

**EDUCATION, SOCIAL CONTEXT AND LEADERSHIP :**  
**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF VERNACULAR AND**  
**ENGLISH EDUCATION IN BIHAR 1917-1947**

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "EDUCATION, SOCIAL CONTEXT AND LEADERSHIP : A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF VERNACULAR AND ENGLISH EDUCATION IN BIHAR 1917-1947" submitted by Satish Kant Thakur, in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of this University has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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# C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page (s)</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i-ii
LIST OF TABLES	iii
 <u>CHAPTERS</u>	
I INTRODUCTION	1-23
II EDUCATION AND SOCIETY	24-55
III LEADERS IN THE MAKING	56-98
IV THE WAY THEY LED US	99-160
V CONCLUSION	161-177
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 178-184
 APPENDIX	 185-195

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LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NO.	TITLE	PAGE(s)
1	PARTICULARS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BIHAR	39
2	PARTICULARS OF MIDDLE SCHOOL EUDCATION IN BIHAR	40
3	PARTICULARS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BIHAR	44
4	PARTICULARS OF SANSKRIT <u>TOLS</u> AND <u>MADARSAS</u>	50
5	POPULATION AND SCHOLARS IN BIHAR	185
6	GENERAL LITERACY AND LITERACY IN ENGLISH IN BIHAR	186
7	GENERAL LITERACY AND LITERACY IN ENGLISH AMONG SELECTED CASTES AND TRIBES	187-195

CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

Introduction of English education is considered to be one of the most important contributions of the British in India. Its importance lies in the fact that even today we have English as the link language, and it is still debated upon whether or not English should be allowed to continue. In the writings on the national movement the importance of and the role played by English education have been highlighted. Describing the condition of the eighteenth century India, K.K. Datta writes, "In fact, virtual collapse of governmental authority and consequent disappearance of administrative order and peace throughout the dark and dismal years of the eighteenth century had caused a greivous social anarchy gnawing at the very vitals of Indian civilization and culture. Progressive ideals reduced into the background and no reformer or leader of thought appeared to inspire the common people with noble and sublime ideals for the evaluation of their moral and intellectual standards" (Datta,1972: 7-8).

Describing the nineteenth century as a "marvellously creative age in the human history", K.K. Datta writes,

The New Learning of the West, rich in inspiring political and intellectual scientific thoughts of master-minds like Bacon, Bentham, Mill, Locke, Voltaire, Brucke, and Newton, philanthropists like William Welberforce and his friends, imported into this country through several agencies, saturated them with potent influences in favour of reform in movement, society and other conditions of life (Datta,1972:1-2).

Aparna Basu argues on similar lines when she writes,

In the course of nineteenth century, India underwent a remarkable transformation. There were social and religious reform movements, a literary renaissance,



an awakening of patriotic feelings and a sense of nationality. Political ideas and associations developed which contributed to the emergence of Indian Nationalism. English education was a crucial factor in socialising and communicating political ideas (Basu,1974:1).

Similar claims about English education were made by many more writers. Writing about the emergence of Indian middle class, B.B. Misra says,

It is in the main a story of social policy and changes that occurred in the course of about two hundred years of British rule largely as a consequence of Western education and modern capitalist enterprise of improved communication and commercial progress, of land-reform and legal administration (Misra,1961:1).

Thus, a liberating and an enlightening role is assigned to English education. It is further assumed that the leadership came from this educated and enlightened class. Tracing the development of the legal profession Anil Seal believes that "forming an independent status group, confident in their new skills, able to conduct the constitutional dialogues with their rulers, lawyers marched in the van of politics in the later nineteenth century India, just as they had for centuries managed the politics of revolt in the Occident" (Seal,1968:123-129). He writes,

Since government servants were cramped by dependence on the goodwill of their employers, it was the lawyers who became the spokesmen for the educated. Because the frontiers between his profession and services were so fluid, there was a community of interest between him and those other educated men who were looking for advancement under the Government.

And hence, "in the Presidency capital it was the successful lawyer who was the backbone of politics, in the mofussil it was the pleader of the district bar" (Seal,1968:129-130),

Talking about the leadership Anil Seal writes,

All over the world nationalist leaders have been formed out of government subordinates, men who put their working hours to good use in studying the mechanics of power and devoted their leasures to studying the obstacles barring their own promotions (Seal 1968: 110).

In the opinion of Aparna Basu,

Even revivalist leaders who reacted against excessive Westernization were themselves endowed with Western training. The movement for the emancipation of Indian women and for women's rights also had part of its origin in the spread of English education (Basu,1974: 232-233).

These statements and many more on similar lines by various social scientists imply that the leadership in the fields of social reform and of freedom struggle was provided by the persons who had English education. It were the English educated people who, having imbibed the ideas of liberalism from the European literature, became conscious of reforming the social order and establishing self-government.

However, there has been another school of thought which gives more importance to socio-economic conditions rather than to the introduction of English education. According to this school of thought, English education played only a subsidiary role in national movement by providing a common language to communicate. The main cause lies in the socio-economic conditions, and the growth of nationalism could be adhered to only as a 'by-product' of the English education and not as an offspring of modern education. R.P.Dutt is

of the opinion that,

The Indian National Movement arose from social conditions from the conditions of imperialism and its system of exploitation; the rise of the Indian bourgeoisie and its growing competition against the domination of British bourgeoisie were inevitable, whatever the system of education, and if the Indian bourgeoisie had been educated only in Sanskrit Vedas, in monastic seclusion from every other current of thought they would have assuredly found in Sanskrit Vedas the inspiring principles and slogans for their struggle (Dutt,1970:303).

The basic argument of this school of thought is that the origin and growth of nationalism can be understood in the context of the development of India as a colonial economy. About the introduction of English education A.R. Desai, writes,

The political and economic necessity of British capitalism in India, together with an almost fanatical belief in the role of Britain as the Messiah to civilize and unify the world by a world-scale dissemination of British culture, promoted the introduction of modern education in India (Desai,1976:141).

After analysing the defects as well as the progressive essence of English education he concludes that

the modern education played a contradictory double role. Introduced at the outset with a view to meeting the political and administrative needs of the British and even to strengthening the bond of the British rulers and the Indian ruled, it also helped Indian Nationalism in its struggle against the rule (Desai, 1976:159).

He further says, "while recognising the progressive role played by the introduction of modern education in India, it would be incorrect to conclude that Indian nationalism was the child of this education" (Desai,1976:158). The argument thus runs that, in fact,

it was the colonial character of the British rule that a clash of interests began between the British rulers

and the Indian people, and national movement arose out of this conflict. But, nevertheless, the progressive role of introduction of modern education in India and of the resultant effect of this contact was strikingly proved by the fact that particularly all leaders of progressive movements - economic, political, social, religious, or cultural - belonged to the English educated intelligensia. The pioneers and leaders of the ever expanding and deepening national movement were all English educated Indians (Desai,1976:163-164).

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the arguments were put forward by different scholars about English education and the rise of Indian nationalism. At times these arguments seem contradicting each other by emphasising different motives. This makes it necessary for us to evaluate why English education was introduced by the British.

#### **WHY ENGLISH EDUCATION :**

"In India", Max Weber wrote, "... modern capitalism did not develop indigenously before or during the English rule. It was taken over as finished artifact without autonomous beginning." Tracing the emergence of Indian Middle Class in the light of Weber's analysis B.B. Misra opines, "... ideas and institutions of a middle class social order were imported into India. They did not grow from within" (Misra,1961:11). And the main factors responsible for this were to a large extent the political and social system of the country - the limitations arising from the existence of caste, ideologically unfavourable situations etc. The British attempted to create a class of Indians in the given political and social context.

The Indian Middle Class which the British aimed at creating was to be a class of imitators, not the originators of new values and methods.

The British attempted as their part of educational policy to create a class comparable to their own, so that it might assist them in the development of its internal resources (Misra,1961:10-11).

Another motive behind the introduction of English education was to reconcile the people of India to the British rule. For example, Mecauly laid down,

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be the interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, morals and in intellect.

In spite of the limitations and distortions of the education imparted, which were the object of criticism of Indian nationalism, the fact remains that the British played a progressive role by spreading liberal and technical modern education in India (Desai,1976:139). The Britishers brought with them the new opportunities and avenues and along with these the new value system. For instance, Aparna Basu is of the opinion that the social reform in Hindu Society, the movements for the removal of untouchability and for emancipation of women reflect Western influence to a considerable extent (Basu,1974:1).

Arguing on the same line A.R. Desai opines that the English education was secular in character, liberal in essence, open to all, irrespective of caste or creed, unlike the education in the pre-British period. But above all, it was the key which opened the greatest treasure of rationalist and democratic thought of the modern West to the Indians (Desai,1974:157). In addition, the masses did not have any opportunity in the traditional occupations, so, they looked for employment under the government. As a matter of fact,

the government was the largest employers, in the colonies. And, that is why, all roads led to schools and demands for more schools were put forward by the local people.

Now we turn towards a discussion of the leadership in the social and political context and to substantiate the point that the type of leadership, which was provided to the masses in different phases, was changing with the changing social and political context.

### **SOCIAL CONTEXT AND LEADERSHIP**

During the period under company rule (1757-1857) there was a very small group of people, from all aristocracy and commercial monopolies and their descendants, who was the first recipient and patron of English education (Misra,1961:343). The educational efforts of missionaries were largely focused on the conversion to Christianity while the East India Company did not have any educational policy till 1813. Nevertheless, charges were made that Company officials were indirectly supporting the efforts of missionaries.<sup>1</sup> Later on the official policy also tilted towards anglicists. The orthodox section of society considered it as a threat to the traditional values. Some writers as well as the officers of that time considered this attitude as one of the main reasons for the Revolt of 1857 in which Babu Kanwar Singh and his warrior brother Amar Singh participated actively (Sen,1972). As a consequence of this Revolt, the emphasis shifted to cooperation and in their view now, "reform had to arise from the transformation of society itself and express the aspiration of those whom it would affect" (Metcalf,1965:122-123). It was considered by some Englishmen that aid to missionaries and mission schools

was the source of discontent. "Education doubtless did play some part in stirring up discontent in Bihar. Even there, however, few schools were abandoned after the Mutiny" (Metcalf,1965:122-124).

In this phase we were provided with two kinds of leadership : liberal-reformist and reactionary revivalist. It would be interesting to note that the middle class reformist movements did not have mass backing, for the masses were rural, illiterate, steeped in superstition and profoundly suspicious of the pro-Western ruling class. Rather these movements stimulated the spirit of reaction (Misra, 1961:16). It should be remembered here that reformist movements were started by the urban-based middle classes who were highly influenced by the Western values. But the opposition to these activities came from the orthodox section of society which was the upholders of traditional values. The opposition to foreign rule came from the aristocratic section of the society as well. For example, the Brahmo Samaj would fall in the first category while the Arya Samaj would belong to the second. Ahamadullah and Wilayat Ali were the two important leaders from Bihar who led the Muslim revivalism during this period (Sen,1972).

However, the English educated class remained loyal to the government. The educated classes had in fact no other alternative. Metcalf writes,

As a new class who had everything to lose by a resurgence of orthodoxy and fanaticism, the educated necessarily clung to the British standard. Their interests were still intimately bound up with the continuance of British rule, within which alone their hopes for their country could be worked out (Metcalf,1965:125).

And further,

The British officials, like the well-to-do Indians, found English education far more attractive .... The local governments continually reported that no school had any chance of success unless the English education was taught (Metcalf,1965:127).

The leadership gradually came in the hands of this group.

The later phase of the nineteenth century was marked by the great changes in the social and political fields. Many political organizations were formed in the second half of the nineteenth century of which the Indian National Congress emerged as the most important organization with a modest beginning in 1885 (Phadke, 1987:22). Under the Indian Council Act of 1892 an elective principle was introduced which tilted the balance of power and influence in favour of the educated middle classes, especially of the legal practitioners. Before this, the aristocracy was dominant (Misra,1961:344-345).

To take up the question of social reform etc. an organization called National Social Conference was set up as early as 1887 by social reformers like M.G. Ranade and R. Raghunatha Rao etc. The Indian National Congress and the National Social Conference, both the organizations had their annual sessions in immediate succession in the same pandal and the large majority of those who came to attend the Congress also attended the Social Conference (Phadke,1987: 28).

The leaders of this phase were exposed to Western liberalism and had advocated in favour of English education. The leadership was mainly in the hands of lawyers and those generally from upper income families and was relatively completely assimilated to



the prevailing European outlook and value system. Tracing the Western influence at that time Aparna Basu writes:

Much of the organization of democratic state its secular character, the structure of its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration.

It found many points in common with the prevailing system of government, administration and control. The nature of leaders' interests, objectives and points of view was such as to separate them from the bulk of Indian society. However, they were too few in number and too parliamentarian in their approach to move the government or to excite the public (Crane,1960:170-172).

Meanwhile, however, other developments in India had begun to create conditions from which a new kind of leadership arose. The spread of European education among larger circles of Indian population drew more educated young men into the job market. "The newer generation of Western educated Indians came largely from lower income levels of society and found it harder to secure gainful and respectable employment after completing their education" (Crane,1960:173). Further, near the turn of the century specific incidents such as great famines, serious visitations of the plague etc. only served to sharpen the dissatisfaction. Furthermore, after the opening of Suez Canal the process of Europeanization of the country went on more briskly and effectively. This process called into question a number of basic values and institutions of India; and brought Indian society into a situation characterized by dislocation and trauma (Crane, 1960:174-175).

The tendency of religious revivalism arose again. Religious nationalism was in fact an expression of the cultural crisis produced as a cumulative consequence of British rule (Misra,1961:367-368). All these factors created new basis for nationalist agitation, but the new situation was one with which the moderates could hardly cope. Hence, a new leadership, attuned to mass sentiments could emerge to propose new goals and new techniques. Tilak heralded the new extremist view in Indian politics. It should be noted that a large proportion of extremist leadership, as of the membership in terrorist bands, was recruited from Brahman and Kayastha families (Crane,1960:176). However, the rise of extremists within the Congress resulted in the formation of Muslim League which demanded separate representation for Muslims, special favour and finally a separate nation from the government in due course of time.

The begining of this century saw the rise of revolutionary terrorism, Swadeshi movement, the boycott of British goods, the anti-Partition movement etc. The campaign of 1905 was of special significance in the sense that new techniques of mass participation were used. Boycott, hartal and demonstration for Swadeshi proved to be valuable instruments in the creation of a popular upsurge that mobilized the rank and file in nationalist activities.

But, when the whole nation was surcharged after the partition of Bengal in 1905, Bihar was left far behind. Bihar did not participate on a large scale in the revolutionary activities. The leaders here were more absorbed in the agitation for separation of Bihar from Bengal, and rather indirectly hailed the decision of the government. The causes for this has been well elaborated by V.C.P.

Chaudhari (1964). He raised the question that how was it that land of Buddha, Ashoka, Shershah, Guru Govind Singh, Kunwar Singh etc. failed to produce any towering personality between 1858 and 1912 in any sphere? And then, looking for an answer, he analysed the politics of this region. Chaudhari writes:

After the 1857 movement Bihar experienced all the disfavours of government and got only stepmotherly treatment in every branch. Bihar somehow got the impression that the agony of discrimination would not end unless the government could be assured of loyalty. Bihar tried to show its steadfastness in loyalty to the new masters, and the government by 1908 had reasons to believe that Bihar had become loyal .... For Biharis there was no alternative but to channelise all the emergies to the question of separation. For them it was of primary importance and everything else was of secondary importance.... Biharis consciously or unconsciously, decided to have their demand of the separation of Bihar from Bengal successfully accomplished by pleasing the government (Chaudhari,1964:4-5).

Hence we find that the process of continued loyalty was being set in motion on the soil of Bihar. In Chaudhari's opinion,

This was the main reason for the aforesaid setbacks that came to dominate the history of Bihar after 1857. This was why the national and revolutionary movements gained momentum in Bihar only after 1912, when Bihar was finally separated from Bengal (Chaudhari, 1964:5).

So far as the question of participation in this movement is concerned the big zamindars and other landed interests also associated themselves with the movement when they found the attitude of government sympathetic. It was also joined by the Muslims. Thus, the leadership became broad based. However, even at this stage the direction continued in the hands of the educated bourgeoisie. The movement never enlisted mass participation and was mainly a middle class adventure (Chaudhari,1964:196-197).

With the annulment of partition of Bengal, imprisonment of Tilak, stern government measures against revolutionaries, and break-out of First World War there was an uneasy lull in the Indian politics. In fact, until 1915, the Indian politics was of limited nature not only in the sense of the numbers involved but also in terms of demands, techniques of political action, and the audience. Limited demands meant limited audience. However, a change was taking place in the political climate which ultimately facilitated the rise of a new leadership.

The leadership of this period was divided in its approach.

As B.B. Misra puts,

In their emphasis on the need to reform the traditional social order both agreed in principle. Both were influenced by English education, by the rule of law, by Christian mission, their methods of work and organisation. But while the reformists responded favourably to Western influences, the revivalist regarded them as a serious affront to India's cultural heritage and intellectual pride (Misra,1961:368).

Aparna Basu holds the same view. To quote her,

Some of the extremists derived their inspiration from Italian and Russian secret societies. The extremists-Tilak, Pal, Lal etc. came from middle class. Though English educated, they drew substance from India's heritage and appealed to Indians by invoking religious patriotism (Basu,1974:234).

However, just as the moderates had proved ineffective because they spoke for such a limited section of India, so the extremists - with their emphasis on Hindu revivalism - spoke only for segments of the population. Both the groups had limited audience. At this time Gandhiji returned from South Africa in 1915. He spent the whole of 1915 travelling across the length and breadth of the land (Kumar,1969:361).

In 1917 Champaran movement was started by Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, after his return from Africa. "Mahatma Gandhi," writes K.K. Datta, "made his successful experiment in its unique way by putting emphasis on non-violence and truth or awakening and salvation of downtrodden masses, on complete eradication of economic inequalities that turn man against man, and on purification of society" (Datta,1957-I:167-168). During this movement, Gandhiji's apostolic personality had begun to exercise a tremendous influence on the peasants. "In the eyes of the villagers, Gandhiji had become a hero and they looked to him in thousands to make their statements" (Prasad,1957:91).

The following years saw the Khaira Satyagrah, Ahmedabad Strike and Rowlett Satyagrah. The Sedition Committee under Rowlett recommended the summary powers to the Government to suppress all disturbances and revolutionary activities and to maintain "law and order" in India even during peace time. The Act was condemned by Indian politicians in the Legislative Council but was finally passed (Joshi,1987:42). Gandhiji questioned the very legitimacy of the legislation and gave a call for nation-wide peaceful Satyagrah. The following year a mass-scale Non-Cooperation movement was started against the new constitution of India based on Montague-Chemsford reforms. The Congress advised the people to carry out the programme of surrendering titles and honorary offices; to refuse attending governmental and semi-governmental functions; withdrawing children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by government; gradual boycott of British Courts; boycotting foreign goods; adopting Swadeshi goods etc. (Datta,1970:48-49). Linked with the Non-Cooperation was

Khilafat movement. By launching Khilafat movement, Gandhiji became "the Centre of Muslim politics and held a degree of authority over Muslims that had no parallel before or since" (Joshi,1987:44). However, the movement was called off after Chauri Chaura incident.

The composition of the Congress changed after 1920. It was reorganised to be more responsive to masses. Aparna Basu writes,

When Gandhi came on the scene he found an elite out of touch with its indigenous culture, unable in the most literal sense, to speak to people in their own language .... Gandhi proclaimed that India could not be free till she had freed herself from the bondage of the English language and that question of vernaculars as the medium of instruction was of national importance, the neglect of one's mother tongue being equivalent to national suicide (Basu,1974:78).

And, hence, "in 1920 the Congress provincial machinery was demarcated on a linguistic basis, and this was an important point which transformed the Congress from a middle class assembly of English speaking leaders to a mass movement able to speak to the people in their own language" (Basu,1974:79). There was a political upheaval for few years and the masses responded enthusiastically. Many leaders emerged during this period, among whom Rajendra Prasad, Shri Krishna Sinha, Anugrah Narayan Singh. Braj Kishore Prasad etc. were prominent.

However, there was a lull again in the political sphere till the Simon Commission Boycott started in 1928. By this time, the international current of socialism and communism had entered India also. Nehru writes,

A vague confused socialism was already part of the atmosphere of India when I returned from Europe in 1927, and even earlier than that there were many individual socialists (Nehru,1980:183).

It was the time when the young generation of leaders entered the field. Jayaprakash Narayan came back from America and joined politics.

The world agrarian and general economic crisis which occurred in 1929 hit the Indian peasantry hard. They were in a state of ferment (Desai,1976:191). The peasantry demanded some radical and stern steps, and this gave the leftists a chance to acquire leadership role. It was around this time that Swami Sahajananda Saraswati established Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha in 1927 which developed into an extensive organization after 1934 (Desai,1976:192).

By now the masses had become politically conscious. "Though Indian Nationalism reached the conclusion that political power was a vital premise for a fundamental reconstruction of Indian society on a democratic basis, it did not relax its campaign against social evils" (Desai,1976:255-256). On the other hand, the Depressed Classes were also demanding more rights and privileges. Besides, the British government had its own interests in promoting the case of the Depressed Classes. Hence, many leaders were thrust upon by the British, and many were thrown up by the circumstances. It is around this time that Jagjivan Ram emerged as a leader.

On the basis of the forgoing analysis we can trace a trend in leadership pattern in a given socio-economic and politico-religious context. For example, in the early phases of the nineteenth century, it was the socio-economic condition which played a very important role. In the early years of this century it was the political environment and the personality of Mahatma Gandhi which shaped the national movement. And finally, it were the political environment, changed character of the Congress, and general socio-economic conditions etc.

all were important. This is not to say that these factors were important to the exclusion of others. Moreover, education was, nevertheless, an important factor during all the phases. Except for the first half of the nineteenth century, the leaders of later years had exposure to English education. Even in the first half of the nineteenth century at the all India level and in other states leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy etc. had that exposure, though the number of these leaders was very small. However, many leaders of the twentieth century had exposure only at higher level of education.

Another important source of influence is regarding the socio-economic background of the leaders. Patrons of literature or the literary figures came from higher socio-economic background, whereas the social workers and political leaders were drawn from middle class families. However, there were elites and sub-elites of various kinds.

The Western educated elite was not the only one in the field. There was a traditional social elite which overlapped it.... There was a traditional political elite also such as zamindars etc. (Basu,1974:4).

But it was the middle class which took the lead in political movements. In fact, the separatist movement in Bihar is the story of rise and growth of the middle class in Bihar. "The movement was by and large a middle class movement though towards the end it was joined by the landlords as well" (Chaudhari,1964:Preface).

Yet another important factor was the presence of charismatic personality of Gandhiji on the national scene. He restructured and reoriented the Congress to have a mass support base. This act itself



gave a chance to the leaders from different regions and castes to come up. Further, it was his recognition as a leader which put the person in prominence. This factor will be analysed in the course of our discussion.

### **THE PROBLEM**

From the foregoing analysis it can be inferred that a link has been assumed between English education and leadership. This is not to say that other factors were not so important. Rather, there is one school of thought which gives more importance to the socio-economic factors. But, nevertheless, the education had been given an important emphasis by them also. However, this has not been substantiated at micro level. We would like to do that. For this purpose we have selected Bihar as our area of study. As we have pointed out earlier Bihar was a part of Bengal presidency till 1912 when a separate state of Bihar and Orissa was carved out after a successful agitation. The task before us is

1. To examine that whether there is any link between English education and leadership?
2. Further, to examine that whether there is any link between social class and leadership. Whether leadership roles are assumed regardless of schooling?
3. And, furthermore, to examine that whether there are other factors, independent of education and social background, which play an important part in making a leader?

### **THE SAMPLE**

We have covered almost thirty years of freedom struggle and during this span many leaders had come to the scene and had contributed their best, while many others could not come to the

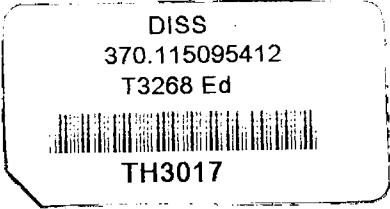
limelight but their contribution was nevertheless great. Further, over the span of thirty years a great many changes had taken place. The leadership of the Congress became more and more active in the field of social reform whereas the leadership under the Extremist dominance had demanded separation of political issues from that of social-reform (Phadke,1987:29). Furthermore, the situation had gone through remarkable change between the two World Wars.

Keeping into consideration that we are covering a long span of time of about thirty years (from 1917 to 1947), I have selected six national and regional level leaders from this period. Sachchidananda Sinha was a leader of older generation who had participated in the movement for the separation of Bihar from Bengal presidency actively and with success. He was a Kayastha<sup>2</sup> by caste and a lawyer by profession. By 1917 he was an established leader of the province. He was a moderate in his approach (Sen,1972). Rajendra Prasad was emerging as a leader at that time. He also was a Kayastha by caste and a lawyer by profession. He participated in the Champaran Movement and came under Gandhiji's influence during the movement. He was a true Gandhian in his approach. Shri Krishna Sinha also was emerging as a leader. He came into prominence during the Non-Cooperation Movement. He was a Bhumihar<sup>3</sup> by caste and a lawyer by profession. He was also a true Gandhian. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was a Juhautia Brahman<sup>4</sup> by caste, and was a sanyasi. He joined politics under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, and came into prominence with the establishment of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha in 1927. Later

on he got disillusioned with Gandhian politics and gradually developed a leaning towards the leftists.

Jayaprakash Narayan joined politics in 1929 under the banner of the Congress. He was a Kayastha by caste and was a serious student of social science. He joined politics directly after his formal education. He, however, came into prominence due to his underground activities for the Congress, and finally by establishing the Congress Socialist Party in 1932. Jagjivan Ram also had joined active politics directly after his formal education. He was a Chamar<sup>5</sup> by caste. He was active for the cause of ameliorating the conditions of the Depressed Classes for long. He preferred Gandhian way to achieve this end than to take help of the government. His activities in the early years of the forties established him as a leader.

It is very difficult to categorise the leaders as national or regional level leaders, because all the leaders took up local as well as the national issues. However, keeping in view the work-field and the target group of the leaders, a broad categorisation can be attempted. Among these leaders, broadly speaking, Rajendra Prasad, Jayaprakash Narayan, and Sachchidananda Sinha can be considered as national level leaders. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was associated with the All India Kisan Sabha and his work-field was mainly Bihar. Jagjivan Ram, of course, established himself as a national leader, but that happened only in the later years, that is after Independence. Shri Krishna Sinha was the first Chief Minister of the province and he held this post till his death. He was most concerned about the problems of the state.



Thus, I have made an attempt, in selecting the leaders, that the leadership of different phases should be represented.

**THE SOURCE**

Our sources put constraints on the selection of the leaders. Our sources are the autobiographies, biographies, and other historical documents relating to that period. The biographies in the main, concentrate their attention on exceptional leaders rather than on ordinary or even average ones. "Autobiographies may be undertaken rather more 'generously'; but biographies are rarely written unless it is believed that the leader has moulded the polity in a distinctive manner (Blondel,1987:121). So, the availability of source itself restricts us from paying attention to ordinary or less prominent leaders. This is not to say that the small leaders are not important. It is these people who catch the attention of great leaders, and in a way provide them with the opportunity to act. For example, it might be speculated that if Raj Kumar Shukla would not have persuaded Mahatma Gandhi to visit Champaran what turn our national movement would have taken.

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A further limitation imposed is that the leader is presented as courageous, or cunning, or as having deep sense of the long term interest. The contribution of the leader is highlighted whereas the failures are usually ignored.

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**THE METHODOLOGY**

It can be commonly observed that in biographical studies the leaders are presented as they have shown more foresight than

others, or more intelligence than others, or more imagination, or more cunningness. One hardly studies the factors which influenced the formation of personalities of the leaders. We would like to attempt this. Keeping in mind the main objective of the study we would like to look for an answer to the following questions:

1. What kind of education did the leaders get?
2. How important were the level of education and the degree of exposure to English education in their emergence as leaders? In other words, is there any link between education and leadership?
3. Is education the only or the main factor responsible for providing leadership? In other words, what is the role of other factors like socio-economic background, the environment, some exceptional qualities etc.?

Looking for an answer to all these questions we would like to take into account the respondents' birth place, their education, the socio-economic set up from which they came. And further, the problems prevalent at different points of time and which the stands taken by the leaders. For example, the problem of creation of Bihar as a separate province, the political demands and agitations, the question of social reform etc. We will also analyse the methods chosen by these leaders to achieve the desired end. However, I am of the opinion that the social system changed rapidly over time and hence, any generalization for the whole period should be avoided since a blanket statement or vague generalization conceals more than it reveals.

In chapter two we have tried to analyse the relationship between education and wider social-system. We find that there is a close relationship, and a change in one domain leads to a change

in other domains, and in turn, results in an over all change. Since the English education was introduced by the British, its impact on an alien culture had to be different. Hence, we have also analysed the impact of this on a traditional society. And again, in this light we have seen the development of education in Bihar.

In chapter three we have tried to analyse the educational and the socio-economic background of the leaders. Here, we have also tried to see the major influences on the leaders in their childhood and/or adolescence. This may help us in analysing why leaders acted in a certain way, or, so to say, why they took up a particular problem.

In chapter four we have tried to analyse the various issues of importance and the stands taken by the leaders. We have marked the difference in the selection of the problems as well as the methods to be used. Here, we have tried to evaluate and to link up these differences to various factors, especially to their education, training, and socialization.

In the concluding chapter, we have tried to 'decompose' the essential qualities of leadership, and then have tried to identify the origin of these attributes. This has helped us in evaluating the relative importance of the various factors in the formation of the leadership.

## FOOT NOTES

1. See, Jha 1985
2. Kayastha caste is considered 'twice born' in general estimation and itself claims to be Khatriya only next to Brahmans. Though it was perhaps more often regarded as clean Shudra in the eighteenth century. See, Hutton, 1946:65,113.
3. Bhumihar or Bhuinhar is a twice born caste. "Apart from Rajputs, the caste which probably stand next to Brahmans in social position and are in some ways allied to them are Babhans... The Babhan are landholders particularly associated with Bihar and claim to be Brahmans who have given up the priestly function for a life of agriculture. Their social division however, suggest affinities with Rajputs rather than Brahmans". See, Hutton, 1946:33.
4. Jujhautiya or Jujakshukti Brahman is a sub-caste of Kanyakubja Brahmana belonged to Bundelkhand area. Bundelkhand is also called Jujhauti (literally meaning fighter or warrior) and probably that is why these Brahmans are called by these names. These people were good warriors as well and had taken up arms many a times in past. See, Saraswati, 1985:4.
5. Chamar is an untouchable caste who tans, hides and works in leather. See, Hutton, 1946:34. Untouchables are kept outside the fourfold Varna Hierarchy. Mahatma Gandhi gave them the name Harijans.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION  
AND  
SOCIETY



## INTRODUCTION

Education is a heavily ritualized and highly organized social process through which habits of thought and social as well as cultural values are inculcated in the pupils. This inculcation or transmission of a given pattern of social order constitute the backbone of social behaviour. Educational sub-system shapes as well as is shaped by the other components of the wider social-system. It acts upon and interacts with other components like kingroup and family, political system, economic system, religion etc., and produces results which give a specific shape to a particular society at a particular point of time. It is the political or economic or religious motive of the dominant group which determines the direction of development in educational field. At the same time, its products have a typical political or economic thinking. The actual role played by the educational factor must be studied comparatively and historically at any point of time, because it is heavily conditioned and constrained by the past. Moreover, at any point of time it reflects three stages of the society : the past, the present and the future. At no point of time it is the reflection of merely one stage only, because, the present is shaped by the past and in turn shapes the future.

Hence we would like to analyse the development of education synchronologically as well as dichronologically. But before attempting this we must have a look at the trend of general development in a colonial context.

## II

**COLONIZER - COLONIZED CONTEXT**

As Clignet points out that colonialism at first tries to minimize the differences. "The minimization of cultural differences between colonizer and colonized might be the result of ignorance. It is likely to take place in the first phase of the colonial enterprise when the anxiety of the colonizer is heightened by his exposure to an unknown and hence frightening environment." It is, however, also the result of political pressures (Clignet, 1984:88). But as the colonizers establish themselves the emphasis shifts to 'assimilation' in which the cultural values of colonizers are emphasized and presented as universal.

Successfully enough - in the opinion of Memmi, and Fanon, - the colonizer attempts to prevent the colonized from understanding his position in time and space, and hence from maintaining contact with his own past or with alien culture. Correspondingly, the colonized is only exposed to the elements of the colonizer's culture likely to facilitate a perpetuation of the colonial order (Clignet, 1984:84). The use of such strategies requires the colonizer, however, to adopt a particular ideological stance towards the colonized. More specifically it requires him to deny the existence of a colonized culture. And thus, the colonized societies have been deprived of their own history and have often been referred to as ahistorical societies (Clignet, 1984:85). Should the colonizer recognize the existence of a colonial culture, he is still tempted to privilege those elements of such a culture that serve his own needs.

In fact, the arbitrariness of the colonial situation obliges the colonized to recognize the power and dominance of the colonizer. "The recognition by the colonized of the inferior position imposed on him leads him to try to beat the colonizer at his own game. He attempts then to play whitey [sic] and hence to reduce the differences that the colonizer has defined as being at the origin of his second class status" (Clignet,1984:86).

