



RELEVANCE OF CONTRIBUTION OF RAJARSHI CHHATRAPATI SHAHU MAHARAJ TO THE CAUSE OF WOMEN

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Rajarshi Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur, a King of his own kind is considered to be more of social reformer than a king, with an outstanding and distinctive persona. His contribution in the early 20th century has been to the extent that he is considered to be a champion of the social rights of all the oppressed and downtrodden classes of the Indian society including women, who were excluded from the mainstream opportunities under the pretext of tradition's, customs rituals, family and social living standards which governed and suppressed the private and public life of women in a society which was male dominated and patriarchal structured. Chh. Shahu was crowned as a King of Kolhapur State on 2nd April 1874 in the presence of Governor Lord Harris. Unlike any other King, Chh. Shahu did not just lead a Royal Life, but he had a vision to see what was happening around him in the society, beyond the palace life. He understood the problems of the grassroots citizen of his State and his Nation before and after the British rule. Hence, before understanding the contribution of Chh. Shahu Maharaj to the cause of women in our society, it becomes necessary to understand briefly, the social history of the contemporary society in India.

During the pre-British rule, the Indian society was administered by the hierarchical caste system or the Varna system, which consisted of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Shudras known as the four varnas, under the Hindu religion, governed by various Hindu Dharma Shastras. The Brahmins being the topmost class in the Varna System dominated the whole society. Hence the castes, other than Brahmins who later came to be known as Non-Brahmins, lived a backward life, by all means—socio, economic as well as political. Brahmins dominated the field of education right since the Vedic age. Learning and teaching was the privilege meant only for the Brahmins. Due to the lack of education the Non-Brahmins were attuned and regulated to accept the Brahmin domination through religion and religious writing on the basis of which the traditions, rituals, customs were established and thereby strengthened the domination of the Brahmins. In Maharashtra, the Kshatriyas known as Marathas were considered to be the most important community after Brahmins. Still the Marathas also had the same perception that education is the sole privilege of the Brahmin class which percolated down to the Vaishyas and the

Shudras and the poor farmer class. Under such circumstances besides Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Shudras, the women class across the four varnas were excluded from education and thereby denied education to women, including the Brahmin women. Even the decision of English education by Lord Macaulay and others, benefited the Brahmins caste, as only Brahmins had basic vernacular education, due to which they acquired position in the then British administrative system. Lord Macaulay's 'Triple down theory' gave initial benefits of English education to the Brahmins. This education was expected to triple down from upper class to lower class, but was in fact never realized. With English education, Brahmin reached to place themselves in various important administrative positions. This gave them an opportunity to establish their positions and dominance over the Indian society.

With the coming of British Rule, a new era of social change began in India. Most of the social change and reform was directed towards the exploitation within the caste framework without challenging the Caste system itself, which was in fact instrumental to overall exploitation of the lower castes by the upper caste within the hierarchy. Hence the movements then were mostly based on the demand of reforms within the caste-class framework. Amongst the contemporary social reformers, it was Mahatma Jotiba Phule who challenged and worked against the caste system. Most of the social reformers were Brahmin. Renowned social reformers to name a few are, Bhau Mahajan, Vishnubuwa, Bramhachari, Vishnushastri Pandit, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, Dr. Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, M.G. Ranade, Gopal G. Agarkar. All of them made tremendous contribution, but most of their reforms were limited to anti-child marriage, widow re-marriage and women education within the caste system framework which basically meant that issues and problems related to Brahmin women were largely addressed. It was Mahatma Jotirao Phule who challenged the caste system itself, to evolve a democratic society on the basis of pragmatism, rationality and truth. Mahatma Phule fought against the dominance of Brahmins on the ground of religion and education. He defied the slavery enforced on the backward caste; the poor farmer being cheated in the name of religion; as also the overall dominance of the Brahmin community over the backward and illiterate classes of our society. Through his writings like 'Brahmanache Kasab,' 'Gulamgiri' etc he exposed the exploitation by Brahmin community and the irrational Brahmin religious base to the Bahujan (non-Brahmin) Society. This became a Manifesto of human Rights for the non-Brahmins who lived for decades in ignorance and poverty. He did not stop with this, in order to revolt against the system, in 1873 he established the "Satyashodak Samaj" ('a truth finding society/Association'). Through this society he expected the non-Brahmins to discuss and understand the reasons of their backwardness and also find solutions to eradicate their backwardness.

