all trees and seed plants must be worshipped. The 'Pipal Tree' and the Tulsi plant (Ocymum Sanctum) come first in order of merit. It is said that 'nothing on earth can equal the virtues of Tulsi.'[3] There is another kind of grass called 'Darbha grass' a kind of genus borage, green in colour, which is assumed to bring immortality and blessedness to the Hindus ancestors.[4]

Diseases like the plague and smallpox can be worshipped. They are symbolised for worship in certain tangible forms.

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1. Evelyn Wrench - Immortal Years - p.102.
   H. Field - After Mother India - p.203.
2. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p.656.
3. Ibid p.656.
4. Ibid pp.658-59.

It is this 'extravagant and barbarous idolatry which forms the religious system of the modern Hindus.'[1] This state of affairs reveals the primitive state of Hindu society. The worship of animate and inanimate objects is perhaps the result of the belief in the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls. The Hindus think that the souls of their ancestors (nobody knows which) may have returned by re-incarnation to the earth in the form of Sadhus (mendicants), animals, birds, reptiles and plants.

In what form are these objects worshipped? There are two forms, the object as it is, or as it is symbolized in a stone idol. In the first category the instances of animals, trees, plants and grass may be given. They are worshipped as they exist in visible form in nature. In the second category, the stone idols of different gods, for instance the incarnations of Rana, Krishana and Gandhi, or of diseases like plague and small pox may be kept for worship.

How the worship is carried on it will take a long time to describe fully. Generally, the devotee goes to the idol with some offerings. He kneels on his knees before the stone, rubs his forehead at the feet of the idol, mutters some prayer and prays for some boon or object which he wants. The idol of the god may be washed with great care. Not a drop of the water used is allowed to run away. The washing water is regarded as more precious than a nectar and is a panacea for all ills. It

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1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 563.

is sipped by and by and distributed to other members of the family. To those who do not believe in idolatry, this act is very unhygienic for these stone idols are sometimes in temples and sometimes in the open in the bushes surrounding the Indian villages. There is no system of watching the idols during that part of the day or week when worship is not taking place. (Some idols are worshipped once a week, others daily). It has been found that jackals, foxes, stray cats and stray dogs leave refuse on them. In temples when the idol is guarded by a building, the mice may do the same. I was surprised once to find out that although an idol was dirty, yet when it was washed by a devotee not a single drop of the water was allowed to be wasted. The water was distributed amongst the co-religionists who sipped it with pleasure. I was excluded because firstly I was kept far away from the actual spot where the ceremony took place, and secondly to give such nectar to an Untouchable is a sin. Miss Mayo was horrified to find a similar scene at the worship of Kali, where the dirty blood of the sacrificial animals was swept up by the women and drunk.[1] It was a very unhygienic act to her but she was unaware of the sanctity implied by it. She may have been struck at the injustice done to the Shudras on such an occasion but she had made no proper study of the Smritis and Puranas. Even Swami Dayanand Saraswati the Brahman originator of the Arya Smaj Sect, a great

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1. Mayo, Katherine - Mother India - p.15-16 ~~and Slaves of the Gods - p.~~

opponent of Christianity, Islam, Kabir Partheim and Sikhism, was led to abandon idol worship, his ancestral creed, on seeing a mouse passing urine over the idol of Shiva on the Drwati day.[1]

The religion further stands for the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls. According to this doctrine the soul does not die. It is the physical form of man that wears out. The soul is reborn from the unknown world and how it is re-incarnated, depends upon the actions of men in their previous life. This doctrine of metempsychosis is the very spirit of Hindu religion. It is assumed in traditional beliefs that the soul of an individual traditionally completes a circle of 84 million rebirths through all the different species of the animal kingdom such as human beings, animals from the ape to the lowest insect organism, all kinds of reptiles and all kinds of birds, and also through many species of the plant kingdom such as trees, seed plants and flower plants. Re-birth in any of these forms is the reward or punishment of the actions of the previous life. You remain in the form in which you are re-born until your death. 'All this is ridiculous' said Abbe Dubois, but to the Hindu community this is the very pith of their faith.

This doctrine gives rise to the theory of the caste system. The Aryans divided society into four parts, the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras. The duties assigned to the Brahman were to guide the three succeeding castes, to the

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1. Lajpat Rai - The Aryasmaj - p. 8.

Kshatriyas to work for the defence of the country, to the Vaishyas, to deal in trade and to the Shudras, to be the servants of all.[1] The first three were called the twice-born (the highest) and the Shudra once-born. These four castes are further sub-divided into thousands of sub-castes. According to the theory of the caste system you remain in the caste into which you are born. No change is allowed to follow from improvement in intellect, temperament, personality, power, wealth and prestige. For example, if you are born as a Brahman you remain a Brahman throughout your life however imbecile, poor, deformed, wicked or hypocritical you may be. No force on earth can degrade you from the status you once acquired by birth. If you are born as a Shudra you remain a Shudra with all your gifts of intellect, personality, riches or other qualifying personal or worldly virtues.[2] In a word, worth is sacrificed to the accident of birth.

Westerners have no conception of this peculiar system. They have, however, an idea of the class system which raise the individual according to his worth. Sometimes Hindu writers have taken pride in comparing their caste system with Plato's theory of the Division of Society. But that is a wrong interpretation by which they attempt to console themselves. It is correct that Plato did not allow social and educational benefits to the

1. Manu - I. 88-91.
2. Cumming, J. - Political India - p. 134.

labouring or slave classes, but the point to understand is that while the Hindu system puts label on the individual when he is born, Platonic ideology did not. If an individual was intellectually or physically unfit to fall into a category higher than that of an artisan or labourer, he was debarred from the privileges of a philosopher king through the successive stages of his training.

"By this caste system the inhabitants of India" in general 'are differentiated into over twenty thousand species which in the intimate physical relations of life have as little in common as the inmates of a Zoological garden.'[1]

This has made Hinduism the most undemocratic[2] of faiths and its followers the most undemocratic people and I am doubtful if they can ever become democratic so long as they remain Hindus. "Democracy is an occidental idea. A Hindu cannot comprehend it as long as he is a Hindu. It is against his religious belief. So long as Hindus remain in Hindustan, you cannot succeed in extending the democratic idea."[3]

The caste system has one beloved daughter, Untouchability. It is, like other national inheritances, the greatest gift of the Hindu community. The world has no conception of this word. According to the caste system, as explained above, four castes were distinguished. The first three were the twice born with

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1. Lothrop Stoddard - Clashing Tides of Colour - pp. 285-286.
2. Refer INTRODUCTION
3. (Griffith. P. J. The British in India P. 136.
cited in

all the privileges of life and the fourth was the Shudra, the once born, without any status in civic life. The Shudra on religious principle was to remain perpetually in servility to the High Castes and excommunicated from their society. This segregation of a class for centuries produced the present Pariah or Untouchable. He is not to be touched by the twice born nor is he allowed to touch twice born people or their food. He is to be debarred from all human rights as we have mentioned elsewhere.[1] It is this Untouchability which prevents the Shudra Untouchable from being admitted to school.

We will now briefly survey some of the other sanctions of the Hindu religion. They are belief in:-

(a) The inferiority of women.
(b) The Dev-Dasi system.
(c) Polygamy.
(d) Polyandry.
(e) Spirits.
(f) Human sacrifices.

Beginning with the female sex, it is not honoured by the Hindus because the sacred books are against their education and equality of general status.[2] They are taken always as of bad character. 'The character of woman though born of high family is low even as a river which rises from the mountain but runs downward.[3] From the idea that the opposite sex is not required grew the practice of infanticide.[4] Among the Sikh Hindus it was more a crime to kill a cow than to kill a daughter.[5] Lord

1. Refer Introduction p.
2. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problems - p. 119.
3. Dutt - Kalhana's Rajtarangni - p. 165.
4. Census Report Punjab.
5. Monier Williams - Brahmanism and Hinduism - p. 172.

William Bentinck prohibited this practice as inhuman by Statute but keen observers have found that the custom is still followed in one form or the other. If a girl is born the birth is regarded as of bad omen and the most severe treatment is given to her throughout life. She is not given proper care and feeding during her growth. As a child she is not sent to school.[1] Due to lack of education, they are ignorant and this ignorance has been the most unfortunate fact for the Shudra Untouchables because they are the fortresses of orthodoxy.[2] When she is eight years she is allowed to be married.[3] In 1928, an unofficial bill 'The Age of Consent Bill' was introduced. The Hindus gave it the severest opposition.[4] Mahatama Gandhi had married a baby girl.[5] After marriage the bearing of an offspring is essential.[6] If the husband cannot produce it, the wife may get it from any other person through the famous system of 'Nijog,'[7] which has been practiced from the days of the Mahabharata age.[8] This procedure is not considered immoral.[9]

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1. Monier Williams - Brahmanism and Hinduism - p. 388.
2. Ibid.
3. Katherine Mayo Vol. II. Vasish XVII Manu ix-94.
4. Legislative Assembly debates - Official Report September 15th 1927 - IV - No 62. PP. 4439, 4445-46.
5. See Ch. VI p. 254.
6. Manu Katherine Mayo Vol. II. Ch. XIII.
7. Manu 59,60; Keith - Sanskrit Drama - p. 25.
8. OMAN J.C. Ramayana + Mahabharta. P. 108
9. Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 67.

She is not required to bear one child only, for eleven is the sanction.[1] As a housewife she is to be kept as a drudge. Because the marriage takes place early with old husbands in most cases, the husbands die soon. On the death of the husband, she is a victim of the famous custom 'Satti.'[2] (self immolation). The burning of widows presents a ghastly scene.[3] This custom was prohibited as inhuman by Lord William Bentinck by Statute, but the Hindu religion does not discredit it and there has been a tendency to revive it.[4] At the present time when the penalty for the burning of a widow is severe, perpetual widowhood is encouraged as a religious act.[5] One can't prevent widowhood. It exists in every country but in India the peculiarity is that the widow must remain a widow according to the religious sanction and in that state she is to renounce and discard good food, clothing and housing. Widows are put to indescribable social and moral hardships. There were twenty million widows in India in 1921.[6] The Devdasi system (the servants of God) is another custom which is revolting to the non-Hindu communities in India, but has full religious support behind it. Every temple in India must have a team of girls in it, called the dancing girls.

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1. Dayananda - Satyartha Prakasha.
2. Atri Purana gives rules of the self immolation of widows.
3. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 209. & J. Peggs. Indias cry to British humanity.
4. Oman - ~~Mystics~~ Brahmans, Priests and Saints (Muslims) - p. 194-95.
5. Opinions on Hindu Child Marriage Bill, Government of India, Legislative Department 1928, P. 27.; Census of India 1921, Vol I - Part I P. 155.
6. Census Report 1921.

This custom has been followed for centuries past.[1] They are the beautiful girls of the area. Their work is to entertain the pilgrims in various ways. No pilgrim should go back unhappy from the door of the temple. The past history of the community shows that even prostitution had the sanction of Hindu society. Kautilyas Arthshastra lays down the rules for the selection of prostitutes.[2]

Polygamy has been practised from the Vedic times.[3] King Dasaratha, the father of King Rama, had three queens. Arjuna the hero of Mahabharata practised it.[4] There is a reference in Kathasaratsagra which says that the Emperor of Ujjayani married woman after woman.[5] Magasthenese informs us that there was a common practice of marrying many wives.[6] Until recently it has been openly practised among the Kulin Brahmans of Bengal.[7] The current examples are the harems of the Hindu kings.

Connected with this practice has been the sanction and

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1. Kautilyas Arushastra p. 153. (SHASTRY) Meghduta
   Kalhanas Raj Tarangini - Kalidas refer to Devadasis Meghduta.
   Ibn Asir
   Kathasaritsagra
   Marco-Polo - G. B. Park.
   South Indian Inscriptions - Hultzzeh, E. Vol. II. pp. 259-303. p. III.
   Stein - The Chronicles of Kashmir - Vol. II. p. 148.
   Penzer Vol. I. p. 139. p. 279-80.
2. Shama Shastry, Kautilyas-Arthshastra - p. 153.
3. Atharva Veda I+7,-8; Aitareya Br. III-23; Satap. Br. II-5-2-20.
4. Oman - Ramayana and Mahabharata - pp. 127 & 171.
5. Wilson - Kathasarit sagra p. 457.
6. McRindle & Arrain Megasthenese - p. 69.
7. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 413.

practice of polyandry. Dauraupadi the heroine of Mahabharata had five husbands.[1] Satyartha Prakasha, the sacred book of the Aryasmajists allows the practice through the system of 'Nijog'[2] already referred to above.

There is another belief that spirits may work miracles which we may add to these other superstitions. Disregard of Dharmic sanction may ruin the whole routine of a person's life by causing some miracle[3] to happen.

The last important sanction is the belief in human sacrifices.[4] Though this is prohibited by law, the desire for it remains. In the past the observance of the practice by an individual was believed to lead him to Heaven. The Hindus did not believe in making others the object of sacrifice, but liked to die themselves by plunging into a holy river or tank. This was actually done in olden times.[5]

These are a few of the acts of worship and some of the religious sanctions accepted by the Hindu community. They are performed to attain a good re-incarnation in the next life. As Abbe Dubois said 'Such ... are the kind and good works which the Hindus perform in order to obtain pardon for their sins in this world and to ensure their happiness in the next.'[6] And the beauty of it is that as with Untouchability, they take a

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1. Oman - Ramayana and Mahabharata - p. 125.
   Dutt - Mahabharata Adi-Parva - p. 283.
2. Dayananda - Satyarth Prakash - General Practice McRindle's Megasthenese - p. 69. Oman - Ramayana & Mahabharata - p. 140.
3. Abbe Dubois p. 584. (Hindu manners and Customs)
4. ~~Max Muller p. 274.~~ Aitareya Brahmana VII-13. (p. 362.
5. T. Walters Yuan Chwang's Travels in India Edited by R. Davids.
6. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 660.

pride in retaining it. They have taken the greatest care to keep it intact through the ages. Again quoting Abbe Dubois, "There is no other nation on earth which can pride itself on having so long preserved intact its social customs and regulations..." not only these but many others also.[1]

This is the religion and a few of its principles and sanctions the proud possessors of which have refused education. We will see how far its greatness is genuine. We need to analyse it because it hits hard at the very existence of the Shudra Untouchables. We would have stopped here and have left the discerning and critical reader to pass judgment on the justification of the banning of education to the Shudras by the believers in such a religion. It is clear that the Shudra Untouchable is despised and subjected to all possible disadvantages in accordance with the tenets of this religion, the principles and practices of which are beyond the flight of one's imagination. But we shall add a few objective comments on the Hindu religion basing our argument on logical and rational thinking. Firstly, the religion is unscientific. There are three aspects of any religion, inner light, tradition and reason.[2] By the first is implied the incoming of spiritual light sometimes by visions to the soul of any individual. By tradition is meant what has come down to us from our forefathers

1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p.660.
2. Macdonald's "Aspects of Islam" - p.145.

orally in the form of stories, fables, legends, etc. Reason means that we come to reach the truth by the guidance of our intellect. That is, we reason out the religious concepts and doctrines handed down to us orally or on paper from the inception of our Faith.*

Now, let us see where Hinduism stands. It is chiefly based on the first two principles, inner light and tradition. It does not allow reason to enter into it. There have been thousands of Avtars (incarnations of gods) who had visions. The whole literature is full of legendary tales of such visions. If you test them on the touchstone of reason, they are either not susceptible to reasoning or if they are the religion falls flat as a religion. Even if some explanations have been advanced to prove that Hinduism is a natural religion, they are silly. The explanations of the Avtars and the literature, as quoted by Dr. Ambedkar, 'are imagination running riot. There is in them neither history nor sense.'[1] Another example from Professor Max Muller's comment on the sacred books, the Brahmanas, is of interest. He said that they are an 'interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind ... but are most disappointing ... the general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence ... these works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots and the ravings of madmen.'[2] There are many such comments by

1. Qtd. in Ambedkar - Who were the Shudras - p. 27.
2. Max Muller - Ancient Sanskrit Literature (Panini Office Edition) - p. 200.

* Hinduism is a hotchpotch .. has no Church. It has no Pope. It has no Bible. NICHOLS B. Verdict on India. P. 67. also INTRODUCTION P. 45.

different authors, which cannot be quoted here for want of space.

Most of the theories and material in the religious books of the Hindus find no logical explanations. Their religious sanctions are infanticide, satti, child marriage, perpetual widowhood, idol worship, worship of scorpions, serpents and trees; in short all the animate and inanimate objects of the world. The theory of the caste system, the curse of Untouchability may be added to the list of those superstitions which do not offer any sane explanations to a logical mind. If there are some apparently logical explanations they are the result of wrong thinking. Therefore the religion being mostly based on vision and tradition does not pass the test of a scientific religion.

Secondly, it is unreal and Utopian because of the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls. The idea that the soul will enter into any animate or inanimate object at the next re-birth haunts the Hindu mind. His life is passed in a dreamy state. Who knows what there is in the next life, or whether the soul becomes a tree, a reptile, an insect or an outcaste? But this ideology forms the whole core of their religious doctrine as pointed out before

The caste system makes it the most undemocratic of the religions. It turns a man's mental gifts to dust. No greater discrimination has ever been preached by any other religion in the world. An individual is always a beneficiary or a victim of the mere accident of birth.

Their idolatrous beliefs reduce the Hindu faith to that of a primitive religion. In the primitive stages of the development of the human race, man had resort to images of a supreme power but as the human mind developed it advanced beyond this and found abstract explanations of the Invisible Power. But the Hindu religion has never developed so far.

The belief in inhuman and crude practices like human sacrifices, and others noted above, give the impression that it is still at an uncivilised stage of development.

The question may be asked, what is the religion of the Untouchables in comparison to which Hinduism appears not to be a very sublime religion? and how does their own religion affect the Shudra Untouchables? Our answer to this question is that firstly, our conclusions are general and based on comparisons with any other existing religions of the world; and secondly, it is not essential to make a comparison anyway. We do not need to compare Hinduism with any other religion to be able to recognise that it scoffs at human beings as inhuman and gives sanctions to keep them for ever in a position of ignorance by withdrawing the light of education which dispels darkness from the minds of human beings, and changes its followers from sub-human to human and from human to superhuman. We do not need comparison because the later conquerors of India, the Mohammedans and the British did not compare their religions with that of the subject people, whether they offered opportunities of education

to the subject people or not. When we discuss their educational systems in relation to Shudra population the question of their religions never arises because they never asserted their faiths over the subject people; but it is necessary to discuss the Aryan or Hindu religion because they made it the excuse for denying concessions and benefits to the Shudras. We have, however, mentioned elsewhere that the Shudra Untouchables are quite different from the Aryan Hindus. They are believers in one God. They do not believe in idolatry nor do they follow any of the customs of the Hindus noted above, and this has made them appear primitive, rough, crude and uncivilised in the eyes of the Hindus, but they are definitely different from the Aryan Hindus.

As to the bearing of Hinduism on the Shudras, its unscientific, idealistic, undemocratic, primitive and uncivilised nature has affected Hindu education in the past and dyed it in its own colour. The sons of the nation were so thoroughly trained by their education that it equipped them to carry on the campaign against the education of the Shudra Untouchables through the ages.

An education of this kind was bound to be full of injustice and cruelty. The doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls made the Hindu believe that the Shudra was born to accept the tyrannies of the twice born. The privilege of education was not to be shared by him in this world. Let him serve the twice born people and he will get his reward at his next re-birth.

The theory is foolish, based on unrealistic principles of life, for who knows what will happen after death? And as a result of this silly fantasy, education was denied to the Shudra.

The caste system advocated the slavery of the Shudra. Manu said that the highest educational attainment of the Shudra was his success in the service of the Brahman. What an injustice! Why should a man not be treated as equal to another? The Shudra ought to have been given some sort of education even if Vedic knowledge was considered beyond his comprehension. He has been skilled in arts and handicrafts, by which he has survived through a long period of time, but that was entirely due to his own efforts. If he had the ability to do well on the mechanical side without any proper apportunities, he could do equally well on the academic side, and why should the bugbear of caste leave him uneducated?

The following of inhuman practices, in fact, seems to have affected the Hindus much and have made them inhuman towards the Shudras. Practices like the inhuman treatment of women, polygamy and polyandry made the Hindus lose their sense of right and wrong. And then what pride can a nation claim before the civilised world if it follows these customs on the one hand, and if it shows its greatness by refusing to educate the Shudras on the other? These disgraceful ways of life might have been forgiven if education had been allowed to the Shudras. This

at least would have been an honourable act; but in fact it was considered discreditable because it was against the provisions of Dharma. Superstitions like the blind worship of the cow, the haunting fear of spirits and miracles, made the Hindus ignorant and biased against the Shudras without any rational justification. They thought that the sacred books had commanded no education for the Shudra; but the changes of circumstances and the passage of time should have changed their devotion to such a principle; but this never happened. And yet is the drinking of the urine of a cow or the eating of cow dung a more sacred act than simply to discard the prejudice against the education of the Shudra? Again, their reverence to unknown spirits, and hatred of living beings is a further example of the unreasonable and the illogical.

These religious tenets and social customs have been preserved out of national pride, because in this way a good birth is ensured in the next incarnation; and the human beings are also treated as sub-human beings for the same pious reason. On rational and moral grounds the equality of human beings as human beings is a more dignified and humane belief than false pride based on such a silly national heritage. The Hindu religion cannot be judged by normal standards when compared with the other religions of the world. This is what pains the Shudra Untouchables for it is this false and vain superiority of the Hindu which has been made the excuse to deprive him of the torch of knowledge.

The Language question

Another reason why the Shudras were kept outside the educational system was fear of the possible pollution of Sanskrit language. It was feared that the language would be spoiled because it was not the language of the Shudras. Quoting the words of an Educationist, "as the Vedic language was not the mother tongue of the Shudra, it was feared that Vedic hymns would be transformed out of recognition, if they were transmitted orally in Shudra families from generation to generation. In the eyes of a theologian, this would be a great disaster."[1] In order to stress this incapacity of the enemy race and to justify such an attitude to posterity, the Shudras have been said to have no "speech faculty." They have been alleged to have no language[2] they have been described as "yelling"[3] rather than talking or they have been termed Mridhravak,[4] i.e., one who uses crude and unpolished language of their own. They were described as "noseless"[5] insinuating that they were incapable of correct pronunciation.

Concerning this "reason", we can say no more than that it was a mere pretence. If the Dasa Shudras had a language of their own, it would not be difficult to learn another language. And they had their own language. Dutt says that "we have seen that the Aryan poets are sufficiently uncomplimentary in speaking

1. Altekar - Education in Ancient India - p.45.
2. R.V. V-29-10.
3. Ibid and Ch. I p. 128-29.
4. R.V. 1-172-2, V-32-8, VII-6-3 & 18-3.
5. Ch. I p. 128-29.

of the shouts and yells of the aboriginal barbarians. The ... conquerors could scarcely imagine that these yells could form a language ..."[1] No chance was offered to them to show their worth. The language of the Hindus is not very difficult to learn. There are indirect references which go to prove that though the Aryans never permitted the Shudras to learn their language, yet some Shudra, through their own efforts, had picked it up and had shown a high standard of scholastic attainment in it. The most outstanding examples are of Vidura, Hanumana and King Ravana. The argument has also been refuted by later attainments of the Shudra Untouchables, who have done very well in Sanskrit and in other foreign languages such as English in modern times. And surely, no sane nation would exclude a subject nation from its educational system because its language was not known to the subjugated people! The Imperialist nations of the world have never adopted such a foolish theory. Confining ourselves to India and the Hindus, they themselves were never denied an opportunity to study the Persian language or Mohammedan literature, or the English language and its literature. On the other hand, the British incurred great displeasure by enforcing their language and literature on the Hindus for their own benefit. They were not acquainted with Persian or English before hand. And what

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1. Dutt, R.C. - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol. I. p. 80.
& refer H.G. Rawlinson - India - map on linguistic divisions facing p. 11.

exactly was this "purity of language" upon which these arguments were based? Sanskrit is an ordinary language like other languages of the world.

Hence, we can afford to ignore these theologians with their ridiculous theories, which are not supported by any valid argument and seem to be devoid of sense.

The plea of Intelligence

The next excuse for the refusal of education to the Shudras is based upon the allegation of an absence of general intelligence in the Shudra Untouchables. They have been supposed to lack any intelligence by which the acquisition of any knowledge could be possible. They were a stupid race.[1] Mr. Jaffar, blindly following the Hindu argument said that Brahmans did not like to 'cast pearls before swine.'[2] Mrs. Annie Besant, the devotee of the Hindu Congress, recently said that the Shudra has very limited intelligence.[3] What is intelligence? The definition of general intelligence is a disputed question, yet in its broad application it is that "energy underlying all mental activity which gives the possessor the ability when he has some aim or object in mind (i) to discover the relevant qualities and relations of the objects or ideas that are before him, and (ii) to evoke other relevant ideas. In other words, it is the capacity for relational constructive thinking directed

1. Mazumdar A.K. - Hindu History - p.298.
2. Jaffar - Education in Muslim India - p.13.
3. Annie Besant - The Uplift of the Depressed Classes - 'Indian Review' February 1909.

to the attainment of some end."[1] This general ability is much affected by the environment. If the environment of an individual is unfavourable its proper growth is hampered and the individual may become dull; but in a wholesome atmosphere, intelligence will complete its natural development. In any society comparison of the relative brightness or dullness of different individuals is only possible if there is equal opportunity for all.

In the light of this definition and of the factors governing the growth of intelligence, the allegation of the Aryan Hindus that the Shudras had, or have, no intelligence, cannot be justified. There seems to be no relevant support for this conclusion except the prejudice arising from a feeling of superiority. What tests were available to show that the Shudras were men of low intelligence (and hence incapable of responsible action) whilst the Aryans were the possessors of high intelligence? Here we may be charged with hinting at psychological tests; but we are merely attempting to analyse the point of view of the Aryans. If there were no tests by virtue of which the Shudras could be shown to be "dull", equally there were no tests for the twice born, yet they have presumed themselves to be people of high intelligence. But there is another point to consider too. The uncomplimentary label has never been removed

1. Knight, Rex - Intelligence and Intelligence Tests (1946) p. 16.

from the Shudras. Even now they are considered to be dull, although psychological mental testing techniques are now available. Why is this doubt not now removed? In fact, what we are trying to discover are the grounds on which these assumptions were once and for all established. Hindus have done the greatest harm in not only refusing education to the Shudras on this score, but also in creating circumstances which make them feel that perhaps they are devoid of any mental capacity - the greatest harm which an individual or nation can do to another individual or nation. But all these assumptions are unfounded. The facts, past and present, do not support them. The Shudra Untouchables have quite a brilliant record in general and mechanical ability. We may leave the social side because the Hindus have always excluded them from social intercourse or contact.[1]

Beginning with olden times, when first they were referred to as sub-human, the standard of their religion, social order and political strength has not been such as to indicate unintelligence. If they were such imbeciles, how could they have occupied an equally superior position to the Aryans. Rather have research workers been obliged to say that the Aryans learnt much from the Shudras. Griffith has rightly analysed this point saying that even in these early times the Dasyu Dasas had their

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1. Following Thorndikes definition of intelligence that there are three kinds of intelligence - abstract, social and mechanical. Reference also - 'Performance Tests of Intelligence' by Drever and Collins - p. 11.

own religion and social system, indicating that they were intelligent human beings.[1] Let us cite a few examples to show their ability in performing acts of high intelligence and of adaptability to circumstances. As mentioned above, the Dasyus showed a high standard of military prowess in wars against the Aryans. Their military skill, their castles, both iron and stone, and their achievements in bringing the Aryans to their knees show that they were not mere stones. During the epic period, they were reduced to perpetual slavery, and henceforth no education was open to them, yet still we find that some had shown their intellectual worth through their own efforts.[2] We have noted elsewhere the perfection attained by Ekalavya[3] in archery, by self training, after he had been turned out from the school of Darona Charya Brahman. How Sambhuka[4] took up the task of penance then practised by Brahmans of high intelligence. In Mahabharata there is a reference that the armies on both sides consisted of Mlecchas and Rakshasas.[5] Outside the Shudra category, there are instances of independent aboriginal chiefs who were proficient in academic and practical fields. In Mahabharata again we learn that Kirata, a low class hunter, struck down Arjuna, the hero of Mahabharata in combat.[6] In the

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1. Griffith, P.J. - British in India - p. 131.
2. Ch. I. p. 134, 136.
3. Ch. I. p. 134
4. Ch. I. p. 136.
5. (a) The aboriginals were called by these names by the Aryans in those days.
   (b) Mahabharata - Adi Parvan p. 143-43 Legge-Itsing p. 104.
6. Oman - Ramayana and Mahabharata - p. 142.

epic of Ramayana, the great attainments of Bali, Hanumana and Ravana are worthy of repetition. Hanumana, the Minister of War of Sugriva, though called a monkey, was an individual of high intellectual ability. The way in which he is said to have gained his knowledge of Vedas[1] and his efficiency in the art of war is already known to us. Rama himself praised him as a scholar and as a military leader.[2] Ravana was a learned man.[3] His son Ati-Kaya was well versed in all the Shastras.[4] His other son Indrajit was skilled in the art of war.[5] During the Budhist period, Shudras rose to high priestly positions. Later, intelligence and military skill is shown by Shrideva, a Chandala by caste, in Raja-Tarangani. When war broke out between Jajja and Jayapira for the throne of Kashmir, victory in favour of Jayapira was due to the military skill of Shrideva.[6] The same chronicle gives an interesting account of sage Suyya*, who saved the whole of Kashmir from disaster. The story goes that there arose a famine due to floods in the country resulting from the damming of some of the rivers. No-one would remove the rocks which obstructed the water. Sage Suyya wanted to help the king but the High Caste ministers would not allow a man of low caste to gain the favour of the king. The king finding no alternative

1. See Dasa - The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus p. 172.
2. Ramayana Kiskindhya Kanda 3rd Saga & 55th Saga - Yudhkanda 17th Saga. Sundrkanda 47th Saga. Uttrakanda 36th Saga.
3. Mahabharata Yudhkanda 92nd Saga & 110th Saga.
4. Ramayana - Yudhkanda 70th Saga.
5. Ibid 88th Saga.
6. Dutt - Raj-Tarangini - p. 89.

* Son of a Chandali.

scheme suggested by the twice born councillors, called on Suyya. He welcomed the invitation and demanded some gold coins which the king provided. The boy went to the dam and threw the coins in the water. As soon as this was done, the twice born gathered round like vultures. They cared little for the floods, but turned over every stone in search of the coins. As soon as they removed the slabs, the water flowed down its proper channel with the result that the floods subsided and the whole country was saved from calamity.[1]

We have no records of the Mohammedan period but their intelligence is implied by their capacity to survive and to adapt themselves to the hardest of conditions.

This is an account of the dim past. In modern times, the theory of lack of intelligence of the Shudras has been disproved altogether. The record of the Untouchables in military and civil spheres entirely discountenances the assertion of the Hindus that they are of low intelligence and hence that there is nothing to be gained from their admission to educational institutions.

They won laurals in the forces of the East India Company. They have done equally well in the last two world wars. The Queen's Own Sappers and Miners Army consisted of Pariahs and Indian Christians from Madras.[2] Their work was as satisfactory

1. Dutt - Raj-Tarangini - p. 111.
2. The Times 20th October 1932 'The Last of a Great Army' Qtd. in O'Mally, L. S. S., Indian Social Heritage.

as that of other Units drawn from other communities. The Mazhabi Sikhs of the Punjab reached the standard of work required of them in the Sikh Pioneer Regiments.[1] The Depressed Classes of Bombay and Madras are said to have "carried the Union Jack from the Great Wall of China to Africa and the French Islands"[2] during the World War of 1914. The Sweepers won laurels in Mesopotamia and France in the same war.[3] The record of the Untouchables in the recent war (1939-45) will be seen to be equally brilliant when the history of the war is written.[4]

Leaving this historical evidence, we find that the young men of the Depressed Classes have done very well in schools and colleges, when afforded an opportunity to compete with students of other communities. Very early in 1886, Mr. J. G. Nesfield, a European Inspector of Schools in Northern India, reported in Croft's Review that he had the chance of seeing the scholastic attainments of a Chuhra (an Untouchable class) boy. In his words he was a 'very intelligent youth.' He showed a good aptitude for trade also[5] but there were no opportunities for displaying his intelligence and aptitude because of the restrictions of caste prejudice.[6] The Census Report of 1901,

1. Qtd. O'Mally - Indian Social Heritage - p. 41.
2. The Times 20th October 1932 'The last of a Great Army' Qtd. O'Mally L. S. S., Indian Social Heritage - p. 42.
3. Valentine Chirol - Indian Unrest - p. 35.
4. See in detail Sect. IV, Ch. II. pp. 549-550.
5. The Cambridge History of India Vol. VI. p. 343.
6. Ibid.

noted that in the race for literacy, the Lower Castes would outstrip the high castes. "The Brahman does not always stand first."[1] The Telegu Mission in Southern India cited in its report the satisfactory standard of the capability of students of the Depressed Classes. It reported that "in many schools and colleges Christian lads of Panchama origin are holding their own with, and in not a few cases are actually outstripping, their Brahman competitors."[2] Further I think the hollowness of the superiority myth may be exposed if a fairly representative group of Hindus and Untouchables is given Intelligence Tests, after both groups have been kept in standardized conditions. I believe that such an experiment would reveal little difference. They possess all the virtues and accomplishments of every intelligent individual or community. A critical and sympathetic writer on India once wrote that, though Untouchables have been crushed for centuries, which should result in changing them to the most inferior beings, yet "evidence of the survival of virtues ... is by no means lacking." They have proved 'trustworthy, and ... are ... as a rule, honest, sober and faithful.'[3]

The discharge of high administrative duties under the Government in recent years has shown their equal ability.[4]

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1. Census Report Government of India p. 1901.
2. Qtd. in L. S. S. O'Malley's 'Indian Social Heritage' p. 41. & INT. P. 40.
3. Refer Katherine Mayo - Mother India - p. 152.
4. Recently in the Viceroy's Executive Council and Mohammedan Provinces, the Untouchables have worked in Cabinets.

These are a few examples from the past and the present to throw light on the question whether the Untouchables are dull or bright in mental capacity.[1] These facts have shown that they have performed all kinds of acts in which high intelligence is required. But who will admit this to be so? That is the main difficulty. The Hindus have been aggressively one-sided, and have refused to listen to every appeal to reason. They have made their word an eternal and sacrosanct law. Any deviation from this is regarded as anti-Dharmic.

The possession of power has always, everywhere, led to its abuse, but no greater exploitation of power in crippling the mental capacities of a subject people has been worked anywhere than in India by the Hindus, in regard to their treatment of the Depressed Classes. The long history of opposition in social and educational fields leads one to remark that cruelty has become the national characteristic of the Hindus. They are cruel to human beings; they are inhuman to members of the animal kingdom; they are indifferent to members of the plant kingdom. Unfortunately, the effects of a debilitating environment have made them weak, meek and non-violent. The result of bodily degeneration is that their tongues work more than the heads and hearts. Especially in the case of the Shudra Untouchables they seem to have lost the qualities of a sane head and heart. They will go

1. Also refer pp. 40 (INT) ; + Section IV pp. 549-50.

on saying that the Shudras are unintelligent, impure, unclean and incapable of drawing any advantage from education, without pausing to think for a moment. To my mind, while making others unintelligent, they themselves have become so. Their "high intelligence" is the intelligence of a burglar as against a lecturer of a college, or a minister of a church. By thinking that others have no powers of thought, they themselves have become perverted thinkers. Such tendencies are not indicative of a very high standard in a nation.

Reverting to our point concerning opposition to or neglect of the education of the Shudra Untouchables, it is clear that such an attitude is quite wrong, unjustified and baseless. The Depressed Classes have not been given equal opportunities. 'Intelligence can be measured only by opportunity and ... where opportunity is denied, no sensible and honest conclusion on intelligence can be reached.'[1] They have not been given the proper environment to develop their intellectual traits. One might here take refuge in the heredity factor. In the face of the record which we have traced at different places in the thesis the idea that hereditarily they may have weaker intelligence than the Aryan Hindus falls to the ground. But let us suppose, for argument's sake, and for the consolation of the opposite camp that their heredity is poor, even then education and favourable environment could make all the difference.

