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VOLUME VI

(1966-67)

NUMBER 1

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
CALCUTTA

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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EDITORIAL

Sixth Year:

With the present number the *Quarterly Review* steps into its sixth year. On this occasion we offer our thanks to our readers, contributors and well-wishers, whose kind co-operation enabled us to tide over the initial difficulties of a new academic journal. We do hope, we shall continue to enjoy their support in the new year as well.

University News:

In the present number we are publishing two papers read at a Symposium on *Some Problems Of Higher Education And Research To Be Taken Note of By The Education Commission*, held at the Third Annual Conference of the Institute in Allahabad in January 1966. We regret that for want of space they could not be published along with other papers of the Third Annual Conference in Vol. V, No. 4 of the Journal.

We have also given in the present number an account of the state of historical studies and research at two Universities, Jadavpur and Bhagalpur. The latter University had been partly covered earlier in Vol. V, No. 3 of the Journal. The courses of study at Jadavpur University for B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. examina-

tions are fairly well-balanced. For the B.A. (Hons.) examination there are three papers on Indian History, three on European History and one on the History of Modern Asia. For the M.A. examination there are two compulsory papers on Indian History, one on European History and one on the History of the U.S.A. or of the U.S.S.R. The Elective papers offer scope for specialisation in either Ancient or Medieval or Modern Indian History. There is also an Elective Group on American History. We understand that the present syllabus is going to be revised shortly in the light of the working of the syllabus for ten years and the expansion of the Department, allowing for more intensive study and greater choice of specialisation. Jadavpur University has a most effective tutorial system and hence it is possible to provide adequate facilities for more intensive courses.

The rules for research degrees at Jadavpur are also more satisfactory than at many other places. Proper screening of candidates for registration is done through a regular interview. The Supervisor has to submit progress reports on each research student twice a year, and the registration of a student may be cancelled if the Supervisor's report is not favourable. There is, however, no provision for regular seminars or

training in research methods and no tuition fees are payable. As we noted in some of our earlier numbers, the imposition of a tuition fee, however nominal, is necessary to keep out the less serious students and also to make the University feel its responsibility towards its research students.

In the matter of examination of thesis, there is no provision for reference to a fourth examiner, if the original three examiners differ. This, we are afraid, does not ensure proper justice to a candidate, whose fate may be sealed by the note of dissent of one examiner against the opinions of the other two. Nor is it fair to the two examiners recommending the thesis, for their judgement to be subjected to the veto of the third examiner. The examination of the thesis may then be reduced to a mere gamble. At many Indian Universities, there is provision for reference to a fourth examiner in case of disagreement among the original three.

Jadavpur has followed the practice at the University of Calcutta, where some archaic conventions still prevail. At the University of Calcutta there is not only no provision for reference of a thesis to a fourth examiner, there is also the peculiar convention that one of the examiners *must always* be from outside India. It is difficult to understand the psychology behind this convention, if it is not intended to signify that the *compulsory* inclusion of a foreign scholar is the only method of ensuring an impartial evaluation of a thesis. We wish, this attitude had changed long ago, at least by 1947. There is no other country in the world where a thesis is sent out to a foreign examiner. Theses on Indian History, for example, presented at British, Continental, or American Universities, are never sent out to any examiner in India. So far as this country is concerned, there may be some new technical subjects where it may be difficult to get all the three examiners in India, and it is only in such cases that a foreign examiner should be appointed. It is high time that the University of Calcutta, and others following its model, should give up the archaic

convention, which is also derogatory to national dignity.

The enrolment for research degrees at the University of Jadavpur presents a satisfactory state of affairs, considering that the University is just ten years old and it takes time to build up a research tradition. The subjects chosen for research cover a wide range and there is no undue concentration on regional history, as at many Universities.

The University of Bhagalpur also, an even newer University, has a very good enrolment for research degrees. From the subjects of research it appears that proper but not undue attention is being paid to regional history, while subjects like India's Trade Relations with America or with South-East Asia have also been taken up. It is, however, unusual to take up subjects pertaining to such recent times as 1964 or 1965, as for example, *Communist Movement in India (1924-1964)*, and *Indo-American Political Relations (1947-1964) with special reference to China*. It is good to take up a topic of contemporary history, but we doubt, if it can be made well-documented, necessary for a research dissertation.

Annual General Meeting:

The Annual General Meeting and Fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Institute was held on 25th September, 1966. Dr. R. C. Majumdar presided. The Business Meeting was followed by two lectures, one by Dr. Subimal Mukherjee, Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, on *The U.N Peace: Ideology and Methodology*; and another by Dr. Bhabatosh Dutta, Secretary, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, on *Economic History and the Economist*. The two lectures will be duly published in a later issue of the journal.

Annual Conference:

The Fourth Annual Conference of the

Institute of Historical Studies will be held at the University of Mysore on 1st January 1967, following the Indian History Congress Session. The programme of the Conference will be divided into two Sessions. In the first Session will be read and discussed a few selected papers on the following general themes:

- I. The Chroniclers of Ancient India.
- II. The News-writers of Medieval India.
- III. The Growth of the Indian Press in the Modern Period.

In the second Session there will be a Symposium on *The Education Commission's Report*.

Research papers, on any of the broad themes adopted for the first Session, from members and other interested scholars will be accepted till December 7, 1966. The contributor is to concentrate on a part of the broad theme or on one or two particular aspects of it, so that the paper may be a study in depth and at the same time of interest to a wider circle.

The Symposium, in which some of the most eminent educationists are expected to participate, is intended to focus attention on some of the concrete problems of higher education and research, with particular reference to historical studies, discussed in the Education Commission's Report and on the recommendations made by the Commission.

Indian Historical Records Commission:

The Indian Historical Records Commission held its 37th Session in Delhi early in October 1966. After the previous session held in Chandigarh in February 1961, the Records Commission had been abolished in pursuance of the recommendations of the Tara Chand Committee. It was an unfortunate step, removing the only opportunity of a close association of archivists and historians to discuss matters of common interest. We thank the Government

of India for having reconsidered the matter and revived the Commission on a reconstituted basis. It has been welcomed by both historians and archivists, and it is to be hoped that the revival of the Commission will lead to fruitful collaboration between the custodians and the users of records. That such a spirit of collaboration exists was fully evident at the last session of the Commission in Delhi. The archivists listened to the complaints and viewpoints of the historians with understanding, while the historians appreciated the problems and difficulties of the archivists.

The most important decision taken at the Business Meeting was a recommendation to throw open all records more than thirty years old to bonafide research workers, on a uniform basis both in the National Archives as well as in the Archives of the States. The existing rules regarding accessibility of records are neither liberal nor uniform. Bitter complaints have been made by many research workers against the varying rules regarding accessibility of records and the vexatious and time-killing scrutiny procedure. The practice followed in India has become particularly anomalous when the British Government have thrown open records more than thirty years old. What is still sought to be preserved as a confidential document in India may be freely consulted by any one going to England. In view of this anomalous situation, it is to be hoped that the Government of India and the State Governments will accept the recommendation of the Indian Historical Records Commission and throw open all records more than thirty years old.

Dictionary of Biographies Project:

A meeting of the Editorial Board of the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project was held in Delhi on 8th October. The matters discussed were:

- I. Final checking up of the lists of leaders for different Zones;

II. Appointment of Contributors;

III. Procedure of work and co-ordination.

The members agreed to submit their final suggestions about lists of leaders within a month and propose names for appointment as contributors in each Zone. Decision on the third item was postponed for the next meeting of the Editorial Board to be held in Mysore in December, 1966. The appointment of contributors is expected to be made in November and work may start in December.

In Vol. V, No. 1 we had published a list of leaders on whom biographical material had been collected till May 1965. In Vol. V, No. 3 we had published a similar list covering the period from June 1965 to March 1966. During the last 6 months, April to September 1966 227 leaders had been covered. The zone-wise break up is:

Eastern Zone—55. Western Zone—62.

Northern Zone—58. Southern Zone—52.

The list will be published in our next number.

The total number of leaders covered till September 1966 is 907. As soon as the lists of leaders for different zones are finally checked up in November, we shall know how much work still remains to be done. But since large additions are not proposed to be made at this stage, we do expect to complete the collection of material according to schedule by the middle of 1967.

We take this opportunity to make an appeal to our foreign readers to kindly supply us whatever information they may have on Indian leaders who carried on the Nationalist Movement from abroad. It is quite well-known that many eminent Indian nationalists had their principal centres of activity for long years outside India. It is only through the voluntary co-operation of our friends in these countries that we can expect to get full data on such leaders. We particularly appeal to our colleagues in East and West Pakistan to help us in collecting material available in Pakistan. In an academic undertaking of this kind there can be no national barrier and scholars in India and Pakistan should co-operate freely and without prejudice and reservation.

COURSES OF STUDY

Jadavpur University

B.A. HONOURS IN HISTORY

- Paper I History of India upto 1206.
- Paper II History of India from 1206 to 1757.
- Paper III History of India from 1757 to 1947.
- Paper IV Middle Ages in Europe from 476 to 1250.
- Paper V History of Europe from 1350 to 1650.
- Paper VI The Modern West from 1650 to 1870.
- Paper VII Tudor-Stuart England from 1485 to 1714.
- Paper VIII Asia in the 19th and 20th Centuries.

M.A. IN HISTORY

- Paper I Select Period of Modern Indian History, 1798-1858.
- Paper II Special Period of History of Bengal (Life and Thought in Bengal, 1810-1911).
- Paper III History of Europe, 1871-1939.
- Paper IV English Constitutional History, 1485-1785.
- Paper V European Political Thought since the Renaissance.

Paper VI History of the U.S.A. upto 1939 (Period before 1783 to be read in outline).

or

History of the U.S.S.R. 1917-1956

Elective Papers:—One of the following groups:

Group A. (Select Period of Ancient Indian History)

Paper VII 1st Cent. B.C. to 319 A.D.

Paper VIII 320 A.D. to C. 550 A.D.

Group B (Select Period of Medieval Indian History)

Paper VII 1658-1707.

Paper VIII 1707-1761.

Group C (Select Period of Modern Indian History)

Paper VII Political History of India, 1740-1793.

Paper VIII Economic and Administrative History of India, 1740-1793.

Group D (History of U.S.A.)

Paper VII Political and Economic History of the U.S.A. in the Nineteenth Century.

Paper VIII Twentieth Century America.

Students taking up American History as their special group will be required to study the History of the U.S.S.R. specified above as their Compulsory Paper (Paper VI.)

RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

(Summarised from Official Regulations)

Jadavpur University

(DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY EXAMINATION)

I. There shall be a Doctorate Committee for each of the Faculties of the University, consisting of the Rector, the Dean of the Faculty, the Principal of the College, and the Heads of the Departments of the Faculty concerned. The Professor of the subject and the Supervisor of a Registered candidate shall be invited to participate at the deliberations of the Committee when the case of that Registered candidate shall be considered.

II. The Committee shall have the following powers and duties:

- (i) to scrutinise the applications for registration and to decide which of the candidates are to be registered;
- (ii) to appoint Supervisors for registered candidates;
- (iii) to cancel registration for infringement of Rules;
- (iv) to recommend to the University names of examiners for Ph.D. and D. Litt. degrees;
- (v) to recommend to the University names of institutions which may be recognised as approved institutions where research work may be conducted by registered candidates;
- (vi) to decide if permission is to be granted for the printing of any thesis accepted for

the award of the degree after taking into consideration the reports of the examiners.

III. The Committee shall meet at least four times every year.

(i) Applications for registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) are to be made to the Registrar in the form prescribed for consideration by the relevant Committee.

(ii) A person who has obtained the Master's degree in Arts from this University is eligible to apply for registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(iii) A person who has obtained the Master's degree from another University or another institution recognised by this University, or such other degrees as may be considered sufficient for this purpose by the University, is also eligible to apply for registration.

(iv) A candidate for registration of name shall appear before the Head of the Department and the proposed Supervisor for an interview. In special cases the Committee may appoint another person to interview a candidate for registration.

(v) The Head of the Department or Professor concerned shall forward the application to the Registrar together with a report in the prescribed form.

(vi) If the Committee accepts the candidate

for registration, he shall have to register his name by paying a fee of Rupees Fifty (Rs. 50/-).

IV.(i) A Registered candidate shall work under the guidance of the Supervisor appointed by the Committee.

(ii) The Supervisor shall send a report to the Registrar about the candidate in the prescribed form once in January and once in July, for consideration by the Committee.

(iii) The Committee may remove the name of a Registered candidate from the Register if the report of the Supervisor is not favourable.

(iv) The Committee may permit a Registered candidate to change his subject provided he applies within one year of registration.

V.(i) The Supervisor under whom a Registered candidate shall have to work shall normally be a teacher of this University. The Committee may appoint a Supervisor from outside the University in special cases.

(ii) A Registered candidate shall have to work for a minimum period of two years after registration. If the Supervisor certifies that the candidate has carried on research for two years subsequent to obtaining the Master's degree, and that the thesis embodies at least two years' work, the Committee may permit a candidate to submit his thesis one year after registration.

(iii) The Supervisor shall give a certificate in the prescribed form when the Registered candidate submits his thesis.

(iv) The Committee may determine the number of candidates that may work under the guidance of one Supervisor at a time.

VI.(i) A teacher of this University, or an M.A. of this University of three years standing, may apply to the Committee for permission to submit a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts. Such an application shall be made through the Head of the Department concerned.

(ii) The Committee may grant the permission if it is satisfied that the applicant has carried on research for at least three years.

(iii) Upon the granting of permission, the names of such applicants shall be entered in the Register of candidates for Ph.D. degree.

VII.(i) A Registered Candidate shall have to submit three typed or printed copies of the thesis embodying the results of the research he has carried out.

(ii) He shall state in the preface whether the work is based on the discovery of new facts by him or of new relations of facts observed by others, and how the work tends to the general advancement of knowledge. He shall also state the sources from which his information has been derived and the extent to which he has based his work on the work of others and shall indicate which portion or portions of his thesis he claims as original.

(iii) A candidate cannot submit as his thesis any work for which a Degree or Diploma or other academic award has been conferred on him by this University or any other University or institution; but a candidate may incorporate work which he has already submitted for a Degree or Diploma or other academic award in a thesis covering a wider field, provided that he shall indicate in the preface any work which has been so incorporated.

VIII.(i) A Board of Examiners consisting of

three members shall be appointed by the University

(ii) One of the members of the Board shall ordinarily be the Supervisor under whose guidance the candidate worked.

(iii) The examiners will be requested to give a joint report if possible.

(iv) A thesis which is rejected may be submitted again after due revision, modifications or alterations but not earlier than six months.

The re-submitted thesis may only be examined by the original Board of Examiners, unless they or any one of them is unable or unwilling to act. A thesis may be re-submitted only once.

(v) If all the members of the Board of Examination are of the opinion that the candidate may be awarded the degree, he shall be asked to appear at an oral examination.

IX (i) The University shall appoint one person who is not a teacher of this University and the Supervisor of the candidate, the examiners for the oral examination.

(ii) The examiners at the oral examination may ask questions beyond the subject of the thesis in order to satisfy themselves that the candidate has adequate knowledge of the particular branch of the subject on which he has submitted the thesis.

(iii) If the examiners are not satisfied, the candidate may be directed to appear again at the viva voce examination after six months.

(iv) The degree shall be awarded by the University if the examiners of the viva voce examination are of the opinion

that the candidate is a fit person to receive the degree.

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE EXAMINATION

I. The undermentioned categories of persons are eligible to submit theses for the degree of Doctor of Literature (D. Litt.).

(a) Persons holding Ph. D. degree from this University;

(b) Persons holding Master's degree from this University;

(c) Persons holding Bachelor's degree from this University and a post-graduate degree from another University or recognised institution;

(d) Teachers of this University who have been teaching for at least three years.

II. (i) The candidate shall state in his application his academic qualifications and the subjects in which he specialised in his post-graduate course and the special subject upon a knowledge of which he rests his qualification for the Doctorate degree.

(ii) He shall enclose two certificates as to the independent and original character of his work, one from a Professor of this University and another from a reputed person in the field on which the candidate has worked.

(iii) A candidate may submit along with his thesis any book or paper written by him in support of his candidature. He is to submit three printed or typed copies of each work.

III. (i) The thesis shall embody the result of original research carried out independently by the candidate and shall show

evidence of his own work based on either the discovery of new facts observed by himself or of new relations of facts observed by others.

(ii) The candidate shall indicate in the preface to the thesis the sources from which his information has been collected, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original, and shall state how his investigations tend to the general advancement of knowledge. He shall also state whether his research has been conducted independently or under advice of or in co-operation with any other person.

(iii) A candidate cannot submit as his thesis any work on which a degree or diploma or other academic award has been conferred by any University or institution. In case he has incorporated any portion of any of his earlier published work in his thesis, he shall clearly indicate this in his preface.

IV. (i) The Doctorate Committee of the relevant Faculty shall recommend a panel of names of examiners to the University for examining a thesis. The persons recommended shall be eminent authorities on the subject and shall not hold any salaried office at this University.

(ii) The University shall appoint a Board of Examiners of three persons.

(iii) The examiners will be requested to give a joint report whenever possible.

(iv) The University shall confer the degree upon a candidate if all the three Examiners are of the opinion that the candidate is worthy of receiving the degree.

V. It shall be open to the examiners to recommend that the candidate may be awarded the Ph. D. degree instead of the D. Litt. degree for which he applied. In such a case, the candidate will be asked if he is willing to be considered for the Ph. D. degree. If the candidate is willing, he shall have to appear at an oral test before two examiners appointed for that purpose by the University. If the examiners of the viva voce examination are of the opinion that the candidate is worthy of receiving the Ph. D. degree, the University shall confer the degree upon him.

VI. A candidate whose thesis is rejected may again submit the thesis after he has carried out further substantial original work or modification. He shall indicate the extent and scope of the additional work in his preface.

ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

Jadavpur University

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
*Amitabha Mukherjee,	Reform and Regeneration in Bengal, 1774-1823	Dr. P. C. Gupta
Pranjal Bhattacharyya	British Residents at Poona, 1786-1818	Dr. P. C. Gupta
Samaresh Ghosh	Administration and Administrative Ideas of Charles Metcalfe	Dr. P. C. Gupta
Prabhuram Khatua	Textile Industry and Trade in North-Eastern India during 16th and 17th centuries.	Dr. J. N. Sarkar
Kumud Ranjan Das	Life and Work of Raja Todar Mal	Dr. J. N. Sarkar
Pinaki Ranjan Mahapatra	Economic Life in Medieval Orissa (c. 1550-1750)	Dr. J. N. Sarkar
Satyendranath Naskar	Impact of Foreign Invasions on Indian Life, Circa 250 B.C. to 225 A.D.	Dr. B. K. Majumdar
*Miss Shukla Das	Socio-Economic Life of Northern India from 550 to 750 A.D.	Dr. S. K. Maity

Bhagalpur University

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
Ghaturbhuj Narain	History of Nalanda down to the Muslim Conquest	Dr. C. S. Upasak
Parmeshwari Prasad Sinha	Biography of Raja Birbal	Dr. P. N. Ojha
C. P. N. Sinha	Mithila under the Karnatas, C. 1097 to 1325 A.D.	Mr. R. K. Choudhary
Prabhakar Prasad Singh	Communist Movement in India (1924-1964)	Dr. D. P. Singh
S. N. Sinha	The Working of Dyarchy in Bihar (1921-1937)	Dr. D. P. Singh
Ramanath Singh	History of Christianity in Bihar (1813-1947)	Dr. P. Misra
A. N. Misra	Indo-American Political Relations, 1947-64, with special reference to China	Dr. P. Misra

*Name**Subject**Supervisor*

J. Jha	Indo-American Trade Relations, 1833-65	Dr. P. Misra
*Basant Lal Mandal	India's Trade with Malaya and Indonesia from 1765 to 1833	Dr. H. R. Ghosal
Miss Pavitra Bhattacharyya	Swami Vivekanand and the Indian Renaissance	Dr. P. Misra
Ram Shankar Prasad Singh	Role of the Press in Bihar, 1917-39	Dr. P. Misra
Rt. Rev. Phillip Parmar	Christian Missions among the Adibasis of Santhal Parganas	Dr. P. Misra
Shiva Kumar Singh	Theory and Practice of Diplomacy in Ancient India	Mr. R. K. Choudhary

*Asterisk indicates thesis completed.

COMMENTS BY SUPERVISOR

DR. PANCHANAND MISRA

Head of the Department of History, Bhagalpur University

The University of Bhagalpur started functioning since July 1960. There was no post-graduate teaching in History at that time. Therefore there was no restriction in having Supervisors from outside the University. Post-graduate teaching in History started functioning since 1963. Naturally the library is not rich enough for research scholars. The library of T.N.B. College, the constituent unit of the University, is fairly good. Rare secondary source materials are available there. But a research

scholar has to go out of Bhagalpur for collection of materials. There is no provision for research Fellowship. But students are getting research minded and the Department has taken up a research project on 'Indo-American Relations 1776-1964', with Dr. P. Misra as the Research Director. A liberal grant has been made by the United States Educational Foundation in India, New Delhi, and by the American Studies Research Centre, Hyderabad.

SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH WORK

Jadavpur University

Recognised Supervisors

Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.) Professor & Head of the Department of History, Jadavpur University.

Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M.A. (Patna), Ph.D. (Cal.), Professor of History, Jadavpur University.

Dr. Bimal Kanti Majumdar, M.A. (Cal.), D.Phil. (Cal.), Lecturer in History, Jadavpur University.

Dr. Sachindra Kumar Maity, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in History, Jadavpur University.

Major Publications

Baji Rao II and the East India Company, 1796-1818;
Nana Sahib;
The Last Peshwa and the English Commissioners, 1818-1851;
Shah Alam II and his Court;
Edited *Maharashtra Purana* with Professor Dimock.

Life of Mir Jumla, General of Aurangzeb; History of Patna College, 1863-1963. (Jointly with Dr. J. C. Jha).

Military System in Ancient India

Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period (cir. A.D. 300-550);
Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions, Vol. I (with Dr. R. R. Mookherjee)—*in press*.

Bhagalpur University

Recognised Supervisors

Dr. Panchanand Misra, M.A. (Pat. & Penna), Ph.D. (Bhagalpur), Reader and Head of the Department of History, Bhagalpur University.

Dr. D. P. Singh, M.A. (Pat.), Ph.D. (Hawaii), Lecturer in History, Post-Graduate Department, Bhagalpur University.

Mr. Radha Krishna Choudhary, Vice-Principal and Head of the Department of History, G.D. College, Begusarai.

Studies in Ancient Indian Law and Justice;
The Vratyas in Ancient India;
Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati;
History of Bihar;
Inscriptions of Bihar;
History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut.

THESES PRESENTED

Bhagalpur University

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

(Some Aspects of India's Constitution in the Making)

DR. PANCHANAND MISRA

The Republican Constitution of India was framed by the Constituent Assembly of India which started its deliberations on 9th December, 1946. But the Constituent Assembly was not directly elected by the people. Therefore, the critics have challenged the democratic participation of the people in the making of the Indian constitution. Sir Winston Churchill is of opinion that the Constituent Assembly of India consisted of the caste Hindus only. Dr. K. V. Rao observes that it was dominated by the Congress members. Decisions were actually taken outside the Constituent Assembly in Congress party meetings and the Drafting Committee carried out the party decisions in the Constituent Assembly. Even B. R. Ambedkar admitted that the whole constitution was the work of the Congress party and that he was a mere hack to follow the dictate of the Congress. The constitution was adopted with majority voting and party whip was always imposed. Sir Ivor Jennings finds that in the Congress-dominated House the lawyers actually were the masters of the situation and the chapter on Fundamental Rights is a paradise for lawyers. K. V. Rao finds, throughout the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, the domination of lawyer-members who ridiculed the suggestion of lay members. The whole constitution was adopted hurriedly and no explanation was given by B. R. Ambedkar in rejecting any amendment. Thus the critics come to the conclusion that there was no democratic participation of the

people in the making of the constitution and that even the procedure adopted by the Constituent Assembly was undemocratic. Therefore, the critics also conclude that the constitution is not based on the experience of the people. It is a scissor and paste affair where the provisions of the various constitutions of the world have been blindly copied.

But the author successfully demonstrates that the Constituent Assembly of India was a fairly representative body. It consisted of the representatives of all the communities, groups and interests in India. The Congress party invited Jayakar, Ambedkar and K. T. Shah to come in the Constituent Assembly on Congress tickets. Even Jai Prakash Narayan had been offered a seat. There was no party spirit and non-Congress members were associated with various committees. B. R. Ambedkar was the chairman of the Drafting Committee. The Congress-dominated House could have easily adopted the Draft Constitution with a comfortable majority. But the Congress party did not try to perpetuate its memory by naming the Parliament as Indian National Congress as proposed by R. K. Sidhwa. The Congress programme was not enumerated in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Even salt was taxed. It also provided a most facile procedure for amending the constitution and did not put a seal of finality upon the constitution. No party whip had been imposed. Ambedkar was not a hack as he admonished leading

Congress members like Mahavir Tyagi and M.A. Ayyangar in the Constituent Assembly. He ridiculed all ideas of government based on village panchayat which had been the dream of Gandhi. The President of the Constituent Assembly acted most democratically and did not allow Nehru or Patel to dominate the House in any undue manner. The Constituent Assembly was in no hurry to adopt the Constitution. Many articles were reopened several times to bring about further improvement. The President actually allowed a second 'second reading' of the Draft Constitution. Thus sincere efforts were made to come to a common understanding. There was a spirit of compromise and a sincere desire to arrive at a decision on the consensus of opinion in the House. But the Constituent Assembly was not directly elected by the people on the basis of adult suffrage. Therefore, a procedure was adopted for the larger association of the people in the making of the constitution. A Questionnaire had been issued. The Draft Constitution had been circulated. Amendments from the public had been welcomed and examined. It is thus evident that there was democratic participation of the people in the making of the constitution.

The constitution as such is not a blind imitation, but is based on the experience of the people. The Sovereign Democratic Republic of India is, therefore, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Citizenship was in accordance with the Anglo-American system of *Jus-Soli*, but special provisions were also made

to cover a large number of Indian problems. In the chapter on Fundamental Rights special Indian problems, like removal of untouchability were tackled. The establishment of a secular State in India was not the Western concept of secularisation. It was rather the traditional Indian concept of toleration in religion. The Directive Principles of State Policy contained some of the Gandhian programmes. The Western concept of Parliamentary executive was adopted. But Indians were acquainted with the British Parliamentary democracy in the course of the long British rule in India. Moreover, it was not a blind imitation of the British model of democracy. Unlike Britain, India was to have a written constitution. The British House of Lords was not imported. The chapter on Fundamental Rights is beyond the concept of British Parliamentary model. True, there is no tradition of Parliamentary rule in India. But on local levels Indians have had a long schooling in what might be called primitive democracy. Therefore, for its proper development and growth the makers of the Indian constitution made provisions for the village panchayat in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Thus the scope for the Indianisation of the Parliamentary democracy of the West is well provided and the soil has been made receptive for assimilation and synthesis of these foreign elements.

The author was permitted to consult the Papers in the President's Secretariat and, therefore, it is based on first hand materials.

INDIA'S TRADE RELATIONS WITH MALAYA AND INDONESIA, 1793-1833

DR. BASANT LAL MANDAL

The thesis contains nine Chapters in all. In the Introductory Chapter has been given a background of India's trade relations with South-East Asia in the preceding period culminating in the establishment in 1786 of a commercial depot by the English at Penang or

Prince of Wales Island to counteract the commercial influence and monopolising spirit of the Dutch in the East. The Chapter also includes a brief account of the activities of the English East India Company in Malaya, Java, Sumatra and Amboina and of their rivalry

with the Portuguese and the Dutch. Finally, it traces briefly the gradual transference of India's Asiatic trade from the hands of Indians to those of the Western nations.

Chapter II deals primarily with the effects of the Charter Act of 1793 on India's trade with South-East Asia, with the increasing participation of British private traders in this branch of trade.

Chapter III gives a history of Indo-Malayan trade between 1793 and 1813; and Chapter IV Indo-Indonesian trade during the same period.

Chapter V discusses the importance and effects of the Charter Act of 1813 on the trade, especially the great increase of the importation of British staples into these territories, and their effects on India's trade and industry.

Chapter VI notes the activities of Sir Stamford Raffles, especially in establishing a depot at Singapore, and discusses the effects of Singapore's growing importance on the trade with Penang, Java, Sumatra, and Amboina.

Chapter VII gives an account of the growing American participation in South-East Asian trade and its effects on India's trade relations with this part of the world. It also describes the growing Anglo-American trade rivalry in this region during the period.

Chapter VIII shows the role of some dreadful pirates in the Eastern Seas, and their effects on the trade of India. It mentions the various measures adopted by the European Powers

to extirpate piracy thoroughly by the mid-nineteenth century.

Chapter IX summarises the result of the research in the subject.

Principal sources:

1. Home Department Consultations, 1793-1833.
2. Home Department Miscellaneous Records.
3. Foreign Department Political Consultations 1793-1833.
4. Bengal Board of Trade Consultations, 1793-1833.
5. Bengal Board of Customs, Salt and Opium Consultations, 1819-1833.
6. Bengal Board of Trade Miscellaneous Records.
7. Letters from the Court of Directors., 1793-1833.
8. Letters to the Court of Directors., 1793-1833.

The published sources are chiefly Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Parliamentary Papers, and the several reports of the Lords' and the Commons' Committees on the affairs of the East India Company, especially the volumes dealing with trade and finance. The reports of the Commons' Committee of 1831-32, and of the Lords' Committee of 1840 and 1853. Lastly, some published works relating to the activities of Sir Stamford Raffles, based on a study of original sources, have been utilised, in addition to the unpublished sources, dealing with his life and work.

Jadavpur University

REFORMS AND REGENERATION IN BENGAL, 1774-1823

DR. AMITABHA MUKHERJEE

The so-called 'Renaissance' in Bengal which marked her transition from the medieval to the modern age began in full swing from the decade following the Charter Act of 1813. Rammohun

Roy permanently settled down in Calcutta probably in 1815, and his career as an active religious reformer began in the same year; the Hindu College, the greatest seminary of

western education in India in the 19th century, was started in 1817; the first Bengali newspaper, the *Samachar Darpan*, came out in 1818; the first public schools for girls in Calcutta were set up in 1819; the General Committee of Public Instruction, the earliest Governmental machinery to promote the cause of education, began to function from 1823; and the agitation against the Government's Press Ordinance which really marked the beginning of organized political movement in the country, took place in the same year. These were indeed some important landmarks in the history of the Renaissance in Bengal, but the ground was being prepared for all these achievements for a long time before 1823. An attempt has been made in the present dissertation to discuss in detail the intellectual, religious and social movements during the fifty years preceding 1823 which prepared the ground for the great awakening in Bengal in the later years of the 19th century.

The starting point of this discussion has naturally been the introduction and progress of western education in Bengal and the beginning of new intellectual pursuits in response to it. The urge for western education had arisen in the Bengali mind even before Rammohun Roy settled in Calcutta, and this was due to the growing realization of the important role which English was destined to play in the social and economic life of the country. Rammohun was one but not the only force working for western education in Bengal, and an attempt has been made in the first two chapters of the thesis to examine the working of all these forces, e.g. the Christian missionaries, the Indian and European philanthropists and reformers and the British Government in India. The Christian missionaries (of different denominations) tried mainly to spread elementary education of a modern type through the vernacular medium. Their activities did not remain confined to Calcutta, but spread to different parts of Bengal, and at some places like Chinsurah, Serampore and Burdwan they received splendid co-operation from the local people in spite of their avowed object of religious conversion. The two in-

stitutions for higher learning which the missionaries established in Bengal during this period, namely, the Serampore College and the Bishop's College, however, lasted longer than their vernacular schools.

Joshua Marshman of the Serampore Mission had warned as early as 1817 that it would be "a vain attempt to impart a knowledge of English to the Indian masses in general" and that educating a handful of people through the English medium would create a wide gulf of difference between the educated classes and the ignorant masses. But ignoring this timely warning, the Bengali middle-class leaders went in wholeheartedly for western education through the English medium. A large number of schools for teaching English had been set up in Calcutta between 1780 and 1813, but the most important landmark in the spread of western education in Bengal during these early years was the establishment of the Hindu College in January, 1817. The initiative was taken by David Hare and Sir Hyde East, and the plan found the support of a large body of Hindus in and outside Calcutta, including the Maharaja of Burdwan, Gopimohun Tagore, Gopimohun Deb and others. Rammohun also was very sympathetic to the idea, but he had little to do with its actual execution. The Hindu College soon became a great success and its example was emulated by others. The Calcutta School Society (1818) and the Calcutta School Book Society (1817), two joint Indo-European enterprises of this period, did their best to promote vernacular education in Bengal, but the vernacular schools of the Calcutta School Society had soon to face stiff competition with English schools and the Hindu College, and evidently they did not fare well in this competition. Western education became the craze of the day, but, unfortunately, it remained confined to a particular social class.

The British Government in India, true to the spirit of the age, did not take much interest in the education of its subjects, but some prominent officials of the Company

showed a genuine interest in the revival of oriental learning. It is to their endeavour that we owe the foundation of the Calcutta Madrasa (1780) and the Asiatic Society (1784). In 1800 Wellesley founded the Fort William College for training the civil servants of the Company in the languages, manners and usages of the Indians, but the College had nothing to do with the promotion of either western or oriental education among the people of this country. Charles Grant in 1792 and David Brown and others before him (1788) had pleaded eloquently for the establishment of Government-sponsored English schools for the instruction of the Indian people. But it was not before 1813 that the British Government openly acknowledged its responsibility in the matter of educating its Indian subjects. Though a lac of rupees was henceforward set apart annually for promoting the cause of Indian education, yet no clear-cut educational policy was formulated before 1823; and when, finally such a policy came to be formulated, the Government showed its preference for classical oriental learning. It was against this retrograde step that Rammohun lodged his historic protest in December, 1823.

In connection with religious changes, emphasis has been put on the reforming activities of Raja Rammohun Roy, but as a background to this discussion reference has also been made to the various heterodox religious groups and sects in Bengal which had openly renounced polytheistic and idolatrous worship even before the advent of Rammohun. Rammohun's attempt to popularize the Vedanta philosophy through conversation, debate and religious publication, and the controversies it provoked with the champions of Hindu orthodoxy and Christian Trinitarianism have been discussed in detail. Though the Brahama Samaj was founded as late as 1828, yet most of Rammohun's important writings on religion were published before 1823, and his major religious controversies were also over by that year. On the basis of these writings and discussions an attempt

has been made to estimate the real significance of Rammohun's religious reform movement and the impact it produced on the Hindu society at large. The social purpose which lay before Rammohun's attempt at religious reform has also been clearly brought out.

As a religious reformer Rammohun had a very limited appeal, but the social reforms attempted by him were, in the long run, crowned with success. As Buchanan pointed out in 1805, an enlightened public opinion had been slowly growing up in Bengal against cruel or painful rites not strictly enjoined by the 'Shastras'; but it was Rammohun who first organized a strong movement against these practices, and compelled the Government to give up its attitude of indifference. Rammohun's agitation against *Sati* was undoubtedly the most important movement of this age, but certain other reforms like the suppression of infanticide and restriction of the traffic in slaves were also achieved through Government interference. Attempts at promoting the education of women and improving their social status met with little success in this period. The caste system also came in for criticism at the hands of Rammohun Roy and the Christian missionaries, but even Rammohun dared not openly abjure all caste restrictions. Many of the reform movements initiated at this time, however, found fruition in the later years of the 19th century.

For the sake of completing the picture an attempt has been made to discuss briefly in the concluding chapter of the thesis two other remarkable developments of this period, namely, the growth of Bengali prose literature and journalism and the dawn of political consciousness among the educated classes of our society. But these topics have been kept outside the scope of the present dissertation in view of the fact that much useful work has already been done on these subjects by eminent scholars.

THE STATE ARCHIVES OF ANDHRA PRADESH

V. K. BAWA,

Director of Archives

History

The State Archives is a repository of the administrative and historical records of the State of Andhra Pradesh and possesses not only the recent administrative records of the state but also the mediaeval historical records of the Deccan, both in Persian and Marathi dating from the days of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan.

The two-fold objective of the State Archives is to help scholars in salvaging the heritage of the past and to facilitate the use of records in the business of the Government. By its work the office has assisted the Government and has also aroused public interest in historical documents.

The State Archives of the Government of Andhra Pradesh is the successor to the Central Record Office of the erstwhile Hyderabad which originated out of the Daftar-i-Diwani-wa-Mal. Its full title consisted of fourteen names linked together to indicate the departments merged with it. These were Daftar-i-Diwani, Daftar-i-Mal, Mulki, Darul Insha, Mawahir, Istifa, Manasib, Kanungoi, Chek Bandi, Munshi Khana, Bakshigiri, Peshkari, Muntakhabajat and Khitabat.

The Daftar-i-Diwani and Daftar-i-Mal were the fountains of authority functioning directly under the Asaf Jahi rulers and Diwans. The administrative set-up, civil and military, under Asaf Jah I (1724-1748) was in many respects similar to the Mughal administration, and matters pertaining to the military, the appointment and supervision of revenue officials, farmans of revenue and police functionaries,

in fact all state business, was dealt with through the Daftars of Diwani and Mal, which served as the Central Offices of the Government.

