



# Newly Emerged Intelligentsia And Their Attitude Towards Colonial Rule: A Study Of Gujarat In The 19th Century

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## Abstract

In nineteenth-century Gujarat, a new middle class and a group of intellectual leaders emerged, playing a significant role in governance and social reform. Initially, many of them supported British rule, viewing it as a source of stability, progress, and modernization. However, over time, opposition to colonial rule intensified as British policies increasingly appeared unjust and exploitative. These intellectuals advocated to revival of culture and infuse the self-confidence among people, thereby contributing to the development of early nationalist ideas in Gujarat. This paper seeks to examine the attitudes of prominent intellectuals toward colonial rule within the broader context of the contemporary social conditions of Gujarat.

**Key words** – Intelligentsia, Narmad, Dalpatram, Durgaram Mehta, Karsandas Mulji, Manilal Nabhubhai, Cultural Revivalism, Dandiyo, Buddhiprakash, Manav Dharamsabha, Priyamavada, Sudarshan

The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the transition of the traditional culture of Gujarat to Western culture. During this century, the influence of British colonialism in Gujarat was such that the newly emerged intelligentsia of Gujarat played a fundamental role in shaping the process of change that the society of Gujarat underwent. This paper attempts to highlight the attitudes of prominent intellectuals towards colonial rule, within the context of the contemporary social conditions in Gujarat.

## 1

The emergence of a new middle class and its intellectual leadership were distinctive features of 19<sup>th</sup> century India's social history. During this period, Gujarati society also experienced this transformation. The new administrative, economic, and educational systems introduced by British administration contributed to the emergence of new leadership within the Hindu and Gujarati communities. Prof. Sabyasachi Bhattachaya writes that *“there are many theories among scholars about the formation and role of the institutionalized intellectual class, but most agree on one fact: they were the creators of the institutionalized system. Initially, they were supporters of the institutionalized state. But when they became supporters of the nationalist movement, they played an important role in challenging the institutionalized state. They are representatives of the middle class of society, and it is difficult to define them precisely and to distinguish them from other classes. In many respects, they There are similarities between them, but there are differences in terms of income, education, occupation, social status, etc.”*<sup>1</sup> This category included the feudal lords, regents of the royal estates, traders, brokers, and later industrialists; British or native bureaucrats; teachers, professors, lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. Direct British education or exposure to Western cultural values through their contacts influenced them. Thus, individuals who had received formal education in the West, along with a large number of people involved

in the British system, leaders who were informally influenced by Western ideology, provided intellectual leadership at various levels of society. In Gujarat this change was initially established in big cities like Ahmedabad and Surat and later in small towns and political centers like Bhuj, Nadiad, Kheda, Umreth, Godhra, etc. Due to the commercialization of agriculture in the rural areas, a small middle-class peasant community came into existence. This emerging middle class began to play a crucial role in local governance and social reforms, advocating for education and modern agricultural practices. Their influence gradually transformed the socio-economic landscape, fostering a sense of identity and community among the rural populace.<sup>2</sup> It played an important role in the modernization of Gujarat society. During the mid-19th century, the intellectual and social leaders like Durgaram Mehta, Dalpatram, Narmad, Navalaram, Karsandas Mulji, Narasinhrao, Marhipatram, and others appreciated the liberalism of the new rulers. These well-educated intellectuals, who embraced the ideas of justice, humanism, equality, and progress, tried to see the contemporary society through new lenses. They led the social religious reform movement in Gujarat and also had a soft attitude towards the colonial state. While during the last quarters of 19th century new group intellectuals like Mansukhram Tripathi, Later Narmad, Manilal Nabhubhai, Govardhanram Tripathi, Ichcharam Desai, Anandshankar Dhruv were challenged Anglo-Gujarat leadership. This newly formed culture revivalist group of reformers and scholars began to attack the reformist idea of subjugation to colonial rule and exploded the myth of the superiority of Western culture. The rising generation of educated young men began to admire “neo-Hinduism”—a new creed that drew inspiration from the rich heritage of India's cultural past. They began to form new organizations for social change and developed different kinds of literary forms to glorify the Hindu past to infuse the spirit of patriotism and self-confidence among the Gujarati peoples. In short, 19th-century intellectual leadership of Gujarat was multifaceted and highly complex. It is not possible to study it in a single mold. Its diversity, centralization, and coordinating nature must be kept in mind in all its aspects. This rich tapestry of thought and creativity laid the groundwork for future generations, inspiring movements that sought to redefine identity and purpose. As various leaders emerged, they not only celebrated their heritage but also challenged oppressive structures, paving the way for social reforms and greater unity among the people.