This reduction is attempted in terms of language. The colonized is tempted "to speak the colonizer's language with more refinement than his 'master' himself." This reduction is also attempted in terms of clothing styles. We find people dressed in clothing of European fads and practices (Clignet,1984:86). The reduction further takes place at a higher intellectual level and affects the definition that colonized people give to their own culture. "The intellectuals, who perform the role usually performed by the politicians, identify their social functions only by reference to the definition of the role that is assigned to their white counterpart" (Clignet,1984:87). This reduction is finally attempted at the political level and the colonized seem to admit that technologically and culturally "there is only one road towards full economic and social growth" and that the "way towards this road has been shown by the pioneering European nations" (Clignet,1984:87).

However, the story does not end here. The search for distinctiveness begins as the colonized nation comes to awareness of itself. In the first stage this search is likely to express itself "most vigorously in the religious sphere in the form of revival and perhaps the purification of the religion of the country as a re-assertion of the integrity of the national culture and as a central symbol

of differences from the western intruder." At the later stage, there is "a turning away in the sphere of language from the alien-imposed European tongue, and an insistence on the adoption and use of a national language which will at once express the national soul and serve as an instrument of national unification." Everywhere, there is an effort to re-establish contact with the national past (Emerson,1966: 523).

Now against this background we will try to analyse the development of education in the colonial context in general and afterwards in Bihar in particular.

### III

#### EDUCATION IN COLONIAL CONTEXT

After the decisive battle of Plassey (1757) the British established their political supremacy and took up the administrative work. When the Company took up the administration, in 1772 it found itself obliged to formulate a policy of intercivilizational contact between its servants and the Asian subjects over whom they ruled. Under Hastings a new cultural policy was enacted that aimed at "creating an Orientalized elite competent in Indian languages and responsive to Indian traditions" (Kopf,1984:117-118). Thus, the phase of contact between the British and the Indians began which was dominated by the Orientatists.<sup>1</sup> The scholarship of this phase was throughout characterised by a remarkable authenticity and accuracy. Indians were provided with their own pre-Muslim past, organised with chronological precision, for the first time (Kopf,1984:118).

In this initial phase of their contact with Indians, they supported traditional schools and promoted the establishment of new schools and colleges. Calcutta Madarsa was started in 1781 as a private venture; Banaras Sanskrit College was started in 1791; and, College of Fort Williams was established in 1800. (Thorpe,1965:5-13). However, they wanted to introduce the tinge of Western scientific knowledge to Oriental education. Individual efforts were also made in this direction.<sup>2</sup> As early as 1819, efforts were made by private enterprise to establish English schools all over the country (Jha,1985:20). However, the efforts of missionaries in the field of education was motivated by their attitude of conversion. As a result, gradually the Orientalist-Anglisist Controversy started and the attitude of the British government changed.

The year 1835 saw the introduction of Macaulay's Minute on education which provided a justification for the introduction of English education formally in India. The Orientalist-Anglisist controversy ended with this Act as the dice was finally cast in favour of Anglisists. Behind educational policy, the object of the government was "to produce, through the medium of English, a class of competent persons who, stage by stage, were to build up a vernacular literature and supplant incompetent teachers, the idea being to improve the quality and content of vernacular education. This the government proposed to do by securing infiltration of western literature and science through the agency of the upper and middle classes, whom it put on the priority list" (Misra,1961:185-186).

Thus the emphasis changed from minimization of cultural differences by promoting Oriental studies to assimilation in which the cultural values of the West were emphasized as universal. The

knowledge and customs of Indians were described as primitive. The necessity felt by the British to introduce Western values, culture, knowledge and science through the medium of English was emphasized in Macaulay's Minute. This move was supported and upheld by the first recipients and patrons of English education among Indians. They were fascinated by the Western knowledge, values and culture. They also started social-reform movements and were willing to see the government take an active part (Metcalf,1965:116).

The following years witnessed the rapid expansion of English education, and the consolidation of position of English language through both mission schools and other channels (Thorpe, 1965:18). However, the attitude of educated Indians started changing from the late 1850s onwards. They were interested in defending the old essence of society under pressure and they preferred to reform their own society in their own way and at their own pace (Seal,1968:343-344;Metcalf, 1965:133).

The financial assistance given to indigenous schools previously by the government was withdrawn after the change in official policy. Further, the general administrative policy followed by the British did not leave the traditional and local patrons of education in a position to render financial support to these institutions. As a result of these the traditional system of education was systematically and gradually destroyed. On the other hand, "the government was never willing to give education the financial priority it required if real progress were to be made" (Metcalf,1965:131). In fact, inspite of growing demand for more school and Hunter Commission's (1882)

emphasis on primary education proper attention was not paid in this direction. Primary education was entrusted to the care of newly created local-bodies. And, the number of secondary schools and their students continued to grow at a faster rate. This rapid multiplication of secondary schools necessitated a corresponding increase in the number of colleges (Bose,1969:351-354).

However, the general administrative and trade policy had resulted in a gradual and systematic destruction of traditional sources of livelihood. This had increased the dependence of growing population on education. Many educated people came into job market but they could not get a suitable employment. The development of education was top heavy. As an inevitable result of this

from the initial, almost blind admiration of Rammohan Roy, the attitude of many Indians to English had turned out to one of growing dissatisfaction. They felt that the system produced only clerks, lawyers and police inspectors. A number of educational movements were started, directed towards the replacement of English (Basu,1974:77).

The educated, middle classes, which had begun to make their influence felt from 1860s became the leaders of public opinion. Many educated unemployed had joined the rank of agitators. Some specific events at the turn of the century gave a new turn to the national movement and also led to a change in the attitude of leaders. However, the leadership was still homogeneous in terms of education and profession. "There was a growing feeling among British officials in India at the turn of the century that 'active disloyalty' was virtually confined to those who had received English education" (Basu,1974:37).

If we try to analyse the state of education at the turn of the century we see that the development was far from satisfactory.

The Government of India Resolution of 1904 admitted that "four out of five villages are without a school. Three out of four boys grow up without education and one girl in forty attends any kind of school." As regards the quality of education imparted, it pointed out, "that the higher education is pursued with too excessive a view to entering government services...; that excessive prominence is given to examination; that the courses of study are too purely literary in character; that the schools and colleges train the intelligence of the students too little and their memory too much; and, that in the pursuit of English education the cultivation of vernaculars is neglected." But, unfortunately, though the diagnosis was correct the remedial steps taken were neither appropriate nor opportune (Bose, 1969: 354). Moreover, primary education could not make any remarkable progress and the secondary education received the greater share of public funds and Government attention for the next ten years (Bose, 1969: 356-357).

Thus we see that mass-education was not given proper attention with the neglect of primary education all through these years. The focus was mainly on secondary education and the principal beneficiaries from this were the middle classes comprising mainly of higher castes. The inevitable result was the increasing gulf between the educated classes and the general masses. The leaders were mainly recruited from the class of educated people. In orientation also it was guided by the interests of respective communities. When we turn towards analysing the trend in Bihar during these years we find that Bihar followed more or less the same general pattern.



### EDUCATION IN BIHAR

The state of education in Bihar was first surveyed by Francis Buchanan from 1809 to 1812 who visited Bhagalpur, Purnea, Patna including Gaya and Shahabad. A little later, William Adam conducted a survey of the state of education during 1837-38. After analysing the detailed data given by Adam, Hetukar Jha infers that the traditional system of education was sufficiently developed to meet the local needs. Further, Persian education was not confined to any particular sect or group and was accessible to all unlike Sanskrit education. The cause behind this might be that it had higher utilitarian value at that time than Sanskrit, since it was the official language. Hence, the practice of Sanskrit learning in its wider intellectual context had declined, and even at the chief centres such as Banaras, Tirhut etc. this was in a decadent stage (Jha,1985:38-40).

Bihar as a whole was exposed to English education much later as compared to Presidency cities. "English education in Bihar was in fact misconstrued as an attempt on the part of the government to convert the province to Christanty. A rumour was spread that those who took to English education would be departed to Mouritious and other British colonies and employed there as slaves" (Pandey, 1975:157).

By the educational policy of 1835 the government did not bring about ~~any~~ radical change at primary education level. The government rather modified the indigenous village schools. In order to bring about reform in education the government took the help of the

landlord class to whom the people were accustomed to look up for guidance (Pandey,1975:4). In order to popularise elementary education in Bihar thirty two model schools were established by the government: four in each of the eight districts namely, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Monghyr, Gaya, Patna, Shahabad, Tirhut and Saran cum Champaran. "These schools were sanctioned on the understanding that they were to be regarded as temporary model schools and they would be placed on the footing of grants-in-aid schools as soon as possible." Various other experiments were also made in the direction of bringing reform at the level of primary education. But, nothing concrete could be brought out as regards popularising primary education despite several promises made through successive commissions on education.

At the secondary level of education English was first introduced in Bihar in 1835. Two educational circles were introduced, one at Bhagalpur and another at Bihar. The scheme was that there should be a central college with as many zila schools were to be connected with the scholarship by a system of scholarship which would give a stimulus to the ablest students to join higher studies. The object was to communicate through the means of English literature, philosophy and sciences to the greatest number of students that might be found ready to accept it (Jha,1985:46).

Few Zila schools<sup>3</sup> were established under government auspices at Patna (1835), Purnea (1835), Arrah (1836), Bhagalpur (1837) and Chapra (1838) for imparting English education. However, from 1835 to 1863 English education was not received with any enthusiasm by the people (Pandey,1975:54; Jha,1985). In 1837, the Patna High School had 110 students of which 31 were Bihari Hindus, 53 Bengali Hindus,

12 Muslims and 14 Christians. It was after 1860 that the proportion of Bihari students increased (Sarkar and Jha,1963:52-53).

Towards the beginning of the twentieth century there was much progress at the Secondary level of education throughout Bihar. In Patna district, there were 13 High English Schools for boys with 2192 pupils, 5 Middle English Schools with 210 pupils and 6 Middle Vernacular Schools with 318 pupils in 1906 (Pandey,1975:56).

The origin of higher education in Bihar could be traced back as early as the middle of nineteenth century but the growth did not take place on a considerable scale till the end of the century. The first attempt was made in September,1844 when Patna High School was raised to the status of Patna Central College. The experiment, however, of establishing a college at Patna failed after two years and a half. The second attempt to establish a college was made in 1856 when the original Patna School was raised to the rank of the high school with the intention of ultimately raising it to a college. But this attempt met with the same fate as the first one. In 1858, this high school was abolished because of lack of students. The third attempt made in 1862 got practical success when a zila school was recognized and placed on the footing of a Mofussil College and was affiliated to Calcutta University. However, the enrollment rate was very low. It had a total number of 5 students in 1862 which rose to 18 in 1863 (Sarkar and Jha,1963:53-59).

The closing years of last century witnessed the establishment of colleges all-over Bihar. The Zamindars played very important role in encouraging the collegiate level education and made liberal

donations towards the establishment of new colleges. By the year 1900 there were six colleges in Bihar. Patna College was the first college to be established. Tej Narayan Jubilee College (TNJ College, renamed Tej Narayan Banaili or TNB College afterwards) at Bhagalpur was established in 1887 by Tej Narayan Singh, a local Zamindar. Bihar National College (B.N. College), Patna was founded in 1889 by Bisheswar Singh, an English educated Zamindar of Kulharia. Diamond Jubilee College (D.J. College), Monghyr was constructed in 1898 to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria with the help of the donations made by local Zamindars. Great Bhumihar Brahman College (GBB College, renamed Langat Singh College afterwards), Muzaffarpur was established in 1899 with the help of Babu Langat Singh, one of the few English educated men among the Bhumihar Brahmans at that time. St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh was the sixth college to be established as a philanthropic work of the Dublin University Mission in 1900 (Jha,1985:46-47).

Thus we see that secondary and higher education made considerable progress since 1880s. The local elites some of whom were educated and others who were influenced by English educated people began taking keen interest in higher education. However, this was also the beginning of the institutionalization of "the tendency of making sectarian encroachment upon the sphere of education." And "the tendency to organise association on caste, communal and regional basis began to dominate the society of Bihar since the last quarter of the 19th century" (Jha,1985:47-50). As late A.N. Singh remarked in his reminiscences that casteism began to be vigorously practised in Bihar since the beginning of the present century by the elites (English - educated caste elites) for securing government jobs to

their respective caste-men (Singh,1963:110-111). The situation is as described,

The elites of different castes considered it desirable to think, organise and mobilize their energy on caste, communal and regional lines for the material and non-material gains of their respective communities (Jha, 1985:51).

But at the same time, the educated middle class leadership of Bihar was resenting against the excessive dominance of Bengalis in almost every sphere. They successfully carried out the agitation for the creation of Bihar as a separate province. Before going further to analyse the state of education we should pause for a while to see the state of vernacular education in Bihar. According to Adam there were more than a lakh of vernacular schools in Bengal and Bihar during 1830s. Students from all the castes and communities attended these schools. The students from non-upper castes came in large numbers and the students from untouchable castes had also representation. At the same time the teaching was not exclusively reserved for the upper castes. Even lower caste people were also represented among teachers. As far as the syllabi of these schools are concerned, the emphasis was more on commercial accounts, agricultural accounts and some vernacular works of Hindi (Jha,1985:42-44). But the fairly institutionalized system of education gradually decayed. Unavailability of government support and gradual collapse of local base of support resulted in virtual collapse of a great system of mass education in rural areas of the whole Bihar. And the English education was so designed that "it explicitly favoured only the upper and upper middle classes" (Jha,1985:46). The British education policy was elitist in nature designed to privilege the upper sector of society.

After the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province in 1912 education made progress in Bihar. The cause of primary education attracted the attention of the government as well as others. A Committee was appointed by the government in March, 1914 to examine the question of the development, improvement and organization of primary education in the province. They recommended that the function of local bodies should be confined to vernacular schools; that managing committee should be found for primary schools whenever possible; that the schools should, if possible, be so placed that no boy should have to walk more than a mile to attend a primary school (QREP-I, 1917:22).

In August, 1916 instructions were issued that a programme should be prepared for the expansion of primary education in each district (QREP-II, 1922:69). The government made announcement of giving large new recurring grants for three years from 1922-23. The effect of the new grants was to render possible a large increase in the number of schools, and many boards and individuals encouraged by this and by the request to frame programmes - opened schools more rapidly than was prudent in the hope that further grants would follow. After 1925-26 the government found it impossible to make further recurring grants and many schools thus opened in haste had to be closed (QREP-IV, 1932, 51).

With effect from January 1935, a new syllabus was introduced keeping in view that "the child is a living organism and not a mere memorising machine." The new curriculum was

to discourage excessive memory work or cramming and to substitute in its place guided activity which will call into play the whole mind of the boy and not the memory only (QREP-V, 1937:70).

Keeping in view the growing communal tension it emphasized the need of common schools for Hindus and Muslims wherever these two communities spoke a common language (QREP-V,1937:73). The problem of female illiteracy received much attention only after the thirties. A greater number of girls joined the primary schools for boys. During 1932-37 it had been reaffirmed that co-education was the best solution of the problem of early education of girls. This was preferred by parents as well because of being much more cost-effective (QREP-V,1937:37). The problem regarding the education of Depressed Classes also received attention only in the 'thirties. It was advised to take up the problem of education of Depressed classes with immediate concern and to establish special schools. However, the general policy was to be aimed at free admission for the Depressed class boys in ordinary schools gradually (QREP-V,1937:73-74).

However, the number of institutions did not increase all through the following years despite a continuous increase in the number of pupils in them. (See Table-1).

It is evident from the table that the number of institutions was 21,827 in 1932 which came down to 20,260 in 1947, while the number of pupils in them was on continuous increase. The number of Sanskrit Pathshalas as well as of Maktabas did not witness a marked increase whereas the number of pupils in them was on continuous increase.

The Middle School Education made a remarkable progress during the period under review. There were only 244 schools with 20,453 students in 1911 which increased almost seven times to 1447 schools with 188,740 students by 1947. (See Table-2).

**TABLE - 1<sup>(a)</sup>**  
**PARTICULARS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BIHAR<sup>(b)</sup>**

YEAR	PRIMARY SCHOOLS <sup>(c)</sup>		SANSKRIT PATHSHALAS		MAKTABS	
	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1917	24,896	745,224	160	3,443	2,963	69,570
1922	24,956	688,188	320	7,282	2,589	62,274
1927	30,247	941,675	804	19,931	3,757	92,377
1932	21,827	706,780	724	19,315	3,679	94,436
1937	20,790	758,231	798	22,765	3,197	90,914
1942	22,276	907,970	891	33,470	3,287	110,181
1947	20,260	906,396	754	16,374	2,840	93,950

(a) Sources : Quinquennial Review on the Progress of education in Bihar and Orissa (first to fourth)  
Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar (fifth to seventh).

(b) Figures upto 1927 show the combined figures for Bihar and Orissa.

(c) Figures for Primary Schools include a fraction of Sanskrit Pathshalas and Maktabs also.



**TABLE - 2<sup>(a)</sup>**

**PARTICULARS OF MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION IN BIHAR<sup>(b)</sup>**

YEAR	MIDDLE SCHOOLS		MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS		MIDDLE VERNACULAR SCHOOLS	
	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1912	244	20,453	144	12,875	100	7,578
1917	269	27,962	165	17,837	104	10,125
1922	333	25,282	197	15,063	136	10,219
1927	478	52,722	246	28,310	232	24,412
1932	641	72,482	497	55,688	119	12,693
1937	776	101,810	637	83,009	103	12,619
1942	1,192	144,095	-	-	-	-
1947	1,447	188,740	-	-	-	-

(a) Sources : Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa (first to fourth)  
Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar (fifth to seventh)

(b) These figures are exclusively for the province of Bihar.

There were two types of recognised Middle Schools viz. Middle English Schools and Middle Vernacular Schools. In 1918 the Middle English Schools were transferred from the control of local bodies to that of the government in order that those bodies might be free to devote their whole attention to vernacular education. The Vernacular SLC Examination was introduced in 1918 which increased the popularity of these schools (QREP-II,1922:57-61). However, due to mainly financial reasons the Middle Vernacular Schools were gradually being converted into Middle English Schools, even though they were providing good and cheap education for poor boys. The Middle English Schools continued to be popular.

There was a sharp increase in the number of schools as well as students in them under both the categories between 1922-27. However,

the increase in the number of Middle Vernacular Schools must not be taken to imply any great measure of popularity for such schools.... Some local bodies have gone in for wholesale conversion of Vernacular into English Schools. This may be in the interest of the clever pupils as well as in that of the children of better class parents, but whether it is in the interests of the country generally is open to doubt (QREP-III, 1927:57).

However, there was a sharp decline in the number of Middle Vernacular schools as well as in the number of students in them. There was almost a fifty per cent decrease in these. It should be noted in this connection that the general increase in the number of Middle English Schools and students in them, which was 497 with 55,628 in 1932, synchronized with the rapid decline in the number of Middle Vernacular Schools and their students noted above. The number increased still further to 637 with 83,009 in 1937 (see Table-2).

It would be easy to understand how a large proportion of the Middle Vernacular Schools were converted into Middle English Schools. The reasons attributed for this were two viz., that English teaching was desired by nearly everyone seeking higher education, and that the cost of Middle English School to local body or committee concerned was less than that of Middle Vernacular School (QREP-V,1937:57). However, so far the utility and efficiency of these schools were concerned, it was noted that,

In any case there can be no doubt that the two systems of secondary education in existence over the greater part of India, the anglo-vernacular (represented by High and Middle English Schools) and the Vernacular (represented by Middle Vernacular Schools), the latter system is more efficient and better adapted to the practical needs of the pupils. "For a sum commensurate with the income of the parents a boy receives an education covering most of the subjects that he is likely to need on leaving schools. The school is in or near the village, the course is designed for village life" (QREP-V,1937:57).

At the High School level, in 1913-14 special classes were opened at the zila schools at few places for students who had completed the middle courses in vernacular schools. This one year course was started with the aim of enabling students to proceed with their studies easily. It should be pointed out that the instructions were given through the medium of English only till the attempt was made to introduce vernacular as the medium of instruction in 1923. It was decided that from 1922 "translation to and from the Oriental Classics at the Matriculation stage shall be from and to the vernacular instead of from and to the English as in the past." The Patna University recognised five languages Hindi, Urdu, Parbatiya, Bengali and Oriya as vernaculars; and four languages Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and Persian as Oriental Classics (QREP-II,1922:58).

Keeping in view the recommendations of the Education Committee of 1923, regarding the introduction of vernacular as the medium of instruction for the four highest classes, the University regulations were modified: "...at the Matriculation Examination, in subjects other than English and Mathematics, the medium of examination after the year 1928 might be the vernacular offered by the candidate for composition, unless that vernacular was Parabatiya, Provided for any candidate, who takes a composition paper in English instead of a vernacular, the medium of examination should be English (QREP-III,1927:53-54). However, the English language retained its hold on secondary education. After 1930 many students came to receive education which resulted ultimately in the growth of coaching schools which prepared students for the Matriculation Examinations. This, in fact, resulted in lowering the academic standard but nothing could be done in this regard (QREP-V,1937:64-66).

The period of 1930s was marked by the great economic depression. But the number of schools as well as enrolment in them increased due the fact that many educated men were out of employment and were, therefore, ready to take up teaching job even on low pay. However, this resulted in lowering the salaries of teachers even further (QREP-V,1937:58). If we see the growth of High Schools and the number of students in them we see a steady increase. The number of high schools increased from 79 with 21,271 students in 1912 to 386 with 1,33,458 in 1947. (See Table-3).

The corresponding figure for vernacular schools was quite low for these years. The general political as well as economic conditions did affect the functioning of these institutions. After the

TABLE - 3<sup>(a)</sup>

**PARTICULARS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BIHAR**

YEAR	HIGH SCHOOLS		MIDDLE SCHOOLS		TOTAL	
	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1912	79	21,271	244	20,453	323	41,724
1917	85	30,057	269	27,962	354	58,019
1922	102	21,546	333	25,282	435	46,828
1927	117	34,108	478	52,722	595	86,830
1932	155	44,638	641	72,482	796	117,120
1937	208	59,639	776	101,810	984	161,491
1942	270	80,038	1192	144,095	1468	224,133
1947	386	133,458	1447	188,740	1833	322,198

(a) Sources : Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa (first to fourth)

Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar (fifth to seventh)

Non-Cooperation movement five recognised schools were converted into National Schools, Maharani Laxmivati Saraswati Academy, Laherisarai; Goreakothi High School, Saran; B.B. Collegiate School, Muzaffarpur; Kharagpur High School, Monghyr and Marwari School, Darbhanga.

In total there were 400 National Schools with 17,000 pupils in them in 1921. But this number decreased considerably and there were only 36 National Schools with only 1,841 students in 1927. The number of schools further decreased to 15 with 699 students in 1931. However, the number of schools increased to 20 and of students to 1251 in 1937. The cause for this drastic decrease was, as explained in one Inspector's report, that the keenest supporters of national school preferred to send their children to schools recognized by the government (QREP-III,1937:120). The number of unrecognized institutions which included venture schools, schools of old indigenous type, national schools and schools which have lost recognition, was on continuous decline except the years between 1927-37 which witnessed a slight increase. However, the number of students in them was on continuous increase till 1937 after which it started falling with the fall in the number of institutions. This fall synchronized with the increase in the number of recognized institutions and pupils in them meaning thereby that a number of the unrecognized institutions might have been recognized by the newly formed Congress ministry.

The Congress ministry constituted a Basic Education Board in December,1938 to organize basic education in Bihar (Upadhyay, 1951(I):13). The concept of Basic Education was given by Gandhiji who advocated a self-supporting education system. It was for an

all-round drawing out of the best in child and man: body, mind and spirit (Upadhyay,1951(II):9). However, with regard to the self-supporting aspect, this received a set-back during the year 1942-46 when the absence of proper guidance from leaders and due to difficulties of receiving raw materials etc. (Upadhyay,1951(I):12-13). The medium of instruction throughout the period was to be the mother tongue, and the progress of education throughout was to "centre around some form of manual and productive work chosen with due regard to the physical and social environment of the child" (Upadhyay,1957(I):1). However, due to war situation nothing definite could be concluded about the functioning of this system of education.

#### **HIGHER EDUCATION**

As soon as the province was created in 1912 the desirability of establishing a University became apparent. Accordingly as early as December, 1912 the permission of the Government of India was obtained to the constitution of a committee to work out the necessary proposals and provisions for the financial assistance were also made. A sixteen member committee was appointed with Mr. R.Nathan as the President in May,1913 (QREP-I,1917:43). The committee evolved a scheme:

A central institution at Patna will undertake the higher branches of instruction, conduct the examinations, supervise the general life and training of students and regulate the teaching and organization of a number of incorporated colleges. Some of these colleges will be in the University areas, and others will be situated in different parts of the province.... Grouped around the central institution will be four Arts colleges, a Sanskrit College, and a training college for teachers.... A college will also be provided in each of the Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Chota Nagpur and Orissa Divisions (QREP-I,1917:44).

There were six Arts Colleges in Bihar in 1916-17. To allow the opening of regular post-graduate classes at Patna college it was necessary to remove the Intermediate Arts classes, and hence the new institution, named New College was founded in 1919 (QREP-II, 1957:42). The Intermediate Arts classes were opened also at Ranchi Zila School in 1926 as "an attempt to draw aboriginal students to higher education" (QREP-III,1927:42).

Until July, 1925 there was no arrangement for higher medical education in the province. A certain number of reserved seats for students from Bihar at the Calcutta Medical College were not enough to meet the needs of the province. Therefore, the Prince of Wales Medical College and Hospital was opened in 1925, and it was decided to shift the Temple Medical School at Patna to Darbhanga. It was in 1920 that Hon'ble Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga made a donation of five lakh rupees towards the construction of a college (QREP-III, 1927:46).

The Science College was opened in 1927-28. Extension works at many colleges were done with a view to accommodate more and more students (QREP-V,1932:21). Further, four University Research Scholarships of the value of Rs.75 each a month had been founded for the encouragement of Post-Graduate Classes in 1927 (QREP-IV, 1932:22). Further, the Agriculture College and Research Institute were opened in 1930. The Bihar and Orissa Veterinary College was opened on July 1, 1930 as well (QREP-IV,1932:39-40). Patna Women's College was established in 1937.

As regards the Vernacular and Oriental education at higher level, Mohammadan Education Committee was appointed in the year 1914 which desired a Government Madrasa to be established at



Patna(QREP-I,1917:123). The same year a committee was appointed to advise the government on the subject of Sanskrit education. It recommended that a Sanskrit Association should be constituted for the province to conduct Sanskrit examinations (QREP-I,1917:124). To, facilitate the learning of Sanskrit as well as the Islamic studies, the Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies was appointed in 1918-19 and the superintendent of Islamic Studies was appointed in January, 1922.

The government started giving liberal grants to Recognized Sanskrit Pathshalas. However, there was a feeling that the old learnings were suffering due to lack of interest and encouragement. As is described in one District Inspector's report:

The Hindus and Mohammadans public desire that the old learnings suffering for want of interest and encouragement should be fostered by Government, so that the society may have enlightened ministers of religion everywhere at hand, to strengthen and instruct the people in their faith and to correct such tendencies as there may be towards infidelity to the ancient canons of life and conduct. Government in defence to public opinion help to keep alive many of these institutions which can no longer maintain themselves by private support; but Government cannot find opportunities for the employment of their ex-students. The result is that after have been maintained and educated for so many years at Government expense they find themselves turned on the world without means of a decent living, except in rare circumstances as maulvis and pundits in the few high schools (QREP-III,1927:82).

However, these schools remained popular. The number of these increased in the 'thirties despite curtailed government grants. The fact that lack of any other avenue for certain classes for boys passing primary and middle classes except admission in Sanskrit and Islamic institutions was mainly behind this popularity (QREP-V,1937:98). In 1935-36, the University of Patna instituted, two degrees of Bachelor of Oriental Learning and Master of Oriental Learning for the benefit of students who wished to specialise in a classical language

but had a knowledge of English upto the standard required for the degree of B.A. (QREP-IV,1937:94).

In a nutshell it can be said that higher education made substantial progress after 1916-17. The province had 7 Arts College with 2575 students in 1916-17. The number of colleges increased to 10 in 1921-22 and to 11 in 1926-27. The number of students in them were 2075 and 3474 respectively. (These figures include the figures for Orissa as well). In 1931-32 there were 9 colleges with 3074 students in the territory of Bihar. Between 1932-37 the number of colleges remained the same whereas students in them rose to 3,620. In 1941-42 there were 16 institutions with 6,497 students which went upto 23 with 12,767 students.

The corresponding figures in the Sanskrit Tols and Madrasas were much below in comparison to general institutions. The position of Madrasas was even less satisfactory than tols. The total number of Madrasas increased from 85 with 5405 students in 1931-32 to 98 with 6,174 students in 1936-37. The number of Madrasas decreased from 103 in 1941-42 to 64 in 1946-47 and the number of students in them from 6,446 to 3,850 for respective years. (See Table-4)

So far, we have seen the development of education and educational institutions in Bihar. The striking features of this development process were - a marked decline in the number of pupils in 1921-22 at every stage, and a sudden increase in the number of institutions as well as students in late 'thirties. We also found that the institutionalized traditional system of vernacular and oriental education was gradually and systematically destroyed by introduction

**TABLE - 4<sup>(a)</sup>**  
**PARTICULARS OF SANSKRIT TOLS AND MADARSAS<sup>(b)</sup>**

YEAR	SANSKRIT <u>TOLS</u>		<u>MADARSAS</u>	
	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS	INSTITUTIONS	PUPILS
1	2	3	4	5
1917	580	12,785	-	-
1922	318	8,326	-	-
1927	284	8,436	74	4,532
1932	248	7,911	85	5,405
1937	302	10,628	98	6,174
1942	375	12,628	103	6,446
1947	384	10,894	64	3,850

(a) Sources : Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa (first to fourth)  
Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar (fifth to Seventh)

(b) Figures upto 1927 include the figures for Orissa also.

of English education, by the British. Further, the English education which replaced it could not provide a true alternative. It is more clear by the fact that only 3.56 per cent people of the province attended the educational institutions in 1912, the year of the creation of Bihar. And the overall growth was just 5.42 per cent till 1947 when the country achieved independence. (See Table-5 in Appendix).

### EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN BIHAR

Now, we should turn to analyse the impact of the development of education on society in Bihar. The development of education affected the trend of general literacy and also the literacy in English.<sup>6</sup>

Out of a total population of 30,555,963 in 1911 there were only 15,110,000 persons literate which constituted only 4.94 per cent. In 1921 only 5.64 per cent of the total population was literate and even this figure decreased slightly to 5.48 per cent in 1931. The percentage increased to 8.79 in 1941. The rate of literacy in English was 1 per cent all through these years. Thus, we see that the spread of literacy was quite low and even this was mainly represented by males. The spread of literacy in English followed the same pattern. (See Table-6 in Appendix).

As regards caste groups, the higher castes dominated the scene and the literacy rate was quite low among the non-upper caste Hindus.<sup>7</sup> The Kayasthas, the writer caste of Bihar, easily took the lead as 32.89 per cent of its population was literate in 1911. The percentage went still further with 34.16 in 1921 and 37.20 in 1931. The next castes were Brahmans and Bhumihars. The figures for Brahmans were 16.36, 15.22 and 18.48 respectively whereas for Bhumihars these were 10.19, 12.36 and 13.55 for respective years.

These were followed by Rajputs with 9.18 per cent in 1911 which went up to 11.11 per cent in 1921 and to 12.02 in 1931. After these castes there was a noticeable gap. A slightly higher percentage of literacy was found among the Teli caste. The percentage was 3.46 in 1911, 4.33 in 1921 and 5.41 in 1931. Their dealing in trade had led a fair number of their menfolk to acquire some familiarity with the 3 R's. After the Telis came the two agriculturist castes of Kurmis and Goalas. The percentage for Kurmis were 3.03 in 1911, 3.75 in 1921 and 4.67 in 1931. For Goalas it were 1.23, 1.38 and 2.00 for respective years. The Koiris also had a percentage of slightly over 2 per cent. It would be interesting to note that the Depressed classes were left far behind. In fact, among this section the percentage never touched even 1 per cent. In case of Chamars and Doms it remained below 0.5 per cent all through these years.

As regards religious communities, Indian Christians were the most advanced due to the efforts of missionaries in the field of education. Between Hindus and Muslims the latter were slightly more literate than the former on the whole. It would seem that "the Muslims owe their superiority in this matter largely due to the fact that they were more addicted to town life." This of course does not mean that urban Muslims were more literate than urban Hindus. But the general literacy in urban areas was much higher compared to countryside and a higher proportion of Muslim population lived in the urban areas (Census, 1931:216). However, in North Bihar where a sizeable proportion of Muslim population was found in the rural areas, their literacy rate was lower than that among Hindus (Census, 1931:216).

Thus, it appears that the upper caste Hindus had achieved a relatively high level of literacy. The case among Muslims was also more or less the same. The Saiyads had a high level of literacy that is, 18.60 per cent in 1911 and 15.29 per cent in 1921. But the Jolahas (the lower group) had a very low level of literacy as 2.03 per cent in 1911 2.73 per cent in 1921 and 3.64 per cent in 1931. The level of literacy in English followed almost the same pattern as the general literacy. Kayasthas had the greatest share among upper caste Hindus and Saiyads were just next to them. Among the lower castes the percentage was zero in many cases and it barely touched 0.01 per cent in few cases. (See Table-7 in Appendix).

Thus, we have seen that education is an important subsystem of wider social system and it interacts with other subsystems. The change in political and economic sphere affected the growth of education to a great extent. The British motive of political domination and economic gain resulted in decay of the traditional system of vernacular education and its replacement by the system of English education. English education was designed to suit the interests of upper middle classes, and it created a gulf between the educated and the masses. Moreover, the British changed their policy from time to time to suit their interest. But above all the education was not given the priority it deserved. This might be due to the fear that the Indian leaders would mobilise public opinion through the press. On the other hand, Indians had their own perception of the reality and reacted to this. It was the British policy of employment and administration which resulted in the search for alternative system of education. However, first ever move at the beginning of the century was not quite successful. It was the

changed political environment after 1920 which affected the growth of education to a considerable extent. It was during the Non-Cooperation movement and again during the Civil Disobedience movement that many students left educational institutions. It was the growing demand for education through vernacular from different segments which resulted in a change in official policy.

