



Cover Page



PRAJAMANDALS OF RAJASTHAN AND DALIT UPLIFT- A PRE-INDEPENDENCE SCENARIO

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Abstract

During the colonial period caste system and untouchability were part and parcel of Hindu society. Even among dalits there were hierarchical castes and groups. Some social reform movements were merged in the freedom movement which intensified the Dalit upliftment. Many regional and national organisations like Arya Samaj, Harijan Sewak Sangh, and Prajamandals were working hard for the uplift of Dalits. Prajamandals were established after 1931, which worked in both political and constructive fields. In constructive work, Dalit upliftment was confined to spreading education, temple entry movement, water resources, health and hygiene, and relief works. The main focus of this paper is to evaluate the efforts of Prajamandal and its leaders for the uplift of Dalits. In this work, they achieved some success and carried out their efforts even after independence. In this research paper, an explanatory method is used.

Keywords: Dalit Upliftment, Prajamandal Movement, Constructive Work, Temple Entry, Chabutra, Harijan Padyatra and Begar (Forced Labour).

Introduction

In Rajasthan, the Hindu society was hierarchical, graded into a system structured by caste restriction and fear of ritual pollution. The Brahmins were placed at the top of the social hierarchy, while the labour classes, labelled untouchable, were placed at the bottom and compelled to live in fear and poverty. These untouchable castes included: "Kasai, Chamar, Balai, Bora, Regar, Bhangi, Bhambhi, etc."¹

Even An untouchable can also be polluted by the touch of another untouchable from a lower caste. Thus, the idea of untouchability among the elusive has been developed in northern India. Half a century ago, Blunt, the then Census Superintendent of 1911 –wrote of a few untouchable castes in north India:

"Eleven castes will not touch a Bhangi, seventeen will not touch a Chamar, ten will not touch a Dharkar, and sixteen will not touch Dhobi or a Dom."²

These Untouchables had many restrictions, such as not being allowed to enter temples, no access to water from common wells on equal footing, and barbers not serving them. They were prohibited from using umbrellas, riding in the palanquins, or riding horses. They were neither allowed to go to school nor sit on the Chabutra and many more.³ Apart from all these they had to do begar.

To remove this restriction, Southern and Western India witnessed a strong movement demanding equal status under leaders like Dr B.R. Ambedkar and M.C. Rajah. Neither Rajasthan had a prominent Dalit leader, nor was it under the influence of the above two leaders for long. In Rajasthan, this absence was filled by many organisations which worked to uplift the Dalits, like Rajasthan Sewa Sangh, Arya Samaj, Rajputana Harijan Sewa Sangh, Prajamandals of different states, and individual organisations, etc. The Dalit consciousness developed very late, yet these organisations removed them from the deep slumber of ages.

In his great work, Shyamal showed that Dalit upliftment in colonial Rajasthan happened in three phases. The first phase started in 1881 when Swami Dayanand Sarasvati established Arya Samaj in Ajmer. The second from 1920, when Vijay Singh 'Pathik' established Rajasthan Sewa Sangh at Ajmer in 1921 to 1932, ends with starting of Rajputana Harijan Sewak Sangh. The third phase began in 1935, with the formation of various caste-based organisations in 1946, bringing the movement from the colonial stage to an end.⁴

¹ Sharma, G.M., *Social life in medieval Rajasthan (1500-1800 AD)*, Agra, Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, 1968, p. 98

² Blunt, E.A.H., *The caste system of northern India*(reprinted), S. Chand & Co.,1969, p. 99

³ Shyamal, Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: special reference to Rajasthan, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2008, p. 15

⁴ Shyamal, Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: special reference to Rajasthan, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2008, p. 31



Cover Page



Some regions saw the rise of anti-begar agitation led by Vijay Singh Pathik. The Rajasthan Sewa Sangh agitated against the economic exploitation of Kisan and the forced labour (Begar) from untouchables by landlords, Jagirdars, Zamindars, etc., the upper caste Hindus used to exploit the Chamars, Meghwal, Bhambhis, Raigars, Balais for begar. In many cases, untouchables were bonded enslaved people from generation to generation with no freedom to move out from their workplaces to other masters.⁵

Understanding the political importance of Dalits, the Indian national congress, in its annual session of December 26 1917, in Calcutta, passed a resolution against the untouchability. In which the abolition of disabilities imposed on Dalits was considered necessary for social justice to them.⁶

The work for Dalits' upliftment and removal of untouchability got momentum when Dr Ambedkar demanded a separate electorate for the untouchables in London in the second-round table conference held in 1931. Gandhi opposed this demand because he considered untouchables an integral part of Hindu society. After the communal award of 1932, Gandhi started his famous 'fast unto death' to revoke this. Finally, an agreement is known as the 'Poona Pact' was signed between Gandhi and Ambedkar on September 24 1932.