## 2

Durgaram Nehta was the pioneer of social reform in Gujarat, a pioneer among the reformers. He was a Brahmin of the Vadnagar Nagar caste. He received his primary education in Surat and then trained in the Native Education Society in Mumbai and returned from there and became a teacher in Surat in 1826. During his stay in Mumbai, he was influenced by the reformist ideas of his time. He was a staunch opponent of witchcraft and Jantar Mantar and other social evils. He made many speeches in favor of widow remarriage.<sup>3</sup> He awakened the people of Gujarat from the state of superstition and ignorance. Since he studied Sanskrit, he knew the Upanishads, Bhagavad Gita, and Puranas very well. He did not take English higher education, but he was exposed to the good influence of the West through his contact with English experts like Dadoba Pandurang. He founded the "Manava Dharmasabha" in 1844 for the purpose of social and religious reform.<sup>4</sup> It was founded on the basis of such noble and progressive principles as the existence of one God, one humanity, and one human religion. He supported the colonial rule and admired the new political or administrative system established by the colonial rule, but when the strike took place in Surat city on 29-30-31 August 1844 against the increased tax on millet by the British government and was discussed in the "Manava Dharmasabha" on the first of September, Durgaram Mehtaji fearlessly expressed his opinion against the colonial rule.. In the discussion of 'Manavadharma Sabha' Mehtaji says: *"It is a shame to make a request; but what if when there is a king and he does something considering the people, but if he does not do so and oppresses the people, then the people should fight against the king and punish the king, and hand over the kingdom to another king. And if someone helps in such a work, it is the mark of a good man; and in such a work, the people in the middle do not have any concern about dying. Why is it that the people are protected from tyrannical kings? There is benevolence in it. Listen, the king's rule is for the people, this is to maintain equality among the people. If they do not do that and on the contrary, they hurt the people, do evil, and want to impoverish the people of another country, then we should fight against such a king and hand over the kingdom to a king of religion and intellect. Our speech is not only for the British. It is for all the kings on earth. If the king himself wants to hurt the people, the people should show the strength of their hands to the king and ask for God's help."*<sup>5</sup> Durgaram Mehta believed that the shortcomings that led to our defeat against foreign power are still alive, and until we can remove them, the politics of petition are appropriate. He also believed that if all the people of our country were fighting with arms at that time of disaster, the

homeland would not have been left without protection, but we failed to do that.<sup>6</sup> Durgaram argued that the unity of the people in our country has been broken due to the wrong interpretations given by the beggar gurus. He further argued that the people of our country do not study or even read the records of the country; therefore, ignorance has increased, and this ignorance ultimately led towards the downfall of the country. That's why only education remains the only solution. He firmly believed that education is the only weapon of liberation from British rule, and he asked to be ethical and ask the government for your real rights.<sup>7</sup> He encouraged citizens to actively participate in their own education and to seek knowledge as a way to empower themselves. By fostering critical thinking and awareness, he envisioned a future where the populace could challenge oppression and reclaim their autonomy.