Further, economic factors had their impact throughout the period and were responsible for the withdrawal of many students in early 'twenties.' Then, in the thirties at the time of great economic depression many educated people were out of employment, and they provided massive supply of teachers at low salaries which resulted in the rapid growth of educational institutions. Moreover, it was the motive of economic gain which drew more and more students to educational institutions.

On the whole, the development of education in Bihar was far from satisfactory and lop-sided. The education policy of British and the reaction of natives in Bihar was the replica of the general trend all over India. There was very little development at primary education level whereas the improvement at higher education level was relatively more. As a result, the traditionally literate castes benefited more. The upper castes among both Hindus and Muslims left the rest far behind and consequently reinforced their overall superiority quite successfully. Further, the difference between the level of general literacy and literacy in English was so glaring at all social levels that one may postulate that participation in wider political and economic spheres was severely limited even among the upper sections of the population. It was mainly the upper

middle class-comprising mostly of higher castes - which derived benefit from the education. Further, the sectarian approach of the educated people - reflected in establishing educational institutions and seeking favours for their respective caste groups - remained a permanent phenomenon throughout the period. At times the establishment of new institutions was the result of unhealthy competition among zamindars than the altruistic motive.

So far we have tried to analyse the general social as well as educational condition in the province. Now against this background we would like to analyse the social as well as educational background of our selected leaders in the next chapter.



## FOOT NOTES

1. Orientalism was an outgrowth of East India Company officials and some missionaries who mastered the South Indian languages. Company officials were encouraged by the government to do scholarly research on the history, archeology, philosophy, and religion of Hindu, Islamic and Buddhist India. See, Kopf,1984:117.
2. Individual efforts in this context were made by captain Doweton, General Claude Martin, David Hare, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others who took keen interest in the cause of the education. See. Jha,1985:20.
3. Zila Schools means district schools.
4. See. Table-5 in Appendix
5. See Table - 6 in Appendix
6. See Table - 7 in Appendix

CHAPTER III

LEADERS IN

THE MAKING

In this chapter we will try to analyse the social and educational background of the leaders. The family environment, the peer group influences, the general environment outside the family, the educational background etc. all these factors seem to have some influence in shaping the attitude and personality of an individual. We will try to analyse and evaluate some of these factors in this chapter.

We will attempt this analysis and evaluation through discussions under different sections and subsections. First of all we will take up the social background, family environment, early socialization or upbringing of the leaders. This will be followed by an analysis of educational background and the various factors to which these leaders had exposure as students. All through our discussion we will try to identify the factors which influenced the leaders. As far as the question of influences is concerned our assumption is that the environment within the family and outside (that is the social and political factors) have a definite impact in shaping the ideological stance and the position taken and role played by the leaders.

Now we shall present brief profiles of leaders in order to highlight their family environments and sources of early influences.

## I

### **SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND EARLY SOCIALIZATION**

#### **SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA**

Sachchidananda Sinha belonged to a well-to-do and respected Kayastha family of village Murar, near Buxar. The portion of the

Murar village inhabited by his ancestors is still known as 'Lukhanaua tola.' His grandfather Bakshi Shiva Prasad Sinha, who died in 1870 at an advanced age of eighty, was the Chief Revenue Officer of the Maharaja of Dumraon (Sinha,1969:10). Sachchidananda's father Bakshi Ramyad Sinha started his life in the executive service of the then North-Western Province. He continued to serve there till some time after the Revolt of 1857. Later he resigned his job and started practice as a lawyer at Banaras. Shortly thereafter, he shifted to Arrah in 1865 on the suggestion of the Maharaja of Dumraon, who made him the permanent lawyer of the Raj. It was here at Arrah that Sachchidananda was born on November 10,1871 (Sinha, 1969:11) Arrah was the headquarter of Shahabad District.

The news of Sachchidananda's birth was conveyed by his uncle to Lakkar Shah, a Muslim saint who was believed to have attained communion with the Divine and who was regarded as a man of great piety and character. The saint felt very happy and said: "He is a lucky child and will not suffer from want. He will live long and will be happy." The saint then pulled out some hair from his moustache and gave it to his uncle, saying "put them into a locket and let the child wear it as an amulet until he is twentyone." Accordingly, Sinha wore the locket till after his return from England, and that too when his mother had permitted him to remove it. He continued to possess the locket throughout his life. At the same time he believed that it did obliterate from his mind and heart many prejudices against Muslims, which stood him in good stead in later life while working for Hindu-Muslim unity (Sinha,1969:11-12).

Being the youngest and the only male child in the family, young Sinha was made much of by his parents whose love and affection was lavishly bestowed upon him. At the same time, the utmost care was taken to help him develop good habits and character (Sinha, 1969:11). His father was deeply interested in the study of comparative religious and had a large number of books on the subject in the library. He was also a regular reader of newspapers and periodicals in Hindi and Urdu languages. Sachchidananda inherited from his father, in full measure, a love of books and devotion to study and, in particular, interest in the study of the political and cultural history of Islam. Besides, he had also inherited a love for travelling from his father.

There was a great influence on him of his mother. About his mother Sachchidananda writes: "Though she can hardly be said to have been educated woman judged by modern standards, yet she was by no means uneducated.... She used to read Ramayana<sup>1</sup> daily and to explain its lessons to the women-folk, and the children in the house. Thus, I learnt the Ramayana at my mother's feet, and the intimate knowledge, which I possess of the contents of the greatest work in Hindi literature has been a source of inspiration to me throughout my life. Though I learnt from my mother when I was between the ages of five and fifteen, I can still recite correctly from memory long passages from the famous epic" (Sinha, 1969: 13-14). About his mother's sense of discipline he says: "...her sense of discipline had affected for better my whole life, by making me adopt good and healthy habits - early rising, regularity in meals, moderation in food and drink, absolute non-smoking and many other good traits, including that of adopting method and system in

my work... which had contributed to such success I had been able to achieve - I owe entirely to my mother" (Sinha,1969:14).

It was again from his mother that he had inherited the great qualities of large-heartedness, generosity and hospitality with the result that for more than fifty years, eminent persons from every corner used to be his guests. In fact, he took a particular delight in entertaining guests on a lavish scale (Sinha,1969: 14-15).

Another quality inherited by him from his parents was a spirit of rationalism and disbelief in supernatural, and astrological predictions by vyotishis, rammals, fals,<sup>2</sup> of palm-reading by palmists and in superstition, etc. "As a Vedantist"<sup>3</sup> said he, "my father believed in nothing supernatural, and was never tired of impressing upon me that belief in astrology, and its inevitable concomitants, was not only wrong but a great evil. And he was absolutely right in this respect, beyond a shadow of doubt..." (Sinha,1969:15).

#### **Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD**

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was born at Zeradei, a village in the district of Saran on December 3, 1884, the youngest child in the family of three daughters and two sons. His was also a respectable Kayastha family. His father Mahadev Sahai was brought up by his granduncle Chaudhur Lal who rose to the position of Dewan of Hathua Estate. The status of the family also improved in Chaudhur Lal's time only when he purchased a Zamindari yielding an annual income of Rs.7000/- per year (Prasad,1957:1-3).

Like other villages of those days Zeradei was a self-sufficient unit. The village had a mixed population. "The Muslim population consisted mostly of glass bangle manufacturers, petty pedlars, masons, tailors and weavers. There was no Sheikh or Saiyad amongst them. The Hindu community was composed of Brahmins, Rajputs, Bhumihars, Koiries, Muris, Karmkars, Turhas, Gonds, Doms, Chamars, Dusadhs etc." The village was Rajput dominated. Religion permeated the village life and there was perfect harmony between Hindus and Muslims (Prasad,1957:9-14).

Rajendra Prasad grew in close company of his father and learnt riding and village games like Kabaddi and Chikka from him (Prasad,1969:5). His father Mahadev Sahai was more interested in other things than in the work of the estate. And, when the management of the estate fell on the shoulders of Mahadev Sahai misfortune beset the zamindari. Seeing the losses all round he stopped all cultivation for sometime. Those were the hard days. But the expenses on education of both the brothers, when Rajendra Prasad was studying for the Entrance Examination at Chapra and his brother was in B.A. in the Allahabad University, were arranged by their father though at times with much difficulty (Prasad,1957:18-19).

Rajendra Prasad had a habit of going to bed early and waking up before dawn. In the evening he would be so drawsy that his mother would put him to bed just after sunset, and would wake him up for dinner at night. It was quite a job for her to feed a drawsy child but she was quite adept at this. He writes, "going to bed at sunset and waking up early became with me a habit which I would never shake off and it continued while I was in college" (Prasad,1957:6). During winter when the nights were long, he got

up early and roused his mother from sleep. "She would then" writes he, "recite some bhajans.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes she would tell me stories from the Ramayana. These had a deep influence on me" (Prasad, 1957:5).

He was also influenced by his brother who was like a father figure for him. Under his influence he developed love for Swadeshi.<sup>5</sup> "It was perhaps in 1899 when he had come home from Allahabad that he talked of the 'Swadeshi' idea. He had brought with him Swadeshi cloth. From then on I began wearing Swadeshi cloth only till Gandhiji started the Khadi movement. The idea of Swadeshi was not confined to clothes only. When buying anything, this was kept in view as far as possible" (Prasad, 1957:28).

Further, he was very attached to his family and he changed important decisions under family pressure. For example, once when he tried to go abroad clandestinely he was stopped. He promised to his father that he would not go abroad against his wishes. Next, when he wrote a letter to his brother seeking his permission to join the Servants of India Society his brother and some other family members did not favour this idea out of practical considerations relating to the family and he had to respect his brother's sentiments.

#### SHRI KRISHNA SINHA

Shri Krishna Sinha was born in the house of his maternal grandfather at Khanwa on October 21, 1887. Shri Krishna's father Harihar Singh was a middle ranking farmer-cum-zamindar. He belonged to a respectable Bhumihar family of village Maur in Monghyr district.



Harihar Singh was a man of profoundly religious temperament - kind and patient, because he was godfearing and strong - and he was so dedicated a worshipper of Shiva that he constructed a temple of the Lord in his village (Prasad and Sinha,1888:1). His father was also very much concerned about the healthy mental and physical growth of sons (Prasad and Sinha,1988:1-2).

The quite rearing up of the child Shri Krishna by his mother should be regarded with due respect because the child was supposed to be naughty one, extremely finicky about the things he was given to eat (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:9). His mother died of plague when Shri Krishna was just five years old. This pre-mature death of mother had a deep impact on him. After his mother's death he was brought up by his bhabhi<sup>6</sup> with great care. They were five brothers and all of them were educated. The eldest, Deokinandan Sinha had a roaring practice as a Mukhtar at Monghyr (Prasad and Sinha,1988:1). Deokinandan himself was also a man of great religious faith and a devotee of Lord Shiva. He too built a beautiful temple in his village (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:9). All the brothers stayed with Deokinandan Sinha at Monghyr and got education under his guidance (Prasad and Sinha,1988:1-2).

Thus we see that Shri Krishna Sinha grew up in a religious atmosphere and it left the deepest and most permanent imprint on his personality. "One can very well imagine how spiritually soothing it must have been for the child Shri Krishna to follow his father regularly to the temple and dutifully observe the hours of worship with unwavering sincerity." His father introduced him to Ramchari-tamanasa which he read regularly throughout his life (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:19). The family environment in which he was brought

up gave him an attitude of religious tolerance, and he used to mix with his schoolmates freely without any consideration of caste and class (Prasad and Sinha,1988:2).

The religious background of the family, especially the humanity of his father's genius, cast such a modelling impact on the child that he himself became a highly religious man right from his childhood days. He developed a deep devotion to Lord Krishna. "The firm religious foundation gave to Shri Krishna the courage of his thought, the magnetism of his vision and the necessary strength to face the oncoming storms of political struggle" (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:10-11).

Further, he had seen deaths in the family from very close quarters. The ugly face of this inevitable reality of human life had to be faced by him regularly starting from early childhood. His mother expired when he was very young, and then the end of his father came in 1907 when he was a student. He saw the end of his younger brother Gopikrishna in 1917. While these encounters shook him greatly on the one hand, but gave him courage to face the hardships of life on the other.

#### **SWAMI SAHAJANANDA SARASWATI**

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was born at Deva village in Gazipur district of United Province. The Gazipur district is in the eastern part of U.P. bordering Bihar. Though exact date of birth of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati is not known, he was born around February,1889. (Saraswati,1985:1). His ancestors who belonged to Jujhautiya Brahman lineage had migrated to the village Deva.

Since there were few households of Jujhautiya Brahmans in the village, and also they were cut off from the original area to which they belonged for a considerable time, they entered into marital relationships with the local Bhumi-har Brahmans of nearby villages (Saraswati,1985:4-5). That is why, he was identified with Bhumi-hars when he came to work in Bihar.

His father Beni Rai was an agriculturist with a very small zamindari. The economic condition of his family was not very sound. Probably during his grandfather's time the condition would have been satisfactory but gradually it deteriorated. They were farmers with a small zamindari but with the successive division of ancestral property the income also reduced considerably. And thus, agriculture remained the main occupation as well as the source of income (Saraswati,1985:5-6)

Beni Rai and his brother Visheshwar Rai were married to two sisters. Swami Sahajanda was the youngest of the five brothers of which two died at an early age. His mother expired when he was just three or four years old. After his mother's death he was brought up by aunt like her own son. The name given to him by his parents was Navarang Rai which was changed to Swami Sahajanda Saraswati when he took sanyasa<sup>7</sup> at an early age of eighteen (Saraswati,1985:1-3).

Deva was a remote village which was generally cut off from the rest of the world during the rainy season, sometimes only one or two exits were available which connected the village from the outer world (Saraswati,1985:3). The village had a mixed population dominated by Bhumi-hars. There were only four or five households

of Muslims. They were mainly Churiharas (glass bangle manufacturers) or Julahas (weavers). However, there was an old mazar near his house, known as Shahid Mazar, and people from all communities used to light diya on that. Two or three households of Bhats were also there. Among Hindus Bhumihars were dominant and they were mainly agriculturists. Few households of Jujhautiya Brahmans, including that of Swami Sahajananda, were there along with four or five of Kayasthas (Saraswati,1985:3). Spread of education was very little in the village and infact very few people were literate.

Navaranga Rai's Upanayan Samskara<sup>8</sup> took place at the age of twelve years and after this he started doing Sandhyopasana.<sup>9</sup> Besides this, he used to worship Lord Shiva in the temple daily. In those days there was a prevelant custom of taking gurumantra<sup>10</sup> from some priest, and almost everyone was taking it. His father was a simple farmer who did not know Gayatri<sup>11</sup> and other mantras. But Navrang Rai, having a natural inclination towards Brahman faith, had a deep faith in Brahmanism unknowingly. Recognising this inclination in him another Saryupari Brahman Hari Narayan Pandey, who was a good scholar of Sanskrit, attracted him and made him familiar with the details of leading classical way of life. Since Hari Narayan Pandey was infamous for initiating people to Sanyasa so Navaranga Rai was discouraged and prevented by the family from meeting him regularly. But, the more he was prevented the more he got attracted.

Hari Narayan had a good collection of books on Yoga.<sup>12</sup> Navaranga Rai read many of these books and got inclined towards this path of knowledge. He gradually devoted himself to personal religious activities more and more. He writes,"gradually I also

got attracted towards Pranayama<sup>13</sup> and other asans.<sup>14</sup> I started practising these asans also. And at last, this inclination of mine led to Sanyasa. I left home in search of God" (Saraswati,1985:15-16).

Detecting the inclination in him, his family arranged for his marriage and he got married at an early age. He felt some responsibility towards his wife and gave up the idea of taking Sanyasa for sometime. But when his wife expired at an early age, just after two years of marriage, he felt independent of this bond. His family members tried to detract and prevent him from the idea of taking Sanyasa once again by making arrangements for his marriage with his deceased wife's sister. But fate had wished it otherwise. Somehow he got the news of negotiation going on and decided to leave home. Finally he becomes a Sanayasi<sup>15</sup> in January,1907 at an early age of eighteen (Saraswati,1985:25-27).

#### **JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN**

Jayaprakash Narayan, whose given name means "Victory of the Light," was born in the early hours of October 11,1902, in a thatched shed near the remote village of Sitabdiara. He was Phul Rani Devi's fourth child of five children, delivered by a village midwife. The family belonged to Kayastha caste. Jayaprakash's paternal grandfather, Devaki Narayan Lall was a Sub-Inspector of Police. Jayaprakash's father, Harsu Babu, was sent to University where he studied Persian, but he gave up his Bachelor of Arts course before graduating when he got an employment with the Government as an official in the department constructing Sone Canal through the Shahabad and Gaya districts (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:23-24).

The inhabitants of Sitabdiara village, including Jayaprakash's family, were tenants of Maharaja of Dumraon. The Maharaja owned the village and the surrounding tracts of land, and rented out plots of land to Jayaprakash's grandfather. "Jayaprakash's family did not work on the land they rented out from the Maharaja but let out the use of their plots to others permitting them to appropriate their contract out to others of even humbler status, some as far down the social scale as the landless labourer" (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:2425).

Sitabdiara was a flood-prone village. During Jayaprakash's life time floods damaged or destroyed his family home four times. Each time his grandfather or father rebuilt it. Sometimes, on the stretch of the flat landscape in front of his house, he came across a herd of strangely shaped deer grazing watchfully (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:2829). His village differed from many other villages of the Ganges plain. Its streets were wide and its houses scattered over a thirty mile radius, in almost melancholy isolation from each other. One did not get the feeling that there were group of people living in as small an area as possible because every inch of arable land had to be used to produce food or profits. "Over the centuries, floods had washed away the tight claustrophobic bonds of a more permanent community just as it had undermined the walls and sucked down the roofs of those who had to rebuild it continually" (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:2930).

Jayaprakash was quite close to his mother. His two sibs - one brother and one sister - died at an early age. Afraid of the death of her children, Phul Rani Devi was keeping Jayaprakash

close to her. From close company of his mother Jayaprakash developed into a very quite shy little boy. To help fill his solitude she allowed him to play with household animals. In the end however, his lonely search for playmates among animals almost led to disaster when he was lashed out with the hooves of a mare. Thereafter, he was never encouraged for this type of activities. Anything invoking risk was avoided (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:25-26).

His family attended the usual religious festivals of Hindu year - Holi, Durga Puja, New Year - but his father never took part in any private ceremony within the house. His mother was a devotee of Lord Shiva whom she worshipped in a special corner of the courtyard each morning. In Jayaprakash's recollections, his mother was always kind hearted, his father indulgent but irascible (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:27). As a result of this Jayaprakash was never attracted towards religion. Later, when he started reading Bhagwad Gita it was under the influence of Bengal revolutionaries - taking heroic inspiration from the great battle described in the book and from its overriding religious concept that man is immortal and can never be destroyed. "It was around the age of fourteen that he had cast himself in the role of an extreme nationalist." He became 'Swadeshi' in his attitude using crude hand-made village shoes, dressed in a kurta of a hand-spun and hand-woven material and an ascetically short dhoti. He took cold baths even in winter to toughen himself against all forms of sensual self-indulgence (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:30-32).

#### JAGJIVAN RAM

Jagjivan Ram belonged to a poor Chamar family. His grandfather Shiva Narayan, was an agricultural labourer. His father Shobhi

Ram went with his uncle (Jagjivan's granduncle) who was in the army, to do small jobs when he was a child. Shobhi Ram acquired the working knowledge of English language and the rudiments of education there. He had seen the Army life and had passed the most impressionable part of his boyhood waiting for odd jobs in the wards of the British Military Hospital and thus, had become a disciplined man. While at Multan, he came into contact with the followers of the Shiv Narayani Sant Sect. That was the beginning of his spiritual career. He became a Sant and occupied the status of a Wazir or a minister of the Sect. People flocked to him for solace and advice (Sharma,1974:9-10; Singh,1977:1-3). Initially Shobhi Ram did not have a house of his own. But being a person of character given to hardwork and accompanied by a hard-working wife, Shobhi Ram saved some money, purchased some land at Chandwa and built a house. It was at Chandwa that Jagjivan Ram was born on April 5, 1908.

The economic condition of his family was not very sound. But by the time of Jagjivan's birth in 1908, the financial status of the family had become a little better. Shobhi Ram was in a position to help needy people with loans for which he charged no interest and he won the respect of the people in the village. The standard of living of the family also rose and they started having good food (Sharma,1974:9-10).

Jagjivan Ram's early days were the usual childhood days of many of his class. There was no strict untouchability observed in the village generally, though there was no community dining. On the Holi festival sweets were served after the religious ceremony and all the families exchanged sweets. Community singing was also



common and devotional songs were joined by caste and non-caste people. Children of his age group used to come daily to his father to touch his feet and to take blessings (Sharma,1974:10).

Jagjivan Ram was influenced by the near-angelic personality of his father and came under the magnetic spell of his mother as well. The picture of his sage-like father seated on a Takhat<sup>16</sup> copying out in his beautiful handwriting, one after another, all the granths left a deep indelible impression on the child's heart (Singh,1977: 4-5). His father was a deeply religious man. Unfortunately his father died a few months after Jagjivan had joined the primary school. His mother was equally religious and after the death of his father, there was no change in the religious and devotional atmosphere of the house (Singh,1977:5).

Moreover, his father died when he was too young. His brother was working as a compounder in the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta. So Jagjivan was the sole male member left at home. He shouldered the responsibilities like a well-seasoned man. However, his brother Sant Lal was twenty three years senior to him and was just like a father to him. Jagjivan Ram could never disobey him. The brother too treated his younger brother like a son (Sharma, 1974:11).

But above all, his personal sufferings at school and college made him a serious student of humanities. We will elaborate on this point in the course of our discussion but here it should be pointed out that the general attitude was quite discriminatory towards the Panchams or Harijans. The members of these castes were forced to do all kinds of impure jobs for caste Hindus. The Chamars,

the community to which Jagjivan Ram belonged, were ordained to remove dead animals, slay their hides and prepare shoes and other leather goods or caste-Hindus. The category of Panchams was regarded as category of untouchables. But Jagjivan Ram had a distinct sense of self-respect.

### **SUMMING UP**

Thus, we see that Sachchidananda Sinha was from an affluent family. His grandfather as well as his father were the employees of Maharaja of Dumraon. Theirs can be considered high middle class family with good income. Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha both were from middle ranking zamindar family with moderate income. Rajendra Prasad's family did not work on the land. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was from agriculturist family with moderate income. Though they had a very small zamindari initially, but the income reduced considerably with successive division of ancestral property. Jayaprakash Narayan was also from a middle class family with moderate income. His father was an employee with the Canal Construction Department. Jagjivan Ram was from a poor family. Though his grandfather was merely an agricultural labourer, the financial status of the family became a little better by the time of Jagjivan Ram's birth.

As far parental education was concerned, Sachchidananda's father was a well educated person. He was a barrister and hence he must have gone through English education. Besides, he had a very rich library at home and he used to receive periodicals and newspapers published in Hindi, Urdu and Persian as well (Sinha, 1969:15). He was also interested in the study of comparative religions

and was a Vedantist. Hence, he must be having good knowledge of Sanskrit as well. Rajendra Prasad's father had learnt Sanskrit and Persian, but he did not have English education. Shri Krishna Sinha's father was also a product of Vernacular education. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati's father was an illiterate person. Jayaprakash Narayan's father was a student of B.A. Honours when he left studies to join the job under the government. This means that he must have gone through English education. Jagjivan Ram's father was a literate and learned person with a working knowledge of English. As far the mother's side is concerned none of the leaders' mothers were educated in the formal sense. Jayaprakash's mother was even against English education. Nevertheless, all of them were familiar with Ramcharitmanas and the popular legends of the time. However, all the parents realised the importance of education and sent their children to schools.

## II

### EDUCATION AND DIFFERENT EXPOSURES

#### SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

Sachchidananda Sinha was just five years of age when his Maktab or Vidyarambh ceremony was performed. After the necessary puja of Shri Ganesh and Goddess Saraswati was performed, the Maulvi Sahib first caught hold of his right hand and made him write on a wooden slate the first alphabets of Perso-Arabic script, followed by the Hindu Pundit who helped him write the first five letters of the Devanagri script. The next day, a teacher of English was called to initiate him into writing the Roman alphabets (Sinha, 1969:15-16).

After receiving education at home for a year in English, Urdu and Hindi under three different tutors, young Sinha was admitted to the Arrah Zilla School in February, 1877. Thus, began his school career which extended upto ten years (Sinha, 1969:16). At the end of the annual examination in 1886 he was promoted to the Entrance Class, having topped the list of successful candidates, and he looked forward of pursuing his studies under a Head-Master who was kind and good to him (Sinha, 1969:17). But fate had willed it otherwise. After the long vacation, a new Head-Master came on transfer. Unfortunately a dispute between him and the students of Entrance Class arose. The matter took a serious turn and on the recommendation of the Inspector of Schools, the Director of Public Instructions, Bengal, passed the order of rustication against all the students about one hundred in number (Sinha, 1969:18). In spite of the above order, almost all the students joined other schools. Sachchidananda came to Patna and joined the T.K. Ghosh Academy in October, 1887. Later, the Director of Public Instructions cancelled his previous order of rustication. Sinha managed to pass in Second Division from T.K. Ghosh Academy (Sinha, 1969:19).

As a school student he decided to go abroad for studies. At school, he had formed an intimate relationship with two Muslim brothers, Ali Imam and Hasan Imam, which remained life long.<sup>17</sup> It was Ali Imam's departure for England in 1887 for being called at Bar that first put the idea in the mind of young Sinha that he too should go to England to qualify for practice as a barrister.

In July, 1888, Sinha took his admission in the first year class at Patna College. But his heart was not in his studies. He had by this time, come to cherish the ambition of going to England

for being called to the Bar. He somehow had managed to plan his departure secretly, but a day or two before the plan was to be executed it leaked out. His father rushed to Patna and brought him to Arrah. His mother was too disconsolate. His father told him that it was not necessary for him to prosecute his studies any further. To him this was a bolt from the blue. He felt utterly miserable about it. After Sachchidananda had spent two weeks at Arrah, some of his father's friends prevailed upon him to allow Sachchidananda to go and join some college at Calcutta (Sinha, 1969: 19-21).

Accordingly, he was sent down to Calcutta and placed under the guardianship of a near relation of him. He took admission in the second year class of the City College, but he had not yet reconciled himself to the idea of prosecuting his studies in India. He seldom attended the college classes, and all the time, he was planning how to raise enough funds at least to pay for his passage. He sold out all his valuables to raise the money. During the Christmas vacation most of his relatives were out, he started for London. He succeeded in his second attempt. Since he was running short of money, he wrote to his father and a few of his father's friends, requesting them to remit more funds to enable him to proceed further from Aden. He stayed for a week or ten days at Aden and, on receipt of money from his father continued his journey to London (Sinha, 1969: 21-22).

During his stay in London, Sachchidananda fully utilised his time to train his mind and improve his knowledge by study, observation and reflection. He did not confine himself merely to the preparation for qualifying for the Bar, but applied himself

also to the study of general subjects, including journalism (Sinha, 1969:24).

Further, he was a prominent member of the Northbrook India Club<sup>18</sup> and acted as its librarian. This club had a very good collection of books, particularly on India. In London, he was an active member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress also. In 1890 the Congress had sent a deligation in support of the India Bill. He went round the deligation at almost all the places they visited. Another notable contribution to the Indian Movement in Britain was in the election campaign for Dadabhai Naoroji in 1892.<sup>19</sup> Sachchidananda Sinha did a lot of work for him in the Central Finsbury constituency from which Dadabhai was ultimately elected to British Parliament (Sinha,1969:24-25).

In January 1893 he was called to the Bar and then returned home. A few days before leaving for India, he received a letter from his cousin asking him to go straight to Allahabad where he would have to perform the purificatory ceremony, Prayaschitta<sup>20</sup> for the supposed sin of having crossed the sea and gone to England. But Sachchidananda refused to do anything of this kind. He wrote to his cousin:

If I really believed that visiting England for the matter of that any country, was committing sin, I would never have attempted to go out.... If I have learnt anything here, above everything else, it is that the very worst of vice in this world is hypocrisy, which consists in doing things one detests at heart, just to win popular appalauce and gain one's end at any cost.... I am prepared for the worst; I am quite prepared to prove a failure at the Bar, and to remain a social pariah all my life, but I shall not deviate a jot from

the path of rectitude and honesty.... I shall not do anything. I do not believe in and I am willing to undergo all the trials with firm heart (Sinha, 1969:25-26).

It may also be mentioned here that as a social rebel Sachchidananda Sinha took the step of carry out his cherished idea of intermarriage as a keen and staunch social reformer. He married<sup>21</sup> Radhika, the only daughter of Seva Ram, Bar-at-law of Lahore, who belonged to a different sub-caste of Kayastha community. Later on, she was also active in the field of eudcation like her husband.<sup>22</sup>

However, on his way back home he received a welcome address at Allahabad. In his native town of Arrah also he received a grand welcome. After a few weeks' stay at home and a visit to his ancestral village Murar, he got himself enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court and settled down in 1893 to practice at Patna (Sinha, 1969:25-27). From here he joined the public activities.

#### **DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD**

According to the usual practice prevailing among the Kayasthas of U.P. and Bihar, Rajendra Prasad along with his two cousins was initiated in the study of Persian at the age of five or six by a Maulvi. In six months Rajendra Prasad and his associates picked up the Persian alphabet and started reading the Karima. After that the Maulvi left and another Maulvi was appointed who was a serious-minded man and a good teacher. They learnt counting and picked up Kaithi<sup>23</sup> script on Thursdays and Fridays which

were holidays. The boys studied in the Maktab from early morning to late evening, sometimes even after sunset, with a brief recess for breakfast and lunch (Prasad,1957:7-8).

After he had received elementary education in the village his guardians sent him for English education to Chapra. He stayed there with his elder brother, Mahendra Prasad, who was already there for a similar object. He fared exceptionally well in examinations and was given a double promotion (Prasad,1957:15-17). When his brother shifted to Patna for further studies, Rajendra Prasad also shifted to Patna and joined T.K. Ghosh Academy. He studied for a brief time in Hathua School also. But he did not feel very happy there about the method of teaching which laid stress on "memorising without understanding." He came back to Chapra Zilla School. At Chapra, this time he lived under the guardianship of Vikramaditya Mishra - a famous astrologer and deeply religious man (Prasad,1957:24). Vikramaditya Mishra was "like a guardian" to him and as he writes,

Nearby there was a temple to which the Pundit would take us almost daily. Because of his influence, some of us boys who came into contact with him, used to look upon ourselves as staunch sanatanists and would not hesitate to pick up<sup>24</sup> an argument when we happen to meet an Arya Samajist (Prasad,1957:24-25).

Another person who influenced him in school days was his teacher Rasik Lal Roy. He writes, "my association with Rasik Lal Roy helped me to increase my general knowledge. He used to tell us a lot about the country and explain how could one rise high in life," (Prasad,1957:26). He took the Entrance Examination and topped the list of successful candidates (Prasad,1987:28).

Rajendra Prasad's marriage took place in his early student life. His marriage was arranged when he was just thirteen years



old. He writes,

When a child, I used to join my sister in the game of dolls marriages. To me my marriage was not much different. I neither understood the importance of marriage nor felt its responsibility. I had no hand in setting the match (Prasad,1957:22).

Parda was strictly observed in the family. In fact, it was in 1932 that his wife came before public when Rajendra Prasad was elected the President of the Congress (Prasad,1957:21,390).

Rajendra Prasad went to Presidency College, Calcutta for further studies. There he could not get a seat in the Eden Hindu Hostel of which his brother was a boarder. So, an extra cot was arranged for him in his brother's room (Prasad,1957:29-30). Though his studies were somewhat disturbed due to attack of malaria, in the final F.A. examination also he topped the list (Prasad,1957:30-32). For his B.A., he first thought of offering Honours in the three subjects : Philosophy, English and History with Economics. But soon he dropped Honours in Philosophy.

Around this time he came into contact with Dawn Society.<sup>25</sup> The organisation's membership was open to the students and in its classes lectures on the Bhagwad Gita and current affairs were delivered. Rajendra Prasad enlisted himself as a member of the Dawn Society. The Society exercised great influence on the career of Rajendra Prasad. He writes,

"... association with the Society stirred my thoughts. Examinations no longer held my attention and my imagination was caught by the public and social affairs.... We established a Bihari Club which worked... [as] debating society. I also took part in the College Union and was elected its secretary for one year.... My inclination towards public activities since an early age was now crystalized.... It was the Dawn

Society and the association with Satish Chandra Mukherji that gave the tendencies present in me an aim and a direction. I began to think in terms of future (Prasad,1957:42).

Though he had started giving less attention to studies yet he topped the list once again (Prasad,1957:47).

After passing B.A., he discussed about his future plans with the elder brother. As per his father's wish he continued his studies at Calcutta for the M.A. and B.L.<sup>26</sup> He became interested in getting through Civil Services Examination around this time. He made an abortive attempt to go to London also for this purpose but could not succeed (Prasad,1957:52-53). He passed M.A. in 1907 with a Second Division. Since he had started giving very little time to studies and more time to public activities, he could not maintain his past performance of topping the list. After passing B.L., he joined M.L.<sup>27</sup> and also started doing the job of articled clerk. After M.A. he had joined Muzaffarpur College for about ten months as a lecturer but he returned to Calcutta to continue his law studies. Later, he joined as a Lecturer in the Law College at Calcutta (Prasad,1957:59-64). He got a Doctorate in Law also while he was practicing at Patna (Prasad,1957:71).