The non-Brahmin class being denied the right to education was getting into worst condition due to ignorance, superstitions and poverty. The class was being exploited in the name of 'Pious Priesthood', as also by the rich moneylender, the Brahmin and by the British bureaucracy as well. The non-Brahmin and the backward class led a life of illiteracy, poverty and powerlessness. It was against this background that the exploited class saw a leader in Mahatma Jotirao Phule. Phule felt that the cause of overall backwardness of Non-Brahmin class could be located in the illiteracy and superstition and "education" alone could be the best solution to eradicate the backwardness of this class, especially the women of Indian society who had been exploited on both- caste-class lines. This was all happening in the mid of 19th century. Mahatma Phule out-rightly denied Macaulay's triple down theory and advocated for education from grass roots of a community; relating it to social justice and humanitarianism. While on the other hand it cannot be denied that the British 'Liberal Policy of education and the British rule had actually disturbed the Brahmin class during the last three decades of the 19th century. This Brahmin class although displayed their hatred towards the British rule and tried to evolve a sense of nationalism within the masses

Against this background Chh. Shahu Maharaj was highly influenced by the contemporary movements led by Arya Samaj and Satashodhak samaj. Witnessing the exploitation and social injustice Chh. Shahu purposefully started various benevolent activities and undertook reform measures in right earnest from the time of his accession to the throne of Kolhapur to give justice in all forms, right to the last man in the society. "When the work of carrying out socio-economic reforms and public welfare schemes was going on according to plan and in a steady manner, Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj was unfortunately compelled by the new circumstances to divert the major part of this time and energies from 1900 to 1905 A.D. to firmly establish his right to observe the Vedic ritual, in place of the then current Purana ritual, in the performance of all religious rites and ceremonies in his family which was openly and vehemently challenged not only by his family priest Mr. Nararyanrao Rajopadhye but also practically by the entire Brahmin Community of Kolhapur and strongly supported by the renowned religious and social leaders of Brahmins from Poona and other parts of Maharashtra. This situation gave rise to what is popularly known as the "Vedokta Controversy" and eventually resulted in the trial of strength between Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj on one side and the hierarchy of Brahmin Community of Kolhapur and the Deccan on the other. This socio-religious struggle of an alarmingly intensive nature ultimately came to an end in 1905 A.D." (Sangave Vilas Ed.) It is very pertinent to note that even during this hectic period of Vedokta Controversy, Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj did never think of ignoring the reform measures. "...it is quite remarkable to find that he not only

continued the social reform and public welfare works already commenced by him but also initiated many new policies and programmes of far-reaching significance to the people in general and to the weaker sections in particular.”(Sangave Vilas Ed. 2) Infact the revolutionary attitude in Maharaja seems to be have ruptured with the “Vedokta controversy and he was reinforced and strongly emphatic against the caste system and discrimination. He was considered to be following the footsteps of Jotirao Phule. Maharaja undertook the work and continued the activities of the Satyashodak Movement. Being well aware of the exploitation of the non- Brahmin and backward classes, Maharaj had been associated with Arya Samaj, Satyashodak Samaj, PrathanaSamaj, and Theosophical Society and had been continuously attacking the domination of Brahmins and eradication of the caste system.

The above-mentioned societies were established with similar kind of objectives, thereby, Maharaj supported them, and especially he was very much influenced by Arya Samaj and its principled ideology. While doing so, he realized that this reform movement would not change the status of the Bahujan samaj immediatly. Hence he advocated the idea of special help and privilege to be given to the Bahujan Samaj, which was backward and weak. This was opposed by the Brahmin class. Chh. Shahu explained that such special attention to the backward community was necessary, on the same principle that a mother gives more attention to the weakest child in the family. Hence Maharaja enacted special Laws for eradicating untouchability and emancipation of untouchables. Education for this class was also concentrated upon, so that the Bahujan Samaj could get rid of poverty, superstitions and uplifts their status. He also built a number of hostels for students of different castes so that they may be facilitated to get themselves educated, which is why; Kolhapur came to be considered as a ‘Mother of Hostels.’