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1. M. S. Coey, Durham University - Her thoughts on Intelligence Testing.

If people could be labelled "intelligent" or "unintelligent" on the grounds that they have been referred to as such, because some ancient writer described them as such on some different grounds then the quotation of Abbe Dubois on Hindus is also worthy of consideration. He wrote that the "mental capacities of the Hindus are weak."[1] And further, the Shudra Untouchables can also say that the Hindus are dull and unintelligent, a nation suffering from neurotic tendencies and an inferiority complex, but we do not find that they have ever been so foolish as to proclaim that. Hence, from this point of view too, the assertion of superiority is superficial.

Tradition and Aptitude

There is another reason attributed to the ban on Shudra education. It is that the Shudras were denied the study of the Vedas and other literature and language because they had no tradition and aptitude.[2] Taking up the question of tradition first, we do not find any sense in the argument. No other nation of an imperialistic nature, either of early or later ages, has shown irresponsibility on this ground. We may take an example first from the Indian atmosphere. Asoka, the great though not a non-Hindu, ~~make~~ made a departure from the Sanskrit language and Budhist literature multiplied during his reign. The Hindus who were outside the pale of Budhism were not

1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 324.
2. Mazumder, N.N. - A History of Education in Ancient India - p. 40.
   Dasa - The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus - p. 204.
   Altekar - Education in Ancient India - pp. 45-46.
   Mazumdar, A.K. - Hindu History - p. 579.

refused an approach to Budhist literature or its Pali language and Institutions, because the tradition was the study of Shastric literature and the Sanskrit language. Let us take examples from other nations. Imperialist Rome expanded its empire as far as Britain. Wherever it went it tried to spread its culture and traditions and its own educational systems. If the Britons had no tradition of Roman language, or had never known its literature, no heed was paid to such a drawback. Rather, they enforced it. Another example is the spread of the Hellenistic culture in countries where there was no tradition of such a culture.

After all, what is this question of tradition? Every nation has its own traditions. It is not expected to have kept the tradition of another nation, whether conquering or conquered, in respect to the points referred to above. Secondly traditions can be changed. The Dasa Shudras could not be expected to have the required tradition of the Hindus, nor was it impossible for the Aryan Hindus to change their traditions if they had been willing to do so. The Dasas on the other hand would not have refused the offer.

We are obliged to repeat our reference to the later conquerors of India, the Mohammedans and the British. Both the new races gave very civilised treatment, the latter to an even greater extent than the former. The Muslims never pondered over the question that the Hindus had no tradition or

aptitude for their new system, on the contrary, they opened all available opportunities for the uplift of the conquered people. The British example is unique and unparalleled and does not need repetition and elaboration. As in the case of the Muslims, the British did not appoint any commission to consider whether the English language and literature could not be opened to the Hindus and Mohammedans, because they had no past tradition for it.

Of course, one may say that the Hindus were a race of intelligent people who could pick up the new language or literature of the foreign race better than Shudras of an unintelligent race. Such an argument will not be relevant, and we have discussed its deficiency in the previous chapter. We have explained that the factor of tradition was shown to be null and void by the academic and practical attainments of aboriginal Shudras during different periods of history. The present parallel state of the Untouchables, under favourable circumstances, also breaks this prejudice down.

The point of tradition, therefore, does not hold good on critical study. To take resort in this argument gives an impression of the Aryan race as of a poor civilised standard, for when the later powers opened avenues for advance for the Shudra Untouchables they proved equal to the task.

Allied to this issue is the view of aptitude. The Shudras it was alleged, had no aptitude for study. The problem of

aptitude is very much connected with intelligence, and, as we have fairly dealt with it in the previous chapter, our consideration of aptitude need not detain us long. Taking the psychological definition of aptitude, it is "that innate or inborn capacity possessed by an individual which enables him to perform any particular activity whether the activity be verbal or practical,"[1] we are able to say that the Shudra Untouchables have shown aptitude in every branch of activity. They have produced learned men. They have shown equal skill in art, building and warfare. They have been good technicians. In fact, the survival of the common Shudra Untouchable has resulted from his efficiency in manual professions. In modern times, the Untouchables have gained efficiency in the study of language, arts and professions.

At the same time, as in the case of intelligence, no scholastic or diagnostic tests were available to find out the aptitude of the members of the enemy race, nor were they admitted to any institution of knowledge where evidence might have been forthcoming concerning special interests in any branch about which the Aryans implied a lack of aptitude. On the other hand present day conditions provide no support for the theory.

In short, it is all wishful presumption and a way to keep the Shudras out of the Aryan Hindu system.

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1. Allen Hunt and Smith - A Guide to Intelligence Testing - p. 13.

Temperamentally Unfit

From the trend of writings of Ancient Hindu educational circles, another cause of the educational ban on the Shudras can be deduced. We have seen that the caste system divided the population of Hindu India into four classes called the castes. According to this system, the Shudra was of the fourth category, and was subjected to all educational disadvantages. Mazumder justifies the exclusion of the Shudra on the ground that they were of the lowest temperamental quality, quoting a stanza from Bhagwad Gita which runs that "the fourfold division of castes was created by me according to the proportionment of qualities and duties."[1] He says that the Society was divided on the principle of innate qualities and professions[2]. Manu also left advice to his followers in the following words, 'Elephants, horses, Shudras ... tigers, boars ... (are) the middling states, caused by (the quality of) darkness.'[3] (Transl. G. Buhler).

In the classification of qualities quoted above, the lowest quality is quality of darkness and stolidity (Tamo-Guna). It means that lowest quality i.e. quality of darkness and stolidity is taken for granted to belong to the lowest Shudra. He was perhaps thus considered unfit for study.

In answer to this, two points arise. Firstly, that even if the lowest temperamental quality came to the share of a Shudra

1. Bhagwad Gita IV-Sl. 13.
2. Mazumder, N.N. - A History of Education in Ancient India - p. 27.
3. Manu XII-43.

he ought not to have been presumed inept for study because an individual with (Tamo-Guna) quality of darkness and stolidity in him is not necessarily unable to acquire knowledge. Secondly, here as elsewhere our query is the same. How could such things be found out when there was a clear cut social boycott of the Shudras? Intermixing in society and when dining, intermarrying[1], and education were forbidden so real knowledge of temperamental qualities was impossible. On the other hand, their record of many kinds of activities, as described in the above pages, does not seem to place them exclusively in the category to which the Aryan psychologists allege they belong.

Hence, not pursuing the point further in order to avoid repetition, we conclude that this resort of the Hindus was simply founded on irrational thought and illogical reasoning.

Unhygienic and unclean habits

The last excuse which a modern liberal Hindu would give is that the Shudra Untouchables have ill-odorous bodies, no hygienic sense and have unclean habits. In Hindu terminology they are as a body called "the 'Unclean' from the moment they are born until they die as opposed to High Castes who are as clean as ever from birth till death."[2] It is quite a fantastic idea but it is on this basis that even the advocates of education of the Depressed Classes, whatever their motive might be, have recommended the opening of separate schools. The opposition to

1. Inter-marrying was stopped at the end of the Epic period - Manu XI-181.
2. Valentine Chirol - India - p. 17.

education for the Shudras in past ages was assigned to political religious and other psychological reasons, but uncleanliness has also been an accompanying cause. This belief that the Shudras were unclean from the very beginning is so deep rooted in the Hindu mind that they have ignored their own obnoxiously unclean physical habits. It was once asserted from a public platform by one of the Presidents of Congress that 'in every nation we find ... a large class of people ignorant, degraded, unclean in language and habits ... In India this class goes by the generic name of the "Depressed Classes" ... It is drunken and utterly indifferent to cleanliness, whether of food, person or dwelling ... of truth and civic virtues they are for the most part utterly devoid ...' They should not therefore be granted equal status with the children of high caste by seating them side by side, because the high castes would forfeit the hardly-won fruits of the education of generations. 'Their bodies ... are ill odorous ...'[1] This is the trend of thought of the Aryan Hindus, from the educated person to the layman. They conclude that they have ill-odorous bodies, unclean in person and dwelling their food is not good; they drink, and last of all, the greatest attack is that they are untruthful. Taking all these demerits into consideration, they cannot be brought into close association with high caste children in a single school because,

1. Indian Review, February 1909 'The Uplift of the Depressed Classes' by Mrs. Annie Besant.

as the Hindus put it, they cannot 'drag down the clean to the level of the dirty ...'[1]

Now we shall assess the justification of this conclusion in the light of the above remarks and the general behaviour of the Aryan Hindu public. The unprejudiced, keen observers who have lived in India and have worked in Indian schools, have noted that there is no difference between even the Brahmans and the Depressed Classes, not to speak of other Hindu castes.[2] In schools particularly they have been found equally clean and tidy. Their dress may not be costly, but it is clean. Costly dress is a matter of rich circumstances, which is not the share of the Untouchable Shudras. Poor clothing might also be worn by children of the lower Hindu castes also. The Shudra boys, on the whole, are tough, robust and cleanly dressed. In my personal experience I found on scrutinising Health Charts in schools that the percentage of dirty children among the high caste children was higher than among the Untouchable Shudra children. In many cases they were far better dressed than the high caste children. This had a psychological explanation behind it. It is that the children of these classes are conscious of the prejudice of the high castes against them. They know that a little fault in them would encourage ridicule, and a claim for their segregation, and therefore they have gone to schools in a tidy manner. On the other hand, the high caste

1. Indian Review, February 1909. 'The Uplift of the Depressed Classes' by Mrs. Annie Besant.
2. ~~Ante~~ V. A. Smith - The Oxford History of India - p. 6.

children know that their cleanliness is taken for granted as an established thing and so they are careless. As regards their "ill-odorous bodies" we shall reply to this offensive remark below. Their food is simple and coarse. They are meat eaters. Beef is not taboo to them. Some of the communities do not regard drinking a sin but it is not true that all are meat eaters, nor that all are in the habit of drinking. At the same time, no individual or nation can be judged as "unclean" and thus excluded from civic rights on the score of beef eating or drinking. In relation to truthfulness, one cannot state a general principle on the grounds of a mere fancy. They are simple, honest and truthful.

Let us judge the grade of these qualities in the Hindus. Osburn Arthur making his observations on the Indians (by which he more probably meant one of the Hindu intelligentsia than a poor Untouchable) says that the Indian 'has certain physical and mental characteristics which make him displeasing to the white people. Even when he is cleanly, his skin has an odour different to the characteristic body smell of a clean and well fed member of the white races. Many English people have an intense repugnance to this odour.'[1] This suggests that the Hindus body is also not as pleasantly perfumed as he is conceited enough to think. There are probably many Untouchables who

1. Osburn Arthur - Must England lose India - p. 28.

would not like to sit near a dirty Brahman. About their cleanliness a writer quotes that 'our high caste Brahmans, after bathing ... putting on a silk Dhoti, can enjoy fine dishes seated in front of a dung hill or a privy or an open gutter ... The garb in which our chefs appear in the dining room is such as to annoy and revolt any lover of cleanliness.'[1] Another paper noted '...are there not dirty livers ... among caste Hindus themselves? The "abotiyun" (Holy silken Dhoti) of our Brahman cooks gives such a powerful stench that anyone whom they pass by feels as if his head would split.'[2] Then what is the standard of cleanliness in Sanskrit schools and colleges, the institutions which are the pride of the nation, where in 1947 the Shudra Untouchable cannot be admitted, and where there is a danger that Shudras would make the surroundings dirty? One, Mr. Madkholkar, a Marathi Literateur, visiting one Sanskrit College hostel wrote 'This hostel is quite in keeping with the general filthiness of Calcutta. It is difficult to decide who creates more filth students living in the rooms of the hostel, or the pigeons roosting under its eaves.'[3] So far as the dwellings of the Hindus are concerned, there are many who have more dirty houses than the Untouchables, as there are Untouchables who have more palatial houses than the Hindus. The Untouchables live more in small country houses, mostly in the country atmosphere. They can be better swept and kept clean than the dirty dungeons

1. Kumar June, July, 1933.
2. Bombay Samachar 23rd January, 1935.
3. Jyotsna Jyoto (Diwali number) November, 1937.

of the city dwellers. Mr. Bhave after returning from the holy Brahman city of Benares wrote in 1938 that there 'such a stench emanates day and night from some of the houses that it is surprising how people living there remain alive.'[1] The 'Leader' reported the Brahmanic city, where Brahmans and their gods live for the inspiration of the nation, as filthy.[2] Even Mahatama Gandhi on one occasion became anti-Hindu when he said that "We have no sense of mutual responsibility with the result that our villages have become dung hills ... We so befoul our streets and alleys that anyone who cares the least for cleanliness would become unhappy if he had to walk in them unshod ... the village pond is used for bathing and washing and its water is also used for drinking and cooking purposes ... many times buffaloes are seen wallowing in these ponds."[3] And further their cleanliness lay in drinking the urine and dung of the cow. A filthy example is reported in Bombay Samachar, where a holy man on the bank of the river Jamna ate human excreta.[4]

These examples show that Untouchables are unnecessarily the target of the charge of unclean and untidy habits. Their houses are generally neat and clean [5] in spite of the fact that they have to deal in unclean professions such as scavenging etc. But what is the excuse of the High Caste people for their being filthy? They have less reason for pleading poverty, ignorance

1. Kesari 1st November, 1938.
2. Leader 1st April, 1945.
3. Harijan bandhu 10th February, 1935.
4. Bombay Samachar 1st August, 1936.
5. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 148.

or foul professions. Further it is not out of place to inform the reader that the cause of the so-called uncleanliness of the Untouchables is the attitude of the twice born themselves. They are denied the use of the free water of village ponds, wells and streams which are God's property. And to crown this Spite-ful conduct, even when they manage to dress well the Hindus object to their cleanliness. 'They are not allowed to use new or laundered clothes.'[1] Recently, in a Gujrat village, the area of Mr. Gandhi 'copper and brass vessels* were snatched away from Vankar (Dhed) women by Pati-dars i.e. "Sardar Patels" fellow caste men, for, if they were allowed to use them what difference would there be between them and Patidar+ women.'[2] This attitude is a tradition of the past. Dr. Ambedkar in his speech at the International Fellowship dinner in 1940 told how under Peshwa Rule, which was an interlude of the Hindu Rule, 'no Untouchable could buy cloth from a shop unless it was first soiled on the ground and torn a little as a sign of his degradation.'[3]

Coming back to our point of cleanliness, they are unclean because their habits of meat eating (especially beef) and drink are repugnant to the Hindu population. But the question is whether the Hindu community itself is quite free from it. There

1. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 146.
2. Gujrat Samachar 23rd January, 1935.
3. Qtd. Sanjana - Caste and Outcaste - p. 146.
   * supposed to be clean pots used for water.
   + high caste women.

are many Hindu young men who eat beef when they go to other countries. Mr. Narhari, a sensible worker, remarked "But are there not dirty livers, flesh eaters and liquor drinkers among caste Hindus themselves?"[1] And when they can eat snakes, lizards and other filth,[2] what wrong is there in beef-eating? If one can eat the flesh of a pig, what difference in principle can there be in using the flesh of a bull or cow? There may be a difference of taste, but that is all.

It will seem almost incredible to the reader that the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus were great lovers of beef and soma juice (a liquor). The Aryans cooked cows[3] (Rigveda II-7,5) oxen[4] (Rigveda I-61,12) buffaloes[5] (Rigveda V-29,7,8) calves (Rigveda III,130-14) horses and rams (Rigveda X 91,14). They had slaughter houses for these animals (Rigveda X 89,14 & 91, 14). While eating they praised the beef especially as 'all sweetness is in the heifer' (R.V. III, 130,14). They were heavy drinkers of soma juice. There is a full chapter on the preparation of this kind of liquor (Rigveda IX,66) and frequent references are made in praise of soma. It was the primeval (Rigveda IX,110,8) milk for them, the most splendid (Rigveda IX 108,3) thing ever taken by human beings, full of heavenly bliss. (Rigveda 103,7). So much so that women equally shared the

1. Bombay Samachar 23rd January, 1935.
2. Refer Bombay Samachar 1st August, 1936.
3.
4.
5.

drinks.* They are repelled by leather tanning, a profession of some of the Untouchables, on whom they looked with contempt as dirty and unclean, but the Aryan had their utensils made of leather.+

Last of all, they are said to lack the qualities of truth and the civic virtues. In this connection we will refer to the words of a great friend of India, Lord Curzon, who said on the Convocation address of the Calcutta University that the greatest need of the Hindu intelligentsia is to inculcate the qualities of truthfulness in them.[1] Abbe Dubois had remarked that Hindus are the most unkind and ungrateful people. 'Nowhere is a kindness so soon forgotten as among the Hindus. Gratitude is a virtue to which the Hindu shuts his heart entirely.' Further, their general character has been shown in terms which will speak for their superiority in comparison to the character of the Untouchables. It might seem fanciful to show how others look at them. They are "naturally cunning, wily, double tongued and servile, they turn these most undesirable qualities to account by insinuating themselves everywhere; their main object upon which they expend the greatest ingenuity ... to gain access to ... courts of princes ... or people of high rank." They achieve their ends through hypocritical cliques. How do they fill administrative posts? For this 'a tacit collusion is established by means of which each one can, in his own department

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*Mazumdar Adv. Hindu History - p. 272.

+ R. V. VI-48-18.

1. ante P. 312. ; Calcutta University Convocation Address, 1905

enrich himself with remarkable rapidity by carrying on unchecked a system of injustice, fraud, dishonesty and oppression - qualities in which most individuals of this caste have been thoroughly well trained.'[1]

Referring to the abuse of education, the same author says that they are "better educated, more cunning, more keen witted with better talents for intrigue ... They are first rate sychophants[2] in speech and writing. Their favourite weapon for harassing people is slander. In the words of Abbe Dubois their most perfidious weapon ... is slander."[3]

As regards their sense of civic virtue the Brahman will serve as our example. It is said that 'intense selfishness is also a common characteristic of a Brahman ... He would unhesitatingly sacrifice the public good or his country, if it served his own interests, and he would stoop to treason, ingratitude or any deed, however black, if it promoted his own welfare.'[4]

This is the picture of their goodness, virtue and truthfulness through the eyes of a disinterested foreigner. But they would always sing their own praises and justify the enjoyment of their privileges and speak ill of others. Mazumdar says 'What a grand example are Brahmans to the world! Not only are the Brahmans a superior class of the Hindus but they are leaders of the nation.'[5] This contrast of character shows that their

1. Abbe Dubois - Hindu Manners and Customs - p. 291.
2. Ibid p. 325.
3. Ibid p. 317.
4. Ibid
5. Mazumdar - Hindu History - p. 300.

analysis of the character of the Shudra Untouchables will not be very honest. Hence to deny them the advantage of any civic rights is a most unjust act.

These are the causes on which the Shudras were excluded from the benefits of education, and the causes on which the Hindus have strained every nerve to oppose the education of the Shudra Untouchables in the present days. Our objective analysis has shown that there is very little justification for any of these points.

While in other countries the conquered races were amalgamated into the conquering races, and became part of those nations, in India the gulf between the Aryan Hindus and the Dasyu Untouchables widened with the passage of time. In England, Normans merged with the Anglo Saxons; in mid Europe the Barons accepted the equality of their slaves, and now no trace of difference is found; in France, the Franks are nowhere to be found; in Rome, Patricians are the proud sons of their motherland, and in Greece Helots are only a remembrance of bygone days; but in India, the Untouchables are the same Dasyus and Dasas of the period before 2,000 B. C! In the case of the above mentioned conquered races, their first offering was the opening of the doors of education to the defeated people; but in India the first offering was the caste system, making the vanquished into Shudra slaves, and the promulgation of penal laws against their education thus keeping them slaves and serfs

for ever. It is a pity that they never opened their eyes and learnt a lesson from the Muslims. The Muslims, instead of concentrating their energies on the conversion of Hindus or making severe laws for the exclusion of the Hindus from educational institutions, firstly set the doors of their mosques and Madarsas open to the non-Muslim population. The result was that millions of Shudras flocked round the religions and educational places of the Muslims. Today there are in India ninety millions of Muslims who did not originate outside that country.[1] In other countries poor people like Michael Angelo, Beethoven and Shakespeare, by the independent growth of their intellect, and in the absence of any ban on the display of mental aptitudes, became famous men in the world; but in India the Brahman played upon the harp of his supremacy throughout the ages. We do not find any contribution by the Brahman for the good of the human race. Nobody knows how many gems have been lost from the Shudra class - how many of them could have done some good for the common cause of man if given a chance.

But Hindus must learn that "the proudest nations of the earth are those who are the most keenly alive to their shortcomings and most eagerly assiduous; and greatness does not long survive where such endeavour is wanting ... and the Hindus should never forget that monopoly is hurtful to those who hold it, as to those who are excluded from it, and that a monopoly of

1. Section II, Ch I P. 398.

learning and honour is the worst kind of monopoly that the world has seen".[1]

Pride hath a fall. The slavery of the Hindus for one thousand years is sufficient a lesson to make amends for the future.

1 = Dutt R.C. A History of Civilization in Ancient India Vol III. P. 149.

SECTION II

MUSLIMS ON THE EDUCATION OF THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES.

CHAPTER I

THE FACILITIES PROVIDED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS FOR THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL UPLIFT OF THE SHUDRAS

The Shudras elevation by the Mohammedan educational system and the influence of Mohammedan Sufi-Saints - Muslims regard of all non-Muslims as one composite section - Muslim application of principle of liberty, equality and fraternity - Non-recognition of caste distinction - The Muslim patronage of Hindu religion and literature - Opening of equal opportunities for Shudras- Muslim educational institutions open to all - The education of Shudra - A story of his conversion to Islam - Joining of Islam by millions of sensible Shudras - Religious character of Muslim education - Three factors in raising the status of a Shudra (a) Replacement of temples by mosques - Mosque the gateway to Shudra education (b) Other kinds of Educational Institutions (c) The efforts of Mohammedan Emperors to attract Shudras to these Institutions - The work begun by Sultan Mahmud and carried on by successors such as Mohammed Ghori - Jalaluddin - Mohammed Tughlak - Sikandar Lodhi - Efforts of Chiefs of Southern Kingdoms such as Mohammed Shah Bahmani - Ahmad Shah Bahmani - Unfavourable circumstances under Abrahim Adal Shah - The position under Mughal Emperors - Good start by Babur and Humayun - The reign of Akbar an unhappy period for the Shudras - Jahangir followed his father - Shah Juhan a neutral king - Dara Shikoh a semi Hindu, hence an ill-omen for the Shudras - Honest efforts of Aurangzeb come too late.

We have so far traced the history of education of the Shudras in Ancient India under the Hindu rule and the attitudes of the Hindu population towards their education under the Mohammedan and British rule in India. Our enquiry is now to see the state of their education under the Muslims in India and the treatment of Muslim population under the British. There are two main currents running side by side for the general uplift of the Shudra population. First, the influence of the Mohammedan

educational system and secondly, the influence of the Mohammedan Sufi Saints, whose ideals and preachings played an important role in liberalising Hinduism.

Beginning with the first, we notice elsewhere that when Hindus were the rulers of India, the mention of the Shudra under various contemptuous names is very frequent. It may have been repeated to show general contempt for the community or for social or educational segregation, but the literature is full of its existence. But under the Muslims the reference of Shudras mostly disappears. The Muslims followed one simple rule. That is that "all castes and creeds which did not acknowledge Mohammedan religion were Hindus."[1] We may find references to the effect that Brahmans and Rajputs were the chief office holders in the Courts of the Mughal Emperors but this does not mean that the latter had created or recognised gradations of the population in castes. We have seen that mostly Brahmans with their favourite Rajput chiefs held the destinies of the non-Muslim population but it was their own created position and the Mohammedan Emperors had no hand in it. They treated all high and low, Brahman and Shudra, alike, for all the civic privileges of the State. The unconscious recognition of this equality was natural. It was the effect of the Muslim religion. Islam is the greatest gift of God; it is based on the three simple principles of Liberty, Equality and

1. Kelker - An Essay on Hinduism - p. 29.

Fraternity. It is a religion of universal brotherhood. Man is never distinguished from man in Islam. Before Allah (God) all men are equal and will be equal in all ages to come. There is no place for caste system in it. We have examples to show that Muslim Emperors never recognised this system as a basis of the division of society under them. Emperor Akbar once took census of the population and the Imperial mandate which was issued did not mention caste.[1] We learn from Humayun-Namah that his ~~succ~~ predecessor Humayun divided the society on the basis of the gift of merit and not on caste basis. The division was Ahl-i-Sa'adat, Ahli-Daulat and Ahl-i-Murad, which included literate, law officers and scientists, nobles and military men, men with personal gifts such as beauty and aptitude for art or music, respectively.[2] Further the religion breaks down the principle of accident of birth.

As Hindu religion has deeply saturated Hindu education so has Islamic religion reflected on its educational system, but the effects and results of both are different in their own spheres. The effect of Hindu religion on its education has been seen. Under the Muslims, education became the birthright of all with equal opportunities of growth without distinction of caste and creed, rich and poor, high and low. As an observer has said "With the advent of Islam, however, this superciliousness was shaken off, and education became the birthright of

1. Refer ~~Int~~ Elliot and Dowson. History of India Vol. VI P.61.
2. Hamayun Namah - Elliot & Dowson - Vol. V. pp. 117-120.

every citizen - Muslim and Hindu, man and woman, rich and poor. In the Muslim schools that were started in India, Hindus* who had hitherto been deprived of the intellectual feast began to receive education side by side with their Muslim classfellows, and there existed no feelings of prejudice, ill-will or enmity between the two insofar as education was concerned."[1] The greatest virtue of the Muslim education was its democratic character[2] though as usual, the Hindus were the greatest gainers. The Emperors, especially Mughals, were on the whole much inclined towards them. They were not treated as Mlecchas or Yavanas. Their religion was respected and literature was honoured and supplemented. Their educational institutions were patronised, subsidised and protected. It might be as well to note here that though the Brahmans attended Muslim schools to learn Persian, they never allowed the Shudras to enter their own schools aided by the State Revenues of which Shudras were ratepayers as in modern times. There is one very clear example of their hatred of Shudras. It is said that Nirmali Sikhs once went to Benares to learn Sanskrit but were refused admission because they were of Shudra origin.[3] On the other hand the point of contrast is that "Musalman Kings and Princes themselves became students and included Hindu culture ... Hindu classics were translated into Persian and as a consequence

1. Qtd. Jaffar - Education in Muslim India - p. 14.
2. Cumming - Modern India - p. 121.
3. Oman, J.C. - The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints - p. 198.

* He takes the Shudras as part of Hinduism.

Persian culture influenced Hindu culture ..."[1] It occurred because there was a touch of Muslim language in the translated books which were widely read by the Hindus. Even in modern times, in some Provinces of British India where Muslim language and literature have the upper hand through educational institutions and everyday use, the Hindus in those parts look semi-Mohammedanized.

But under this wave of equality of the Mohammedan educational system, Shudra was not out of the picture. He was an active participant in it for his emancipation. This opportunity had arisen for him next to Budhism in India. Because it was here again that "the rulers and ruled got education together without any racial or religious antagonism."[2] The Shudra was no more to be subjected to inhuman laws if he showed any desire for the acquisition of knowledge because now "education was without any restriction of rank, race or religion."[3] Education was considered to be the gift of God which no human being should snatch from any other human being because "the teachings of Islam are meant for all human beings. Mohammed recommended education as meritorious in the eyes of the Almighty and invited all and sundry to acquire it."[4] This being the liberty and privilege, the Shudras flocked round the Maulvi, Mullah and his

James H. Cousins article in above

1. The Eastern Times dated 7th June, 1935. Qtd. Jaffar - Education in Muslim India - p. 15.
2. Jaffar - Education in Muslim India - p. 28.
3. Ibid p. 33.
4. Ibid p. 6.

Mosque and Madarsa to quench their spiritual thirst and gain status out of age-long state of degradation under the Hindu order. We may clear one point at the outset; this is that first there were no separate State schools in the modern sense of the word. It was the Mosque which became the centre of literary activity in India as in other countries of Islam[1] and every house of Mullah, Maulana and Maulvi became a centre of culture and good breeding;[2] and secondly, the Shudras never attended these schools as Hindus did for worldly gain, or to put it more concisely they never received education as a class of Shudras. For them it was difficult to attend schools and come back as Shudras because the Hindus who had succeeded in establishing their order under the Mohammedans[3] could not allow them to have an easy life on their return because they had no right of education. The only course left open for them was to go to school mosques and embrace Islam. On becoming a member of Islamic faith he came on par with the Hindu. From this point of view our story of the education of Shudra during the Mohammedan period is a story of his conversion to Islam. Those who never embraced Islam even after the first lesson in the Mosque, Makatab, remained as wretched as ever and the position of the present-day Shudra Untouchables is a clear testimony of their folly. Once they attended the Mosque they never returned

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1. Jaffar - Education in Muslim India - p. 149
2. Ibid p. 145; Education Commission 1882-P.8; & Census Report India (881
3. Ante p. 204-205.

as Shudra. In fact it was impossible for them to do so because the Hindu population would not tolerate their new privileges. When they embraced Islam they thought education complied with the religion. In fact it happens in all the human and scientific religions. A man may not have been educated at school but the spirit of such a scientific religion is such that he might feel cultured and inculcates the virtues of an educated and cultured person. Take Christianity for example. How many people are there who have not attended schools but regard their fellowmen as men and not animals; who are most kind to animal and plant kingdoms. Why? It is due to the Christian spirit. Look at India. Under Hinduism things were different. Not to speak of cruelty to animals there are human beings who are treated as animals. So the Shudras thought embracing the religion was an education in itself for them. I am inclined to give a very fascinating example of one Mohammedan King Alla-Udin. He was not educated but the fervour of his religion made him think that it was an education itself for him. It is said that once while discussing State matters with Qazi Mughisu-d-Din he said "Though I have no knowledge and have not read anything - Agarchi'ilmi u Kitabi Nakhwanda am - yet I am Mohammedan born and my family has been Mohammedan for generations."[1] It has a very significant meaning behind it. It reflects the greatness of religion

1. Elliot & Dowson - Vol. III, p. 188. History of India.
Bib. Ind. Ed. p. 295, Line 6 footnote.

The same view was taken by the Shudras who, knowing the secret, once, clamoured to join it and joined in millions leaving the Hindu society. As Dutt has scholarly remarked, "Non-Aryan Shudra castes, to whom Hinduism gave no status or position, fell off by the million and secured a status and position for themselves by embracing the Mohammedan religion."[1]

We may be asked a question and it looks fairly relevant. It is that if Muslims were so liberal to the Shudras or if the Shudras embraced Islam in large numbers, may be through any agency, how is it that they never improved their condition and passed on in the same degraded state under the British up to this time. It may be repeated and recalled that the present Untouchables are those who never attended Muslim educational or religious institutions. They remained out either from pressure by the Hindus or stuck to Hinduism through ignorance or fell into the preachings of Hindus or voluntarily chose to live with the Hindus. They remained with the Hindu society and have therefore retained their traditional position. Those who joined are no more Shudras. They are Muslims. The comparison is very similar to the Christians in India. Those intelligent and sensible sections of Shudra Untouchables joined the Christian Faith in spite of all the temptations and obstacles in their way by different Societies like the Arya Smaj, and have raised themselves to ~~the~~ a better ~~equal~~ status ~~as~~ than Hindus in India. But

1. Dutt - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol. II. p. 309.

those who still preferred to remain with their old masters their present wretched position speaks for their wrong course of action. The converts have raised themselves in the eyes of the world if not in the eyes of the Hindus.

Muslim education was not purely secular as already said. The religion has a very good effect on its educational system. Now while taking up the educational survey of six hundred years rule of Muslims and the tendencies effecting the position of Shudra in it we will not remove from our mind the fact, explained above, that the education of Shudra is the raising of his status from a submerged state. For this, three factors play a prominent role:-

(a) the general educational effort of the Emperors
(b) the Mosque
(c) the Maulvi

In the general effort of the Muslim Emperors they gave admission to all classes including Shudras in all kinds of Educational Institutions. The erection of a Mosque in place of a Temple weighed the scale of opportunities of Shudra education towards him because Shudra could go to Mosque as a privilege but could not look at the Temple with all his devotion to it. The greater the increase of the ~~Indian~~ Muslim Mosques and the greater the decrease of Temples, it meant a larger number of places for the spiritual and educational approach of the Shudra. An Emperor who demolished the greatest number of Temples and erected Mosques instead paved indirectly the way for the education of the

Shudras and was their best protector and benefactor. But it may not be forgotten that all emperors do not come equal on the scale of our tests like Akbar and Dava. But otherwise the destruction of one temple meant the opening of a school for the low caste people. Lastly, the Maulvi teachers attracted the Shudras by their personality and character and literary scholarship to admit them to the order of Islam. They were the emblems of Islamic culture and education. Their patronage by the kings, or their individual role, will be another effort for the uplift of the position of lower orders of society. These three factors will serve our test of Shudra education during the reign of Mohammedan Emperors and on these points we will carry on our research.

Mohammedan Emperors by virtue of their religion and tradition in their Mother countries were, in general, great patrons of learning. Their courts were 'beehives of literary men, poets and philosophers'[1] and their personal character throbbed with sympathy towards the poor. This trend of their nature made the nobles[2] and chiefs and private individuals[3] in the country to follow their example. The light of learning was spread through three agencies:-

(a) Private houses
(b) Mosques and Monasteries
(c) Maktabs and Madrasahs [4]

In the pre-Mughal period the first Emperor who did something for

1. Law, N.N. - Promotion of Learning in India - XIVI (Int.)
2. Ibid
3. Ibid
4. Jaffar - Education in Muslim India - p. 16.

the lower orders was Sultan Mahmud. He was a brave Prince of magnificent personality gifted with qualities of ~~hand~~ head and heart[1] and a great lover of learned men and a patron of learning. We have nothing to depend upon that he started the regular educational system for the people of India in those early days, but it seems that his actions were in one way for the good of the Hindus and definitely for the attraction of the Shudra population to Islam. He broke many idols and destroyed many temples that came in his way. To his shrewd mind the existence of the custom of worship of idols was not the sign of an intelligent nation. He thought that the forgetting of one God and worshipping stones instead was the greatest curse that a nation could impose on itself. As a ruler it was his primary duty to look to the interests of his subjects. He had found during his invasions that the non-Muslims had fallen an easy prey to him and except a certain class (the Rajputs). Other sections were in a paralysed state. As an intelligent observer and a statesman, he found that there was something extraordinary wrong with the nation which had made them so weak, cowards and meek and deduced that it was the defect of the educational and social system of the nation. There was all round division and hatred among the different sections of the non-Muslim population. If he allowed this to continue, its unwholesome environments would effect the Muslims also. Under the degenerated social system

1. Elliot & Dowson - History of INDIA. Vol. iii, p. 63.

the breeding places of disunity, hatred, jealousy and national degradation were the temples. Unluckily they served as educational institutions as well. The worship of idols in them had made the nation physically and morally degraded. The retention of Devadasis in the temples was a source of demoralizing the youth under the garb of religion. He made up his mind, therefore, to demolish temples as many as he could, for the interests of the subject nation. He burnt them to ashes, razed them to the ground wherever he went and replaced them with mosques, the most human liberal and humane agencies of unity. His idea was to set an example by providing an institution which could give the non-Muslims the message of unity, equality and brotherhood. These mosques served indirectly as new schools for the uplift of the Shudras. Here the first lessons to these people were the lessons of Holy Quran and then the teachings of the three R's.

He has been criticised as an enemy of the Hindus by calling him 'idol breaker.' But had the Hindu nation accepted it as a soothing balm to the ills of the nation, because their temples became the cause of their slavery, they ought to have helped him in demolishing these places of stone worship. The worship of stones has kept the Hindus stones themselves. Had they accepted the idea with intelligent analysis, though they may have criticised on political grounds, their position

would have been far better among the self-respecting and strong nations of the world. But it is a pity that they always give a different view of reforms meant for them. We have seen their attitude towards the missionaries' educational efforts and the work of reforms by the British Government for them.