Nature of Records

The following are the main categories of records in the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad:

Manuscripts

There are about 600 manuscript books which are original compositions in Persian, Arabic and Urdu. They contain mainly historical and literary matter.

Family Papers

Family papers have been acquired by the State Archives from the families which kept them. In the case of Salar Jang papers, they have been acquired from the Salar Jang Committee. The main collections are: (1) Salar Jang Collection; (2) Panchakki Collection; and (3) Rajendra Collection.

The documents are mainly in Marathi, Persian and Urdu languages. There are also some in English and Hindi.

Individual Documents

There are about 100 individual documents which do not form part of any series. They are mainly Farmans, Sanads and Yaddashts issued by the Bahmani, Adil Shahi and Quth Shahi Kings and Mughal Emperors. These are original documents granted to the parties. These documents are mainly in Persian language in Shikasta script.

Old Daftars—1724-1853

Records of Old Daftars, are the product of an age of administration in which offices were hereditary. They have been recorded from the family mansions of the descendants of the office holders. They pertain to the period 1724 to 1853. The records are mostly in Persian language.

Secretariat Records of the Ex-Hyderabad State—1853 to 1956

Secretariat records of the erstwhile Hyderabad State were the outcome of the official activity of the Secretariats set up after the reforms of Salar Jung I after 1853. They cover the period 1853 to 1956; there is some overlapping with the Daftar records.

The official language of Hyderabad was changed from Persian to Urdu during the last quarter of the 19th century. The Secretariat records are mostly in Urdu. The records of the Political Department (which dealt with the British Residency) and records of some other departments (in which officers from British India were employed) are often in English.

Secretariat Records of the Madras State—1920-1952

The Secretariat records of the composite Madras State which relate exclusively to the Andhra districts were separated and transferred to this office. They relate to the period from 1920 to 1952.

They are in English.

Secretariat Records of the Andhra State and Andhra Pradesh—1953-1959

The Secretariat records of the Andhra State and subsequently of the Government of Andhra Pradesh are deposited in this office. These records cover the period 1953-1959.

These records are in English.

Publications of the State Archives

Several interesting historical publications based on the above papers have been published, a list of which is given below:

(1) *Kitab-E-Daftar-E-Diwani-Wa-Mal-Wa-Mulki*

In Persian: Contains facsimiles of old Persian documents relating to the grant of land, cash grants etc. The papers have been drawn from defunct administrative offices and are so arranged as to give a classwise introduction to the records in the Archives Office as well as an idea of the system of administration in vogue in the past. Published in 1938.

(2) *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*

Persian: With English preface, short descriptive notes and summaries in English. It deals with a variety of papers relating to the four Subas of the Mughal Deccan, under the viceroyalty of Prince Aurangzeb. Published in 1950.

(3) *Selected Waqat of the Deccan (1660-1671 A.D.)*

Persian: Selection of Waqat (news-letters) and Roznamchas (daily news) with foreword, preface, introduction, summaries and descriptive notes in English which throw light on the political, social and economic conditions that prevailed in the Deccan during the early period of Aurangzeb's reign. Published in 1953.

(4) *The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad (1720-1819 A.D.)*

In English: Translated into English from the original Persian: with English foreword and introduction, illustrated with photographic facsimiles of Persian documents, and an index of the names of personalities, and another of places, with genealogical trees of the Nizams (Rulers of Hyderabad), and the Prime Ministers and his nobles.

It is a chronological account of the events which took place at the court of the Nizams and in the State. It contains vivid accounts of the pageantry of the Darbars, Royal processions and of the social, political and economic conditions of the period. Published in 1954.

(5) *News Letters of Nizam Ali Khan's Reign (1767-1799 A.D.)*

English translation with original Persian text; Annotated, with indexes of personalities and places. These news-letters from confidential intelligence reports made by the agents of the Nizam (ruler of Hyderabad), to the Hyderabad Government from various Darbars and places in the neighbouring States where they were posted in order to watch the movements and the policies of the rulers and to report on them and also on the conditions, economic or otherwise, prevailing in the States concerned.

(6) *The Diplomatic Correspondence between Mir Nizam Ali Khan, the Governor-Generals and Others (1780-1793 A.D.)*

Translated and summarised into English from the original Persian text; contains eight facsimiles of original letters and an English introduction giving the back-ground of the correspondence and indexes of personalities and places. Published in 1958.

(7) *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign (1659-1706 A.D.)*

Persian text with English summaries, introduction and index. Illustrated with Persian facsimiles.

Contains selected documents of a variety of subjects, e.g. administration, collection of tributes, disposition of troops, awards of robes of honour, siege of Golconda, skirmishes between the Mughal army and the Marathas, etc. Published in 1958.

(8) *Farman and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans (1406-1686 A.D.)*

Royal edicts of the rulers of the Deccan.

Persian text with English summaries, with an introduction, index and notes on technical terms and personalities. Illustrated with facsimiles of the Farman.

Contains 34 Farman of the Sultans of the Bahmani, Adil Shahi, Barid Shahi and Quth Shahi dynasties of the Deccan, dealing with events of historical and political significance and the bestowal of grants and titles, etc. Published in 1963.

(9) *Sanpuri Bakhars*

A brief Marathi chronicle (belonging to the class of Bakhars) loaned to the Central Records Office by the Osmania University for publication.

It gives a running account of the main events of Maratha history against the background of relations with the Nizam of Hyderabad, commencing with the execution of Chatrapati Sambaji in 1689 and ending with the events about the year 1775. The last historical fact mentioned is the despatch of robes of honour and jewellery by Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur (Asaf Jah II) to the infant Peshwa Srimanth Madhav Rao IX. The writer is unknown. (With an English foreword, English summary of contents, a Marathi preface, original text, facsimiles of four pages of the text, a glossary in indexes of persons and place-names).

(10) *Poona Akhbars, Volume I (1773-1781 A.D.)*

A collection of ninety-eight Marathi Akhbars (news-letters) between the years 1773 and 1781 covering the momentous happenings at the Maratha Court at Purandhar and Poona, despatched to Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur (Asaf Jah II) by news-writers appointed by the latter. Contain accurate eye-witness reports

and throw side-lights on the social history of the period. With English prefaces, English summaries of the Akhbars, original text, facsimiles of four pages of the text, a glossary and indexes of persons and place-names.

(11) *Poona Akhbars, Volume II (1731 A.D.)*

Second Volume of the series containing further sixtyfour news-letters. Edited on the same plan as Volume I of the series.

(12) *Poona Akhbars, Volume III (1782-1794 A.D.)*

Third volume of the series containing further sixty-one news-letters. Edited on the same plan as Volumes I and II.

List of Topics for Research at State Archives, Hyderabad, A.P.

(The List is only suggestive and not exhaustive)

I. Political and Diplomatic History

1. The Nizam's relations with the Imperial Darbar in Delhi.
2. The Nizam's relations with the French.
3. The Nizam's relations with the English.
4. The Nizam's relations with Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore.
5. The Nizam's relations with the Marathas.
6. Dynastic History of the Asaf Jahi family.
7. The Berar question.
8. 1857 Mutiny and the role of Hyderabad.

II. Constitutional History

1. Absolute Monarchy, from 1748 to 1803.
2. Rise of powers of Diwans.
3. Rivalry of the Diwan and the Peshkar.
4. Modernisation of the administrative set up in Hyderabad on the model of British India.
5. Evolution of Cabinet System of Government in Hyderabad.

III. Economic History

1. Village industries—their hereditary nature—and their development.
2. History of coinage—variety of coins—Mints—Exchange-values—proportion of alloy and metal.
3. Coastal trade of Hyderabad—its ports and foreign merchandise.
4. Price-Index of commodities—Regulation and Fixation of prices, of weights and measures—punishment for violation of the rule.
5. Economic survey of a village.
6. Evolution of middle class in Hyderabad State.
7. Famines in Hyderabad—causes and repercussions.
8. The system of indigenous banking in Hyderabad and Poona in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

IV. Administrative History

1. Railway and postal administration in the Nizam's Dominions.
2. Evolution of Departments.
3. History of District Administration.
4. Revenue administration—its history—Sources of Revenues—Modes of collection—Reforms introduced—its stabilisation.
5. Judicial system of Hyderabad—Reforms introduced—Establishment of the High Court.

V. Social History

1. General customs and manners prevalent in the Hyderabad State.
2. History of Hindu and Muslim festivals, melas, usages, etc.
3. Life in the city of Hyderabad.
4. Social life of the Nizam's Darbars, royal processions, hunting-camps, etc.
5. Social life of noblemen.
6. Status of women in society.
7. Picture of social and economic life in Poona in the latter half of the 18th century.
8. Spread of Western education and its impact.

Research Scheme

The Government of Andhra Pradesh realising the need to promote historical research in the history of Andhra Pradesh and the Deccan has sanctioned a research scheme which was proposed by the State Archives under the Fourth Five Year Plan. The scheme is being executed under the administrative control of the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

The Research Scheme offers six Research Fellowships, each at Rs. 250/- per month. The Fellowships are open to persons registered for a doctorate at an Indian or Foreign University on a subject related to the Modern History of Andhra Pradesh and the Deccan. The Fellowships are not confined to the students of History only but are open to the students of all Social Sciences.

Monograph Series

Besides the above Research Scheme Government of Andhra Pradesh has sanctioned another scheme viz. 'Monograph Series' in the Annual

Plan Schemes of the State Archives for the year 1966-1967. These Monograph series will be of two kinds:

- (a) Those dealing with technical aspects of Archives Keeping including the science of preservation; and
- (b) Research Monographs dealing with the history of Andhra Pradesh and the Deccan, based partly or wholly on original source materials.

Aims of Scheme

Available information on the technical aspects of Archives Keeping in India is scanty. Research in Social Sciences is tied up with Archival Organization. The history and technical aspects of Indian Archives will be useful when published to foster historical research. The second item is with a view to publish the best monographs on the history of Andhra Pradesh and the Deccan for the use of the reading public and for the furtherance of research.

Particulars of Scheme

The writing of monographs on the above subjects is open to members of the staff of the State Archives and outsiders. The monographs received by the Director, State Archives, will be judged by the same Committee which will be instituted for awarding Research Fellowships under the Research Scheme. The selected monographs will be paid some remuneration and they will be published by the State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, under its 'Monograph Series'. It is estimated to bring out 8 to 10 Monographs in the year 1966-67. A sum of Rs. 2,500/- is earmarked to pay towards remunerations to the individuals whose monographs are selected for publication.

Symposium

SOME PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

DR. BISHESWAR PRASAD

(University of Delhi)

Independence has brought India into the comity of nations of the world and thus placed new and difficult responsibilities on her people. After a long period of subjection in which her development was naturally retarded, India has emerged as a new power, equal in status with the advanced states of the West and called upon to fulfil the obligations of achieving progress of humanity. Apart from performing this international role, many problems of a complex nature demand immediate solution at the national level. Defence of the country against aggressive neighbours, with sinister intentions, call for early attention and will require mobilisation of the entire resources and ingenuity of the people to organise. Poverty of the large mass of the population, the legacy of foreign colonial rule, seeks instantaneous solution; so also do ignorance, disease and social and economic inequalities require to be tackled without any delay. The Western Powers have made rapid strides in technology and scientific advance, and nuclear power is being harnessed by them not only for destruction but also for promoting happiness and prosperity of their people. There is competition among them for investigating the secrets of the universe and space travel is being developed to reach the moon. In this race no nation with self-respect can afford to lag behind or stand outside the track. Therefore, India cannot afford to live either in isolation or keep to the old standards which were adopted by foreign rulers to strengthen the bonds of her dependence.

The new situation necessarily involves an examination of the system of education preva-

lent in the country, and it is a happy augury that after Independence two Commissions, at the all-India level, were appointed to probe into the mode of higher education and lay down definite objectives for its promotion. The Radhakrishnan Commission had rightly emphasised the value of research not only in scientific subjects, but also in humanities to establish social harmony and ennoble the sense of values of life. The present Education Commission, whose scope of enquiry is very comprehensive, has also in its questionnaire given an important place to research. This emphasis on research is justified because higher education derives its strength from the store of knowledge which demands constant addition to it by fruitful investigation which is the purpose of research. No people can rely merely on the labours of others in this field, but every nation has to contribute its mite and thereby enrich the common stock of knowledge. It is from this angle that the problem of research has to be viewed in India, and in every field, whether that of science or humanities, constant endeavours have to be made to build up an ever-increasing reservoir of knowledge and thereby afford to independent India her rightful place among the enlightened and progressive nations of the world.

Historical research in our country had its beginnings only in the present century and for some decades made only limited progress because of lack of support from the Government and inadequacy of resources in the country. Most of the work which was conducted was individual research and was generally

pursued in England, France or Germany. No University had undertaken projects of team research, and even for the individuals interested in this field there was little encouragement. In the last twentyfive to thirty years, however, the stream of historical research had become relatively vigorous and in a number of University Centres facilities are available for individuals to carry on investigations for the first research degree. Most of the work completed has been in the form of thesis or dissertations for the doctorate degree which are not always published. Young men seeking teaching career have realised the value of research qualifications and this fact has led to some increase in the numbers joining research, though it is difficult to say either that the best talent is drawn into this vocation or those joining persistently follow their course to completion. Senior teachers in the University Departments also generally direct their attention to research both for guiding their scholars as also to maintain their position in the academic world. Another element which has given stimulus to research, at least in the matter of its volume, is the existence of Conferences and institutions of historical research which publish their journals as well. The Indian History Congress and the Indian Historical Records Commission have contributed enormously in this direction, and many young researchers have been led to write papers, though not always of merit. Thus a certain corpus of research in the field of Indian history has been built up in the country. What is needed now is to enquire into its character, adopt measures to promote it and give it a healthy tone.

Historical research in our country has been exclusively in the domain of Indian History and normally the study of the history of other countries, whether of Asia or outside, has been neglected. There were reasons for this preference. Firstly, the growing tide of nationalism created the urge for delving deep into the past of our people and discover the sources of their strength and weakness. Indian national

movement found its nourishment in the memories of the golden age or glorious past, which was pictured as highly advanced, culturally, socially, economically and politically. The British writers of the last century and many of them even now had deliberately misrepresented the nature of social and other institutions and had taken pains to paint in dark hues the ancient and medieval history of our land. Their sole motive in this was to show by contrast that the British rule was a benign rule, leading India towards the path of progress. This repeated calumniation of India's historical development by the foreign rulers, and the demands of Indian nationalism for inspiration from the past glories, helped the course of historical research. But its inevitable consequence was disproportionate emphasis on ancient history and a certain unbalance towards subjectivity, bias and uncriticalness. This also tilted the scale in favour of political history, particularly of the periods of great empires, or powerful local dynasties. Indian history was viewed from two different angles, one of all-India empires and the other of regional independent states. This led to lack of harmony and clear perspective, with occasional unhealthy consequences.

The second reason for greater concentration on Indian history is the fact that source material on which alone historical research can proceed related to India only in this country. For long the archives were practically barred to the scholars here and the manuscript libraries either did not exist or were maintained in a certain secrecy by the Princely states and religious foundations. This prevented even a proper study of India; and in recent years when the position has changed to some extent, no effort has been made by any organisation, official or non-official, to obtain copies of source material relating to any other state of Asia or Europe. Even the libraries in India are not strong in their collection of books on the histories of other countries and published collections of documents etc. do not simply exist there. In the Universities also the position

is not much different and in the post-graduate courses generally the proportion of foreign histories is rather small. There is, moreover, lack of knowledge of foreign languages which necessarily prevents study of the histories of those countries. Therefore research had necessarily to be confined to Indian history and no effort has been made to study other countries.

An analysis of the corpus of research conducted so far will reveal greater emphasis on political history, which would mean the chronicle of dynasties, their wars and mutual relations. Coming to relatively recent times, the endeavour of a researcher has been to narrate the doings of British governors here, and that too largely in the sphere of expansion of their dominion. Another tendency has been to divide the long history of India into three arbitrary divisions, based on chronology, and treat the three periods in comparative isolation, so that specialisation proceeds on the basis of periods only. For the earliest times, aid of archaeology has been commissioned, but that has led relatively to the investigation of origins of the human component in this country, rather than an examination of the social and economic pursuits of the early man and the development of institutions which may have had a strong bearing on the future growth of society. For subsequent ages also, not much emphasis has been laid on socio-economic institutions or the thought and behaviour of the people in the form of their religion, social relationships, avocations and statecraft. Such studies, where conducted, have at best the character of description of the life and institutions of a particular segment of the population in a restricted period of time, without much care to relate it to the contemporary situation in other parts of the country or outside or to trace their origins or to read them in the context of the present.

It will be clear from this analysis that historical research in India has been limited in its scope. It has left out of its purview the regions outside India, and about Indian history

also, the performance so far has been truncated and confined largely to political aspects mainly. This fact has to be taken into account in any consideration of the means to promote research. The first pre-requisite is, therefore, to widen the scope of historical research in India by comprehending within its embrace the countries of Asia and other continents. A natural question will arise why should we extend our net, for is it not the function of their nationals to reveal their past history. Of course, considerable research is being carried on in most of the European, American and some Asian states and their people are quite competent to expose their achievements and failings. But that would not preclude our scholars from entering that field and interpreting the developments there both in the context of our present interests and with an objectivity which is natural with an unbiased person. Europe has been in intimate contact with India over the last many centuries and our life in its various facets has been enormously affected by this impact. European colonialism has influenced the history of the lands of Africa and Asia, and to a large extent the course of events in these regions has run to a pattern. Is it not necessary now for Indian scholars to examine closely the forces and factors which had moulded Europe in the imperial shape? Is it not incumbent upon us to analyse the policies, economic and international, of the European Powers in the last three centuries which were largely reflected in the administration of our country? Apart from this, it will be poor logic to confine research in any land to that country alone. American scholars have been known to be studying the history of every country in the world and many of them have been visiting India even for investigation of local history or district administration. In England, France and Germany, for more than a century there have been traditions of schools of history pursuing the study of East Asia, West Asia, Africa, Latin America, Mexico, and above all India. The Soviet Union has also taken up the cue, and in Japan Indian history, and history of Asian countries are being studied with enthusiasm. Hence

time has come when we have to develop centres for the study of various Asian, African, European and American countries in India and for that early and adequate preparations must be made.