Struggling to uplift the backward class became the objective of Chhatrapati Shahu. As he supported the cause of non-Brahmins, which was basically a struggle and a movement against the Brahmins and the caste system, Chhatrapati Shahu seems to be equally aware of the backwardness and exploitation of woman in the contemporary Indian society. In a patriarchal society like ours, the status of women in the given caste system and religion was subordinate and exploitative. The social reforms, as said earlier were basically related to women question. With issues like child marriage, prohibition to widow re-marriage, prohibition to women education, rate of illiteracy, want of boy child, Purdha system-the life of women in the society was unbearable and miserable. Wife beating, violence, crimes like cruelty, rape against women, and other such activities led woman particularly widows go ‘Sati.’ With Hindu traditions and customs based on religion, woman was made to be totally dependent on the male counterparts. It was against this kind of status of women that social reformers,

particularly Mahatma Phule and Agarkar tried to make women aware of her identity and empower her. Hence he stressed on women education and implemented it by educating his wife Savitribai Phule, and establishing schools for girls. Savitribai Phule proved to his strength in achieving the objective of women education as he considered education to be the instrument of women's overall development. Hence, we could say that Women Liberation Movement in India began with Phule's efforts to emancipate all the backward classes. In fact as said earlier the Satyashodak movement – included the women liberation as a part of the whole effort to emancipate the excluded within it. As Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj continued the legacy of SatyaShodak Movement so also he upheld the cause of women's education and made efforts towards education of women. As said- charity begins at home; the best example in case of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj was his realization of the need of educating women could be found in his efforts towards educating his widowed daughter in law – 'Indumati ' and bringing her out of the exploited society system.

Shahu Maharaj, seriously took into consideration the status of women within the existing caste system and saw that they were exploited vertically as well as horizontally i.e. within their own caste and within the Varna system. Shahu Maharaj, therefore realized that the women in the contemporary society were extremely exploited and that only education alone could not resolve the issue. Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj felt that 'binding and enforceable' laws were the need of the hour to change the exploitative, unfair and unequal long – standing traditions and customs in the society. His contribution towards such Law making regarding women is important from historic point of view as well as its pertinence.

The most important laws enacted by Chh. Shahu were,

- 1.) Free and compulsory primary education to all
- 2.) Inter caste and Inter religion marriage and Marriage Registration Act.
- 3.) Prohibition of Harassment of Women Act.
- 4.) Divorce amongst different caste and religion – Kolhapur Act.
- 5.) Hindu Illegitimate Children and Act relating to Jogtin

FREE AND COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION TO ALL:

Chhatrapati Shahu besides encouraging women education; he was aware of the unchanged situation of exploitation of women at home and in society. To change this situation, he made use of certain laws to protect her natural right. In the traditional society, non-brahmin class felt that only Brahmins and their children had the authority and capacity to get themselves educated. Hence despite being able to afford to educate their children, they dare not sin to do so, when this was the situation with boys in the Bahujan samaj, none did ever think of educating a girl child. Hence, the most important law made under the

Kingship of Chhatrapati Shahu era from social justice point view, was related to 'Free and compulsory primary education to all' with a view to educate the children of down trodden, backward and the farmer class. He decided that unless education was made compulsory and free, the above said class would never break the barriers of Brahmin and allow their wards / children to get educated. He knew, as the earlier reformer Mahatma Phule rightly stressed the need of educating the non- Brahmin class and particularly the girls, for their over-all development, empowerment and identity and to achieve this objective, Chh. Shahu felt that this kind of compulsions were necessary. Despite knowing that this venture would mean an extra financial burden on the government treasury, he courageously enacted the Act on free and compulsory education in 1917, since he realized that only establishing schools and opening the doors of education was not sufficient, rather, it was necessary to force the children of farmer/non-Brahmin class and girls towards education.

The act was worked out in a detailed manner it included the

- A. The definition of parent, which and when a child would be exempted from compulsory education.
- B. Maintenance of Register, which would include data related to parents, right age of educating their children etc,
- C. Punishment and Rights;-where if parents failed to send their child to school within 30 days of registration, the parents were punished.
- D. Other—included the supervisory clauses to follow the above stated.