The line of action for the improving the lot of the subject population was praiseworthy. Hasan NiZami in his Taj-Ul-Ma-Asir informs us that while at Ajmer "he destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges ..."[1]

The work begun by Mahmood of Ghazni, which indirectly was beneficial to the lower classes, was taken up by Mohammed Ghori. He was so human at heart that he used to teach slaves himself.[2] He destroyed the Hindu temples in large numbers and set free the instructional places to all the non-Muslims alike.

The slave kings followed the example of these two pioneers. The first king of slave dynasty was Qutbudin, who destroyed temples and erected mosques in their places. He was also of the opinion that temples with which education was associated were most undemocratic institutions which welcomed one section and excluded the other. They were places of vice and superstition, harmful for the Hindus in general and breeding places of germs of hatred against the Shudras. It is said that after Rai Jai Chand of Benares 'the chief of idolatry and perdition'

1. Elliot & Dowson - Vol. II, p. 215.
2. Brigg's Ferishta - Vol. i, p. 200.

was defeated 'the impurities of idolatry were purged by the water of sword from that land and the country of Hind was freed from vice and superstition.'[1] Bakhtiyar Khilji constructed mosques, colleges and monasteries ...[2]

Under the Kings of Khilji dynasty, Sayyid Maula, a learned man of the time of Jalaluddin, was a learned man of repute. He entertained poor men of all denominations in his Academy established during the time of Balban.[3] He had many disciples and followers ranking from the prince to the pauper. Passing on to Alauddin Khilji, we learn that he made many reforms for his subjects. Apart from this he built mosques[4] which must have served as places of education for all the sections of population.

In the next dynasty of kings, Mohammed Tughlak was the most notable king. 'He was one of the most erudite sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of Delhi. He was an accomplished writer and somewhat of a poet too.'[5] He was a great patron of all types of people, rich and poor. He is assumed to have built Madrasahs for his subjects at Daulatabad for all sections of the transferred population.[6] The next king in Tughlak dynasty was Feroz Shah. He is also known for his reforms in

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1. Elliot and Dowson Vol. II, p. 223.
2. Ibid
3. Law - Promotion of Learning in India during Mohammedan Rule - (p. 32.
4. Ferishta - Vol. i, p. 376.
5. Barni's Tarikhi - Firuz-Shahi, Elliot & Dowson Vol. iii, pp. 235-36. Ferishta - Vol. I, pp. 410-11.
6. Law - Promotion of Learning in India during Mohammedan Rule - (p. 47.

the country. His reforms for the Hindus such as the abolition of the mutilation and torture of limbs, burning alive of human beings, are well known. As regards his educational efforts, there were none of his predecessors who tried so much for the diffusion of education among his subjects as he did.[1] His zeal and enterprise is evident from the Royal Proclamation which he issued ordering the repairs of mosques and monasteries throughout the Empire.[2] It opened, in other words, wider field of opportunities to the lower orders of society, such as the Shudras. A further proof of his love for the poor is known from his hobby of the education of slaves whom he taught himself. Next we come to Sikandar Lodhi. During his time 'a new sort of life obtained, for people high and low were polite and self respecting, integrity and devotion to religion was prevalent like as had never been the case in former reigns.'[3] It shows that the equality of Shudra in matters of Muslim culture and education was recognised. More of his attainments for the Shudra uplift was that he 'broke many Hindu temples and built mosques in their place.'[4] "He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathura, and turned the principal Hindu places of worship into caravansarais and colleges."[5] His reign was also very useful

1. Smith, V.A. - The Oxford History of India. P. 248.
2. Elliot & Dowson - vol III — pp. ~~249~~. 354, 383; Ferishta vol I P. 464.
3. Ibid Vol. IV, p. 450.
4. Ferishta Vol. I, pp. 581, 87, 89.
5. Tarikhi-Daudi by Abdullah; Elliot and Dowson Vol. iv, p. 450.

for bringing into use Persian[1] as a language of the State. It was to be encouraged as a language of the masses also. It was a happy sign for the Shudras who were weighed down heavily under Sanskrit superiority.

It is a trace of some of the favourable tendencies under the Mohammedan central authority. There were some kingdoms in the South such as the Bahmini and Vijayanagar kingdoms. We may see some work there too. From the study of the working of the Southern Kingdoms, it is revealed that the circumstances from the view of our subject are not very encouraging because the administrative control of most of the States was more in the hands of the Brahmans. Hasan Gangu Bahmani was the first Brahman to dominate the Mohammedan Princes. How the low castes would have been kept away from the eye of the Muslim kings in the South cannot be deduced clearly except that we may conclude from the general backwardness of these communities in the present times. Still, we find that Islam seems to have cast much influence over the low caste people. A fairly large proportion seems to have joined this faith. The population of the warrior Mupalas is an example of this influence. The Mupalas are almost all Shudra converts and I think it was the mosque which has played its usual part in bringing them into the Islamic fold. Under the Bahmani kings the first ruler who

1. Ferishta - Vol.I, p.587.

attracts our notice is Mohammed Shah Bahmani. 'He was the father of the poor and helpless and for the education of the orphans established schools in several cities of his dominion .. and supplied them with ample endowments for their maintenance.'[1] The next king under the Bahmani dynasty was Firuz. He was well versed in many languages because of perhaps the presence of many Hindu women in his harem such as the Rajputs, the Bengalis and Gujratis and the Marhatta, with whom he had to converse in their own languages.[2] It had made him a man of cosmopolitan views. His inspiration of the love for the common man can be educed for his habit of writing a copy of sixteen pages of the Holy Quarn before he sat for the affairs of the State. As he was religious so he must have his heart open to all the members of the non-Muslim population and all privileges of the State including education open to all. His successor, Ahmad Shah Bahmani demolished several temples of the Brahmans on his invasion to Bijapore.[3] On the whole the efforts of the Muslim chiefs in the South were quite satisfactory as Furguson in his 'Architecture at Bijapore' says that they extended education by village schools which were attached to mosques.[4]

There is one other point which calls for consideration and it is that the Hindus must have given opposition to Shudras.

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1. Ferishta - Vol. II, pp. 349-350.
2. Ibid pp. 369-370.
3. Ibid p. 402.
4. Furguson's 'Architecture at Bijapur' p. 12.

Had they been given free play to attend mosque schools, their population could not have been as much as it is now. On the other hand, some did go and they improved their lot considerably. As mentioned before, such people were the Moplas.

On the whole I think that the South has been much handicapped in the spread of Islamic culture and education among the Shudras by the presence of the adjacent sister Hindu kingdom of Bijyanagar. This kingdom proved a counter-check to the spread of Muslim culture in the South on the whole. Those other Muslim kingdoms which existed near it like the House of Bijapore, were in the Hindu grip. Abrahim Adil Sah was won over by giving him a Marhatta Hindu lady. Moreover, Brahmans were the sole masters of the administration of his State. They held high offices. The work of the affairs of the State including public accounts began to be kept up in Hindi instead of Persian.

On the other side like Bengal the history of condition of the Shudras gives a different picture. There the influence of Islam seems to have been also meagre. The Mohammedan rulers were more interested in the propagation of Hindu culture and literature. We find that the Ramayana and Marmahabharata which contain inimical laws for the education of Shudras were translated into the vernaculars of the Hindus. Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282-1325) took the lead in this work of translation by getting the later epic translated into Bengali. Sultan Ghiyasud-din II was perhaps responsible for getting vernacular rendering of

Ramayana. Sultan Hussain Shah got translated Bhagavata Purana into Bengali by Maladhar Vasu.[1] We will have to explain here that the more favourable circumstances for the conversion of Shudras into Islam existed there in the time of Mughals when they joined in large numbers.[2]

Mughal Period:- We enter now the Mughal period and will find out the possible opportunities of the amelioration of the Shudras under the Mughals. During this period the conditions got different from what they were before. The Mughals had been mostly under the influence of the Hindus and they tried to make every effort for their welfare. The lead in this direction of Hindu patronage was taken by Akbar. He was over enthusiastic to win favour of the Hindus at the cost of the Muslims and the low caste people of non-Muslim sections of society. The adoption of such a course had political grounds, but this policy was to the advantage of only one part of the population at the expense of the rest. The bearing of such an unhappy trend of events on the social and educational uplift of the Shudras, was discouraging. As already pointed out the rise of Hinduism is always a fall of Shudraism. Emperors like Akbar started religions like Din-Elahi which was more in conformity with the tenets of Hinduism. Darashikoh was very much a Pandit* Muslim.

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1. Dinesh Chandra - History of Bengali Literature - pp. 14-12 & 222.
2. Dutt - A History of Civilisation in Ancient India - Vol. II. p. 313.

* literally means learned but also implies Brahman.

Let us now make a general survey of the Mughal period. The first king was Babar. When he entered India he found that there were no educational systems worth the name which could be called really democratic institutions of learning. It was a right impression of the new invader. The fact is that the Hindus had gained some power in the Courts of the later pre-Mughal Kings in the centre and in other parts of the country and established their social order. There were indigenous schools of Hindu learning but they were so isolated for the Brahmanic learning that they hardly caught the notice of the foreigner. They were purely for the use of the high strata of the population.

Therefore, Babar, not convinced with such a system tried to improve matters by his own way. He established the Public Works Department the duties of which were the building of Maktabs and Madrasahs. These institutions were open to all alike. His son Hamayun was equally a person of liberal views. When he classified the population into different grades he put the literary men at the top[1] and not the Brahmans or Muslim priests. Though these categories of men were supposed to be literary there was no bar for any other member of the population Muslim or non-Muslim, who could attain such a position on merit. We do not find any mention where the Dvijas amongst the Hindus

1. Hamayun Namah—Elliot+Dowson-History of India Vol. V. pp. 119-20.

or Maulvis or Maulanas were to be put in this class. Our point is supported from the fact that Jauhar who wrote 'Private Memoirs of Hamuyun' was a ewer-bearer, a menial servant of the king. But due to his intellectual gift he performed the act of a learned man.[1] The next king in our line of research is Akbar. He was the greatest of the Mughal Emperors that ever sat on the throne of India. He was politically a great sovereign but from our point of view he was a Hindu Akbar.[2] In order to please the Aryan Hindus he got many of their religious books and literature translated into Persian such as Mahabharata, Veda-Atharva, Haribamsa and the story of Nala-Damayanti. The Brahmans, the inveterate enemies of the Shudra education were the greatest favourites of the Emperor under the leadership of Birbal. His patronage of Hindu learning had, in fact, also a bad effect on the growth and proper development of Muslim learning. It received a divided attention from the Muslim king - rather it was not given much notice.

It is said that Akbar began well but shortly after 1579, the influence of Hindus like Todar Mall and Birbal and other satellites changed him. He made provision for the education of Hindu youths in the Madrasahs along with the Mohammedan boys.[3] The books which the Hindus read were Vyakarana, Vedanta and Patanjali. In short, every Hindu was educated 'according to

1. Elliot & Dowson-History of India. Vol. V. p. 136.
2. Expression - Frazer's 'Literary History of India' p. 334.
3. Law - Promotion of Learning in India during Mohammedan Rule - p. 171.

his particular views of life and his circumstances.'[1] The Emperor was great but there is no mention in his system like the previous Mohammedans that all high and low were alike. There is much cry of his policy of religious toleration, but it is the Mohammedan versus the Hindu and vice versa. The lower orders of Shudras ~~are~~ were out of the scene. Neither the State schools nor the aided schools had any scheme for the low castes.

His successor, Jahanger, known much for his wine and consequently forgetting the affairs of the State, never forgot to favour the worshippers of the kine. He followed mostly the system of his father. His son, Shah Jahan, was not very inclined towards the Hindu culture. He remained busy in reviving the Mohammedan art and culture through his love of buildings. But if we may look to the remarks of Bernier that 'a gross and profound ignorance reigns in those States'[2] we may conclude that it applies more to the Hindus and a Shudra population living among them than to Muslims, or may be that the Muslims education also suffered. We have hinted at this point under Akbar. The probable reason is that the High Caste people were educationally well off, but their population was small and insignificant compared to the Shudras who formed the bulk of the population. They were in a bad condition. The whole fault lay in the one sided flattering policy of Akbar

1. Law - Promotion of learning in India during Mohammedan Rule - p. 162.
2. Bernier's Travels (Ouldinburgh's Edition) p. 210.

under the shelter of religious toleration. This unsatisfactory condition reached its climax under Shah Jahan. The son of Shah Jahan, Dara, again took up the line of his grand and great grandfathers. "He showed an inclination for the religion and institution of Hindus; he was constantly in the society of the Brahmans, Yogis and Sannyasis, and he used to regard these worthless teachers of delusions as learned and true masters of wisdom. He considered their books which they call Bed* as being the word of God and revealed from Heaven and he called them ancient and excellent books. He was under the delusion about this Bed, that he collected Brahmans and Sanyasis from all parts of the country and paying them great respect and attention, he apologised them in translating the Veda. He spent all his time in this unholy work and devoted all his attention to the content of these wretched books. Instead of sacred name of God, he adopted the Hindu name Prabhu (Lord) which the Hindus consider holy and he had this name engraved in Hindi letters upon rings of diamond, ruby, emeralds, etc."[1] He translated Upnishdas into Persian; he translated Bhagavadgita, Yog-Vasishtha Ramayana and a work entitled Mukalmah-i-Baba Lal Das, dealing with the doctrines of Hindu ascetics.[2] The result of this patronage and Hindu sycophancy could only be baneful for

1. Alamgir Namah - Elliot & Dowson - Vol. vii, p. 179.
2. Law - Promotion of Learning in India during Mohammedan Rule - p. 185.

* That is Veda.

the uplift of Shudra. Unluckily, Dara was on the throne of Delhi, the capital of the Mughal Empire, and from where the whole policy was transmitted to the other Provinces.

Under such circumstances there is no wonder that a true Muslim like Anrangzeb when he seized the reins at Delhi first chopped off the head of Dara-Shikoh. The whole country was politically, socially and economically in chaos. There were Mughal Courts, with all its pomp and splendour, there were Hindu courtiers with all their power, prestige and dignity. But the Shudras and other lower classes were in a bad condition. By the increase of power of men like Todar Mal and Birbal Brahmin and Brahmin Rajput, devotees like Man Singh, Jai Singh and ... under Akbar, the social order of the Hindus had been established. The Mughal emperors through many underhand means and clever devices had been put on the wrong road. Kings like Jahangir had plunged more into pleasures of life than to spend time in strengthening the power of the central authority. In an internal order the Muslims had socially gone down from the true spirit of Islam. Caste system had crept in it. Culturally they had waned because there was not the same Mohammedan zeal of erecting of mosques, maktabs and Madarsas and the effort for the propagation of Muslim culture as that of Mahmood Ghaziri or Babur. The condition of the Shudra population was most appalling due to the indifference of Mughal kings, and establishment of Hindu order. All this was due to Hindu environmental conditions and the attitude of kings to encourage it.

Under such conditions appeared the great Mughal Aurangzeb after the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan. His success to the throne was desired by the Muslims on the whole because "it became manifest that if Dara Shikoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the State would be in danger and the precepts of Islam would be changed for the rank of infidelity."[1] When he ascended the throne the country was in a turmoil because it presented politically and socially the view of a Hindu State. He tried to undo the Hindu influence from the Court and establish pure Muslim order in the country, but he soon lost the good will of the Hindu population. The propaganda of clever Brahmins succeeded in instigating the simple minded followers of Gurunanak, afterwards called the Sikhs, to come in clash with the New Emperor in the name of Hinduism. In the South, the Marhatta Shivaji was prepared to oppose the Mughal authority. This reaction was also a result of some social changes. He wanted the revival of Muslim culture and education which was not very much acceptable to the Hindus because they would lose the support of their system which they had been getting. In fact, Aurangzeb, like Mahmud Ghazni, thought that the general condition of both the Muslim and Hindu proletariate would be improved by democratic mosque schools rather than the prevalent temple schools. Therefore his first task was 'to destroy the Hindu schools and temples

1. Alamgir Namah - Ellict & Dowson - Vol. vii, p. 179.
History of India.

and put down their religious teachings and religious practices.'[1] This policy of his was bitter to the Hindus but was beneficial to the Shudras. It would deteriorate the Hindu influence and thus open avenues of betterment for the Shudra. Akbar had tied the Hindu youth with the Muslim youth in Madrasahs and diluted the Muslim culture but Aurangzeb 'tried earnestly to foster the education of Mohammedan youth and diffuse Muslim learning in his dominions.'[2] He founded numberless colleges and schools[3] in the dominions both for the rich and the poor, high and low. So much so that he issued orders to help the students from the Treasury.[4] He especially opened schools for low class Bohras of Gujrat.[5] The teachers were appointed for them, monthly examinations were arranged to be conducted and the results were to be reported to the Emperor.[6] The policy of the revival of pure Muslim culture and the destruction of temples and removal of Hindu dominance at the Court, opened opportunities for the Shudra population to attend mosque schools in large numbers. And it has been agreed by almost all historians that the population of the Muslims increased considerably during his period. It was the Shudra who left the Hindu fold and increased the numbers of the new faith. They were the converts. They have been shown as Hindus. Sometimes it is said that Aurangzeb increased the Mohammedan population on the

1. Sarkar - Anecdotes of Aurangzeb & Historical Essays - p. 11.
2. Law - Promotion of Learning in India during Mohammedan Rule - (p. 187
3. Keen's 'Mughal Empire' - p. 23.
4. Law - Promotion of Learning in India p. 188.
5. Mirati Ahmadi by Atimohammad Khan Vol. i, p. 263. Vol. ii, p. 37.
6. Ibid Vol. i, pp. 377-78.

point of sword by forcing conversions from the Hindu population. It is not all correct to presume. The people who swelled the numbers of the Islamic order were the Shudras and they did not need any force. Rather they clung to it gladly. Therefore the presentation of such a view is propaganda because the Hindus did not like the Shudras to leave their company because the inclusion of their numbers in their population gave them enormous political advantages. And this tendency of selfishness has been exhibited by the Hindus in all succeeding periods. Their conversion to Christianity has been opposed. Their demand for separate political representation has also been opposed. If Aurangzeb had made a few Hindus to join Islam on the point of sword for some political reasons that cannot be made a general rule. On the whole, from the conversion of the Shudras to Islam during the time of Aurangzeb induces us to say that his reign was an oasis in the desert for the social and educational advance of the Shudras.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF MOHAMMEDAN SUFI SAINTS DURING MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD - 1400 - 1700

Bhakti movement a result of the Sufi influence - It was a liberal movement - Its teachings corresponded to Islam - Origin of Sufiism - Its fundamental principles - The essence of the teachings of the preachers of Bhakti movement - Some individual teachers and their teachings - Ramananda - Ravdas - Cokttamela - Namdev - Kabir - Dadu - Nanak - The following of the Shudra classes and thereby the removal of social disabilities.

In the last chapter we saw the effect of the efforts of the Mohammedan rulers for the lower sections of the subject population. We noted two things. One that by the influence of general policy of the ruler or through mosques or the Maulvi, the Shudras embraced Islam and thereby attained a status which made them entitled to all social and educational privileges of the society, and second, that all kings do not come in one line of munificence from the point of view of the Shudra communities. The former factor decreased the population of the Shudras in particular and the non-Muslims in general.

We have to see now whether there was some other current by which the Shudra got benefited. We have found that there arose another undercurrent as a result of Sufism, which attracted the Shudras in large numbers to go into it and thus achieve a position of equality with others. It was called the Bhakti (devotion) movement. It was a sort of Hindu liberal movement but a revolt against the orthodox Hinduism. The position is comparable with the Christian movement in India and the professed

Hindu liberal societies like the Brahmosmaj and Arya Samaj, though in principle and spirit of the Bhakti, these liberal societies have no comparison. But the point of note is that had this liberal cult not appeared the conversions of Shudras to Islam would have been far greater than it occurred on account of Islamic influence. This liberal force produced a great check on Mohammedan flow because its teachings were in spirit like the teachings of Islam. What was it due to and who were the teachers? It was due to the effect of the teachings of Muslim Sufis as we will presently see and the teachers of this movement were Ramananda, Ravdas, Kabir and Nanak.

Now before we take up the teachings of these teachers and the benefits it set open to the Shudras, it is a necessity to know the source of their inspiration. Their teachings were very much like the precepts of Islam. Of course, they never reached to the high standard of Islamic faith because their background and environments were Hindu. Yet they followed the right road and rendered a great service in improving the lot of the downtrodden. They were disciples of Sufi Muslim Saints. We may inform the reader that the Muslim Sufi Saints had also a great influence over the Mughal kings. The gift of toleration for which Akbar has been praised so much was all due to the influence of Sufis on him. If he succumbed to Hinduism, that is a different matter. He had begun well. Whosoever became the gainer under him is a matter of chance. Jahangir, Dara and

Auranzeb were followers of this cult. They followed because Muslim religion recognises it under Shari'at because religious truth is of three kinds "That which is received from God, that obtained with God and that acquired of God."[1] These Sufi Saints made a great contribution in infusing humanistic thought in the minds of the Emperors to be good to the population both Muslim and non-Muslim, Hindus and Shudras. These Sufi Saints won some disciples among the non-Muslim population and once they began to transmit their ideas and thoughts their teachings became so simple and forceful that the common man could not resist to be its follower because like the rationalistic period the complexity of Hindu religion had become intolerable for the common sections of the people and Hindu thinkers had no real following but took advantage of the established rut. Usaf Ali says that by the time when these teachers began their work 'The Hindu thinkers of India had receded into the background.'[2] The ground was mature for ready acceptance of the Sufi ideals. The Muslim Sufi Saints were scattered all over the land and "their influence was felt indirectly on Hindu thought and also directly on the social and political life of the country."[3] And the saintly followers which they attracted also preached like their preceptors throughout the length and breadth of the country.

1. L. Bevan Jones - The People of the Mosque - p. 141.
2. Usaf Ali - Medieval India - p. 38.
3. L. Bevan Jones - The People of the Mosque - p. 141.

Sufism has a very old origin in Islam. From the earliest days in Islam a kind of mysticism developed among the Muslims called Sufism. Those who adopted and followed the doctrines began to be called Sufis. "Sufism may be defined as that mode of religious life in Islam wherein the chief stress is placed on the activities of the inner self rather than on the performance of external ritual; in other words it is the name given to Islamic mysticism."[1] It has itself a deep history of revolt against evil. The early teachers who could not fight openly the evil tendencies took resort to passive measures and thus roused the common man by their teachings to understand the evil and fight against it. This happened in Persia the land of its origin. The early ascetics were disgusted with the Umayyad Khalifas and the nobles of their day who had utter disregard of Shari'at. The times needed some reform hence some personalities took up the work in a religious way. This method of passive action became a characteristic method of teaching. The first of the Sufis of the earliest period were the famous Abrahim bin Adham, and Rabia, a woman who lived in the second century of the Hijra.[2]

The later Muslim teachers of this cult were therefore strictly religious men. They kept little attachment to the earthly things and concentrated their adoration on one supreme

1. L. Bevan Jones - The People of the Mosque - p. 141.
2. Ibid p. 142.

God. There was no place to any deity or god except one God in their belief. Like the Hindu sects there was no idol worship or pompous formalities attached to it. They thought that 'pomp and vanities of the world, fleeing pleasures and amusements and riches and honours'[1] are against ~~the~~ purity of thought. They knew no caste distinction but had belief in the equality of all human beings. All men are equal in the Kingdom of God. God never created any men high or low. Any differentiation among the human beings is man's own creation based on selfishness. Hence such a false pride should be given up.

Taking our link from the last page, these ideas had travelled with the Muslim conquerors to India. By the fourteenth century it had worked its way in the idolatrous country and there had arisen a kind of revolt against the reign of orthodoxy. This thought was taken up by some intelligent men in the non-Muslim population. They included men from both classes of people, the Hindus and the Shudras. These followers became the teachers of Sufi movement. In Hindu terminology it was named the Bhakti movement. Their teachings were against the plurality of God, idolatry and the caste system, the very essence of Hinduism. As Macnicol says "The cult freed itself from the 'Evils of caste idolatry and polytheism the spirituality of true worship and divine personality."[2] They further opposed Hindu literature

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1. ~~L. Bevan Jones~~ - The ~~People of the Mosque~~ Religion of Islam - p. 233.
2. Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 138.

and its social customs. "The Vedas," the revealed books of the Hindus "were fictitious stories"[1] preaching hatred of men against men. In short their teachings were for the equality of all for the good of all, and for the unity of all. They preached that every spiritual, political, social and educational heritage was the privilege of all. Every individual is entitled to equal share of the civic rights of the State and the social order.

Taking a general survey of their teachings we shall briefly take up the views of some of the teachers on the oneness of God, idol worship, the caste system. The mention of the teachings of individual teachers is essential because the sects which started on the following of their teachings made the Shudras eligible to all social equality when they joined those orders. The ban on their entry to institutions of learning was lifted. He remained no more a Shudra enemy. It is also worthwhile to mention here that the teachers adopted a very passive attitude with a religious tinge to win the mind of the common Shudra by the example of simple living and simple teachings against the evil of orthodox Hinduism and prepared him to rise against it and we shall see that they succeeded in their mission.

One of the earliest teachers of Bhakti movement was Ramananda who lived about the end of the fourteenth century (died 1411). He was 'fifth in the apostolic succession from

1. Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 138.

Ramnuga'[1] but broke away from his ideas on caste system. In other words he was very much against caste system. He thought no justification of an institution which divided man from man. Before God all human beings are equal. 'Let no-one ask a man's caste or sect; whoever adores God, he is God's own,'[2] so preached Ramandanda. His apostles, the last of which we cannot give here, represented all castes and creeds from the Brahman to the outcaste.[3] Idol worship in temples was a form of running away from the greatness of God and thus forgetting the commands of God for the love of his creation. The idol god divided men and made enemies of one another. Therefore the service of idol was futile. Worship God and learn to love mankind.

So far the teachers had been Hindus but like Budhism it raised some of the Shudras to the status of teachers. It was a great achievement. The most notable example is that of Ravdas,* a tanner outcaste. The teachings of the cult had so liberalising an effect that even the twice born began to follow the teachings of this Shudra teacher. It is said that the Queen of Chitaur visited Ravdas to pay her homage to him. On this, the Brahmans, the traditional enemies of the Shudras protested against her devotion to him. In reply to their protest Ravdas said "What is dear to God is devotion, He payeth

1. Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 115.
2. Ibid p. 115.
3. Grierson in J. R. A. S. April 1907 - p. 319.

* lived in the 15th century.

no heed to caste."[1]

There is another instance of Cokttamela, an outcaste Mahar in the South who lived in the 17th century. He rose to the position of a saint teacher. It is said that on one occasion he went to see the Hindu temple but he was remonstrated with by the Hindus. On this he expressed his thoughts like this 'What availeth birth in high caste, and what avail rights or learning, if there is no devotion or faith? Though a man be of low caste, yet if he is faithful in heart and loves God and regards all creatures as though they were like himself and makes no distinction between his own and other people's children, and speaks the truth, his caste is pure and God is pleased with him. Never ask a man's caste when he has in his heart faith in God and love of man. God wants in his children love and devotion and he does not care for caste.'[2]

Similarly, another teacher rose from the low castes. He was Namdev, a low caste tailor and contemporary of Ramananda.* He was born in the Southern Peninsula but travelled north as far as Delhi in the reign of Mohammed Bin Tughlak preaching the gospel of unity, equality and brotherhood amongst men. He struggled hard against Brahman domination. He preached that God loved all, the Brahman and the Shudra alike. He lives in all human beings alike. He is omnipresent and omnipotent.

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1. Carpenter - Theism in Medieval India - p. 456.
2. Ranade's 'Rise of Maratha Power' - p. 153.

* flourished from 1400-1430 - Dr. Farquhar's article J. R. A. S. (April, 1920), 186.

"God", said Namdev, "is contained in everything."[1] Temples are symbols of disunity. When one can worship God without temple then why ~~to~~ rub forehead before a stone. God was not different in the heart of a Brahman and something different in the heart of a Shudra. "In every heart and in all things uninterruptedly there is only the one God."[2]

After these teachers comes Kabir* (1398-1518 A.D.) the greatest of the teachers of the Bhakti movement. He produced a country-wide revolt against the tenets of Hinduism and made the Shudras to dance around him. He was the greatest product of Sufi influence.[3] His birth is shrouded in mystery, but following G.H. West he was Mohammedan by birth but taking the view of some other writers, he was brought up by a Mohammedan weaver at Benares. 'He spoke of himself afterwards as a Shudra.'[4] It was perhaps that his heart ached at the sad and pitiable plight of the Shudras in those times. Therefore he identified himself with Shudra to share the indignity of name and fame. As to his teachings the whole philosophy was in accordance with the precepts of Islam and Sufi cult. He gained ~~much~~ more following from the lower orders of Hindu society than the Muslims. The times in which he lived and began his preachings were bad. The clouds of Hinduism overcast the whole atmosphere of the country.

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1. Carpenter - Theism in Medieval India - p. 454.
2. Ibid p. 454.
3. Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 137.
4. Carpenter - Theism in Medieval India - p. 457.

* "Great" an epithet of Allah.

Under the order of caste system and idol worship, the high caste people had become ignorant about themselves, and had become intolerably prejudiced, biased and oppressive towards Shudras. How should Kabir raise his voice and to whom? Nobody would hear. He said "To whom shall I explain, the whole world is blind. The true one is beyond reach, falsehood binds all."[1]

His belief was in one God. It cannot be found in stones therefore he was a strong opponent of idolatry. God never lives in stones. He said if he could find something in stones he would have worshipped mountains and in that case better to worship the grinding stones of a flour mill than to worship a crude stone because the former at least prepared flour for us.[2] Then, God never dwells in tabernacles. If so, 'Whose dwelling is the Universe?'[3] He condemned the caste, the root cause of Shudra ills. He found no difference between a Brahman and a Shudra. He did not think that in the veins of one ran blood and in the other water circulated. While condemning this system, he said, "Whose art thou, the Brahman, whose am I, the Shudra? whose blood am I? whose milk art thou?"[4] Apart from his criticism of the social sanctions of Hinduism, he had no respect for the literature of the Hindus because they were

1. Kabir's 'Bijak' Premchands Translation - p. 43.
2. Westcott, Kabir and Kabirpanth - p. 58.
3. Garrett and Kohli - A History of India - p. 139.
4. Qtd. in Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 139.

manuals of disunity and inequality dividing men into water-tight compartments. These "Books of the Pandits only bring bewilderment to the single-hearted seeker."[1] Due to his teachings he had collected many followers from the Shudra communities. We find his followers scattered all over India in these days. The followers are called Kabir Panthis. In some Provinces like the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, they have the same status as that of Hindus. Their children enjoy the same privileges of social mixing and education. But in the Punjab, they are still Untouchables. It seems that these northernmost parts were the last to be affected by the teachings of this great teacher. Hence those Shudras who joined lastly could not come on the status of their co-followers in other Provinces due to the rising influence of Brahmanism in the early days of the British rule in India.

One of the early successors of Kabir was Dadu (1544-1603). He also criticised Hinduism, its literature and other social sanctions. He believed like others in one God, consequently admitted equality of men, and denounced idol worship. About the revealed Vedas he said 'What avail is to collect a heap of books ... wear not away your lives by studying the Vedas.'[2]

But perhaps the work of Kabir was most ardently taken up in full spirit and devotion by Nanak (1469-1538), the founder of

1. Qtd. in Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 142.
2. Ibid p. 156.

Sikhism. He was 'Kabir's most famous follower who took up the teachings of the great master.'

Himself not very educated like many Indian saints and reformers of the world, left behind him a sect which has proved in the course of time, well-educated followers. He himself, was not a systematic thinker but his followers have shown to be great thinkers; himself a believer in peace, his followers are most ferocious and religious bigots; himself a god of unity between Hinduism and Islam, his followers are most opposed to Islam; himself a Hindu, his followers call it a shame to be called Hindus. All these opposite qualities between the teacher and the followers seem to have become a character of the nation due to increased hatred of Hinduism by the followers.

It is said that he was the disciple of a Mohammedan teacher who was fully acquainted with the language of Sufism.[1] Hence Sufism in general had much influence on him.[2] This influence is clear from his pilgrimage to Mecca.[3] Still further the word Khalsa which is given to a baptised Sikh is a derivation of the Arabic word 'Khalis' meaning pure. Still further, the devout faith in the Guru (teacher) is a copy of Muslim faith in Mohammed.

He believed in one God. "There is but one God whose name

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1. Carpenter - Theism in Medieval India - p. 471.
   Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 153.
2. Ibid p. 146.
3. Ibid p. 146.

is true, the Creator."[1] He is Narakara, the formless one, so why ~~to~~ bring in the form of stones. Hence he denounces idolatry with all his force. He preached against caste system. He disliked Vedas and Puranas. All Hindus, Muslims and Shudras were brothers to him. But as he was a Hindu by birth, therefore like Budha we find that he is tolerant to Hindu polytheism.[2] He admits the doctrine of Karma and transmigration. This acceptance of polytheistic thought made his order a sort of Gurudom.* He himself said that "Without the Guru (teacher) none hath found God."[3] It later on changed his sect to a sort of church nation.

His teachings attracted the Shudras first and then some poor sections of Hindus who could not afford to pay the cost of the Brahmanic religious ceremonies. In the later stages as more and more Hindus got into it, they discouraged the entry of Shudras into it. They influenced the order so much that the present Sikhs have begun to follow caste system but the period with which our enquiry is concerned the Shudras were larger entrants than the Hindus. So much so that they became pious religious teachers[4] called the Nirmalis of the Sikh population. The result of the teachers of Bhakti movement was that a large

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1. Macnicol - Indian Theism - p. 148.
2. Ibid p. 149.
3. Macauliffe - Japji I - p. 226.
4. Oman, J.C. - The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints - p. 198.
   * blind following of one teacher.

proportion of the Shudras became members of the different sects started by the different teachers. With the joining of these liberal sects and discarding the attachment and imitation of Hindu religious thought and its mode of life, which excluded them from all social rights of Hindu society, they began to be recognised as higher than Shudra and recognised as a separate sect eligible for equal privileges.

The credit of the movement goes to the thought and teachings of Muslim Sufi Saints. As pre-Christian culture brought Budhism on the Indian scene, and the Shudras once breathed a sigh of relief from Hindu oppression, so the Sufi teachings brought Bhakti movement in the superstitious and idolatrous India by which the Shudras once more found a way out of the Hindu social order.

It has been sometimes argued that the Bhakti movement was influenced by Christian teachings in India. The argument looks probable but cannot be accepted as a matter of fact. It is because in a Muslim India the chances of Muslim preaching flourishing were more than any other missionary society, especially when most of the Mohammedan Emperors were its followers.

CHAPTER III

THE TREATMENT OF THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES BY THE MUSLIMS UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

Muslims themselves a backward community - Protection of their own interests up to 1919 - Acceptance of Untouchables as equals by Mohammedans in general - The treatment of Mohammedan teachers and members of the Inspection Staff - Consequent educational uplift in Muslim majority Provinces - Instances of work from Muslim Majority Provinces such as the Punjab and Bengal.

In our previous chapters, we traced the attitude of the Hindus towards the social and educational uplift of the Shudra Untouchables under the Hindu, the Mohammedan and the British rule in India. In the British period we saw the work through the Hindu Congress and the treatment of the general population. We took the same line of analysis on their work by the Mohammedans in India. Under them we have seen the favourable and unfavourable currents for the welfare of the Shudra communities through the Sovereigns or through the effect of Sufi Saints and we came to the conclusion that it attracted millions of them to the Islamic fold. That was the criterion of our education for them. It remains for us now to see the general behaviour of the Muslim population towards them during the British period.