In any programme of historical research in extra-Indian regions, the first necessity will be to develop our library holdings and to obtain copies of archival records, manuscripts and other literature, published and unpublished. This may not be possible to achieve instantaneously, but a project must be there to acquire such material gradually. The second imperative is the acquisition of linguistic competence. Fortunately, there has been recently a tendency to open classes for teaching European languages as also some Asian and African languages. It may be possible to develop these facilities and include other languages also, so far not taken up. In both these directions, namely, the accumulation of source material and teaching of languages, it will be desirable to spread the programme over many Universities, each taking up a selected field or area. The scheme of the University Grants Commission to open centres of study (area study centres), such as Chinese and African in Delhi, should be further implemented so as to include other areas in different University centres. The existence of separate centres, not connected with the Universities, such as the recent Institute for Russian Studies in New Delhi, does not serve much purpose and should not be encouraged. In these area study centres, history should be the primary pursuit and it should be done by the departments of history in co-ordination with the specialists of other disciplines. Then alone will historical research flourish and some useful work will be practicable. The tendency to use such centres merely for investigation in the contemporary developments there, as seems to be the object, should not deflect the history departments from taking to research in the past.

For the promotion of research in the history of extra-Indian regions, it will be essential to reorganise our curricula for the Honours and

Post-graduate degrees. European history in some form or other figures in the courses of most of the Universities, but it is done perfunctorily and just as a general paper largely relating to contemporary events. In some places it is termed Modern World. The history of China, Japan, South East Asia, Iran, Arab lands or Africa is rarely taught; and though there is a paper on East Asia in some Universities, it includes the history of diplomatic developments in the last century and half; Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, or even Iran, Arabia, Egypt do not figure in the courses of study anywhere. American history is being taken up recently in some Universities. African History is a course in Delhi University, but few students offer it. This state of affairs is not very encouraging and has to be rectified soon. What may be desirable is to have some general papers at the Honours level, and a more detailed study at the M.A. level. Perhaps, a group of papers may be included as optional field at the M.A., the student being inducted into a special study in the field of his preference. He may be encouraged to study the language of that area also, but that can be done either simultaneously or when he decides to go in for research in that field. In the first year of his research, he should have an intensified course in language and intensive reading in the history of the country, to acquire sufficient background knowledge for conducting research profitably. A three year plan should be chalked out for this purpose.

Primarily, however, historical research in India will have to be in the field of Indian history and there is still considerable scope for investigation here. But for any purposeful enquiry the present haphazard endeavours will require radical alteration, both in the matter of organisation and the nature of research. As stated earlier, research is largely individual based, in the sense that much of the activity is directed towards the acquisition of a degree. Hence there is little system in the matter of selection of subjects or themes and inter-disciplinary approach is simply non-existent. Very often subjects pertaining to different

periods are chosen to be worked under the guidance of the same person, irrespective of his special competence in the field or even any research experience himself. Necessarily this state of things limits choice of subjects which can be handled by an individual, and that has resulted in the preponderance of attention to political history, at times even half a dozen persons working on the same subject in different Universities at the same time. Therefore at the organisational level, there is urgent need for co-ordination and some centralisation in supervision. It will be desirable to assign certain fields to the Universities where sufficient facilities are available, and depending upon the presence of specialists at a place, students from other Universities should be sent there. This will help to develop traditions of research and perhaps strong schools of study will grow at these centres. It will further involve restrictions in the matter of research on many newer Universities for a definite period, until they have built up strong post-graduate departments and have also been able to produce some eminent teachers. Among the developed Universities, some co-ordination is necessary, and depending on the concentration of teachers or eminent scholars in a field in one place, a particular field should be helped further to grow there. Perhaps the contemplated system of Advanced Centres may be a useful mechanism in this respect. In the matter of Indian history, whether consciously or fortuitously, some Universities have shown greater preference for a particular period or approach. For example, Aligarh has mainly concentrated its energies on the Mughal or pre-Mughal period of history, and Islamic thought and institutions have been largely studied there. Madras has devoted all its attention to South Indian history, so also Calcutta has developed the study of ancient Indian history or the 18th century history to an extent. There are certain peculiar facilities available at some places, for example, Jaipur has access to the Rajasthani sources and in Delhi the National Archives provides a very valuable base for research. Thus taking into account the special features of a University, a

field may be assigned to it and every assistance given to it to develop research further. Students may be sent there and thus co-ordination may be secured, conserving energies as well as resources in men and money. Incidentally, it may be necessary to publish a report of the work done at such centres by a central organisation so that overlapping and duplication may be avoided.

Closely related with it is the form of research. These centres should adopt certain projects of research and all assignment of subjects to scholars should be in that context. If for instance, Calcutta University elects to adopt a project pertaining to economic history in the modern period, a number of scholars can conveniently take up the various phases and aspects of their subject, i.e. revenue, trade, finance etc. All these can be the ramifications and for a number of years dozens of scholars can investigate into this field. Similarly, elsewhere projects may be taken up and the result will be that instead of unconnected, unrelated, disjointed dissertations which emerge these days from the Universities, a rich corpus of research will be produced which will facilitate further synthesis and publication of the results on a larger canvas. These projects may not necessarily be confined to any period. It will be more fruitful to have aspectwise projects, surveying the whole course of social and cultural development rather than be limited by the artificial bounds of periods conventionally fixed. The revenue system and the whole field of rural relationship may form the content of a project, and it has to be studied in all its manifestations in point of time from the very beginning. A co-ordinated study like this will yield a clearer picture than what is available when sectional views have been merely taken.

The project-wise study will call for inter-disciplinary approach also, and history departments will have to be in close association with other social science faculties; even they may have to draw upon the resources of language and science faculties also. If such departments

are not well developed, it may be essential to associate specialists in those fields with the departments of history for research purposes.

Research is an expensive occupation. Its promotion will involve considerable outlay, particularly at two levels. Firstly to attract better talents to the discipline of history, a scheme of scholarships and fellowships of some substantial value may have to be adopted. The present scheme of U.G.C. Fellowships, both Senior and Junior, will require enlargement so as to enable a larger number of history scholars to avail themselves of this facility. Perhaps some reservation of a minimum of such fellowships for this subject may be attempted, and in the Universities where research facilities, as discussed earlier, are available, every deserving scholar should be assisted to pursue his work by liberal financial aids. Best students of history are generally drawn into administrative services and the remuneration and public esteem there deflect many good students from their pursuit of higher knowledge. If a handsome fellowship is available initially and there are prospects of employment in the academic field, many will be brought to the teaching and research line. Hence increase in the number of fellowships and scholarships is the first necessity. The second essential is a liberal expansion of the teaching and research staff in the University departments of history, the strengthening of the faculty is indispensable for any successful project of research in history. The present tendency, to restrict the number of

senior appointments of Professors and Readers so that in most places there is only one Professor in the Department and the Readers are not many, has adversely affected the progress of research. In research centres the number will have to go up considerably, and for every special field or specific aspect, a Professor or a Reader, preferably the former, should be appointed. Also the present practice of bifurcating the faculty of history by having separate departments based on period classification, has prevented integrated study of history, and this should stop. It can be done only if the number of Professorships etc. is not determined on the basis of one for a Department. In foreign Universities, a large number of Professors are appointed to one Department and the Head is not always the first among them. That practice may be adopted here also. It will help research and strengthen teaching which will ultimately react on the character and standard of higher studies.

The third indispensable is the strengthening of libraries and particularly the source material sections there. Microfilming, xerography etc. should be utilised to obtain copies of source materials from abroad and photo-duplicating machines may be available in the University libraries for the distribution of such material among the Indian Universities. All this will need money and a definite plan to finance historical research will have to be adopted if historical studies have to find a strong footing in India.

Symposium

SOME PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

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It is well known that during the past few decades the Humanities have suffered a lamentable decline in the scheme of higher education in India. This tendency, though noticeable in the Western countries too, has been very pronounced in India. The craze for the Physical and Natural Sciences has followed the development of industrial and urban civilisation. But it is important to remember that in all the cases the option for Science has not resulted out of deliberate and well-calculated decisions. Particularly in our country the scope for employment is the principal consideration which weighs with students and their parents in the choice of optional subjects for specialisation. Little wonder that the hope of securing better chances of coveted employment induced many to opt for the Sciences. Many have realised that they are misfits in the chosen fields; but, more often than not, it becomes too late to effect a change. It is important to remember in this connection that quite a few students choose their field of specialisation out of a sheer herd instinct and irrational imitation of others.

Among the subjects of Humanities themselves, there has been a tilt in the balance during the last three or four decades. There was a time, not very back, when History was the Queen of the Social Sciences and was the most widely chosen subject in almost every one of the Universities in India. Philosophy, too, was very popular. But the change appeared with an increasing demand for a specialised study of Economics. This tendency was in a way connected with the glamour for the Sciences and the growth of

industrialisation, banking and business management.

A dispassionate consideration indicates the importance of the bread and butter aim as well as the cultural aim. Even the most advanced and technical Science course should make some provision for the inclusion of certain cultural subjects, just as the studies in Humanities have to provide for instruction in the fundamentals of modern scientific development. The scheme of General Education, now said to be popular, makes an attempt at correcting the lopsided developments and exclusive specialisation.

The crux of the problem, as stated earlier, rests on the barometer of the employment market. India is a poor country. It is not surprising that chances of earning a livelihood are dominant considerations. It is the duty of educationists to harmonise the cultural needs of the country with the employment requirements of the people. Therefore, a judicious and appropriate combination of these two principal disciplines is suggested. After all it has to be borne in mind that the education provided in schools and colleges is primarily intended to open the eyes and furnish a lead for further study in later life. Viewed in that light, a total exclusion of any one of the main branches like Humanities or Science would be detrimental to the character and aims of higher education.

While thus a general scheme of education should provide for a judicious combination, a

much larger percentage of candidates than at present should take to the specialisation of Humanities in the higher levels of education. That alone would secure a better balancing of the devotion of educated persons among the different branches of knowledge. An essential piece of reform needed in this connection is that a Degree in Humanities must be considered essential for all administrative services, including those of clerks in these departments. It is but proper that such a condition is laid down as a requisite qualification for administrative and secretariat work, because, by and large, the knowledge imparted through the Humanities is more related to the problems which they deal with in their routine work.

Decline in Standards: It has been repeatedly urged that there has been a gradual but undoubted deterioration in the academic standards of the students in the Humanities. There may be minor variations from University to University in our country, but the overall picture that emerges is disconcerting. Even at the post-graduate level, students are content with reading the minimum number of text books. Extensive reading is the exception rather than the rule. Independent thinking, too, is not much in evidence. Made-easy books are in great demand even at the highest level of University education. In its turn this weakness has had its repercussion on the teachers themselves, whose standards of attainments and aspirations have suffered, and sometimes suffered most lamentably. The standards of examinations have deteriorated. Stereotyped questions and stereotyped answers are the order of the day. This promotes short-cuts to success in examinations, really defeating the purpose of education. These defects have drawn the attention of educationists for a considerable time now; but little has been done to arrest this tide.

Several causes have cumulatively operated to bring about this unfortunate state of affairs. The deterioration of the standard of education at the secondary school level, the indiscriminate

democratisation of education, the rush for University education, the increasing indiscipline among students, the uncertainty in the employment market, and above all the difficulties incidental to the use of the foreign medium have all contributed to this deplorable deterioration.

Medium of instruction: The most important question of the hour seems that of the medium of instruction at the various levels of University education. Considerations other than academic have entered the field and clouded the issue. With many, the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium even at the highest level of education would be the ideal one. There is sure to be a naturalness and a consequent facility which can never be achieved through any other medium. Independent contributions to the higher fields of knowledge are, more often than not, possible through the medium of one's own mother tongue. But are the books necessary for the purpose available now? Feverish attempts have been made to produce text books in Hindi and other regional languages, not only for use in High Schools but also in Colleges. However, it is the considered opinion of experts that these books intended to be used at the University level are not really of high quality. It is inevitable that translations and adaptations in the initial stage fall short of the ideal type.

Many more years have to pass before they attain the proper standard. In fact, there must be a respectable output of original works in the regional languages before which the adoption of the new media could be effectively employed. There can be a well-planned programme for each State, or if possible, for the whole of India. During the period of transition English has to be continued. If a suggestion may be ventured, even after the introduction of the regional languages as the media of instruction at the University level, parallel courses with the English medium can be provided. There is a positive advantage in keeping abreast of the developments in the various branches of know-

ledge all over the world. And it is undeniable that the English language still provides an admirable medium for this.

But this suggestion is bound to meet with stout opposition from certain politicians of India on the ground that so long as English continues to be the medium, it will attract the larger and better section of students. This, however, can not be avoided. If the transition must be made easy and practicable during a reasonable length of time, a bait may be thrown for those who opt for the regional language medium that for certain services they will be preferred. Nevertheless, English should be continued to be taught as a foreign language for quite a long time to come. That alone would prevent our intellectual isolation, stagnation and self-complacency, which had been the bane of India for ages.

On the question of the medium of instruction, as indeed on all questions of educational policy, the Government seems to be taking more than the legitimate share of interest. Though the bona-fides of the Governmental authorities are not open to question, in the interest of academic freedom and academic standards, it is desirable that the so-called autonomy of Universities, at least to the extent that it is available today, should be preserved and cherished. Let us not forget that as a modern democracy we are still young and that it is desirable to learn from certain countries of the West. At the same time the tendency on the part of teachers to mix up with politics should be curbed. The teacher-politician is more dangerous to society than the avowed politician.

Tutorials and Seminars: Whatever the medium of instruction, the stereotyped lecture method in the higher classes of the University has had its days. More often than not, it has failed to evoke a positive response from students. True, there have been and even now are outstanding instances of able lecturers infusing enthusiasm among the students. But they are, on the whole, few and far between. It is now

widely realised in our country, too, that lectures should be supplemented by Tutorials and Seminars. The increasing emphasis on these by the Western Universities has given an impetus to them in our own. But it is not clear whether full advantage is taken of them by our students. Tutorials, in order to prove effective, should enlist the full co-operation and unstinting effort of the students themselves. One wishes that our students make effective use of them. Sincere effort and a readiness to think for themselves are not forthcoming in any appreciable measure. Eagerness to study extensively grows on what it feeds; but this is conspicuous by its absence. In this connection it may be suggested that a certain percentage of the aggregate total of the marks in the final examination may be set apart for the performance of students in Tutorials and Seminars. In the long run it will prove advantageous to trust the Professors who are expected to know the students more intimately than casual examiners of written scripts.

In respect of Seminars the response is not sufficiently encouraging though it is perhaps slightly better than in respect of Tutorials. Probably this is to be accounted for by the shyness of students and incapacity to express their views clearly through the foreign medium. The more serious difficulty is that many fail to think for themselves. A few try to show themselves off. Occasionally, however, it must be admitted that Seminars have evoked good response and have proved quite interesting. But compared with the record in some of the Western Universities, Indian students have to make much headway. It is obvious that success depends upon the intelligent co-operation of the students as much as on the able and discriminate leadership of the Professors. In this connection it must be mentioned that our traditional pattern of education even at the higher levels has been such as not to encourage individuality or boldness of expression on the part of students. Conformity, rather than a spirit of inquiry, was the ideal.

In respect of lectures and Seminars at the

post-graduate level, the practice of organising inter-Collegiate co-operation is commendable. It affords scope for the utilisation of the services of specialists and at the same time the free exchange of views among students of different institutions. But inter-Collegiate lectures and Seminars are feasible only in cities and University headquarters where several Colleges offering the M. A. course are located. The nearness of the Colleges to each other is an important factor in this matter. The system of inter-Collegiate lectures and Seminars is remarkably successful in the famous Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, largely because the Colleges are situated near each other. In other places the distance between each College and the consequent transport facilities offer serious obstacles. In Madras, for instance, the Christian College is over fifteen miles away from the Presidency or Pachaiyappa's College which offer the M. A. course in several subjects. Nevertheless, the scheme of work may be so arranged as to enable students of different institutions offering the same optional subject to spend the whole day in a particular College. With improved facilities this inter-Collegiate cum University co-operation is productive of much good.

Research: It is widely recognised that higher education can not be complete without research, which promotes the capacity for collecting and analysing the sources and formulating conclusions on the basis of the data. So far, some good pieces of research have been done on various aspects and periods of Indian history, and a few commendable publications have appeared embodying the results. But it is difficult to generalise about the quality of the research done. In recent years particularly, the craze for the Ph. D., often considered a passport for academic employment, has accounted for hasty and sometimes unsatisfactory productions.

There is no uniformity in the matter of appointing examiners for the evaluation of Research Theses. Some Universities, like Madras, send Ph.D. Theses abroad for evaluation. This

system has its merits; but, usually the foreign examiners care largely for the form and method rather than for the matter. There have been instances of foreign examiners betraying colossal ignorance of the subject matter of the Theses. Perhaps, the best practice would be to have two foreign and one Indian examiner.

It would be interesting to compare the Research Theses produced in India with those of the Western Universities. Generally, the candidates working here on the history of India are able to collect satisfactory material from various sources. It is in the assortment of the data, in the analysis of the material and in the deduction of valid conclusions as well as in the presentation of the findings that there is vast scope of improvement. Occasionally hasty conclusions and venturesome theories are advanced. All the sides of a question are not weighed in the balance and a desire to bridge gaps of knowledge by fantastic theories is not uncommon.

But perhaps the most baffling menace is the unfortunate weakness of importing pre-conceived notions, prejudices or partiality of different kinds, racial, religious, communal and linguistic into the field of research. This is a reprehensible feature, and although frequently experts themselves hold that it is difficult to overcome the subjective element, that should be the real aim. The Muse of History should not be allowed to be deflected from objectivity and impartiality.

For achieving this aim one of the desirable things to be adopted is to try inter-University co-operation in the matter of research. Scholars of different Universities could be set to work on subjects pertaining to regions other than their own. Fortunately, foreign scholars, predominantly from the U.S.A., have been of late working on themes pertaining to the history and culture of the different regions of India. Doubtless they bring to bear on the subjects of their study a freshness of outlook and an objectivity of approach. It is true that they

may not have a full knowledge of the traditional environment; but this can be made up by intimate and long contact with local people and their traditions. Superficiality of treatment must be guarded against in any case. In this connection it may be suggested that facilities must be afforded for foreign students as well as for those of other Universities in India to conduct research under expert guides in India itself.

Connected with this is the much-talked of 'Area Studies', as a field of study in the first instance and research later. It is undeniable that the history, political institutions and economic conditions of various other countries, particularly in Asia, should be studied systematically. It is obvious that studies of this kind should be language-oriented. Facilities must be provided for specialisation in the languages of the respective countries. Obviously it would be desirable for the various Indian Universities to adopt a division of labour in this field of study and they can rationally divide between themselves the country or countries about which they may specialise.

There must be whole-hearted co-operation between the various Departments, particularly

between the Departments of History, Politics, Economics and Languages in the same University in the first instance. At present, this is available more in theory than in practice. In fact, there is a greater need for co-operation among Professors and scholars at each University than is found now. Personal jealousy and unbecoming rivalry have to give place to a sincere devotion to the common pursuit of Truth.