Thus, we see that Rajendra Prasad stayed in Calcutta for a long time and the urban environment exercised a great influence on his personality. In his own words:

When I look back on my student days, they appear to belong to a golden age: I had no worries and I had best of opportunities. I had one great facility: I had a brother who guided me and who inspired in me all the best ideas and ideals that I came to cherish.... Calcutta opened my eyes to the world and the days I spent in Eden Hindu Hostel proved to be of great

advantage to me....[and] my memories of Calcutta will never fade. I can never forget the contribution which Bengal had made to my life during the fifteen years of my stay in Calcutta. In Calcutta, I grew intimate with many Biharis also.... We met in the Bihari Club every week (Prasad,1957:56-57).

### SHRI KRISHNA SINHA

Shri Krishna Sinha's early education started in the rural setting, and like the other children of the village he started his schooling in the Pathshala. From the beginning itself he was considered as a brilliant boy by the teachers and the students. He also received instructions in Urdu. He got scholarships for his performance. He had developed the habit of reading at this stage itself. At school he used to mix-up freely with his fellow students without any discrimination (Prasad and Sinha,1988:2).

After completing his primary education in the village he was sent to Monghyr for further studies under the guidance of his elder brother Deokinanadan Sinha. He joined the Monghyr Zilla School. Here he studied Sanskrit under the guidance of Aditya Pathak. Thus he started penetrating into different branches of knowledge (Prasad and Sinha,1988:2-3). In this school he started emerging as a dynamic student leader."He used to utilize the recess time in his school to conduct the Mock Assembly of his school friends." The students used to gather for such meetings in the school playground. "While the sloping land of Monghyr Fort used to function as the gallery, the elevated position of this land used to become the 'platform'." From here Shri Krishna began to rise as a student leader (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:11).

Here he came under the influence of a Bengali Teacher who had come to the Training Academy at Monghyr to recruit volunteers

for the 'Bomb Party'. Shri Krishna had already been inspired by the contemporary Bengali and Marathi political leaders such as S.N. Banerji, Aurobindo, and Lokmanya Tilak. "So when the Bengali Teacher sparked off the revolutionary spirit in the growing boy, he felt a deep and, in many ways, a most lasting influence on his personality" (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:11-12). He was so much surcharged by the feeling of nationalism that he took the sacred vow to free his country. "He entered the river Ganga at Kashtaharini Ghat with Bhagwad Gita in one hand and Kripan<sup>28</sup> on the other, and he took the vow that he would not waiver from his patriotic path even if he had to sacrifice his life for this" (Prasad and Sinha,1988:3). In 1906 he passed the Entrance Examination as a student of Monghyr Zilla School. He secured First Division and got the scholarship also.

Though there is no specific mention about Shri Krishna's marriage, his first son Bandi Shankar, however, was born in 1912. This means that he was married while he was a student. His wife was a simple house-wife from his own caste (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.: Chronology).

From Monghyr, he went to Patna for further studies and joined Patna College. He spent much of his time in self-study. He studied several books in various fields which broadened his horizons of thought. He studied the classics of Rousseau, history of American War of Independence, about the French Revolution etc. (Prasad and Sinha,1988:3). But he had not forgotten about the sacred vow. While he was a student of Patna College, King George V paid a visit to Patna and was taken down the river Ganga on a barge for sight-seeing. The entire city had crowded the bank. Naturally,

when such a glorious spectacle was going on just at a stone's throw from the Minto Hostel, the boarders could not help being drawn towards it. But Shri Krishna was made of sterner stuff. He shut the window of his room and rather stubbornly rejected the idea of being a passive witness to such a spectacle full of sound and fury (Prasad and Sinha,1988:3-4).

His father passed away in 1907 while he was a student at Patna College. This was another great shock for him after his mother's death (Prasad and Sinha,1988:4). However, he passed the Intermediate Examination in 1909 in the First Division, and did his B.A. in History with Honours. After that, he joined M.A. in History at Patna College. By this time the British Government had started taking stern measures against revolutionaries or militant minded students. Shri Krishna Sinha, as a result of this, could barely managed a Second Division (Prasad and Sinha,1988:4).

He got the lecturership in B.N. College the same year he had passed M.A. But he turned down the offer as his elders wished to see him as a lawyer. Therefore, he joined the B.L. Classes and completed it in 1915. After the termination of his formal education, he started legal practice at Monghyr in April,1915 (Prasad and Sinha,1988:4). However, simultaneously with his practice of law, he was preparing for Doctorate in Law also. He was all prepared to take the M.L. Examination in 1919; but due to small-pox he could not sit for the same. The next year when he was all prepared for the same, he gave up the idea after the call of Non-Cooperation movement (Prasad and Sinha,1988:4).

### SWAMI SAHAJANANDA SARASWATI

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was the first person from his family to receive formal education. Though no one in the family was educated, and in fact very few persons in the villages were familiar with the Kaithi script, the family decided to send Navarang Rai to School because he seemed quite intelligent and promising. So he was admitted to Jalalabad Primary School in January 1899. Jalalabad was around two miles north to village Deva and was more or less a Kasba.<sup>29</sup>

There were six classes in upper primary schools, but he finished the six years course in just three years. He took the examination of last class of upper primary in 1902. The Deputy Inspector of Schools was highly impressed by his performance in the examination in which he had secured nineteen marks out of twenty. The Deputy Inspector was of the opinion that the boy would have got the scholarship if he had been given a chance to take the test. In Sahajananda's opinion the teachers might not be knowing about the test. Whatever may be the reason the fact remained that he was debarred from scholarship due to the ignorance of the teachers and mismanagement of the education department (Saraswati, 1985:6-7). He was quite a serious minded student devoted to studies. Though he was reading Hindi in the school, he got a good knowledge of Urdu as well. The Head-Master was quite helpful by teaching him Urdu and Persian.

Following the prevalent custom of the time, he was also helping the teachers in their day-to-day works. The two teachers impressed Navaranga Rai very much. Both of them were Rajputs

by caste, staunch Sanatanist and devotees of Lord Shiva. They spent hours in worship. Navaranga Rai used to clean utensils for puja.

He writes:

Whether due to my contact with them or due to the attitude of family members as well as of villagers, I always remained a Sanatanist. The impact which was cast on me that time remained for ever (Saraswati, 1985:8).

After upper primary education, the family decided to send him to the Hindi Middle School, Gazipur. Gazipur was the district headquarter. He stayed there in a boarding house and took interest in studies, especially mathematics. There were only two classes and he finished his Hindi Middle School in 1904. His rank was seventh in the province and he got scholarship as well (Saraswati, 1985:17-18). After summer vocation he took admission in the German Mission School, Gazipur, and joined the special class. He started living in a Shiva Temple known as Guneshwari Mahadeva (Saraswati, 1985:19-20). He had joined school at the advanced age of ten. The teachers feared that he would not be eligible to sit for scholarship test due to over age. But he finished the two years course in one year; sat for the test; and secured the scholarship. The teachers expected him to top the list in Matriculation Examination. He also started preparing for the coming examination seriously. But fate had willed it otherwise. Getting the information about the negotiations going on for his second marriage he decided to leave home to become a Sanyasi in January, 1907 and went to Kashi (Saraswati, 1985:25-27).

After he took Sanyasa the villagers as well as his family members tried to bring him back to Grihsthya.<sup>30</sup> On the insistence of his brother he visited the village also. But one day he secretly

left the village (Saraswati,1985:29-30). After that he wondered tirelessly for more than a year looking for a yogi<sup>31</sup> who could teach him yoga. He covered towns, villages, hilly tracts including deep forests etc. at a great length and finally reached Haridwar where he studied Vedanta for a few months. However, much of this wondering period was spent in the rural areas.

In the beginning of 1909 he was again in Kashi. Kashi was a seat of Sanskrit learning. He joined the Sanskrit Pathshala there and studied grammar, logic and philosophy. He decided to do an indepth study of different branches of philosophy within five or six years which normally takes ten to twelve years for a student to finish the study<sup>32</sup> (Saraswati,1985:70-71). He successfully completed his studies by 1915. When he faced difficulty in understanding some classics on Hetwabhas<sup>33</sup> of Nyaya<sup>34</sup> at Kashi, he came to Darbhanga to join Rameshwarlata Vidyalaya in 1915. Besides, this he had to collect some books on Mimamsa as well (Saraswati, 1985:15,79,85). Darbhanga was an estate and a centre of Maithil culture. He completed his studies there.

To meet the expenses of his Kashi stay he relied on alms. He preferred and practiced Madhukari Vritti<sup>35</sup> (Saraswati,1985: 72-73). The expenses of his Darbhanga stay were met by two lawyers Yogeshwar Prasad Sinha of Muzaffarpur and Dharnidhar Babu of Darbhanga. They were quite impressed by his lectures on social and religious topics (Saraswati,1985:86). After finishing his studies he started a movement for inclusion of Bhumihars in the Brahman fold which was denied by the later.

In all these years he learnt a lot by reading Sanskrit texts as well as by his own observations. However, his guru Swami



Achyutananda Saraswati, the Sanyasi who had initiated him to sanyasa had a lasting impact on him. The guru expected him to be a perfect man and showed the way by saying that "he, who looks at the quality of others despite many weaknesses on the one hand, and at the weaknesses of his own despite many good qualities in himself on the other, is a pious man." These words of the guru guided him at every juncture of life (Saraswati,1985:83).

#### JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Jayaprakash Narayan also started his primary education in the village. As his father moved about regularly with the canal construction works, he eventually decided to leave Jayaprakash behind in less populous Sitabdiara. And so, for a considerable part of his early boyhood, he stayed with his step-grandmother. His step-grandmother took the responsibility of his education. From numereals, multiplication tables, Hindustani alphabet and the readings of myths and legends at home, Jayaprakash moved on to the village primary school when he was about six years old. The students sat cross-legged on the ground, or on mats they brought from home. There was no government school in his village (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:26-27).

Jayaprakash made his first break with the village when he was nine. He was admitted to the seventh class of the Collegiate School at Patna. While at Patna, books had taken the place of affectionate family life. He continued to be retiring and intensely studies, and by 1918 he had reached the final class. He sat for the State Public Matriculation Examination at the close of the

academic year and fared so well that he was awarded a District Merit Scholarship at Patna College (Scarfe and Scarfe,1985:30).

He joined Patna College for Intermediate Science, and successfully completed the first year. At this time, he was married to Prabhavati, the daughter of Braj Kishore Prasad, who was a freedom fighter and disciple of Gandhiji. However, they could not start the married life because Jayaprakash was soon gone back for his studies, and afterwards he went to America for almost eight years. Gandhiji was keen on taking Prabhavati to Satyagrah Ashram, but her mother was quite reluctant to send her. She was, however, finally sent to Gandhiji's Ashram after marriage where she lived in Sabarmati Ashram with Kasturba as a daughter when Jayaprakash was in America (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:35-38).

Leaving the decision of making arrangements for Prabhavati to the elders, Jayaprakash was back to Patna for his studies. He had paid his deposits for his second year science examination and the University Examination was due in March 1921 when the call for Non-Cooperation came in 1920. He flung his text books into a dam to emphasize his refusal to attend a British Institution any longer. "After all their sacrifices, made in order to afford being able to send him to school, his parents were furious with him and set about enrolling him in BHU. But he refused to attend there either, because this institution was aided by British funds" (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:44-45). Finally, he was admitted to Bihar Vidyapith, a tertiary institution set up by Bihar Congress for all Non-Cooperation students.<sup>36</sup> But Gandhiji suspended the entire campaign; the Indian National Congress was outlawed; and the struggle subsided. Jayaprakash felt completely crushed. Further, Bihar Vidyapith had no facilities for him to proceed with his studies beyond the second year (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:46).

At this time his friend Bhola Pant, who had gone to United States for higher studies, invited him warmly in his letter to come there and offered him hospitality. He assured him that students from poor families could work their way through colleges. Jayaprakash's departure for America was delayed for a year by his mother's affectionate opposition, and by his concern for her health (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:46).

In October 1922 he landed in America. To his intense disappointment he learned that the term was already well advanced. So he started looking for jobs to support his stay. He got the job of setting out grapes to dry in the sun to be made into raisins in the factory on the ranch. He kept looking for jobs and did many type of works - from factory employee to garage mechanic to worker in meat factory (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:50-53).

On the beginning of next session he enrolled himself in the University of California initially. Next year he shifted to Iowa University at the suggestion of Bhola Pant (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975: 52). Gradually he began to find himself more interested in Sociology than in Science. When the next term began he moved to Wisconsin University (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:54). He started wearing clothes like other students - a complete change from Indian clothes.

Day and night he pored over the writings of the bourgeois social scientists and the radicals.... He read everything available in English that Marx had written, including the three volumes of Das Kapital.... He read the pamphlets written by M.N. Roy also (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:54-55).

By this time the idea of Russian Revolution had spread everywhere. To him, Marx's principles yielded the best analysis of

Indian society and offered the best techniques for putting an end to its exploitations. To him, in 'twenties, communism seemed the only way towards the poor being treated as human beings. He made friends with the radicals and attended the meetings of a group of Marxists - Leninists.<sup>37</sup> He also participated in trade union activities but never as a leader (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:56-57).

His long months of reading and thinking bore fruit when he took the B.A. degree from Ohio State University on August 31, 1928. Instead of returning home after graduation, he applied for and was granted a postgraduate scholarship. The subject of his thesis for M.A. degree was 'Socialist Variation.' It was declared the best paper of the year. In it he had taken the Marxist view point of dialectical and historical materialism. His degree of M.A. was conferred upon him on August 12,1929 (Scarfe & Scarfe,1969:61). He planned to do Ph.D. but his dream did not become a reality. For, "he felt unable to continue living in America when he received the news that his mother was so ill from dropsy that she was bedridden" (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:61). He came back to India in October, 1929.

When he returned from America he was convinced that the central problems of human society was inequality of wealth, property, rank, culture and opportunity. "To him this inequality was strange and painful. And its root cause the private ownership of the gift of nature led to economic exploitation. M.N. Roy's writings had persuaded him that Gandhiji was "against the social revolution and would at a moment of crisis hasten to uphold the (British) system of exploitation and inequality." Freedom was Jayaprakash's "unchanging goal", "one of the beacon light of his life and Marxist science

of revolution seemed to him to offer a surer and quicker road than Civil Disobedience. Lenin's success seemed immeasurably more telling than Gandhiji's failures" (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975).

However, Rajendra Babu's appeal to his intelligence and his nationalist spirit as opposed to internationalist, in a letter to him while he was in United States, prevented him from going to Moscow or from joining the Communist International (Scarfe, 1975:57-59).

### JAGJIVAN RAM

Jagjivan Ram was put into a primary school, dressed in a silken kurta and orange coloured dhoti<sup>38</sup> and velvet cap on Vasant Panchami day in 1914. Before he left for school, a ceremony was performed and he was made to touch the wooden patti<sup>39</sup> with a chalk. The primary school was held in the verandah of Pundit Kapil Muni Tiwari's house which was situated in the "Mohallah of Brahmans." The teacher, though a Brahman by caste, did not observe untouchability. He served as a good guide to young Jagjivan for many years (Sharma,1974:10). It was during his primary school days that Jagjivan Ram was married to the daughter of Mukhlaji of Sonpura village. At this time he was just eight years old (Gurtu,1973:94).

After his education in the Upper Primary School in the village he was put into Aggarwal Middle School, Arrah in 1920. By this time Ramayana was his great favourite. He had studied other famous books also and his reading was not confined to religious books only. He had also developed the good habit of reading newspapers,

which was unusual for a child of his age and understanding (Sharma, 1974:10-11).

In 1922, Jagjivan Ram joined Arrah Zilla School. From the earliest days he had a distinct sense of self-respect. He could not entertain the idea of claiming fee-concession on the ground of his caste status. He was sure that if he worked hard he could secure distinction in his examination which would bring him the necessary concession and scholarship. By securing second position in the class, he automatically got these (Sharma,1974:11). One incident of his school days reflects the sense of self-respect of young Jagjivan Ram. There were two waterpots in the School - for Hindus and for Muslims. A peon used to supply water to the boys. One day when the peon was absent, Jagjivan Ram took water from the Hindu pot and the matter was reported to the Head-Master. The Head-Master made the arrangements for the third waterpot for the untouchables. Jagjivan Ram somehow did not like the idea. He waited till he conveniently could and broke the third pot. It was replaced by other pot but that too was broken by Jagjivan on the sly. The Head-Master understood the significance of the two broken pots; he cancelled the order for the third (Sharma,1974:11).

Jagjivan Ram passed the High School Examination in 1926 when Malviyaji came to address people at Arrah the same year, a welcome address was given to him by Harijans. Jagjivan Ram read and presented it. Enquiring about Jagjivan, Malviyajii invited him to join the Intermediate Science in the BHU. Jagjivan Ram felt very happy over this proposal. He had an alternative proposal from American Christian Mission but his mother somehow did not like the idea, and he turned down the Christian offer for free education (Sharma,1974:14).

In July 1926, he joined the BHU. He won a scholarship. According to hostel rules he had to stay in the hostel. But he had to face the problem of untouchability. The Kahars had decided not to wash the plates of Achhut boy. So, he stayed outside in a rented room with his mother and did his own cooking. There, the owner of the house asked them to evict the room. However, the matter was settled somehow. After few days a barber refused to dress his hair and he had to organise the backward castes of the locality for boycott of barbers.<sup>40</sup>

In the light of the these and other incidents it can be understood that gradually how his mind became perplexed by the institution of untouchability and its practice. He began exploring the Shastras even when he was an I.Sc. student. With the help of translation and commentaries he peeped into the spiritual treasures of Vedas, the Upnishadas, the Bhagwad Gita, and other scriptures. He was already familiar with the Ramcharitmanas. He read many translations of the Bengali classic also. He gained thus a thorough insight into the Indian tradition through personal study and meditation. He not only read the books but discussed about the things found in them with friends and elders (Sharma,1974:78).

After passing his I.Sc. Examination in 1928, he went to Calcutta for further studies and joined the Vidyasagar College. He had decided early in life to fight the institutions of untouchability and had worked actively for the same as a student in BHU but with not much success. He found Calcutta to be the right place for his activities and got actively engaged in national politics. During his B.Sc. days in Calcutta he came into contact with Mani Mukherji who was one of the pioneers of Communist thought in

Calcutta. Mani Mukherji was a school teacher and he used to distribute the cyclostyled communist literature. Jagjivan Ram read the writings of Marx and Engels, and the Communist Manifesto. He also held discussions with Mani Mukherji. He became interested in the labour movement in the country for the first time (Sharma, 1974:19). The intelligence despatch from Calcutta about Jagjivan Ram described him as a young man who had strong leftist leanings (Sharma,1974:22).

He had association and contact with the revolutionaries also. At the time of introduction of Public Safety Bill, the bomb was thrown in Central Assembly. Soon after this incident there were a large number of arrests in Delhi, Punjab, U.P. and Bengal. Jagjivan Ram accommodated in his house some young revolutionaries of Bengal and made arrangements for their stay later in Bihar. He had met some revolutionaries at Calcutta and had helped them, when he could, by collecting funds for them, and sending them to secret hideouts with friends when they had to lie low. Chandra Shekhar Azad often sought out Jagjivan Ram in Calcutta and spent quite a lot of time with him (Sharma,1974:22-25).

In March and April 1931, there was comparatively less political activities and he thought he would sit for the examinations that year. He passed the degree examination with high marks (Sharma, 1974:28). After that his formal education was discontinued and he devoted himself to social reform and national movement. Around this time in August 1933, his first wife passed away. However, in June 1935 he married Indrani Devi<sup>44</sup> daughter of Dr. Birbal, a well known social worker of Kanpur. She was a well educated lady and always provided great support to Jagjivan Ram (Sharma,1974:37).



## III

**CONCLUSION**

So far we have seen that the leadership of our selected period was not homogeneous. It was not confined in the hands of some particular group or caste. It was heterogeneous in composition and character. The leaders came from diverse social backgrounds. Even if we take caste affiliation into consideration, we see that the leaders also came from castes other than Kayasthas, who were traditionally dominating the politics, and this included the untouchables as well. Shri Krishna Sinha and Swami Sahajananda Saraswati were Bhumi-hars by caste whereas Jagjivan Ram belonged to Chamar community - an untouchable caste.

It is also seen that early socialization had a great impact on the leader. The impact of family members in determining the attitude cannot be ignored. The religious atmosphere of family and the communally harmonious environment of village resulted in giving relatively secular attitude to Rajendra Prasad, Shri Krishna Sinha and Jagjivan Ram. Sachchidananda Sinha was under the influence of his father's Vedantist approach. Jayaprakash Narayan was somewhat indifferent towards religion. This can be explained in the light of his father's indifference towards religious activities. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was a staunch Sanatanist under the influence of family and other villagers.

With regard to educational background we have seen that the leaders were not exclusively the products of English education. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati had mainly, traditional education. Related to the educational background is the factor of professional

status. We have three lawyers - Sachchidananda Sinha, Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was a Sanyasi. Jayaprakash Narayan and Jagjivan Ram did not continue their studies but joined active politics. Thus, we had full-timers in politics for the first time. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha both left legal practice to join politics as full timers. It should, however, be pointed out here that the professional education which the three lawyer leaders had pre-supposes English as the medium of instruction. Jayaprakash Narayan and Jagjivan Ram were students of sciences which also presumes English as a medium of instruction. Jayaprakash later on shifted to social science and received higher education in America. The knowledge of English for all the five leaders was a pre-requisite. Thus, with regard to our objectives of examining the link between English education and leadership, and also between social class and leadership, we notice that leadership was heterogeneous in caste composition. The homogeneity which it derived in education and professions in earlier period became heterogeneous later on. However, there was a continuity - all of them received English education at some point of time.

Related with the educational aspect is the exposure to rural or urban setup. It can be said that Sachchidananda Sinha had throughout an urban background - education at Patna, Calcutta and finally at London; and, legal practice at Patna and Allahabad. On the other hand, Swami Sahajananda Saraswati had early upbringing and education in the village, and then had exposure to very small towns, to villages and to religious centres. All the other four leaders had early upbringing in villages and then education at urban centres for different lengths of time. In short, two leaders represented two extremes while four had a mixed exposure.

Thus, we see that the leaders had a heterogeneous exposure in terms of rural urban setting. The early upbringing in the village made them start literally from the grassroot level. Therefore, the mature perception that they later developed is likely to have germinated in the rural background where the children were brought face to face with the concrete rural setting vibrant with simple peity and enviable liveliness. Nevertheless, the exposure to urban setting widened their horizons. However, this exposure varied in terms of kind and degree.

Other factors which influenced our leaders, it may be said that contact and interaction with other people was significant. Again, the impact of their teachers also had major influence on their personality. Further, the contact with other prominent personalities in the political arena and some person devoted to a particular mission also had some impact. For example, the influence of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya on Sachchidananda Sinha; the meeting of Rajendra Prasad with Gokhale; the influence of the Bengali teacher on Shri Krishna Sinha; the contact of Jagjivan Ram with Mani Mukherji and the revolutionaries; or, Jayaprakash Narayan's association with Marxists during his stay in America.

The association and support of affinal relatives also had some impact. From a close observation it can be inferred that the spouses who came from the family of nationalists or political leaders or social workers were relatively more active than those who came from an ordinary traditional family.

The impact of Hindu scriptures, especially of Ramcharitmanas and Bhagwad Gita was on everyone. Though they got exposure at different levels, the fact remains that they derived inspiration

from these throughout their lives. It seems that reading, listening and singing Ramcharitmanas, even by illiterates, was quite common in those days, and everyone came to be familiar with it. It had an everlasting impact on the leaders.

By now, we have identified some factors which influenced and shaped the personalities of our selected leaders. But, the relative importance of these cannot be the same. So, to illustrate the relative importance of these factors we shall discuss some major issues and events in the field of political movement and social reforms, and the contributions made by them.

## FOOT NOTES

1. The Ramcharitmanas by Tulsidas is popularly known as Ramayana. Ramayana was composed by Valmiki in Sanskrit.
2. These are the different methods used by experts for predicting future or to know something about which nothing is known for certain.
3. Vedantist is a believer in Vedanta philosophy. Vedanta literally means "end of Veda", meaning thereby "the complete knowledge of the Vedas." It is one of the six orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy founded on Upanishads and technically classified as Uttara (later) Mimamasa (See,n.32 below).

Vedanta claims to be an exposition of the deepest truths of the Vedas, which record the experiences of those who gained knowledge of the highest order through intuition and inspiration. According to Vedanta the object of existence is not release but realization and dispels the darkness that conceals one's true nature from one's comprehension. It believes that the whole phenomenal world around us of nature and of man, has merely a phantom existence. It is in fact the result of Maya (illusion) and lacks reality. Maya is not only a net holding us in thrall, but also a veil concealing from our vision the nature of true reality. Ignorance of this leads to the belief that things exist apart from the Absolute. Ignorance is responsible for Samsara and the continuous cycle of birth-death-rebirth, which lasts as long as we remain in the toils of the great illusion. The illusion can be dispelled and knowledge can be obtained by the direct intuition of inspired sages, and has been so received and recorded in Upanishads.

There are different schools in this system of philosophy viz., Advaita (non-dualism) founded by Shankara; Visishtadvait (qualified non-dualism) founded by Ramanuja; Dvaita (dualism) founded by Madhva etc. Shankara is generally held to have given the correct interpretation who believes the atman and Brahman are abheda (identical). Ramanuja believes that these are relative terms like part and whole but not identical. Dvaita agreeing with Visishtadvaita's dualistic view rejects any qualification of the uniqueness of Brahman. In a nutshell Brahman-Jijnasa (Brahman knowledge or the knowledge of Supreme - reality) is the whole of Vedanta. See Walker,1983 (Vol.II) : 559-560; Stutley and Stutley,1977:329-330; Chatterjee and Datta,1980:

4. Devotional songs.
5. Swadeshi refers hand-made or hand-spun goods. Sometimes, to mean locally made as opposed to imported. Khadi was only one kind of Swadeshi cloth.
6. The elder brother's wife.

7. Sanyasa is one of the four ashramas. Ashrama is a 'stage' in the progress through life of the Hindu. The life of the individual Hindu is divided into four ashrams, viz., Brahmacharya (religious living) Grihasthya (Grihya, household); Vanaprasthya (Vana-prasthan, forest-departure) and Sanyasa (Renunciation).

Sanyasa is, thus, the fourth and last stage in which a man renounces the world and regarded as free from all duties obligations and observances. See Walker,1983 (Vol.I): 84-85; Stutley and Stutley,1977:22.

8. Upanayan is one of the twelves purificatory rites (Samakaras) prescribed in the Dharma Sutras. It refers to the introduction to esoteric lore (or to any science), the ceremony in which a guru initiates a boy into one of the three twice-born castes. See, Stutley,1977:311.

Here, it refers to the investiture of the three superior castes with the Yajnopavita (sacred-thread). It is worn over the left shoulder and hangs down under the right and is originally put on during the performance of sacred ceremonies.

9. Sandhyopasana (Sandhya-Upasana, morning or evening twilight-adoration) refers to the performance of devotional services privately in simple religious manner. In this several preparatory forms may be observed prior to actual meditation on the deity by the Sadhak (worshipper), e.g. tala-traya (clap trio), dig-bandha (quarter binding), Chhotika (snapping of the right hand thumb and middle fingure) agni-prakara (fire-wall) etc.

The various attentions paid to an installed deity or idol are collectively referred to as the upachara. The order and method of the service are not uniform and there is no fixed number of items constituting the service. There are, in fact, literally hundreds of variations on the generally prescribed forms. See,Walker,1983:606-610.

10. Guru (gu-ru, darkness-dispeller) is a religious guide or teacher, especially one who gives diksa (initiation) to a pupil. It is believed that important truths do not come through study of books or independent intellectual contemplation, but are the result of inherited wisdom handed down from inspired leaders. Hence, every Hindu is supposed to take Mantra from guru, without which liberation cannot be achieved. The guru whispers the secret mantra in the ears of the pupils and pupils are supposed to repeat the meditate upon this mentally. The mantra should be kept secret. This is also known as Kanpuhkiya (whispering in ear) locally. See, Walker,1983 (Vol.I):419-420; Stutley and Stutley,1977:107; Saraswati,1985:12-13).

11. Gayatri is the most famous of all mantras addressed to the Sun (Savitar) as the supreme generative force. Originally a simple invocation to the Sun to shed its blessing on the earth, it came to be regarded as a mystic formula having universal power, constituting the most sacred versa in the Hindu scriptures. It holds the key to divine knowledge and is accorded the tilte of Vedamatri (mother of Vedas). It is a duty of every Brahman to repeat it mentally every morning and evening and also on certain other occasions. See, Walker, 1983:384-385; Stutley and Stutley, 1977:97.
12. Yoga is one school of Indian philosophy. It is a great aid to those who wish to realize the existence of the spirit as an independent principle, free from all limitations of the body, the senses and the mind. The Sankhya Yoga system holds the liberation is to be attained by means of spiritual insight (prajna) into the reality of the self as a pure immortal spirit which is quite distinct from the body and the mind. As distinguished from the Sankhya the Yoga is theist. It admits the existence of God on both practical and theoretical grounds. See, Chatterjee and Datta, 1989:291-311.
13. Pranayama is the regulation of breath. It consists of the suspension of breathing process either after exhalation (re-caka), or inhalation (puraka) or simply by retention of the vital breath (Kumbhak). See, Chatterjee and Datta, 1980: 301-305.
14. Asana is a discipline of the body and consists in the adoption of steady and comfortable postures. There are various kinds of asana which can be properly learnt only under the guidance of experts. Yoga philosophy prescribed several asanas for achievements of truth through successive stages. Asana is the one discipline of Eight fold Means of Yoga.
15. Sanyasi is the one who has renounced all his possessions except his loincloth, begging bowl and water-pot. The person relinquishes all worldly attachments and values and chooses a life of religious contemplation or asceticism. A sanyasi is assumed to have attained a state of holiness and thus become immortal, his death being regarded simply as a samadhi (a transstate).
16. A cot - made of wooden planks.
17. The two brothers, Hasan Imam and Ali Imam become lawyers later on. They were quite active in politics. However, they belonged to moderate group of leaders by their attitude. See, Sinha, 1944.
18. The Northbrook India Club was founded by Lord Northbrook who had succeeded Lord Lytton as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in 1876. To bring together the Indians and Anglo-Indians in the city of London he started this club. See, Sinha, 1969:23-24.

19. Dadabhai Naoroji was the first Indian to be elected to the British Parliament.
20. Prayashchitta (atonement of expiration) is a religious act atone for sin. Taking sea-voyage was prohibited and prayashchitta was performed to remove the sin one had committed by undertaking sea-voyage. See, Carroll,1979:265-299.
21. The date and year of marriage is not mentioned in the biography of Sachchidananda Sinha by B.P. Sinha.
22. She donated generously to Kayastha Pathshala at Allahabad, Lahore University, Radhika Sinha Institute and Sachchidananda Sinha Library at Patna. See, Sinha,1969:31.
23. Most of the legal documents were written in this script. Gradually the knowledge of this script became confined to the members of Kayastha caste who were mostly the persons who worked as writers in courts.
24. Sanatanists are believers in orthodox Hindu religion and are opposed to any modification in religions rites unlike the Arya Samajists.
25. The Dawn Society was an organisation started in 1902 with the object of training youths in genuine national culture, equipping them with a knowledge of current affairs helping them to build up their character and infusing into their minds the spirit of love for the country. The organisation owed its origin to the untiring efforts of Satish Chandra Mukherji, a selfless patriot and educationist of inspired zeal, who was assisted in this work by eminent personage like Gurudas Banerji, N.N. Ghosh, Sister Nivedita and some others. Its membership was open to students and in the two classes held under its auspices, lectures on the Bhagwad Gita and current affairs were delivered. See, Datta,1970:11-12.
26. The L.L.B. Course of today.
27. The L.L.M. course of today.
28. A dagger, short pointed knife, prescribed to be held essentially by Sikhs.
29. A place more developed than a village but less than a town.
30. According to popular Hindu belief the life should be divided into four stages (ashram) Brahmacharya, Grihasthya, Vanaprastha and Sanyasa.
31. A Yogi is believed to possess certain extra ordinary power by the practice of Yoga in its different stages. He is an expert in asanas and practices these in order to realise truth. See, Chatterji and Datta,1984:306.



32. A student had to master the knowledge of nine schools of thought in Indian Philosophy. Every school holds, in its own way, that there can be direct realization of truth (tattavadarshan). According to a traditional principle of classification, the schools or systems of Indian philosophy are divided into two broad classes, namely, orthodox (astika) and heterodox (nastika). To the first group belong the six chief philosophical systems (popularly known as sad darsana) namely Mimamsa, Vedanta, Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, and Vaisheshika. To the latter group belong the three schools Charvaka, Bauddha and Jaina. All the schools existed side by side, though not originated simultaneously, and pursued parallel course of growth. See, Chatterjee and Datta, 1984:1-9.
33. Hetwabhas is the fallacies of inference in Indian logic. There is strictly speaking, no fallacious form of inference in logic since all inferences must be kept in one or other of the valid forms. Hence, if there is any fallacy of inference that must be due to the material conditions on which the truth of the constituent premises depends. See, Chatterjee and Datta, 1981:193.
34. Nyaya refers to logical analysis. In common parlance now it refers to justice. It is one of the six orthodox systems of philosophy. The founding of this school is traditionally ascribed to Gautama. Nyaya signifies 'going into' a subject of analysis. It lays down and formulates an elaborate scheme of inference by means of syllogism. It exposes the stratagems of controversy and lists the common fallacies of thought. It is also referred to as Tarka-Vidya (Science of reason) or Vada-Vidya (Science of discussion).
- Nyaya philosophy teaches that ignorance is the root of all suffering and rebirth and that only complete knowledge (Jnana) of the true nature of things will bring apavarga (deliverance). Error is thus seen as cause of pain, and eradication of error is the goal of man. Nyaya claims to help in distinguishing the true redeeming knowledge from the false, and provides a means of acquiring this knowledge through the process of logical thought which is the main road to wisdom. The naiyayika (follower of Nyaya) must be willing to admit as true whatever is established as reason. See, Walker, 1983:142-143; Chatterji and Datta, 1984:
35. Madhukari Vritti refers to the practice of seeking alms from different houses, and not depending on just one household for food. This is practiced by Sanyasis of Kashi usually. See, Saraswati, 1985:73.
36. The funds and place for Bihar Vidyapith was provided by Maulana Mazharul Haque. See, Ahmad and Jha, 1976:66-67.