After the downfall of the Mughal Empire, the Muslims remained backward in education for a long time. The reasons why they remained behind were firstly political. The British, the new conquering race had snatched power from them. So they would take time to judge the character of the subjugated members

of the lost Empire. The Mutiny of 1857 confirmed doubts as to the honesty of complete acceptance of British rule in India. This impression was fanned by the rival Hindu community in the minds of the British. Secondly, the Hindu rival community proved too clever for them. The Brahmans became the favourites of the East India Company and weighted the scale of State money set apart for education to their own interests under the plea of Oriental learning by which large numbers of Hindu schools and colleges were started.[1] Thirdly, the removal of Persian as a Court language and the disappearance of Maulvis, Quazes,[2] the mines of Muslim culture, also speeded up their educational and cultural backwardness. Fourthly, the Muslims themselves were indifferent towards Western learning.

They were out of the field up to 1872. When their rights of education were recognised on this date, they made a start where the Hindu community had completed their race and reached a stage to cast off the foreign domination. And we have seen that not very long after this date, the Congress Movement was started in 1885. After 1872, though the Muslims got educational facilities, yet they could not compete with the Hindus and draw the advantages of a share in the political, social and economic life of the country until they got separate political representation in 1909. With this separation begins the

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1. Ante ch. V.
2. Ante ch V. P. 228.

chapter of their real improvement and gain. They began to share the high administrative posts under the British Government and by holding such posts they were able to look after the interests of their own community. It was a good start for them and when the Reforms of 1919 formulated responsible Government to India and gave Provincial autonomy, the Muslims came quite on a par with other communities. Because by the Reforms Act of 1919 the education had become a transferred subject in the Provinces with Indian Ministers responsible to the legislatures. This gave opportunities for the Mohammedans in Mohammedan majority Provinces to get their own ministers nominated to the Governors' Cabinets. While there were Mohammedan ministers they were in a position to chalk out and work their own educational policy befitting the interests of their community and other equally aggrieved communities. Before this, the period between 1872 and 1919 was a period of struggle for their own existence. Moreover, the policy of education was controlled from the centre where the Hindus formed a majority who did not allow any special concession to the Muslim majority Provinces under the plea of equality for all Provinces.

With this picture before us we cannot hope to see their work for the Depressed Classes during the years 1872-1919. Of course we can presume the general treatment of the Muslim population towards the Untouchables in general. Our test of their work will begin from 1919 because they were in a position

to show their work for the benefit of these communities. The choice of this date will also give us the advantage of having a comparative view of the work of Hindu ministers especially the Congress (1937-39) which we have already described in a separate chapter. We will see their attitude through two agencies. Firstly, the educational policy of the Muslim Ministers in whatever province they were Ministers, and secondly the treatment of Mohammedan teachers and Mohammedan population towards the Depressed Classes' children in schools and parents in villages. But for the most part our discussion will be confined to the latter.

Taking up our first query, Muslims in general are very fair to the Shudra Untouchables. They take the Untouchables on an equal basis. It is because the teachings of Islam are such as to treat other human beings equally sons of God. They have no consciousness of the high and low in caste terminology. Of course, there may be isolated examples where Muslims have treated them with inequality, but such examples are rare and have occurred when the Depressed Classes have tried to show themselves as followers of Hindus. Therefore, they have received indifferent treatment. Secondly, the Muslims are socially Shudras in the eyes of the Hindus, but this is a secondary thing. The most prominent part is played by the effect of their religion.

In the majority Muslim Provinces where the Muslims are teachers

in sufficient proportion or even in the Hindu Provinces where they are a few, they admit the students of the Untouchables' communities without any hesitation. They do not exclude them from the list of school-going age children, as Hindu teachers do, both in compulsory and voluntary areas of education. They give free chance of admission. After the admission, they do not impose any social segregation on them. They are seated together with Hindu and Mohammedan children and given equal attention in the course of teaching. They have taken much part in pursuading the unwilling parents to send their children to schools where parents for fear of Hindu aggression or ignorance have kept their children back. The promotions are given regularly. They are sent for scholarship examinations. Due to this opportunity, many Depressed Classes' children have won open scholarships in all school competitive examinations. On the contrary, we had a picture of the attitude of discouragement of education by the Hindu teachers and other officials of the Department in one of our previous chapters.

The role of the Mohammedan members of the Inspection Staff has been equally sympathetic and encouraging. They have always recommended the teachers of these communities for recruitment in the Educational Services. They have admitted Untouchable students to Training schools and colleges. On full annual inspections of schools they have never prejudiced themselves while endorsing the work of these teachers. They have encouraged the teachers for paying equal attention to the admission of

Depressed Classes' children in schools. They have shown equal interest in scrutinising the progress reports of these children and to check their promotions to higher forms. The leakage and stagnation figures have been regularly checked to see that such figures do not include the Untouchable children , the injustice of which we noticed in the case of schools under Hindu teachers. In short, they take pains to see the all round attention is paid by the teachers for the educational advance of the children of backward classes' communities.

The result of this policy has been that the educational condition of the Depressed Classes in Muslim Provinces has improved considerably. This leads us to clear one misunderstanding which might arise. It is that if we compare the percentage of literacy figures with some of the Southern Hindu Provinces like Madras or Bombay, we may find their position better and thus our optimistic assertion goes wrong. In this connection two points are worthy of consideration. Firstly, the proportion of figures looks higher because the population of Depressed Classes in those Provinces is higher as compared with Muslim Provinces like the Punjab and Bengal. Secondly, there is another very important factor. It is the part played by the Christian Mission Societies in those parts. The rise of literacy is very much due to the selfless efforts of the Christian Mission Schools and its teachers and preachers and not due to the work of Hindu teachers and Hindu schools. We

would have been wrong in our conclusion if the missionaries had not been in the educational field in those parts. There is a net of Christian Mission Schools and its workers in the Provinces and States of the Peninsula as compared with the Provinces of Northern India, hence they have contributed a lot in raising the general literacy figures in those parts. To this may be added the third factor. Where there have been European Directors of Public Instruction the Hindu subordinates have been forced to show some work among these communities. Therefore, if we may take resort to compare literacy figures of Mohammedan majority Provinces with Hindu majority Provinces in a given period, the comparison will be wrong. We will have to be content to see the rise of progress from one period to another in a Mohammedan Province itself. For this point we will have to take into account the work of some Mohammedan Minister of Education under the diarchy. The first report of the Government of India after the promulgation of Responsible Government reporting the work of the Mohammedan Provinces of Bengal and Punjab* said that "In Bengal alone the number of pupils belonging to the Depressed Classes rose from 96,522 to 128,144, a notable increase for a single year."[1] The position

1. Education in India 1922-23 p. 20.

* We have left the Mohammedan Majority Provinces like North Western Frontier and Sindh and Balanchistan because the population of the Depressed Classes is insignificant there.

increased year by year until 1935 A.D.

In the Punjab "The Punjab Government addressed Local Bodies suggesting various measures for attracting members of the backward or Depressed Classes into schools such as the provision of free school books and materials."[1] And the result was that three years after which the Untouchables had got a good start in the Bengal, 15,899 pupils were under instruction out of a total number of 19,049 school-going age children.[2]

In the Hindu Provinces the position was poor. They tried to show some work and issued such instructions but as usual the Hindu teachers and general public would not have it a success. The same Report noted that "it appears to be as yet doubtful whether the orders issued by several Governments, e.g. Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces that boys belonging to the Depressed Classes should be freely admitted into Public Schools can be carried out with great success.[3a & b]

We will round up our point of discussion with one example from the Punjab. After the Government of India Act 1935, came into force, the Punjab had a Mohammedan education Minister. The work of the Hindu Congress Ministers during 1937-39 we have already seen. We may now have a glimpse of the Muslim Minister

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1. Education in India 1922-23 p. 21.
2. Ibid p. 30.
3. a Efforts were made by the European D. P. I's.
   b Education in India p. 21.

of education in the corresponding period.

In accordance with the policy of the Government in power, all Public Wells and Places were set open for the use of the Scheduled Castes in the Punjab. All the Local Bodies were instructed to put up notices to this effect on these places situated under their jurisdiction.[1] A large sum was earmarked in the annual budget for the digging of more wells for them in schools and other places. All the public Industrial and Art Schools were thrown open to the children of the Depressed Classes. In order to pursue this policy in a vigorous manner, a warning was issued to private schools receiving grants-in-aid that refusal to admit a boy of these castes would make them liable to confiscation of their grants.[2]

In order to intensify the effort special measures of encouragement of education among them were adopted 'by means of concessions, stipends and scholarships to children of these castes.'[3] They were exempt from the payment of fees in Primary classes. The fees in the Middle and High Schools were reduced to half rates. A number of scholarships were reserved in schools and colleges for Secondary and University education.[4] A definite percentage of admissions were reserved for them in

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1. Scheduled Castes in the Punjab.
   Information Bureau Punjab, 1940 - p. 1.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid p. 3.
4. Ibid

Industrial Schools, Teachers' Training Colleges, Medical Colleges[1] and Agricultural College.[2] In each of these Institutions State Scholarships were reserved for the students. Further, in order to attract the students from these communities for higher education, a fixed percentage of recruitment was reserved for them in educational and other services in various departments. It attracted a large number of students for higher education. In the Punjab Legislative Assembly two educated members out of a total of eight of the Assembly were appointed Private Parliamentary Secretaries of Law and Education. The Muslim Premier looked to be sorry for other less educated members because he could not do anything for them. If we recollect the Congress attitude towards these classes, it was different. The Congress encouraged illiteracy among them. It was evident from the facts that during the elections of 1937, the Congress nominated illiterate members on Congress ticket in preference to educated members.[3] And the inclusion of highly educated members in Congress Cabinets like Agnibhoj was not deemed desirable. In pursuance of this policy recently Mr. Jugjiwan Ram was taken in the Central Interim Government in preference to other highly qualified scholars and statesmen like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, ~~and~~ while the Provincial Muslim Ministry of

1. Information Bureau Punjab, 1940 - Scheduled Castes in the Punjab - p. 3.
2. Ibid
3. Refer Ch. VI pp. 290, 292.

Bengal took Mr. J. N. Mandal, Barrister at Law, in the Cabinet. What a contrast of the attitude of two communities!

From the collection of these few facts, we come to the conclusion that the treatment of Shudra Untouchables by the Muslim population under the British has been quite praiseworthy. They were not bound to give any helping hand because it was the duty of the Hindus who have enjoyed the share, with regard to education, economic and political, due to the Depressed Classes for centuries. The Muslims have never exploited them. Their service in spite of the fact that their own position has been at stake, has been without gain and therefore highly commendable.

SECTION III

THE WORK OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES ON THE EDUCATION OF THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE WORK OF MISSIONARIES FOR THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES THROUGH THE AGES

Difficulty in tracing the beginnings of external influences and the Christian influence on India - Origin of work for all classes and castes - Desire at heart to work for the aboriginal Shudras - Probable early contacts of the pre-Christian world with India - Its effects in liberalizing the Indian atmosphere - History of work clear after Christian Era - Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thomas first entrants of the Christian era - Request of the Indian Christians to Bishop of Alexandria for a missionary - Evidence of early Christian work at the Missionaries' Council at Nice through representation of Bishop Johannes - Christian effort of Frumentius - Smooth working of the Missions under the Mohammedans - Concessions of Ceram Peroumal to the Malabar native Christians - Christianity in the Mohammedan period dormant (preparation for work in the Post Mohammedan period) - Evidence of Vasco da Gama concerning the State of Christianity in the early 16th century; and evidence of persecution of the Christians by Hindu Rajahs - Work of Francis Xavier a Jesuit missionary - His opposition by the Hindus - Efforts to Romanise Syrian converts through Menezes - Menezes contribution - Beginning of the Danish Protestant Missions in the 17th century at Tranquebar - Efforts of Ziegenbalg and Hindu opposition - Work of his successor Schultz - Start of other Protestant Missionary Societies - Work of (a) the English Mission at Madras (b) the Baptist Missionary Society (c) the London Missionary Society - Work impeded due to division of public opinion in England about the continuance of work in India - Success of Dr. Buchanan in winning favour of public opinion - Work in Northern India (first in Bengal) - (d) the Scottish Missionary Society (e) the Church Missionary Society in North India - Work of different Societies in Bombay Presidency - Historical survey ends in 1813 A.D.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE WORK OF MISSIONARIES FOR THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLES THROUGH THE AGES

The last command of Lord Jesus Christ to his Disciples was to go "into all the world and preach the gospel to everyone;" and His faithful disciples have carried out this wish with faithfulness and sincerity. They have not chosen the rich, the high, the good or the gentle, but 'all the creatures' on earth. They spread in all directions into all lands with that message in their hearts. The early disciples handed on the Lord's message to those that came after them, saying, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." This exhortation too, was faithfully observed. The early history of this missionary work is shrouded in mystery, owing to the fact that few historical records have been preserved. India suffers from the same lack of evidence concerning its early antiquity.

The work of Christian Missions for the social and educational uplift of the whole population of India is as difficult to trace as the early history of the country as a whole. But whatever efforts may have been made, and whenever these efforts may have started, they have always been directed towards the needy and lowly. In India they found in the very earliest times that the whole population was in need of the Christian message; but perhaps the Shudras were the most needy of all.

The early history of the efforts of the different Missions for Shudra Untouchables (considered apart from the high castes) cannot be traced, but we think that, from the very beginning, the Christians had realised the dire need for work among these downtrodden people. As Latourette points out, the gains of Christianity "were mainly among these classes (the Untouchables or outcastes) which suffered most from the existing social and economic order ..."[1] But they worked among all sections equally; firstly because they felt an equal need for raising the soul of the Hindu High caste, and secondly, perhaps because they realised that Hindu opposition to the Shudras was great, and that for a successful working of their mission among the Shudras it was essential to make the Hindu attitude cordial. There was also a possibility that the teaching of the missionaries would cause the Hindus themselves to take an interest in the uplift of the Shudras.

Assuming that the work of the different Missions was directed towards both the high caste and the low classes, with the emphasis on the latter, we will try to trace how far back in antiquity the pioneers of Christian culture began their work, and to follow their work through the successive periods of Indian history. This brief survey seems to be advisable for two further reasons. Firstly, we have a strong feeling that Christian Missions have had their work among the Shudras more

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1. Kenneth Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI. pp. 71, 86, 88, 90, 91, 203.

at heart than that among the high castes. Secondly, if this is indeed the case, we need to form some conception of the nature of their work. This investigation will raise a third point which is very important and which we have brought into our discussion elsewhere; that if the Missions have worked among the Shudras for centuries past (which is our assertion) why is there no mention of this work in history. We have not heard of Shudras entering the Christian fold, but only of them joining cults such as Budhism and the Bhakti movement. And furthermore there are still Shudras. We need to clear up these points before taking up our historical investigation. The fact is that representatives of Judaistic culture were active in the pre-Christian era, as were Christians in the early days of Christianity, but Indian history does not help us much because early Indian history itself is speculative, and is more of a fiction than an authentic record of facts and events. Concerning the period which corresponds to the Muslim era in India, the history of the Church itself is not very clear. We apply the term "the Dark Ages" to the period of one thousand years after the fifth century (in Christian terminology). Christians were present in India, but their strength and position was in no way comparable with the present situation. Moreover in those days Hinduism and Islamic culture were dominant, and it is therefore unlikely that the work of Christians would be allowed to come to light. The Hindus did not even leave any

trace of Budhism[1] during their period, not to speak of any other movement. During the Mohammedan period, the Brahmans established their social order for the non-Muslim population. Since they do not mention anywhere that Islam had worked or influenced the Shudras, how can there be any mention of Christian work? And then the most important point which will emerge from our enquiry is that when the work of Christian Missions finally reached the light, it revealed itself as a history of wavering conversion and re-conversion. The converts have come and gone. The Hindu Rajahs (rulers) have by threat and persecution made the converts return to their previous wretched condition. The point is not that the Hindu Rajahs wanted these people to revert to Hinduism, but merely that they could not tolerate the state of elevation the Christian converts enjoyed. It has been a most unsavoury business. This is the main cause of the fact that, at first sight, it appears that no work has been done among the Shudras.

While tracing the history of the Missions it will be necessary to make constant use of the term "converts". It will be used as a general term, including both Hindu and Shudra converts. In most cases, however, it may be taken that the word implies Shudras because they were the most probable benefactors.

Now let us turn to the historical development of the work

1. Rhys Davids - Budhist India - p. 273.

of the Christians. The contact of India with the outside world and with pre-Christian culture through Persia, Syria and Arabia dates from centuries before the Christian era. According to Professor Webber,[1] it was about 1,000 B.C., that the poem of Ramayana was written under Greek influence. The evidence of Dr. Buhler brings down the date to 800 B.C.[2] We are prone to think that during the ascendency of Budha such influence was still greater. In our previous discussion we said that Budha was greatly influenced by pre-Christian culture. Although there is no direct evidence, the spirit of his teaching and the success achieved on the basis both of his own preachings and of those of his followers leads us to this conclusion. Mazumdar must have arrived at a similar opinion for he said "In Budha there was a Christ."[3] This was in the sixth century B.C. The picture becomes clearer with the invasion of Alexander in 326 B.C. Many learned men who accompanied him stayed on in India after his return. The contact was further cemented by Seleucus, King of Syria. Magasthenes, whom he sent to India, stayed long at Patliputra, the capital of the Kingdom of Chandragupta. It was this increased influence that caused kings like Asoka, though bred and brought up in Hindu atmosphere, to take up Budhist ideals as a guide for his personal life and for the good of the kingdom.

With the beginning of the Christian era, the term 'contact'

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1. Section I. ch II p. 162-163. also Barth, A. - The Religions of India - p. 139.
2. Section I ch II p. 162-163.
3. Mazumdar - The Oriental Christ - p. 33.

is no longer appropriate, for the work of Christianity in India assumes the form of systematic evangilization. Our evidence begins with information we gather from Eusebius, the father of Ecclesiastical history. From him we learn that Saint Bartholomew preached the gospel in India[1a] and enlightened the idolators with the doctrine of Christianity. Next came another apostle, Saint Thomas.[1b] He gave his life on the coast of Malabar, where he was struck down by a Brahman.[2] There are conflicting views about his visit, but tradition is insistent that he actually entered India. The next account of the early Indian churches is derived from Saint Mark, the great Evangelist, who is said to have founded a church at Alexandria. His disciples are said to have accompanied the Egyptian voyagers who reached the shores of India and preached amongst the natives. The dawn of this new light aroused some sensible natives to send a request to Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, to send more missionaries. It is said that their request was accepted and some missionaries were sent to teach the doctrines of Christ in 200 A.D. These Indians were children of former converts to Christianity;[3] thus conversions had already begun.[4] These developments led Pantaenus a stoic philosopher, who had assumed the Christian Faith, to take the Gospel to India and to devote his time in dispelling darkness from the minds of those who had invited him and other High Castes, the slaves of gods.

1a W. Moellerough - The History of/Christian Church India - Vol. I. (p. 82.
1b. Robinson - History of Christian Missions - p. 63.
2. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. i, p. 38.
3. Ibid p. 47.
4. W. Moeller - History of the Christian Church, - p. 105.

The beginning of the fourth century was a memorable epoch in the history of Christianity; for the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, established Christianity as the State religion. From the Missionaries' Council at Nicea held in 325 A.D., we learn that Christ had long walked the Indian road, for this Conference of Missionaries included Bishop Johannes* as representative of India. He may not have been a resident Bishop but India was certainly under his charge.

During the reign of Constantine, a large number of natives in the interior of India, probably mainly of the lower castes, embraced Christianity. The circumstances which brought about this conversion are interesting. It is related that Meropius, a Christian philosopher of Tyre, sailed to India with two youths, Frumetius and Oedesius. He was killed there, probably by the priestly Hindus, but the two youngsters were saved and were taken before the king. The Queen of the country who held the real power over the kingdom, took a fancy to the charms and intelligence of the young men, and hence entrusted them with the reins of the Government. Now, Christians as they were, they mixed with the people and conferred many facilities of worship. This Christian brotherhood induced many aggrieved natives to accept conversion.[1] 'Their number continued to increase as long as Frumentius remained at the head of affairs.'[2]

We know little of the activities of the church during the

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1. James Hough - The History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 62.
2. Ibid p. 64.

* He was described "John of Persia, in all Persia and great India." Robinson - History of Christian Missions - p. 63.

next two centuries.

Our next information is derived from Cosmos, a merchant of Alexandria who lived in the 6th century. He informs us that Nestorian churches flourished and Malabar had a considerable number of Christians.[1] Christianity had extended up to Calyani[2] (or Calliana). Here it is stated that "the present race of Christians in Malabar claim an antiquity much more remote ..."[3] which confirms that Christian like culture began ages ago.

This brings us to the rise of Islam in the early seventh century, when the East was closed to the Greeks and Romans. The Mohammedans swept over the lands extending to Spain in the West where they established Universities,[4] and to China in the East. But it is gratifying to note that they were tolerant to the Christians in their country. The same "policy was pursued by Mohammedan rulers in Asia."[5] We learn that Ceram Peroumal, a sovereign of Malabar in the ninth century, and a Mohammedan convert,[6] bound by his hereditary instinct proved a liberal prince free from the usual Hindu bigotry.[7] His predecessor, Krishna Rao, a Hindu, had severely persecuted the Christians and forced them to flee to the mountains.[8] But Ceram Peroumal

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1. James Hough - The History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 72.
2. Ibid p. 72.
3. Ibid p. 73.
4. Davidson - History of Education
5. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 92.
6. Ibid p. 102.
7. Ibid p. 102.
8. Ibid p. 102.

granted Christian subjects many important religious privileges. They were even allowed sufficient independence to be governed by their own bishops in all social and religious matters. As a result of this toleration, the missionaries continued to promote Christian knowledge to the idolators and the Shudras of the country.

This continued zeal of Christian Missionaries was furthered by King Alfred the Great of England in 883 A.D. He sent ambassadors to visit the Shrine of St. Thomas in Eastern lands. The head of the Embassy was Sighelm, Bishop of Shireburn.[1] A century later in 920 A.D., the two Syrian Ecclesiasts, Mar Sapores and Mar Pheroz, visited Malabar to strengthen the faith of their Eastern brethren. The Christians of the country gave them a fraternal reception. Their Christian character influenced the Maharaja of Travancore, Ceram Peroumal, to such an extent that he held them in the highest estimation, and conferred many privileges on the Indian Christians. They were allowed to erect churches in any part of his dominion, and were given freedom to preach anywhere they desired. The Christians are said to have raised their own king named Baliartes. He was given the title of Rajah of the Christians of St. Thomas. Their separate kingship died out when one of them died without issue. The Rajah of Diampur was adopted as heir and thus they passed under the sovereignty of the Rajah of Cochin.

So far in our survey of Christianity in India, we find that credit for missionary work must go to the Nestorian and Jacobite

1 = Robinson C.H. History of Christian missions P 65.

church in Syria. The Syrian church has been called a primitive church, but one has to appreciate the value of the work of the gospel in those early times. Further, the Church of India is described as episcopal, but this implies no discredit. Episcopy was inherent in the primitive constitution of the Church of Christ everywhere, and this continued to be the case up to the sixteenth century apart from churches under Roman influence.[1] In the later part of the sixteenth century, the first attempt was made to bring the Syrian Church of Malabar in subjection to the Roman Church.

Such is a brief account of what we can gather of the work of the earlier Christian missionaries among the peoples of India I believe that, as the conditions of life for the Shudras were severe, they must have listened to the message of Gospel, even though they may not have entered the faith in large numbers, because of the persecutions of the native rulers. We cannot give statistical data, for such records do not exist. Moreover, even if they did join in large numbers, no information is to be obtained from Hindu literature to confirm that this was the case.

After the fall of Hinduism, the Mohammedans became the masters of the country. The work of the Christian missionaries continued smoothly in India as has been usual in countries under Mohammedan rule. As already indicated, the attitude of

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1. James Hough, - A History of Christianity in India - p. 113.

the followers of Prophet Mohammed was not hostile, but tolerant and protective. But three features are noticeable concerning this period. Firstly, the history of Christianity during these years is mainly a record of the establishment of different Missions and of the struggle between them as to who should stay for effective work among the natives. Nevertheless, they continued their work side by side, and this period may be regarded as laying a foundation for the marvellous work which was to follow after the fall of the Moghal Empire. Secondly, the religious trends of the Shudras had been diverted towards the new religion of Islam which they found to be equally as democratic as Christianity. The Muslim Maulvis and the followers of Mohammed were as benevolent to them as the Christian missionaries. Moreover, Islam was the religion of the king, hence the Muslims had the upper hand over the Christians in their work. Thirdly, free passage was denied to non-Muslims by the supremacy of Mohammedan traders in the commercial field. The Europeans had to depend on the Arab traders. I should say that this clash of interests between the two camps, the Mohammedans and the Europeans, led to the Holy War in Palestine. It was after the fourth Crusade, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, that Venetian merchants re-opened trade with India. This was pursued by the Genoese and Florentines up to the first half of the fifteenth century. After this date, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, found a route to India round the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 A.D.

The establishment of the Muslim Empire in India did not in any way check the work of the Christian Church.* It continued much as it had done before the advent to power of the Muslims. The Mohammedans may have had a dominating influence over the population, but they protected the Christians to a fair degree. It is said that "under the more righteous and liberal sway of Mohammedan ... rulers ... she (i.e. the Syrian Church) acquired a stability that long resisted all the craft and violence of her Romish enemies, to destroy her identity and independence."[1] The later Mughals also adopted the policy of toleration to the later missionaries, in the same spirit as their ancestors had done. "Akbar had a hankering after Christianity himself and, we are told that the 'reverenced the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary' when they were shown him by the missionaries."[2] Hence, 'Mughals generally ... were very tolerant of all religions'[3]

The discovery of the route to India by Vasco da Gama opened a new era not only in the commercial field, but also in Christian history. We have been told that Pedro Alvares Cabral, a successor of Vasco da Gama, brought two Indian Christians, Mathias and Joseph, from the Christian community on the Malabar coast, in 1580. The account of the country and of the state of Christianity given by one, Joseph, shows that the Christian fait flourished there, and that the Christians lived quite a happy life there. We find on the other hand, that the Hindu Rajahs were cruel to the native Christians. This is revealed by the fact that, on the second visit of Vasco da Gama in 1502, the Christians presented themselves to him in a deputation,

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. (p. 152.
2. C. P. S. Clarke - Short History of the Christian Church - p. 378.
3. As No. 1. Vol. II. p. 261.

alleging the cruelty of the petty Rajahs of the country. They beseeched his protection, and 'Gouvea affirms that from this time they acknowledged themselves subjects of Portugal.'[1]

Vasco da Gama had shown sympathy towards the Christians and had promised protection; but it appears that his successors were more intent on building an Empire than on advancing the cause of Christianity (by conversion, in the true Christian spirit.) We have on record that Friars were regularly sent out by Portugal, but no substantial Christian work of conversion took place until the arrival of Francis Xavier, a disciple of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order of Jesuits.[2]

He was a most zealous worker for the cause of Christianity. It is said that 'never did Missionary live more among and for the people around him.'[3] Although the Jesuits have been criticised for their Hinduised mode of life, we cannot overlook the work of this famous missionary, who was so honest and sincere at heart. He arrived at Goa in 1542, and busied himself in improving the lot of the converts, who were generally neglected by the Portuguese Monks. This neglect of the care of the people, who had embraced Christianity for the sake of comfort of body and soul, had raised doubts in their minds as to the superiority of the Christian over the Hindu faith. Francis Xavier gave all possible assistance to orphans among the

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 154.
2. Gedde's History of the Church of Malabar - pp. 4-6-9.
3. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 187.
and Robinson - History of Christian Missions P. 70.

neglected converts and to the proselytes in general. He established a seminary for their children.[1] Then he took up the work of further conversion. He brought into the Christian fold at their own request, the low caste Paravars,[2] of the southern coast. He then visited thirty villages along the coast, mainly occupied by people of the same community, engaged in occupations which were degrading in the eyes of the Hindus. He baptised about half of them, and built churches for their use.[3] He took many youths of these low castes 'to be educated for the Ministry in the Colleges of St. Paul.'[4] They were appointed as Ministers in the Churches. What a contrast to their former position! In their relations with the Hindus, not only the prospect of becoming a Priest of the Temple, but the very sight of the Temple had been forbidden to them. It is said that Xavier tried to show the light of the Gospel to the high caste Brahmans and their Hindu followers also, but they were so prejudiced that he had to desist from his efforts and content himself with work among the lower classes. He nursed the sick and helped the spiritually needy. He translated the simple doctrines and precepts of Christianity for their guidance. Then he moved to Travancore in the year 1544, and there also worked among these same Paravars. These people were greatly resentful of the cruelties of their Hindu environment, and were

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 175.
2. Ibid p. 176.
3. Ibid pp. 177, 180.
4. Ibid p. 180.

attracted towards the Christian faith in which they thought their salvation lay. They embraced the new faith in large numbers. Francis Xavier writes that "In one month he baptised with his own hand ten thousand ... and that frequently in one day he baptised a well peopled village."[1] Forty Churches were immediately built for their worship. The light of the new order made them realise more and more the injustice of the Temple and the Temple religion whose religious customs they in their ignorance had been imitating. Such was their hostility that they tried to demolish the Temples of the idols of the Hindus.[2] This sincerity and zeal in their new faith on the part of the Paravars aroused the anger of the Brahmans against Xavier. The Brahmans "regarded the missionary as in invader of their Province, and laid snares for his destruction from which he is said narrowly to have escaped."[3] One cannot fail to be impressed by the magnanimity of this brave soul and his Paravar converts. When the marauding Badages, a powerful tribe of free looters from Bisnagar, invaded the territory of Travancore, the Rajah and the Nairs (the military caste) were panic stricken. Francis Xavier took a small company of Paravar converts and ran to encounter the enemy. These Paravars Christians possessed all the qualities of good soldiers. They were sound in 'body and mind.' 'With respect to person they were generally full grown, well proportioned and active.'[4]

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 182.
2. Ibid p. 182.
3. Ibid p. 183.
4. Ibid p. 318.

(These traits have continued to be characteristic of them up to the present time.) The result of this help was that the 'whole army was seen flying in consternation from the field.'[1] Observing that the Paravars had attained higher status by embracing Christianity, another similar community of the same occupation in Manaar followed their example. But the Rajah of Jaffa-Napatam, on the northern coast of Ceylon was incensed by their conversion, and persecuted them with untold cruelty. It is said that he put to the sword about seven hundred men, women and children and 'that several died with a constancy which astounded their executioners.'[2] These cruelties and other hardships were never allowed to stand in the way of the preaching of the Gospel to the needy. Later, Xavier visited the Eastern Islands of Java, and went on towards Japan, but died on the way at the Island of Sancian on the 2nd December, 1552. His body was brought to Goa and 'enshrined in a monument of exquisite art.' He left word that he wished to be buried among the people with whom he had worked.

This brings us to the beginning of the struggle for Papal supremacy over the Christians in India. The Romans thought that pure Christian religion was at a low ebb in the Syrian Church. Portuguese such as Francis Xavier held the same view. The Syrians received their Bishops from the Patriarch of Mosul, and "never found among the Christians there the faintest

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 184.
2. Ibid p. 188.

resemblance either in doctrine or discipline to the peculiarities of Rome or any other Church but that of the Nestorians."[1]

In 1560, after the death of Francis Xavier, the Roman Church on the Pope's instructions, set up an Inquisition at Goa, as they did in other countries. The object was to bring the Christians of Malabar into communion with Rome. But the Malabar Christians were reluctant to yield to the new order. The efforts of the Roman Church and the treatment they meted out rather made the Christians suspicious, so that the Christian influence which had been gained by the persistent efforts of Francis Xavier was considerably weakened.

The long struggle between the Romanists and the Syrians continued up to the end of the sixteenth century. Many bishoprics changed hands during the period being held now by the Romans and now by the Syrians. The last of the Roman bishops, and the most enthusiastic, was Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who came to India in 1595 with full powers from the Pope to suppress other Missions and finally to establish the Roman order. To achieve his aim he prevented any further bishops and priests from entering India to join the existing Christian Missions. He convicted Mar Abraham, the last and most influential of the Syrian Archbishops, the charge against him being that he had betrayed the principle of Papal authority.

With the beginning of the rise to supremacy of the Roman Church over other Christian churches in India (especially the

1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 241.

Syrian Church) a new political power in India was born. It was the coming of the East India Company which foreshadowed the mighty British Empire. The Company was incorporated in 1597 and established in 1600. It continued as a Trading Company for a considerable time, but later was compelled to assume the reins of Government in order to restore peace and order in place of the general lawlessness caused by the efforts of the princes, in rivalry with each other, to maintain their tottering political power. But the rise of British political influence did not greatly affect the work of the Missions. The East India Company went on with its commercial work, and the Missions continued their work in the Ecclesiastical field. We must, however, note a political change which sprang ~~from~~ on Indian soil ~~soil~~.

It will be recalled that the Roman Archbishop Menezes, had convicted the Syrian Archbishop, Mar Abraham. When Mar Abraham died, Menezes was left a clear field to bring the converts, so far adherents of the Syrian church, under Papal authority. He appointed Francisco Roz to be Vicar Apostolic of the Diocese of Malabar. Before he died, Mar Abraham had made it known that he wished Archdeacon George to carry on with his mission. Archdeacon George was the most influential and popular of the Syrian Christians. His exclusion by the Romanist clergy would have involved grave dangers, and therefore the Archbishop in consultation with the Church Council, appointed the Archdeacon as an associate cleric. They thought that this

would cause the Archdeacon to change to the Roman Church, and that his followers would subsequently follow him. These followers had promised "with an oath to stand by their Archdeacon, in defence of the ancient faith in which they and their forefathers had been brought up."[1] They were so faithful to the old order that according to the Romanists they were sometimes extremely offensive. We gather that once they chastised a Syrian youth educated at the Jesuit College of Vaipicotta because he had named the Pope of Rome. Such actions signified that they intended to preserve the liberty of their Church, however much it differed from the so-called universal Church of Rome.

But Menezes was a man of firm determination and a belligerent character. He would not rest until he had converted the entire Church to the Catholic doctrines of Rome. This was an extremely ambitious aim; but, according to his convictions, the Roman Church was the only true faith and was essential for the welfare of the native population. Failing to persuade the Archdeacon, he adopted the underhand method of asking help from the Rajah of Cochin. The Rajah ordered the Christians in his kingdom to accede to the religious doctrines of Menezes, irrespective of their feelings of dissatisfaction with the new confession of faith; otherwise he would withdraw all the privileges previously granted to them. This example was

1. James Hough - The History of Christianity in India - Vol. I. p. 303.

followed by the Rajahs of the surrounding country, such as Porea, Marca, Gundara, and Batemena, all of whom directed their subjects to follow Menezes. The pressure of the Rajah led to the overthrow of the Archdeacon and his cattanars by the Roman Church, in 1599. Consequently, the Syrian Church which had been so long established finally fell into dissolution. A synod was convened and a general circular was issued instructing all to follow the Roman Church. In the eighth session of the Order, Decree 36 included a provision for work of persecution to be carried out amongst the inferior castes.[1]

The defeat of the Archdeacon gave the upper hand to Menezes What were his achievements after so much struggle and domination? We can trace few consequences of his work, except that the struggle led to a temporary check in the entry of Shudras into the Christian faith and hence in measures for their general uplift including facilities in education. In order to raise the general status of the Christians "who happened to be converts from lower castes"[2] in the eyes of the rest of the population, he made them ~~to~~ refrain from touching other persons of inferior caste.[3] Although his intention was to encourage a sense of superiority in these low caste converts, the measure was entirely against the spirit of Christianity. The only other record to be found of his work is that he toured the

1. James Hough - The History of Christianity in India - Vol. LL. p. 112.
2. Ibid p. 238.
3. Ibid p. 328.

surrounding country to examine the condition of the existing Churches. During his tour he stayed at Coramabur, where he converted many people of the Mallees caste, who lived in the surrounding mountains. He promoted the building of several places of worship in accordance with the principles of his order. In short, we can find little trace of significant work by Menezes. His energies were spent in efforts to change the whole Jesuit method of work, which, he said, 'bore little relation to the doctrines and labours of the Apostles and other teachers of the Gospel.'[1]

Because of certain aspects of its history, the Roman church as a whole has been accused of adopting the Brahmanical mode of life and worship.[2] In reality, the blame falls solely on the Jesuit Missionaries on whose account the whole Church has been defamed. They are reputed to have assumed Brahmanical customs, to have assumed the dignity and character of Brahmans, to have earned for themselves the title of 'Brahmans from a distant country,'[3] and to have gained greater favour with the Brahmans than the lower castes.[4] They are said to have violated the dogmas of the Church by showing contempt to the lower castes "instead ... of condescending 'to men of low caste' R-de Nobili and his brethren exacted from them the same reverence which they were accustomed to pay the Brahmans and kept them at a distance with true Brahmanical arrogance.[5] They conciliated the Brahmans

1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. II. p. 217.
2. Refer Scott Latourette - a History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI pp. 91-92.
3. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. II. p. 479.
4. Ibid pp. 354-356. 5= Clarke - Short History of Christian Church

'not only themselves forbidding the Parriar converts to enter any Church but commanding the missionaries of other orders to do the same.'[1] In the view of Bishop Middleton of Calcutta, "It is little more than exchanging one idol for another."[2]

Some writers have argued that this attitude of conciliation towards the higher castes was in the best interests of the Church. The other orders of Romanists have protested against this appeasement of the Hindus. My own opinion is that under the conditions existing in those days, the method of conciliation was a most dexterous move to lessen Hindu opposition, not only from the point of view of the Depressed Classes and outcastes, but also in relation to the attitude of the Hindus themselves. "Abbe Dubois has asserted that the simplicity of the Protestant mode of worship is less adapted to the weak and superstitious mind of the Hindu (and therefore less likely to succeed) than the pompous rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church."[3] The effect of this policy was that thousands of persons were drawn into the Christian fold, and these enjoyed the benefits of every possible facility of a social and educational nature.