Libraries: Finally, emphasis must be laid on adequate library facilities for study and research. In several of our Universities, unfortunately the position leaves much to be desired. The libraries cater not only to researchers and members of the staff but also to the wider public, with the result that acute difficulties arise. There must be separate reference libraries and departmental libraries. Normally the books in these sections are not to be lent for home use even for the members of the staff. They must be available for consultation by any person within the precincts of the library. Though fortunately increasing amounts are spent on the equipment of libraries, it is the barest truth to say that the availability of books and periodicals at the hour of need is decreasing at a higher rate. It is for the authorities to arrange for narrowing down this gulf.

HISTORICAL WRITING IN WESTERN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISM (1870-1930)

DR. JOHANNES H. VOIGT

Historical writing is the result of a conscious effort to bring the past into a relationship with the present. Modern historical writing is characterized by the application of the critical method, the function of which is to reduce to a minimum the factor of errors in the interpretation of the past. It seems to me to be a basic misconception of people thinking that the use of the critical method in historical writing was to eliminate all that was not of the past, or positively, all that was of the present, even the nature and attitude of the historian. The past is gone forever, and any history-writing is an act or an action for the present and not for the past. The past receives its significance and shape only through the present; in other words: present forces, trends, aims, scientific or political achievements shape the outlook of the historian and thereby his interpretation of the past. Moreover, they may, as an experience, help the historian to attain an insight into the past. There is no concept of historical writing more wrong than the definition of it, that takes it as a "re-construction" of the past. Historical writing is no more than an attempt of selecting and interpreting events of the past intelligibly and in a relevant way. That historian writes intelligibly, who understands the past and knows the present. That historical work is relevant, which illuminates the past for the present.

There were two major factors that distinguished the character of the *present* for Indian historians in the period investigated: the existence of the British *raj*, and the growth of Indian nationalism. One could write on the

subject of the influence of British rule on the writings of Indian historians in the same way as one can write on the influence of nationalism on them. If the latter subject has been chosen, it is because of the relevance which it assumed in its historical course from its beginnings to its present. The British *raj* on the other hand is gone, and with it those trends of thought have lost their immediate appeal, which were derived from an acceptance, appreciation or even admiration of the Empire. Indian nationalism, however, has achieved, in one form or another, some of its major aims: independence and national unity. Present day Indian historical writing stands in the direct line of succession of the early works written under the impact of a national consciousness. It does not stand in line with the imperial or pro-Empire historiography.

In the following pages nationalism is to be taken in a very wide and yet specific sense: as an "attitude of mind" which binds a man emotionally with loyalty to his country and countrymen (Hans Kohn).¹ This attitude of mind expresses itself in various ways in historical writing: in the form of criticism of European, especially English, writings on India, in particular interpretations of certain events, in the choice of subject, aspect and method, and finally, in the formation of an all-India outlook on history. Looking over the sixty years of development during the period chosen in a bird's eye view, one is struck by the fact that the impact of nationalism is hardly noticeable in the studies of Ancient India, and very much apparent in writings on Mediaeval, which

means in Western India, Maratha history. The reasons for this difference are partly to be found in the general position of Ancient Indian studies, and partly in the particular attitude of the historians.

In the period under investigation, Ancient Indian studies were conducted mainly by Europeans, who had established a long tradition of successful philological, archaeological, etc., research. In order to penetrate into the field and to make original contributions, a high level of scholarship had to be attained. Indian studies on Ancient India were 'older' than on Mediaeval subjects, which were not begun methodically before the end of the century. Moreover, as there was a prevalent belief, that history could be "re-constructed" on the basis of a mere accumulation of sources and facts, no serious attempt was undertaken to write the history of Ancient India. All efforts were concentrated on collecting and editing, and describing sources of the ancient past. Ancient India was recognized as a great period of Indian culture, but it was regarded as a blank in political history.² Ancient Indian history was a field on which Indian and European scholars fought their skirmishes, a prerequisite of which was the recognition by both parties of the "rules of the game". It left some, but little, scope for interpretations of a "more national" kind—till the discovery of the *Arthashastra* in 1905 and the growing self-confidence of Indian scholars and politicians broke the spell of the European *cliché* of an un-political, extremely spiritual and religious India of the past. With mediaeval history, it was different: it could be explored by a huge mass of sources, it was not far remote, and providing very inspiring examples which had been handed down by legends and songs, which were still current among the people. It was "politics" already in its "sources".

The spirit of nationalism and an independent treatment of a subject of the past could assert itself therefore in Western India first in writings on the more immediate past: on Maratha history. Pioneers in this field were

Kashinath Trimbak Telang and Mahadev Govind Ranade. Maratha history was a historical territory which had once been successfully explored by Grant Duff in 1826, and had, since then, been written along the lines of Grant Duff. On this territory, Indian scholarship found great opportunities of creating an *Indian* image of the past.

The lack of an impediment through an existing school of scholarship, which had fixed the "rules"—as was the case in the field of Ancient Indian history—together with the imagination of men like Telang and Ranade, who were not professional historians, but men of public life, holding the highest possible post within the establishment—Justice of the Bombay High Court—and standing in the forefront of political and social reform, those were the favourable conditions that promoted the development of a national interpretation of Maratha history.

Kashinath Trimbak Telang's career as a historian, in an extra-professional occupation, is distinguished by a break-away from research on Ancient India and the first scholarly approach by an Indian to conduct research on Maratha history. Although his contribution to the writing of ancient and mediaeval history was little in size, it was, nevertheless, substantial and original. In order to understand his interpretation of Maratha history, it is worthwhile to peep into his concepts of society and politics, which determined his "weltanschauung" and his attitude towards the past and historical writing. First of all, Telang did not think it advisable for any educated Indian to concentrate his efforts on one branch of life and one field of interest. As Indian reform had to affect all spheres of the country, social life as well as religion, and politics as well as ethics, a man desiring the advancement of India had to work on all sectors and stand at all fronts. In a letter to Max Muller in 1885 Telang described his work as an all-encompassing one:

"While the present situation and prospects

of our country and countrymen are such that we have, all of us, a large variety of other than professional calls upon our time which we cannot get rid of. For instance, in the political line, we who have received the benefit of English education feel it a duty to represent to our rulers our countrymen's views and feelings about the existing administration. Excellent though it is in many respects it goes without saying that it is not perfect, and we have to make representations to the authorities asking for improvements..... On the other hand, it is our duty, of course, to interpret the Government to our countrymen, and this is a task of even greater magnitude and difficulty. In the social department again, we have a large number of old customs and fashions now become antiquated and obstacles to progress which we must endeavour to remove. The battle with these is again a work of difficulty, particularly as it has to be done with great tact and delicacy. Educational matters also require an attention. The support of existing institutions and the starting of new ones, the improvement of educational arrangements generally all have to be attended to. Besides all this there is literary work of various kinds—work for the development of the Vernaculars specially, but other work as well.....”³

Telang was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, and, till the end of his life, he remained its untiring secretary at Bombay. His nationalism was not narrow or exclusive. In the words of D.E. Wacha, written in a letter to Dadabhai Naoroji: “Though a Hindu his sympathies like yours are cosmopolitan. He is ever ready to the front to assist a good cause.”

Telang was, since the beginning of his scholarly career, ever conscious of being an Indian. In his article “Was the Ramayana copied from Homer?” (1872), written at the age of 22, he criticized A. Weber's theory of a Greek influence on the Indian epic.⁴ Similar, but much broader, was his defence of the Indian originali-

ty of the *Bhagavadgita* (1875) against F. Lorinser's attempt to discover Christian influence in it.⁵ He laid bare the basic European bias of European Indologists, which was covered up by the employment of the critical method. He protested, as he said, against “the frame of mind” and “foregone conclusions” of Europeans working on Indian history. Whereas Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar never entertained the slightest doubt that by the application of the critical method, historical research would bring about the same results and lead to the same conclusions, whether the investigation was conducted by an Indian or a European scholar, Telang had such a doubt. He was the first Indian to perceive clearly the role that the cultural environment played in the interpretation of the past, and the impossibility to subdue it by the employment of the scientific method. Thus he could exclaim with conviction, even in his capacity as a historian: “But I am, first and last, a Hindu, and my sympathies and humble co-operation are pledged in advance to every legitimate attempt to elucidate the history of India or better the intellectual condition of my countrymen.”⁶

From the end of the seventies onwards, Telang directed his attention to Maratha history, after the publication of some Maratha chronicles or *bakhars* by Sane and others in the newly founded *Kavyetihas Sangraha* (1878ff.). In his political speeches, he frequently referred to Maratha history, to support his arguments. He proposed to write a history of the Marathas in the series “*Epochs of Indian History*”.⁷ His untimely death left us with no more than one brilliant chapter which is called “Gleanings from the Maratha Chronicles”,⁸ (1892) which was included as an appendix in Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, a work which was written by Ranade to fill the gap created by the decease of Telang.

In his chapter, Telang set out with a criticism of the standard work on Maratha history, Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, which, he held, gave a description of military and

dynastic policy, but conveyed nothing about the social and religious progress of the Maratha people. Telang was of opinion, that what mattered was not the actual report of what the sources stated, but the investigation of questions which were regarded as relevant in the present. Telang's own activity in the National Congress and in the Social Reform Movement, provided him with an experience that was to prove unique in interpreting the past.

For a successful break with the tradition of old-fashioned history of dynasties and wars, not only academic training and the employment of method was required, but the actual political experience of men standing in the frontline of the National Movement. The impetus supplied by Telang, and also by Ranade, was necessary for the development of an independent historical writing on Maratha history. Telang was not ready to give preference to either social or political reform. Both were, in his opinion, closely interconnected. Still, he believed that an Indian rule of India would promote social changes to a much larger extent than was possible under the British. Telang discarded the view, that progress had come to India only with the establishment of the British *raj*. Under the Peshwas, he said, “there was a liberalizing process going on, which.....must make one's mouth water in these days.”⁹ And he believed that “further progress.....would have been achieved, and achieved with comparative ease, if the sceptre of Maharashtra had not passed away from the hands of the Peshwas.”¹⁰ It would have been achieved “with less friction, than under a foreign power like the British, governed by the principles which it has laid down for itself.” Here again, Telang's consciousness of the factor of cultural environment is discernible.

Besides a strong sense of the uniqueness of Indian civilization, Telang possessed a highly developed consciousness of time, a real “historicist” outlook. He opposed any interpretation that would ascribe to Shivaji and his contemporaries a sense of nationalism, which he

thought, were of recent growth only. At the early end of his career in 1893, Telang had achieved a synthesis of historical and political thought: his political statements and convictions were charged with historicism, and likewise, his historical research was guided by the relevant political and social problems of the present. Telang laid the foundation of new research into Maratha history, upon which Ranade was to build the impressive structure of his *Rise of the Maratha Power*.

Whatever was written on Maratha history in the course of the 19th century, had been based on Grant Duff's work: *The History of the Marathas* (London, 1826). Grant Duff's much admired history—and a great work in its time no doubt it was—had for a long time cast a spell of despondency on anybody attempting to write on the history of the Marathas. It had attained a reputation of being unsurpassable and of having provided the world with a “perfect” image of the Maratha past, so much so that Maratha history could be regarded as “settled”. This is one of the reasons, why in 1867 the suggestion of the President of the Asiatic Society at Bombay, Justice Newton, to collect and publish sources of Maratha history, was made only half-heartedly and fell upon deaf ears. Another reason was perhaps the fear of the English, that Maratha history was charged with political powder. A statement in 1872 by Sidney Owen, indicates such an apprehension. With reference to Shivaji, he concluded: “The recurrence in India at present of such a career as his, is, thank God! impossible, almost inconceivable. But is it not a little ominous that, while few Englishmen care to hear of him, or of so many other famous men who have left their mark indelibly upon the greatest and most critical dependency of the British Crown, he still occupies so prominent a place in the imagination and affections of his people?”¹¹ Whatever the ultimate reasons, the fact that the Asiatic Society was not ready to take any initiative with regard to Maratha historical research, was to have far-reaching consequences for the development of

studies on Maratha history. It became not only an exclusive, fertile field of Indian historians, but a ground on which the seeds of nationalism began to thrive, so to speak, unimpeded.

Indian scholars were forced to collect sources from private quarters, and the untiring efforts of a man like Rajwade are legendary. Historical research and writing were private domains that owed their brilliant achievements less to monetary means than to the life-long devotion of enthusiastic amateurs.¹² Having deprived themselves of the opportunities of further exploration of Maratha history, the English had only one tool left, with which they were able to exercise some sort of control—a negative one, of course,—over Maratha historical writing, by keeping the Poona Peshwa Daftar closed for Indian research workers.¹²

Mahadev Govind Ranade's career resembled that of Telang in its essentials. He was in a high Government position, but he never refrained from criticizing it, when he was convinced of the injustice of its acts. Moreover, he felt it permanently his duty to promote reforms by action and agitation for the benefit of Indian society. The service within the framework of the government was extremely valuable and indispensable to guarantee a most successful criticism of the Government in the interests of society. Ranade's experiences from within the Government as a Civil Servant and from without as a Social Reformer, proved to be extremely useful in his attempt to re-interpret Maratha history. Ranade was strongly aware of the legacy of the past in all forms of society, and his concept was extended to a faith in the workings of reform and evolution in the future. He abhorred all that had a touch of revolution, like the Bengal Tenancy Act which he thought "savours very much of a Communistic and Latterday' Saints' Revolution."¹³

Ranade's historicism was an important element of his particular brand of nationalism. The application of the historical method and the adherence to the tenets of the Historical

School as developed in Germany, were for Ranade counterweights against the "universalism and perpetualism" in Economic Doctrine, to which English economists and politicians resorted to, when dealing with the situation in India. Only the historical method would do justice to the specific Indian situation. The idea of a historical process was an ideological remedy against the imperialist doctrine of an ever unchanging Indian society, which, by implication, was to justify the existence and continuation of an unchanging rule.

The other determining influence upon Ranade's writing of Maratha history was his religiousness. He developed a messianistic view of India's past and future, in which the example of the Jewish nation as described in the Old Testament is as obvious as his conviction of a coincidence of an Indian religious reform-movement with the European Reformation.

Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power* was directed against the one-sided interpretation of Maratha history by Grant Duff. Ranade felt that the spirit in which Grant Duff had written as well as Duff's lack of qualification, resulting from his being an Englishman, were objectionable; in Ranade's own words: "His (i.e. Duff's) animus against the best representatives of the race (i.e. the Marathas) was clear and unmistakable and he had neither the talents, nor the imagination, necessary to produce a soul-stirring narrative."¹⁴ Such a soul-stirring narrative, he held, could be written only by an Indian. What Telang had stated as a theoretical postulation was thus endorsed by Ranade. The civilisation—or cultural and national environment—to which a historian belonged—determined his evaluation of the events of a country's past. One must add: it became decisive once a national consciousness had developed.

Ranade, in his interpretation of Maratha history, exploded the long cherished and many times repeated idea of Grant Duff that the Maratha Power had been the product of rob-

bery by bandits and the political shrewdness and military genius of Shivaji. Instead, he regarded as a primary cause of the rise of the Marathas "a Religious and Social upheaval which moved the entire population",¹⁵ and which had set in already some centuries before Shivaji. The Bhakti movement, beginning in the 13th century, had, according to him, been of the same kind as the European Reformation, showing the same type of protests against the clergy, the image-worship, the use of a language (Latin, respectively Sanskrit) which was not understood by the masses, etc.¹⁶ The actual political rise of the Marathas under Shivaji was the result of a "national movement or upheaval in which all classes cooperated."¹⁷ The Maratha power was, as Ranade said, "laid deep in the hearts of the whole people."¹⁸

In the same way, as he conceived the rise of the Marathas as a spiritual phenomenon and as an evolutionary process, he regarded the eventual downfall of the Maratha power not as the outcome of a defeat in a battle with the British, but as the ultimate effect of a decay which had begun much earlier and which had undermined the spirit of the Maratha nation. The most detrimental factor had been the resurgence of caste and racial feelings, another one had been the lack of an interest in the development of arts and science.

The perception of events as the final products of often very long processes was a most precious achievement in Indian historical writing. It was the result of a way of thought that was characteristic of a "Reformer", of a man who believed in the effect of time rather than in the impact of the moment. The lasting service of Ranade to Indian historical writing was the abandonment of a simple cause-and-effect explanation of history in the forms of wars and conquests and dynasties, and the development of a more realistic view of the interconnection of social, political and religious affairs in the shaping of events. His religious convictions and his leaning towards the philosophy of idealism may have induced him to attribute an exaggerat-

ed importance to the working of spiritual forces, like the idea of religious freedom and of political independence.

The impact which Ranade's work had on his contemporaries is partly explicable by the political interest of the public in Maratha history, and partly by the fascinating parallelism, between the Maratha-Moghul relationship and the Indian-English, which Ranade need not even hint at, as it was fully understood at the time by every politically conscious reader. Ranade provided his countrymen with an Indian model of a national movement, which made it unnecessary to refer to foreign examples only.

That historical writing was not a literary activity, neutral in kind and disconnected with the political problems of the day, is evident from the Government files on Vad's *Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries* (published by the Bombay Government at the beginning of the century). Ranade's essay *Introduction to the Peshwas' Diaries* (Poona 1900) had been designed by the author to introduce the *Selections*, published under Government auspices. The Council of the Governor of Bombay decided against such an introduction by reasoning: "It is really an essay written with the object of exhibiting the rule of the Marathas in the most favourable light possible and is coloured throughout with the personal opinion and bias of the author."¹⁹

Although there was already a strong feeling against Grant Duff's work by the end of the seventies—as Ranade's and Telang's reviews of the *Kavyetihas Sangraha* revealed—, an Indian work written at that time to supersede Grant Duff's history, could hardly have been more than a re-interpretation of Maratha history along the lines of Duff, with perhaps more regard for Indian ideals; it would have amounted to little more than a glorification of Shivaji. But a history of the Marathas, as Ranade eventually wrote it, needed the actual experience of movements within the Indian society, political, social, religious and intellectual, which began.

to stir the Indian scene so vehemently in the last 15 years of the 19th century.

Historical writing on the Marathas was not a movement solely explicable and understandable from an intellectual need of Indian readers towards the end of the 19th century. It was interlaced with, i.e. influenced by and influencing, the political agitation of the day.

Would the problems of Shivaji's rise and the Peshwas' rule have roused the public sentiments and have created scholars, who devoted all they had to the exploration of Maratha history, if it had been of academic interest only? It is rather difficult to believe that. The annual celebration of the Shivaji Festival since 1895 is proof of the importance attached to history in this period of the National Movement. Furthermore, the historical problem of Afzal Khan's death at the hands of Shivaji had its repercussion in Tilak's incarceration in connection with the Rand-murder case in 1897.