37. At the suggestion of his marxist friends Jayaprakash decided to go to Moscow for further studies. When this news reached his father there was immediate shock in the family. Jayaprakash's nephew Shambhu Sharan Verma and Sri Braj Kishore Prasad, discussed the situation with Dr. Rajendra Prasad and prevailed upon him to use his prestige to dissuade Jayaprakash from going to Moscow and becoming a Bolshevik. As Jayaprakash recollected the contents of the letter, in it Rajendra Babu appealed to Jayaprakash's intelligence and his nationalist as opposed internationalist spirit. He insisted that the important fight against injustice was in Jayaprakash's own country, not in the Soviet Union. And knowing how the British confiscated and destroyed the writings of M.N. Roy, shadowed and spied upon alleged communists in India, he added a less idealistic, more calculating argument. He warned that Jayaprakash might not be allowed by the British authorities to return to his country, as was the case with Roy, if he went to Moscow and carried the scent of Bolshevik revolution about with him. Jayaprakash thought over the objections carefully, as he was obliged to do by his respect for his elders. See, Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:59.
38. The usual dress worn by bulk of the rural Hindu population even these days. This dress is positively worn on any auspicious occasion.
39. A rectangular wooden slight bigger flat slate, approximately fifteen inches in length and ten inches in breadth, used by small children till recently. Alphabates are written on it with the help of a clay-chalk.
40. In his efforts he was greatly helped by a Brahman, Dev Nandan Dixit who later turned a revolutionary. See, Sharma, 1974:16.
41. She was also from an untouchable caste. She had also faced the problems of untouchability in her school days. See, Kalhan, 1980:30.

CHAPTER IV

THE WAY

THEY LED US

In this chapter we are going to look at the participation of the leaders in the political movements and social reform. However, before doing that we will see the general social and political conditions of the province. We will have a brief overview of the political and social changes at different points of time. Against this background we will try to analyse the contribution of our selected leaders. And, lastly, we will attempt to evaluate our findings, and also to link these with various factors keeping in view the objectives of our study.

## I

**GENERAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS**

Bihar was a backward region and the cause of this backwardness was assigned by the Bihari leaders to the discriminatory policy of the Bengalis. After their successful agitation the province of Bihar and Orissa was created out of Bengal in 1912.<sup>1</sup> After this the leaders were busy with the development programmes for the province but nothing concrete could be achieved. They were vague about social reforms and their ideal society was based on western philosophy. In fact, no concrete step was taken in favour of the Depressed Classes even on an all India level (Shah,1987:125; Phadke, 1987:29). Further, the Congress represented a "microscopic minority" of English educated men while the majority of population was rural and poor. Bihar was mostly under the zamindari system which was oppressive to the peasantry. The taxation, rural indebtedness, fragmentation and sub-divisions etc. combined to make the upper, middle and lower strata of the peasantry gradually bankrupt. Feudal exploitation reinforced by traditionalism and religious bigotry made the position of rural poor miserable (Gupta,1982:32-33). However,

the spokesmen of farmers kept away from the Congress since they were critical of its upper caste and urban middle class leadership (Phadke,1987:27-28).

In this social and political atmosphere Gandhiji arrived at Champaran in 1917 accompanied by two lawyers, Ramnavami Prasad and Dharnidhar Babu (Datta,1970:30). Raj Kumar Shukla - a resolute ryot who came forward to fight the Planter Raj - was instrumental in bringing Gandhiji to Champaran (Gandhi,1940:471-472). "Miraculously enough, the peasants shed their fear the moment Gandhiji arrived in their midst. His visit somehow convinced these unsophisticated people that at last their saviour had come and their troubles would end soon" (Prasad,1957:91).

When Gandhiji started his investigation work, an order of externment on him was served by the Collector. He refused to leave the district. Others also agreed to follow him if the need arose (Prasad,1957:84-85). Gandhiji appeared before the court and made the statement :

".... I venture to make this statement not in any way in execution of the penalty to be awarded against me, but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience" (Gandhi,1927:482-483).

The unvarnished declaration of truth outwitted the officials, and the date of judgement was postponed for the time being; and finally the case was withdrawn. The administration agreed to help him. An intensive enquiry was conducted and finally a settlement was reached at Ranchi.

What was the result of this movement? Though it is said that the national leadership did not fully exploit peasant upsurage

to further the ends of national movement,<sup>2</sup> it gave the Congress a mass base. As against the earlier narrow support base of the Congress consisting of the urbanized and western educated middle class, the support of peasants was mobilised for the first time. Besides, it also gave the Congress a different method to work. Gandhiji differed from the Constitutionalists when he opted for the unconstitutional method but at the same time differed from revolutionaries as well as by placing emphasis on Ahimsa or non-violence. Above all, it was from now that Rajendra Prasad and other leaders were converted to Gandhian faith, which many of them followed throughout life.<sup>3</sup>

Bihar made a splendid and spontaneous response to the calls of Rowlett Satyagraha (1919) and afterwards the Non-Cooperation (1920). Protest meetings against the repressive laws attained by all classes of people were held in various localities in March, 1919 at various places. April 8, 1919 was observed as the "day of humiliation and prayers" and hartal on that day was a complete success. The Satyagrah was quite peaceful in Bihar. However, seeing the disturbances at many places, Gandhiji called off the Rowlett Satyagrah admitting that he had committed a "Himalayan miscalculation" in launching a non-violent mass-movement without fully preparing the masses of India for non-violence (Joshi, 1987:42).

Following the clarion call of Non-Cooperation next year many children were withdrawn from educational institutions and alternative arrangements were made by the Congress (See Chapter II). The whole province joined this movement including the tribal areas. However, non-violence was an essential condition of the Non-Cooperation movement, and the Bihar leaders and its people did their best

to follow it in their words and deeds (Datta,1957-I:343). This campaign shook the government, and its members over-reacted with the customary savagery. As a result, widespread violence occurred throughout those parts of India that were outside Gandhiji's control. And finally, Gandhiji withdrew the movement after the Chauri Chaura incident (1922). This withdrawal came as a shock to many. Gandhiji was sentenced to six years' imprisonment; the Congress was outlawed and the struggle subsided (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:46).

There are differences of opinion about the wisdom of this withdrawal but one must concede that Gandhiji had his ear to the ground. "The Non-Cooperation movement shifted politics from the drawing rooms of educated and the businessmen to the huts in the countryside, to the tillers of the soil. English was of no use as a medium of communication with this vast mass of humanity. Anyone who wanted to reach the masses had to do it through an Indian language" (Prasad,1957:131-132). The villagers identified themselves with the national movement seeing Gandhiji dressed like them and using their symbols and idioms. "Here, not only Gandhiji relied upon the politics of romanticism to draw social groups with conflicting interest to a common platform, but also relied upon the influence of leaders within the different communities, into his agitation" (Kumar,1969:374).

On the issue of further course of action the leadership was divided into pro-changers and no-changers. Bihar on whole remained loyal to Gandhiji under Rajendra Babu's leadership. This was a critical but constructive phase. Khadi-work made remarkable progress in Bihar and especially in Darbhanga district. For the eradication of untouchability, temple entrees for untouchables were attempted

successfully. The programmes for ameliorating the conditions of untouchables were taken up. For the emancipation of women, the anti-parda campaign was started.<sup>4</sup>

In the period after 1930 the province was politically more conscious than before. The problems of general masses were taken up by the leadership and the masses also responded enthusiastically to the calls given by the leaders. Women's participation on a mass-scale was witnessed in and after the Civil Disobedience movement. Social customs went through radical transformation and taboos were not so strong. The province had made a considerable progress in the span of thirty years. The whole province got involved in the movement gradually. It was not surprising that the masses carried on with the agitation on their own when the leaders were in jail. However, communalism was never stopped or controlled fully after the suspension of Non-Cooperation movement. Further, casteism was always playing its role in the political sphere.<sup>5</sup>

The new turn in political activities came around 1928-29. The process of organising the peasantry began and the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) was formed at Sonapur during Sonapur Mela<sup>6</sup> in November, 1929. Gradually, there was enthusiasm among the Congressmen to join it, but some however, were opposed to this idea.<sup>7</sup> The working Committee of BPKS passed a resolution that BPKS will not oppose any political move by the Congress, and thus eliminated the possibility of it being a parallel organization (Saraswati,1984:205-206).

On the labour front, there was a serious strike in Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur in 1928, the main cause being the management's policy of reducing the staff. The efforts of several



leaders failed<sup>8</sup> and finally Subhas Bose was called. Only after prolonged discussions the settlement was reached (Datta,1957-I:16-17). There was another strike among the workers of Tinsplate Company at Golmuri, a suburb of Jamshedpur, next year. It engaged about 3,000 workers mostly skilled. At the request of strikers Subhas Bose along with other Congress leaders from Bihar<sup>9</sup> went there several times to negotiate for a settlement (Datta,1957-II:17).

The country's mandate with regard to the attitude towards the Simon Commission was followed by Bihar with profound courage, earnestness and fidelity. A conference, attended by men of all parties, was held at Patna under the presidentship of Sir Ali Imam, and boycott of the Simon Commission (1928) was decided upon here (Datta,1957-II:25). In the enthusiasm against the unwanted Commission, about 30,000 people reached Patna railway station on the chilly morning of December and, holding black flags in their hands, shouted "Go back Simon."

The boycott of Simon Commission was followed by the launching of Civil Disobedience movement. As the beginning of this, Salt Satyagrah (1930) was launched in different parts of Bihar, the district of Champaran and Saran being the first in the field. It was followed by the picketing of foreign cloth depots, boycott of foreign clothes, hartal, and demonstrations throughout Bihar. The government started arresting people indiscriminately and most of the prominent people were put into jail. However, the movement was withdrawn following Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931).

Many leaders rejoiced over this Pact and celebrated it, many others got disillusioned with Gandhian politics. The Congress Socialist Party was formed by Jayaprakash Narayan and others.

When Act of 1935 came the leaders criticized it. But the Congress decided to fight the election. In its election manifesto the Congress promised land reform, improvement in the lot of industrial workers, the Fundamental Rights Resolution of its Karachi session, etc. (Prasad, 1957:429). The Congress won this election by winning 98 seats out of 152.<sup>10</sup>

The Congress formed the ministry with Shri Krishna Sinha as the Prime Minister of the province. Trying to fulfil the assurances given in the election manifesto it appointed a Labour Enquiry Committee to inquire into the living conditions and work of the industrial labourers in the province. It also started the basic scheme of education in June, 1938 (See Chapter II). To tackle the problems of peasantry it took up problems like reduction of rent payable by tenants, right to transfer land, question of arrears of rent, mode of payment of rent etc. (Prasad, 1957:455). The Congress took a liberal approach to land reform which the Kisan Sabhaites and Socialists did not like. The bone of contention between the B P C C and B P K S was abolition of landlordism. While the Congress was in favour of abolishing zamindari after paying the due compensation the B P K S and the Socialists were for the unconditional and immediate abolition. The differences between these organizations grew further and kisan organizations slipped into the hands of the Communists.

The ministry tendered its resignation in October, 1939 as a protest against Britain's declaration of Indian participation in the War without latter's consent. The Congress was in favour of rendering conditional support, the Socialists and Kisan Sabhaites were for rendering no support at all. But no assurance came from

the British government and in November, 1940 Gandhiji decided to launch individual satyagrah. The Cripps Mission sent to seek India's help in war-efforts failed. A country-wide national challenge to imperialism was organised. Giving the call of "do or die" Gandhiji launched the Quit India Movement. Bihar joined the movement with great enthusiasm. Jayaprakash Narayan and his friends provided the leadership to the province.

Once again the Congress ministry was formed in the province in 1946 with Shri Krishna Sinha as its Prime Minister. But large scale communal disturbance hit Bihar also and the normal life was disturbed for many days.

This was the socio-political context in which our leaders operated. Now we shall discuss the contributions of the leaders.

## II

### CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE LEADERS

#### SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

One of the greatest contributions of Sachchidanand Sinha was leading a successful agitation for the separation of Bihar from Bengal Presidency. The struggle against the sad plight of Biharis had already been started in the later half of the last century. This struggle gained momentum when Sachchidanand Sinha joined this struggle in 1893. At that time there was no such province of Bihar. Very few, if at all, outside this region knew if there was any part of India known as Bihar (Sinha, 1944: Introduction; Chaudhary, 1964: Foreward). This was forced upon the attention of young Sachchidanand Sinha during his London stay. "It was," to quote his own words,

a painful and humiliating discovery that not only was Bihar a terra incognita to the average Britishers, and

to the retired Anglo-Indians, but even to the majority of Indians residing in London.... It would be difficult for me to convey to the Biharis of today the sense of shame and humiliation which I... felt (Sinha,1944: Introduction).

And further,

The sense of this painful conviction was, if anything, intensified when on my return to India early in the year 1893, at the very first railway station in Bihar, I noticed a tall, robust and stalwart Bihari constable wearing the badge with inscription 'Bengal Police.' It almost embittered my feelings of joy and gratification on my return home.... But as if it were by an impulse, I resolved then and there to do all that lay in my power to secure for Bihar a distinct and honourable status as an administrative unit, with an individuality on the same footing as that of the more important provinces in the country (Sinha,1944:Introduction).

Besides this emotional and sentimental reason, the other important causes lay in economic and political discrimination against Bihar. The economic development of Bihar lagged behind and the educated Biharis failed to get suitable jobs which were usually given to more favoured brethren of Bengal. The cause of education was suffering and it was not making any headway. It was in this background of political and economic discrimination that the movement for separation of Bihar from Bengal was gaining momentum even before Sachchidanand Sinha came to the political scene (Chaudhari, 1964:52).

Around 1893 the Biharis, so to say, were suppressed and depressed and denied proper facilities or opportunities. They, therefore, desired to separate themselves from Bengal, but there was none to agitate effectively for it and show the way to gain that end. "Speaking broadly" Sachchidananda

Sinha once remarked,

Public life and public activities in Patna in 1893 were at a very low ebb indeed. The atmosphere was damp and chilly... and, outside Patna, it was a case of lower deep in the lowest deep (Sinha,1969:40).

Fortunately, they found in Sachchidananda Sinha a messiah, so to say, to lead them and to organise a powerful campaign for this purpose. Undaunted, Barrister Sachchidananda Sinha threw himself into the fray, determined to realise the dream of his life by securing for Bihar a separate existence as a distinct administrative unit. But soon he felt the need of a paper through which the demands and opinions can be raised. So, with Mahesh Narain as editor, a weekly journal, called The Bihar Times was founded in January,1894. From 1894 the movement gained momentum owing to the emergence of the other leaders and press to espouse the case (Sinha, 1969:40-44).

From 1894 to August 1907, Sachchidananda Sinha and Mahesh Narain worked in fullest cooperation and carried on an active propaganda in support of the movement. They jointly wrote a book in 1906, The Partition of Bengal or the Separation of Bihar, in which they came up with an alternative scheme of the separation of Bihar to that of the participation of Bengal.<sup>11</sup> Mahesh Narain passed away in 1907. The sad and untimely death of Mahesh Narain gave a rude shock to the movement. But soon, it was joined by stalwarts like Sir Ali Imam, Hasan Imam, Sir Mohammad Fakhruddin etc.. In fact by 1905 the movement had become charged with the sentiment

of local patriotism (Chaudhari,1964:196-197). By this time the movement had gained momentum and Sachchidananda Sinha had come to occupy a prominent and influential position at the Bar and in public life (Sinha,1969:40-44). Sachchidananda Sinha's efforts brought fruit when, in the Delhi-Darbar on December 12, 1911, the Emperor made the announcement of, "... the creation as early date as possible of a Governorship in Council administering the areas of Bihar, Chotanagpur and Orissa..." With this announcement Bihar was not only created as a separate province under a Leutinent-Governor, but an Executive Council was also provided for it (Chaudhari,1964:161-168). Following this announcement the new province came into existence on April 1, 1912. For his efforts, Sachchidananda Sinha is known as the 'maker of modern Bihar.'

After the creation of Bihar as a separate province Sachchidananda Sinha engaged himself in the developmental works for the province. He was a member of Imperial Legislative Council. On the issue of Rowlett Act he, who happened to be a member of Imperial Legislative Council "took a prominent part in the debates on the subject in the Imperial Council and his speeches were lauded all over the country for their onslaught against the officials of the Punjab government and those of the Government of India" (Sinha, 1969:66).

However, Sachchidananda Sinha did not agree with Mahatma Gandhi's move of Non-Cooperation. He remained firm on his belief to oppose the unjust moves by the government in the legally constituted bodies. He parted company with the Congress of which he was an active member since 1888 till 1921. He withdrew his active support to the political moves of the Congress but remained active

in the field of education. This is not to say that he left active politics. When Anugrah Narayan Singh was removed from the Chairmanship of the Gaya District Board in 1927-28, a wide spread agitation started in the province. Sachchidananda Sinha presided over the public meeting which was held to protest against the high handedness of the government for superseding the Gaya District Board and removing Anugraha Narayan Singh arbitrarily from its chairmanship (Datta,1970:97).

Around the same time the Simon Commission also came to India. Special care was taken to exclude Indians and in the words of Sachchidananda Sinha,

This was not only highly arbitrary and grossly unfair to the inherent rights of the people, but is also an arrogant assertion of British Imperialism, and an absolute negation of India's right to take a prominent part and assist materially in the framing of her own constitution (Sinha,1969:92).

Sachchidananda Sinha championed the cause of the advancement of higher education in Bihar. He was firmly of the view that with all their imperfection and limitations.

It is the Indian Universities that have mainly contributed to the birth and growth of that modern India which is pulsating with a new life and throbbing with noble ideals and lofty aspirations (Sinha,1969:131-132).

Sachchidananda Sinha was a prominent member of the committee appointed by the government to frame a scheme for the establishment of a University at Patna. Later, he worked as a member of the University Syndicate and the Senate for a number of years. He remained the University's Vice-Chancellor for a period of eight

years. He was appointed honorary Vice-Chancellor in 1936 and continued to hold this office till 1944.

During his term of office, several new colleges were opened and the University turned a new leaf by establishing research scholarships and fellowships. He was able to create as many as fifteen research scholarships of the value of Rs.100/- each, and three fellowships of the value of Rs.150/- each. Another notable step was the creation of a new Faculty of Commerce. Again it was due to Sachchidananda Sinha's initiative that a course of technological study, and a scheme for the development of Hindi and Urdu literature through original work, were introduced (Sinha,1969:120-122). As a Finance Member of the government, he was of considerable help in finding in necessary funds for the construction of huge buildings of Patna University (Sinha,1969:125).

As the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, he was a member of the Bihar Educational Reorganisation Committee. The Committee had submitted three reports, relating to primary, secondary and University education. The Committee accepted in principle that mother-tongue of the student should be the medium of instruction. Sachchidananda Sinha agreed with the committee's view that Hindustani had long been used in Bihar for the purposes of education, social intercourse and official works. However, he differed from the Committee's observation that the people of Bihar were unilingual<sup>12</sup> (Sinha,1969:126).

It may be pertinent to mention here that, while Sachchidananda Sinha was in favour of the idea of adoption of Hindustani as the medium of instruction, he was equally emphatic in his view



against discarding or even neglecting the study of English. In the course of his convocation address at the Nagpur University in 1937 he said that

The prejudice among some sections of our people against the use of English is probably due to political considerations, born of the assumption that it is the property of the British (Sinha,1969:127).

He pointed out that it was spoken today by more people outside Britain than inside and had acquired the status of an international language (Sinha,1969:127).

About secondary education, he felt that it was wholly dominated by University requirements and resulted in wholly life-less preparation for that all-important examinations. So he strongly advocated the urgent need and desirability of recognising the secondary education system. He said,

While we must have properly qualified teachers working in suitable condition and maintaining a reasonable standard of existence in the midst of struggle, the surroundings also in which our children grow and work should be made congenial. At the same time, the system of work also should be the best possible. Serious efforts should, therefore, be made in these directions (Sinha,1969:128-129).

Sachchidananda Sinha was also active in the movement for the emancipation of women. He emphasised that the physical and mental emancipation of women was the greatest need of the hour. His zeal for women's education can be understood by his statement that,

It is of tremendous importance that young men, in particular, should have a chance of improving by means of proper exercise not only their intellect but, even, much more so, their emotions, also on right lines. For obvious reasons, it is not possible for our schools and colleges to offer our youths

suitable opportunity for what can be properly developed and exercised only in the more congenial surroundings of one's home, and as the home mutually implied the influence and guidance of women, it is clear that there could be no suitable surroundings for the growth of their education unless the women were qualified by education to play their part, as they should, in moulding the lives and destinies of our younger generation (Sinha,1969:32-33).

### RAJENDRA PRASAD

Rajendra Prasad's active involvement in public affairs began when he started practising as a lawyer at Patna in 1915. At the time of Champaran movement, he had gone to Puri when Gandhiji arrived at Patna en route Champaran. He was informed telegraphically and he rushed to Champaran accompanied by Brij Kishore Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Singh and Shambhu Saran (Prasad, 1957: 84-85). There Gandhiji asked these lawyers to be circumspect and to use their skills in cross-examining in recording statements, so that whatever was recorded was true (Prasad,1957:91). About his Champaran experience, Rajendra Prasad writes:

... my very first meeting with Gandhiji did not particularly impress me. But as the days passed, I not only developed a great affection for him but also tremendous confidence in the method of his work. By the time the agitation ended we all had become his ardent devotees and zealous advocates of his method (Prasad,1957:86).

When the call for satyagrah against Rowlett Act came from Gandhiji, a meeting was held at the Qila, Patna City on April 4,1919. Rajendra Prasad, along with others took a decision to participate in the hartal on April 6, 1919, "the day of humiliation and prayer." He participated in other meetings as well. He exhorted all to see that the procession to be organised was orderly and peaceful (Datta,1970:44-45).

The next year when a meeting of A I C C was called at Banaras, to review the findings of Hunter Commission, Rajendra Babu attended this meeting. Further, the meeting of Bihar Provincial Conference, in which the highly significant decision of non-cooperation was passed, was presided over by Rajendra Prasad. Though initially reluctant to preside over, he finally agreed for the same, and made a bold appeal for the acceptance of the programme of Non-Cooperation (Datta,1970:48-49). Following the decision of the Congress about non-cooperation he gave up his practice as a lawyer except for appearing in Hariji's case in view of his previous commitment regarding it (Prasad,1957:114). He also resigned from the membership of the Senate and Syndicate of Patna University after having decided to join the Non-Cooperation Movement (Prasad,1957:118-119).

When Gandhiji suspended the movement, this sudden withdrawal of movement came as a shock to Rajendra Babu at first. But after discussion with Gandhiji he was convinced that Gandhiji's stand was right (Prasad,1957:162-163). In the absence of Gandhiji the Congress was divided into Pro-Changers and No-Changers. Rajendra Babu along with Rajgopalachari and others led the No-Changers and kept himself busy with the constructive programme of the Congress.

An All-party Conference in Bihar took the decision of boycotting the Simon Commission, under the presidentship of Sir Ali Imam. To moderates like Sir Ali Imam and others boycott meant refusal to render any help to the Commission. But the Gandhites and others wanted to associate the people with boycott by organising demonstrations. And as Rajendra Babu observed, "although

Sir Ali, who never favoured public demonstrations did not like my proposal, because of his strong opposition to the Commission he accepted it" (Prasad,1957:265-266). Rajendra Babu was present at the sight of demonstration and advised students and others "to avoid conflict and remain quite even if the opposite party become aggressive" (Datta ,1970:98).

When the proposal for Salt Satyagrah came Rajendra Prasad was not hopeful about the success of this plan in Bihar and other inland areas. So he sought Gandhiji's permission to start satyagrah in Bihar by non-payment of chaukidari tax which everyone had to pay and against which there was much discontent among people. But Gandhiji did not agree to this, and said "Let us first break the salt laws, and then we shall be able to launch other no-tax campaigns if popular enthusiasm is aroused." At this answer, Rajendra Prasad writes:

I kept silent though I was not quite convinced. I wondered why in Bihar we should break the law by making salt, leaving aside such an obvious thing as refusing to pay the chaukidari tax. But I had faith in Gandhiji's experience of the technique of Satyagrah and his foresight and capacity to lead (Prasad,1957:305).

In connection with Salt Satyagrah Rajendra Babu moved from place to place propagating the message of Satyagrah. He made hurried tours of different places and issued instructions regarding Satyagrah in the capacity of President, B P C C. Though he himself did not manufacture the salt, he auctioned the salt<sup>13</sup> manufactured by the Satyagrahis using the money collected to meet their expences (Prasad,1957:311).

Salt Satyagrah was just the beginning of Civil Disobedience movement and when the movement gained momentum Rajendra Babu

was arrested and sent to Chapra Jail, After the trial, he was sent to Hazaribagh Jail from there. In jail he spent most of his time in reading and spinning. Sometimes later, with the jailer's permission, he joined the jail workshop and learnt weaving.<sup>14</sup> Besides learning cottage industries in jail, he read the scriptures, such as the Bhagwad Gita, Ramayana, Upanishads and Patanjali's Yoga Sutra (Prasad,1957:322-323).

In connection with the Act of 1935, Rajendra Prasad moved a resolution in favour of fighting the elections in the open session of the Congress at Lucknow. Urging for the adoption of resolution he observed:

I do not believe people are down and out, or that the hunger for Swaraj is less. The only deficiency is that the people are taking time. Let us go ahead. The flame of Swaraj will never be extinguished untill freedom is achieved. I believe that all Congressmen, both of the pro-office and anti-office view, have the same urge for freedom (Datta,1970:147).

The Provincial Congress Committees were to select candidates for elections. But to avoid the influence of "splinter groups and factions in some provincial committees" final selection was subject to the scrutiny of the Parliamentary Board of A I C C which was formed with Sardar Patel, as Chairman, Maulana Azad and Rajendra Prasad (Prasad,1957:427). Under the guidance of Rajendra Prasad as President of B P C C, the Provincial Congress Committee made unanimous decision in most of the cases and nominations were completed smoothly. Even when Rajendra Babu held a contrary view, he bowed to the majority opinion (Prasad,1957:429).

Rajendra Prasad toured the whole Bihar in connection with election, and organised and addressed the meetings as well. After

the victory in election, Rajendra Babu convened a meeting of the B P C C and the Congress M L As. The two main contenders for the Prime Ministership of the province were Anugrah Narayan Singh and Shri Krishna Sinha. Caste considerations again came to the surface. But, through the influence of Rajendra Babu, group rivalries were avoided and in consideration of all factors Shri Krishna Sinha was unanimously elected leader. The Congress Ministry tackled the various problems under the wise and able guidance of Rajendra Babu till it resigned against Britain's declaration of India's participation in War.

As regards Second World War, Rajendra Prasad had shown "detestation of Nazi method of aggression" and though he had "sympathy in unmistakable terms with all those countries who have, from time to time, been victims of unprovoked attacks" he was of the opinion of providing "conditional support." He observed as the President of A I C C in 1939 at Wardha:

It is no question of bargaining or taking advantage of difficulties of England. It is a simple and straight forward question that India asks, what part or lot can she have in a war waged for the freedom of other countries when her own freedom is denied to her people who are fighting for freedom and democracy in Europe? We want a straight forward answer to that question. We have also said that a more declaration will not satisfy us. We want that declaration to be given effect to the extent it is possible under present conditions (Datta,1970:167).

Rajendra Prasad and many others had genuine sympathy for Great Britain in that crisis and hour of adversity, and they were prepared to render all possible assistance but they wanted assurance from the British government that India would be given freedom after war. However, no assurance came from the Britain's side and Gandhiji launched the Quit India movement. Rajendra Babu was arrested and put behind bars.

Rajendra Prasad was also concerned with the problems of peasants. He had participated in the Champaran movement. He observed that the 'thirties

was a period of slump and the prices of food grains had greatly declined. The peasantry was hit hard and found it difficult to pay the land revenue and other taxes.... The situation had begun to deteriorate in 1930 and the cultivators expected the Congress to take up their cause and obtain some relief (Prasad, 1957:340).

When the Agrarian Enquiry Committee, set up by the BPC, instituted a four member enquiry committee in turn for the benefit of the kisans and zamindars Rajendra Babu was made its President (Gupta,1985:93). In 1936, another enquiry committee was appointed to examine the agrarian situation and Rajendra Prasad once again was made the President. The committee recognised the grievances of the tenants regarding rent problems, among other things as just (Gupta,1985:62). "When the Congress took over the reins, knowing that tenancy reform was bound to come and thinking that it would be better to have the question settled amicably, zamindar's representatives, on their own initiative, approached the Ministry and offered their help and cooperation in instituting tenancy laws to ameliorate the lot of kisans and suggested negotiations." The Ministry welcomed the idea, and Rajendra Babu agreed with it (Prasad,1957:455). However, the Congress ministry and even Rajendra Babu was blamed for not paying attention to peasantry's problems (Prasad,1957:459).

Rajendra Prasad was equally interested in the problems of labourers. Rajendra Babu had gone to Golmuri several times to settle the problem (Datta,1957-II:17). When the Labour Enquiry

Committee was set up by the Bihar government, Rajendra Prasad was appointed its Chairman. The Committee was to inquire into the living conditions and work environment of the industrial labourers in Bihar. This matter was of much importance in this province because it had industrial factories of different kinds (Datta,1970: 158).

Another mission entrusted with Rajendra Babu was in U.P. when its Prime Minister Pundit G.B. Pant decided to get the conditions of Kanpur factory workers investigated by an enquiry committee under Rajendra Babu's chairmanship. Rajendra Babu showed his inability to conduct such work on the ground of having no previous experience. But Pundit Pant was of opinion that Rajendra Babu "would be considered an impartial mediator by both the millowners and workers." Rajendra Prasad writes, "he further said that my appointment would please both the parties who would have confidence in me. That clinched the matter and, in spite of my reluctance, I had to accept the assignment" (Prasad,1957:460).

Rajendra Prasad was concerned also with ameliorating the conditions of untouchables. He took a leading role in improving the living conditions of municipal sweepers in the 'twenties.' Attempts were made to check mis-spending of money, consumption of liquor etc. He writes:

We used to visit their residential areas and tell them how to keep clean. Religious meetings used to be held once a week in their locality and sweets were distributed to people. We made special efforts to propagate temperance among them but the good work came to a close when we left the Municipality (Prasad,1957:211).



Further, he was present at almost every meeting held between the Congress leaders and the leaders of Depressed Classes (Prasad, 1957:350). After the Poona Pact, Rajendra Prasad joined Rajaji to the South and sought entry for Harijans in the Hindu Temples. They tried to get the famous Madurai and Srirangam temples thrown open to Harijans. Rajendra Prasad writes:

We had discussion with priests who were sympathetic. Public meetings were arranged and well-known pundits were approached. But all our efforts proved infructuous... We did not lose heart, however, as we were convinced that though the task was difficult it was not impossible.... Ultimately, our efforts in the south succeeded. In Kerala, the biggest stronghold of untouchability, the Maharaja of Travancore declared the famous Padmanabha temple open to Harijans (Prasad, 1957: 352-353).

Rajendra Prasad was active in the field of education as well. He also took part in the establishment of Patna University. He was a member of the Patna University Senate and Syndicate. He tried his best to get Hindi accepted as the medium of instruction

... at least up to the Matriculation standard. It was a hotly debated issue in the committee. I [Rajendra Prasad] felt that if I succeeded in getting the recommendations accepted, it would help the cause of national education. Many prominent persons of Bihar were opposed to my view as they felt that if English was not taught from the beginning, the standard of education of the boys would be lowered and that, in the race of progress, the nation would be left far behind. These men were so strongly under the spell of English that even Sadler Commission's emphasis on the use of mother-tongue in education did not affect their attitude (Prasad, 1957:118).

Somehow, he got the recommendations passed, and then resigned from the Senate and Syndicate following the call for Non-Cooperation. However, the Senate recommendations remained only on records and nothing was done to implement it (Prasad, 1957:119).

Though he was opposed to English education, he was against laying too much emphasis on boycotting governmental institutions during the Non-Cooperation movement. He writes:

Few people realise that our education is merely a means of earning one's livelihood. A person who goes in for education had to earn. He is so moulded that he cannot carry on in the old ways. He takes to expensive ways of living. Parents invest a lot of money on the education of their children in the hope that after finishing their studies they would help in maintaining the family income if not in increasing it (Prasad,1957:116).

He, therefore, urged that students should be told frankly that they had a thorny path before them and would have to face privation and suffering (Prasad,1957:116-117).