Although these trends in the work of the Jesuit Missions were contrary to the interests of the Shudras, the work of the Mission cannot be ignored altogether. If they had not succumbed to environmental influences the results would have been more

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. II. p. 427.
2. Ibid p. 19. Life of Bishop Middleton Vol. I. p. 225.
3. Letters of Abbe Dubois - p. 18.

encouraging, but still the Roman Church on the whole did good work. They had 644,000 Roman Christians in India in 1815 A.D. of whom two-thirds were Pariahs and other outcastes, of several tribes.[1] Hence, we must agree with the Rev. J. Hough that whatever may be the degree of light, the light did spread under Roman influence. "However small a remnant, they are enough to prove that even the Romish Missions have not entirely failed to promote Christianity in India."[2]

So far we have sketched the efforts of the Syrian Church and the Roman Creed Mission for the social, educational and spiritual uplift of the general population, including the Shudra castes, up to 1816. It is a period in which the Mohammedan star had completely set, and the sun of the British Empire had begun to shine. It was a time of great political change, in the years after 1600. But there had taken place another change- a change in the history of the Church in India; viz. the entry of Protestant Missions for Christian work in India after 1600 A.D.

As against the number of conversions by the Roman Missions up to 1815, quoted in the last chapter, the Protestant Missions had at least 23,000 converts[3] in the same period. Obviously, then, the new Mission must have started its work long ago, and in fact this work began with the establishment of British power in India.

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1. Letters of Abbe Dubois pp. 133-135.
   James Hough - The History of Christianity in India - Vol. II. p. 487.
2. Ibid p. 493.
3. Ibid p. 485.

On the whole, the work of the Missions for the social, educational and spiritual welfare of the high and low castes made wonderful progress during the British period in India. We must not forget that the British Government, as a sovereign body, did nothing to help the Missions in their work of conversion and education. This was for fear of offending public opinion. But the Protestant Missions have carried on with their reformative, suggestive and practical measures of work in a spirit of unselfish effort.

England had by now itself become Protestant, and with the advent of British power in India, the wave of Protestantism also touched the shores of India and soon flooded the country. Hence, we have to investigate the work of the Protestant Missions in different parts of the country, up to the date to which we have already followed the work of the Romanists.

The credit for the establishment of the first Protestant Missions in India goes to Danish Missionaries, who arrived early in the first decade of the eighteenth century. The Danes had also entered the country for purposes of trade in 1616 A.D. In 1621, they had purchased the town of Tranquebar and some adjacent territory, with fifteen towns on the Coromandal coast (with the permission of the Rajah of Tanjore) for the convenience of their trade. They did not concern themselves with the propagation of Christianity in the territory and thus free the Hindus and their vassals from the bondage of debasing superstitions.

It was early in the eighteenth century that Dr. Lutkens, a Chaplain, convinced the King of Denmark, Frederick IV of the necessity for extending the Kingdom of Christ in India. The King agreed and resolved to start a Mission at Tranquebar. Hence, two young missionaries, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschou, were sent to India. They arrived at Tranquebar in 1706 A.D. They first studied the native language, and then attempted to look into Hindu literature. But just as the Shudras were excluded from the study of the Hindu Vedas, so the Christian missionaries were treated in the same manner. An old man is said to have declined any help, "alleging that it was contrary to their laws to communicate the knowledge of their Vedas to the Christian."[1] One teacher who offered to teach on payment was severely dealt with by the Brahmans. He was taken before the Rajah of Tanjore with a complaint that he had 'betrayed their religion.' "The Rajah immediately loaded him with irons and threw him into the prison ..."[2] Still they struggled on unaided and acquainted themselves with the religion of the Hindus, in order to have knowledge of their social system and to apply such knowledge in their work. They learnt the colloquial Tamil language in order that they might speak to the common man. After this they started schools for the children of the natives, which was open to all people, high and low.[3]

1. James Hough - The History of Christianity in India - Vol. III. p. 116.
2. Ibid p. 116.
3. The Call from India - Church Assembly - p. 19.

They also built a church for daily services which was free for the use of all castes and creeds. Their example of Christian living, and their preaching, attracted some of both higher and lower castes to follow their faith. This annoyed the Brahmans. They were the more furious when Kanabadi Vathiar, a Tamil poet, embraced Christianity. It was feared that this example might "induce many others to forsake the Brahmans and their idols."[1] In spite of opposition, the missionaries continued their work. The Hindus called Ziegenbalg a "Christian maker."[2] In addition to educational facilities, "they provided food and clothing for several of the converts ..."[3] The work of Ziegenbalg was highly commended by the English Missions also.

Reports of the work done were regularly sent home, and it is on record that M. Boehm, Chaplain of Prince George of Denmark, the Consort of Queen Anne, published English translations of these reports. He dedicated his work to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the President and Members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This Society, as a token of appreciation of the work, and as a measure of assistance and encouragement, sent some literature and £20 as a first contribution towards the cause of Christian teaching in India. This money was utilised for the opening of another school because the number of converts had risen ~~up~~ to 160 which necessitated the provision of further educational facilities.

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1. James Hough - The History of Christianity in India - Vol. III p. 160.
2. Ibid p. 140.
3. Ibid p. 133.

M. Ziegenbalg attempted to extend his influence aroung the main Mission station and Gospel school, but finding 'the country in so many directions shut against them'[1] he was obliged to return to his headquarters.

It was not possible to carry the message of Gospel personally to every individual, but the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, in their support of the Tranquebar Mission, sent out a Printing Press. This gift from Protestant England was a most valuable aid and with it the New Testament and other useful literature was published in native languages. It facilitated the work of the Mission in spreading more and more light to needy souls, with the result that by 1712, the number of converts had risen to 221. The state of schools had also improved considerably. One noteworthy feature of the schools was that out of a number of 78 children, 27 were girls. We must not be so optimistic as to think that all the scholars belonged to the low castes, but we have reason to believe that 59, entirely maintained by the missionaries, belonged to the backward communities. This equality of treatment was an exclusive feature of Missionary Schools. We know when the native Government of the country tried to copy the missionaries in opening schools, the high castes were "much disconcerted at their children being obliged to mix with those of the lower castes."[2] That the Missionaries succeeded in maintaining their

1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. III. p. 171.
2. Ibid p. 214.

policy of equality of treatment was a great credit to them.

Ziegenbalg paid a short visit to Europe and England, and on his return opened a school at Cuddalore, in 1717. This marked the end of his work, for he died in 1719. His task was taken up by one of his followers, Schultze, a German missionary of the same cult. He opened a school for girls, a most useful move in a country where there was much prejudice against female education. As a result of these efforts, the number of Christians increased to 678 in 1726. Then the Missionaries turned their attention towards the Tanjore branch, where the missionaries and the Christians were subjected to innumerable hardships by the native ruler. They worked there wholeheartedly, and the number of entrants to the Faith increased to 2,964 by 1736,[1] and to 3,812 by 1856. Mission schools now presented a most promising aspect. Many new teachers were trained and "several other schools were opened in the villages where congregations were formed and even in parts of the country inhabited only by heathen*."[2] The popularity of the schools increased even amongst the higher caste Hindus. We are informed that a Hindu boy was so much impressed by the instruction of the missionary teachers that he wrote to his father urging him to leave the worship of idols and follow the Christian Faith.[3] The condition of the schools continued to improve. A new type of

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. III. p. 280.
2. Ibid p. 283.
3. Ibid p. 296.

* The Hindus.

curriculum was planned to help the children in practical life. "The children were now employed in the afternoon in spinning cotton, knitting stockings and making hats and baskets of cane."[1]

Constant counter-propaganda and persecution by the Hindu Rajahs and population had a baneful affect on missionary work in general and on work of the schools in particular. It must be admitted with regret that these harmful effects were supplemented by the patronisation of idolatry indulged in by the British Government. British officials "began publicly to patronise the idolatries of the country, and some of them talked and behaved more like Hindus than Christians."[2] Yet the Tranquebar Mission continued to do splendid work. Constant preaching of the gospel had brought 20,000 souls into the fold of Christianity. During the century, 30 missionaries worked at the Station at different periods. Later they had started another branch at Negapatam. In 1814, the Church and schools were in a fairly flourishing condition. The schools contained 60 to 70 students of all castes.

The Tranquebar Mission, though it passed through troublous times, retained its position thanks to the efforts of another personality, Dr. John. He wanted to see the Pariah and the Hindu treated on an equal basis. He opened "Free Reading Schools"[3] for both Christians and the Hindus in 1812. The number increased to 20 in the neighbouring territory, and nearly 600 children

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. III. p. 339.
2. Ibid p. 628.
3. Ibid p. 203.

received instruction in them. His schools were open to all alike, high and low,[1] rich and poor. At the time of his death in September, 1812, the number of schools had risen to 23, with 700 children in them. There is no record of the first Protestant Mission in India after the year 1816. It had sent forth many branches, in every direction, and the zeal of its missionaries and its communities left a deep impression in the minds of the needy classes. It is estimated that at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Tranquebar Mission had admitted 21,000 souls.[2]

English Mission at Madras

We have sketched a brief outline of the establishment and progress of the Protestant Missions started by the Danish Missionaries, and helped by Protestant countries, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is now necessary to survey the work of the English Missions in India during the same period.

In England, many Missionary Societies had been started, and had sent their men to work in India. A few of those which worked very actively were:-

1. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.
2. The Baptist Missionary Society 1792.
3. The London Missionary Society 1795.
4. The Scottish Missionary Society 1795.
5. The Church Missionary Society 1799.[3]

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV. p. 207.
2. Ibid p. 215.
3. G. P. Fisher - The History of the Church - pp. 586-87.

According to the wish of the Protestant public of England, the first real English Mission was started at Madras in 1727. If we go a little further back to understand its origin, we find that the first stone of St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George was laid in 1680 by Mr. Streynsham Masters, for the use of factory workers. Then, in accordance with the wish of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S. P. C. K.) the Rev. Wm. Stevenson erected two Charity schools for boys and girls of the settlement of the Fort St. George in 1716. In the same year, a Tamil school, for native children, was opened because it was not felt that missionary work could be limited to Europeans only. In 1726, M. Schultze of the Tranquebar Mission visited Fort St. George at the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Leek, of Madras, and "preached to all classes, heathen and Christian ..."[1] in all languages. He inspected the work of the native schools. We learn that the schools included children of high caste. We are told that the Hindus removed their children from one of the new Mission schools because they suspected that they would be compelled to embrace Christianity.[2] But the Mission was not discouraged by such acts or by threats. It continued its work as usual. Noticing the quality of the work of the Mission, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, took it under its control in 1727, and henceforth assumed responsibility for the appointment of missionaries. After the death of Mr. Leek,

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. III. p. 379.
2. Ibid p. 383.

the English Chaplain, came another missionary, John Anthony Sartorius in 1728. The influence of the new Mission increased quickly, which roused the alarm of the Pope, but he was unable to check its increasing influence. The Mission had 415 converts in 1736, and in one decade (i.e. by 1746) the number increased by 496. Its one Charity school contained 45 children.[1]

This was a period of war between Britain and France, and this upset the work of the Missions. The Fort of St. George was surrendered to the French in 1745, but the native Christians though poor, remained faithful to the new Faith in spite of the turmoil of the times. Indeed, in 1756, there was actually an addition of 390 more members. The political condition of the country was unsettled, yet the missionaries were able to "preserve their congregations and schools."[2] A Charity School was opened at Guddalore where children of high and low caste were admitted.[3] In 1762, at another branch at Vepery, the headquarters mission employed the services of a low caste weaver convert to give practical training in weaving to the converts.[4] In order to improve the economic condition of the Guddalore Christian widows and charity children, they were taught knitting[5] as a means of livelihood. In this way an attempt was made to encourage independence and self supporting habits among

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. III p. 392.
2. Ibid p. 427.
3. Ibid p. 495.
4. Ibid p. 427.
5. Ibid p. 486.

the converts. The missionaries journeyed into the neighbouring country to spread the message of the gospel. Missionaries like M. Swartz even addressed several meetings of Brahmans[1] whom they urged to give up idolatry and worship the one true God. M. Fabricius baptised many converts, both adults and children, at Vellore, and at Amboor he baptised several children. As the number of converts increased, an additional school was opened. This had 40 children and a number of poor widows who depended entirely on the help of the Mission.[2] The Trichinopoly branch had many schools where many young men were educated. It was assumed that such young men would not be useful to the Missions only but "would ... become a blessing to their country."[3] Encouraged by the success of the work, a branch of the Mission was established in 1717 for the people of Tanjore, "the lower castes of whom, especially, seemed desirous of hearing the word of God."[4] The Brahmans were very jealous, but the converts were not cowed by the Hindu priests, and chose their own way. The Madras Mission became more and more active. A girls' orphanage and another for boys were established in 1787 and 1789 respectively, on the appeal of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. It was hoped that "many thousands of children would be rescued by their means from temporal misery ... and from spiritual ruin."[5] M. Gericke was

1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. III p. 509.
2. Ibid p. 445.
3. Ibid p. 531.
4. Ibid p. 551.
5. Ibid p. 453.

doing equally useful and constructive work in the Vepery branch of the Mission where he followed M. Fabricius. He visited the surrounding Missions with suggestions and guidance for them in their work. As has already been pointed out, though the country was in a state of political turmoil, the missionaries never left their work. Hundreds of children of all nationalities benefited from the various branches of the Mission. M. Swartz had desired to establish a village at Tanjore entirely inhabited by Christians. His aim was to avoid the opposition and oppression which the outcastes suffered from the Hindus when they lived amongst them. He wrote in 1791 "There are villages of Christians around our garden; one of Parriar*, the other of Soodra+ caste ..."[1] But his aim could not be realised at once in view of the threatened danger of Hindu persecution. But though he failed in his scheme for a separate colony, in 1795 he started a Charity School for poor Christians of the neighbouring villages whom he regarded as his sons. The condition of the school in 1806 was very satisfactory.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century, several of these faithful heroes died, after doing noble work in the Protestant Missions. M. Gericke was one of them. M. Swartz of Tanjore also died in 1798. The Romanists had called Francis Xavier the Apostle of India, but no better title could be suited

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. III p. 604.

* Parriah.
\+ Shudra.

to M. Swartz than this.

The Baptist Missionary Society

A new Missionary Society which had begun work in Bengal was the Baptist Mission. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Carey were the initiators of the work.[1] They started a single school for the natives but they record that the obstacles in their way were great. The greatest of all such difficulties was the prejudice of caste amongst the Hindus. But they were not discouraged and we learn that by 1806 they had brought into the Christian Faith about 96 people. A Bengalee Testament was published. We further learn that their efforts were checked by Sir George Barlow in view of the mutiny at Vellore in 1806, but still they contrived to continue their work. A school for native children was established at Calcutta in 1810, under the care of Mr. Leonard. It was called "The Benevolent Institution,"[2] and catered for children of all castes and creeds. The school gained such popularity that in 1816 it had 800 children of both sexes on its rolls. The schools were rendering valuable service. "The children of the converts were rising up with minds free from all the terrors of caste, all ideas of Brahman superiority, all attachment to idolatry ..."[3] The Mission opened 20 branches in different parts of the Bengal Presidency and in many of them schools were established. A difficulty was

1. Refer Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI. pp. 105-7.
2. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV p. 401.
3. Ibid p. 404.

occasioned by the lack of Christian teachers, for Hindus would not work in accordance with the principles of Christianity, and an institution was therefore opened at Serampore for the training of teachers. A few girls' schools were also opened to supply candidates for training. The number of children of all castes in Mission branches was 10,000 in 1816.

In 1818, there was an amicable separation of the Serampur Mission from the Baptist Society, on the basis of a divergence of interests, but they continued to follow a common programme. The branches at Calcutta and elsewhere worked in collaboration with the Serampur Mission 'for propagating the gospel.'[1] The Calcutta branch had to encounter a great check in its work due to the apostasy of a missionary, Mr. William Adams, and the opposition of Brahmans. Mr. Adams joined forces with Ram Mohan Roy, a Brahman, in propagating infidelity. Both the higher and the lower orders of society began to be influenced by this constant propaganda, but the Mission continued its work with perseverance, and gained popularity even among the Hindus. The Ajmer branch had Seven 4 schools with 261 scholars, and in this case the Hindus became warm friends of the schools.[2] The Serampur Mission was free from such trouble as had affected Calcutta, and were able to start a training college in order to build up a native Christian Ministery in 1819. It trained 50 students of

1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. V. p. 151.
2. Ibid p. 178.

whom 41 were Christian converts.[1] School education also received much attention. A special feature was the education of girls. There were 300 girls on the school rolls and these were also introduced to knowledge of the scriptures. The result of all these efforts was that a larger number of outcaste people were attracted towards the Faith. This gave an incentive to the missionaries, who, towards the end of 1826, established a Christian village near Serampur 'for the purpose of promoting the general comfort of the converts and also facilitating the communication of religious instruction to them.'[2]

The London Missionary Society was also working in Bengal. Mr. May opened a school at Chusurah, Bengal, in 1814. The Society did not confine its attention to the work of spreading the gospel among the native inhabitants through its schools, but as in the case of most other Missions, opened its doors to the Hindus also. There were 40 boys and 17 girls, mostly Hindus, in the schools. One more school was opened at Chandernagore. The opposition of the Hindu teachers here was acute, but the missionaries carried on their work with success. Mr. May increased the number of schools to 20 with 651 boys of all classes in them. The schools were open to the high caste Hindus as well as to those of low caste. We are told that the first batch of Brahman boys refused to sit with any other caste, but with Christian teaching

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. V. p. 181.
2. Ibid p. 193.

the caste prejudice gradually died. The schools flourished, but the missionaries experienced one great difficulty arising from the poor condition of the outcaste people, "the lower caste boys being taken away as soon as they had acquired sufficient knowledge for common purposes of life."[1] After 1816 the Missionary Society started a branch at Calcutta where a school for boys and girls was opened. An adult school was also opened nearby at Kidderpore. The teaching of the scriptures was regularly given in the schools. In 1822, at Chinsurah headquarters a Boarding School was opened for purely Christian education. A similar branch was opened at Benares. The Society extended its activities to Madras, Vizagapatam and south Travancore and other well known centres. It was this Society that initiated the mass movements in Travancore, and thus gave a lead which others followed. Educational progress and missionary work in general aroused a great response from the low caste people. To quote Hough, "Some renounce Hinduism and embrace Christianity ... persecution has naturally ensued, but in general, the native converts endure it with Christian fortitude and patience."[2] During the same decade, ending in 1826, the Society spread its activities to Surat, under the guidance of Mr. Skinner and Mr. Alexander. By 1826, there were 6 native schools containing 350 boys of all classes in Surat.

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV. p. 438.
2. Ibid p. 522.

The London Missionary Society

Meanwhile, the other Society which had entered the field was the London Missionary Society. It worked very successfully from 1804 to 1816 in South India. It had established its first flourishing Mission at Vizagapatam in 1804. The language of the neighbouring country was Telegoo, hence they opened many Telegoo schools both for high and low castes. Mr. Cran and Mr. Des. Grange commenced work amongst the natives who were engaged in military service. The next step was to open schools where caste prejudices were not allowed to intrude. Soon "the young Brahman was to be seen working in the garden with the Parriah ."[1] After the death of Messrs. Cran and Grange, Messrs. Gordon and Lee carried on the work. They opened a Telegoo school with 40 scholars. They made three journeys a week to talk to the people. Encouraged by this work, another branch was opened at Ganjam by Mr. Lee, where a new school was opened for all castes. The Society opened its branch at Madras in 1816, where 5 schools were founded with 250 children on the rolls.[2]

With the aid of the Society, another station was opened at Malaudy in South Travancore, with Mr. Ringle Taube in charge. In 1811, he baptised about 400 persons of all ages. A total of 146 persons was added during the next year (1812). Another branch was opened at Belhary, north of Mysore, in 1809. Mr.

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV p. 261.
2. Ibid p. 267.

Hends was placed in charge of it and he opened a school in the Mission garden admitting 50 children of different castes. He also maintained a boarding school which contained 24 scholars.

In England, a division of opinion had arisen at this stage concerning the work and continuance of Missions in India. The question was whether the policy should be one of expansion or of retrenchment. Men like William Wilberforce (1793) had raised the issue in the House of Commons.[1] His work was supplemented by Dr. Buchanan who eventually succeeded in changing the opinion of the public in favour of missionary work in India.[2] He convinced the advocates of retrenchment of the need for work for the uplift of the Indian people. Hence it was a period of suspense until the first Parliamentary Grant for an Ecclesiastical establishment for India took place in 1813. The immediate outcome was the appointment of Dr. Middleton as first Bishop of Calcutta in 1815. Reaching Calcutta, he toured different parts of the country and inspected the churches already existing. He spread a net of schools in Calcutta and adjoining districts for both Hindu and outcaste children. Here it is necessary to point out that the Missionary Societies already existing in Bengal remained independent of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. The work of the latter organisation was that it gave welcome support to the existing Missions.

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1. Hole - The Early History of the Church Missionary Socy. p. 19, 20
2. Refer Mayhew - Christianity and the Government of India - Ch. VII.

This is a brief survey of the work in South India roughly up to 1816 of the Protestant Missions belonging to the different parent Missionary Societies in Europe including England. We may glance at the work of the Protestant Missions in Northern India during the corresponding period. This will complete our discussion of their work over the whole of the country.

Turning our attention first to Bengal, we find that the history of that country as part of British India goes back to the year 1689. Mr. Job Charnock established a factory at Calcutta. In 1696 the fortifications of old Fort William were raised. Later Bengal passed through a period of political change until it finally came under the British in 1765. Then the need for the establishment of a church at Calcutta, for European members, was felt. Consequently, a European church was started shortly after the year 1715, but missionary work proper for all classes of the people, did not begin until 1759. The opening of the European church was itself a boon to the native population, for the authorities of the church did not confine themselves to the European community but extended their activities among non-Europeans also. We have reason to believe that here also the converts were drawn from the Depressed[1] Classes and not from the Hindus. "Hinduism and Islam were so well entrenched in Bengal proper that any larger number of

1. K. Scott Latourette - a History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI. p. 86.

conversions, except from the underprivileged, was not to be expected."[1] We learn that a/k M. ernander "inviting all classes to send their children to him for instruction,"[2] started a Mission School. It contained 40 scholars of all castes. The number rose to 231 in 1766 with the growing popularity of the school, whilst 189 people of all classes joined the Christian Faith. In the next two decades the number of converts was 495 and 518 respectively.[3] As the number of converts increased, the number of scholars also rose until there were 150 children in native schools.[4] In 1789, Mr. Brown established a Hindu Orphan School which presumably contained some outcaste children also. In 1794, a native hospital was opened indicating the growth of Christian principles among the Europeans and non-Europeans in Bengal.

The Missions began to direct their energies more and more into work amongst the native population and especially among those of low castes.[5] Mr. Martyne, one of the best remembered Protestant missionaries in India, opened ~~5~~ five free schools in 1806. Hindu schoolmasters are said to have become jealous and to have carried on false propaganda suggesting that the sole aim of the schools was the conversion of pupils to Christianity, but such attacks were not very successful.[6] He published a Hindostani

1. K. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI. p. 86.
2. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV. p. 19.
3. Ibid p. 39.
4. Ibid
5. K. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI. p. 102.
6. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV. p. 99.

Testament for the use of native Christians.[1] At this stage, owing to the uncertainty of opinion in England concerning the continuance of missionary work in India, further progress of the work was somewhat impeded.

The Scottish Missionary Society

The Scottish Missionary Society was founded in 1796 A.D. It flourished very rapidly. The most notable missionary connected with it was Alexander Duff. We cannot deal with its activities here because its work falls in a period which we are not discussing (I.e. after 1813).

The Church Missionary Society

Another Missionary Society working in North India was the Church Missionary Society. It began its work at Agra and Merut in North India; but the influence of the Mohammedan religion was strong here and therefore they did not gain much success. A school was, however started at Kidderpore near Calcutta. In this branch scriptural education was imparted to the converts and it is reported that even the Brahmans requested the missionaries to open their branch school to them also.[2] By 1826, there were 13 boys' schools in Calcutta and its vicinity, with 800 students attending them. It opened branches at Mirzapore where a Central School for boys, and another for girls, were opened in 1824. By 1826, the native children under instruction numbered 3,980.[3] The Society opened branches in

1. Scott Latourette - a History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI. p. 102.
2. Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. V. p. 271.
3. Ibid Vol. V. p. 327.

Southern India also.

We have discussed the missionary efforts of Evangelisation in Southern, Eastern and Northern India, and we may advantageously pass across to Western India and see the work of some of the Missions in Bombay during the corresponding period. Bombay was ceded to the British Crown in 1662. There was no work by Christian Missions in this part of the country during the next 50 years. The first Church was erected in Bombay in 1714, by the Rev. Richard Cobbe. As it was a novelty, the opening ceremony was attended by the Indians also. The first school was opened in 1719, and regular scriptural instruction formed part of the school syllabus for the children of Christians and non-Christians alike. This educational institution was merged in another extensive Society called "The Bombay Society for Education of the Poor"[1] in 1815. The report of the Society shows that apart from work among the well-to-do sections of the community, the children of the poor were fed, clothed and medically helped.[2]

The London Missionary Society also opened a branch at Surat but was not very successful.

Meanwhile a new Mission came into the field from America. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent missionaries to Bengal, but the Government of Bengal ordered them to leave the country. But two of them, Messrs. Samuel Nott

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV. p. 518.
2. Ibid p. 500.

and Gordon Hall managed to remain in Bombay until 1813. The Governor of Bombay, with the approval of the Court of Directors in England, permitted them to stay. So Mr. Hall began his work among the natives, although he was much disappointed and disgusted with the faith of the Hindus in the idols and in their indolent priests.[1] This prejudice prevented his work from being very successful. However, he started missionary work, preaching and opening schools for all classes in the neighbouring parts of Bombay. Here again we learn that the Depressed Classes recognised the value of Christianity[2].

The Scottish Missionary Society commenced its work in Bombay in 1823 under the services of Rev. Donald Mitchell.

The above represents a passing glance at the social and educational efforts of some of the pioneer Missionary Societies for the lower classes of India, up to the stage when the British Government assumed responsibility for the education of the people. To sum up, the spirit underlying Christian culture had penetrated into India some thousand years before the birth of Christ, through sources unknown to history. Shortly after the beginning of the Christian Era, the Syrian Church began its activities in India. It continued its work successfully up to the beginning of the 16th century, when the Jesuit Missionaries entered the field. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Roman Church itself sent its representatives to

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1. James Hough - A History of Christianity in India - Vol. IV. p. 498.
2. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - p. 90.

India. The beginning of the eighteenth century brought Protestant missions on the scene. The work was begun by Danish missionaries, and was then supported and supplemented by the English Missions. After 1800, many other Missions arrived on the scene such as the American and the Canadian (which we have not dealt with). Even after the date at which we terminated our survey, many other English and Scottish Missionary Societies joined in the work. We may note this much, that the combined efforts of all Missionary Societies were responsible for the "mass movements" which began in India in the succeeding period. A great work of conversion to Christianity of the outcastes has been achieved through these movements.[1] The progress of social and educational work after 1813, among the outcaste population has been very direct and rapid. A greater and greater proportion of the Depressed Classes has been drawn into Christianity[2] and hence gradually increasing attention has been paid to their education. After this, the Missionaries did not widen their own educational activities, but rather suggested to the State that it should take up the work in earnest. Thus, when the Education Commission of 1882 was discussing the education of these communities, their attention was drawn to the need of such work by the Bishop of Bombay, in his letter of 31st October 1882.[3] Indirectly, the work of the missionaries have given thought to Societies like Aryasmaj for work among the Depressed Classes.

1. Pickett - Christian Mass Movements in India.
2. Mason Alcott - Village Schools in India - pp. 53 & 312.
3. Indian Education Commission Report 1882 - Footnote 513.

With the change of policy of the Missionary Societies involving an intensification of interest in the outcaste population and the starting of different kinds of educational institutions for them, it is time to abandon our historical survey. We must now investigate the actual schemes of work prepared by the Societies for the Shudra Untouchable population.

CHAPTER II

SCHEME OF EDUCATION FOLLOWED BY THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS ON BEHALF OF THE SHUDRA UNTOUCHABLE CONVERTS

Equal attention of Christian Missions for the social and educational welfare of all sections of population - Greater tendency of work towards the Shudra Untouchables after 1813 - The task of opening schools in villages inhabited by Untouchables difficult - Causes of the difficulty - Devices adopted to gain success - Difficult problem of attracting the Untouchables to schools - Actual preparation of the Scheme of Education for them - Curriculum - Types of Institutions started - The working of the Village School - Boarding Schools - Life in a Hostel - Education of girls - Teacher training schools for boys and girls - Improvement of the status (educational, social and economic) of the Untouchables by becoming teachers - A few instances of the progress achieved in literacy - Progress in all fields.

In the last chapter we have given an historical survey of the work of the Missions up to 1813, by which time the independent work of the various Missions in the educational field in India comes to a close. In 1813, the East India Company realised its responsibility in regard to the education of the subject people, and an initial grant of a fairly large sum was therefore made to be spent in furthering the educational advance of India. The period preceding this date is noteworthy for the selfless efforts of missionaries in spreading education among the people. One point is worth emphasising, viz., that the work of the Missionaries was not confined to the Shudra Untouchables, but opened its doors to the high castes also. Even when the State entered the educational field, and when the Missions therefore began to concentrate more on the Untouchable people, they have

never withdrawn their facilities from the caste Hindus. They have consistently opened secondary and collegiate educational institutions to caste Hindus. Meanwhile, the Hindus have started their own educational institutions, on the Christian model. Thus the Hindus have derived indirect benefit from the Christians.

After 1813, the position changed. The Missions concentrated their attention more on the problem of the social and educational uplift of the outcastes of India. I believe that the missionaries would have confined themselves to this work from the very start had they not thought that, by educating the high caste first, they could change Hindu public opinion in favour of the Shudra, towards whom great antagonism had hitherto been shown. If the high caste Hindus had thus changed their attitude, they might have given a helping hand to the Missions in their work towards the Shudra communities. It is a feasible argument. But one cannot say that the Hindu population was never in need of the Christian message. Its religious conceptions of a purely idealistic and impractical life, its dogma of the inequality of men revealed in institutions like the caste system and the concept of "Untouchability"; its other inhuman and ridiculous customs and manners and practices certainly indicated a need of guidance. That is one reason why the Christians have never abandoned hope in preaching the gospel among the high caste population. But confining ourselves to the Untouchable problem, there is no doubt that one aim of their

work among the High Castes was to recruit help and co-operation from the High Castes for the downtrodden of India. But it turned out to be a mistaken policy. It was as ~~un~~mis-guided as the 'filtration theory' of the British Government, by which it had been thought that by educating the high caste sections of the population the gift of education would filter down to the lower sections. That this never happened was due to the characteristic selfishness and conservatism of the high caste Hindus.

The year 1813 marks the time when the Missions had established their regular line of work with regard to education in India. It only remained for more attention to be directed towards the education of the Depressed Classes. They did intensify their efforts in this field and established a fixed Scheme for the education of the Shudra Untouchables. In this chapter, then, we will leave our historical survey and turn to the actual scheme of work and the educational institutions existing at present for outcaste Christian youth. Our change of treatment of the subject at this date does not mean that the present system was established all at once. It is, of course, a growth of the years following the dividing line of 1813 through the intensification of missionary effort. The Christian 'mass movements which have brought to thousands of outcastes the advantage of Christian religion, education and culture[1] are a

1. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity Vol. VI, p. 89.
Pickett - Christian Mass Movements in India - p. 313.

development of this period. These 'mass movements' resulting from the work of the missionaries set an example to the Christian Government to take up education of the masses in 1854. The missionaries had achieved great success in their field work in the Indian villages. The Government, encouraged by this example, tried to follow suit. The Education Commission of 1882 therefore stressed the need for taking more practical steps towards mass education (which the State had thought previously quite a difficult task). As already said it was this 'mass movement campaign' which brought some Hindu societies into the field (e.g. the Arya Smaj), to copy the work and to start their own work on the Christian model. What were the motives behind such moves is irrelevant to our discussion.

The work of the missionaries was as arduous as ever, indeed, even more arduous, because it now involved intensive work in the villages. One great danger which confronted the missionaries was how to combat Hindu fanaticism, because "India's life is dominated by Hinduism, to which seven out of ten people render some degree of allegiance."[1] This seventy per cent. devotees of Hinduism, live in villages where Hinduism assumes a more reactionary form than in the towns. There have been cases where schools opened by the missionaries for the outcastes have been burnt down to ashes.[2] There were two

1. Mason Alcott - Village Schools in India - p. 53.
2. Hunt, W. S. - India's Outcastes - p. 4.

difficulties likely to arise. Firstly, that the Hindus would be aggrieved because they would be losing the educational benefits of the Mission schools, enjoyed so far in the absence of State efforts, and secondly, that they would think the removal of the Depressed Classes from their midst a political disadvantage. Indeed, they had been working against any such tendency for a long time.

But the missionaries never lost heart. The first danger was averted because the Hindus diverted their energies towards the State schools. The second difficulty presented a very delicate problem, but two factors helped them. The first was their protection by the Christian Government, and the second, the intelligence they used in their efforts to win the people. The missionaries were taken by the ordinary Hindu villager as representatives of the ruling power and, though inimical at heart, they did not dare to do them any harm. Had there been no white Government, the missionaries would never have dared to enter Hindu villages and homes, however meak and docile the Hindu might seem to be. The Hindu villager is a religious fanatic. He cares little for the law when this fanaticism is stung to action. Truly it is said that "The Hindu villager has no conception of the reign of law in the natural world."[1] The second factor which assisted the missionaries was simply that

1. (Hastings) Encylopedia of Religion and Ethics - Vol. VI, p. 710.

they used their brains. They won the sympathy of the Hindu villagers by making constant rounds of their homes, talking to them on matters of health and hygiene in a most polite and courteous way. They joined in their festivals and social functions. Their efforts to win the confidence of the Hindus were supplemented by admitting the children to the model schools of the Mission and by providing medical and first aid facilities. This humanitarian attitude towards the Hindus protected them, to some extent, from hostile behaviour.