After the 'Poona Pact', Gandhi continued to intensify his campaign against untouchability. In February 1933, he started a weekly 'Harijan' and established All India Harijan Sewak Sangh. To include the people of Rajasthan in their activities, Rajputana Harijan Sewak Sangh, under the leadership of Ram Narain Choudhary, came into being at Ajmer. The band of workers moved from place to place and persuaded the freedom fighters to join this movement and propagate social reform.

Praja Mandals -the hope from political organisations: It was the third phase in which the movement for the betterment of Dalits gained momentum. The period after 1932 was particularly the period of Praja Mandal in Rajasthan. These Praja Mandals were political organisations demanding responsible government in the states. First Prajamandal was established in Jaipur state in 1931, and later on Bundi (1931), Marwar (1934), and Hadoti (1934), Bikaner (1936), Alwar Prajamandal (1937). Prajamandals were established in every state after the congress session of Haripura in 1938. However, the movement for political rights and social reforms took place simultaneously. The goals of the Prajamandal movement and mainly their leadership were to introduce socio-religious reform amongst the untouchables.⁷ Most Prajamandal leaders were upper-caste Hindus, known only within their regions, towns, or cities. These leaders were members of organisations like Arya Samaj, Rajasthan Sewa Sangh and Rajputana Harijan Sewa Sangh, etc. Evidence shows that the Praja Mandals initiated the initiative for social reforms among untouchables in the 1930s. Sometimes Prajamandal leaders coordinated with other organisations because their aim was the same.

During his Harijan Padyatra from November 1933 to July 1934, Gandhi reached Ajmer on July 4 1934. Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sharda, Ram Narain Choudhary, Kishan Gopal Garg, etc., received him at the railway station. During the same period, when Gandhi came to Luni (Jodhpur), Jai Narain Vyas, his colleagues, and many congress workers welcomed him. However, his Highness of Jodhpur state did not allow him to enter Jodhpur out of the fear that Gandhi might create problems by inciting the Harijans.⁸

the work done by Prajamandal can be divided into two categories: the first set of works was for all the subjects, including Dalits, like establishing a responsible government in the state, demanding civil rights, abolition of begar (forced labour), and spread of education. The second set of work, which was mainly for the untouchables or Dalits, includes removal of untouchability, temple entry, and opening schools for Dalits, access to a public well or arranging new sources of water, abolition of begar, improvement of health and hygiene, social reforms, relief work and creating political awareness among the Dalits etc.

In the 1930s, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur were the prominent regions where the reform movement has initiated. These reforms were led primarily by leaders who belonged to caste Hindus. Influential leaders of Prajamandals, who worked for Dalit upliftment, are Jammalal Bajaj, Jai Narain Vyas, Bhogilal Pandya, Heeralal Shastri, Chiranjilal Agarwal, Kapoor Chand Patni, Chimanlal Malot, Mathuradas Mathur, Harinarain Sharma, Kunj Bihari Modi, Jawala Prasad Jigyasu, Amrit Lal Pathak, Haridev Joshi, Bhupendra Nath Trivedi, Devi Shankar Tiwari, Gulab Chand Kasliwal, Ram Chand Kasliwal etc.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Vyas, Ram Prasad, *swatantrata sangram me Rajasthan ka yogdan*, p. 217

⁷ Shyamal, Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: special reference to Rajasthan, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2008, p. 48

⁸ Shyamal, Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: special reference to Rajasthan, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2008, p. 46



Cover Page



Support for the Temple entry movement: In Rajasthan, Arya Samaj first started the temple entry movement, and the reason behind it was the increasing influence of Christianity among Dalits. Christian missionaries made their centre in Beawar in Ajmer, propagated their religion, and converted the Dalits to Christianity. They have adopted many ways, like providing education and health, establishing an orphanage, and targeting untouchability in Hindu society.⁹