He was against English education because, to him, the nature of English education was such that after leaving the University one could not think of anything but joining Government service or one of the professions like law or medicine (Prasad,1957:116). Likewise, he was against the use of English as medium of instruction. He writes:

Because of the medium of instruction being a foreign language, it involved colossal waste of energy and time. It could not lead to that natural growth of personality which can be so easily attained through proper education given in one's own language. Obviously our students cannot have much time for thinking and meditating when all the while they are busy in memorising the meaning of foreign words. For this reason alone the system is wasteful. It is not wrong to learn a foreign language.... But to study a language in order to acquire a working knowledge of it is one thing and to learn every subject through its medium is another. So, I have always expressed my opposition... The British had their reasons for making Indians learn their language.... I could certainly have nothing to do with such a system... (Prasad,1957:117).

Hence, he thought of opening new educational institutions. He agreed with Gandhiji's opinion that it was no use opening a college in

any way connected with the government. If a new institution had to be opened, it must start with a new national system of education (Prasad,1957:117). Consequently, Bihar Vidyapith was opened by the Congress and Rajendra Babu joined it as its Principal.

He also worked to displace English as communication-language. In his opinion Hindi was the only language on which the mantle of national language could fall. However, he thought that the regional languages should be used side by side and the national language was to be used only in all-India and inter-state affairs (Prasad, 1957:423).

He was nominated to Patna University Senate once again in 1937, and was also a member of the Committee set up to re-organize the education in the province. He was also associated with the experiment with Basic Education in the province.

Rajendra Prasad was deeply moved by seeing the plight of women in the society. Parda was strictly observed in his family<sup>15</sup> and he somehow did not like this age old system of parda. But at the same time he could not raise his voice against this. However, the rules were relaxed gradually in due course of time (Prasad, 1957:22). Likewise, he was against the evil system of dowry as well.<sup>16</sup> To quote his words,

For our son's marriages my brother and I never accepted any dowry, but while giving away our daughters we had to pay handsome amounts. On some occasions, it was almost extorted from us. Therefore, my experiences of these marriages has always been bitter (Prasad,1957:238).

He even had to incur debt to pay the dowry for his niece's marriage (Prasad,1957:69).



He took pains to establish communal harmony during 1928 riots. During the 1946 riots, when Bihar witnessed the communal frenzy once again, Rajendra Babu rushed to Patna and conferred with other leaders on how best to restore the situation to normal (Prasad, 1957:599).

### **SHRI KRISHNA SINHA**

Shri Krishna Sinha had started taking interest in public activities while practicing as a lawyer at Monghyr in 1915. Within a few days, he made his mark as a rare new talent and came to be known as the great "Lawyer of Maur." Around this time he was a staunch supporter of Home Rule movement of Annie Besant (Prasad and Sinha, n.d.:13). In 1916 he saw Mahatma Gandhi for the first time when the latter had gone to deliver an address at the Central Hindu College. After listening to Gandhiji's speech he was drawn by his charisma. When Gandhiji came to Champaran, Shri Krishna Sinha was willing to cooperate but due to his younger brother's illness (of which he died) he could not go to Champaran (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:7). Taking inspiration from the Champaran movement, similar protest movements were started elsewhere also. Shri Krishna Sinha rendered free service, as a lawyer, to the people who were arrested in this connection. Around this time he also started People's Association of Bihar in Monghyr of which he was the secretary and coordinator (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:7-8).

During the Rowlett Satyagrah he organised many meetings in Monghyr and adjoining districts and addressed them to make the Satyagrah a success. "The peculiar thrill imparted by his rich, resonant voice, the equally peculiar stirring of the conscience evoked

by his physical presence, the fusion of thought with passion... immediately caught the admiration of the enormously large audience listening to this prophetic roaring of the lion. It was only after this highly impressive public speech that the people irresistibly started addressing their great spokesman as "Bihar Kesari"<sup>17</sup> (Prasad and Sinha, n.d.:16).

Following the clarion call of Non-Cooperation with an "unrighteous and unrepentant government" Shri Krishna Sinha sacrificed his promising career as a lawyer to participate actively in the movement. During his active involvement in the crusade, he made his presence felt in nearly every corner of the Monghyr district... (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:12-17). During that time it so happened that the Prince of Wales was invited to pay a royal visit to India by the then Viceroy Lord Reading. Shri Krishna Sinha formed various groups of volunteers at Monghyr "to protest against this proposed royal visit and went head-on in the opposition to the orders of the British government" (Prasad and Sinha, n.d.:16-17). The government arrested people indiscriminately. Due to his activities he was arrested and jailed in 1922. In jail itself he organized a hunger strike to protest against the highhandedness of the jail authorities (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:25-27).

When Simon Commission reached Patna a huge demonstration was organized and about 30,000 people gathered in the chilly morning of December. Shri Krishna Sinha was standing in the front row of protesters. Later on, he addressed the people there in the Hardinge Park and appealed them to be fully prepared for Swaraj (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:49).

As the leader of the Congress Party in Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council Shri Krishna Sinha moved a resolution in March, 1929 disapproving the policy of Sir Ganesh Datta Singh, Minister for the Local Self Government in superseding the Gaya District Board and removing Anugrah Narayan Singh from its Chairmanship. He blamed the Hon'ble Minister of misusing the power "to feed fat a personal grudge he bears towards the chairman of the superseded Board..." (Prasad and Sinha, n.d.:25).

When the Salt Satyagrah movement was started Shri Krishna Sinha was not keeping a good health. But he participated in the movement despite a failing and fragile health. Rajendra Babu, seeing his health, did not want him to lead the Satyagrah. But Shri Babu was so deeply inspired by Mahatma Gandhi that he could not keep himself away. With his band of followers he walked from Begusarai to Gardhpura, covering a distance of about twenty miles on foot. Before breaking the salt-act he addressed the gathering and requested them to have tolerance and faith in non-violence. The police action to prevent the violation was so brutal that Shri Babu had to face several burn injuries. But he did not care for his wounds and left for Begusarai to discuss and supervise the new strategies for the movement (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:57-58). Shri Babu was arrested and brought to jail hand-cuffed like criminals. He utilised the term of his jail stay in self-study and read many scriptures in the jail. With the help of Swami Sahajanada Saraswati he read the Bhagwad Gita from a new angle (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:61).

After the election of 1937 Shri Krishna Sinha along with some of his associates formed the government in Bihar on the request of the then Governor. He was designated as the Prime Minister

with Anugrah Narayan Singh, Syed Mahmud and Jaglal Chaudhary as Ministers (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:33). This ministry under his leadership provided the people of Bihar with a popular government for which the interests of the people constituted the most urgent priority. Shri Babu emerged as a bold leader, staunchly uncompromising in his stand. Shri Babu's role during this period has been briefly stated as follows:

He very soon emerged as so outstanding a planner and statesman in the government that even his rivals found it impossible to over-emphasize his personal contribution to the democracy, however partial, of 1937-39. One finds, looking back on it, that the period of his premiership was superb by any standards. If he dominated the political scene (he usually did) it was done by sheer superiority of mind and judgement (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:36).

Shri Babu moved a historic resolution in the Bihar Legislative Assembly inviting the British government to make a clear declaration that "they have decided to regard India as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution." The resolution was passed by 36 votes to 6. In the course of debate he said:

Imperialism must go. Fascism must go. The exploitation of one class by another class, the exploitation of one country by another, the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger must disappear if the world is to be a happier place to live in (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.: 34-35).

However, Shri Krishna Sinha tendered the resignation of his government in 1939. When Gandhiji decided to launch individual Satyagrah in November, 1940, the honour of being the first Satyagrahi from Bihar came to Shri Krishna Sinha. According to the scheduled programme, Shri Krishna Sinha appeared at Bankipore Maidan in Patna on November 22, 1940. Individual Satyagrah was started by the ex-

Premier of Bihar with an anti-War speech in which he had specifically spelled out his soul-searching slogan "Na ek pai, na ek Bhai."<sup>18</sup> He was arrested and sent to jail (Prasad and Sinha,1988:75-76). Further, before the Quit India movement was formally launched, Shri Babu had addressed many public meetings in the province and roused people to challenge British Imperialism. However, he was arrested on August 10, 1942 shortly after the launching of Quit India movement one day before.

The contribution of Shri Krishna Sinha to the cause of peasantry was great. When the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha came into existence at a meeting held at Sonapur, Shri Babu became its Secretary. This was the beginning of his keen interest in the welfare of the peasantry in whom, as we have noticed earlier also, his roots were to be found. He was always ready to espouse their rightful cause and suffer for them (Saraswati,1985: 255 ; Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:22). As the Secretary of the B P K S he "came to grips with the problems of the peasants of Bihar, subtly preoccupying himself with the problems of his society" (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:22).

When the peasantry was hit hard during the Great Depression and the farmers were in no position to pay the tax, Shri Babu organized the peasants of Shahbad, Monghyr, Gaya and Bhagalpur districts to protest against the government. He was a member also of the economic committee of the Enquiry Committee set up by the Congress (Prasad and Sinha,1988:62-63). Further, in 1935 he addressed a meeting of peasants at Kharagpur and criticized the government report on the conditions of peasants. When the Enquiry Committee, set up in 1936, started its work Shri Babu visited a number of places Jahanabad,Aurangabad, Nawada etc. (Gupta,1985:62).



As the Prime Minister of the province he found himself in a position to do something to tackle the agrarian problem which for the first time was causing a breach between the kisans and the Congress.

The Bihar Congress Ministry, with a view to fulfilling its pledges to the tenants and improving the general economic conditions in the Province, tried to take various steps. Early in August, 1937, a big meeting of the zamindars and the tenants was held in the Whitty Park, Gaya, and was addressed by the Hon'ble Premier and the Hon'ble Finance Minister, who were anxious to effect a reasonable settlement. Shortly after this, the Premier on reading the fortnightly reports on the agrarian situation drew the attention of the officers to the fact that "not only do the tenants claim bakhsat lands which are actually in the possession of landlords but that it is also a fact that much of these bakhsat lands are in actual cultivating possession of tenants whom in many cases the landlords are steadily attempting to dispossess." The Hon'ble Premier held that this fact should be borne in mind by the District Officers when they were dealing with the agrarian situations (Datta, 1957-II:315).

Shri Babu was also concerned with the problems of labourers. On September 6, 1929, Shri Krishna Sinha, then leader of the Swaraj Party in Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council moved an adjournment in the House to discuss the crisis caused by the strike at the Tin Plate Company at Golmuri. Considering the demands of strikers as just he strongly urged the appointment of a Conciliation Board. The adjournment motion was carried by 41 to 39 votes. After some time, on the advice of the Congress, Shri Babu resigned from the Legislative Council showing that he had no lust for power (Datta, 1977-II:17; Prasad and Sinha, 1988:55-56).

To enquire into the conditions of workers an Enquiry Committee was set up under Rajendra Babu's presidentship when Shri Krishna Sinha was the Premier of Bihar. To give a definite and better

direction to sugar industries in the province the Sugar Factory Control Act was also implemented by Shri Babu (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:74).

Besides contributing to the cause of national education as a Congressman, he did a lot as the Prime Minister of Bihar. In 1938 one Basic Education Board was established to experiment on the line of Nai Talim of Gandhiji. The Patna Training School was transformed as the Basic Training Centre. Though the ministry resigned in 1939, the experiment with Basic Education was carried on by the Government of Bihar. In addition, the Adult Education movement was started in 1938 and by April, 1939 there were 14,259 centres for adult education in Bihar. Reliable sources inform us that around 3,19,000 persons started getting education, and about 50 new Basic Schools were started (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:73).

Shri Krishna Sinha emphasised the necessity of a good education for building a good nation. He said:

Only that country can be considered good where the citizens possess good brains.... One can very well imagine what would have happened if there were no schools and colleges or no education system. We read in Ramayana, "Guru griha gaye padhan Raghurai, Alpakala sab vidya pai."<sup>19</sup> This system is there for long. Education is a great thing. If there is no education system, the world cannot benefit from the knowledge men have acquired over thousands of years. Ideal education is that which helps in satisfying the quest of learning (Prasad and Sinha, 1988:74).

Shri Krishna Sinha was against the age old caste system which worked against one section of people of society. He gave special emphasis on the education of Harijans as the premier of Bihar. He once said:

It is my strong conviction that in any country where a man does not learn to behave properly with his

fellow brother a good society cannot be formed. The small caste-walls in India will have to be broken; a Brahman in India will have to sit besides a Chandal.<sup>20</sup> No one can be kept down now only because of the poverty at birth or convention of the society. If I want to keep him down, it will only mean that I am interested in the devastation and destruction of the country (Prasad and Sinha,1988:73).

In the field of estbalishing communal harmony Shri Krishna Sinha's efforts were also remarkable. As a reaction to the Calcutta riots in April,1927, the riots at several places in Bihar broke out. Shri Krishna Sinha and Shah Mohammad Zubair went to several places to educate people against this. He tried his best to restore the communal harmony by door to door canvassing with a remarkable success (Prasad and Sinha,1988:45). Further, in 1935 when communal tension prevailed in the Monghyr town over the demolition of a temple Shri Babu tried to diffuse the communal tension (Prasad and Sinha,1988:67).

During the 1946 riots he picked up the challenge of restoring communal harmony as the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Bihar. "He issued statements and held Press Conferences, appealing to every-body to be restrained and reasonable at this crucial juncture."

Shri Krishna Sinha's anxiety to save the lives of innocent Muslims was so strong that his eyes streamed with tears when he saw the victims of such an unprecedented carnage. He successfully suppressed the wild outburst of communal frenzy with the iron will (Prasad and Sinha,n.d.:56).

#### **SWAMI SAHAJANANDA SARASWATI**

The incident which brought Swami Sahajananda Saraswati to the field of public activities was somewhat related to his social background. As we have pointed out earlier that he belonged to

Jujhautiya Brahman community who had entered into martial relations with Bhumihars. So, he considered Bhumihars as Brahmans, whereas this recognition was not granted by the Brhamans. Once he was invited to Bhumihar Brahman Sabha in 1916 to give a lecture on Brahmanism. He was greatly pained and disappointed by recognising that Brahmans gave Bhumihars a low status in the caste hierarchy and the Bhumihars, despite their capabilities, did not have enough courage to fight the supremacy claimed by Brahmans. So he decided to devote himself to securing Brahman status for Bhumihars. He worked for about more than ten years for the same (Saraswati,1985: 95-98).

Swami Shajanada Saraswati, who was aloof from the political life of the country, had started reading newspapers on the advice of some friends (Saraswati,1985:100). This hobby finally dragged him into the active politics of the country. In 1920, he came into contact with Mahatma Gandhi during latter's visit to Patna. He had a detailed talk with Gandhiji and decided to join politics for the benefit of the masses (Saraswati,1965:109-110). The Nagpur Congress of 1920, in which the decision of Non-Cooperation was finally approved was also attended by him. On his way back to Khagariya from Nagpur, he was requested to alight from the train at Buxar. People sought his help in campaigning against Maharaja of Hathua in election. He went to Buxar and campaigned against Maharaja in view of the decision taken at Nagpur Congress (Saraswati,1985:116-119). He was put behind bars for his involvement in the Non-Cooperation Movement. When the movement was withdrawn he came to know about it in jail, and was rather shocked and stunned. Though he had complete faith in Gandhiji, he was surprised at this sudden move (Saraswati,1985:153). After his release from

jail he kept himself busy with organizing peasants to which we will come sometime later.

When the Salt Satyagrah was started and call for Civil Disobedience came, Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was very much inspired by Gandhiji's call. He suspended his other activities and started mobilising people for this movement. But to his utter disappointment he found an environment of indifference in and around Patna. So he decided to move to either Muzaffarpur or Darbhanga to participate in the movement. But gradually the environment in Patna also got surcharged and he broke the salt law at Amhara. Soon after this he was arrested. He was sent to Bankipore jail, and from there was transported to Hazaribagh Jail.

Imprisonment this time proved to be a turning point for Swami Sahajananda Saraswati. He felt that many of the prisoners who were considered and claimed to be Gandhites were not the followers of Gandhism. He found them bent on disobeying jail rules against Gandhiji's wishes. Many of them were the people who were thrown up in leadership role by circumstances and by no credit of their own; and hence, were engaged in all sorts of mischievous activities in the Jail.

He felt that Gandhiji's highly philosophical notions of truth and non-violence were not for the common masses. So, he decided to leave the Congress as well as active politics but remain dedicated to the country's welfare (Saraswati,1985:221). The news of Gandhi-Irwin Pact and the suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement reached him in the Jail itself. By this time Swamji was disillusioned with Gandhiji. And this change in his opinion about the

Congress leadership took him away from Gandhism. He felt that the general masses were more interested in grappling with material and economic problems and that the philosophical notions like Satya (truth) and Ahimsa (non-violence) were useless unless the problem of bread is solved. So, he devoted himself for the cause of peasantry wholeheartedly.

However, his links with the Congress were not completely broken. He was a member of the Working Committee of BPCC which was to nominate the candidates. He felt that a complicated play of casteism, communalism and nepotism was being played. Many devoted Congressmen were kept out while non-deserving candidates were nominated. Greatly disappointed by this, he resigned from the Working Committee. Later he took his resignation back on the request of Rajendra Babu and others considering its influence on the coming election against the Congress.

On the issue of campaigning for the Congress, Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was in a fix. He was devoted to the cause of peasantry, but at the same time he had to support some landlords as Congress nominee. However, he convinced the farmers about the priority of Congress cause.

Difference of opinion with the congress leadership brought Swamiji closer to the Socialists and the left. They were against any cooperation with the British. They strongly believed in obstructing the British war efforts. Relying on the theory of 'War-against-War,' Swami Sahajananda Saraswati engaged himself in anti-war propaganda, and consequently was arrested (Saraswati, 1985:235).

The contribution of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati to peasants' cause is great. He was highly impressed by the Nagpur resolution.

He writes:

The Congress entered the new world.... The country opted for the path of self-reliance through the Congress. Rather, it is for the first time in the history that the biggest organization in the country looked for the support of its political struggle towards the dumb and duntrodden millions. It looked towards farmers, labourers and realised that without their support and cooperation any political demand cannot be achieved (Saraswati,1985:115).

He was happy that he joined the Congress at this time, because he felt this atmosphere better suited to his nature.

When he established Sitaramashram at Bihta near Patna he came to know about the exploitation of peasants by the local Zamindars. He decided to establish a peasants' organisation to help peasants against such exploitations and at the same time to avoid direct confrontation. So the West Patna Kisan Sabha was established in the closing months of 1927 (Saraswati,1985:193). Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was influenced by Gandhiji's view on class relations between the landlords and peasants and believed that the problems of peasants could be solved amicably by talking to the landlords. Moreover, the undersirable elements could be prevented from taking advantage of the situation. Hence, he approached the problem as a staunch reformist and never as a reactionary (Saraswati,1985:193-194).

When the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was formed Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was made its President. BPKS was established as a body to work under the Congress banner and not as a parallel organization (Saraswati,1985:207). Swami Sahajananda Saraswati toured Bihar with Sardar Patel for the cause of the BPKS. In Swami Saha-

jananda Saraswati's opinion, from the tour of Sardar Patel the BPKS got impetus, and the Kisan leaders also got sufficient inspiration (Saraswati, 1985:208).

As we have already pointed out that during his jail stay he had felt so alienated that he decided to leave active politics. But he was brought back to active politics again by his admirers. He devoted himself to Kisan cause, and the BPKS under the Presidency of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati organised more than 500 meetings during 1933 and 1935. They mainly raised the question of tenancy reform and other related questions (Gupta,1985:96).

However, when the Congress Ministry was formed, the Kisan leaders, the Socialists and the left expected some stern steps from the Government with regard to land reform whereas the ministry's response was liberal towards the zamindars. The Kisan leaders somehow did not like this compromising attitude of the Congress. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati felt that nothing concrete was done for the peasantry and rather the Ministry acted on a pro-zamindar bias. Dissatisfied with the Congress the BPKS campaigned against these compromises. Swamiji felt that "the BPCC did not show any sympathy to the Kisan cause" (Saraswati,1985:298-300). In the wake of growing unrest the BPCC passed a resolution in December 1937 and enjoined "...on all Congress workers and those sympathising with it to keep themselves aloof from ... the activities which attacked the principle of ahimsa," and further said, "... the Kisan Sabha is engaged in such activities..." which is hampering the work of the Congress (Gupta,1985:160; Saraswati,1985:299-300).

The attitude of the Congress took Swamiji away from the Congress. Meanwhile the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) was established



and Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was actively involved in it as well. But the AIKS was being gradually dominated by the communists. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati also resented the communist dominance in AIKS. Therefore, he formed a rival Kisan Organization at all India level. However, the presence of the communists in BPKS was negligible (Saraswati,1985:351).

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati's efforts in the field of education were concentrated mainly on the education of the children of Bhumi-har Brahmana. When Swamiji started his movement to get the Bhumi-hars accepted in Brahmanic fold the Brahmans resented this by boycotting the Bhumihars in many areas. He got the information that in Kashi and elsewhere, the teaching of Sanskrit to Bhumihar Brahmans was virtually stopped. And independent efforts were also discouraged (Saraswati,1985:173-174). So he decided to revolt against this but the handicap of sufficient finance was there. Suddenly he was informed that an old Bhumihar was willing to give his entire property to a trust through which the facilities of learning classics could be provided to the children of Bhumihar Brahmans. Swamiji saw the possibility of realising his dream. Thus near Bihta a Brahmacharayashram was duly opened in 1927 and it was named Sitaram-ashram after the old man (Saraswati,1985:173-174).

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati devoted himself to teaching the Sanskrit classics to Bhumihar boys in the ashram. However, he was criticized severly by many as a casteist. But in his defence, he pointed out that he was bound by the clause of the trust, and he could not go against these. He, however, was always willing to help others separately, if the financial help was made available

for that purpose. Moreover, the fear of arising personal enmity among children was also there if pupils of other Brahman sub-castes were admitted. All these considerations forced him to confine himself to Sitaramashram (Saraswati,1985:174-176). However, the orientation gradually changed and "the ashram at Bihta trained kisan volunteers and did not impart education to the children of Bhumihars alone for which it was originally started" (Gupta,1982:51-52).

As far Swami Sahajananda Saraswati's attitude towards customs of the society are concerned he was a strict observer of untouchability in his personal life. Just after taking sanyasa he roamed around looking for a yogi and "during this period," he writes :

We did not take food from any caste. We always preferred to take food in a Brahman household. We were observing the restrictions strictly. Further, the knowledge of scripture was also very fresh (Saraswati, 1985:42).

Even after joining social service and political struggle, his lifestyle did not witness much change in his attitude. To quote him,

I am always a strict observer of untouchability and cleanliness in taking food. This attitude strengthened gradually, especially about taking cooked food in the market (Saraswati,1985:131).

During the Non-Cooperation movement when he was put into jail, he did not take food and even water for two days. Finally, the jailor arranged for milk (Saraswati,1985:131).

He became more and more adamant in his attitude gradually. However, when he was in jail once again, he did not observe the restrictions with the same intensity. He observed that other prisoners put hurdles in normal functioning of jail rules by asking

for some favour or treatment. Hence, he decided to take the food served in the jail so that others should not get a chance to start some mischevious activities. Nevertheless, he brought water in a separate pitcher and was strict about its not being touched by others (Saraswati,1985:215-217).

As far Swamiji's attitude towards parda is concerned he was not against this system. In course of wandering he reached Gujarat once and to his disgust he found the Sanyasis of Siddhapur mutha<sup>21</sup> were least concerned with studies, and they were of loose character. He imputed this to the general affluence in the area and also to the fact that there was no control over the free interaction of males and females due to the absence of parda as a result of excessive hold of Vedanta (Saraswati,1985:91).

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati's attitude towards communal relations was also a bit different from others. He was suspicious about the intentions of the Muslim leaders initially. He told about this to Gandhiji also. To some extent he was right in his estimate when many Muslim leaders joined communal organizations leaving the Congress (Saraswati,1985:110-111). However, his attitude changed afterwards. He writes:

The Staunch followers of one religion usually do not know much about other religions. If at all they know anything, it is negative. In my childhood this was the case with me also. I hated Islam and considered it bad. I was of the opinion that it taught violence, and was intolerant towards other religions. Of course, this opinion of mine has changed now, but it was there till I joined politics (Saraswati,1985:146).

**JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN**

Jayaprakash Narayan was full of patriotic zeal from the very beginning itself and he wanted to see the British out of this country as early as possible. We have already seen how Jayaprakash Narayan at the age of 17 years was "filled with disgust and important indignation" over withdrawal of Rowlett Satyagrah. We have also seen how he flung his text books into a dam to become a part of the Non-Cooperation movement; and how "his high hopes for his country were dashed..." over the sudden withdrawal of the Movement. However, his active involvement in political affairs started only after his return from the United States.

Jayaprakash Narayan came back from America fully inspired by Marxist thought. Jawaharlal Nehru offered him the job of Secretary of the Congress Labour Research Department. He began to organise the mass contacts for the Congress organisation, corresponding with trade unions, using whatever influence he could bring to bear to coax unions back to the Congress fold, whenever they had fallen under the influence of old liberals, the communists or men considered opportunists. (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:75).

The first major political move was the Salt Satyagrah for Jayaprakash Narayan. He was disgusted with the insignificance of the issue and sympathised with the view of Jawaharlal Nehru who had hoped for a strenuous no tax campaign, like the Irish and Americans had waged against the British, and also for the desertion of their jobs by all professional people to reduce the British rule to impotence and topple it (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:77). However, he participated in the movement and was not arrested. Subsequently,

he was sent to Bombay to organise textile-workers and went underground not being well enough known to the authorities to have been watched. Now, the Congress members had to be kept in contact with one another's activities; spirits revived; illegal literature printed and distributed to supporters; records of British authorities kept; account kept of those in jail and help given to their families; as well as cloth boycotts and no-tax campaigns organised (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:80). After organising all these he came to Allahabad to take part in the activities there. At Allahabad, Prabhavati, his wife, was arrested and imprisoned in connection with Salt Satyagrah, and this made him drive himself harder to topple the British (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:80-81).

When the Civil Disobedience Movement was withdrawn in the light of Gandhi-Irwin Pact Jayaprakash Narayan and his Socialist friends accepted the withdrawal with great reluctance. They were both angry and disillusioned with Gandhiji's politics. Their indignation increased further when Gandhiji failed to save Bhagat Singh and two of his revolutionary friends from being hanged in the Jail (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:82). After the failure of Second Round Table Conference when large scale arrests were made, escaping the net once again Jayaprakash set up "an illegal, underground office of the Congress in Bombay having the position of Acting General Secretary of the AICC conferred on him by default" (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:83).

He was assisted by Lalji Mehrotra in keeping contact with "other men in hiding all over India who were seething with the same disgust and indignation, fellow conspirators who were running

off Congress opinions on any shabby printing press or worn-out cyclostyling machine and passing them surreptitiously to readers." They felt that Indian freedom now rested upon their shoulders and that they must resist every repressive law in whatever manner they could, must speak and write the truth when the government ruled in secrecy (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:83).

During this time, he was planning a secret meeting of the Congress Working Committee which he managed to stage successfully in Banaras in July,1932, at the home of Shiv Prasad Gupta, and to which he brought the Congress underground President Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Rajgopalachari, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, Kiran Shankar Roy and Dr. Rajendra Prasad (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:84). However, Jayaprakash also was arrested in Madras and was sent to jail. It was in Nasik Jail that he got the chance to meet other young fellows of Socialist thinking like Lohia, Ashok Mehta, Minoo Masani etc. They agreed completely that Mahatma Gandhi was confused about social and human motivation in thinking that the concept of trusteeship would solve the problem of economic inequqlity. They were also impatient with Mahatama Gandhi's policy of compromise with the Viceroy which the Congress had adopted since his Salt March (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:91).

Despite their different origins they shared a common politico-economic thinking. They saw capitalism as crumbling, morally and socially discredited by its greed and inhumanity. So, disillusioned with Gadnhism they naturally looked to Marxist approach to solve the problems of the society. The strategies of the tiny Communist Party of India in 1934, followed the policies of the Communist

Internationals. To his dissatisfaction Jayaprakash noticed that the communists refused to join Gandhiji's struggle, and attacked the 'bougous nationalism' of the Congress, while he was hunted, caught and jailed. To the Communists "Gandhiji was a lackey of Indian Capitalists and not a sincere fighter." Jayaprakash called it "folly" and "shameful" behaviour. It angered him that none of them had been "anywhere on the battle lines in the struggle he had just waged from underground." So began his feelings of increasing alienation from the policy of Stalin's Communist International, and also from the political climate of the Soviet Union (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:93).

So, Jayaprakash Narayan, along with his friends<sup>22</sup> decided to set up a new political party in India - a party devoted to both independence and socialism, to both freeing and uplifting the peasants and workers of the country. It was agreed upon that the party members should retain the membership of the Congress but nevertheless function as a ginger group (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:94). A convention was called in Patna on May 17, 1934, to inaugurate the Bihar Congress Socialist Party. The Congress Socialist Party was launched the same year (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:94).

Jayaprakash rushed from one end of India to the other exhorting people to join his party, explaining over and over to small party groups or large meetings of unionists that the objectives of the All India Congress Socialist Party were to eliminate exploitation and poverty; to develop to the full the material resources of the society; to provide equal opportunity for self development to all.

As a patriot who had suffered imprisonment, as a founder of new party, as an attacker of the status

quo, Jayaprakash became a prominent national figure during the later months of 1934. Men heard of him, came to his meetings to form their own opinions, fell prey of his charm, passion and charismatic appeal, and joined him (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:98).

When the Act of 1935 came Jayaprakash condemned the proposal as introducing a "slave constitution." On the "election issue" Jayaprakash differed from Gandhiji and quick to point out "that Gandhiji had fallen from his high pedestal of non-violence, soul-force and non-cooperation with the evil system of imperialism." Jayaprakash was of the opinion that the Congressmen should boycott the state legislatures. He resigned from the Congress Working Committee as soon as it became apparent to him that the Congress would contest the elections (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:100-105).

On the War-issue Jayaprakash Narayan committed himself strongly to the anti-war faction. He said,

For our part we do not wish to embarrass or create difficulties for the United Nations. But we cannot help it if our war of liberation comes in the way. If, it does, it is not our fault, but theirs... (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:119).

He exhorted his public audiences to take advantage of the War and overthrow the British rule. He was arrested for making anti-war speech at Jamshedpur. Gandhiji reacted sharply to Jayaprakash's arrest and wrote a letter in strong words to the Viceroy<sup>23</sup> (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:120).

Jayaprakash was devoted to the freedom of motherland. He observed,

I have no desire to help Germany or to see Germany victorious. I desire the victory neither of imperialism or Nazism... In the present circumstances, however, India has no alternative but to fight and end British imperialism. Only in that manner can it contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world.



A slave has no obligation to defend his slavery. His only obligation is to destroy his bondage (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:121).

Jayaprakash was sent to Deoli camp where mostly the communist prisoners were kept. He agitated against the inhuman atmosphere of the jail and the treatment of prisoners. He went on hunger strike and at last the Deoli camp was abolished.

Jayaprakash came to know about the Quit India Movement in Hazaribagh Jail. Reading of the uprising he and his friends began plotting a jail break. On the Diwali day on November 8,1942, he along with five others stealthily came out of the Jail.

With the other Congress leaders behind prison walls Jayaprakash was now India's greatest public figure, her foremost hero, acknowledged to be the leader of the Independence Movement even by the Government in its propaganda pamphlet Congress Responsibilities for Disturbances (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:147).

The escapees from the jail did propaganda work in Bihar sleeping on river banks, behind bushes, under trees, always aware that they were being followed. Jayaprakash also recruited Congress guerilla fighters for his flight against imperialist British government. He risked many train journeys also to organise the activities in different parts of the country. He was arrested when he was on his way to Peshawar from Delhi and was sent to Lahore Fort (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:155).

Jayaprakash's contribution during this period has been briefly stated as follows:

Though Jayaprakash had failed to be a great leader of a historic revolution, he had become a great national hero. Legends of him grew as police activity spread from one end of India to the other. He led attacks on post offices and railways and cut telegraph lines, taught youths to make and use bombs and published

detailed books on guerilla war tactics. It was only natural that the British pictured a killer where there was simply an impassioned social thinker (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:151).

Jayaprakash Narayan took interest in the problems of peasantry believing that the peasantry's position was nearer to that of labourers and there was no fundamental difference (Gupta,1985:164). To put to an end the native system of exploitation the members of the Congress Socialist Party started taking interest in existing peasant organizations in Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. Finally, it took initiative in bringing about an all India conference of Kisan workers out of which came out the All-India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) (Gupta,1985:193-164). The Meerut Conference of AIKS was called in consultation of Jayaprakash and other Socialist leaders.

During the period 1936-40 the Congress Socialists worked actively in the Kisan Sabha. During 1939 Gaya session Jayaprakash placated the anti-Congress feelings of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati. However, from 1940 onwards Jayaprakash and other socialists became lukewarm and generally withdrew from Kisan Sabha. This was done against the gradually increasing communist dominance in the Kisan organisations. And, that is why Jayaprakash was active in forming rival organization to AIKS around 1945-46 (Gupta,1985:166).

Jayaprakash Narayan's contribution to labourers' cause is remarkable. When he started his work as Secretary for the Congress Labour Research Department, he made international contacts with the British Labour Party and the British Trade Union Congress, and carefully read their publications. He engaged in surveys to discover what the problems of industrial workers were and to what extent the Congress could help in ventilating their demands and,

of course, in identifying the Congress and its struggle for independence with the workers (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:75).

Further, Jayaprakash did his best to ensure that the Congressmen went to factories and spoke to Workers' meetings to gain influence with them, and to be themselves educated on the problems of India's working people. He kept contact with the labour leaders of all shades as well (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:75-76). During the world-wide economic depression, the conditions of the industrial labourers also deteriorated. Industrial workers were sacked by hundreds. Jayaprakash was sent to Bombay to organize textile-workers as we have already pointed out. After the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement Jayaprakash went on with his trade union work for the Congress, "becoming increasingly convinced that the miserable poverty of working people could never be removed while British imperialism drained his country dry" (Scarfe,1975:82).