## 3

Kavi Dalpatram was a Gujarati poet and Sanskrit scholar who lived from 1820 to 1898 AD. A Brahmin from Wadhwan, Dalpatram was an accomplished writer in Gujarati, Sanskrit, and Vrajbhasha. He came to Ahmedabad for his Sanskrit studies at the age of 24. Alexander Kinloch Forbes, a British colonial administrator, came to him to learn Gujarati.<sup>8</sup> Dalpatram used to write poetry in Vrajbhasha, and it was Forbes who encouraged him to write in Gujarati. Forbes started Gujarat Vernacular Society and wanted to promote Gujarati literature. Forbes and Dalpatram traveled all over Gujarat to collect manuscripts and transcribe oral works. Dalpatram also did not take English education like Durgaram Mehtaji, but he had direct acquaintance with the classy English bureaucrats, headmasters, etc. of that time. It was good fortune for Gujarat that this folk entertainment nature could be utilized in the public reforms of that era. In fact, Dalpatram's poetry played an important role in making the minds of the people of Gujarat suitable for the conditions of the new era and in educating the people in the qualities that are essential for life in the new era. The most striking element in Dalpatram's thinking is his broad philosophy of reform.<sup>9</sup> In 1855, Dalpatram joined the Gujarat Vernacular Society as an assistant and remained as the editor of the society's mouthpiece, *Buddhi Prakash*, for 25 years. In it, in-depth notes were published on the social and intellectual life of Ahmedabad. Dalpatram advocated reform, knowledge, education, and literature. This period influenced the intellectual life of merchants and traders. Under the leadership of *Buddhi Prakash*, which Dalpatram assumed, it became a significant medium for shaping the lives of common people in Ahmedabad. He wrote about various political topics, addressing both the positive and negative aspects of British rule and the relationship between the British and Indians. Dalpatram believed that after the establishment of British rule in Gujarat, the people were experiencing peace and stability amidst the political chaos and administrative instability of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> He viewed the British victory in India and the establishment of their rule as beneficial for the country, largely due to the peace it brought. In addition to establishing peace, the British administration introduced infrastructure such as telegraphs, postal services, and railways, and British officials initiated various reforms.<sup>11</sup> This contributed to Dalpatram's attachment to British rule, leading him to identify as *Rajyabhakt*. His admiration for English influences extended to his poetry, where his concerns for the future became apparent. For instance, in his description of a sunrise, he likened the ideals of the Englishman to the rising sun, suggesting they had gained knowledge of virtues and vices. Nevertheless, Dalpatram also expressed criticism of British rule, attributing India's decline to it. His poem '*Hunnarkhan ni Chadai*' serves as a metaphorical exploration of the reasons for India's decline and potential paths to economic progress. In this work, he articulated how foreign rule had deprived the people of their wealth, suggesting that laziness and ignorance among the populace contributed to the loss of their industries and resources.<sup>12</sup> He noted that the trade of cotton, opium, and sugar had brought wealth to India but argued that craftsmen had stripped the wealth away in the form of machinery. A significant aspect of his thinking was a deep understanding of the Industrial Revolution's importance, which led him to urge his fellow countrymen to establish new industries. During the foundation inauguration program of "Himabhai institute" he said that "*The main means of acquiring knowledge is education and the main purpose of education is to learn the skills of other countries and to bring and establish foreign industries in the country. ... To achieve this, it is necessary to read books and to learn skills*"<sup>13</sup>. Dalpatram wrote a poem called 'Industry'. In it, he encourages to start the industries, so that the unemployed get employment. Economic prosperity increases with different employment. In addition to this, in the poem called 'Industrial Group', he says: *Establish a group where everyone can get involved in industry...Even if a few people work, there will be no work for everyone. He will dig a pit and make a farm, if a person remains in the field, He will add fertilizer to the salt water and produce grain. Produce grain, vegetables, etc., dig mines.*