INTER CASTE AND INTER RELIGION MARRIAGE AND SANCTIONING OF REGISTERED MARRIAGES ACT:

The second most important Act enacted under Chh. Shahu's reign was related to 'Inter caste and inter religious marriage and sanctioning of registered marriage. This Act was enacted on 12th July 1919, in a situation when there was tradition of child marriages consequently leading to widowhood in youth. In the contemporary period, inter caste and inter religious marriages were considered to be illegal as these marriages were not performed according to the traditional rituals. Those who courageously performed such inter caste-religion marriages were out-casted, boycotted, tortured and exploited. Under these circumstances, Chh. Shahu, with a broad vision of integration and eradication of caste system, took a bold step towards this by a strong revolutionary action, as he did so against the opposition of the then fundamentalist traditional class. Infact, Chh. Shahu was influenced by such a revolutionary action of making an Law on Inter Castes/Inter religious marriages in 1918 in the central Legislature made by Vithalbai Patel, popularly known as 'Patel Bill', This Bill was strongly opposed, naturally by the Orthodox- Traditional Conservative leaders like Tiilak, Shankaracharya, Dr. Kurtukoti, but Madan Mohan Malaviya also surprisingly

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opposed the Bill. But leaders like Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpatrai, Aurobindo Ghosh strongly supported. This law made by central legislature was supported by SatyaShodaks and non – Brahmin leaders in Maharashtra. Under such circumstances Chh. Shahu decided to make a law for his Kolhapur Province too and he did so on 12th July 1919.

Under this law, it is very surprising to note the details worked out to protect those who wished to perform Inter- caste/Inter–religious marriages. The Law said that during marriage registration, the bridegroom is to be of 18 years and the bride of 14 years. The age of 14 years, may seem to be earlier today, but this step was taken in age when ‘child marriages’ were performed right on the day of birth, in the cradle or anytime up to 10 years, It was the in- tradition then. Earlier there was a great debate over the age of girls consent of marriage between Tilak and Agarkar, that the girl’s age of consent was decided to be minimum of 12 years; which was strongly opposed by ‘Lokmanya’ Tilak. This law enacted during Chh. Shahu reign could be said to go beyond the age of consent to marriage, by making it 18 years. A girl of 18 years, the Law further says; need not take the consent of her father/guardian to choose her life partner. This gave total freedom to girls to marry a person of her choice.

Through the said Law, minute details regarding marriage were enacted like 3 months’ notice of marriage registrations, the marriage to be conducted with barely 3 witnesses, which were noted down in the marriage registration book. This was maintained as proof and was freely available for anyone to go through. Rules regarding divorce were also made. Besides, one important thing to be taken note of is regarding a women getting married under this law for the second time, without being a divorcee or widow was punishable under IPC Act 494/495. Such a law relating to inter caste–religion marriage meant giving a legal status to such marriages, in the contemporary orthodox–Brahmin dominated society could be a drastic revolutionary step undertaken by Chh. Shahu.

WIDOW REMARRIAGE ACT:

Another significant Law made by Chh. Shahu was law relating to widow remarriage. In July 1917 Chh. Shahu enacted a law relating to women remarriage by providing a legal status to it as well as eradicating the hindrances in such marriages. Widow Remarriage was also legally registered. This law provided a legal proof due to which the injustice towards women caused due to widow ship was stopped. Chh. Shahu made this kind of law as he felt that existence of widows in the society led to injustice on women through immoral acts by the men in the society. Pregnant widows often committed suicide or aborted the child. Hence, Shahu Maharaj felt to avoid such immoral acts of injustices and to establish a clean and un sinful human society, this kind of law of

widows was necessary. In the contemporary society, child marriages or early marriages largely lead to early widowhood. Widowhood was considered to be torturous and terribly out casted life for the young widows, as it meant keeping them away from all the natural desires and happiness, which actually denied a normal human life. This situation largely gave a feeling, that death is better than such a life, consequently leading to commit suicide or going sati. Widow remarriage Act gave a new life to the young widows of those days, and thereby it was another revolutionary step by Chh. Shahu.