There was another problem also. It was the problem of the people of the Depressed Classes themselves, for whom all these plans were being hatched. The Untouchables, through centuries of oppression and suppression by the Hindus, had lost the ability to judge what was good for them. Many would refuse to believe that the missionaries were their well wishers. Though they are not Hindus, yet they have been made to pay due deference to all the forms of Hinduism, and have learnt to imitate it as closely as possible, to cherish a desire for a glimpse of the Hindu scriptures, to worship their gods, to wander near the temples hoping for the sight of a godling; even to take satisfaction in the observance of the caste system. To regard another religion with favour seemed as unsacred to them as to the Hindus. They were made to believe, by constant propaganda, that their salvation lay in paying respect to the Hindu religious concepts, though they knew that the right to

observe Hindu religious practices was always denied to them, and in remaining in the service of the Hindus. The present population of Untouchables belongs to such a category of people.

But thanks to the efforts of the missionaries, they did not lose courage. The method adopted to win their favour was the same as that followed in the case of the Hindus. The missionaries visited their homes, talking to them and treating them as equals. They were given talks on health and hygiene and were provided with medical aid in times of need. It was a new thing for the Shudras, and naturally they felt drawn towards the missionary teachers. Such is the way in which the problem was tackled, and the way laid open for work among the Shudras.

The next question was -

(a) What to teach, and
(b) How to teach it.

The long standing of the missionaries in the country had made them fully conversant with the Hindu and Untouchable problem. They had observed the following points, on which they had to base their curriculum of studies. Firstly, that the so-called outcastes were not unintelligent and hence incapable of receiving education as had been alleged. They needed opportunities and facilities which had been denied to them by the community with which they were living. Secondly, they had lost confidence in themselves due to suppression and lack of

education. From this point of view they needed to be encouraged to develop self-confidence. Thirdly, they were quite proficient in manual work, hence some practical type of subjects should be included in the scheme of studies, to give them independence of living and free them from economic dependence on Hindus. Fourthly, their own religion, culture and civilisation had become hazy due to age-long slavery, and in the absence of a religious and cultural background their souls were spiritually thirsty. It is because of this thirst that they are sometimes found to observe a 'half-way' mode of life between the Hindu and their own. But as the revival of their own religion and culture was difficult, some sort of substitute was necessary to satisfy their spiritual craving, so that they might find some peace of soul.

With all these considerations in view, a curriculum of the following nature was considered best for them. Reversing the above order, spiritually there could be no greater boon for them than to introduce the teaching of the scriptures, and thus give them the message of Lord Jesus Christ, the beloved Son of God, the friend and Guide of the meek and lowly. Scriptural education would definitely quench their spiritual thirst and infuse new life into their veins. After all, what greater, more loving and more inspiring religion could there be for them than Christianity - the most intelligible, spiritual and universal religion embracing the equality of men. ~~This would~~

This would revive their lost self-confidence. For general education in the primary stages, the teaching of the three R's, history and geography and music would suffice to begin with. To make them socially independent and to free them from the bondage of Hindu society, there was need of special training in their hereditary professions. In order to achieve this end, in the post-primary stages, the following arts and professions should be included in the scheme - agricultural farming and industrial subjects such as carpentry, blacksmithing, cooking, tailoring, house-building, weaving, rope-making, basket-making, shoe-making, painting and welding.[1] A scheme of physical training would be added. This was the syllabus for boys. The scheme for the girls was on a similar basis, but differed according to their special needs, which we shall consider below. The whole aim of the curriculum was a full development of the personality of the Untouchable Christian youth. The scheme, if successfully carried out, would make the youth an independent individual, would foster ideas of self respect and would prepare him for a better livelihood. It would also tend to raise his social status in the eyes of the people.

We must now consider the types of school in which the required aim has been realised. The following types of school have grown up:-

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1. Refer W. S. Hunt - India's Outcastes - p. 85.
Example of curriculum followed at Mission School, Moga. (PUNJAB)

(1) The Village School
(2) The Boarding School
(3) The Industrial School
(4) The Training School

It will be as well to describe the detailed syllabus employed in these schools, and to summarise their actual working.

Village Schools:- The Village Schools have played an important part in the programme of the Christian Mission.[1] They have a special contribution to make towards the education of children of the Depressed Classes because more than ninety per cent. of the population of such communities live in villages. The condition of the children has always been bad. They have little chance of access to the State schools. They are subjected to immeasurable hardships. They are employed in agricultural and menial labour. Sometimes even the parents in their poverty and ignorance, are very reluctant to part with them and to put them in the charge of Christian teachers. But the missionaries, by their dogged perseverance and determination have always succeeded in bringing these children to their schools. The method adopted is to go to their homes morning and evening, to give them short sermons on the Gospel, to tell them of the need for education, to give suggestions on their daily routine of life, and so on. They have had pointed out to them the hardships under which they have lived for centuries without education, and have been made to realise that they should not miss the opportunities offered them by the missionarie

1. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. Vi, p. 199.

With this constant propaganda and preaching of the need for education, they have gained success, and have filled their schools. They have never tired of such work. A missionary remarked, "I know of no better methods than continual agitation. We keep on preaching education and all our Pastors and Preachers and workers continually preaching it and drumming it into the ears of the people."[1] When they are brought to school they are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, nature study, handwork and music. To keep the young physically fit, simple physical exercises are performed. It may be noted that handwork and music are a special and exclusive feature of these Mission schools. The other public and private schools have no such provision. To this simple curriculum scriptural stories are added. The teaching in the infant stages is based on the most modern methods, such as the Kindergarten system, the Montessori method and the Project method. The enjoyment of education involving such modern methods is again a special privilege of Outcaste children. The high caste children in public schools have no such facilities. Christian youngsters are most fortunate to be trained on such lines. The spirit and culture which is inspired in these young children makes them well behaved, cultured and self-respecting children, like the children in European schools.

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1. Griswold, H.D. - Methods of teaching Village Christians to Read. Christian Literature Society.

We may add here that Christian missionaries have not confined their educational activities to children, but have extended their work amongst adults also. They have opened many night schools for adults who are free during evening hours after their day's labour, and who have been persuaded to attend these night schools instead of wasting their time at home. Adults have been given oral talks on simple sanitation, economics and "civics" (principles of village life). They are read some verses from the Bible. Hymns are sung collectively. It has been noticed that keen-ness to read the Holy Book and to read hymns for themselves has encouraged them to take an interest in reading. The missionaries have also prepared some literature containing simple moral stories, local news and information on topics dealing with daily life at home and on the farm, and in other professions followed by the Shudras. It is due to this extra activity, supplementing the work of village schools, that the literacy percentage among Indian Christians is higher than among non-Christians.

Boarding Schools:- After the setting up of primary schools, there arose a need for a school which offered an education higher than the primary standard, where children cannot obtain much benefit in the way of industrial training, and for higher literary education. This need has been met by creating a new type of school, called the Middle School. It is a residential school and is commonly known among Christians as the Boarding

School. It is an excellent institution for the education of Christian children. It is self-contained, self-centred and self-supporting. It is co-educational except in very rare cases where there are separate schools for boys and girls in each of which the scheme drawn up for the Boarding School is carried on. It is a specimen of pure missionary work, amongst Christian children drawn almost entirely from the Depressed Classes. In the village Primary School, mentioned above, there have been cases of admission of high caste Hindu students, to whom the missionaries have never been so narrow-minded as to refuse admission. We have treated these schools as purely Christian schools, intended for Depressed Class converts, because the missionaries have adopted a purely Christian curriculum in these schools.

But the type of institution which is under discussion is purely an outcaste institution, without any Hindu admixture. Here the Untouchable convert is steeped in the Christian ideals of life. It is an eight year school. The students begin from the First Form, complete the primary stage and continue to the final stage. It must be remembered, however, that in the fifth year of school life, children from Village Primary Schools are also eligible for admission to the Middle Schools. We have examined the scheme of the Primary stage above. Here we will describe in detail the work of the other half of the Middle School. The aim of these Boarding Schools is:-

(1) To equip the student academically;
(2) To fit him industrially; and
(3) To cater for his physical welfare.

Considering first training in academic subjects, those which are of value to the community are selected for study. These include arithmetic, reading of the vernacular, writing and some instruction on the theory of trade and craft. The teaching of sanitation and hygiene may also be included. Some instruction is also given in civics to inculcate social habits. On the vocational side, many industries have been chosen, according to the needs of the locality and on the indigenous products of the locality. As Christians belong to the Untouchable communities, who have special aptitudes for these handicrafts, they need only a little extra training to become skilled workmen. In fact, industrial training has been the principal aim of the missionaries among these communities and 'Missionaries have long recognised the importance of industrial training as an agency in Christian education.'[1] On the agricultural side, the need is equally great, for in most of the Provinces, eighty per cent. of the Depressed Classes are engaged in agricultural labour.

Actual working of the schools:- We have indicated already that the Boarding Schools are divided into two parts, the Primary and Middle grades. The boy may either begin his education in the Middle School, or he may join it from the village Primary School. The discussion here is of the curriculum of the Middle grade. Hence the age-group concerned lies between the ages of eleven and

1. The Report of the Commission of Enquiry
Village Education in India - Humphrey Milford, 1920 - p. 74.

sixteen years. It has been accepted on psychological grounds that a boy of normal intelligence should be able to pass through the Primary stage before reaching the age of eleven, and that he is then fit for vocational training up to the age of sixteen. This is the point of view that has been adopted in planning this type of scheme.

The schools are, in a way, community centres. The literary side of the teaching is carried on more or less on Project methods. Emphasis is laid on creative education. The principle of Dewey has been followed in these schools, and this has distinguished them from other schools of the same standard, whether State or private. In other words, their object is to achieve the social ideal. 'Education' in the schools 'should not therefore be a means to such a moral life, it should be the life itself.'[1] This social ideal runs through the classrooms to the playground and to life outside the school. The children co-operate in the pursuit of common ends in daily life. While looking after the school and the hostel, cooking food, working on the farm or engaging in any other activity of the school, the children move in a team, as if the work they are each doing is the individual child's own real occupation. Apart from the ideal of community, the schools are in a sense social centres. The student finds in his school the comfort of the home, of the church and of the

1. Village Education in India - Enquiry Commission Report p. 74.

social organisation. The students have been given direct training in civic responsibility and social service by attending village fairs in "social service patrols." The students have visited the villages during the malaria season to help the villagers by taking medicine from the hospital. To such humanitarian acts the high caste people have never made any objection. The school is equipped with a good library, containing books on simple literature, on scriptures, subjects of everyday life and on local vocations. The schools are equipped with lantern slides and material necessary for dramatic performances.

In order to give practical training in agriculture, schools have been provided with farms in localities where the Christian converts are mainly dependent on agricultural work. The students gain experience in working on the farm, do the work of sowing, and reaping crops using modern scientific methods. This training in the use of modern methods of agriculture and the use of modern agricultural implements has placed them above the general standard of the Hindu farmer. It is a great pity that sometimes their training has not helped them much, because of the Hindu farmer's prejudice against changing his own old agricultural methods, and his hesitation in requesting help from the outcaste. Therefore, to ensure that the training of these students does not go waste, the Christian Missions have secured 'farm colonies' for them "in

nearly every area, experiments have been made in settling needy converts on the land."[1] In addition, "these colonies have afforded opportunities for developing the wholesome Christian atmosphere."[2] "It has given healthiest Christian communal life."[3] Similarly, on the industrial side, trades like carpentry, blacksmithing, weaving, cabinet making and similar types of profession have been given adequate attention. The students are taught to learn these professions with neatness and efficiency. Sometimes the material prepared by the students has been sent to the markets outside, but unluckily, this experiment has not proved a success due to the indifference of those engaged in the markets. Such is the type of community life of these schools carrying on academic and industrial subjects side by side.

We shall glance at life in a hostel. The students live in well-ventilated dormitories, according to the conditions of the locality. The rooms are kept clean by the students themselves. This gives them training in self-help. The hostels are supplied with bathrooms. The children are at liberty to use hot or cold water according to weather conditions. In order to teach clean and healthy habits, they are forbidden to use open wells and ponds for water, for these are often full of microbes and other parasites. It is interesting to mention

1. Village Education in India p. 144.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid

here that efforts are made to restrict the use of these wells and ponds by the high caste Hindus, but in this case the objection to their use is religious. The prohibition of the use of these dirty sources of water by the authorities is, however, on hygienic principles. Similarly, every possible care is taken to induce children to use school latrines. The students wash their clothes and iron them themselves. This also teaches self-help. As for the cooking, this is also done by the students. This does not mean that there are no cooks, but the idea behind the scheme is to give children a training in cooking, and to prepare them as true scouts. They clean their kitchens themselves and sometimes clean the drainage pipes. Due to the sub-tropical climate of the country, there is always a danger of some disease, and the boys are medically examined at short intervals. If a boy should fall ill, he is segregated from his fellow boarders, and the best possible medical aid is given. Lastly, to keep the boys in sound health they are made to play different games in the evenings. Some of them may work on garden plots. Such is the type of ideal life of the boarding school for the boys.

Now we must turn to the scheme of work for the girls in the school, and to their living conditions in the hostel. India as a whole, owes a great debt to the Christian missionaries for the service they have done in emancipating the Hindu womenfolk from the Hindu Shastric Code, under which they, like the Shudra

Untouchables are denied the right of education. It is due to the liberalising effect of the Christians in India that the roa of education has been opened to women. The Hindus may not admit that the whole credit goes to the Christians in this respect, but the Depressed Classes are conscious of, and thankful for, the lead they have given in educating their women. The greatest agency through which the outcaste women have received education is the Boarding School. The Christian convert girls are taught with boys from the primary stages. In the primary stages they can go home in many cases. The position changes in Boarding Schools. They have to remain there under the care of the Christian wardens. The Untouchables who have chosen to send their girls to the Missions have preferred this arrangement because in many cases they have felt relieved from the point of view of personal safety and the marriage problems. Their curriculum of studies consists of the same subjects as for boys. But some sort of specialisation of duties connected with the home is also considered to be essential. Subjects such as cooking, weaving, spinning, sewing, needlework, embroidery, lace-making, and preparation of jams and pickles of local fruits, have therefore been included. The result is that they have not only proved capable in their own homes in later life, but have acted as advisers to village women in domestic science, health and

sanitation. School conditions for the girls are as ideal as for the boys. They are prepared for life, and prepared to adapt themselves to all sorts of circumstances in life. They can work at home, move in society and perform journeys alone. In short, they are active partners in every sphere of life, and not passive partners like the Hindu women in general. In order to inculcate further the virtue of self-reliance and independence, they are made to do their own cooking, cleaning and house-keeping. In the hostel, they live in small groups of about ten to fifteen, in a family spirit. This system is called the 'cottage system.' In a dormitory where, say, ten or fifteen girls are living together, one of them would act as 'house mother,' another would act as nurse, the next as shopping girl and similarly, other girls take up some other work needed for the whole group. This type of education and training in self government has given the Christian convert girls an advantage over the Hindu girls in independence of life. In addition to this they have given a lead to girls of other communities to take up jobs like teaching, nursing and jobs of a clerical nature.

Industrial Schools:- We have not much to say about the Industrial Schools, for there are not many such separate schools Industrial training is mostly carried on in Boarding Schools. The scheme that is followed has been mentioned above under the working of the Boarding Schools.

Training Schools:- The last useful item of the work of the missionaries is the training of teachers for Christian schools. Teachers from Christian training schools have not only met the need of their own schools, both boys' and girls', but have also provided trained teachers for Public Schools. This was especially true in the case of women teachers in the early days when women teachers from other communities were not forthcoming. The necessity for starting training schools arose because the Hindu teachers were not willing to work in Christian schools, and to teach convert children. The scheme for the training of teachers has not only encouraged the Christian converts to proceed to higher education, but has also greatly improved their economic condition.

The results of this well-planned scheme in raising literacy of the Shudra Untouchable converts has been astounding. Apart from this they have risen to the level of other castes from the lowest position. Those members of the Untouchable communities who took the earliest opportunity of attending schools and joining the Christian church have held the highest administrative posts and gained much political advantage. By receiving education through these schools, thousands of them, both men and women, have become teachers and have been able to take other jobs. An adequate number of women has taken up the work of nursing in hospitals. These tendencies have raised their economic status on the one hand, and have given them

respect, dignity and prestige in society on the other. They have become culturally and socially the superior members of society. Through these schools they have learnt self-help and self-reliance, and have won confidence in themselves. They are very proud of this. We shall cite a few examples to illustrate the development of a sense of pride, progress and literacy, at different stages.

Early in 1881, the Census Report Government of India, 1881, gave an example of the Pariahs in embracing the Christian Faith through the school education. It reported that even the Pariahs, considered to be the lowest class among the Depressed Classes, who had embraced Christianity took pride in returning themselves as "enlightened" to distinguish themselves from the Pariahs who remained attached to Hinduism "unenlightened."[1] The results of the Missions' efforts even at that early stage had been very encouraging. The same Report, citing the case of Trinnevelly Mission, where the Christians are exclusively native, said that 34.09 per cent. of the Christian males and 13.36 per cent. of the Christian females above five years of age were under instruction. Quoting figures for the City of Madras which showed in general the high percentage of literacy figures, the literacy percentage of Christian converts had come to the standard of other communities. The Hindus, Mohammedans and Native Christians had 61,185, 8,857 and 4,147 pupils on the roll

1. Census - Government of India Report - p. 313.

of the schools. The comparative figures of female literacy were 44.1 for the Hindus, 40.81 for the Mohammedans and 43.09 for the Christians.[1]

The Census Report 1911, reported the position in the following words. "The result is somewhat surprising, for although the Indian converts to Christianity are recruited mainly from the aboriginal tribes and the lowest Hindu castes, who are almost wholly illiterate, they have in proportion to their numbers three times as many literate persons as the Hindus ..." Quoting as an example the Province of Behar, the Report said, "The influence on education is strictly illustrated by the figures for the Province of Behar and Orisa where the proportion of Indian Christians who are literate is 76 per ~~square~~ mile compared with only five per ~~square~~ mile amongst their animistic conquerors. "[2]

This improvement has continued and the Christians have increased their literacy figures in succeeding years. The Quinquennial Report 1917-22, showed that among the Indian Christian women 8 per cent. were attending schools against 0.9 per cent. Hindu and 1.1 per cent. Mohammedan.

This is just a side light in support of our argument. But which section of the Untouchables have gained these advantages? It is those who have severed all connections with Hindu society and have become Christians; not those who are at present at

1. Census - Government of India Report - p. 245.
2. Census Report 1911 - p. 296.

the mercy of the Hindus. Mayhew has very clearly explained this point by saying "But perceptible progress has been made among those who have been brought up as Christians in the Christian atmosphere of a Mission Settlement or who are members of a community that has accepted Christianity and all that it implies culturally and economically, under the influence of mass movement that is so wide spread ... Outcastes who become Christians form part of a community which is yearly winning for itself the respect of India and a high reputation for educational zeal."[1] It is this section which by the gift of Christian Faith and education, has not only raised itself socially, educationally and spiritually, but it has proved a good example for the living of High Caste Hindus and is a hope for Hinduism,[2] and still more 'the hope of India.'[3] But those who have lived with the Hindus for one reason or the other have been unluckily denied this boon.

1. Mayhew - The Education of India - p. 259.
2. The Call from India - Church Assembly - pp. 58-59 & 69.
3. Mayhew - Christianity and Government of India - p. 248.

CHAPTER III

CRITICISM OF THE WORK OF THE MISSIONARIES

The greatness of Christian work does not call for criticism - Condition of the Shudras before missionary work began - Benefits derived from the Missions - Christian contribution to the Hindus, in addition - Still the view of some of the extremist Christian missionaries and Untouchables that attempt to Christianise Hindus was a useless effort - Opinions of some missionaries that better use of money and time could be made if spent exclusively on the Untouchables - Agreement of the writer with this view.

The debt owed to the Christian missionaries by the downtrodden of India is so immense that there is nothing to say against them by way of criticism. Their service in ameliorating the condition of these communities is unprecedented and unique in the history of mankind. An Untouchable was once treated as sub-human. There was no education for him. He had no rights or status in life. Socially he was subject to the most severe laws of ostracism ever known in any community in history. Even if detected in an attempt at self-education, the penalties were unbearable. But it was the missionaries who brought them back all the lost privileges of life. There are six million[1] people under their care. Though the number is small and sixty million Untouchables are still out of the pale of Christianity, at least those who have become Christians have saved themselves. It is this section of the Untouchables who breathe freely, who

1. Census Report 1931.

enjoy a sense of relief from Hindu tyranny, and who feel for the Christian missionaries a great debt of gratitude. They have learnt in the enlightenment of education to press for their political rights. They have all the advantages of Christian education in schools and colleges. Thereby they have reached equality with the Hindus. Socially, they feel far higher than the Nayar.[1] Only the Untouchables who remain outside are still subject to innumerable disabilities, but that is their own fault. The Christian door has always been open to them. The non-Christian Untouchable community has gained some prestige, but even this is indirectly due to the benign educational policy of the British Government. The condition of these people in no way approaches the Christian standard. They form an independent non-Hindu block which has missed the boon of the Christian message, yet is thankful to the Missions for two reasons. Firstly, because although they have themselves missed the opportunity of joining the Christian order, at least their brethren are better off; and secondly, because their new found political rights, social and educational privileges during recent years have been realised through Christian influence. In short, the Christians by the 'noble system of their Christian ethics and morality, which is the pride of modern civilisation' have raised the outcaste class of India, as a whole, from abject degradation. The most

1. A High Caste in South India. (Report of the Commission: I P 42.

creditable thing for the Missions was that they did it without any force such as the Government behind them. Their success has been achieved by their model of character, moral force, service and devotion. The Christian convert members of the Depressed Class communities hence have become self-respecting individuals.

It will be appropriate to say again a word about the contribution the missionaries have made to the Hindu world for much the same influence has been exerted on them. There was a time when Hindu India was in a state of barbarism. "Hinduism was intellectually and morally at a very low ebb."[1] It did not make sense. It pursued a crude and unphilosophical polytheism, included degrading idolatrous worship, advocated debased moral ideals and sought to escape from a practical way of life; its literature preached all these primitive conceptions of living. It incessantly preached infanticide, child marriage, self immolation of widows, perpetual widowhood, prostitution in temples (Devadasiv system) polygamy, polyandry, the caste system, untouchability, idol worship and a thousand and one other of the worst vices and malpractices ever practised anywhere in the modern civilised world. The Hindus as a nation were weak, like puppets; psychologically a morbid race, spiritually a childish race. But now the spirit of Christ has changed the whole nature of Hinduism. If they do not admit or

1. Christian Higher Education in India (Report of the Commission) P.42.

appreciate the service the Missions have done for them it does not matter. Though it is a pity that, having enjoyed all these gains, many of them have charged the missionaries with being international meddlers and exploiters. The religious concepts of the missionaries are criticised by men like Swami Dayananda and Ram Moham Roy. But that is a traditional trait of Hindu national character. They have always despised other nations and religions. They will never admit the good services of the Christians. As Stanley Jones has said, "I do not think that India will ever openly and frankly appreciate the Western civilisation or from Western Church ..."[1] until she is free from "oppression psychosis." But even though the Hindus themselves will not admit it, an impartial observer will say that it is the Christian influence that has penetrated into the whole life of Hinduism, its literature, manners and customs and finally, into the character of the Hindus themselves. It is the Christ that produced men like Ram Mohan Roy, Renede, Gokhale, Tagore and Mahatama Gandhi, who based their preachings and activities on the principles of Christianity and the model of 'fine living and self sacrifice and constant teachings,' though in their own way and in their own sphere. It is through the Christian influence that efforts are being made by some liberal sections to free themselves from the grip of the social customs and malpractices listed above, though they are still to

1. Stanley Jones - The Christ on the Indian Road - p.127.

be found in their books. As William Archer says that "it is true that the influence of Christianity ... is traceable in all the intellectual movements of modern India ..." and in "every reform ..."[1] Two of these intellectual and liberal sections are the Arya Smaj and the Brahmo Smaj. The Arya Smaj has tried to develop a monotheistic conception of God, and has tried to raise the Hindus from their depraved idolatrous trend. It has also shown its sympathy towards the removal of caste and Untouchability. Though thinkers like Dr. Ambedkar have considered their advocation of the removal of the caste system ridiculous in the presence of Chaturvarna theory, yet they have advocated it. We cannot deny it. Organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha, stirred by Christian influence, have tried to change the Hindus to a militant body. The Hindu individual and the Hindu nation have been roused to activity by the influence of the Christian ideals of life. And now they are developing an aggressive attitude to the outside world.*

This contribution, in raising both the caste and the outcaste, demands a great tribute from both classes and should leave no grounds for adverse criticism. Among the Depressed Classes alone, the Christians have done invaluable service but

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1. William Archer - India and the Future - p. 263.

* For some knowledge of the influence of Christianity on Hinduism, the reader is referred to books
(a) The Crown of Hinduism by J. N. Farquhar, and
(b) The Renaissance in India by C. F. Andrews.

every society is not composed of moderates only, there are extremists too. A section of radical missionaries has been anxious to do more and more of their Christian work among the outcastes. There are members of the Depressed Classes too who have observed the efforts of the missionaries to win Hindus to the side of Christianity, and who have also felt that such efforts would be better spent on the Shudra Untouchables. They think that if all available energy and money had been spent on the spread of the Christian message among the Depressed Classes, much more would have been achieved by the Missions. Let us consider the views of such groups of people, both among the Christians themselves and among the outcastes.

The whole weight of their criticism rests on one fundamental principle. It is that to attempt to make the Hindu to understand or realise the real values of the Christian religion is an absolutely mistaken idea. The right line, in their view, should have been to take up the cause of the Untouchables in India from the very start and do everything for them because they have only responded to the Gospel.[1] The money, time and energy that has been spent in teaching and preaching to the Hindus has all gone to waste. From the very start, the work ought to have been devoted to the downtrodden of India who genuinely deserved the Gospel message. Later experience has shown that it is the Depressed Classes who have appreciated the

1. The Call from India - Church Assembly Report 1926 - p. 51.

worth of Christianity and have been most "willing to call themselves Christians and ally themselves with the Church ..."[1] Thus whatever time has been spent has not achieved the desired results, and whatever work has been done that has not proved itself to be sufficient. If we may leave aside sentimentalism and take a realistic view of things we have reason to believe that the line of argument taken by this group of people is not altogether wrong. In fact the energies of the Missions have been more or less misdirected. The Hindu is unconvertible. His religion, literature, manners and customs are incorrigible when considered from the point of view of religions like the Christian or Islam. On religious principles, Hinduism is opposed to Christian monotheism to the Christian spiritual conception of God, and to Christian moral ideals. Although Hinduism has not been able to resist the influence of Christianity, yet this influence has not been strong enough to eliminate the polytheistic conception of God, idolatry in practical ideals and lack of incentive to duty. The Hindus believe in the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls; ~~yet~~ another doctrinal bog in which they are held fast, is the Caste System and Idol Worship. All these things have an indelible effect on the Hindu, and have made him superstitious, fanatical, deaf to any rational appeal, and proof against conversion to Christian ideals.

The Romanists, we noted elsewhere, had for many years tried

1. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity Vol. II, p. 203.

to win the Hindus, and in consequence had begun to earn for themselves the name of Brahmans from a distant country.[1] In fact, Francis Xavier had written to Ignatius Loyola in 1549 that the natives (i.e. Hindus) did not listen to the Christian message, not to speak of their embracing Christianity.[2] Abbe Dubois a Christian-hearted missionary, working for more than half a century in India to teach the Gospel to the Hindus side by side with the outcastes, has related with disappointment how after "watering the soil of India with his tears" the seed sown by him had "fallen upon a naked rock and instantly died away."[3] "During the last sixty years*" he had said, "there had been in the higher castes practically no proselytes. In thirty years he had made three hundred converts of whom two thirds were Pariahs."[4] To quote another opinion, "Hindus it is well known were unconvertible. Why sacrifice the affluence of English homes and the peace of India to an idle dream?"[5]

The Protestant Missions have criticised the Romanists for their Hinduised mode of living, and for perverting Christianity on the lines of Hinduism by introducing Hindu ceremonies; but the Protestant Missions have themselves attempted to please the

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1. Section III Ch. I P. 465.
2. Qtd. in Robinson - History of Christian Missions - p. 73.
3. Qtd in Mayhew-Christianity and the Government of India P. 93
4. IBID P 93
5. IBID P. 92

* Prior to 1832) and Also refer - The Call from India - Church Assembly Report 1926 - p. 53.

Hindus although in a different way. They have spent vast amounts of money in opening schools and colleges for them. These Christian schools and especially colleges have not existed for the Christian community,[1] to the extent that they have done for other communities, mostly the Hindus. They thought that by opening institutions of higher learning they would be able to attract the Hindus to the Christian side. Missionaries such as Duff and Miller strongly held this view.[2] As the Commission on Christian Higher Education put it, "Their hope and desire is that India may become Christian."[3] But it has been an idle dream, and mere wishful thinking. There have been a few Hindus who have truly understood the vileness of Hinduism, but many more have joined these Colleges as orthodox Hindus, and have left them the most orthodox of orthodox Hindus. Their hearts might be struck with the Christian spirit, but they never embraced Christianity. Those who did may only be counted as political exploiters. Bernard Lucas rightly said that the real Christians are the Depressed Classes and not the Hindus.[4] As a Muslim living in India looks towards and draws his inspiration from Mecca, the Hindu Christian convert clings at heart to Hinduism, and continues to take pride in its literature. Some time ago, I met a Brahman Christian convert from India in England. As one who is always interested to

1. Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education - p. 136
2. Scott Latourette - A History of Expansion of Christianity - Vol.VI, p. 190.
3. Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education - p. 136
4. Bernard Lucas - The Empire of Christ - p. 11.

know the depth of the Hindu mind, I tried to find out how far he was a Christian. While talking about the Brahmans of South India, to my surprise he burst out that he was a Brahman. I could not help feeling some resentment. I asked him how he could be a Christian, then? He had no answer, except to say that his father had become a Christian. We find that after so much money and effort has been expended, the souls who appreciated Christ were not Hindus, but the outcastes, on whom the money spent would turn out to be disappointingly meagre, if we were to calculate it. The Christians, while working with so much zeal and concern for the evangelisation of the Hindu world, have gained nothing but disrespect for their race, religion and churches. What then is the outcome of this wrong policy? Our query is well answered in the words of another intelligent observer who said that "after many centuries of occasional missionary effort and a century of constant labour by many European and American organisations, the tale of Indian Christians does not amount to quite four millions! In other words, there are three hundred and eleven millions still awaiting conversion." I agree with the writer further that "the influence of Christianity is not to be measured by the number of actual converts" but still the point is what is the net result of the money and time spent by the Missions towards the Hindus. If they say that conversion of Hindus was not the aim of the missionaries, the study of their

1. William Archer - India and the Future - p. 263.

literature does not honestly support this. One is also compelled to ask why so much trouble has been directed to win the Hindus. Had the Missions concentrated their energies exclusively on the social and educational uplift of the Untouchable communities, by going into the villages, and had they started schools and boarding schools (with the same money with which they actually started magnificent colleges in the cities for the Hindus) the results would have been far far happier. That would have been a much better use of the money, and such labours would have been well rewarded.[1] There would now be sixty million Christians in India instead of six million. A shrewd missionary has also said, "For long the missionaries had no eyes but for the India of upper levels, the Hindus of caste and influence and acknowledged place and power."[2] Quoting again Bernard Lucas, he regretted not having done much work for the Depressed Classes.[3] Their efforts had been devoted to the high caste people and the results had been below expectations. Bishop Whitehead said that for long time ago it was an almost "Universal opinion among the leading missionaries in India and their supporters at home that the important thing to do for the spread of Christianity was to educate the Brahmans and high caste Hindus in the cities and towns, so that when they were converted, Christian truth might spread out from the cities to

1. Mahmood - A History of English Education in India - p. 246.
2. Ogilvie - Our Empire's Debt to Missions - p. 108.
3. Bernard Lucas - The Empire of Christ - p. 11.

the villages and permeate downwards from the top to the bottom of society." But "experience has shown that Christianity is destined to spread in India in exactly the opposite way,"[1] that among the outcastes of India. "India will never be won for Christ until these are won"[2] said another missionary.

These are a few considerations which suggest that, though missionary work for the Depressed Classes will be written in letters of gold in the pages of history, the result might have been even better. The missionaries broke the old established prejudice which had denied education to the Shudras and made them into self-respecting members of society. Yet it is the qualitative result only which is so satisfactory. Quantitative progress could have been attained if the attention paid to the Hindus had been devoted to the downtrodden. I feel a sense of regret when I think of the vast amounts of money and time spent for a wrong cause, on wrong grounds. To my mind it has been just like watering barren soil.

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1. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problems - p. 188.
2. Ogilvie - Our Empire's Debt to Missions - p. 108.

SECTION IV

EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

CHAPTER I

EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

British Government's Policy of schools for all - Sad plight of the Untouchables with regard to educational and social uplift before the British rule - Change of circumstances under the British - Untouchables' confidence in equality of the British educational system - Recognition of their educational rights - Sincerity behind the Minute of Macaulay (1833) evident from the spirit of the 'Filtration Theory' - The next step in 1854 (Charles Wood's Despatch) - The same honesty manifest in later pronouncements especially in the Royal Proclamation (1858) ∴ Problem of education of Untouchables directly taken up in 1882 - Continuance of favourable Policy - Some instances of progress quoted from the Educational and Census Reports in the 20th Century - (a) special direct measures by which progress achieved such as remission of fees and scholarship schemes (b) indirect factors such as equality before law and effect of the existence of modern scientific means of communication and transportation.

"England came with schools for all."[1] Previous to this, schools, colleges and universities were the hereditary privileges of the twice born. Whether ~~it~~ the British recognised the responsibility of education early or late in relation to any particular group had some political significance behind it, but whenever the work was started, it commenced on the principle of equality for all. How long the principle was exploited by one section of the population is again a matter of abuse of power, but the selfish arrogance of one section over the other does not detract

1. Mayo, Katherine - Mother India - p. 136.

from the honest and sincere intention of the State as far as the general and educational uplift of the Depressed Classes is concerned.

So far in our work, we have reviewed the efforts of the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Christian missionaries. Now the efforts of the State need our investigation. England carried out an unprecedented reform by admitting the Depressed Classes to the benefits of education. It will be regarded as unique in history in ages to come by those who know the position of the Depressed Classes. The Shudra Untouchable before the British arrived was a person who could be cut in twain if he ever made an attempt to share the social privileges of the twice born with whom he had been living for so long. His tongue could be cut in two and his ears filled with lead if he endeavoured to utter or hear a word of the Hindu scriptural and secular syllabus. He remained for centuries under subjection, a victim of Hindu educational selfishness, with the result that he lost all dignity and prestige in life. Whenever a power arose which promised him equality with the Hindu, such an advantage could only be gained by losing his individuality and becoming a member of the reformative order. He could not remain an outcaste and, while enjoying social and educational advantages comparable with the Hindus, live amongst the high castes. The point may well be illustrated by movements like Budhism, Islam and Christianity. Under Budhism the Shudra had

to be a Budhist. Under Islam he had to become a Muslim. When the missionaries began their work, the outcaste accepted Christianity for its own sake and incidentally became eligible for full education. In other words, in many cases, his education became part and parcel of his conversion. Moreover, no power could ever impose on the Hindus the acceptance of the right of Shudras to education.

But the case under British became different. For the Shudra, education became his birthright[1] as an Untouchable. He was eligible for all the general and educational benefits of the State on an equal footing with the Hindus. It was not necessary for him to renounce his position as an Untouchable in order to become fit for such advantages - he could enjoy such privileges as an Untouchable. Whether his position as an Untouchable was or was not attractive or enviable is not our concern here, but the point is that he thought of any State educational institution, from the lowest to the highest grade, as his institution. How far his wishes were fulfilled, again, we will not discuss here. In brief, no Hindu could think he had an exclusive monopoly over such facilities.