Over time, despite initially supporting the British government, the weaknesses and injustices of the British system became apparent in Dalpatram's poetry. He contended that the British established rigid administrative procedures along with a division of powers and duties, which led to discontent among the people due to the bureaucratic practices that developed. The administration grew increasingly complex, appearing as a burden. In his poem '*Rajya Prashansha*' Dalpatram expressed hope that the new political system would treat everyone equally, without favoritism, while simultaneously suggesting that the new governance had become stagnant. He noted that due to inefficient procedures, court disputes could linger for ten to twelve years, comparing the time scholars needed to comprehend the Vedas with that required by prominent lawyers to understand the law.<sup>14</sup> Dalpatram sought to cultivate a sense of unity and organization among the people, fostering a sense of nationalism in the state. Following the establishment of the Congress, he showed interest in its activities and was chosen as the representative of Gujarat for the California Convention of the Congress, though he could not attend due to health issues. He maintained good relationships with Congress leaders such as Dadabhai Naoroji and Firozshah Mehta. When Naoroji traveled to Lahore as the Congress President, Dalpatram, who had lost his sight at eighty-three, was present to greet him in Ahmedabad. He continued to participate in provincial general meetings in Ahmedabad.<sup>15</sup> Thus, Dalpatram's views on nationalism were somewhat simplistic, lacking the political analysis and depth expected in his time.

## 4

Narmad was born on August 24, 1833, in Surat and belonged to the Nagar caste. His father, Lashankar Purushomim Dave, worked in Mumbai, leading Narmad to spend his childhood between Surat and Mumbai. Although he was initially raised in the Vaidik tradition, he received formal education in the western tradition, which influenced his thinking. During his college years, Narmad engaged extensively with literature, history, philosophy, and English. His exposure to English education drew him to the works of Western scholars, resulting in the accumulation of many books in his personal library. This Western education contributed to his wide international reputation. In 1850, he received a scholarship to Elphinstone College, where he, along with a few friends, established a library and created a forum for young men to improve their writing, speaking, and debating skills. Narmad delivered his notable speech titled "*Mandli Banavana Fayda*" (advantage of forming associations) at this gathering.<sup>16</sup> Along with his literate circle of friends, Narmad initiated "*Dandio*", a pioneering venture in Gujarati journalism during a time when society was largely indifferent to education and social reform. "*Dandio*" aimed to combat the immorality, corruption, hypocrisy, and exploitation that were prevalent in society.<sup>17</sup> Narmad's views on nationalism were more urgent and developed than those of Dalpatram. His studies in history provided him with a clear understanding of the evolution of modern nationalism and its roots. He systematically presented these ideas in his writings, highlighting characteristics such as territorial and public unity, national sovereignty, and economic self-reliance as fundamental aspects of nationalism.

In his political ideas, Narmad promotes the concept of Bharat Mata in Gujarat, viewing the land of Bharat as a mother. He expresses this sentiment in the poem '*The Fall of Hindus*,' stating, '*Everyone is his brother; the land is the mother of all*.'<sup>18</sup> His perspective on land is clearly articulated. Narmad's views on the state, rule, and governance are more advanced than those of Dalpatram. His studies in English in Mumbai and Surat, along with his readings of English literature, exhibit the influence of Indian tradition on his thoughts. Initially, Narmad praised British rule, observing that "*After the British rule began in 1800-1818, the condition of the Gujaratis began to change. The Gujaratis, who faced oppression from Muslims and Marathas, found relief under English rule*."<sup>19</sup> Thus, he advocated for the British to remain as subjects, encouraging them to keep their earnings in the country and to support its development. Narmad regarded the British as well-wishers, asserting that Indians were not ready to govern themselves and that rights would be handed over once they were prepared. Many leaders of that era shared this belief. However, Narmad's views were progressive for his time. He argued that if the transfer of state power was delayed, action should be taken against it. In contrast to Dalpatram, Narmad's views were more confrontational and insightful. He addressed the shortcomings and injustices of colonial rule by writing articles in '*Dandiy*' without expressing hatred, anger, or fear.<sup>20</sup> After 1859, Narmad became a vocal critic of colonial rule. While British governance in England was based on principles of sovereignty and citizenship, the governance they established in India contradicted democratic principles. This dual approach had a significant impact on his outlook. He writes that '*What can we do when the British use our houses, make us work for them and consider us stupid and call us, the british state is a scholar, a*

guardian, it talks about the principles of humanity and the same government acts like a demon, a murderer and a fool.<sup>21</sup>