It is well known that Tilak was a genius in popularising and "politicalising" historical and traditional Indian issues. Less known is Tilak's contribution to the promotion of Maratha historical writing. He kindled the minds of the readers of his *Mahratta* and *Kesari* with the idea of writing a "national" history. In a leading article in *The Mahratta* he wrote: "The Marathas of the hilly Deccan have a history and traditions worthy of a great nation."²⁰ The historical movement received its fervour from the political awakening, and the latter drew its "ideological" powder to a large extent from Indian history. Indian history retained its first-class political importance till Independence of the country was achieved.

The turn of the century was the beginning of a new era of historical research in Western India. There occurred "a revolution in the writing of Maratha history", as Jadunath Sarkar termed it.²¹ An enormous activity of collecting, publishing and interpreting sources of the Maratha past set in: V. V. Khare began to

publish his *Atihasik Lekh Sangraha*, V. K. Rajwade his *Marathyanhya Itihasanchin Sadhanen*, D. B. Parasnis his *Itihas Sangraha*, etc. This rush to collect and publish historical sources bears all the features of those movements that affected Indian life in its different spheres, in religion, society and politics. The limitation of the collection of sources to those written in Marathi, and the choice of Marathi as a medium of discussions amongst Maharashtrian historians in the *Bharat Itihas Samshodak Mandal* (founded in 1910) promoted a regional limitation undesired by its authors; it worked as an obstacle in assigning Maratha history a proper place in the context of Indian history. The choice of the vernacular medium of writings on Maratha history was mainly a political one, conceived and made an ideological postulation by Rajwade, the driving force of the *Bharat Itihas Samshodak Mandal*, as a stand against the use of English, the language of the foreign rulers.

Quite contrary to Rajwade's anti-English drive was D. B. Parasnis's attitude, who, in the interest of the best promotion of research and writing of Maratha history, favoured a close cooperation with European scholars. Together with C. A. Kincaid, he wrote *A History of the Maratha People* (3 vols., London 1918-1925). Parasnis provided the sources, and information about many points of Maratha history, whereas Kincaid's work consisted in the composition of the material and in presenting it in a fluent and very readable style. Whatever the division of the task was, judged from a historiographical viewpoint, it was not more than a 20th century work written in the Grant Duff way, being mainly a narrative of political and military events in a chronological order. It incorporated some of Ranade's ideas, like that of the religious movement under way in Maharashtra which prepared the way for Shivaji, and the creation of a national feeling amongst the Marathas; but these were just additional devices, and not integral ideas that pervaded the whole story, as they had done in Ranade's work. Thus, historiographically, Kincaid's and Parasnis's work was a retrograde step.

Still, the book scored a momentary success, due to the decision of the Bombay Government, not to support the authors and the publishers by subscribing to a book of a politically controversial subject, i.e. Maratha history. The Bombay Government shelved its responsibility with a very wise economic consideration, which, according to a friend of Kincaid, was worthy of the Caliph of Oman. It reasoned: "If the book is a good book, it will sell without Government assistance. If it does not sell, this fact will prove it not to be a good book and therefore undeserving of Government assistance."²² The rumours that Kincaid and Parasnis had written an anti-Government book, spread like wildfire, and the first edition of the first volume was sold out in a very short time.

The further development in Maratha historical writing was achieved mainly by a stimulus from outside Maharashtra, from Bengal. Jadunath Sarkar's and Surendranath Sen's researches on Maratha history helped to break down the walls of Maharashtrian regionalism. They paved the way for the entire integration of Maratha history into an all-India concept as was to be developed by G. S. Sardesai.

Jadunath Sarkar must be given the credit of bringing the ferment of an all-India approach into Maratha historical studies. His researches on Moghul rule, particularly on Aurangzeb's reign, had directed his attention to the history of the Marathas, the chief opponents of the later Moghuls. Sarkar criticized the linguistic exclusiveness of historical research in Western India by pointing out the one-sidedness of all conclusions derived from sources in one or two languages only. Historical research, in the proper sense of the term, demanded the use of all available sources, in whatever language they had been written, when they had any bearing on a particular subject of investigation. The conduct of research in Maratha history demanded a familiarity with at least four languages: Marathi, Persian, Hindi and English. Furthermore, Maratha policy and the Maratha state could be fully understood only

when also the policy and set-up of the surrounding states, and particularly of the Moghul Empire, were understood. In other words: the Maratha Power was not a phenomenon which could be treated as an isolated island surrounded by a sea of nothingness.

Jadunath Sarkar's merit lies in the introduction of a synoptic treatment of events affecting the whole of India, and in his assistance to overcome the isolationist treatment of Maratha history.

Surendranath Sen, with his work *Administrative System of Shivaji*²³ and later his *Administrative System of the Marathas*, (1925) effected the incorporation of Maratha history into the entire framework of Indian history, by assigning to it its proper Indian relevance. Two features distinguish S. N. Sen's work from former historical writings on Maratha history: (a) the choice of subject of research, "an institution", (b) the idea of continuity in Indian history. What Shivaji had achieved was, according to Sen, neither the result of a long fermentive process of a national and religious movement (as Ranade had seen it), nor the momentary success of a genius (as Sarkar saw it), but the effective utilisation of institutions by the great Maratha leader, which had long existed before him and continued to exist after him. The native government had remained largely unaffected by the change of dynasties and conquerors. The *Ashta Pradhan*, Shivaji's cabinet, had its long tradition in Indian history. Likewise, the employment of spies by Shivaji had been a feature already of the Mauryan Empire (Kautilya). Local government, village communities, etc., looked back to an even longer tradition in Indian history, and they continued to exist till the beginning of British rule. Sen's explanation of the eventual downfall of the Maratha power is quite in line with his institutional interpretation: it was the development of feudalism, an institution, which undermined the state and thus brought to an end a long continuity of Maratha and Indian institutions.

This "Bengali" inroad into the precincts of Maratha history, through the works of Jadunath Sarkar and Surendranath Sen, had its effect on the works of Maharashtrians. The foremost of Maharashtrian historians, G. S. Sardesai, would not have been what he eventually was without Bengali backing. When he was invited by Sarkar in 1926 to deliver a series of lectures at Patna University, he had already exchanged his views with Sarkar for more than 20 years. Through the influence of Sarkar, Sardesai adopted an all-India outlook in his treatment of Maratha history; this conversion dates back to 1909, the Baroda Literary Conference, which had been convened by Romesh Chandra Dutt. Ever since then, Sarkar and Sardesai, in spite of their different views on Maratha history, fought shoulder to shoulder against regionalist opposition from Bengali and Maharashtrian historians.²⁴

Sardesai's lectures at Patna were subsequently published under the title *The Main Currents of Maratha History* (1926). After Ranade's ingenious, but unfinished, attempt, this work can claim to be the first entirely Indian written history of the Marathas. The major difference between Ranade's and Sardesai's interpretation of Maratha history is this: Ranade focussed his attention on the growth of the Marathas through mainly spiritual forces working within the Maratha society, whereas Sardesai viewed the position of the Marathas within the system of Indian politics, and recognized the influencing power of forces outside the Maratha community.

The all-India outlook of a historian working on the history of the Marathas or of any other regional group, was an essential prerequisite for anybody doing research on the past, so held Sardesai. In his methodological reflections, he repeatedly stated that the ultimate aim, even of research in a regional sector, was to prepare the basis for "a complete and united national History of India".²⁵ This demand was supported by a political consideration. History, Sardesai wrote, should help to accustom Indian thinking in terms of a common heritage and a united

whole. He was even more specific about the connection between history and politics: "Just as Indian politics of the future can no longer remain isolated or confined to each communal unit, so the history of the Indian nation of the future is going to be a united whole, in which all individual units will merge themselves".²⁶ Indian history ought to be written not to kindle regional pride, but in such a way as to enable all Indians to derive pride, lesson and inspiration from it.

Sardesai endorsed his all-India methodological and interpretative reflections in three ways in his writings on Maratha History, in *The Main Currents of Maratha History* (and later also in his *A New History of the Marathas*)²⁷: firstly through the incorporation of events of Maratha history into an all-India frame-work, secondly through the evaluation of past events from an all-India view-point, and thirdly through didactic conclusions from Maratha history for all Indians.

Ranade's idea of a gradual rise of the Marathas through a spiritual and national movement, was completely given up by Sardesai. In his opinion, the Bhakti movement did not effect a rise, but actually India's downfall. For Sardesai, not the regional and temporary successes of the Marathas were the standard of his judgment, but the effectiveness of Indian resistance against the European powers that had set out to conquer Indian soil. The spiritual movement beginning in the 13th century had resulted in fostering "pursuits of a superstitious nature",²⁸ which proved detrimental for intellectual pursuits in the fields of arts and science. The great failure of the Marathas was their inability "to build up a permanent national Government in India".²⁹ Their constant struggle with the Mohammedans was seen by Sardesai as an internecine and civil war, by which the Indians weakened themselves and thus facilitated the subsequent conquest of India by the British.

The downfall of the Marathas is attributed

by him furthermore to the ineffectiveness of the Maratha constitutional set-up, which was basically a one-man-rule, the succession of which was hereditary, and thus not selective, whereas the extremely efficient British constitution had ever ensured an uninterrupted flow of capable politicians throughout the centuries. An admiration of the English constitutional model is clearly apparent.

Sardesai's motives of choosing an all-India view-point were born out of a methodological necessity and out of a political conviction. He summed up his basic position in 1929 at the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission in the following words: "History alone is responsible for keeping India so unnaturally divided, and must on its part suggest a solution for our national unity."³⁰

Over the course of fifty years, historical writing in Western India had undergone considerable changes. The subject of Maratha history was taken up by men who stood in the forefront of the national movement, Telang and Ranade. Through them, Maratha history received an indigenous Indian, and indeed, modern interpretation. At the end of our

period, historians like Sarkar, Sen and Sardesai, and particularly the latter, accepted an all-India view as a methodological, political and national obligation. Their concept denotes the second "revolution" in historical writing in Western India: the abandonment of a regional limitation; the first revolution of Maratha history had been the break-away from Grant Duff's interpretation.

Historical writing on the Marathas was all along, in one form or another, connected with, or influenced by, politics. The political outlook and national sentiment of historians was determining the course of research and interpretation. The political charge of Maratha history was to a great extent due to the nearness of the Maratha past and the vivid memory of Shivaji amongst the Maharashtrians. The present survey may have confirmed that historical writing is exhibiting as much of the time of the historian as of the time on which he writes. Historical writing is determined by present ideals and future aims of the historians and their contemporaries. India's eventual achievement of political independence required the achievement of an intellectual independence and the creation of an all-India image of the past.

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⁸ Published as chapter xiii, appendix to M. G. Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Bombay 1900, pp. 255-324. The contents were read by Telang as a paper to the Deccan College Union on 17 Sept. 1892.

⁹ K. T. Telang, "Must Social Reform precede Political Reform in India?", in: *Selected Writings and Speeches*, vol. i, Bombay 1916, p. 293.

¹⁰ K. T. Telang, "Gleanings from the Maratha Chronicles", op. cit., p. 320.

¹¹ Sidney Owen, *India on the Eve of the British Conquest, A Historical Sketch*, London 1872, p. 125.

¹² Since the end of the 19th century, Indians had constantly appealed to the British-India Government to have the Peshwa Daftar opened to the public. Limited access was granted only after repeated efforts of the Indian Historical Records Commission under the guiding spirit of Jadunath Sarkar. Even the *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar* (45 vols) edited by G. S. Sardesai were published only after their scrutiny and sanction by the Bombay Government. The office of the Commissioner, Central Division, Alienation Branch, Poona, wrote to G. S. Sardesai on 23.9.1929: "The Commissioner

said that Government had directed that information gathered from the Alienation records was not to be published without their express orders and that therefore you had better drop the idea of publishing anything from those records at this stage", Ms. letter, in: Historical Research Office Poona Correspondence File, 1929-June to 1931-March, Alienation Office, Poona. -The access to historical sources kept in Government archives was severely restricted till 1940; but only after 1947 Government granted liberal access. Cp. S. Roy, "Recent Trends in Indian Research Activities in Modern Indian History", in: *The Indian Archives*, vol. xv, January 1963-December 1964, pp. 55 f.

¹³ M. G. Ranade, "Prussian Land Legislation and the Bengal Tenancy Act", in: *Essays on Indian Economics*, Madras, 2nd edition, 1906, p. 295.

¹⁴ M. G. Ranade, "Maratha Bakhars or Chronicles and Grant Duff's History of the Marathas", in: *The Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha*, vol. i, 1878, 2nd part, p. 20.

¹⁵ M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 9.

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 149 ff.

¹⁷ Ibidem, pp. 6 f.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 6.

¹⁹ Statement of "H. M." (Government official, not identifiable), dated 26 March 1901 on publication of *Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries*; Revenue Dept. 1901, vol. 90, Bombay State Archives.

²⁰ "The Mahratta", 2.12.1894, p. 3.

²¹ Jadunath Sarkar, "True Sources of Maratha History", in: *The Modern Review*, vol. 47, 1930, p. 305.

²² C. A. Kincaid, *Forty-Four Years a Public Servant*, Edinburgh, etc., 1934, p. 205.

²³ Surendranath Sen, "Administrative System of Shivaji", in: *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. 50, 1921, pp. 51 ff.

²⁴ Cp. *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, edited by Hari Ram Gupta, vol. i, Hoshiarpur 1957; particularly Sarkar's letter of 22.4.1930, p. 152, and Sardesai's letter of 21.2.1927, p. 277.

²⁵ G. S. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, Calcutta 1926, p. viii, and similarly pp. 34 and 36.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 35.

²⁷ Published in 3 vols., Bombay 1946-48.

²⁸ *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, pp. 172 and ff.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 161.

³⁰ G. S. Sardesai, "Present Needs of Maratha History", in: *Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings of the 12th meeting at Gwalior, Calcutta 1930*, p. 22.

PRE-CAPITALIST ECONOMIC FORMATIONS AND THE INDIAN ECONOMY (1550-1700)

(Comments on Professor Tapan Kumar Roy Choudhury's Paper
Presented at the Institute in October 1964)

DIPTENDRA MOHAN BANERJEE

It has been extremely rewarding to hear this evening Professor Tapan Kumar Roy Choudhury's interesting talk on Marx's concept of 'Asiatic mode' vis-a-vis the pre-modern Indian economy. I entirely agree with Professor Roy Choudhury's observation that Marx's sketch of 'Asiatic society', despite its shorthandish character, could be an excellent heuristic model for researchers interested in Asian history. I, however, feel that the model of Marx's 'Asiatic mode' as reconstructed by Professor Roy Choudhury this evening has been perhaps a little *simplistic*; and I confine my comments only to this part of his superb talk. Permit me please to make it clear at the outset that I have no desire to launch an attack on Professor Roy Choudhury's reconstruction of Marx's 'Asiatic society' from the point of view of either the predominant trend of opinion at the 1931 Leningrad Discussions on Asiatic Mode or the 1939 *Short Course* of Stalin. I believe the Stalinist talmudists, by their procrustean adherence to the slavery-feudalism-capitalism scheme, have chopped Marx with a meat cleaver. Not for nothing has grown the drawing-room fancy that Marxism stands—and falls—for a unilinear development of human societies.

If I could gather correctly, Professor Roy Choudhury has tried to underline that Marx characterized the 'Asiatic society' as a *pre-class society*, generally change-resistant, which was only dissolved under the impact of an *external agent*, Western capitalism. This *aperçu* of Professor Roy Choudhury has been built exclusively on the basis of the 1964 Lawrence

& Wishart publication.¹ I am afraid his exclusive concentration on this 1857-58 draft has resulted in what I have termed a rather simplistic presentation of Marx's construct of 'Asiatic society'. There is no denying that this 1857-58 *Formen* represents Marx in full maturity and that here as nowhere Marx devoted his attention, though in a very abstract and general way, on the pre-capitalist socio-economic formations, one of which was the 'Asiatic society'. But I feel that a much more comprehensive reconstruction of Marx's model of 'Oriental society' could be made if we piece together his various scattered references to 'Asiatic mode', including both his pre-*Formen* writings (like the *New York Daily Tribune* articles) and his post-*Formen* references (like *Capital*, III). If it is argued that his pre-*Formen* writings are not as mature as those of later years, it may be pointed out that it was in his 1853 articles and letters that Marx underlined most the *revolutionary role* of Western capitalism in dissolving 'Asiatic society', one main link in the chain of Professor Roy Choudhury's construct.

I believe the brilliance of the *Formen* lies in the very sophisticated analysis of the *roots* of 'Asiatic society'. It is important to note that Engels, who seemed to have been more or less happy with ordinary cause-and-effect explanation, never put his finger over this crucial pie. In the *Formen*, Marx traced the roots of Oriental society to the tribal communal ownership (that is, the absence of private property) under a total unity (*der Gesamtheit*). The surplus of the community belonged inherently to this *all-embracing unity*, which might develop

in two ways: in the form of a *democratic* communal organization, or, as in many Asiatic countries, in the form of a *despotism* (since this encompassing unity gradually tended to be "realized" in a *personal* ruler).² Here is thus a much more sophisticated explanation than Engels's over-emphasis on ecology.

Running through Marx's Asiatic construct is the concept of self-sustaining local communities. In the *Formen*, Marx noted

"a combination of manufacture and agriculture within the small community which thus becomes entirely self-sustaining and contains within itself all conditions of reproduction and surplus production."³

Earlier, in 1853, in his article on the British rule in India, Marx had noted the "agglomeration" of Oriental peoples "in small centres by the domestic union of agricultural and manufacturing pursuits", that is, "self-sustaining" local communities.⁴ So he said later in the *Capital*.⁵ Professor Roy Choudhury has remarked that towns and cities which grew were not *internal* to this 'Asiatic mode' and that these grew mainly as administrative centres. May I point out that Marx also specifically mentioned that towns may arise as centres of "external trade" as well?⁶

Connected with this concept of the agriculture-manufacture *conubio* is the notion of both Marx and Engels about the slow-moving character of the 'Asiatic society'.⁷ Professor Roy Choudhury has stressed this point. I, however, wish to draw his attention to the pretty sophisticated explanation of this change-resistant character of 'Asiatic society' as given by Marx, not in the *Formen*, but in that famous passage of the *Capital* where he discussed the "corrosive influence" of British commerce in India and China. Here Marx threw a hint why the 'Asiatic society' was usually slow-moving when he remarked on the capability of "stubborn resistance" on the part of "the substantial economy and saving" which had

grown in time by the "association of agriculture with manufacture".⁸ This indeed is a penetrating explanation of the "changelessness" of the Orient—the economic savings inherent in small-scale enterprise as against the *faux frais* of modern big industry.