P.M. Bairwa, in his study "Asprashyata Avam Dalit Chetna" of Rajasthan, has mentioned that in the year 1923, Hari Narain Sharma, who belonged to Alwar and was born in an orthodox Brahmin family opened the doors of his temple in Alwar Riyasat for the members of untouchables, who were not allowed to enter the temple be the caste Hindus. In Alwar, Hari Narain also took up the task of establishing the Asprashyata Niwaran Sangh, Valmiki Sangh, and Adivasi Sangh. His main aim was initially to awaken the untouchables' social consciousness, and later launched a campaign to remove the untouchability and socio-religious discriminations and disabilities. This campaign helps in explaining social democracy and ideology. The reformist agitation for untouchables under Hari Narain, demanding temple entry, education, and banning caste discrimination, was bitterly criticised and vehemently opposed by caste Hindus in 1923 and onwards.¹⁰

In Dungarpur state in 1932, Dalits managed to enter the temple with the help of Prajamandal workers.¹¹ Bhogilal Pandya, in 1933 led a procession of Dalits for entry into the temple of Jagdishji. By which Dalits developed self-confidence and self-respect. In this movement, Pandya ji faced social opposition from the upper caste.¹² When Harijan Sewak Samiti was constituted in Dungarpur, Pandyajji was made a minister in this committee by the Maharaja of the state.

In Bharatpur, Gokul Chandra Verma developed social harmony between Dalits and upper-caste Hindus to promote the works of Harijan Sewak Sangh in the state. On the occasion of Holi, he made the Mehtar enter into Arya Samaj temple. Activities of Varma became a problem for the state police. Even the state government opposed Dalits schools.¹³

Jamn Lal Bajaj and Ram Narain Choudhary have done work for the betterment of Dalits in Jaipur state. They were also joined by Kapoor Chand Patani and Mahadev Choudhary (Ramgarh), Ghanshyam Sharma (Pillani) etc.¹⁴ Chiranjilal Agarwal, with the help of Arya Samaj and the Jaipur state people's Conference, organised a meeting on November 11, 1946, and decided that Dalits should be given the right to enter temples. For this, they appealed to the state administration to remove the disabilities of Dalits and give them the right to enter the temple.¹⁵ A rally was organised on February 2 1947, in which thousands of people, including Chiranjilal Agarwal and other essential state leaders, participated. In this rally, Dalit casts demanded the right to enter temples, especially Mehtar, Kolis, Chamars, Dhanuks, Balais, and Raigars. On the appeal of Chiranjilal, the Thakur of Jhalai (Jaipur state) Govardhan Singh, on May 8 1947, opened his family temple of Gopalji in Gangori Bazar to Dalits. On August 27, 1947, the Jaipur government also passed a 'Harijan bill' by which Dalits got the right to enter public temples and use public wells.¹⁶

Special schools for dalits: Chandkaran Sharda, prof. Devakinandan, Harbilas Sharda, etc., were a member of a committee for Dalit education in Ajmer municipality. They opened two Harijan schools and employed two Harijan teachers named Kailas and Ramsingh, whom Arya Samaj trained. The committee provided free education and even managed to distribute clothes and soap to Dalit students.¹⁷ In 1941 Chandulal Joshi, a Prajamandal worker in Udaipur, started a Harijan school. The contribution of Parshuram Agarwal in the field of Harijan education is also significant, as he used to teach Dalit students, in the light of the lantern, near the Suraj pole in Udaipur. Along with primary education, he also developed their awareness of India's freedom struggle.¹⁸ When in 1944, Mewar Prajamandal was declared illegal, members of this organisation concentrated on strengthening Mewar Harijan Sewak Sangh and promoting the home industry. Apart from this, they opened schools and hostels for women at Bhilwara, peasants at Bijoliya, and Bhils at Udaipur. In April

⁹ Sharma, Kalu Ram, social and economic life in 19th century Rajasthan (Hindi), p.148

¹⁰ Bairwa, P. M., *Asprashyata Avam Dalit Chetna*, Jaipur, pointer publisher, 1999, p. 46-51

¹¹ Gupta Govind Lal, *haroti ka swatantrta andolan*, p.228

¹² *Shree Bhogi Lal Pandya smriti grantha* published by Bhogi Lal Pandya Smarak Nyas, Dungarpur, p.33

¹³ Mishra, M.C., national movement in princely states, p.41-42.