He opposed the colonial administration and wrote a series of articles in Dandiyo. He argued that white individuals were appointed to high positions by exploiting the law and that they were afforded a false sense of justice, which was inherently biased. He also criticized the situation regarding law and order under colonial rule. In his poem 'The Fall of the Hindus,' he claimed that in the English state, justice is administered not according to the law but based on the religion and race of the individual. He stated, "*The difference in caste is between white and black. If the judge is just, then justice is served. The lower class pays the justice of the rich aristocrat, while the higher class pays the justice of the white and the lower class.*"<sup>22</sup> He further contended that educated individuals from higher castes are denied the right to rule, while uninformed white individuals from lower castes receive high salaries. Additionally, he highlighted the challenges faced by the populace due to English laws, asserting that the English state pursues its own agenda. He noted that while English laws are rigid, those in India fluctuate frequently, leading to public confusion. He argued that the government should bear part of the expenses related to goods exported from England, as taxation has resulted in job scarcity for the people. He observed that the government's policies were often inconsistent, sometimes favorable and other times detrimental. He also advocated for the appointment of Indians in the administration. Narmad remarked that civil servants were allocated positions of authority, some achieving high status. They selected individuals for the Legislative Council and conferred titles upon them. The education system was structured so that many boys were taught both English and their native languages, while others were given the status of youth.<sup>23</sup> In summary, Narmad's stance against colonial rule became more pronounced as he began to see the exploitation of resources and the injustices of colonial policies.

After 1870, he began to explore Indian classical literature, including the Ramayana, Vedas, and Upanishads, and also had an influential meeting with Swami Dayanand Sarasvati, the founder of Arya Samaj. He expressed criticism not only of colonial rule but also of Western civilization. Additionally, he started to question the approaches of social reformers, viewing them as too accommodating towards colonial rule and Western philosophy, which he regarded as materialistic. He encouraged Gujarati youth to return to the teachings of the Vedas. He contributed to the development of a new form of Gujarati literature that asserted the superiority of Indian civilization, marking the beginning of a new phase in Gujarati literature known as the Classical Age (Pandit Yug) or Sanskrit revivalist literature. Manilal Nabhubhai Driwedi, a prominent scholar of this period who was inspired by Narmad's literature, met him during his later years and subsequently led the revivalist movement after Narmad's death.

## 5

Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi, born in 1858, was a writer, philosopher, and social thinker from Gujarat, often referred to as Manilal in literary circles. He was a notable figure in 19th century Gujarati literature and identified himself as a "*reformer along religious lines*" Manilal received his primary education in Nadiad and subsequently attended Elphinstone College in Mumbai. During his college years, he developed a strong interest in writing and reading. He explored many books on Western history and philosophy, but ultimately found them unsatisfactory and turned to texts related to Bharatiya Darshan, such as the Vedanta works including '*Brahmasutra*,' '*Panchadashi*,' and '*Shaarirak*.'<sup>24</sup> He studied '*Sarvadarshan Sangraha*' under Shastri Bhimacharya Jhalkikar, a scholar from Elphinstone College, which led him to adopt the beliefs of Shankaracharya's Advaita Vedanta. Following this period, he engaged in writing to advocate for Hindu Darshan. In 1882, he became a member of the Gujarat Natotak Mandali and, during a meeting on widow remarriage, he delivered a speech opposing such marriages.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, he joined the Theosophical Society that same year and maintained a close association with Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky. After completing his education, he worked as a teacher and educator, eventually becoming a professor of Sanskrit in Bhavnagar in 1884-85. His writings on religious principles can be classified into three categories: one aimed at the general Gujarati audience, another for the educated community, and a third for Western scholars. His articles in Sudarshan and Priyamvada present a clear understanding of human life's purpose based on Hindu Dharma, particularly the Advaita doctrine. His contributions in '*Siddhantasara*' strongly promote Arya Dharma and philosophy, aiming to enhance ancient Indian culture by revealing insights from the Vedas, Upanishads, and Puranas. '*Sudarshan Gadyavali* (1919) is a substantial collection of Gujarati essays on these topics, marking his significant contribution to the development of Shankara Siddhanta.<sup>26</sup> However, the focused nature of his

objectives has led to criticisms regarding the logical rigor, consistency, and potential biases within his theories.