ACT RELATING TO PROHIBITION OF HARRASSMENT OF WOMEN:

Most imperative and vital law made by Chh. Shahu Maharaj with a great farsightedness that of recent, the Supreme Court of India also felt an urgent necessity of it. It was the law relating to prohibition of harassment of women. Even today, in 21st century, we see a need of such a law, which means the status of women, even after 87 years has not changed. It was on 2nd August 1919 that Maharaj implemented the law relating to prohibition of harassment of women. Shahu Maharaj seems to be a keen observer of the society. He knew that spread of education would change the status of the women, but he also knew that education, as an instrument of progress and change in the psyche of the society would take its own time. Hence, he felt that there is need of law to give justice to the weaker sections and evolve an equal society. Law could be an instrument; he felt to bring in social progress of the backward class community. Indian Penal code that already existed did not cover all kinds of cruelty and harassment of women. Hence, this law was meant to cover all those cruel behaviour and acts committed on women, which were not included in the Indian Penal Code.

In this law the definition of cruelty was given in detail to cover physical, mental cruelty. Such kind of cruelty was punished with 6 months imprisonment or penalty of Rs.200 or in some cases both the punishments were given simultaneously. In case of women who have been cruelly treated before her age of maturity, keeping a widow hungry for 2 days, avoiding a wife purposefully or insulting her purposefully, Creating fear either physically or mentally, doubting her chastity, threatening her, ignoring her would all mean to be cruel act towards woman. Hence it seems that all those acts or behaviour that have an over lasting impact on the physical or mental health of women were covered under this law. This meant that all kinds of cruelties could be covered under this comprehensive law. The whole Act included 11 articles and the punishment to such cruel acts/behaviour/harassment was 6 months imprisonment and fine of Rs.200. On the same lines today we have the Domestic Violence Bill. While women in India today are entering the formal labour workforce in large numbers, instances of sexual harassment at workplace are also increasing. The impact of such harassment extended far beyond individual women, to workforce

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productivity, economic development and much more. Hence it was in 1997 in response to violent Acts against women in the workplace; the supreme court of India took a step- long awaited step of judicial activism and created a binding and enforceable set of rule to eradicate sexual harassment of women. The Act on prohibition of harassment of women can be said to be precedent of the 'Prohibition of sexual Harassment of women' at workplaces-1997

DIVORCE ACT AND ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN'S RIGHTS:

In case of divorcee too, the Act implemented then took care of the security of women rights, and after divorce, the Act took care of her maintenance. In case of problem relating to children of the divorced parents, the Act decided regarding, who would take care of the children, their maintenance as also the responsibility of educating the children. Shahu Maharaj took into consideration the various loopholes in the "divorce laws" of various religions and felt that to overcome the loopholes and to establish security through law in the relation between wife and husband, and to strengthen the normal foundation of society, a separate law on divorce was necessary. Hence the Act relating to divorce was applicable to all religions except for the Christians and Paris's of Kolhapur State. Shahu Maharaj seems to have due consideration regarding Muslim. Although 'Talaak' was accepted under this Act, yet like other caste women, Muslim women and their children were given protection. Certain caste panchayats practiced certain strong exploitative norms regarding marriage; Chh. Shahu Maharaj through this Act had shattered the bindings of 'Panchayat'. The rules of divorce were named in such a manner that it was uniformly applicable to all religion and caste's in Kolhapur state. Under this Act, a wife committing immoral act, separation for two years, cruelty, disease spouse, insanity etc. were considered to be, some of the reasons for divorce. This approach towards giving justice to women of all religions, maintaining the religious identity, could be a model for the much-debated issue of Uniform Civil code in India

The Act also included rules of nullifying a marriage, the functioning of this Act and regarding compensation and expenditure of the court, relating to the case. In resolving women issues Chh. Shahu Maharaj also paid attention to illegitimate children and their rights. In the contemporary society illegitimate child had no right to succeed to or share in the property of the natural fathers. Chh. Shahu through his Act gave justice to such children. This was done in the interest of general morality of the society and to avoid litigations to determine whether a person does or does not belong to unregenerate classes, and to abolish the existing distinction drawn by the Hindu Law between the rights of illegitimate sons of members of regenerate and unregenerate classes to succession and a interest at birth in the property of their natural father. One common principle was applied to all the cases of succession of illegitimate

children whether the parent of such children is a Brahmin or Shudra. This was an important Act concerning the welfare of deserted women and their children.