Both Marx and Engels described the absence of private property as crucial to 'Asiatic society'. I, therefore, find it difficult to accept E. J. Hobsbawm's observation that Marx, though he had underlined this feature in 1853, later relegated it to a secondary position before the fundamental feature of agriculture-manufacture unity in the *Formen*.⁹ If Marx had said in 1853 that the real key to Asiatic society, even to Asiatic heaven, was the absence of private property¹⁰, he maintained the same position in his later writings, both in the *Formen* and in the *Capital*.¹¹ However, I believe Marx meant to qualify this absence of property as merely *theoretical* absence of ownership. For, he never meant that there was no *use*, *possession* and even *partial holding* of land in *full property*. In the 1857-58 *Formen*, he referred to the communities as "hereditary possessors"¹² and also allowed "individual possession"¹³. In 1859, he commented that in China the ruler permitted most of the peasants to "hold their lands, which are of a very limited extent, in full property."¹⁴ Later, in the already-cited passage of the *Capital* where Marx commented on the absence of ownership in Asia, he added that there were nevertheless "both private and common possession and use of land".¹⁵ In the same volume, speaking about contemporary China, he mentioned the disappearance of the communal system of land tenure.¹⁶

I believe two important conclusions can be drawn from these qualifications. First, Marx allowed the presence in 'Asiatic society' of nominal landholding, holding rights by virtue of customary use and possession, and, in certain cases (especially in China), even full property in land. Classes, therefore, existed in Oriental society, though not in as developed a form as in Europe. Secondly, even the change-resistant

'Asiatic society' changed, though in a slower way compared to the Occident. Could not we say that the journey from the original communal ownership to that stage which permitted the use of land as well as private possession and property signified a process of change? If you like, you can call it "change within tradition", to plagiarize a phrase from E. A. Kracke Jr, used in a different context.¹⁷ I feel it is also possible to argue that Marx himself accommodated the capacity of the 'Asiatic society' to develop into a higher form of economy without prior destruction through an external agent, that is, the scope for *qualitative* changes irrespective of the jolt of Western capitalism. In this regard, I am completely in line with George Lichtheim.¹⁸ Marx's characterization of the British land settlements in India as "absurd (in practice infamous) economic experiments"¹⁹ and his reference to the solidity of the traditional communities based on the unity of agriculture and manufacture may be taken to suggest that while Western capitalism as an *external* agent played a great role in transforming the Asiatic communities, these communities, left to themselves, might have grown in a sounder direction. The reference to "the substantial economy and saving" inherent in small-scale enterprise may be taken to contain a similar hint. Was this the contention which led Marx and Engels to think that local communities might very well become the starting-point of a socialist development in Russia which was "semi-Asiatic"? In his 8 March 1881 letter to Vera Zasulich, Marx wrote that the village community, by its resistance to private capitalism, might become "the *point d'appui* of social regeneration in Russia".²⁰ Further, in the 21 January 1882 preface of the Russian edition of *Communist Manifesto*, there is given the suggestion that

"the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting-point for a communist development".²¹

These might be mere hints: but do not these hints highly qualify the theory of Asiatic

changelessness? I feel Professor Roy Choudhury's emphasis on Western capitalism as a dissolvent of Asiatic society ignores, in the manner of Paul Sweezy, the equally important factor of *internal* causation.

I would end my comments with the question of surplus in 'Asiatic mode'. Who appropriated the surplus? First, the despot; secondly, his officials; and finally, the owners of land. Professor Roy Choudhury has agreed that the despot grabbed the surplus, as Marx so clearly said. As for the surplus going to the landlords, I may refer to the passage in *Capital* where it is specifically said that the surplus labour of the peasant was pumped out "for the nominal owner of land".²² On the question of the bureaucracy's appropriation of surplus, two references may be interesting. In his 1861-63 work, *Theories of Surplus Value*, Marx quoted *verbatim* Richard Jones:

"The surplus revenue from the soil, the only revenues except those of the peasants of any considerable amount, were (in Asia, and more especially in India) distributed by the state and its officers."²³

Marx also mentioned Bernier's observation that the revenues of the state supported large numbers of serving men in India.²⁴

How did this bureaucracy develop in 'Asiatic society' Marx never clearly discussed. It might have been that the hydraulic function of the central government in Asia was one process through which this bureaucracy grew.²⁵ In 1853, Marx emphasized the role of climate and territorial conditions in Asiatic countries and the essential need for "artificial irrigation by canals and waterworks." Because of the undeveloped stage of Oriental civilization and of the vastness of the territorial extent which held back voluntary associations for water-control, an economical function, the function of providing public works, devolved upon many Asiatic governments.²⁶ In the 1857-58

Formen, Marx described the communal conditions for real appropriation through labour as

"irrigation systems (very important among the Asian peoples), means of communication, etc."²⁷

Marx did not go farther. For some reason or other, he did not discuss the possible role of bureaucracy in the Orient. However, Engels asserted in his critique of Eugen Dühring that there might be a socio-administrative origin of class, that political power might arise out of the exercise of a necessary social function, and that it might then become superior to and independent of society. Engels also specified the "socio-administrative" function of Oriental despotism, which was

"fully aware that above all it was the entrepreneur responsible for the collective main-

tenance of irrigation throughout the river valleys, without which no agriculture was possible there."²⁸

It is fair to add that Marx himself saw the text of *Anti-Dühring* before publication. I may, therefore, argue that Marx also accommodated the possibility of the growth of a ruling class in Asia from the functional role of the politico-administrative managerial group, side by side with the growth of an economic ruling class. If this is conceded, a great problem in Marxist sociology *vis-a-vis* the traditional mandarin domination in Chinese society may easily be composed. While on the one hand this would underline the flexibility of Marxist sociology, it would be at the same time in keeping with the latest research on Chinese society *a propos* the gentry concept and social mobility theories, as capsuled in the works of Fei Hsiao-tung, Wolfram Eberhard, Chang Chung-li, Robert Marsh, Ho Ping-ti, *et al.*

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- ¹ Karl Marx: *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (translated by Jack Cohen, and edited and with an Introduction by E. J. Hobsbawm; London, 1964). This is the translation of Marx's notes *Formen der kapitalistischen Produktion vorhergehen* which are a part of Marx's now-famous 1857-58 draft, the so-called *Grundrisse*.
- ² *ibid.*, pp. 69-71.
- ³ *ibid.*, p. 70. Also pp. 83 and 91.
- ⁴ *New York Daily Tribune* 25 June 1853; cf. *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1858* (Moscow, 1959), p. 18.
- ⁵ *Capital*, III (Moscow, 1960), p. 328.
- ⁶ Karl Marx: *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (London, 1964), p. 71.
- ⁷ cf. Marx's use of the phrase "stagnatory, and vegetative life" of Oriental peoples, a "passive sort of existence" [*NYDT* 25 June 1853; cf. *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1858* (Moscow, 1959), p. 20]. Also Engels's remarks on the tremendous staying power—"thousands of years"—of the Asiatic mode [cf. *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (Moscow, 1954), p. 251].
- ⁸ *Capital*, III (Moscow, 1960), p. 328.
- ⁹ E. J. Hobsbawm: 'Introduction', *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (London, 1964), p. 33.
- ¹⁰ Marx-Engels Letters: *Selected Correspondence*, p. 99 ff; and *NYDT* articles: *Selected Works*, I, p. 353 etc.
- ¹¹ cf. Marx's comments in the *Formen* that the supreme unity was the *sole proprietor* (*Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, p. 69) and his comments in *Capital* that the state was the *supreme landlord* (*Capital*, III, p. 771 f).
- ¹² Karl Marx: *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (London, 1964), p. 69.
- ¹³ *ibid.*, p. 79.
- ¹⁴ *NYDT* 3 December 1859; cf. Karl A. Wittfogel: *Oriental Despotism* (New Haven, 1957), p. 375.
- ¹⁵ *Capital*, III, p. 772.
- ¹⁶ cf. Marx's reference to the marriage of agriculture and manufacture, to which he added the form of local communities built upon "the common ownership of land, which incidentally was the original form in China as well" (*Capital*, III, p. 328). The implication, for China, is obvious.
- ¹⁷ E. A. Kracke Jr: "Sung Society: Change Within Tradition", *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14 (1954-55).
- ¹⁸ George Lichtheim: 'Marx and the "Asiatic Mode of Production"', *St Antony's Papers*, 14 (London, 1963), especially pp. 98 and 108 f.
- ¹⁹ *Capital*, III (Moscow, 1960), p. 328 n.
- ²⁰ cf. Blackstock and Hoselitz: *The Russian Menace to Europe* (London, 1953), p. 275 ff.
- ²¹ *Selected Works*, I, p. 24.
- ²² *Capital*, III (Moscow, 1960), 771.
- ²³ Richard Jones: *Literary Remains Etc* (London, 1859), pp. 448 ff; cf. Karl Marx: *Teorien über den Mehrwert* (Stuttgart, 1921), p. 501; cf. Karl A. Wittfogel: *op cit*, p. 381; cf. George Lichtheim: *op cit*, p. 110.
- ²⁴ *MEGA*, I, p. 476 ff; Karl A. Wittfogel: *op cit*, 381.
- ²⁵ I have no desire to assert like Wittfogel that the need for water-control provided the main, let alone the sole, means through which the despot and his officials became all-powerful in every Asian society. This socio-economic function might have been only one among many processes of the despotic-bureaucratic construction in some of the Asiatic societies.
- ²⁶ *NYDT* 25 June 1853; cf. *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1858* (Moscow, 1959), p. 16.
- ²⁷ Karl Marx: *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (London, 1964), p. 70 f.
- ²⁸ F. Engels: *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (Moscow, 1954), 110 ff.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bombay Presidency in the Mid-Eighteenth Century by DR HOLDEN FURBER. Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1965: pp. VI-76 : Price Rs. 9/-.

Dr. Holden Furber's name is well-known and respected in India, particularly among students of economic history. His earlier book *John Company at Work* (1948) is a learned work dealing with economic aspects that helped the foundation and consolidation of the British power in India in the eighteenth century.

In this book the author deals with the Bombay Presidency in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, i.e. from 1720 to 1750. But his observations are concerned almost wholly with the commercial growth of Bombay, Surat and other cities of the western coast. It is interesting to note that the bulk of the Persian Gulf trade was in non-European hands and the bulk of the capital invested was Muslim and Parsi. But as in the eastern region there was competition among the European traders: the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the Swedish. On the western coast in the eighteenth century the Portuguese were a factor to be reckoned with, unlike in the Bengal region where the Portuguese counted much less than the English, the Dutch, the French and, for a short time, the Ostenders. The operations of the Maratha and European pirates in the western seas had little parallel in the eastern area. The Moghul empire and its subordinate governments, even in their declining days, had better organization in the east than their counterparts in the west. Though the Bombay region had a brisk trade with areas beyond the seas, there was no controlling authority of finances like the famous banking house of the Jagat Seths of Murshidabad in this region. There is however one similarity. As the European trading activities began to increase, the English profited by others' mis-

fortunes without experiencing any comparable misfortunes themselves.

The book is well-written and well-documented, worthy of the reputation of the author.

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYYA

The Creation of Modern Bihar by DR. V. C. P. CHAUDHARY. Published by Yugeshwar Prakashan, Patna, 1964.

From Sachchidananda Sinha and Mahesh Narayan to O'Malley and K. K. Datta, many scholars have exhaustively written on the modern history of Bihar. In the face of these copious volumes, the only justification for another work in this field could be a new point of view, or discovery of fresh material. Neither is the strong point of this pamphlet-like publication which merely seeks to revive the spirit of Macaulay or of Kipling, and establishes once again the truth in Mrs. Candour's very telling phrase: "Tale-bearers are as bad as the tale-makers".

Even so, Dr. Chaudhary's book will be helpful to future research scholars who may like to undertake a fresh investigation into the subject. It contains a good bibliography, much of which seemingly has not been used by the present author. Another redeeming feature of the book is a number of useful appendices which contain some valuable data, and may be profitably utilised for the purpose of historical writing.

There are three major chapters in Dr. Chaudhary's work, besides three small ones including the 'Conclusions'. The struggle for Bihar's separation from Bengal has been dealt with in three parts: one containing 'the early phase' between 1858 and 1893, the second tracing it right to the time of the Bengal partition, and

the third giving the final phase of the movement. Of these three, the last gives some fresh information, collected mainly from a few letters in the Minto Collection at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Happily, the Index, unlike the Appendices, is at its proper place, though somewhat hastily drawn. The quality of printing of the book ought to have been better, and spelling mistakes avoided.

D.K.G

Indo-Afghan Relations, 1880-1900 by Dr R. S. RASTOGI. Published by *Universal Book Depot*, Lucknow, 1965.

This Ph. D. thesis is the latest we have in the long list of historical literature on Indo-Afghan relations in the second half of the 19th century. The study begins in the midst of the unsettled state of affairs which obtained in Afghanistan during the Second Afghan War, and ends with "the final consolidation of friendship" between Amir Abdur Rahman and the British-Indian Government (1900). There are altogether eight chapters in this book, based upon original and secondary sources available in this country, supplemented by a few appendices, a good bibliography, and some maps.

Foretold by three recent research publications—D. K. Ghose's *England and Afghanistan*, 1876-87, (1960), D. P. Singhal's *India and Afghanistan*, 1876-1907, (1963), and G. J. Alder's *British India's Northern Frontier*, 1865-95, (1963)—this book contains little that has been unknown to students of modern Indian history. Presumably, the author began his research studies at a time when his predecessors had already been well on their way. But it is evident that Dr. Rastogi acquired an adequate training in research methods, and rightly deserved the approbation of his examiners. One only expects that he had acknowledged some of his predecessors in a few footnotes here and there,—say on pp. 1,3,5, or 168, 171, and so forth—and

had indicated the source of his map on zonal controversy at the time of the Panjdeh incident.

However, the author has been very "wise in concentrating on the demarcation of the frontiers", as Professor C. H. Philips rightly observes. In handling the details of the Anglo-Russian Protocols and the Kushk-Oxus Canal Dispute, Dr. Rastogi has indeed made a contribution to knowledge.

S. BHATTACHARYYA

Vivekananda Itihas-chetana (in Bengali), by PROF. AMULYA BHUSAN SEN. Published by *Bookland*, Calcutta, 1966.

In recent years much has been written on Vivekananda's idealism and versatility, especially during the last century of this great saint. But about Swamiji's ideas on History, no scholar has hitherto attempted any thorough research, and consequently, there has been a sizable gap in our knowledge of Vivekananda's life and mission. Professor Sen deserves our congratulations for his commendable efforts to reduce that gap.

That Vivekananda had an objective view of History in general, and Indian History in particular, is the main theme of Prof. Sen's work. He has given a very lucid exposition of Swamiji's approach to Indian history and the part he played in its formation. The book is divided into three parts, and contains two appendices. It is an important contribution to Indian historical literature, and will doubtless be appreciated by all its readers.

JAYANTI GHOSH DASTIDAR

The Kol Insurrection of Chota-Nagpur by Dr. JAGADISH CHANDRA JHA. Published by *Thacker, Spink & Co (1933) Private Ltd.*, Calcutta, pp. 242, XXIV. Rs.14

The chiefs and tribes of the 'Bhum' countries from remote past enjoyed considerable auto-

nomy from the successive Hindu and Muslim rulers. But the British administrators for the first time imposed restrictions on these 'Wardens of the march lands' which led to sporadic disturbances. The period also witnessed similar revolts in the Jungle Mahals which reached its climactic point in the Chuar uprisings of 1799 and Naxal revolt of 1833. Similarly in Orissa the Paik upsurge took place under Jagabandhu Bidyadhar in the same period. The problems and genesis of these almost parallel revolts were more or less the same. According to the author the Kol uprising was also the manifestation of a crude form of protest against the infiltration of Hindu population and culture in the tribal society resulting in the elimination of tribal chiefs and their ways of life.

The author has covered the sources well and has made effective use of the Revenue and Judicial records at the India Office Library and Record Department of the Commonwealth Relations Office, London. His analysis is perceptive and his standards of factual accuracies are high; the result is a book of prime importance on one of the major disturbances of the pre-Mutiny period.

But as is often the case with those who attempt to prove the originality of their thesis by criticising previous works on the subject, the author thinks that the statement in the *Civil Disturbances* that 'The British occupation of Singhbhum naturally generated tensions and fears which eventually merged with the Kol rebellion' (P.4) is sweeping in nature. It has been overlooked that the quotation is the last sentence of a paragraph which deals with the political content of the revolt and that the sentence immediately preceding this runs as follows: 'Singbhum was not actually conquered by the Moghuls; for fifty two generations its chiefs exercised independent power' (*Civil Disturbances*, P. 98). It cannot be denied that the stimulus to the revolt was given not only by the uprisings outside the area, in the Jungle Mahals and Orissa, but also by the Maratha powers. The fact that the Nagabanshi chiefs of Chota-

Nagpur had family and commercial relations with the Jungle Zamindars also cannot be ignored. It was not 'despair' but an acute sense of distemper against alien rule that entered into the composition of the revolt against the British administration.

This question apart, Dr. Jha has pointed out that the Hinduization of the tribal chiefs and its repercussions have not been noticed in the *Civil Disturbances* (P.5). The author has emphasised the theory that the revolt was caused by a crude form of regionalism working against the process of Hinduization which was on its way on the eve of the British impact. This is an over-simplification of a rather varied and complex socio-economic problem. Dr. Jha steadily neglects to analyse the socio-economic implications of the revolt refusing to follow what he thinks a Marxist way of thinking (P.5). In fact in a period which witnessed the collapse of Nizamat authority, the British authorities resumed all sorts of service tenures without accepting the responsibility of the landowners to establish law and order in the country-side. This resulted in the complete elimination of middlemen from the production sector and also led to the fast pauperisation of the original producers. Resumption of service-tenures, and the increasing role of money-rent which replaced the age old system of produce-rent in the mode of payment, and the complexity in the currency system threw a class of original producers (but dependent on a class of peasantry) out of the existing economic machinery. The British administration also introduced a new mode of investment over the soil and a new class of bureaucrats in the locality who were foreigners and non-Kols. They were desired by the British rulers to act as a cementing force in the tribal society but they became the target of attack. As an aftermath of the revolt the British rulers had to accept tacitly the ownership of the existing land-holders over the soil and postpone further rearrangement of revenue system until the tribal societies had settled down to normal conditions. It is also to be observed that Chota-Nagpur and Palamau were situated on a

strategic position, and important trade-routes traversed over these areas from Bengal to Northern India. British assumption of trade monopoly over salt, betelnut, tobacco and other commodities over this wide region had also its impression on the socio-economic upheavals which find little scope in Dr. Jha's writings. That being so, no religious case can possibly sufficiently explain the origin of the revolt. It also appears unlikely that Hinduism which was not backed by missionary organisation and which had included within its fold a variety of totemistic features should have taken the form of an intrusive and irritating element among the tribals. The conjunction of the defeat of the Hos at the hands of the British in 1827 and the outbreak of the revolt soon after is no less striking.