In his political views, Manilal opposed colonial rule and its intrusion into Gujarati society. During the discussion on the age of consent bill, which aimed to raise the minimum marriage age for girls from ten to twelve years, he criticized the bill for contradicting the British policy of neutrality regarding matters of faith. In an essay titled '*Apanu Kartavay*' (our duty), Manibhai contended that the legislation forced Hindus to confront challenging decisions between adhering to the directives of the shastras and complying with legal requirements.<sup>27</sup> He urged Hindus to resist the bill vigorously and encouraged discussions within families, communities, and villages, as well as sending petitions to the government opposing the bill. Manibhai was concerned about the changes that the British had introduced to traditional laws. He believed that these foreign ideas contradicted the fundamental values of Hindu society, as Western principles were rooted in individualism.

Manibhai believed that the English arrived in India primarily for commercial purposes and continue to maintain a presence there for the same reasons. He disagreed with the viewpoint put forth by some colonial officials that their presence was for the welfare of India and a sense of obligation. He contended that such arguments were divisive and misleading. He noted that with the rise of English power, the traditional systems and institutions of governance began to decline. The gap between the rulers and the ruled widened, as the rulers were foreigners who adhered to a different faith and moral framework.<sup>28</sup>

Manibhai expressed opposition to Western education in Gujarat through his essay "*Purva ane Pashchim*," subtitled "*Desi loko par Angreji Kelavani Asar*" [*The East and the West: The Impact of English Education on the Natives*]. This essay was published in his journal for a span of six years, from November 1891 to January 1896. It offers a detailed account of Manibhai's views on the effects of Western influence and the reform movement. In this work, he articulates the concept of abheda as relevant to his time and society. Manibhai was concerned that Western influence, particularly through education, was distancing the next generation from their original dharma. He characterized the West as embodying atheism, materialism, and individualism.

Manibhai suggests that the presence of various paths and sects in our country is due to the Hindu religion's tolerance of differences. However, he contends that Western Christianity seeks to undermine the foundations of our religious beliefs. According to Manibhai, Christianity is supported by the power of rulers who view it as the most superior religion, considering all other religions to be false. They also assert that "the religion of all civilized people ought to be Christianity."<sup>29</sup>

Manibhai believes that the demand for simultaneous social and political reform is insincere. He views this demand as a tactic to lend credibility to the social reform movement. He contends that the call for social and political reform is only valid when there is unity between the rulers and the populace. Under colonial rule, however, the circumstances differ, as the rulers are foreigners and adhere to different beliefs. Their norms, practices, and concepts of ideal social organization are distinct. In light of this, he argues that the idea that certain political rights can only be pursued when social organization is reformed is not substantiated. Manibhai asserts that the essence of Aryatva remains intact. He claims that "*the sword of the Muslims, the treachery of the moguls, and the cunning of the English has not been able to touch it, it cannot be touched, and will never be touched.*"<sup>30</sup> He further states that over the last five centuries, people have sacrificed their physical selves to safeguard their spiritual essence. He emphasizes that it is inconsequential if, for over five centuries, they have not achieved victories, displayed great endeavors, or accumulated material wealth; by protecting their identity, they have preserved everything.<sup>31</sup>