¹⁴ Mathur, K.C., struggle for responsible government in Jaipur, p. 67

¹⁵ Mathur, P.C., social and economic dynamics of Rajasthan, p.104

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 105

¹⁷ Goyal, Sobhagya, *Ajmer me jan andolan*, p. 71

¹⁸ Mathur, Kamlesh, *Mewar me shiksha ka vikash*, p.193



Cover Page



1944, they observed national week in memory of the Jaliyanwala massacre; in speeches, they emphasised the removal of untouchability.¹⁹

Alwar Prajamandal, in the year 1942-43, also opened schools in the Dalit Bastis for educational development so that it would, in turn, develop social and political consciousness in these people.²⁰ Even before these schools, IndarSingh Bhargava, a member of Alwar state Prajamandal, opened a school in Shyolalpura mohalla for the Mehtar, Chamar and Khatiks (Dalit castes).²¹ On April 12 1942, under the leadership of Prajamandal, Dalits organised a huge assembly at Valmiki temple. In this, leaders emphasised on licker ban and promoting education among Dalits. Master Bholanath asked Dalits to be united and fight for their rights.²²

In Bharatpur state, the Harijan upliftment was started by Gokul Chandra Verma. In the starting, he opened three schools for Dalits in the city. First at his house for Dalits, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, second at near powerhouse for Mehtars, and third at Chamara ki Bagichi for Jatavs. Verma Ji was the director and the manager for all three schools. At that time, around 30 students got an education from these schools. Furthermore, the Rajputana Harijan Sewak Sangh inspected these schools from time to time.²³ All India States People's Conferences celebrated 'nation day for Harijan Upliftment' from August 27 to September 2 1940. So, on 28 august Bharatpur Praja Parishad celebrated 'Harijan diwas'. Workers went to the houses of Dalits and listened to their problems. On this day few Dalit schools were also opened.²⁴

In 1923, a residential school for the Bhangi children was started in Lakharon-ka-Bas, Bhangi Basti.²⁵ In 1934 Marwar Prajamandal was established. Ladaram, a member of Marwar Prajamandal, with inspiration from Jaynarain Vyas, opened a school for Dalits near Medati gate. He also participated in the Quit India movement of 1942.²⁶ In 1935 the Praja Mandal leaders started a residential school exclusively for the benefit of the Bhangi children in Jamna Prasad Chanwaria's house in Ghat Gate. Another school with 30 Bhangi children was opened in Chandpole Bhangi Basti in 1936. They gave priority to Bhangis over and above other untouchable communities. As a result, education began to spread among Bhangis through the efforts of Praja Mandal reformers.²⁷

Marwar Lok Parishad was formed in 1938, which struggled for the rights of people against the rulers. The movement had three prominent leaders: Jai Narain Vyas, Mathuradas Mathur and Dwarka Das Purohit. Along with political activities, Vyas and others through the Parishad were trying the upliftment the Bhangis. They started residential schools in some of the Bhangi Bastis of Jodhpur. Their ultimate objective was to educate the Bhangis and prepare them for social reform.²⁸

Abolition of Forced labour: In Riyasati Rajputana, upper-caste Hindus used Dalit castes as forced labour. This exploitation was prevalent throughout Rajasthan. The status of the caste determined the intensity of forced labour. It increases with the lowering of the caste status.²⁹ Dalits were used as porters, messengers, agricultural labours, domestic labours, smearing walls etc.

Manikya Lal Verma was arrested on Feb 1939 and released in Jan 1940. After this, he with his colleagues launched a campaign against forced labour and illegal taxes. Finally, the Mewar government had to abolish both practices.³⁰

In Jan 1947, Bharatpur Maharaja, on his birthday, invited former viceroy lord Wavell, maharaja Shardulsingh of Bikaner, and the king of devas to hunt moorhen in Kevaladev bird sanctuary. Koli, Harijan and peasants were forced to help in hunting as they had to stand in cold water for long hours. Prajamandal decided to protest against forced labour. When Wavell and Shardulsingh reached, they raised slogans 'Shardulsingh vapas jao' and 'Wavell vapas jao' and showed black flags to them. Many Prajamandal leaders were arrested, and on 05 feb 1947, Prajamandal observed a day against forced labour.