His right was recognised as a citizen. The British Government could not tolerate the injustice of granting admission to a school or college to the son of a Brahman, or other twice born Hindu, whilst refusing entry to the son of an

1. Education Commission Report, 1882 - p. 515.

Untouchable. This brought the Brahman and the Pariah, in principle, to one level. How far this policy was allowed free play in the teeth of the opposition of the Hindus, the age long enemies of the Shudras, and how such opposition prevented the progress of the education of the Untouchables from being as satisfactory as was expected, has been dealt with elsewhere. On the whole, the result of all this has been that Untouchables have received high education and have gained equality with the Hindus. For the first time in the history of the country, the Shudra Untouchable has been given an opportunity to show his intelligence and aptitude.*

The Government took up the work of the education of Indian subjects regularly by the Charter Act of 1813, but no actual constructive work in the education of the Depressed Classes could be shown up to 1882 A.D., due to the opposition of the Hindus. Although practical steps were taken in 1882 to intensify the work of the education of these communities, yet it should not be concluded that the State had not provided equal opportunities for all prior to this date. In order to clarify this point, we must sketch the development of the educational policy of the State from the beginning and assess its honest efforts. While doing so, the handicaps and difficulties which faced the Government will also reveal themselves.

* Refer Introduction P.67.

The Charter Act of 1813, with which the educational policy of the State begins, did not apply to the Depressed Classes. The sum granted was to be spent for the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of the country.[1] The Government thought that it would cater for a representative number from all sections of the population. It was on this false assumption that college after college for the Hindus was opened. This does not seem to have been the intention of the governing body, but this is what happened, and practically the whole advantage of the Act fell into the hands of the high castes. The Government being alien and unaware of the existence of the downtrodden class in India became a victim of the clever move. We have not to forget that, like the Mohammedans, the British were also under a vague impression that India was a country of two blocks, non-Christian Muslims and non-Christian Hindus. They could not grasp the position of the Depressed Classes in Hindu society. The result was that they followed the Brahmans, accepting their social order for the non-Christian Hindu section. We know that the Hindu legal code was prepared on the basis of the Code of Manu.[2] The British Government thought that any educational grant which was set apart for Indian subjects would be spent equally for all.

We have every reason to believe that the Government was sincere at heart. Britain had men like Wilberforce at home

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1. Despatch of 1814 → Education - p. 14.
   Collection of Statutes Relating to India - Vol. I, p. 116.
2. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 23.

who fought for the abolition of slavery, a humanitarian cause. On the same principle he had pleaded for early efforts for the education of all sections of the population of India. He pleaded with all the force at his command that education should be given to all 'the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India.'[1] He meant all sections of the population to be the benefactors of the Education Grant of the Parliament. The Minute of Macaulay also expressed in the same honest terms that 'no native of the said Indian territories ... shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the Company.' The underlying idea of the 'Filtration Theory' was that knowledge would filter down to the lower classes. It was thought that the education given to the high castes would automatically penetrate to the low castes. In short, the benefit of the low castes was certainly aimed at. If we think in broad terms the introduction of the English language was a blessing in disguise because the introduction of English brought the Hindus in touch with the democratic nature of the British nation, its liberal literature and Christian religion. This tended to liberalise the general thought of the country. There arose some chosen people who started societies for the educational advance of the Untouchables. If such societies had some ulterior motive, this was because the whole background was Hindu.

1. Selections from Educational Records, Part I - p. 17. Bureau of Education, India, 1781-1839.

But whether they were founded in sincerity or in mere opposition to the Missions, they did some effective work. The Hindu was also induced to relax the intensity of his opposition and to instil a little reason into his sheer prejudice. If the Government failed in its attempts it failed due to the ignorance of the Hindu mind.

It was in 1854 that Macaulay's Minute took full effect.[1] In that year, Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch laid down the plan of mass education. It advocated the use of the vernacular in the secondary and the primary stages, and thus laid the foundation of popular education. As Mahmood says, "In 1854 the education of the whole population of India was definitely accepted as a State duty." Further, it set forth "a scheme of education for all India far wider and more comprehensive than the supreme, or any local, Government could ever have ventured to suggest."[2] Its terms held out some hope for the oppressed classes, but unluckily, it was again rendered null and void by the conservatism of the Hindu masses, arising out of the caste system. But the aim was there, though it "had been thwarted by the stolid conservatism of the masses, by the limitations imposed by the caste system ..."[3] It was no fault of the Government. It was the fault of something over which the Depressed Classes had no control and against which the

1. William Archer - India and the Future - p. 244.
2. Mahmood Syed - History of English Education in India - p. 85.
3. The Cambridge History of India - Vol. VI, p. 350.

the Government was also more or less prevented from levelling a direct attack. However, its honest intention was there. The principle of equality of all was accepted.

This policy was pursued by later pronouncements. In a letter of the Government of India dated 20th May, 1857, it was announced "that no boy could be refused admission to a Government school or college merely because he did not belong to the upper castes."[1] The Royal Proclamation of 1858, 'established beyond all doubt a determination to secure fair and impartial treatment for every caste and class.'[2] Defining its policy it said that 'it is our further will that, so that as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, by the duties of which may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.'[3] Further signs of an intention to promote the advancement of people of all sections were contained in the Proclamation. It was a great encouragement to the Depressed Classes because it recognised their right to State schools. The Government was sincere. There is a very important case mentioned in the Education Despatch of 1858, issued from the Court of Directors, where a Depressed Class boy was denied admission to a Government school in Dharwar in Bombay Presidency. This could not be tolerated, on principles of justice and equity, by the Government. They issued a letter that "the

1. The Government of India letter dated 20th May, 1857.
2. Mayhew - Christianity and The Government of India - p. 226.
3. The Royal Proclamation 1858.

Educational Institutions of the Government are intended by us to be open to all classes and we cannot depart from a principle which is essentially sound and the maintenance of which is of first importance."[1] The Government meant to keep this equality This determination was also repeated in a letter written by the Secretary of State in 1863. But even now the opposition of the Hindu population was great, and it was difficult to see how the Government Scheme could go through in the spirit in which it was meant that it should be carried out.[2] The Report of the India Education Commission said, concerning the progress of education in 1870-1871, that "It must be borne in mind that in 1870-1871, there were among the ... inhabitants ... aboriginal tribes or semi-Hinduised aborigines ... hardly touched by our education."[3] The Depressed Classes were as ignorant as ever,[4] but the Hindus monopolised all education, and were determined to remain at the top.[5] But the Government pursued its policy, and the Hunter Education Commission of 1882 was appointed. It was here that "the question of the duty of the State towards the education of the low caste Hindu community was raised and discussed in the Commission on 18th December, 1882.[6] The Education Commission of 1882 can be called the "Magna Charta"

1. Education Despatch of 1858 - No. 58 of the Court of Directors. Qtd. in Report of Education Commission 1883 - p. 515.
2. Census Report Government of India 1901 - p. 163.
3. Education Commission Report 1883 - pp. 483-484 & 575.
4. Census Report 1881 - p. 234.
5. Qtd. Mahmood - History of English Education in India - p. 269.
6. Indian Education Commission Report 1883 - p. 513.

of the education of the Depressed Classes. It was the greatest landmark in the Educational Statutes of India. On the other hand, it was a great blow to the interests of the Hindus, in two ways. Firstly, it dispensed with the responsibility of the State only for higher education which had been the monopolised resort of the Hindus,[1] and secondly, an indirect result might be that they would find the other communities coming to an equal footing with them, a state of affairs which they themselves had never had any intention of ever permitting, because of the commands of their religion. But now they were helpless.

What were the words of the Commission which set forth the educational slogan of the Depressed Classes? It was that "We recommend ... that no boy be refused admission to a Government College or School merely on the ground of caste ... as a principle, and be applied with due caution to every Institution, not reserved for special races, which is wholly maintained at the cost of public funds whether provincial, municipal or local."[2] But still it was a matter of disappointment for the Government that they had to stand the positive hostility of the Hindu public, teachers and members of the inspection staff, both in towns and villages, in order to see the resolution carried out in its full strength. On the other hand, the Untouchables were also intimidated from sending their children to the schools, on

1. Mahmood - History of English Education in India - p. 106.
2. Education Commission Report 1883.

the same grounds of opposition. But the work had to be carried out and therefore the Commission, realising the dangers, made the alternative recommendation of opening separate schools. It recommended "that the establishment of special schools or classes for children of the low caste be liberally encouraged in places where there are a number of such children ..."[1] In addition to this, the Commission somewhat belatedly also recommended Grants-in-Aid as a special encouragement to the missionary bodies.[2]

This Act made the road of educational facilities clear. There began to appear in the Educational Reports of the Government of India evidence of considerable progress after every decade after this date. The Census Report of 1901 reported an improvement in the education of the Untouchable communities.[3]

The next step in pursuance of this policy was taken up by Lord Curzon in 1904. He held an Education Conference at Simla in 1901. One feature which favoured the Depressed Classes was that no Hindu educationist was included in it although all European educationists were represented. He followed a similar course in the University Commission which followed it. Some Hindu Nationalists like Sir Surrendra Nath Bannerjee protested, but no heed was paid to the usual cries.

The result of this Conference was that the education of the masses was emphasised. It was inevitable that the

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1. Report of Education Commission 1883 - p. 517.
2. Ibid p. 515.
3. Census Report Government of India 1901 - pp. 273-275.

Depressed Classes would be touched by the mass movement programme, because they lived mostly in villages. Every pressure was exercised through every Department to see schools opened in the villages. 'The area of high education was thought to be restricted.'[1] It was against the interests of the Hindus. It brought in general, an increase in the number of schools in rural areas, and the Depressed Classes' children were also favourably affected. The teachers and attendance officers were required to give attention to the parents of the low caste children in villages.

In 1910, there was a demand for free and compulsory education by Mr. Gokhale. Whether his scheme was practicable in the absence of local rates and taxation cannot be discussed here, but it had a healthy effect upon the Government stimulating it to activity. In a Durbar speech of the King Emperor in 1912, it was proclaimed that 'A network of schools' throughout the length and breadth of the country should be started. It was further wished by His Majesty, the King Emperor, that the advantage should be enjoyed by all Indian subjects alike, and not by a particular community. This principal was announced in the Indian Educational Policy in 1913.

Meanwhile, the Government had done a great deal to recruit Untouchable children in as large numbers as possible to the State schools directly, by pressure upon officials, and local bodies, and indirectly, by means of 'Grants-in-aid.'[2] The

1. Surrendra Nath Bannerjee - p. 175. (A nation in making); and x
2. Progress of Education in India 1907-12. p. 260.

x Frazer Lovat - India under Lord Curzon. P. 185.

Report of 1907-12, mentioning one community in South India, says that "the increase in Panchama of all classes of Institutions, special and otherwise, has risen by nearly thirty per cent.*"[1] By the end of 1912, quoting another example, the Report said that "the Paraiyas of Madras have now nearly three times the population of literates than they had ten years ago."[2] Similarly, other Provinces of India gave an equally satisfactory report of increase. Apart from the happy feature of progress in primary and secondary education, students had reached the University stage, and many of them were receiving training in Training Colleges.[3] Although it is difficult to give separate figures of their progress in literacy, in 1912, the literacy percentage of these communities was, as near as can be estimated, about 2.8.

Then came the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. All the communities, such as the Mohammedans and Sikhs, which had been under the dominance of the Hindu Majority community, were now becoming politically active. The result of this political consciousness was that the British Government itself had to do more and more for the pacification of its subjects. The expectant hopes of the depressed class were also roused. Educational advance was becoming more and more a matter of great

1. Progress of Education in India 1907-12. p. 260.
2. Ibid p. 264.
3. Ibid p. 260.

* Original figures over which the increase is given cannot be shown. The period is roughly ten years.

satisfaction.

The Census Report of 1911 gave a very encouraging report. Of Bengal it said that "many Shudras and even lower castes in Bengal have a larger proportion of literate persons than the Brahmans of the Punjab or the United Provinces."[1] The Depressed Classes have made much progress. "A notable instance of this is furnished by the Paraiyas of Madras who have now three times the proportion of literate persons than they had only ten years ago."[2] In 1921, the position was still better. It is stated that "in every hundred scholars, sixty three are Hindus, twenty four Mohammedans, four Christians and nine others. Of the sixty three Hindus, eleven are Brahman and the rest non-Brahmans, while the latter six per cent. belong to the Depressed Classes."[3] Now, the Government was on the verge of Provincialisation, because the recommendations of the Montague and Chelmsford Report had suggested such a move. But the Government had now reached a stage in which the backwardness of the Depressed Classes, due to inequality, could in no case be tolerated. It was trying all possible means for their educational uplift. It had exerted every pressure on local Governments to intensify their efforts, and the local Governments had consistently, says the Education Report of the period, 'made it their aim to abolish all distinctions of caste and creed in public elementary schools.'[4] The Madras Government,

1. Census Report, 1911 - p. 299.
2. Census Report 1911 - p. 299.
3. Census Report, 1921 - p. 184.
4. Progress of Education in India 1917-1922. p. 206.

is said to have removed one hundred and fifty schools from temples and rented buildings, where Adi-dravidas had been refused admission, to premises accessible to all castes.[1] In the Central Provinces, forty-two vernacular schools were opened exclusively for the use of the Shudras. In the Punjab also, forty-two such schools existed. In the United Provinces, no separate schools were opened, but the increase in attendance was significantly high.

By the enactment of the Montague and Chelmsford Reforms, education became provincialised, hence the educational work of the Government as a central body ended.

Our discussion also must therefore come to a close with the remark that, though the quantity of the work had not reached the standard of other communities, the ideal of equality had been fully established. Their educational position under the diarchy has been seen in a previous chapter.

We have taken a general view of the efforts of the State towards the educational uplift of the downtrodden communities. General statistics that would bear scrutiny, cannot be supplied to illustrate educational progress among the Depressed Classes, in view of the lack of a separate and clear uniform census by different Provinces specifying status, position in regard to the Untouchable class, and profession. We must therefore be content

1. Progress of Education in India 1917-1922 - pp. 206-207.

with quotations from decadal reports.

We must now examine the special measures applied to bring Shudra children to schools in cases where poverty was a stumbling block, and assess the measure of success achieved, however small it may be. One of the measures adopted was exemption from fees in all school grades. In colleges, special concessions in fees have been allowed, but this depended mostly on the community to which the principal of the college belonged. If he was a European, Christian or Muslim, the concessions were fairly given. The Government had also arranged some special scholarships, both in the school and college stages. In schools, the children were given aid in the form of clothing, and stationary and books were purchased through Red Cross Funds. As the members of these communities are occupied mostly in manual labour, the Government started industrial schools in trades generally carried on by these communities. In some places, such as Bombay, a scheme of special hostels roughly on the model of the Missionary Boarding School has been started. These have attracted students for training in skilled jobs, and have prepared many teachers for schools.[1] In Provinces such as Madras, as noted above, most of the schools, which had been situated in the temples, where the entry of Untouchables was forbidden, were shifted to rented buildings.

1. Refer Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912. p. 262.

Some Provincial Governments, such as the Central Provinces, refused to open special schools for them, but made all possible efforts to see that they were allowed to attend ordinary schools. This policy sought to popularise education among the Shudras whilst attacking the prejudice of the caste system.

In addition to these direct measures by the British Government, there have been indirect forces, which struck at the root of Hinduism by lessening the severity of the caste system and Untouchability, and by affording the Shudrasgreater chances of access to educational institutions. These are:-

Firstly, equality before the law. The British Government recognised equality of all before the law. Its application to our problem is that, though the school by the Hindu law and the caste system was closed to the Untouchable, such forces became null before the British principle of equity and justice. The Hindu had to understand the State school as a property of the Untouchable, too. If he used physical violence, the penalty of the law was available to refrain him from his intention.

Secondly, the introduction of modern scientific means of transportation and communication in the country had a liberalising effect. These were the equal privileges of all and hence the prejudice of caste and untouchability were weakened when the Shudra and the Brahman had to use such facilities in common. It has been rightly said that "the most powerful teacher was the

railway which ... tended to break down the barriers of the ages, and to stimulate an exchange of thought. In railway carriages Brahmans and Shudras, Muslims and Sikhs ... sat side by side."[1]

Thirdly, the effect of the granting of communal representation has also been great. It gave the Muslims and the Christians hold on posts of responsibility in the Education Departments. They were quite liberal in their treatment of the Untouchables. They were not prejudiced at all. They encouraged teachers to work wholeheartedly amongst these classes. They took particular care to check regularly the progress of these classes. Lastly, the rapid constitutional trend of India towards self-government played an important part in speeding up the educational effort for these communities. Constitutional Reforms of 1909, 1919 and 1935, were recent speedy steps during which period the Untouchables have educationally greatly advanced.

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1. Cambridge History of India - Vol. VI, p. 344.

CHAPTER II

COMMENTS ON THE STATE'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The Government open to criticism for the slow progress achieved - Two grievances put forward by the Depressed Classes - (a) British rule established with the help of the Untouchables - Their later brilliant record of loyalty - Hence better expectations - (b) British justice and equity known all over the world - These principles not applied in India with regard to the Untouchables - Points on the debit side - (i) Hindrance in the work of the missionaries - (ii) Succumbing to Hindu pressure in spending of money on the opening of their Colleges and on the revival of their literature and classical language - A few quotations revealing poor educational progress of Untouchables - (iii) Inadequate financial aid for schools for the education of the Depressed Classes' children - (iv) Lack of representation of the Depressed Classes' teachers - Lack of additional pay for Hindu teachers for work among the Depressed Classes - (v) Acceptance of caste system - (vi) Protection of Hindu temples and encouragement of idol worship - (vii) Enforcing of Hindu Law on the Depressed Classes - (viii) Economic improvement prevented by failure to remove ban on purchase of land - (ix) Delay in recognition of their political rights - (x) Failure to raise moral and cultural standard of Hindu India.

Having surveyed the efforts of the Christian Government for the promotion of education among the Depressed Classes, we might think that the Government has everything on the credit side, and that the debit side is completely blank. Of course, the credit side has been heavily weighted by the unprecedented work described previously, yet, whilst admitting this, we cannot omit our analysis of the other side. We are obliged to do this mainly because of the poor results achieved during a period

of roughly fifty years after 1882. From the facts recorded we have to admit again that the guerilla warfare of the Hindus with the Government, and open war with the Untouchables, was the root cause; yet the Government could have played a better part if it had acted more courageously, as it had, in fact, acted in the case of removing most of the heinous religious practices of the Hindus, such as infanticide and Sattee. This point we shall discuss below. I am one of those optimistic thinkers who, from the study of history, can proclaim that Britain can do things when she chooses to. Our criticism may not be in the shape of an accusation, in fact it certainly is not, but it is a criticism that must be expressed, even if only in the form of a suggestion. We must consider what were the possible mistakes or weaknesses of the Government as a Sovereign body towards every individual living under its protection, no matter to what caste or creed he belonged, in the absence of which the work which it began for the low castes could have given happier results.

The Depressed Classes put forward a genuine grievance against the British Government for succumbing to Hindu opposition, in fear of religious interference (because Untouchable education is contrary to the interests of the Hindus) and for acting meekly on an issue of so vital an importance. The Untouchables do not believe that schools were opened only for the use of the Hindus. Nor do they believe that, if the

Government bent before the campaign of the Hindus, who blockaded State Educational Institutions because the Hindu religion was affected, the Government was right in so doing. It was the primary duty of the Government to take up proper legislation to stop such aggression, without any regard to Hindu prejudices in relation to Untouchable education.

There are two main causes of grievance expressed by the Depressed Classes. Firstly, that the British Government built up its Empire in India with the help of the Untouchables. In those days the Hindus regarded it irreligious to work under and for the British race, whom they regarded as impure on account of their making use of things prohibited by Hindu religion. This part of our argument is supported by the history of the Mutiny of 1857. Secondly, the Hindus were not a race of hardy people. Even when they united for action, as we have said elsewhere, they never shed blood in the field. On the other hand, the Untouchables are decidedly hard and courageous. Talking of the early history of the East India Company, somewhere about 1750, Griffiths says "It is important to remember that the number of European soldiers involved in these struggles was almost negligible."[1] These non-European soldiers were chiefly composed of Untouchables. Evelyn Wrench supports the same view, saying that army recruitment in those days was mostly from

1. Griffith, P.J. - The British in India - p.85.

the Depressed Classes. There is a cogent proof of this. In the town of Koregaon, 80 miles from Poona, there is a column "In memory of those who lost their lives in that Campaign.*" Apart from the names of one or two British officers, all those who died, it is recorded, are Untouchables. Wrench further quotes the words of Dr. Ambedkar that "India was finally conquered by us."[1] (i.e. the Untouchables). "The recruitment of the Untouchables continued until 1892, when it was stopped because of agitation on the part of other sections of the community, and a promising avenue hitherto open was closed ..."[2]

The record of the Untouchables, as regards their services and loyalty to the British throughout the British period, is quite brilliant. They have never taken any part in anti-British activities throughout the period. They have held the British as a race in esteem, honoured its religion and helped the British Administration through good times and bad. On the other hand, the Hindus are hostile to the British as a race, disrespect Christianity, oppose its churches, and have never shown any regard for the advantages of scientific inventions, or gratitude for reforms. In the end they have been most violent against the British administration. And yet they had the lion's share in State educational expenditure. The members of the Shudra communities have constantly stood on the side of

1. Evelyn Wrench - Immortal Years - p.129.
2. Ibid.

* Battle against Marahatta in the war of 1818.

the Government[1] when it was in conflict with anti-British movements such as Congress, and other organisations which sought to undermine the Government. Their service has been courageous and faithful in the 1914 and 1939 wars. On the other hand, the Hindus who have everything to their best and the Government has also been stooping before them, have given no credit to the British people and British Government, but criticism and abuse. "Today, as for many years past, whatever the Government has done, whatever the individual official has done, it has been abused."[2] They have said that politically the British 'stole India'[3] in the beginning, have divided it in a thousand and one fragments, produced communal hatred among the different communities, and lastly they are 'enemies.'[4] Economically, they have looted, exploited and spoiled its civilisation and degraded it morally.

Secondly, the Untouchables are tax-payers, like other sections of the community. This means that money spent in organising Public Schools, and on their maintenance, contains a share of the revenue contributions of the Untouchables. Indeed, even the Grants-in-aid paid to private schools are partly made up of money which comes from the pockets of these communities. The Education Commission of 1883 clearly said that the Depressed

1. Mayo, K. - Mother India - An account of their loyalty and help on the visit of Prince of Wales in 1921. XII
   Mayo, K. - Slaves of the Gods - Ch. iv.
2. Thomson, Edward - The Reconstruction of India - p. 275.
3. Ibid
4. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problems - p. 322.
   Lajpat Rai - The Political Future of India - p. 199.

Classes "pay local Cess out of which the school funds are formed."[1] Taking all these facts into consideration, the Untouchables have a right to enjoy all the facilities provided by the Public Body for its citizens.

But rising above all this is the fact that the British are members of a family of nations who have made the largest contribution to world civilisation. They are a great democratic nation, based on the ideals of equity and justice. They are, in addition, a brave nation. They have affected the world directly or indirectly, with two weapons, the pen and the sword. Wherever justice has been threatened, the sword has not failed to protect it. It has never been known to stoop to threats to prevent the performance of a humanitarian act. But in regard to Untouchable India, this trait of British chivalry seems to have descended to a low ebb. Thus, whilst Britain did splendid service to the Hindus in many ways, without fearing the pressure of public opinion, in the case of the Untouchables they have been meek and weak. The Untouchables think that the ban on entrance to public places forced on them by the Hindus was a clear injustice, and a flagrant encroachment of the rights of the citizen. Similarly, the persecution of Untouchable parents and children in schools was also an unjustifiable act, which under most circumstances would invite

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1. Report of Education Commission 1883 - p. 516.
   Also Mason Alcott - Village Schools in India - p. 60.

punishment; but such consequences were never suffered by the Hindus. How is it that Britain, with her intelligence and force, could tolerate a system which raised one subject to the top and left the other at the bottom? How is it that one section was allowed to enjoy all the advantages at the cost of another? And how could it be satisfied with the growth of one section whilst witnessing a paralisation of the other?

The expectations from such a nation on tradition were great. If they had raised the Hindus by reviving their history and literature, and by civilising them by removing inhuman practices, what have they done for the Untouchables on the same standards? These communities also needed a revival of their history and literature, though luckily, they were free from practices such as Satee. At least, their right to public schools could be given to them by force of law.

Now what are the points which can be included on the debit side? The first is the weakness of the Government shown to the missionaries in discouraging them in their social and educational work. The missionaries had busied themselves in the work of education for all sections of the Indian population during the period preceding 1813, when the Government itself, was out of the field. Though, from a political point of view, the State must take care of the public, the "care" of the Government of India was too much.[1] Moreover, in spite of the

1. Hough, J. - Christianity in India - Vol. III, pp. 628-630.
Mayhew - Christianity and the Government of India - pp. 86-87.

fact that the Government neglected the welfare of the Shudra Untouchables due to fear of Hindu criticism, the Hindu criticism has always been there. Furthermore, the Hindus were not the whole of the public. Secondly, the work of the missionaries was purely social and educational. The Christians are "non-communal." Their educational institutions have been non-communal. Such institutions have served rather as places of co-operative service, thus tending to break down barriers between communities.[1] There could have been no harm in liberally subsidising at least the educational managing bodies of the Missions. Still more, if the Government had remained neutral its attitude would have seemed reasonable, but it took steps to check the activities of the Missions. In the early days, when Wilberforce was fighting their cause (1793) the entry of Christian workers and teachers was actually illegal.[2] Even when they were allowed to work, they received repeated and quite unnecessary warning to limit their activities to the religious field. In addition, 'attempts were made to stop all open support of Missions by officials' though such support was only their personal affair. These circumstances[3] checked the progress of Mission work because it kept the Missions constantly in a state of nervous expectation. Mr. R. Scott Latourette

1. Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India - pp. 57, 136.
2. Mayhew - Christianity and the Government of India - p. 126. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI.
3. Mayhew - Christianity and the Government of India - p. 126.

remarks that "in some respects British rule was a handicap to the spread of Christianity in India."[1] It impaired the work of the Missions by giving preference in the public service to Hindus. It did things which Christians have always fought against. If the Missions sought to spread Christianity, the Government opposed them. If the Missions fought the caste system, the Government tolerated that system. If the Christians stood against idol worship the Government patronized it.[2]

William Carey of the Baptist Mission had been compelled to stay out of Calcutta due to the hostile attitude of the British officials.[3] The Government of Bengal did not allow American missionaries to stay in the Province.[4] It goes to the credit of the missionaries that they never attempted conversion by force or coercion. They stood as symbols of true Christianity before the people, and those who were impressed by their example embraced the faith. What harm did they do to the Government? How could the Government check those individuals who wanted the benefit to be derived from the message of the Gospel? Had the missionaries adopted a policy of forcible conversion, the Government would not have tolerated them for a moment in the country. Thoughtful statesmen such as Lord Willesley had discovered that the missionaries were harmless to the Government.

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1. K. Scott Latourette - A History of the Expansion of Christianity - Vol. VI, p. 69.
2. Hough, J. - Christianity in India - Vol. III, pp. 628-630.
3. The Call from India - Church Assembly Report - p. 20.
4. Section III - cl I P. 488.

He said that "While I was in India I never knew of any danger arising from the missionaries' proceedings. They are a quiet ordered, discreet and learned body."[1] Further, it is all the more creditable that in spite of the indifference of the Government the missionaries achieved such marvellous results, results which were attained without the aid of the Government. Toleration of missionary work would have constituted a favourable act of the Government towards the Untouchables, even if it itself could not help; but even this toleration was denied.

When the stage of State responsibility began, its attitude towards the Untouchables was mute and passive, and promising to the Hindus. The first indication of this nature was that though in spirit it may not have been the intention of the Government, the Educational Grant of 1813, was to be spent on the learned classes of India, and for the promotion of their literature and culture. The learned natives were the Hindus who had already achieved a reasonable standard of literacy.[2] The Government is said to have been ignorant of the position of Indian society and of the position of the Untouchables in it, but ignorance is no excuse. The wording of the Act was misleading. We have seen in our previous chapter that Governor Generals like Lord Minto were greatly concerned with the orthodox seats of learning like Benares, Nadia and Thatwa without

1./ Mayhew - Christianity and the Government of India - p. 101.
2. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 229.

making any enquiry as to the section of the population mostly benefited by them. Certainly, the Depressed Classes were not admitted to such Institutions. Nor was the literature prepared here and transmitted to the general population of any value to them from the moral and cultural point of view.[1] This policy was not rectified even in 1833, whilst during the intervening period the whole of the allotted grant was spent for opening Hindu colleges and the revival of their literature. Up to 1929, Hindi, the language of the Hindus was used as medium of instruction for the teaching of Western sciences and literature.[2] The same ignorance was shown in the terms of the Minute of Macaulay, when the Filtration Theory came into being. This Theory was wrong in principle. 'This was to ignore the vast obstacles to such 'filtration' from Indian caste and class distinction.'[3] It was a very wrong supposition that the Hindu young man who is the slave of public opinion in his college, caste, family, could ever think of helping the old ideas of prejudice against the Shudra education to vanish when he had reaped the fruit of higher education. He is mentally and physically unfit to be rational and go beyond the narrow horizon in which he is brought up. Another defect was that 'the only languages seriously considered were English and the classical

1. O'Malley - History of Bengal - Bihar & Orisa - p. 743.
2. Qtd. in C. H. Phillips - The East India Company - p. 246.
3. J. Cumming - Modern India - p. 124.

languages of India,' languages of which the low classes had no knowledge. Leaving aside English, the classical languages were useless to the Untouchables. 'The spoken languages of the people were not regarded as possible alternatives,' although the adoption of such languages would have helped the poor sections by giving them easy access to literacy. 'They were summarily dismissed by Macaulay because both parties through the controversy ruled them out of court.'[1] These efforts were to bring a type of education from which only the high castes were to derive benefit. The Education Act of 1854, set up a plan for Universal Primary education but it did not take direct cognisance of the Depressed Classes. The mistake of the 1835 Act was repeated; it was assumed that the principle of mass movement would bring benefit to the Depressed Classes. When the Government started its schools and promised grants to Hindu denominational institutions, it could set apart some amount for the Untouchable communities to start their own schools The Education Act of 1883, though a landmark in the history of the education of the Depressed Classes, missed two important points. Firstly, it allowed the alternative of opening separate schools for these communities. This was calculated to keep the Untouchables socially where they already were and to encourage the Hindus to carry on their opposition to the admission of the Shudras to their own schools. Such a policy

1. O'Malley - History of Bengal, Bihar & Orisa - p.752.

was not justified. The State ought to have adopted legal safeguards in admitting Untouchable children to State schools. Of course, if separate schools were aimed at, the money ought to have been given to the Depressed Classes to open their own schools if they desired. Secondly, it did not start vocational schools, the most urgent need of the children of the Depressed Classes. The people of these communities are mostly occupied in different trades and professions. It would have been very useful to make such a provision. The Hindus would not have opposed them, because they disliked the professions followed by Depressed Classes. We have seen that the missionaries provided such facilities in independent missionary institutions and Boarding Schools, and the experiment was very successful. They increased literacy and their pupils learnt skilled trades.

The rate of expenditure by the Government after the mass movement formula had been announced in 1882, was high. But such expenditure appears to have been overwhelmingly monopolised by the Hindu section at the expense of the Depressed Classes. The expenditure 'was the result of opening or providing more regular and better instruction for those who wanted education ..'[1] The category of the classes 'who wanted education' seems to have connoted the Hindus, because, though expenditure during 1885-1907 increased by seventy per cent. over the preceding period

1. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 229.

before 1885, "the movement indicated no extension of education to Depressed Classes hitherto untouched and no growth of a demand for education among such classes."[1] It was the primary duty of the Government to scrutinise its expenditure and see that an equal proportion of money was spent upon the education of all sections of the population. This disproportionate distribution can clearly be illustrated from the Governments' own Report 1921-22. It says that on an enquiry "The replies received disclose that children of Panchamas are admitted only into 609 schools out of 8,157 under public management in the Presidency*;" yet the regulations of the State are that "no boy is to be refused admission merely on the ground of caste."[2] On analysing the financial aid received from the Central Government, we find that the Education Report of the Government of India, 1922-1923, shows that thirty-one Local Bodies chose certain backward areas for the introduction of compulsory education. But unless and until the Government gave a 100 per cent. grant, and supervised the expenditure of its grant to the Local Bodies, they could not be sure that the grant would be properly used. The Government were satisfied that their general scheme of compulsion in backward areas would benefit the Depressed Classes also. The Government mostly depended upon the iniative of the Local Bodies. It

1. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 230.
2. Education in India 1921-22. p. 218.

* Madras.

gave a partial grant and left the rest to be raised from local rates. But it was wrong to suppose that the Local Bodies would raise money for the education of these communities. The Local Bodies are unwilling to raise revenue for education, much less specially for the Depressed Classes.[1] There is a well-founded reason behind this. Most of the members of Local Bodies are illiterate, and have little sense of the importance and the value of education, which might, in any case, indirectly help the Depressed Classes in their general scheme. The majority of the members are Hindus; the representation of the Depressed Classes in Local Bodies is very meagre. Such bodies are therefore against the education of the Shudras, and therefore no grant is voted for any scheme useful to the backward communities. The only possibility of exercising compulsion over the local bodies was to allow a cent per cent grant on the education of these communities, or, if the Central Government were not in a position to give a cent per cent grant, it ought to have made it obligatory for the Provincial Governments to do so. Such a scheme was never brought into force.

An eminent ex-Director of Education in one of the Provinces in India, combining the issues of female education and the education of the agricultural classes with the Depressed Classes was right in saying that "No substantial progress will be made until funds on a very large scale have definitely been secured

1. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1924-25, Lahore, 1926.

and earmarked for the purpose ... and until the responsibility for raising these funds has finally been attached either to the Provincial Government or the local bodies or in a fixed proportion to each of these two classes of authority."[1]

The Provincial Governments had assumed legislative powers by 1919 to compel local bodies to introduce compulsory education for all. But the work has not begun in earnest. Yet it could be done if there was sufficient pressure from the central authority.

The problem of the education of the Depressed Classes did not only demand a cent per cent grant, but it should also have been made compulsory for local bodies to make arrangements for free books and stationery, mid-day meals, medical inspection and even assistance in urgent cases in respect of clothing for all. The children of these communities are very poor. In many cases they cannot afford the bare necessities of life. Hence they needed full monetary help from the Education Authorities.

Moreover, the Central Government never made a general rule to exempt all students of these classes from fees in colleges. There was no universal scheme of scholarships for all the students going up for college education. Had it been so, larger numbers of students from these communities would have entered the Universities.

Then the teacher, who is the pivot of the whole educational

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1. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 234.

scheme in any country, was not properly handled. While discussing the part of the teacher in relation to the education of the Depressed Classes' children, we found how he transgressed his public duties. It is the teacher who has thrown dust into the eyes of the Government officials, both administrative and educational, by pretending that everything is being done for the education of the backward communities. Sometimes they have succeeded in satisfying the educational officials by producing fictitious figures. Such actions spring from an habitual trait inherent in the community tradition. From this point of view, three methods which the Government missed could have been used for effective results. Firstly, while making selections for training schools, students ought to have been selected who were less contaminated with the stigma of caste, and the student should have entered into an agreement to the effect that he would not bring his religion into public duties. It may be argued that this is understood, or that the teacher, when he goes back to the village, falls victim of the Hindu environmental conditions, and therefore any bond of surety would go to the winds. This is more or less true, but if the scheme had been tried it would have given better results. It would have been still better if teachers from communities of some lower Hindu classes could have been selected, or the best course of all would have been to select many young men from the Shudra Untouchables section itself. Mayhew makes the same suggestion -

that the village teacher should be "selected by the community he is to serve."[1] At least it could be tried in separate schools wherever these were started by the Government.

This could be supplemented by another device. The initial qualifications of a Primary teacher have been mostly a vernacular middle or equivalent certificate. These candidates remained very limited in their outlook and knowledge, with only the vernacular education, and easily gave way to Hindu orthodoxy. Therefore, the qualifications could have been raised to matriculation standard, where such considerations no longer applied. A matriculate student who has some knowledge of English is more liberal than one with a mere pass in the vernacular medium of instruction. English language has an efficacious effect in liberalising the individual. Of still greater importance were perhaps the courses of study for these pupil teachers in normal schools. If the students could be given a comparative view of the fundamental principles of religions like Christianity or Islam, the teachers would have discovered the narrowness of their religion. This should not be done as part of their teaching of religion, but made a part of the teaching of civics. Further, not only the selection of teachers needed the attention of the Government, but the selection of inspecting officers was of even greater importance. Such members ought to have been selected who held very liberal

1. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 249.

views. The Government has been very neglectful in not bringing a sufficient number to the inspection side. Here a general objection is raised that suitable educated recruits for the teaching and inspection professions are not available. This is false propaganda put forth by the Hindu officials. There have been a sufficient number of qualified people, but ample opportunities of encouragement have not been given.