DEVADASI PROHIBITION ACT:

In the contemporary society there was a tradition of dedicating girls in the name of God, largely practiced by backward class. This tradition is called Devdasi tradition, in which girl is dedicated in the name of God meant that she becomes a child of god breaking all the relations with her natural parents and does not have any right to succession or inheritance, while, on the other hand since she is left to God she has been getting certain specific rights in the concerned temples and social legal status also. Infact the position of these girls, who were left to God, in accordance to an ancient, custom, seems to be very unfortunate because in the name of religion a girl in early childhood is subjected to a life public immortality. Chh. Maharaja considered it to be a blemish on Hindu Law and life. That it should have recognized such a practice making a show of compensating girls and forcing them in their tender years into a life of open infamy by certain concessions and implicit regularization of what is infact an open and gross scandal. Women dedicated through this tradition were known as "Jogtin", "Bhavin" "Devadasi" etc. Chh. Shahu never agreed to such immoral recognition and sanction by the Law of any civilized society. Through a specific Act against the Devdasi tradition he tried to uproot it, as he never accepted such exploitation through religious and legal sanctity. Chh. Shahu tried to prohibit such cruel and torturous tradition by enacting a law prohibiting the tradition of Devadasi.

According to the Act of Hindu Law Inheritance Amendment. 'any female dedicated to god or temple as "Jogtin, Murli, Devdasi", Bhavin or in any other capacity, to religion or god shall retain the same rights in a natural family as though no such dedication has been made and possess any legal status by reason of such dedication' Through this Act Chh. Shahu provided the Act of inheritance to such girls dedicated to God and leading a life of immorality by denying the acknowledgement of the rights of these women given by temples and denying their status in the temple. Chh. Shahu felt that these women would be liberated from cruel traditions and would be able to live free life through such an Act. Even after decades of such an Act we still find 'Devadasis' in large number in Maharashtra and Karnataka.

CONCLUSION:

During his reign, while trying to emancipate the whole non-Brahmin class from the clutches of Brahmanism Chh. Shahu made a number of laws against the orthodox caste and religion. While doing so he gave importance to the then status of women in our society. Hence, following the social reform tradition of

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Mahatma Jotirao Phule, Shahu Maharaj contributed towards the upliftment of the non-Brahmin and backward classes. So also he paid much attention to uplift the status of women. By reviving the "Satyashodak Movement" Shahu Maharaj could be said to be an ardent follower of the principle of Phule. He did give importance to education, enacted a Law on free and compulsory primary education. Yet, he felt education could not serve as an instrument of progress and development of the down trodden due to which he made a number of laws to establish social justice and equity in this reign. The Laws made by him like "Child Marriage Prohibition Act", "Widow Re-marriage Act", "Prohibition of Harassment/ Cruelty of Women Act", "Devdasi Prohibition Act" are still relevant as the above problems relating to women still continue to exist even in the 21st century. After independence, Laws related to specific issues enumerated above have been enacted by the Indian Government, which points out towards the deeprooted nature of the problem, the cause of women, and the far-sightedness of Shahu Maharaj.

Chh. Shahu Maharaj made such Laws in an age under the progressive British governmental rule, where there was no protection to women rights and when Britishers never agreed to make such Laws against the fundamentalists of the Indian society. It was during this period that Chh. Shahu Maharaj dauntlessly made Laws relating to not only women but also concerning the whole non-Brahmin class itself. He made such Acts but also rigorously implemented them, is a matter to be noted. Through these Laws, Chh. Shahu tried to liberate women from the clutches of caste and religious tradition as far back as 87 years ago. Women still continue to be exploited and sexually harassed to a large extent. Even in the 21st century, in an age of science and information technology, a girl child is being denied the very right to be BORN by aborting the female foetus, is the most disastrous issue today Maharashtra State has been the 4th lowest State in India in terms of male-female proportion, while District wise Kolhapur District in Maharashtra has the least. This is despite the large galaxy of social reformers and a great socio-economic background of Maharashtra with women getting out for education and jobs; she has been facing new problems within her family as well as in the society. Chh. Shahu Maharaj, with his contribution to the cause of women, has given the women's movement, activist and rulers, a vision to perceive and resolve the problems of our society.

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