After the formation of the Congress Socialist Party Jayaprakash became more engaged in trade union activities. In 1939 he exhorted his public audiences of trade unionists and city crowds to take advantage of the War to stop British exploitation of Indian working people and overthrow the British rule. He roared,

Stop paying your rent and revenue taxes. Establish your own government. Set up your own police and courts and boycott the British administration. Establish your right to rule yourselves by organizing a general strike of all railwaymen, postal workers, defence workers and any other government employees (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:120).

In connection with anti-war propaganda Jayaprakash appealed to workers in Jamashedpur on February 18,1940.

Stop all cooperation with the conduct of the War against Germany. Overthrow the British administration.

Tata is the biggest steel work in Asia. You should stop supplying it steel for prosecution of the War. I call upon you all to strike (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975: 120).

After this speech Jayaprakash was arrested and sent to jail.

Jayaprakash Narayan's attitude towards English education should be analysed in the light of his decision to emphasize his refusal to attend a British institution any longer. This is not to say however, that he was against imparting education through English medium or was in favour of vernacular education alone. It was simply the manifestation of his anti-British feelings. As his attitude is described,

It was common for Indian students to go to England for higher studies but although Jayaprakash felt some attraction for studying at Oxford or Cambridge... he was in the grip of passionately anti-British emotions.... So he decided to go to America for higher studies (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:46).

Further, Jayaprakash Narayan relied mainly on student power to carry on the struggle. He always campaigned among young bloods for support.

Jayaprakash saw the roots of social problems in the economic organization of the society.

To him religious intolerance was a medieval survival; he emphasized the economic problems of the poor of all religions and asked them to direct their energies against the British on the basis of nationalism and socialism (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:187).

He was quick to render his help during the 1946 riots. He even appealed to students, giving more importance to social and national cause, to give up studies for the time being and go to the affected villages of communal violence, "to give succour to the sufferers, to do their best to restore peace, confidence and morals" (Scarfe and Scarfe,1975:190).

**JAGJIVAN RAM**

Jagjivan Ram's involvement in active politics started in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties when he came to Calcutta to join Vidyasagar College in B.Sc. It was in Calcutta that he started participating actively in political demonstrations. Before this, his activities were mainly confined to ameliorating the conditions of the Depressed Classes of the society. Though he was aware of the political developments, and he had opposed the appointment of Simon Commission and the Rupee Stabilization Bill while addressing a gathering of students in BHU, he hardly participated in any political demonstration. It was the indiscriminate lathi-charge by police on spectators, in which he also received a blow-hurt his pride and he decided to join the picketeers and court arrest during Civil Disobedience movement (Gurtu,1973:106-107; Sharma,1974:16).

He participated actively in the Civil Disobedience movement as a youth of twenty two years. He was in Arrah in the summer of 1930. He organised many secret meetings in the town. He was entrusted to organise a big demonstration at Patna. After organising an impressive demonstration he returned to Calcutta, where he organised and led to procession against police atrocities on Satyagrahis. When most of the leaders were in jail he avoided being arrested the advice given by some revolutionary friends of him, so that he might be able to do good work by remaining outside the jail walls (Sharma,1974:26).

Jagjivan Ram had joined politics at the time when many leaders were getting disillusioned with the Gandhian politics; many young leaders with socialist thinking had joined the congress and were looking for some major changes in the policy of the Congress;

leaders of the Depressed Classes had started forwarding new demands like special concessions, separate electorate etc. But Jagjivan Ram remained in the Congress. He even differed with Rajendra Babu and Gandhiji on the problem of Harijans, but he never lost faith in the Congress and remained a true Gandhian.

During the election campaign for the Congress he addressed many meetings in different districts of Bihar, and outside Bihar as well. He also was a candidate for the election. Apart from canvassing in his constituency, he toured various area of UP and Central Province making speeches in support of the Congress candidates. He was especially sent to Dhampur near Haridwar where the contest was keen and one of the prestige for the Congress. The Congress won at almost all these places. Jagjivan Ram was elected to the Assembly with a huge margin over his rival and his prestige in political circles rose to an all time high (Sharma,1974:43-45). The uncontested returns from 14 out of 15, Harijan seats in Bihar on the Congress ticket was a feather in Jagjvan Ram's cap<sup>24</sup> (Gurtu, 1973:123).

However, he had no lust for power. When M. Yunus, the Premier of the Bihar Interim Ministry offered him many temptations to join his side with his followers, Jagjivan Ram did not even nibble at it. When the matter was reported to Gandhiji by Rajendra Babu, he was happy and called Jagjivan Ram a piece of priceless jewel (Gurtu,1973:123).

When Gandhiji decided to launch the individual Satyagrah in 1940, only a selected few were allowed to offer the individual Satyagrah. Jagjivan Ram was one of the few selected persons. He also delivered an anti-War speech and was arrested in December,

1940 (Sharma,1974:54). The forced confinement came to him as a blessing. He had been a keen student of Science and Dharma Shastras and books on religion but his knowledge of subjects of social-sciences was rudimentary. He resumed the study of economics, politics and history. The socialist prisoners organised classes on Marxism and it attracted many young Congress Workers. Jagjivan Ram felt that the socialist teachers started with bias in favour of Marxism. Having read Marxism independently he started taking separate classes in Marxist theory and practice simultaneously with lectures on Gandhian doctrines and its far-reaching implications. He encouraged his listeners to evaluate critically both Marxism and Gandhism (Gurtu, 1973 :127-128).

When the Quit India movement was started Jagjivan Ram was under strict instructions from the senior leaders that he had to avoid arrest as far as possible. Jagjivan Ram reached Patna from Bombay, breaking his journey at several places and changing the routes in order to avoid arrest. He organized the activities of the Congress from underground for a couple of days. He had arranged to obtain a couple of dynamite sticks to blow off a bridge at Patna over which military trains used to carry arms, ammunitions and other supplies to the Eastern front. But he too was arrested in the afternoon of August 20,1942 (Sharma,1974:56-57).

The greatest contribution Jagjivan Ram made during the period under discussion was his work for the Depressed classes and Untouchables. He had to face the troubles of untouchability from the very beginning. We have already indicated about his reaction at schools, at BHU and during Calcutta stay. He realised in his own life what indignity a whole class of people have been made to

suffer through the age-old caste system. He decided that he would devote himself first and foremost to the service of untouchables (Sharma,1974:18).

His experiences at Banaras had gradually given shape to his aspirations. For a while he got interested in Arya Samaj Movement and the Theosophical Society, but he could not find satisfaction (Sharma,1974:18). The results of his social-reform activities in Banaras were not commensurate with his efforts.<sup>25</sup> If he had to work for the amelioration of the untouchables lot, he decided that Calcutta was the right place for him. This city had hundreds of thousands of Untouchables including a considerable member came from his locality (Gurtu,1973:105; Singh,1977:45-47). He organised Ravidass Sabhas in various localities of the city and received a good response.

Once a big meeting was held in the Wellington Park in Calcutta and some 15000 achhuts had gathered. The twenty year old reformer, himself a college student, was to the audience their ideal and saviour (Singh, 1977:37).

Some senior members of Dalit Sudhar Sabha attended this meeting. They began to take interest in him and encouraged him. Jagjivan Ram found Subhas Chandra Bose pro-labour, and pro-Harijan, and hence was attracted towards him. Further, he met several leaders from the Backward Classes in Calcutta as well (Sharam,1974:27-28).

In Calcutta, he also took up the job of reforming the custom prevalent among achhuts. He was not only opposed to the achhuts taking meat of dead animal with which there was general agreement; he considered the giving up of drinking wine a precondition of the uplift of the untouchables. Jagjivan Ram started his crusade



and finally, though wine drinking by the community did not absolutely cease, religious sanctions for drinking wine on ceremonial occasions was withdrawn (Gurtu,1973:105-106).

By now, he had emerged as a promising leader and was invited to many conferences of Depressed Classes at several places in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and UP in 1931. When Anti-Untouchability League was started with Gandhiji's blessings (renamed as Harijan Sevak Sangh afterwards) Jagjivan Ram participated in its activities enthusiastically. He attended the Bihar Provincial Anti-Untouchability Conference at Patna where leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, Arya Samaj and Congress were present. He listened to the speeches made by many leaders. He felt that they were "repeating the same stale and stinking platitudes." This sermonising and moralising attitude of caste Hindus pricked him.

When he spoke, therefore, he was sarcastic and bitter. He said that the 'give-up meat eating, drinking wines and develop cleanliness" attitude of caste Hindus would not have the desired results. The Harijans demanded and they must get fair treatment, not platitudious advice. Action, not words, was needed (Gurtu,1973: 109-110).

His outspokenness stunned many present and the Arya-Samajists criticized him in the meeting itself. But Rajendra Babu was quite and thoughtful. And some time later Rajendra Babu asked him to make Bihar his field of activities instead of Calcutta. Jagjivan Ram consented (Gurtu,1973:110).

He became the Secretary of Bihar branch of Harijan Sevak Sangh, and thus started his public career in Bihar. However, he felt that the depressed classes through their separate caste organizations failed to impress Indian nationalism. Mere social reforms, moreover, would not do. In the Depressed Classes Leaders Unity

Conference at Kanpur in May, 1935 he emphasized that "a well-knit united, all-India political movement of the depressed classes conducted from a common platform, was a historic necessity. At the same time it was essential not to keep out themselves adrift from the main national current." His idea found a great response and the All India Depressed Classes League was formed as the organization of Nationalist Scheduled Castes in 1934 and Jagjivan Ram became one of the Secretaries of this organisation<sup>26</sup> (Gurtu, 1973:111).

It should be pointed out here that the few depressed classes leaders like Ambedkar, Srinivasan and M.C. Raja had kept themselves and their organizations apart and separate from the Indian National Movement. But to Jagjivan Ram Indian National Movement was equally important. But, at the same time he differed from the orthodox nationalist approach to the depressed classes problems. He believed that an economic and socio-psychological revolution was a precondition for the coming of the depressed classes into their own (Gurtu, 1973:111).

To his dismay he noticed that many Untouchables were going for conversion in Dr. Ambedkar's leadership who had announced his decision to renounce Hinduism. A confusion was created and it persisted. Muslims and Christian missionaries tried to fish in the troubled water. Jagjivan Ram was of the opinion that any conversion would not solve the problem, and stigma which was attached to untouchables would remain there. He was all for correcting the system rather than rejecting it. So, in support of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya's appeal in February, 1936, he issued a statement calling upon Depressed Classes to take pledge not to leave Hindu religion (Gurtu, 1973:113).

He successfully got the resolution passed by Hindu Mahasabha for giving equal access to Harijans, like other Hindus, to all public amenities despite Shankaracharya's opposition. It recommended the abolition of all distinctions in Hindu society, based on birth or caste (Gurtu,1973:113).

He was against the very idea of conversion of Harijans as we have pointed out earlier. He calculated to strike a new path as an alternative to Dr.Ambedkar's negative tactics which led to blind alley, and manoeuvred successfully to get his own man Rasi-lal Biswas elected as President of All Religions Conference. Later, opposing the conversion move he warned the members of Depressed Classes (Gurtu,1973:119-121). Then started a constructive phase. He chalked out Anti-Untouchability and Harijan uplift programmes at Bihar Porivincial Depressed Classes Conference in 1937.

He put his radical views on the land reform which created concern in orthodox Congress circles who criticized his view. For his revolutionary ideas of eradicating untouchability even Arya-Samajists did not spare him. But he carried out his mission of Harijan uplift and many other constructive activities. Even amidst failing health, when he was released from prison on grounds of health, he addressed letters to Scheduled Castes and social workers throughout the country to organize and re-dedicate to the cause of downtrodden.

Jagjivan Ram was also interested in problem of peasantry as well as of labourers. For him their problems were an extension and manifestation of the problems of the Depressed Classes. In his address at Gopalganj in 1937 he said:

...ninety percent of our people are agricultural labourers - rather agricultural serfs. If you want to see

a halwaha. He is forced to mortgage himself to a Kisan for a bare pittance and is not free to seek work in another village on a higher wage. Such audacity brings untold punishments. Such exploitations will not cease by mere abolition of zamindari. Land must be distributed among tillers (Gurtu,1973:125).

Thus he pointed out that zamindari abolition unaccompanied by redistribution of land to the actual tillers of the soil would not solve their problems and urged the landless proletariat to have an organization of their own. He founded Bihar Provincial Khet Mazdoor Sabha in 1937, a pioneer organization of the landless labourers. He also worked to organise the landless labour of Orissa and Gujarat.

It was during his Calcutta stay that Jagjivan Ram got interested in problems of labourers for the first time (Sharma,1974:19). He organized several meetings of the working class and weaker sections at Calcutta during 1929. The next year he continued with his activities and took part in labour movement and cultivated a large circle of Jute Workers, Tannery Workers, Leather Workers and Bonemill Workers (Sinha,1973:149-150). The intelligence report from Calcutta had described him as a young man who had strong leftist tendency (Sharma,1974:22). Later on in 1939 he organised conference of Depressed Classes, Landless labour and Workers on All-India level (Sinha,1973:157).

Enumerating the religious, social, economic and educational disabilities of the Harijans he demanded the provision of the primary education in an atmosphere encouraging enough to induce the Harijans to take advantage of it in 1937.

Despite his concern for Depressed Classes he also worked for communal harmony. During the 1946 riots he rushed to the riot affected cities, towns and even remote villages of the province

and consoled the affected to the maximum of his capacity.

He went round from place to place emphasising the point that the poor, innocent Muslims could not be made to suffer for the heinous acts of the Muslim League and its leaders (Sharma,1974:80).

He spent most of his time during riots in Bihar itself and grappled with the situation more successfully than any other individual (Sharma, 1974:80).

### III

#### CONCLUSION

We have discussed the participation and contribution of the leaders in various fields. We have seen that while all the leaders took active part in the sphere of political movement, their over all strategies were different from one another. Sachchidananda Sinha preferred the constitutional method for the achievement of political goals. This attitude can be assigned to his educational background. He studied in England and saw the functioning of various institutions. He was also exposed to the Western thinkers as well as values. Further, he had joined politics in the earliest phase when it was dominated by the Moderates. Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha were under the strong influence of Gandhiji. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati had also joined politics under Gandhiji's influence and was active in political struggle for independence under the Congress banner. Jayaprakash Narayan's passion for freedom from foreign rule was uncompromising and he was for achieving it at any cost. He took the help of revolutionaries and also waged guerilla warfare against the British government. Jagjivan Ram preferred the Gandhian way to achieve the end.

We also find all the leaders interested in the problems of the peasantry. But the most involved leader was Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, and, in fact, he had started the organization as well as the movement for the peasantry. Jayaprakash Narayan was interested because he saw no fundamental difference between the position of workers and peasants. Other Congress leaders were also involved in this movement. Here we have seen the marked difference in the stands taken by the Socialists and Kisan Sabhaites, on the one hand, and that of the leaders of 'right wing of the Congress,' on the other. Swamiji and Jayaprakash were for unconditional abolition of landlordism, of all forms of intermediaries, liquidation of debts etc. While Rajendra Babu and Shri Babu were not in favour of any drastic step. They believed in mutual compromise and coordination. And, this led the left wing of the Congress to brand the rightists as pro-zamindars. This fact should be seen in the light of their social background. Rajendra Babu and Shri Babu were from zamindar families. Swamiji was from an agriculturist family. Jagjivan Ram, who was a pure Gandhian also took a stance similar to that of the socialists on this issue.

The problem of labourers was the main concern of J.P. It was a result of his exposure of Marxism and his contact with radicals in America. Rajendra Babu and Shri Babu were as involved as were the Congress leaders in these matters. Jagjivan Ram's involvement should be analysed in a different light. He was interested because most of the workers belonged to the Depressed Classes while J.P. saw the problem as of class-affiliation instead of caste-affiliation. Here, educational background is influential in the case of J.P. and the social background is important in the case of Jagjivan Ram.

When we take the field of higher education we see that Sachchidananda Sinha was the most active leader in this field. It was his educational background as well as social background which were influential. He was in favour of continuing English education with certain modifications. Thus we see that the early socialization also had some effect. Rajendra Babu and Shri Babu were active in the field, as a true Gandhian, for strengthening the case for the national education and basic education. However, it should be mentioned that everyone agreed to the use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction in order to facilitate the natural growth of personality.

Bringing improvement in the lot of the Depressed Classes and the Untouchables was the main concern for Jagjivan Ram. He had faced the brunt of untouchability himself and this bitter experience made him drive harder in his determination to eradicate untouchability. Other leaders were also active in this field but not with same intensity. Rajendra Babu was initially an observer of untouchability which he gave up under Gandhiji's influence at Champaran. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati retained this habit all through his life. In all the cases the social background as well as the early socialization had an impact. In Swamiji's case educational background was an additional factor. Shri Krishna Sinha mixed freely with all the children which also shows the influence of early socialization and family environment.

Thus we see that, early socialization, social background and educational background are the crucial factors. However, they influenced the attitude of leaders in a variety of ways and their

influence cannot be said to be unidirectional in every case. Besides these, other factors were also operating. If we see the overall approach of the leaders and simultaneously their time of joining politics we notice that the personality of Mahatma Gandhi acted as a crucial factor. It was Mahatma Gandhi's influence on leaders and his faith in non-violence which prevented even the propagator of communism to take up arms. For instance, in a discussion with Gandhiji when J.P. argued that "we will not get power by satyagrah. There must be a revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses. Every group or party and individual in the world that seek to enforce its schemes over the nation, seeks to capture the State. When the state is in your hands you can legislate, you can use the whole magnificent apparatus of propaganda and education that modern science has made available...", Gandhiji's reply to this argument was:

The State is a soulless machine. And without popular support how can it possess coercive powers? That is the meaning of my satyagrah. You cannot change men's hearts by legislation, Jayaprakash. Conversion must precede legislation.

In reply to J.P.'s argument that the Congress Socialist Party in possession of the State "can create a socialist heaven on earth," and that the Gandhiji's "solution of trusteeship takes the fact of inequality for granted and just levels them up a little," Gandhiji said,

My revolution is bigger than the Russian one Jayaprakash I not only win the capitalists money by persuasion but he also lends me his business talent, his experience, his know-how, his specialization. Under my non-violence we can ask for and expect to induce our opponent even to immolate himself for the sake of a higher principle. [emphasis added] (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:102-103).



The changing environment also seems to have some impact. The political struggle was intensified in the late 'twenties. The international current of socialism also entered India around this time. The method of protest by Congress also went through a massive change around this time. All these factors in combination threw up new leaders who were more result oriented and advocated quicker changes through drastic measures.

Further, the commitment to a particular ideology and use of means or ends also guided our leaders, Jayaprakash Narayan analysed the problems in the light of economic disparity; Jagjivan Ram in terms of caste system; Swami Sahajanada Saraswati in terms of peasantry's problems; and, Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha in terms of critical evaluation of social arrangements. It was the futuristic view of the society for these leaders which resulted in different emphasis. J.P.'s view of establishing a just society on socialistic pattern drove him to the labour movement, and Swamiji to the peasant movement. Sachchidananda Sinha's hope for a society with more educated and conscious people drove him to spreading education. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Krishna Sinha and Jagjivan Ram were devoted to Gandhian ideology for restructuring society. Here, education seems to have an important bearing in shaping their commitment. However, the charismatic appeal of a great leader as Gandhiji also influenced these. Further, the influence of colleagues and friends also becomes evident in the case of Swami Sahajanada Saraswati who developed a learning towards left quite late in his life.

Thus, we see that there are several factors which become crucial at one point of time or the other. Moreover, the impact

of all these factors vary from individual to individual, and also in time. For example, Swami Sahajananda Saraswati got disillusioned with Gandhian politics but Jagjivan Ram became more attracted towards it. However, all of them were equally concerned whenever the need for greater cooperation emerged. Achievement of freedom was the main concern for all. They contributed their best to the extent of suspending their respective activities in order to work for freedom. Further, whenever the ugly face of communalism rose its head, all the leaders tried to establish harmony.

## FOOTNOTES

1. For detail description see Chaudhari,1964. The whole book gives a detail description of the politics of the region and the feelings of the spokesmen of public opinion in Bihar. See also **Chapter I**.
2. It is argued that the Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee with Gandhiji as one of its members produced a unanimous report, essentially one of compromise. Gandhiji gave his own reasons for the compromise. The peasant upsurge and its leader Raj Kumar Shukla did attract the national leadership. But the national leadership did not fully exploit peasant upsurge to further the ends of national movement. It failed to direct it into anti-feudal, anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic channels. See, Mittal and Dutt,1976:32-34.
3. See, Prasad,1957:86; Singh,1963:15-20.
4. Some leaders and their wives dedicated themselves to the anti-parda movement. As for example Ramanandan Mishra and Prajapati Mishra etc. See, Sen,1972.
5. See, Singh,1963:110-111.
6. Sonepur Mela (fair) is organized every year in the month of November. In this grand fair a massive sale and purchase of animals takes place every year.
7. Ram Briksha Benipuri who raised the voice of resentment was of opinion that the formations of any other organization outside the Congress will weaken it. He argued that the congress is the real representative of kisans and hence a separate organization will only weaken it; rather the Kisan Sabha might become a threat for the Congress. Braj Kishore Prasad was also opposed to it. See, Saraswati,1985:205-207. However, Benipuri joined Kisan Sabha later on and became a socialist.
8. The efforts of Rev. C.F. Andrews, and later on, arrival of N.M. Joshi and J.D. Mehta also could not bring any improvement in the situation. See, Datta,1957(II):17.
9. Subhas Chandra Bose invited Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the spot. Rajendra Babu went there several times along with Prof. Abdul Bari, K.B. Sahay etc. See, Datta,1957(II):17.
10. The Congress has put up only 107 candidates in the province.
11. In the usual manner, they reiterated the various grounds - cultural, historical, geographical, sociological, ethnological etc. - on which they justified the separation. See, Chaudhari,1964:196-197.

12. He was of the view that people in different parts speak different languages as for example, Maithili, Bhojpuri and tribal languages like Oraon and Mundari. See, Sinha,1969:126.
13. The sale of salt without a licence was also an unlawful act. But Rajendra Babu was not arrested for long time. See, Prasad, 1957:311.
14. In the six months he was in jail he wove about 200 yards of nawar, and 15 yards of cloth. See, Prasad,1957:322.
15. About his bhabhi he writes, "She had a room to herself and she never came into verandah. None was permitted to enter the courtyard except the cook and tender-aged boy servants who, along with his mother, had frequented the place in their childhood.... She would pull on her veil even when my mother, aunt or sister entered her room." Further, even husband and wife did not meet openly or during day time. See, Prasad,1957:22-23.
16. He notes with dismay that,"the bad custom still persists in spite of the reformists' efforts. All castes and communal organizations adopted resolutions against it but instead of disappearing this custom is becoming more prevalent." And further, "perhaps the evil system is doomed to persist because educated young men themselves have now begun to demand money for educational expences, especially for over-seas education." See, Prasad,1957:69,239.
17. In his student days Shri Krishna Sinha happens to be a great admirer of "Panjab Kesari" Lala Lajpat Rai and the title bestowed upon him is related to this also. However, this title, affectionately bestowed upon him, become such a strong mark of identification that "people still remember Shri Krishna Sinha as Bihar Kesari and fondly recall how he said things with a certain power which moved the heavens." See, Prasad and Sinha, n.d.:17; Prasad and Sinha,1988: 16-17.
18. Neither a paisa, nor a brother.
19. This couplet is from Ramcharistmansas by Tulsidas in which it is said that Lord Rama went to his teacher's house to receive education and got every kind of knowledge within very short period.
20. Chandal is an exterior caste, traditionally the lowest in Hindu society and sprung from the union of a Brahman woman with a Sudra man. This caste is engaged in various kinds of activities like cultivation, fishing, grave digging, removal of dead etc. See, Hutton, 1963:145,151.
21. Monastery.
22. Besides Jayaprakash Narayan other people engaged in establishing the Congress Socialist Party were Ashok Mehta, Mohan L. Dantwala, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, Minoo Masani, Yusuf Meherally.

23. At Sevagram Ashram, on hearing the news of arrest from Prabhavati, Gandhiji wrote a statement of his reactions which he forwarded to the Viceroy.

The arrest of Shri J.P. is unfortunate. He is not an ordinary worker. He is an authority on socialism. It may be said that what he does not know of western socialism nobody else in India does. He is a fine fighter.... I do not know what speech has brought him within the law. But if... the highly artificial sections of the Defence of India Act are to be utilised for catching inconvenient persons, then any person whom the authorities want can be easily brought within the law.... Is this arrest a pre-arranged plan or is it a blunder committed by an over-zealous officer? If it is the latter, it should be set right. See, Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975:121.

24. Jagjivan Ram was judicious in giving Depressed Classes League tickets when fourteen candidates had been selected by the League, the Congress adopted all of them as its own candidates and such of them as were not congressmen signed the Congress pledge. See, Sinha, 1973:123.
25. See, Chapter III.
26. Thakkar Bapa, Secretary of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh did not like that Jagjivan Ram, a Secretary of the Sangh should be active in political movement even if it be of Harijans. Differences arose on this issue. Besides, having seen the working of the Sangh from inside Jagjivan Ram did not feel very enthusiastic about it. So, after an exchange of correspondence he resigned from the Sangh. See, Gurtu, 1973:112.

CHAPTER V

# CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to evaluate the leaders' contributions in various fields and the impact of their actions in the respective fields. In the course of discussion we will also try to see why a leader chooses a particular problem or field, and which factors influence his choice. But, first of all, we will try to analyse some essential characteristics of leadership, and further, whether these characteristics are absolute and independent in themselves or they are constrained and conditioned by other factors.

In Jean Blondel's opinion leadership is manifestly and essentially a phenomenon of power : it is power because it consists of the ability of the one or the few who are at the top to make others do a number of things (positively or negative) that they would not or at least might not have done. And, further, while power relationships are always unequal (they can of course be reciprocal), the power relationship exercised in the leadership context is particularly unequal in that leaders are able to make all others in the group (and in the case of nation, all the citizens) do what they would otherwise have done, or might not have done (Blondel,1987:2-3). Now, we are faced with the problems of locating the source of origin of this power.

Max Weber provides us with an answer to the source of the origin of this power. Weber's major contribution to the analysis of leadership relates to the discovery and elaboration of the concept of charisma. Since Weber's purpose is to examine authority, and, in particular, the basis of authority, the characteristics of leadership and the behaviour of leaders are mentioned only to the extent that they contribute to an understanding of the emergence and development of legitimate authority. His is an effort to discuss the societal

conditions under which various types of legitimate rule tend to occur. Weber's main effort is to determine a relationship between types of social structure, in the broad sense, and types of leadership rule. The rule can be traditional, rational-legalistic or charismatic. "In both traditional and rational-legalistic rule (to the extent that the rule is purely traditional or rational-legalistic or following the 're-elaboration' to the context that the rule is based on a mix of these two elements only), there is no place for the role of individual leaders. It is the institutional bond that supports the rule and, consequently sustains the ability of leaders to claim obedience from the followers. On the other hand, in the charismatic context, leaders are the basis - indeed, the sole basis - of the link between the citizens of society" (Blondel, 1987:52).

This means, in the context of traditional rule, the relationship between the citizens and society rests on the natural and automatic acceptance of a set of organization and relationship that have been in existence from time immemorial. In the context of rational-legalistic rule, on the other hand, the link stems from the observations by the citizens that there are rules and arrangements that are regarded as being efficient and just. In charismatic rule, the base is the direct relationship between followers and the leaders. "Charismatic authority is lodged neither in office nor in status but derives from the capacity of a particular person to arouse and maintain belief in himself as the source of legitimacy" (Willner, 1984:4).

Weber states that, "Charisma is a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered and



treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or exceptional forces or qualities" (Weber,1968:214). He says of charismatic authority that it rests on "devotion to the specific sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person and of the normative pattern or order revealed or ordained by him" (Weber,1968:215).

In fact, the term charisma was known almost exclusively to religious circle for nearly two thousand years, but, Weber brought this term to the realm of politics and sociology because "he felt, interestingly and truly imaginatively, that there were situations in the political realm - and, to begin with, at the frontier between politics and religion as with prophets and other politico-religious leaders - in which what might be called a 'lay' gift of grace was 'bestowed' on an individual" (Bondel,1987:55).

It should be pointed out here that we are concerned with Behavioral leaders and not with Positional leaders. In fact, leadership is a behavioral concept : the definition of leadership must, therefore, be behavioral. We can easily discover who the positional leaders are, but the determination of behavioral leaders is not so simple. Prima facie, leadership appears related to power : a leader (in the behavioral concept) is a person who is able to modify the course of events. But the operationalization of behavioral leadership is consequently difficult to achieve (Blondel,1987:15).

Now, let us try to 'decompse' the power of leadership into a number of elements. Leadership, according to R.C. Tucker, is direction. It is direction in that it is ultimately geared towards action. But, leadership will be effective and real only if the direction makes sense with respect to a given situation, to what the

'moment,' so to speak, demands. Tucker identifies three elements which are analitically; successive, although may not occur in chronological order in every situation. These three phases are :(i) the "diagnosis",(ii) the "Prescription of course of action,"(iii) the "Mobilisation" of those who will be involved in ensuring that the action does take place.

The "diagnosis" is the phase during which the leader grasps the situation intellectually and assesses what is wrong, in his opinion, and therefore what has to be redressed. The leader then devises a course of action designed to meet these problems or at any rate he comes to the conclusion often beased on advice, to be sure, as to what the better course of action should be. But this second element is not sufficient for what is ultimately essential is implementation, and this can be achieved only through "mobilization." Mobilization has to be conceived broadly : it covers the mobilization of subordinates, immediate or distant, and of population as a whole or, at any rate, the fraction of population that is relevant to the course of action (Blondel,1987:16).

After analysing the important elements of leadership we should discuss the factors crucial for facilitating or putting constraints on the essential elements of leadership.

Environment is a crucial factor. The actions of leaders must be related to the character of the environment. Leaders have to accept the problem of their societies. They cannot raise matters as they come to mind and expect to be successful. Some have even said that leaders are the prisoners of the environment in that they can do only what the environment 'allows' them to do. Though

this statement may seem to be an exaggeration but, nevertheless, true to some extent. A particular environment introduces constraint of economy, pessimistic mood of the population or the climate crisis etc. constitute constraints on the scope of activities of leaders. Conversely, the environment provides opportunities that are also structural or temporary. Leaders may be given a chance, including that resulting from a crisis, and they may be able to launch initiatives and to push forward some goals that might not be acceptable in other situations or when structural conditions are different.

Another important factor is that the personal influence plays a part, evoking popularity in inducing citizens to follow leaders in large number of situations. Weber views charismatic authority as emerging when there is a major crisis in society - a crisis affecting the whole structure - since the institutions are no longer accepted and recognised by the citizens. From this follows a fundamental difference between charismatic authority and the other two forms of rule. "Traditional and rational-legalistic rule are, so to speak 'normal,' they occur when the situation is stable. Charismatic authority can be found only in the exceptional case of breakdown. Weber's analysis is exclusively related to crisis that it is based on such exceptional superhuman qualities" (Blondel, 1987:60-61).

Now, against this background we will try to analyse the contributions of leaders. However, this is not an easy task as the contributions of leaders is closely related to the environment in which they operate. In particular, the environment gives different opportunities and places different constraints. Further, actions of leaders merely be added up : they have first to be ranked, as some are obviously more important than others. Yet there is

no obvious criterion on which to base distinction of importance. Furthermore, leaders' deeds are rarely 'actions' in the physical sense; they are more often decision, order or request which are implemented by others (Blondel,1987:80-81).

In the course of our discussion we have noticed that Sachchidananda Sinha had established himself as a prominent leader and was also a member of the legislature when Gandhiji started the Champaran Movement. Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha were the leaders on the fringe of national or state politics. We have also noticed that Sachchidananda Sinha parted company with Congress, of which he was an active and prominent member till 1921, on the issue of method to be adopted for raising grievances. We have also noticed that Swami Sahajananda Saraswati joined politics under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. But he got disillusioned gradually and left Congress in late 'thirties. Jayaprakash Narayan was also under Gandhiji's influence. He remained, though, in Congress but he was always more radical in his approach. He even founded the Congress Socialist Party. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Krishna Sinha and Jagjivan Ram were true Gandhians But, while Rajendra Prasad was active in almost every field, Jagjivan Ram was more interested in ameliorating the social conditions of the Depressed Classes. And, with this intention he also had demanded abolition of zamindari without any compensation, demanding more in tune with Socialists or Communists (Sharma,1974:67).

If we try to categorise the leaders broadly on the basis of their analysis of situation, and the method adopted to achieve the desired end, we find that Sachchidananda Sinha can be considered a Constitutionalist; Rajendra Prasad, Shri Krishna Sinha and

Jagjivan Ram were Gandhians; Jayaprakash Narayan was a Socialist; and, Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was a Kisan Sabhaite with leftist leanings. The constitutionalists believed in raising grievances through proper channel. On the contrary, the leftists were in favour of the use of violent means, if the need arose. Gandhiji, opting for middle path emphasized the use of unconstitutional means if demands were not met, but at the same time remaining non-violent. Thus, Gandhiji opted for a middle path between the constitutionalists and revolutionaries or extremists.

Now, if we try to analyse the attitude and stands of these leaders, we can say that in the case of Sachchidananda Sinha it was his educational background which was more important in shaping his attitude. At the time when he joined politics, the Congress was dominated by Moderates who were mainly English educated middle class people, and believed in putting their grievances or demands through petitions. The education system had shaped their personality to a great extent. As Bourdieu says, "The School's function is not merely to sanction the distinction - in both sense of the words - of the educated classes. The culture that it imparts separates those receiving it from the rest of the society by a whole series of systematic differences" (Bourdieu,1976:199).