¹⁹ Udaipur, C.B. basta no. 01, serial no. 1, Rajasthan state archives, Bikaner, p. 18

²⁰ Newspaper, Hindustan, 12december 1943, Rajasthan state archive, Alwar.

²¹ Yadav, Kamal, *deshi riyasato me rajnetik Chetna or jan andolan*, p.114

²² Yadav, Kamal, *deshi riyasato me rajnetik Chetna or jan andolan*, p.135

²³ Mishra, S.C., national movement in princely states, p.41

²⁴ Mishra, S.C., national movement in princely states, p.109

²⁵ Shyamlal, "Educational development among Bhangis in Jodhpur" in *Tribe*, Vol. 7, No.1, 1970, p.21

²⁶ Vyas, Ramprasad, *swatantra sangram me Rajasthan ka yogdan*, p.66

²⁷ Shyamlal, the changing bhangis of India, pp. 79-81

²⁸ Shyamlal, Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: special reference to Rajasthan, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2008, p. 46

²⁹ Vyas, Prakash, *Rajasthan ka samjik Itihas*, p.169

³⁰ S.S. Saxena, *jo desh ke liye jiye*, p.128



Cover Page



Arya Samaj leader Harishankar Sidhant Shastri organised a conference of Birwa's on February 17 1947, in Tejara village, Jaipur, and publicised the work of Dalit upliftment. They decided to talk with the Jaipur government at this conference about removing forced labour.³¹

Relief works for natural disaster: In 1938, Jaipur Prajamandal started relief work for famine, and other organisations also helped. So, Bajaj and his colleagues were forced to leave the state. In 1939, a severe drought hit Marwar. Led by Vyasji, Prajamandal started a fodder centre at Falodi for relief work.³² In Mewar also Narayani Devi (wife of Vermaji) and Nandlal Joshi opened a 'drought relief society' in Kumbhalgarh, Barapal, Baneda, Kankroli, etc. They have done a commendable job. On the occasion of 'Janmashtami' in 1942, Bharatpur was hit by flood, and the spread of malaria, Praja Parishad halted their agitation and focused on the relief work.³³

Organisational efforts: The efforts of congress and social and political workers in other parts of Rajputana and British India and others' enthusiasm did not leave Marwar unaffected. Lok Parishad soon started a campaign to develop active organisations among the lower castes in Jodhpur. In the case of the Bhangi community, Lok Parishad reform activities were started in a few Bhangi Bastis by Jai Narain Vyas and his colleagues, who had also come into contact with the nationalist movement. Under the impact of the ideas and activities of Vyas and his colleagues, the Safai Mazdoor Union, with a large number of municipal sweepers, was formed in 1942. In starting the Bhangi union, the Marwar Lok Parishad's ultimate objective was to unite the bhangis and prepare them for the reform movement. From 1942 onward, the bhangis were drawn more into the orbit of the social reform movement and politics. The movement among the bhangis was further strengthened in 1945 by creating a reform association called the Mehtar Sudhar Sabha in Jodhpur. At the same time, several organisations, such as Marwar Mehtar Sabha, Rajputana Mehtar Sudhar Sabha, Municipal Karamchari Sangh, etc., emerged.

Active participation and support gave momentum to the movement. The elite became the nexus of the campaign and mobilised the Bhangis; furthermore, in the capital city, the campaign gathered the castes' support. This pattern of mobilisation and organisation of social reforms was greatly influenced by the role and effectiveness of the elite in the post-independence period.³⁴

Social reforms among dalits

In Marwar, Leaders like Heera Lal Shastri made it his daily routine to take a round of a few Bhangi Bastis in the evening, call the inhabitants and address them on the necessity to reform the community evils and boycott eating beef, dead animals, leftovers, wearing the clothes of dead and drinking alcohol, etc. Congress and Lok Parishad members took part in social reforms agitation in the hope that they will gain the support of untouchables though their methods were different. These measures gave momentum to the reform and helped create solidarity among them.³⁵

Alwar Prajamandal was very active in Dalit upliftment. Kunjbihari Lal Modi and Nathuram Modi organised a strike in the municipality to support the Harijan for their demands. Finally, on October 20, 1942, the government had to accept their demand. Leaders like Kashiram, Harinarain Sharma, Ramjilal Agarwal, Mahaveer Prasad Jain, Harsahay Gupta etc., had taken great interest in Dalitoddhar. They inspired Dalits to live cleanly. These leaders went to Dalit Bastis and cleaned the streets and drainage lines. After cleaning, they asked for water from Dalits to drink.³⁶