The next measure under the same point of discussion is that the teacher could be made to forego the Dharmic* obedience by a higher offer of money. The Hindu appears to be greedy by nature; he can be made to perform a job, however much against his religious principles, where money is the temptation. Common examples are the embracing of Islam or Christianity, or the uniting for political and monetary gain by them. If he was given a high scale of pay, or if his pay could be supplemented by extra allowance for special work among the Depressed Classes' communities, he would have co-operated. Mayhew, on the basis of his experience of education in India, knew the general weakness of the teachers, and therefore had suggested more money for them in order to improve village education. He said, "Above all, the Government must show that it means business and a strong bid must be made through the pocket and by wise selection of teacher and courses for the support of the village community."[1] The village community includes the

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1. Mayhew - Education of India - p. 244.

* obedience to religion and its literature.

Depressed Classes. And his suggested principle has a special bearing on the teacher, relating to the education of the backward classes' children. The teacher might be awarded prizes or medals for work among the Untouchables. This method would have worked very well.

The last weapon was some kind of punishment, which sometimes works best of all. The suggestion might look very crude to the European reader, but the village Hindu teacher has very little sense of duty without fear of punishment. It is psychologically the weakness arising from prejudices, and the primitive effects of religious narrowness.

Another weakness, perhaps the greatest the British Government has shown, is timidity before the Hindu caste system, as a consequence of which the educational progress of the Depressed Classes has suffered. "The British in India" as a writer says, "have been inclined to over-estimate Hindu susceptibility in the matter of caste."[1] The Untouchable children are not allowed entry to schools because they are outcaste from the general social order of the Hindu caste system. Even if they may be regarded as a part of Hindu society, they have no social and educational rights. It is because of their respect for this susceptibility that the Government could never refrain the Hindus from excluding the Untouchable children from the schools. It is this over-sensitiveness that checked the Government from

1. Mayhew - Christianity and the Government of India - pp. 86-87, 153.

passing any legislative measures to punish the offenders. In fact the conception of this susceptibility was an exaggeration. The attack on the caste system was never as serious as that on the customs of infanticide and sattee. The British Government launched an attack to stop the customs of killing young girls, burning widows alive and strangling travellers, all customs directly connected with religion; but it could not touch the caste system. It could not proclaim as illegal, and hence punishable by law, refusal of entrance to a school of an Untouchable child.

It has been argued sometimes that the customs of infanticide and sattee and Thuggee were brought into the criminal code because they were matters of criminal justice. May be because they entailed loss of life. But it may be remembered that, by the curse of Untouchability, nobody knows how many lives have been lost year after year due to an all-round blockade of the Untouchables from the simple everyday necessities of life. Who knows how many lives have been lost by drinking contaminated water because wells or other reservoirs of pure water are not open to them? Who have tried to discover how many lives have gone due to the economic blockade, as a result of which poverty consumes life? By the economic blockade is meant that they are not allowed to take up any profitable profession which the high caste Hindus monopolise, such as the opening of cafes, restaurants and so-on. Such bans

have thrown the Shudras into abject poverty. The denial of education has debarred them from improving their social, cultural and economic position. In short, death is not only dealt by shooting, or by other physical means, it can be brought about by many indirect devices and the Untouchables have been subject to those devices. It was the duty of the British to include in its moral obligations the defence of the interests of the Depressed Classes, just as it was its moral duty to help the Hindus by suppressing their inhuman customs as criminal. The Government, in fact, has assumed an ostrich-like attitude recognising as inhuman the injustice shown to one community, and attaching more importance to the other community in eradicating its evils.

On the basis of the theory of caste, the Government has perhaps accepted the hackneyed assumptions of the Hindus about the Depressed Classes - that they have mental and physical capacities inferior to the Hindus; that the Depressed Classes lack the intelligence essential for the acquisition of knowledge; and perhaps that they are temperamentally unfit to take up literary work. If such assumptions are not accepted there should be no reason why the Government handled the problem of these sections of the population so half-heartedly. The Hindus may have propounded these theories on ignorance and superstition but the Government was enlightened . Frazer, finding the weakness of Britain in the bulwark of caste, expresses himself

in the following words, with which I am in full accord. He said, "If England has not succeeded ... in spreading new hope amid the cultured classes of India, that they may come out from their caste restrictions to aid her without fear of defeat in the crusade, without superstition and ignorance, her mission is a failure, and her past in the East must inevitably be entombed ..."[1]

Another unfavourable step of the Christian Government which was detrimental to the social and educational cause of the Depressed Classes was the protection of the Hindu temples[2] and idol worship.[3] The Hindu temples were not the common places of worship of the Hindus and the Untouchables. Expenditure for the maintenance of such places from public funds was a clear violation of the rights of one community in deference to the other. While the Depressed Classes had no houses in which to live, no money to build places of worship, and no money with which to raise their own schools, large amounts of money were spent on mere repair of the temples. There could be no objection if the money of the Company was spent under the scheme of the Department for the Protection of Old Buildings and Ancient Monuments, but the pity is that these temples did not come in that category. On the other hand, they mostly included schools into which the Untouchable was not allowed to enter, nor even to suggest the possibility of his admission. These

1. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 168.
2. Ch. V. P. 214.
3. IBID.

temple schools continued for a long time as centres of instruction until the work of all Primary Education was directly taken up by the State in 1854. Even after this date, these temple schools received annual State grants.

Still another vital mistake was committed by the British Government, and this fettered the Government even when it was keen to take up the work of the education of the Depressed Communities in earnest. This was the application of the Brahmanic Code to the Depressed Classes. It was Warren Hastings who had summoned eleven Brahmans to compile the Code of the Hindu religion. The whole of the population seems to have been accepted as Hindu, and therefore no representation was given to any member of other sections of the population on this religious body. From this time the Brahmanic Law books have been the guiding books for the laws and customs of the people of India. The Depressed Classes were never the adherents of Brahmanic Law, nor had they known its contents. According to Frazer, "As a matter of fact the great mass of the population has never heard of the Sacred Law Books of the Aryans."[1] This mass of population is mostly the Untouchable section of the population. Brahmanic laws and tenets have been thrust upon sections of the population which have no concern with it and this has been done merely on the acceptance of Brahman guardianship. It is not justifiable for any

1. Frazer - A Literary History of India - p. 23.

Government to be ignorant of the real position of the subject population. It is in deferring to this Code that the British law has failed in its principles in an issue of dispute between the Hindus and the Untouchables. For example, let us assume that an Untouchable parent has persisted in drawing water from a well, in entering a Post Office, or in sending his son to the school. Hindu rivalry is roused, and the Untouchable is physically assaulted. Now when the case is filed in the Court, experience has shown that this Brahmanic Law defeats him. The verdict has gone against the complainant for two reasons. Firstly, because the Hindu law does not grant to the Untouchable the privilege of drawing water from a well used by the Hindus, or of sending children to the school used by the Hindu children, nor does it grant him any other civic rights. Secondly, the prejudice of the Executive and Judicial bench must also be taken into account. The action of the Depressed Classes in demanding their civic rights, which aggravates the Hindus to aggressive action, is a danger to peace. Edward Thompson quotes that "whenever a member of the Depressed Classes attempts to enforce his civic rights, the law steps in under the guise of preserving the peace, which, it fears would otherwise be broken. In practice it amounts to legal protection of the superstition and denial of an elementary right to a member of the community."[1] The proper course and most justifiable

1. Edward Thompson - The Reconstruction of India - p. 264.

procedure for the Government to adopt was to prepare a Code for the Untouchables with the consultation of their representatives.

There is one more circumstance which is general and which is a cause of the social and educational blockade of the Depressed Classes. It is that they are landless, or almost landless, agricultural labourers.[1] They have to depend on agricultural work in most parts of the country. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, in certain provinces they have no right to purchase lands;[2] and secondly, they are too poor to buy lands. When they are in the grip of the landlords, every obstacle is put in the way of the Depressed Classes sending their children to school, because they are always wanted on the land. The landlords have thought that if these children were to receive education they would be fit for better work and would therefore refuse to work on cheap terms. Sometimes, the Shudra have been compelled to work without wages (which may be called forced labour) because they have no lands of their own to live upon. The landlords have succeeded in such injustices towards them, taking undue advantage of their helplessness. The Government could help them in two ways; firstly, by recognising them as statutory agriculturists, where it was clear that they depended mainly on agriculture. Secondly, the Government could make any act of aggression on the part of the

1. Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India - p. 38.
2. Nair Report, Note on the Depressed Classes by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M. L. A. 365.
+ Land Alienation Act. Punjab 1900.

local landlord highly punishable by law. We do not find such legal protection for the Untouchables. The Government depended on the sense of morality and justice of the landlord, but from a Hindu landlord whose head is filled with the dogmas of the Code of Manu, this is too much to expect. Moreover, he is more used to force than to any appeal to his civic sense.

Another measure which could have brought speedier results in educational advance was the earlier recognition of the political rights of the Depressed Classes, such as was granted to the Mohammedans and the Sikhs. If their political separation could have been brought about earlier, they would have risen quickly. We know the case of the Mohammedans and the Sikhs. With their political separation, they were able to have due representation in legislatures, and hence to improve the educational, economic and social status of their respective communities. The Depressed Classes were delayed in the race, and their political separation came only in 1935. Allied to this was the absence of communal representation in the educational services. Educated members of these communities have not been given a due share of key posts. This discouraged the Depressed Classes young men from going in for higher education. The younger generation knew that their predecessors had obtained no reward for their educational advance. It may be noted that in India the reward of education is mostly an entry to the public service. This is because of the drawback of the

industrial backwardness of the country. On the other hand, the Depressed Classes could not enter commerce because they had no capital, nor had they the capacity to withstand Hindu rivalry.

Lastly, is the failure of the Government to raising the cultural and moral standard of Hindu India. While paying a tribute to the British in India, we said that India made much political, material, cultural and moral progress under them. This remark was, however, made with reservations. The progress is confined to Hindu India. The Hindus had remained slaves of different powers for centuries before the British rule in India. Under the British they achieved political unity which was the exclusive gift of the British, having previously been unknown in Indian history. With the contact of the West and the study of Western democratic institutions they have practically won independence. Materially, their contact with the West and their study of foreign exchanges and markets has enabled them to become a community of capitalists. They have attained some degree of culture, leaving aside certain obnoxious customs, and have attained a little sense of morality. So far as the Untouchables are concerned, the British have given them political and material advantage, but they have failed to raise them morally and culturally to the standard of other nations. One cannot say that a community has achieved morality and culture when it adheres to a religious past which does not

promise any real moral growth.[1] The most patriotic individuals who seem to be very honest, stick to principles and adopt methods far from moral standard. "The most eloquent at the social conferences have allowed their infant daughters to be married, refused marriage to child widows and voted against proposals for raising the age of consent. Those who have thundered against class and race distinction have supported locally the exclusion of outcastes from village school and well."[2] Is this moral sense? "Moral progress" in fact "depends ultimately on the individual attitude of individual and community." The attitude of the Hindu towards the Untouchable individual and community presents a disreputable picture. Moreover, they still feel the existence of Untouchability to be a matter of religious and national pride. The entry of Untouchable children to the schools is against their religion. This is where the Hindus culturally and morally stand. The severity with which they treat the Untouchables, and the pride they take in such treatment, is not a sign of moral and cultural progress. I cannot wholly accuse the British education with having failed, or claim that the Hindus themselves have made the British influence less effective, but the uncultured and immoral trend still prevails. The question is what could be done in producing a wholesome effect. It might seem a startling suggestion to say that the desired standard of moral

Thought from

1. Mayhew, A. - Education of India - p. 215.
2. Ibid p. 213.

and cultural progress could be achieved by the teaching of Christian religion in the schools. This raises another objection - that no Hindu or even Muslim would approve the teaching of the Gospel in Government schools. That is so, but it would be possible if equal opportunities for the teaching of Hindu and Muslim religions were also given, and if the teaching was made optional. The Christian religion has a great appeal. The Hindus are against it because they have no knowledge of it. But once they were given the opportunity of comparative study the Christian spirit would have attracted the orthodox, ignorant and superstitious Hindu towards it. Have we not found many Hindus joining Christianity when they learnt the spirit of Christianity? The aim of political gain, pointed out elsewhere, was one reason for following the Christian religion, but not the whole. And we know what standard of moral and cultural sense they achieved. They got an equal sense of brotherhood, and left all uncultured modes of behaviour. A writer has correctly said that "moral progress in India depends on the gradual transmission of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ." "Christianity is a very vital force in India today. The more it spreads the more it will differ in everything except essentials from the Christianity of the West. Then the more such differences convince the higher castes and classes of the possibility of an Indian evolution of the spirit of Christ, the more willing they

will become to convert their present sentimental attachment to His personality into practical co-operation."[1] There was no political danger in such tendencies, for we have found that the Hindus who understood Christ felt the inferiority of their religion and became Christians, have been the most faithful supporters of the Government. In short, the Untouchables feel that such an experiment would have been extremely useful to the Government in relation to Hindus and Untouchables alike. It would have brought real moral and cultural progress to the Hindu, and thus the Untouchable would have been favourably effected by decreased Hindu opposition.

1. Mayhew - ~~Christianity~~ *Education of India.* p. 210.

SECTION V

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNTOUCHABLES WITH REGARD TO THEIR GENERAL AND EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE.

CHAPTER I

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNTOUCHABLES WITH REGARD TO THEIR GENERAL AND EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE

Difficulty in forecasting educational developments due to political change - Danger of prevelance of Hindu orthodoxy in India - Some suggestions as a result of which educational advance of the Untouchables could be ensured - (a) Suggestion to the Depressed Classes themselves (i) To stay out of Hinduism as a separate religious community, by the revival of their own religion and culture; or by embracing Christianity (ii) To maintain political separation (iii) To give their support to a section favouring India's membership of Commonwealth of Nations - (b) Suggestion to the Government in power (i) To allow the Christian Missions to work in India (ii) To ignore publicity of Hindu religion (iii) To remove caste system - (iv) To introduce Free Compulsory Education (v) To strive towards universal adult literacy (vi) To introduce cent per cent grants to Local Bodies for educational work for the Untouchables (vii) To prepare histories of the greatness of both races (viii) To produce a common ethical code based on the good points from the religious past of both races (ix) To ensure sufficient representation of Shudra Untouchable teachers in the Education Department (x) To retain the services of European educationists in India, and to encourage their recruitment in the future.

Now that we have traced the history of the education of the Shudra Untouchables through the different periods of Indian history, it remains for us to forecast the future of these communities and their position with respect to education. At the time I am writing this last chapter, India has achieved Lord Macaulay's pious wish of becoming a self-governing country, and with this the wish of His Majesty's Government has also been fulfilled. It has done its duty though it may be gain to

one or loss to another. After all, the much despised Western learning and English language bore its fruit for the Hindus.

As the country has just entered a new era it is difficult to say a great deal at this time. It would have been difficult if it had been a mere change from a governed to a sovereign body, and the future position and the future plan could easily have been foreseen by any educationist. But the position has turned out to be difficult from the Untouchable point of view, and the future cannot be seen vividly through the misty political tangle of India. India is independent, but it is Hindu India after British rule. It is a revival like the Rama Rajya after the revolts of Kshatriyas Kings such as Janaka against Brahmanic supremacy, or the Hindu golden age of Guptas after the Budhist revolt against Brahmanic Hinduism, or the Rajput age after the disorders that followed Harsha's death. The Hindus have become masters of India, and the Untouchables have been left to live with them. Who has broken the pledge by leaving them as such is a political discussion beyond the scope of our subject, but the position is that they are obliged to live with the Hindus. From our research it has been revealed that the relations of the Hindu and the Untouchables have been most unhealthy. They began as political rivals but later on the Hindus won and assumed the position of masters. With the hold of this power, they became aggressive to the

Shudra sections. They made laws to ban education of the Shudras which were intended never to be removed. The laws were not a mere secular code against them, but it became their religious Dharma to keep the Shudras off the educational stage. We found that the Hindu followed the religious code against any social and educational advance of the Shudras with all the force at his command. They imposed these rules with great severity during their period of domination. They succeeded during the period of Mohammedan rule in keeping them under the same disabilities by encircling them in their social order, and they had similar success during the British rule also. During their own period they used to cut off the tongue of the Shudra and fill his ears with lac, and during the British era they succeeded in paralysing him through their various devices. It was they who in the presence of the British law, tied Untouchables to trees to burn them alive in 1946. It was they who set Budhism, Bhakhtism, Christianity, and other movements for the equality of Shudra Untouchables, at nought. India has again become their prey. The problem of the Untouchables is not purely educational, but is intertwined with the political future of India. Their educational problem is a religious problem also. From a political point of view, would it be wise for the Hindu India to recognise full political rights of the Untouchables or not? This has yet to be decided by the Hindus. Upon

this settlement will depend their educational future. Then how are the Hindus to solve their religious muddle? The Untouchables are not Hindus and therefore the Hindus have no sympathy or favour to show to them. Moreover, the Code of Manu is there. Other religious literature, which abounds in penalties for the education of the Untouchables, is still there. What do the Hindus want to do? Should they burn, alter or ignore such writings? If they burn them, how can the Government in power stand the wrath of the Hindu proletariate? If they alter it, what will the Brahmans do? If they ignore it, where will Hinduism end? These are the problems which are as puzzling to the Hindus as they are to the Untouchables. The educational advance of the Untouchables depends upon the solution of these issues. Apparently everything depends upon the attitude of the Hindus.

The trend of events after the achievement of independence shows that India will be a very orthodox Hindu country. Orthodoxy has kept them slaves for centuries, and they in return coerced the Untouchables day in and day out. Every official State function or unofficial ceremony has been performed purely in the Hindu orthodox way of yore. The same Tilak Dhari* Brahmans are at the head of every State function. Sanskrit appears likely to become the most cherished language. The lingua franca of India is to be Hindustani, a Sanskritised Hindi vernacular. No notice is taken of Muslims or Untouchables in

* Bearing star on the forehead – a symbol of Orthodoxy.

this wave of Hinduism. The 'Daily Telegraph' reported that on the cremation day of Mr. Gandhi, forty Untouchables stood by the side of the cremation altar holding towels and spades.[1] These are duties with which the Untouchables were entrusted in the olden days of Hinduism. The episode of Harishchandra is a typical example, for a Chandala is shown in charge of the cemetery.[2] The symptoms are that Hinduism will once more dominate in a fanatical form and to my mind this will be an unfortunate development for India. Many observers like Mr. Edward Thompson had long before suspected "that in many parts of India where Brahmanical or Rajput influence is strong, the withdrawal of British rule might lead to local outbreaks of Suttee." Actually, there was a vigorous attempt to revive it in Behar on 22nd October, 1927.[3] Is it unlikely that the Untouchables may be hurled down to the same position of hewers of wood and drawers of water that they occupied before the British Raj in India? But still these things are undecided. All these vital factors are still in the balance and therefore prevent us from any guess or from putting forth any educational scheme for the Depressed Classes.

We may, however, make certain proposals that we feel could well be followed in the future. I wish to make it clear that I am not attempting here to summarise and make any comment on the past

1. The Daily Telegraph and The Times 3rd February, 1948.
2. Vishnu Purana and Markandeya Purana, also quoted in Muir Original Texts - Vol. i, pp. 379-387.
3. Edward Thompson - The Reconstruction of India - p. 267.

attitude of the Hindus towards social and educational uplift, nor how their aggressiveness has affected their character, religion, manners, customs and educational system. This has not been done because much has been said already in the text, and besides our lengthy introduction will form a part of this chapter from that point of view. The first two suggestions are for the Untouchables, and the rest are a few hints to any kind of Government in power in the country, which if followed, could do much educational good for the Depressed Classes and, in return, strengthen the roots of the newly gained independence of the country.

Two conclusions emerge from this research; ~~two things~~ which are imperative for the political survival and educational advance of the Untouchables. The British Government, to which any aggrieved community could appeal for the redress of any gross injustice done to it, is no longer there. The Depressed Classes formed such an aggrieved community. If they were not always successful in getting their disabilities redressed in the past, at least the aggressive party was constrained to be careful in its open attack. Now the Depressed Classes have no support from any third power, and therefore they have to stand solidly on their own feet to face the Hindus. The first thing they must do, from the religious point of view, is to stand apart as a religious minority from Hinduism. They have their own religion and culture. They should revive it and stand by

it. It would not be difficult to reconstruct. We find that, leaving aside North India, in the whole of the South, East and West their religious precepts, culture, manners and customs are reflected in the ceremonies of the whole population of those parts. This vast population follows the aboriginal culture, in the form of animism. It may have been something different or something better in the beginning, but now it is distorted, disfigured from its true appearance, and seems to be crude. By intelligent research the past can be unearthed. The disfigured precepts and distorted customs which seem to be so vague can be given scientific shape. There is no need to feel that this animism which is sometimes attributed to them, is a primitive form of religion, or that it is degrading to be labelled as animists. As Professor Tyler has said, animism is "the groundwork of the philosophy of religion from that of the savages up to that of civilised man."[1] It is not without scientific background, and therefore it must be given a scientific explanation. In India, pure Aryans are in the minority. "Out of about 320,000,000 people in the whole Indian Empire only about 20,000,000 at the most are pure Aryans."[2] Therefore, there is no need to be diffident - to feel that Aryan Hindus are legion and that non-Aryans are few, or that Aryan culture is very high. In addition, it must be remembered

1. Tyler - Primitive Culture - Vol. i, p. 426.
2. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problems - p. 5.

that the Shudras are not the only people who follow this religion. In the South, the larger proportion of Aryan Hindus are animists. As Bishop Whitehead says, "In South India, wher there are about 2,000,000 Aryans out of a population of about 60,000,000, animism is practically the religion of the people,[1]" though Aryan Hindu gods are also worshipped. In the North, on the other hand, we find the Aryan culture the cult of nearly all Aryan Hindus and Shudra Untouchables. With the revival of their own religion they will feel some pride, and will therefore continue to stand more firmly on the level of Mohammedans and Sikhs, the other religious sects in India. The Mohammedans and Sikhs will be provided with special privileges in education in the constitution of new India. If the Untouchables prove their true status they will get the same treatment, and hence the avenues of special educational benefit will be set open to them. If they try to change their coat and to incline towards Hinduism, losing heart in their investigation and in their efforts to build themselves up, within a few years they will lose their entity and remain the same submerged tenth of the population. If they join Hinduism, their claim for special facilities in education will not be considered. They may be regarded as equal, but it will be a sham equality, aimed at undermining their position. I think they should not forget the words of their leader who said not long ago that to remain

1. Bishop Whitehead - Indian Problems - p. 5.

in Hinduism would mean to remain chained to caste inequality.[1] The Hindus would gain the upper hand, and the Untouchables would remain at the bottom. They would suffer great loss. In any case, what have they so far gained by clinging to the Hindu religion? Furthermore, Hinduism is not a religion worth following. It is a slur on the fair name of religion, religious morality and civilisation.

I would like to make another suggestion. Should the Untouchable world show itself to be too lazy to revive and reconstruct its religion and civilisation, or if its efforts should be nullified by the undercurrents of Hinduism in Hindu India, then the adoption of another religion would be better. It may be Islam or Christianity. But Islam will not fit Indian conditions. It might serve as a boon in a Dominion like Pakistan, but in India, Christianity will be the only right course to follow. It is a religion of equality and brotherhood. To be its member is to be a citizen of the world. It will open the vast stores of Western knowledge and culture to the Untouchable population. Experience has shown that those races of the world, like the Negroes, who became the faithful adherents of Christianity, have progressed by great strides in the civilised world. It will give the same advantage to the Untouchables. Christianity will not only be the hope of the Untouchables, but of the Hindus too. In the coming

1. Qtd. in H. Kraemer - The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World - p. 237.

age, Christianity will be the only effective moral guide of mankind.

The next thing to consider is political separation. Whatever may be the religion accepted, separate political standing will be the only solution of the problem of Untouchable emancipation in a free India. With it will follow educational concessions. If they amalgamate themselves with the Hindus by a system of Joint Electorate, they will not have representation in the Central or Provincial Legislatures and Local Bodies. Thus they will have no voice in the country, and consequently the Hindus as usual will usurp all their share. With loss of power they will be economically poor and socially affected. Educationally, again, they will be left behind in the race and they will stay where they are at present. No special care will be taken for their uplift in the national scheme. If there will be any apparent provision, it will exist only on paper. If they accept a common political standing, they will be acting as though their interests were the same as the Hindus, which they are not. But if they will stand out, to repeat our above argument, they will be given the same status in educational policy as the other political minorities. That will not completely remedy matters, as they are at present far behind. There would be no reason for the existing Hindu Government to fear disloyalty to the country. Loyalty can be better ensured in a community enjoying free expression and

freedom of thought, both for the community and for the individuals of which it is composed, than by subjection or any other repressive measure.

Another point which should be stressed by the Depressed Classes for their own benefit is the political opinion that India should remain in the Commonwealth of Nations. They must support the section which holds the view that India's best interests would be served by remaining a member of the family of nations. This would keep the Hindu Indians in touch with the outside world, and make them liberal in their treatment of all other sections, with equal justice in all spheres of public life. If India passes out of the Commonwealth of Nations, it will isolate itself, and this would result in an aggressive tendency towards the backward sections of its population. Moreover, membership of the Commonwealth will be in the best interests of India itself.

Perhaps the most beneficial of all factors for the advance of Shudra Untouchable education is the continuance of the work of the Christian Missions. They have still to complete their work begun centuries ago. They will always set an example of a high standard of civilisation and of a standardised educationa system. India may be independent, but it would take long to reach, through its own resources, the standard of the West in its democratic and liberal attitude, in recognising equal opportunities for all. The presence of the Christians with

their educational institutions for the Depressed Classes, such as the village schools and the boarding schools, will serve as a guiding principle to the new independent State to direct its energies on the lines set by the Missions. Moreover, the missionaries, being true to their Christian ideals, and as members of a great religion, will never draw back from the work they are doing at present for India as a whole, and (as it mainly is) for the Untouchables. I am optimistic enough to say that India on the whole needs them. Sharing the hopes of writers from Herbert Edwards to Rev. C. F. Andrews, one is persuaded to say that in Christ lies "the key to India's future.[1] Every religion and every community and every individual will be benefited by their presence. They will be a source of inspiration for those workers in India who, in the future, as in the past, will choose to take up any humanitarian work. At least for outcaste India they are still a great hope for the future, from many different angles.

Now what should the Hindu Government do to lessen the influence of its bigotry, of which the Shudras are the victims, and to bring these people on an equal footing, by providing easy access to its social and educational system? The first problem is the problem of religion. We know that Hindu religion opposes an equal social status for the Depressed Classes. It imposes

1. Qtd. in William Archer - India and the Future - p. 262.

penal laws against their education. On these two grounds the Hindus have tyrannically opposed the education of the Shudras through all periods of Indian history. As Hindus are again at the helm, there is a danger of Hindu religious feeling again running high against the Untouchable communities. In order to eradicate this danger, the Government should avoid any advertisement of the greatness of the Hindu religion. If the alteration of its religious principles is found to be difficult, it should discontinue its efforts at publicity. If the Government is not able to cope with the opposition of the Hindu public, then it must see that only the good and sensible points of the religion are taken, by eliminating the unpleasant aspects. But in that case, the revival of the Shudra religions will also become the duty of the State.

Closely connected with this question is that of the caste system. The caste system stands for the superiority of the Hindus and the inferiority of the Untouchables, as a result of which the Shudra Untouchables are persecuted in every educational institution. It segregates him from the social orders of society. In plain words, it makes him literally untouchable. The best plan for any Government of Free India would be to ban this institution by law. No mention of caste should appear in any affairs of the State. The nationality of the inhabitants of India should be simply Indian, and further if need be there should be one Hindu community. Restrictions on the use of

public wells, roads, schools, social and educational clubs, cafes and restaurants, should be removed by law. It is then and then alone that the Hindus will forget their evil effects on the Shudras. Then the entry of the Untouchable children to schools would cease to hurt them. Socially, they should not be prohibited from taking up any profession. They should be allowed to open cafes, restaurants, confectioner's shops, snack bars and milk bars and other such trades and professions, at present monopolised by the Hindus. This should also be done with the support of law. This would improve the economic condition of the Untouchables, and the curse of poverty would go. Further, in order to see these communities in a better economic condition, the Government should encourage cottage industries, in accordance with the wish of the great Hindu leader, the late Mahatama Gandhi. The Untouchables follow different trades and handicrafts. They have not much capital to start big commercial concerns. They work at home and produce goods on a small scale. The Government should start co-operative stores to buy the produced goods. Then, in order to better the quality of goods, facilities in craft training should be opened for them. This would be another method of improving their condition. The quick industrialisation of a country would also be effective in raising them economically, because the majority of them would be employees in the factories as they are now. Labour conditions must also be improved by

giving them higher wages. All these measures would raise their economic status, and with their better financial condition they would have the means to send their children to higher institutions of learning in India and abroad.

Let us turn to the educational side. In a Free India, the first step should be to start with a scheme of basic education for all at least up to the age of fifteen, with special provision of free education for the Depressed Classes up to the age of eighteen. In general, the English Education Act of 1918 can be followed for guidance. To work out such a scheme, the educational staff from the top, beginning with the Ministers, Directors of Public Instruction, Inspectors and Attendance Officers, down to the teachers, should be a representative body of all castes and classes. The Education Departments alone should not carry out this scheme, but the participation and co-operation of all other Civil Departments, especially the Executive and the Judiciary, should be sought. As a dearth of staff is bound to occur, the best way out would be to make it compulsory for every young man or woman who is a candidate for the Civil Service, to serve as a teacher for a year or two. The time spent as a teacher should be allowed for from the age limit of entry to the Civil Service. Private employers in all Departments, trades and professions can also be called upon to co-operate. It is this type of comprehensive scheme that will necessarily draw the neglected Untouchable into

the educational scheme.

The scheme of universal basic education should be extended to promote adult literacy. The drive against mass illiteracy is the only method which may bring all sections of the Indian population to the door of the school. The "grown-ups" must be taught the alphabet, educated in mind and body, and given a sense of their rights and duties of a citizen. This type of intensive programme would surely reach to the bottom of the Untouchable problem. As in the basic educational scheme, it will be difficult to get men to teach these adults. But if the nation is to be built up, the neglected illiterate sections of the population should be taken up first. The majority of them are undoubtedly in the Depressed Classes. Who should teach? Not the teachers only, but everyone from the minister down to the teacher should take part in this sacred duty. No student after reaching matriculation standard should be given a certificate of merit to sit in any University or Departmental examination who has not taught at least two adults. No young man should be employed who has not prepared a sufficient number of adults before his entrance to service. All national priorities should go to those who have done something to drive out the monster of illiteracy from the general population in general and the Untouchable population in particular.

But nothing can be done without money. The Local Bodies

who may be entrusted to co-operate in such a work need money. They should be liberally subsidised from the Central Exchequer for general work in education and mostly for the work of the Untouchable communities. But the problem is how to raise funds? The success of education depends on financial resources Here the capitalists can come to the aid of the Government through voluntary contributions. Sometimes the Government may for a certain period impose increased rates of taxes, which the well-to-do class should accept willingly in the cause of the larger issue of national importance. It is not only that the Local Bodies need liberal grants, but all denominational institutions such as the Missions, Sikhs and Muslims schools and colleges should be assessed handsome grants - and these should be a cent per cent grant on the education of the Untouchable children.

We have said above that the schemes of general basic education and adult education are essential to bring the Untouchables within the sphere of education. But the scheme is not for Untouchables only, but will help the Hindus also to be more literate and educated, and hence more wise. From the Untouchable point of view, the universal literacy of the Hindus is also very essential. There is a dire need for a generous reconstruction of Hindu society so that racial, social and religious feuds may vanish for ever. With such a development

the Hindu blockade of Untouchable education will disappear.

This leads us to another useful suggestion. We have seen that there is a long standing rivalry between the two races. For untold ages Hindu religious literature has been shown to be full of greatness, while the Untouchable religion and culture has been depicted as very inferior. In fact, this attitude has been the cause of much trouble. The history of one is shown to be full of glory and that of another as insignificant. This has always widened the gulf between the two groups, but now this should not be allowed to continue. There is a need for a change of history. A better kind of history can be written equally glorifying the past of both races. This will bring unity. Everybody will begin to think of India as his Motherland. All will have a sense of brotherhood and a common sentiment for the protection of their country.

Another possibility which strikes my mind is that of the comparative study of religions. It will be appropriate to say that "Education without a religious basis is like building a house without foundations." But the question is, what type of religion? Religion has already proved a curse in the Indian sphere. But, to my mind, this has been so only because the Hindu religion reigned supreme. Now the religions that can be brought under comparative study are Christianity, Budhism and Islam. The comparative study of these religions will give good

results. As has been said elsewhere, Hindu young men will find out the faults underlying their religion. The religious past of the Shudra Untouchables should also be brought into line. This will demonstrate that Hindus are not the only people who have a religion and a culture, but that the other races are equally cultured and civilised. It will remove the false superiority complex. I feel that some sort of Common Prayer Book can be prepared, embodying in it the salient features of all the religious communities in India. This would be a harmonizing factor.

Last of all remains the problem of teachers. The monopoly of high caste teachers must be broken. More and more Shudra Untouchable teachers should be represented on the staff of schools and colleges. A suggestion which may sound more novel is my plea for the continuance of the English educationists in India. They will be able to carry on the Government scheme without bias and without prejudice, treating the Untouchable and the Hindu alike according to the wishes of the State. Better results could not be obtained by compulsion, in the absence of co-operation. If the Hindu teachers are suddenly confronted with a scheme incorporating the concept of the equality of the Untouchables, they may pay it lip-service, but they may not co-operate at heart, for they are not used to such sudden changes. Hence such an attitude might harm the cause.

But the English educationist knows his business, and pays back honestly in return for his wages. On the other hand, he is not faced with the necessity of pleasing one and of ignoring the protests of the other.

ABBREVIATIONS

AND

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ABBREVIATIONS

R. V.	...	Rigveda.
A. V.	...	Atharvaveda.
Satap. Br. or Brh.	...	Satapatha Brahmana.
Apast. G. S.	...	Apastamba Grihd Sutra.
or D. S.	...	" Dharma Sutra.
Tait. Br.	...	Taittiriya Brahmana.
or Ar.	...	" Aranyaka.
Ait. Brh.	...	Aitareya Brahmana.
or Ar.	...	" Aranyaka.
Yajna. Sm.	....	Yajnavalkya Smriti.
Vaj. Sam.	...	Vajasaneyi Samhita.
or Up.	...	" Upnishad.
Vasis. or Vasish. D. S.	...	Vasishtha Dharmasutra.
Tait. Up.	...	Taittiriya Upnishad.
Chhand. Up.	...	Chhandogya Upanishad.
Brihd. Up.	...	Brihadaranyaka Upnishad.
Svetas. Up.	...	Svetasvatara Upnishad.
Kaush. Up.	...	Kaushitaki Upnishad.
Usa. Sam.	...	Usana Samhita.
Baudh. G. S.	...	Baudhayana Grihya Sutra.
or D. S.	...	" Dharma Sutra.
Sankhya Sr. S.	...	Sankhayana Srauta Sutra.
Gaut. D. S.	...	Gautama Dharam Sutra.
Kat. Sr. S.	...	Katyayana Srauta Sutra.
Para. D. S.	...	Parasara Dharam Sutra.
Vatsya. Kama. Sh.	...	Vatsayana's Kamashastra.
Vyasa. Sh.	...	Vyasa Shastra.

S. B. E.	...	Sacred Books of the East.
H. S. S.	...	Harijan Sewak Sangh.
Qtd. in	...	Quoted in.
P. ✓	...	Indicates reference of page in the text itself.

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