The British supported an elitist education system from the very beginning which was quite clear from their 'percolation theory.' This educational policy resulted in creating a class which was out of touch with the masses. It knew very little about the culture of masses. Here we mean that whatever they came to know about the culture of masses was through English education and language, as designed and presented by the British. And as Bourdieu says,

"An individual's contact with his culture depends basically on the circumstances in which he has acquired it," and further, "any action for handling on of a culture necessarily implies an affirmation of the value of the culture imparted (and covertly, an implicit or explicit depreciation of other possible culture); in other words, any type of teaching must, to a large extent, produce a need for its own product and therefore set up as a value, or value of values, the culture that it is concerned with imparting, achieving this in and through the very act of imparting it" (Bourdieu, 1976:198).

So, the products of this system obviously acted in accordance with the values imparted to them. Because, as Bourdieu explains, "in a society where the handling on of culture is monopolized by a school, the hidden affinities uniting the works of man (and, at the same time modes of conduct and thought) derive from the institution of the school, whose function is consciously (and also, in part, unconsciously) to transmit the unconscious or, to be more precise to produce individuals equipped with the system of unconscious (or deeply buried) master-patterns that constitute their culture" (Bourdieu,1976:195). This explains the formation of attitude. But this is not the whole truth. Because this does not explain why the difference of attitude was found then. To analyse the attitude of Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha we have to take into consideration the other important factor - the environment.

Second half of the last century was a relatively calm period, but the beginning of the present century saw the anti-Partition Movement, Revolutionary activities, the First World War, and during

and after this War the attitude of the British. This was enough to agitate the mind of people. It was the political environment of the country which was crucial in shaping the attitude of these two leaders. Nevertheless, it was a transitional phase and the Moderates still had some hold. The Communist ideology did not sway the world as it did few years later. Hence, both of them opted for the middle path. It is interesting to note that many of the young men of the extremist wing and of the terrorist groups were spawned after 1905 had little more than a high school education and at best an imperfect understanding of Western values (Crane, 1960:174). Political environment had changed and this ultimately facilitated the rise of new leadership which was more in tune with it. The Congress felt it necessary to broaden its base. And it was this changed and changing environment which had great impact on the leaders.

In the late 'twenties and early 'thirties the international current of socialist thought reached India also. A vague confused socialism which was part of the atmosphere in 1927, strengthened gradually as in Europe and America, by developments in the Soviet Union, and particularly the Five Year Plan (Nehru, 1980:183). Swami Sahajananda Saraswati had joined politics around 1920 and became active in Kisan Movement around this time in 1928. Jayaprakash Narayan had his higher education in America and was completely under the influence of socialist thought. Jagjivan Ram finished his B.Sc. around this time. And, we can see the influence of this current on all of them. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, who had throughout traditional education, became active in kisan movement. By late 'thirties he was more attracted towards communism, and was, rather

critical of the Congress. J.P. Was one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party. Jagjivan Ram was against importing any political ideology or philosophy. He, nevertheless, demanded abolition of zamindari without compensation like Socialists, Communists and Kisan Sabhaites. Here we see that the environment has a larger impact on these leaders. However, they were also not as educated as the leaders of the earlier generation.

However, it should be said that none of them were in favour of some imported ideology. All of them were for a particular ideology which might suit the cultural fabric of the Indian society. Sachchidananda Sinha was very close to the liberalist ideology, whereas Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha were true Gandhians. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati felt the need of re-orienting the Congress activities and wanted it to be more responsible towards peasantry and common masses. Jayaprakash Narayan was a staunch leftist when he came back to India, but gradually he realised that it should be modified to suit Indian set-up.

If we try to analyse the major contributions of these leaders we see that Sachchidananda Sinha, who was one of the creators of modern Bihar, had championed the cause of higher education. Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha were active in almost every field. But, both of them had devoted much time and energy to the constructive programme of the Congress. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati started and led movements for the betterment of the position of peasantry. Before taking up the problem of peasantry he was active in raising the social status of the Bhumihars. 'Achievement of Independence' was one of the guiding force for J.P. and to realise his dream he even took help of revolutionary methods



and guerrilla warfare against the British. Jagjivan Ram mainly worked for the eradication of untouchability and amelioration of the conditions of the Backward Classes.

Here, the social-background seems to have a major impact. ✓  
 Though our sample is too small and no generalisation can be possible. But the impression we get indicate that the leaders from affluent or higher middle class background were either Constitutionalists or Gandhians. We have already indicated that Sachchidananda Sinha was from a more or less affluent background and did not suffer from any want in his life. So, when he differed from the Congress leadership in 1921, he confined himself to the field of education mainly. Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha were from zamindar families, and, hence we find them relatively status-quoist to the extent that they worked for betterment of society in peaceful and harmonious way. As against these, Swami Sahajananda Saraswati was from a family of Bhumihars with moderate income. His was a family of agriculturists, and the village was also full of agriculturists only. We find him active in the movement for peasantry. His caste affiliation impelled him to start the movement against Brahman domination over the learning of Sanskrit Classics. He had felt strongly about the degraded position of Bhumihars as compared to Brahmans. Jayaprakash Narayan was from a middle class background and was much more interested in restructuring the society on a socialistic pattern where there would be no discrimination. His personal experience as a student, who earned to help his studies, also seems very important in shaping his attitude. Jagjivan Ram was an untouchable by caste and also from a poor family background. He had faced taunts and discriminations as a student; and it was but natural

of our leaders except Jagjivan Ram had faced caste discrimination.

This is not to say that other members were not attracted towards the activities of caste-associations. Sachchidananda Sinha and Rajendra Prasad were both actively associated with the Kayastha Conference. Shri Krishna Sinha was also associated with the Bhumihar Brahman Mahasabha. Further, the factional dispute between Bhumihars and Rajputs rallied round Shri Krishna Sinha and Anugrah Narayan Singh. By pointing out these, however, we do not mean to say that these leaders were community leaders or were narrow in their outlook; rather, our point is that caste or community members rallied round these leaders and they derived (or at least tried to derive) benefit out of the position of these leaders, and, in turn, gave them, support as well. For example, the 'separation movement' was mainly started and supported by the members of Kayastha community. And also, the Bhumihars extended their support to Shri Krishna Sinha when he was a contender for the Prime Ministership of Bihar. ✓

Besides this influence of social background, the general environment also has some impact. The impact of environment on Jayaprakash Narayan is evident from the fact that he shifted from science subjects to study sociology. He took this decision to switch over under the impact of Marxism which had surcharged the general environment. In the case of Jagjivan Ram his association with revolutionaries had influenced his course of action. It was evident from the fact that he avoided arrest on the suggestion of revolutionaries to facilitate the organisational work of the Congress.

Thus, by now we have seen that the general environment as well as the social background have a major impact. However, the personal influence of an individual is also a very important factor. "The 'natural' leaders - in time of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, political distress - have been neither office-holders nor incumbents of an 'occupation' in the present sense of the word, that is, men who have acquired expert knowledge and who serve for remuneration. The natural leaders in distress have been holders of specific gifts of the body and spirit; and these gifts have been believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody. The concept of 'charisma' is used here in a completely 'value-neutral' sense" (Gerth and Mills, 1970:248).

The personal 'charisma' plays a very important role. Gerth and Mills write, 'charisma knows only inner determination and inner restraint. The holder of charisma seizes the task that is adequate for him and demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission. His success determines whether he finds them. His charismatic claim breaks down if his mission is not recognized by those to whom he feels he has been sent. If they recognise him, he is their master - so long as he knows how to maintain recognition through 'proving' himself. But he does not derive his 'right' from their will, in the manner of an election. Rather, the reverse holds; it is the duty of those to whom he addresses his mission to recognize him as their charismatically qualified leader (Gerth and Mills, 1970:246-247).

Now, the charismatic appeal of a leader depends on the size of the 'target group' - whether this appeal is made to a larger group or to a small group. Gerth and Mills write, "charisma

can be and of course regularly is, qualitatively particularized. This is an internal rather than an external affair, and results in the qualitative barrier of charisma holder's mission and power. In meaning and in content the mission may be addressed to a group of men who are delimited locally, ethically, socially, politically, occupationally, or in some other way. If the mission is thus addressed to a limited group of men as is the rule, it finds its limits within their circle" (Gerth and Mills,1970:247). And, this becomes crucial in determining the hold of the leader.

Now let us try to evaluate the role of education in influencing the essential qualities of leadership. It can be argued that the "diagnosis" and subsequently "the 'prescription' of course of action" is facilitated by education and that "mobilisation" is also facilitated by the education. The example of 'lawyer-leaders' supports this point. Nevertheless, other factors can also facilitate this. It is not that persons tend to question things only after being educated. This habit of questioning things, dissatisfaction with existing beliefs and orders are quite common to anyone. If education adds something then it is the new outlook towards the problem (Useem and Useem,1956:25-30).

However, this 'new outlook' in turn is determined by the set up of educational system and the general environment under which the education was received. As Beteille puts it, "There is no doubt that Indians in the nineteenth century learnt a great deal about equality from their encounter with the West....[but] they probably learnt more about it from the Western theory of equality. Above all, they were led to reflect on their own society and its

past by the injury done to them by alien ruler whom they both admired and hated" (Beteille,1987:49).

Further, though we agree that education is important, but the nature of the changes that occur within the individual and the persistence of the changes in the life of a person depend on a matrix rather than on one single element. What the individual was before - based on social origins, position in society, temperament, ability and future plans - govern what he selects out of the environment. The personal changes that occur are determined both by what the individual brings into the environment and what he is offered by the environment - the social and intellectual setting, the training provided, the response of the people with whom he interacts (Useem and Useem,1956:25-30). This can be supported by the observation that while some appear fanatic, others appear secular in their attitude though all may be the product of same education system.

Now let us consider the 'personal charisma.' Charisma is mainly related to crisis situation, and the basis of this is exceptional superhuman qualities. "In Weber's opinion, though the cultivation of the pupil for the style of life of secular or religious status group is in principle open to anyone and similarly the specific training can be given to anyone, the qualities necessary for charismatic leadership cannot be transmitted by a system of education. By definition, charisma cannot be created by training: it is a personal gift of grace that either exists in a person or infiltrates him through magical rebirth" (Halsey,1968:527). Hence we can say that one of the principle attributes of leadership, the charisma acts independent of educational background or for that matter social background as well.

By now we have seen that leadership depends on a matrix of factors. Now we will try to analyse why some leaders came into prominence while many others could not. There were many leaders who came to the scene for a brief period and as the problem was solved, there was no further mention of these leaders. This point is taken up by the Marxists and/or the followers of 'Leaders-do-not-matter' school who believe that it is the environment which shapes and decides the future course of action. And, hence, they conclude that "the mass, not the leader, is the new hero" (Blondel, 1987:1823). But this logic does not seem convincing because we come across leaders at almost every juncture of time, and find that masses were never without leaders. Moreover, the influence of great leaders can never be denied. "More generally, it seems so difficult to undermine totally the role of great leaders, who appear as immense Moore-like statues in the landscape of politics, that it seems practically easier to drill into the material that make up the 'gnomes' who more commonly run our affair" (Blondel,1987: 23).

One possible explanation, for the fact that only few leaders come into prominence, may be that they are task-oriented leaders. And in Blondel's opinion they will be more quickly exhausted. In the course of time, a plateau will be reached and they will not improve upon their ability to handle problems beyond a certain point. In many cases, moreover, one can even expect a deterioration. Another possible explanation suggested by Blondel is the ability of leaders to change themselves over time. The role of situation or environment becomes important here (Blondel,1987:131-134). In fact, leadership is a relationship that exists between persons in a social situation. The leaders who are leaders in one situation may not be leaders in other situations.

To sum up, we can say that the leadership depends on a matrix rather than on a single factor. Education is an important factor but other factors are also equally important, if not more. Environment puts constraints and structures the scope of operation, on the one hand, and gives new opportunities to leaders to act upon on the other. Social status or social class background also have some say. The role of caste-organisation is also very important, especially in our case, and it threw up leaders into prominence. Here we do not mean to say that education is an unimportant or least important factor. All these factors - the environment, the education, the task-orientation, the sociability - are important, but the importance of different variables change over time. The dimension of the problem and the nature of the methods used by the leaders varied from time to time. Each event and period was marked by its own peculiarity, and 'produced' or 'supported' a somewhat different kind of leadership in the socio-political arena. Hence, any kind of generalization about the whole period is very difficult to make.

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# APPENDIX



**TABLE - 5<sup>(a)</sup>**

**POPULATION AND SCHOLARS IN BIHAR**

YEAR	POPULATION			PUPILS AT SCHOOL <sup>(b)</sup>			PERCENTAGE		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1912	14,383,645	14,974,686	29,358,331	508,721	65,908	574,629	3.56	0.44	1.96
1917	14,397,699	14,796,680	29,194,379	558,458	74,806	633,264	3.88	0.50	2.17
1922	14,411,754	14,618,674	29,030,428	542,133	72,472	614,605	3.76	0.50	2.12
1927	15,328,320	15,372,610	30,700,930	818,097	84,008	902,105	5.34	0.55	2.94
1932	16,244,887	16,126,547	32,371,434	798,672	93,788	892,460	4.92	0.58	2.76
1937	17,161,453	16,880,483	34,041,936	936,565	119,236	1,055,801	5.47	0.70	3.10
1942	18,224,428	18,114,723	36,340,151	1,053,236	162,185	1,215,421	5.76	0.89	3.34
1947	18,224,428	18,115,723	36,340,151	1,169,409	164,432	1,333,841	6.42	0.91	3.67

(a) Sources: The Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar (fifth to seventh)

(b) Schools refer to all educational institutions.

**TABLE - 6 (a)**

**GENERAL LITERACY AND LITERACY IN ENGLISH IN BIHAR (1911 - 1941)**

YEAR		P O P U L A T I O N			P E R C E N T A		
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	To
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1911	Population	14,987,148	15,568,815	30,555,963	100	100	100
	Literate	1,434,000	76,000	1,510,000	9.57	0.49	4.9
	Literate in English	76,567	5,321	81,888	0.51	0.03	0.5
1921	Population	14,995,517	15,195,024	30,190,541	100	100	100
	Literate	1,591,754	109,735	1,701,489	10.61	0.72	5.6
	Literate in English	129,735	8,364	138,009	0.87	0.06	0.4
1931	Population	16,973,145	16,847,351	33,820,496	100	100	100
	Literate	1,710,548	142,546	1,853,094	10.08	0.85	5.4
	Literate in English	165,642	13,059	178,701	0.96	0.08	0.5
1941	Population	19,053,931	18,931,650	37,985,581	100	100	100
	Literate	2,939,194	400,550	3,339,744	15.43	2.12	8.5
	Literate in English	NA	NA	NA	-	-	-

(a) Sources: Census for Bihar and Orissa (1911, 1921, 1931)  
Census for Bihar (1941)

**TABLE - 7(a)**  
**GENERAL LITERACY AND LITERACY IN ENGLISH AMONG SELECTED CASTES AND TRIBES**

CASTE/TRIBE	YEAR	P O P U L A T I O N			L I T E R A T E <sup>(b)</sup>			L I T E R A T E I N E N G L I S H <sup>(c)</sup>		
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BHUMIHAR (Babhan)	1911	478,647	465,036	943,683	89,666 (18.73)	6,536 (1.40)	95,229 (10.09)	1,466 (1.63)	2 (0.03)	1,468 (1.54)
Hindu	1921	485,503	461,204	946,707	107,622 (22.16)	9,403 (2.03)	117,025 (12.36)	5,813 (5.40)	136 (1.44)	5,949 (5.08)
	1931	384,187	338,374	722,561	89,649 (23.33)	8,337 (2.46)	97,973 (13.55)	5,504 (6.13)	111 (1.33)	5,615 (5.73)
BARHI	1911	109,051	116,967	226,018	3,730 (3.42)	129 (0.4)	3,859 (1.70)	113 (3.02)	1 (0.77)	114 (2.95)
Hindu	1921	143,248	149,664	292,912	8,111 (5.66)	280 (0.18)	8,391 (2.86)	284 (3.50)	4 (1.43)	288 (3.43)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
BHUIYA	1911	281,685	300,749	582,434	4,433 (1.57)	205 (0.07)	4,638 (0.80)	184 (4.15)	11 (5.37)	195 (4.20)
Hindu (Scheduled caste)	1921	279,091	293,273	572,364	3,085 (1.11)	147 (0.05)	3,232 (0.56)	55 (1.78)	4 (2.72)	59 (1.83)
	1931	246,333	253,034	499,347	3,165 (1.28)	122 (0.05)	3,287 (0.66)	75 (2.36)	3 (2.46)	78 (2.37)
BHUMIJ	1911	78,370	80,782	159,098	1,927 (2.46)	143 (0.17)	2,070 (1.30)	33 (1.71)	1 (0.70)	114 (1.64)
Hindu	1921	107,461	110,645	218,106	2,042 (1.90)	104 (0.09)	2,140 (0.98)	37 (1.81)	-	37 (1.73)
(Scheduled caste)	1931	111,006	112,404	223,410	2,989 (2.69)	113 (0.10)	3,102 (1.39)	60 (2.00)	11 (9.73)	71 (2.29)

contd

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BRAHMAN	1911	568,060	552,304	1120,364	171,749 (30.23)	11,568 (2.04)	183,317 (16.76)	9,733 (5.66)	429 (3.70)	10,162 (5.54)
(Hindu)	1921	736,534	728,939	1465,473	209,370 (28.43)	13,796 (1.89)	223,166 (15.22)	19,726 (9.42)	681 (4.94)	20,407 (9.14)
	1931	736,148	687,104	1423,352	243,443 (33.06)	19,604 (2.85)	263,047 (18.48)	27,118 (11.13)	1,223 (6.24)	28,341 (10.77)
CHAMAR	1911	408,533	511,306	919,839	2,626 (0.64)	149 (0.03)	2,775 (0.30)	35 (1.33)	-	35 (1.26)
Hindu	1921	452,257	516,807	969,064	3,582 (0.69)	228 (0.04)	3,810 (0.40)	61 (1.70)	8 (3.50)	69 (1.81)
Scheduled Caste	1931	474,279	522,232	996,511	4,603 (0.97)	353 (0.97)	4,956 (0.50)	103 (2.24)	4 (1.13)	107 (2.16)
DHANUK	1911	210,183	228,845	439,028	5,664 (2.69)	101 (0.04)	5,765 (1.31)	38 (0.67)	-	38 (0.66)
	1921	251,307	269,488	520,795	6,287 (2.50)	284 (0.11)	6,571 (1.26)	124 (1.97)	1 (0.35)	125 (1.90)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
DHOBI	1911	133,811	139,940	273,251	1,984 (1.48)	121 (0.09)	2,105 (0.77)	23 (1.16)	1 (0.83)	24 (1.14)
Hindu	1921	140,726	146,018	284,744	2,511 (1.78)	150 (0.10)	2,661 (0.93)	96 (3.82)	10 (6.66)	106 (3.98)
Scheduled caste	1931	172,575	171,755	344,330	5,036 (2.92)	300 (0.17)	5,336 (1.55)	85 (1.69)	2 (0.66)	87 (1.63)

contd.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
DHOBI	1911	21,056	23,063	44,119	153 (0.73)	7 (0.03)	160 (0.36)	9 (5.88)	-	9 (5.62)
Muslim	1921	24,690	26,012	50,072	216 (0.87)	27 (0.10)	243 (0.48)	8 (3.70)	-	8 (3.29)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
DOM	1911	50,215	53,335	103,550	358 (0.71)	21 (0.04)	379 (0.37)	10 (2.79)	-	10 (2.64)
Hindu	1921	46,824	46,292	93,116	328 (0.70)	24 (0.05)	352 (0.38)	3 (0.91)	2 (8.33)	5 (1.42)
(Scheduled caste)	1931	109,521	110,198	219,719	3,656 (3.34)	256 (0.23)	3,912 (1.78)	83 (2.27)	2 (0.78)	85 (2.17)
DOSADH (Gahlot Rajput)	1911	530580	577,984	1108,564	3,842 (0.72)	186 (0.03)	4,028 (0.36)	47 (1.22)	-	47 (1.17)
Hindu	1921	526,820	559,125	1085,945	4,425 (0.84)	307 (0.05)	4,732 (0.44)	104 (2.35)	3 (0.98)	107 (2.26)
(Scheduled caste)	1931	511,877	532,081	1043,958	6,305 (1.23)	370 (0.07)	6,675 (0.64)	200 (3.17)	6 (1.62)	206 (3.09)
GOALA (Ahir)	1911	1602,855	1603,149	3206,404	38,275 (2.39)	1,235 (0.08)	39,510 (1.23)	701 (1.83)	13 (1.05)	714 (1.81)
Hindu	1921	1604,150	1578,030	3182,180	41,986 (2.61)	1,870 (0.12)	43,856 (1.38)	1,546 (3.68)	32 (1.71)	1,578 (3.62)
	1931	1430,884	1349,049	2779,933	52,959 (3.70)	2,505 (0.19)	55,464 (2.00)	2,455 (4.64)	37 (1.48)	2,492 (4.49)

contd.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
HAJJAM	Hindu	1911	159,762	169,862	329,624	4,367 (2.73)	225 (0.13)	4,592 (1.39)	143 (3.27)	88 (39.11)	231 (5.03)
		1921	157,370	162,897	320,267	4,989 (3.17)	224 (0.14)	5,213 (1.63)	215 (4.31)	5 (2.23)	220 (4.22)
		1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
HAJJAM	Muslim	1911	14,136	15,682	29,818	505 (3.57)	20 (0.13)	525 (1.76)	15 (2.97)	-	15 (2.86)
		1921	15,510	15,654	31,164	223 (1.44)	10 (0.06)	233 (0.75)	8 (3.49)	-	8 (3.43)
		1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
HO		1911	139,920	152,530	292,450	2,348 (1.68)	56 (0.04)	2,404 (0.82)	92 (3.92)	-	92 (3.83)
	Animist	1921	134,632	147,048	281,680	2,549 (1.90)	104 (0.07)	2,653 (0.94)	315 (12.36)	17 (16.35)	332 (12.51)
	Scheduled Tribe	1931	158,878	171,453	330,331	2,296 (1.45)	53 (0.03)	2,349 (0.71)	105 (4.57)	1 (1.89)	106 (4.51)
JOLAHA		1911	374,759	435,519	810,278	15,468 (4.13)	1,019 (0.23)	16,437 (2.03)	539 (3.48)	66 (6.48)	605 (3.67)
	Muslim	1921	396,705	433,437	830,142	19,876 (5.01)	2,821 (0.65)	22,697 (2.73)	1,684 (8.47)	168 (5.95)	1,852 (8.16)
		1931	374,428	398,942	773,370	24,974 (6.67)	3,213 (0.80)	28,187 (3.64)	1,481 (5.93)	36 (1.12)	1,517 (5.38)

contd.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
HAJJAM	Hindu	1911	159,762	169,862	329,624	4,367 (2.73)	225 (0.13)	4,592 (1.39)	143 (3.27)	88 (39.11)	231 (5.03)
		1921	157,370	162,897	320,267	4,989 (3.17)	224 (0.14)	5,213 (1.63)	215 (4.31)	5 (2.23)	220 (4.22)
		1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
HAJJAM	Muslim	1911	14,136	15,682	29,818	505 (3.57)	20 (0.13)	525 (1.76)	15 (2.97)	-	15 (2.86)
		1921	15,510	15,654	31,164	223 (1.44)	10 (0.06)	233 (0.75)	8 (3.49)	-	8 (3.43)
		1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
HO	Animist	1911	139,920	152,530	292,450	2,348 (1.68)	56 (0.04)	2,404 (0.82)	92 (3.92)	-	92 (3.83)
		1921	134,632	147,048	281,680	2,549 (1.90)	104 (0.07)	2,653 (0.94)	315 (12.36)	17 (16.35)	332 (12.51)
		1931	158,878	171,453	330,331	2,296 (1.45)	53 (0.03)	2,349 (0.71)	105 (4.57)	1 (1.89)	106 (4.51)
JOLAHA	Muslim	1911	374,759	435,519	810,278	15,468 (4.13)	1,019 (0.23)	16,437 (2.03)	539 (3.48)	66 (6.48)	605 (3.67)
		1921	396,705	433,437	830,142	19,876 (5.01)	2,821 (0.65)	22,697 (2.73)	1,684 (8.47)	168 (5.95)	1,852 (8.16)
		1931	374,428	398,942	773,370	24,974 (6.67)	3,213 (0.80)	28,187 (3.64)	1,481 (5.93)	36 (1.12)	1,517 (5.38)

contd.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
KAHAR	1911	233,964	267,090	501,054	7,932 (3.39)	481 (0.18)	8,413 (1.67)	348 (4.39)	10 (2.08)	358 (4.25)
Hindu	1921	226,159	249,628	475,787	9,681 (4.28)	608 (0.24)	10,289 (2.16)	639 (6.60)	18 (2.96)	657 (6.38)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
KANDU	1911	230,823	248,840	479,633	9,280 (4.02)	167 (0.06)	9,447 (1.97)	121 (1.30)	2 (1.20)	123 (1.30)
Hindu	1921	227,688	234,304	461,992	12,428 (5.46)	331 (0.14)	12,759 (2.76)	332 (2.67)	8 (2.41)	340 (2.66)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
KAYASTHA	1911	150,829	148,393	299,222	90,928 (60.29)	1,509 (5.06)	98,437 (32.90)	15,080 (16.58)	198 (2.64)	15,278 (15.52)
Hindu	1921	146,704	139,076	285,780	86,694 (59.09)	10,941 (7.87)	97,635 (38.07)	22,440 (25.88)	631 (5.77)	23,071 (23.63)
	1931	135,411	121,826	257,267	81,860 (60.45)	13,844 (11.36)	95,704 (37.20)	23,856 (29.14)	1,872 (13.52)	25,728 (26.88)
KEWAT	1911	138,426	145,055	283,481	4,114 (2.95)	106 (0.07)	4,220 (1.49)	34 (0.83)	-	34 (0.80)
Hindu	1921	143,348	151,818	295,166	4,463 (3.11)	148 (0.09)	4,611 (1.56)	82 (1.84)	4 (2.70)	86 (1.86)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

contd..



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
KOIRI	1911	625,095	636,498	1261,593	26,783 (4.28)	506 (0.08)	27,289 (2.16)	317 (1.18)	3 (0.59)	320 (1.17)
Hindu	1921	607,378	607,289	1214,667	30,451 (5.01)	845 (0.14)	31,296 (2.58)	775 (2.54)	11 (1.30)	786 (2.51)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
KUMHAR	1911	214,266	220,777	435,043	5,249 (2.45)	177 (0.08)	5,426 (1.25)	139 (2.64)	6 (3.39)	145 (2.67)
Hindu	1921	234,478	238,114	475,592	7,213 (3.03)	260 (0.11)	7,473 (1.57)	238 (3.30)	-	238 (3.18)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
KURMI	1911	627,229	643,440	1270,669	37,762 (6.02)	798 (0.12)	38,560 (3.03)	509 (1.35)	8 (1.00)	517 (1.34)
Hindu	1921	634,214	644,192	1278,406	47,896 (7.55)	1,599 (0.24)	47,896 (3.75)	1,299 (2.71)	29 (1.81)	1,328 (2.77)
	1931	604,001	604,883	1208,884	56,329 (9.32)	2,583 (0.43)	58,912 (4.37)	2,347 (4.17)	30 (1.16)	2,377 (4.03)
MALLAH	1911	154,685	173,792	330,477	1,393 (0.90)	56 (0.03)	1,449 (0.43)	7 (0.50)	1 (1.78)	8 (0.55)
Hindu	1921	187,064	206,267	393,331	2,436 (1.30)	117 (0.06)	2,553 (0.65)	45 (1.85)	-	45 (1.76)
	1931	170,908	182,458	353,366	2,946 (1.72)	142 (0.08)	3,088 (0.87)	58 (1.97)	1 (0.70)	59 (1.91)

contd.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
MUNDA	1911	33,086	30,754	63,840	1,302 (3.94)	44 (0.14)	1,346 (2.11)	17 (1.30)	2 (4.54)	19 (1.41)
Hindu	1921	45,921	40,153	86,074	987 (2.15)	39 (0.10)	1,026 (1.11)	15 (1.52)	-	15 (1.46)
Scheduled Tribe	1931	50,404	52,288	102,692	1,652 (3.28)	134 (0.26)	1,786 (1.74)	28 (1.66)	-	28 (1.57)
MUNDA	1911	122,474	123,446	245,920	1,186 (0.97)	131 (0.11)	1,317 (0.53)	38 (3.20)	-	38 (2.88)
Animist	1921	100,150	111,098	211,248	995 (0.99)	88 (0.08)	1,083 (0.51)	35 (3.52)	6 (6.82)	41 (3.78)
Scheduled Tribe	1931	85,941	81,406	167,347	874 (1.02)	171 (0.21)	1,045 (0.62)	51 (5.83)	1 (0.58)	52 (4.98)
MUSAHAR	1911	293,235	299,458	592,693	562 (0.19)	74 (0.02)	636 (0.11)	19 (3.38)	-	19 (2.99)
Hindu	1921	301,302	302,609	603,911	830 (0.27)	133 (0.04)	963 (0.16)	30 (3.61)	2 (1.50)	32 (3.32)
Scheduled Caste	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
NUNIYA	1911	143,308	161,301	304,609	2,808 (1.96)	76 (0.05)	2,884 (0.95)	37 (1.32)	-	37 (1.28)
Hindu	1921	159,686	169,566	329,252	3,400 (2.13)	89 (0.05)	3,489 (1.06)	52 (1.53)	-	52 (1.49)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

contd.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ORAON	1911	156,767	164,602	321,369	1,317 (0.84)	144 (0.09)	1,461 (0.45)	28 (2.13)	4 (2.78)	32 (2.19)
Animist	1921	156,226	167,748	323,974	1,841 (1.18)	112 (0.07)	1,953 (0.60)	70 (0.80)	13 (11.61)	83 (4.25)
Scheduled Tribe	1931	189,171	199,794	388,965	7,461 (3.94)	2,780 (1.39)	10,242 (2.63)	1,100 (14.74)	230 (8.56)	1,338 (11.11)
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RAJPUT	1911	552,298	536,495	1088,793	97,022 (17.57)	2,995 (0.56)	10,017 (9.19)	2,436 (2.51)	20 (0.67)	2,456 (2.45)
Hindu	1921	552,006	523,455	1075,461	115,038 (20.84)	4,542 (0.87)	119,580 (11.12)	10,021 (8.71)	101 (2.22)	10,121 (8.46)
	1931	523,702	470,408	994,110	113,560 (21.68)	6,012 (1.28)	119,512 (12.03)	8,156 (7.18)	147 (2.44)	8,303 (6.95)
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RAJWAR	1911	22,176	24,733	48,909	75 (0.34)	3 (0.01)	78 (0.10)	-	-	-
Hindu	1921	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	1931	52,160	53,620	105,780	869 (1.67)	65 (0.12)	934 (0.88)	72 (8.29)	2 (3.08)	74 (7.92)
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SAIYAD	1911	38,799	40,735	79,534	13,015 (33.54)	1,785 (4.39)	14,800 (18.61)	2,933 (22.54)	28 (0.07)	2,965 (20.03)
Muslim	1921	55,412	49,875	105,287	13,985 (25.24)	2,120 (4.25)	16,105 (15.20)	3,746 (26.79)	160 (7.55)	3,906 (24.25)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
SANTAL	1911	125,209	134,382	259,591	970 (0.77)	57 (0.04)	1,027 (0.40)	11 (1.34)	-	11 (1.07)
Hindu	1921	273,783	276,303	550,086	3,656 (1.34)	97 (0.04)	3,755 (0.68)	97 (2.64)	4 (4.12)	101 (2.69)
	1931	226,701	221,793	448,494	2,702 (1.19)	176 (0.08)	2,878 (0.64)	90 (3.33)	4 (2.27)	94 (3.67)
SANTAL	1911	525,544	526,083	1051,627	5,234 (0.99)	97 (0.02)	5,331 (0.51)	71 (1.36)	-	71 (1.33)
Animist	1921	770,186	777,812	1547,998	5,467 (0.71)	455 (0.06)	5,922 (0.38)	272 (4.97)	38 (0.35)	310 (5.23)
	1931	426,113	419,913	846,026	3,433 (0.80)	242 (0.06)	3,675 (0.43)	86 (2.50)	5 (2.07)	96 (2.48)
TANTI	1911	191,404	213,089	404,493	3,772 (2.64)	133 (0.10)	3,905 (1.30)	89 (2.36)	4 (3.01)	93 (2.38)
Hindu	1921	220,744	245,281	466,025	5,821 (1.95)	255 (0.96)	6,076 (0.97)	193 (3.32)	5 (1.96)	198 (3.26)
	1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TELI	1911	443,006	456,834	899,840	31,192 (7.04)	9,451 (2.07)	40,643 (4.52)	292 (0.94)	11 (0.12)	303 (0.74)
Hindu	1921	457,496	462,631	920,127	38,824 (8.49)	1,042 (0.22)	39,866 (4.33)	952 (2.45)	14 (1.34)	966 (2.42)
	1931	426,910	420,703	847,613	43,917 (10.30)	1,906 (0.45)	45,823 (5.41)	1,438 (3.27)	36 (1.89)	1,474 (3.22)

(a) Sources: Census of India, 1911 Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim  
Census of India, 1921 Bihar and Orissa  
Census of India, 1931 Bihar and Orissa

(b) Figures within brackets show the percentage of literate persons to total population in respective columns.

(c) Figures within brackets show the percentage of literates in English to literates in respective columns.