Conclusion – During the 19th century, many intellectuals supported colonial rule as they perceived the British regime to provide stability and progress compared to earlier Muslim governance. As a result, their ideas featured little opposition to British rule. Nonetheless, they advocated for concepts such as political and territorial unity, equality, progress, and modernization, which are essential components of nationalism. Intellectuals at the time held a belief in the promising future of governance in Gujarat and India, influenced by a sense of gratitude among the population for the order established during British rule following a period of significant chaos. Simultaneously, they criticized British rule on various

occasions and encouraged Indians to pursue education and industrialization, viewing these as solutions to India's challenges. Following the events of 1857, when British rule became increasingly unjust and contrary to Indian interests, they united the Gujarati community against British authority, expressing opposition to the western system. This group significantly contributed to the emergence of Indian nationalism through cultural revival, presenting the richness of ancient Indian culture and history, which fostered the development of nationalist sentiments in India.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Sabyasachi's article on "Intelligential in Colonial Society". R.K. Pruthi: "*History of Modern India*", Vol. II, p. 297

<sup>2</sup> Pandya Rohit, P., "Development of the Education Policy of the Mumbai Government and its Implementation in the State", Short Research Paper (Unpublished), Vir Narmad south Gujarat University, Surat 1986, p 91-92.

<sup>3</sup> Mahipatram Ruparam, *Durgaram Charita*, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1879, p. 1-4

<sup>4</sup> Piolkar A. K., *Durgaram Mehtaji Ane Manav Dharma Sabhano Udgam ane Vikas (Gujarati)*, Gujarati Sabha Traimasik, Vol. X, Nos. 1 and 2, April-September, 1945, Bombay p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Navalram J Trivedi, *Samaj Sudharanu Rekhadarshan*, Gujarat Varnacular Society, Ahmedabad, p. 25

<sup>6</sup> Ibid p. 28

<sup>7</sup> Ibid p. 37

<sup>8</sup> Nahnalal Dalpatram Kavi, *Kavishar Dalpatram*, Gujarat Varnacular Society, Ahmedabad, p. 02

<sup>9</sup> Ibid p. 63

<sup>10</sup> Trivedi chimanlal, *Dalpatkavya Bhag-2*, Gujarati Sahatya Akademi, Gandhinagar, 2000, p. 10

<sup>11</sup> Ibid p. 22

<sup>12</sup> Jadeja, (Dr.) Dilavarsinh, *National Identity Reflected in Gujarati Poetry*, Vallabhshai Vidyanagar, 1974, p.33.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid p. 65

<sup>14</sup> Trivedi chimanlal, *'Dalpatkavya Bhag-2', (Dalpat Granthavali Grantha-2)*, Gujarati Sahatya Akademi, Gandhinagar, 2000, p. 21

<sup>15</sup> Ibid p. 32

<sup>16</sup> Shukla, Ramesh, M., *'Narmad Darshan'*, Gujarati Sahitya Akademi, gandhinagar, 1986 p 24

<sup>17</sup> Ibid p. 89

<sup>18</sup> Jadeja, (Dr.) Dilavarsinh, *'National Identity Reflected in Gujarati Poetry'*, SP university, Vallabhshai Vidyanagar, 1974, p. 29

<sup>19</sup> Shukla, Ramesh, M., *'Namshad Ek Samalochana'*, Parshav Publication, Ahmedabad, 2005, p. 454

<sup>20</sup> Ibid p. 23

<sup>21</sup> Ibid p. 34

<sup>22</sup> Shukla, Ramesh. M., (ed.) *'Namshadni Katavata'*, Parshav Publication Ahmedabad, 2004, p. 82

<sup>23</sup> Ibid p. 52

<sup>24</sup> Thakar Dhirubhai, *Manilal Nabhubhai Jeevan Rang*, Gurjar Granth Ratna, Ahmedabad First Edition 1957 p. 71

<sup>25</sup> Ibid p 82

<sup>26</sup> Ibid p 152

<sup>27</sup> Thaker, Dhirubhai "Sudarshan Gadyavali", Gujarati Vishwakosh, Ahmedabad, 2008. p. 410

<sup>28</sup> Ibid p. 151

<sup>29</sup> Ibid p. 222

<sup>30</sup> Ibid p. 140

<sup>31</sup> Ibid p. 151