Even Narayani Devi (wife of Manikya Lal Verma) and Bhagvati Devi (wife of Pyarchand Bisnoi) also participated in constructive work of education and social reform among Harijans at Nareli ashram in 1933-1934.³⁷

Publication of revolutionary Literature: In 1931, Ganeshilal Ustad, after resigning from the government Job of Marwar, spread awareness through his poems. The government seized his collection of poems 'garibo ki aavaj'(voices of the poor).³⁸ Famous Chandkaran Sharda wrote the book 'Dalitoddhar'. At that time, it was very famous, and within 8 years, it was reprinted three times. In

³¹ Goyal, Lata, *Arya Samaj and its work in Rajasthan*, p.98

³² Parihar, Vinita, *Rajasthan me Prajamandal andolan*, Ed. 8th, Rajasthan Hindi Granth academy, Jaipur, 2019, p. 61

³³ Bharatpur C. B., basta no. 8th, serial no. 50, state archive, Bikaner, p. 750

³⁴ Shyamlal, *The changing bhangis of India*, pp. 48-61

³⁵ Shyamlal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: special reference to Rajasthan*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2008, p. 49

³⁶ Yadav Kamal, *deshi riyasato me rajnetik Chetna or jan andolan*, p.141

³⁷ Sharma, G.N., *Rajasthan ka swatantra ka sangram*, p.255

³⁸ Parihar, Vinita, *Rajasthan me Prajamandal andolan*, 8th Ed., Rajasthan Hindi Granth academy, Jaipur, 2019, p. 18



Cover Page



its preface, he wrote that he would consider his work a success if even a few people started the work of Harijan's upliftment after reading this book.³⁹

In Marwar youth league (preceding organisation) was declared illegal in 1932. Even the works of Dalitoddhar were seen as sceptical. When Achleshwar Prasad came from Ajmer, he was arrested at Marwar junction and his Harijan literature was seized.⁴⁰

After India's independence Pandya ji in 1948 became minister of the Backward Caste Welfare Department in the United Rajasthan state. He then strengthened all the organisations working for the welfare of Dalits and helped them by sanctioning government grants to them. In 1952 when he became minister for the second time in the greater Rajasthan govt., he held the same department of backward caste welfare department. For the Harijan upliftment, he established 'Sanskar centres', helped them with temple entry, gave access to the public well, and included them in govt. Jobs. For the abolition of untouchability, he made district magistrates responsible for organising 'Gandhi weeks'. When he became chairman of the Khadi board, he again started working for Dalits.⁴¹

Just like Pandya ji, Manikyalal Verma also continued Harijan work after independence. In the Badmer district, he worked mainly in the Meghwal caste, which was in large numbers there. Verma ji inspired them to educate and fight against forced labour, opening schools, hospitals and basic facilities. Whenever He came to the city, he always stayed at the house of Charatram Meghwal.⁴²

Conclusively it is evident that Prajamandals, with the help of Harijan Sewak Sangh, gave their heart and soul to the work of Dalit upliftment and removal of untouchability, which Arya Samaj started. Their hard work resulted in self-confidence, self-respect and nationalist feeling developed among Dalits. After independence, a democratic government was constituted at the state level, and many Prajamandal leaders were part of that government. They continued their work of Dalitoddhar. In Rajasthan, the absence of a prominent Dalit leader was filled by these Prajamandals, and because of their work many leaders were rightly compared with Gandhi ji and given surnames by the people like Gandhi of Rajasthan- Gokul Bhai Bhat, Gandhi of Marwar- Jaynarain Vyas, Gandhi of Bagad- Bhogi al Pandya, Gandhi of Mewar- Manikya Lal Verma etc.

³⁹ Sharda, Chandkaran, 'dalitoddhar', Vedic yantranalaya, Ajmer, second edition, 1925, p. 2

⁴⁰ Vyas, Ramprasad, *Adhunik Rajasthan ka vrahait Itihas*, part-2, Rajasthan Hindi Granth academy, Jaipur,2022, pp.320

⁴¹ *Shree Bhogi Lal Pandya smriti grantha* published by Bhogi Lal Pandya Ismarak Nyas, Dungarpur, p.116-119

⁴² Parmar, Savitri, 'vaha agni purasha', p.151-155v