Some technical defects of a minor nature also abound: there have been too many quotations from original sources and quite a few repetition of facts. The original manuscript sources as indicated by catalogue numbers possibly needed a little description.

S.B.C

Rajput Politics by A. B. L. AWASTHI. Published by *Kailash Prakashan*, Lucknow, 1964. pp. 95.

As the title of the book indicates, the writer has clearly in view the functions of the ancient Rajanyas or warrior class dating from the Vedic times and pledged to the protection of their country, culture and religion. This little book

contains two sections. In the first section the author successfully refutes the view that there was no formal political philosophy, no political thinking and no evolution of political ideas and administrative organisation in ancient and early medieval periods of Indian history. To prove his thesis he refers at the outset to ancient political thinkers like Buddha, Vassaskar, Kautilya and early medieval writers like Sukra, Dandi, Somadeva Suri and Jayanaka, the author of *Prithvirajavijaya*. He quotes passages from the last named work to bring out the elaborate political system described in it. In the second section Dr. Awasthi analyses the causes of the collapse of ancient India and judiciously concludes that moral dissipation,—Kama (life of ease) and Vyasana (vices) and no lack of patriotism and political consciousness, was at the root of the break-up of the Hindu empire. He quotes profusely modern writers like Dr. R. C. Majumder, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. B. R. Singh and Sardar K. M. Panikkar on the subject to establish his point of view. It would have been better had he inquired into the military aspect of the collapse(in this connection he only quotes the opinion of Dr. Ghoshal regarding the military factor). The sudden break-down of an age-old political system is often associated with a defective and outmoded defence organisation. The author, however, deserves congratulations for his painstaking search for materials. The handy volume is a useful contribution to the literature on the subject.

BIMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

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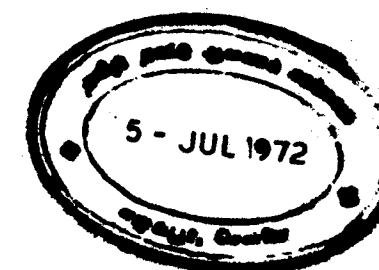
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EDITORIAL

Kerala & Nagpur Universities:

In the present number we are publishing an account of historical studies at two Universities, Kerala and Nagpur. At Kerala University there is only one course for M.A. examination in History, while at Nagpur University, like at several other Universities, there are two separate courses of study, one for History and another for Ancient Indian History and Culture.

The History course at Kerala University is not quite adequate for M.A. standard. There are two compulsory papers on late medieval period and modern period from 1859 to the present day. Ancient and early medieval period is an optional paper, and there is no provision for the pre-1857 period of modern Indian history. The optional paper on ancient and early medieval period covers only the history of Kerala. For ancient Indian history there is another optional paper covering the period, 600 B.C. to 647 A.D., and for early medieval period there is another optional paper, covering only the history of Vijayanagar. So far as Indian history is concerned, the existing course does not provide for a comprehensive study of any of the three broad periods, nor a specialised study of the whole history of Kerala. On the other hand, there is provision for two papers on the

History of Political Thought. Neither the history of Europe, nor that of the U.S.A. or of the Far East is compulsory. For parity with the M.A. course at other Indian Universities, it is desirable that the history course at Kerala University should be recast, with adequate provision for Indian History and also for the history of some of the important areas of the world. More facilities should be offered for specialisation in any particular field. The M.A. examination at Kerala includes a *viva voce* test. This is a good provision, and if properly conducted it will ensue a better evaluation of a candidate's merit than what can be achieved merely by means of a written test.

The M.A. course in history at Nagpur University is better. There are three compulsory papers on Indian history from 1526 to 1947. There is also an optional paper on ancient Indian history, but there is no provision for a study of early medieval history. No choice of specialisation in particular aspects is offered to students. There is provision for the study of British history, history of the modern world, history of modern Asia and history of the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. The course is fairly well-balanced, but at the M.A. level students ought to get a wider choice of specialisation.

ou

The course of study for M.A. examination in Ancient Indian History and Culture is definitely more satisfactory. Out of eight written papers, three provide for general history, and one for social and religious history. The other four papers may be taken from a number of specialised groups, like, Art, Architecture and Numismatics; Epigraphy; Archaeology; and Greater India. There should, however, have been provision for a study of some of the contemporary civilisations of the ancient world. The study of ancient Indian history in isolation does not give the proper perspective. This is a defect in the courses of Ancient Indian History and Culture at most of the Indian Universities. Perhaps, it is due to the fact that there are not adequate competent teachers to teach the history of other ancient civilisations. But if no serious and determined beginning is made somewhere at some stage, we are afraid, the existing want of competent teachers will not be removed even in a hundred years. Now-a-days, when we have cultural and educational collaboration projects with many countries, it is not really very difficult to get competent teachers for other ancient civilisations on a short-term basis, which will help our Universities to train up their own men.

The rules for research degrees at Nagpur University follow the general pattern at most Indian Universities, two years' research work under a recognised supervisor. There is no rigid screening, nor any preliminary test for enrolment. However, the actual supervision system during the period of research appears to be more effective than at many other Universities. An enrolled research student has to pay an annual fee of Rs. 40. It makes the student more serious about his work during the period of registration and the University also more conscious of its responsibility in providing proper training facilities. Secondly, no supervisor is allowed to have more than six students enrolled under him at a time. It makes for more effective supervision. Moreover, the research student must meet the supervisor regularly, at least once a fortnight, and the super-

visor has to submit a half-yearly report to the Academic Council on the work of the candidate. For evaluation of a thesis, it is referred to two examiners only, while most other Universities provide for three examiners, but in case of a difference of opinion between the two original examiners the thesis is referred to a third examiner, whose decision is treated as final. As we wrote in our previous number, reference to an additional examiner is more rational than insistence on unanimity among the examiners.

In the matter of research degrees Kerala University follows the general pattern of Southern Universities, providing for M. Litt. as a lower research degree and Ph.D. as a higher research degree. This, however, creates confusion in the matter of reciprocity of recognition of research degrees in India. As matters now stand, M. Litt. is not considered as equivalent to a lower doctorate degree of other Universities; nor is Ph.D. of Kerala University regarded as equivalent to the higher doctorate degree (D. Litt.) of other Universities. The Ph.D. degree of Kerala University can be taken three years after the M.A. examination, while at other Universities the period after the M.A. examination is much longer. Moreover, while at other Universities the higher doctorate degree is meant for independent research, at Kerala a Ph.D. candidate has to work under a recognised supervisor.

In the present number we give the enrolment list at Nagpur University for Ancient Indian History and Culture only. We regret, we did not get the enrolment list for the Department of History till the time of our going to press. We hope to publish that list in a subsequent issue of our journal. The list of topics taken up for research in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture shows adequate attention to different aspects,—political, social, economic, religious etc. At Kerala University the enrolment is quite satisfactory, considering that the Department of History was started only a few years ago. From the topics taken up for research

we are happy to note that while regional history is receiving its proper share of attention, the history of other areas is far from being neglected. This is a very happy thing, for which the credit should go to the research supervisors.

Dictionary of Biographies

The Dictionary of Biographies Project has been making steady progress. We are publishing in this number a list of leaders on whom biographical material had been collected from April to October 1966. Two similar lists had been published earlier, the first covering the period 1964-65 in Vol. V No. 1, and the second covering the period June 1965 to March 1966 in Vol. V No. 3. One of the objects in publishing these lists from time to time is to keep our readers, and through them the wider public, informed about the satisfactory progress of the Project work. But an even more important object is to seek additional information on the leaders covered. It is likely that some of our readers may have in their possession special information on some of the leaders covered which is not generally known or easily accessible to research workers, private papers like memoirs, correspondence, diaries etc., or personal recollections, throwing light on the personality and career of the individual. We earnestly appeal to such readers to help us by supplying whatever information they may have in their possession on any of the leader or leaders published in the lists. We particularly appeal to our friends and colleagues in Pakistan, Burma and Nepal and also in other foreign countries like U.S.A., Canada, U.K., France, Germany, Russia, Japan, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan etc. where Indian nationalist leaders had been active some time or other. Any help rendered will be gratefully acknowledged in the Dictionary volumes.

A meeting of the Editorial Board will be held at the end of December 1966. The lists of leaders of different zones, which had been revised three times between 1964 and 1966, will be finalised at the December meeting. New lists will also be drawn up for regions not

covered earlier, Sind, Goa, N.E.F.A. and the tribal areas on the north-eastern frontier. A list of foreigners who took an active part in the Indian nationalist movement will also be adopted. In view of our financial limitations the total number of leaders to be covered will not go much beyond the original target set, 1200.

Among the other things to be taken up by the Editorial Board at the December meeting are: determining the space to be given to each leader (minimum-400 words; maximum-1600 words), selection of contributors, allocation of names to each contributor, drawing up a model biographical entry and laying down an effective procedure of co-ordination. Work will be assigned to the Contributors in January 1967 and it is hoped that all the entries will be received from them by the end of the year. Editing work will start from the beginning of 1968, and according to the present calculation the Dictionary volumes will be ready for the press by December, 1968.

Till now work on the Project has been proceeding as satisfactorily as one could wish. But we are afraid, it will be slowed down and all our calculations upset unless we can secure the additional funds needed in the course of the year 1967. The total Project cost (including the cost of publication) has been estimated at Rs. 4,50,000. Out of this amount, we have received so far only Rs. 3,00,000. We have applied again to the Government of India, the State Governments, Educational Foundations and Industrialists for assistance to meet the deficit. We are still hopeful that we shall be able to raise the additional funds to complete our Project. It would be unthinkable that a Project of such unique national importance and academic value can fall through, in the final stage, for a small deficit of Rs. 1,50,000. We believe, there is enough patriotic sentiment in the country to avert such a tragic *finale*.

Discussion Meetings:

After the Annual General Meeting in the

third week of September no Discussion Meeting could be arranged at the Institute till the middle of December. This was partly because of the Autumn Vacation and partly because of the prolonged student unrest which completely paralysed academic life in the city since the latter half of September. Only one meeting could be arranged in December, when Dr. Panchanand Misra (Bhagalpur University) spoke on *The Making of the Indian Constitution*.

We hope that the worst of the current phase of disturbances will be soon over and that we shall be able to resume normal work from January 1967. We have drawn up a schedule of Discussion Meetings for the next quarter, with a number of Visiting Professors from other Universities as speakers. We can only hope that no further disturbances will take place, dislocating our programme.

ANNUAL REPORT (1965-1966)

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I present the Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for the year 1965-66. The Institute completed its fifth year with remarkable success and credit. The most critical period of infancy is over and it can now look forward to a long career of constructive service and steady expansion of activities.

Membership:

During the year under review the Institute had 7 Life Members and 375 Ordinary Members. The increase in membership was no doubt considerable from the previous year's record, but it was certainly below our expectations. In spite of a large-scale membership drive during the year under review, we could not reach our modest target of 600. Particularly disappointing was the lack of adequate response from College teachers in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal. The economic conditions in the teaching profession are certainly not satisfactory, specially in view of the rising price level. But, I am afraid, mere economic difficulty is not the main reason for the lack of response from College teachers to join a professional organisation, strengthen it and enable it to render more constructive services to historical studies and research. There must be some other reason for the general

apathy. I take this opportunity to appeal to our existing members to approach their colleagues personally and make more vigorous efforts to enrol new members for the Institute. As I mentioned last year, with sixty Universities and one thousand Degree Colleges in India, the number of History teachers must be about three thousand five hundred by any rough calculation. To get one fifth of this number as members of the Institute, is not an unrealistic hope if the existing members extend their active help and co-operation. The Institute can never be stable and self-supporting until we can raise the membership to seven hundred.

One good feature about the increase in membership during the year under review was the larger proportion of members from outside West Bengal. The Institute can now rightly claim to be an all-India organisation, with members from every State and every University in India. Our Executive Committee and Research Project Committees also fully reflect this all-India character in their composition.

Election:

Under the Constitution an election of the Director and the Executive Committee was held in 1966 for a term of three years. The following were elected:

Director: Dr. S. P. Sen

Members of the Executive Committee:

1. Dr. K. K. Datta.
2. Dr. P. C. Gupta.
3. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
4. Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
5. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
6. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose.
7. Dr. J. N. Sarkar.

8. Dr. S. K. Mitra.
9. Dr. S. Nurul Hasan.
10. Dr. S. Gopal.
11. Professor O. P. Bhatnagar.
12. MM. D. V. Potdar.
13. Mr. Amalendu De.
14. Dr. A. L. Srivastava.

15. Dr. Nilmani Mukherjee.
16. Dr. K. K. Pillay.
17. Dr. D. C. Sircar.
18. Dr. H. K. Barpujari.
19. Dr. A. K. Narain.

New Home:

The Institute of Historical Studies was shifted to its new premises at 21, Kenderdine Lane, Calcutta-12 on 1st December, 1965. We had been experiencing acute accommodation difficulties in our old premises and for several months we could not hold any Discussion Meeting. The present building is much more spacious. Besides Office Rooms, there are a Meeting Hall, a Library & Reading Room and an attractive Lounge. It may be hoped that members would now like to drop in at the Institute more frequently and utilise the Reading Room and other facilities. A growing organisation like ours will certainly need more accommodation after a few years, but for the present the new home should be adequate.

Discussion Meetings:

During the year under review the Institute held nine Discussion Meetings. Dr. J. P. Singhal (Arsh Itihas Parishad, New Delhi) spoke on *The Problem of Indian Aryans*; Dr. Barun De (Indian Institute of Management) on *The Impact of the Conquest of India on the 18th Century British Constitution: the Dundas Papers, 1773 to 1801*; Dr. A. C. Banerjee (Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Calcutta University) on *The American Archives*; Dr. Johannes H. Voigt (Oxford University) on *Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism*; Dr. John R. Broomfield (University of Michigan) on *The Bengal Muslims and September 1918*; Professor Louis Hartz (Harvard University) on *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought*; Dr. V. C. Joshi (Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi) on *Archival Material in India*; Professor Toru Matsui (Institute of

20. Dr. V. D. Rao.
21. Dr. Nihar Kana Majumdar.
22. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray.
23. Dr. Ganda Singh.
24. Dr. V. G. Hatakar.

Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo) on *The Study of Indian History In Japan*; and Dr. Bimal Kanti Majumdar (Jadavpur University) on *The Role of Indian Religion in South East Asia*. All the meetings were very well-attended and the discussions also lively. Some of the talks have already been published in *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, and the rest will be published in due course.

Apart from the old type of Discussion Meetings, from December 1965, we started our scheme of Research Students' Seminar. The procedure followed at the Seminar is: the Speaker explains why he chose the subject of his research and its importance in the context of the present state of historical knowledge. He then gives an account of the nature of material he has collected, outlining the difficulties he might have encountered. Then he explains the problems he has to face in arranging the material and giving it an orderly shape. The primary object of the Seminar is to enable research students to meet in smaller groups, discuss their problems and difficulties and benefit by an exchange of ideas. It is hoped that this Seminar will fulfil a long-felt need in our research system.

There were seven meetings of the Research Students' Seminar during the year under review. Mrs Kalpana Bishui (U.G.C. Research Fellow, Calcutta University) spoke on *The Nationalist Indian Press vis-a-vis the Conservative Anglo-Indian Press on Nascent Indian Nationalism*; Mr. Sumit Sarkar (Burdwan University) on *Some Problems of Bengal's Swadeshi Movement (1903-1908)*; Mr. Phanindra Nath Banerjee (Jaipuria College) on *The Background to the Cornwallis Code*; Mr. Chittabrata Palit (Burdwan University) on *Indigenous Business Enterprise in Bengal (1780-1880)*; Dr. Sunil Sen (Rabin-

dra Bharati University) on *Bengali Entrepreneurship in Coal Industry*; Dr Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta (Calcutta University) on *The Tribal Coins of Ancient India (2nd century B. C. to 4th century A. D.)*; and Mr. Ashok Bhattacharya (Sanskrit College) on *Painting in the Shilpa Shastra*.

The Institute organised a Symposium in September 1965 on *The Teaching of History in Degree Colleges*. The principal participants were: Dr. K. C. Chowdhury (Principal, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College); Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra (Sanskrit College) and Mr. Gautam Chatterjee (Surendranath College). All of them expressed their views in a remarkably candid and courageous manner, a clear demonstration of the zeal with which the ideal of academic freedom is cherished in our educational institutions.

Annual Conference:

The Third Annual Conference of the Institute was held in Allahabad on January 1, 1966. In the Morning Session the following selected papers were read:

- I. INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN THE ANCIENT PERIOD:
 1. Dr. Bratindra Nath Mukherjee.
Impact of Foreign Trade on Political History of Ancient India.
 2. Dr. Lalanji Gopal.
Impact of Foreign Trade on Society in Ancient India.
 3. Dr. (Mrs) Bela Lahiri.
Impact of Foreign Trade on Coins of Ancient India.
 4. Dr. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta.
Foreign Trade and Gandhara Art.
 5. Mr. Ramchandra Jain.
Pre-Aryan Foreign Trade of India with Sumer.
 6. Dr. A. B. L. Awasthi.
Skandapurana on the Dvipantara Trade.

- II. SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA:
 1. Dr. Satish Chandra.
Social Background to the Growth of Religious Reaction during the 17th century.

2

2. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
Social Conditions in Medieval Deccan.
3. Dr. Mohammad Yasin.
Social Conditions in Medieval India as reflected in the accounts of Al-Biruni, Ibn-Batuta, Babar and Bernier.
4. Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi.
Hindu Society in the Bhaktamala of Navadasa.

III. GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY:

1. Dr. V. D. Rao.
The Beginning and the Growth of Nationalism in the 19th century Maharashtra.
2. Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee.
Indian Nationalism and Religion, with special reference to Bengal.

In the Afternoon Session, there was a Symposium on *Some Problems of Higher Education and Research to be taken note of by the Education Commission*. The principal speakers were: Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Professor of History, Delhi University; Dr. S. Nurul Hasan, Professor of History, Aligarh Muslim University; and Dr. K. K. Pillay, Professor of History, Madras University. There was a frank expression of views on some of the main defects in the organisation of higher studies and research and some concrete suggestions were formulated to remove these defects.

Journal:

The *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* had maintained its steady progress during the year under review. The arrear in publication was made up and all the four numbers of Vol. V were brought out in the course of the year 1965-66. With the co-operation of different Universities, it is to be hoped that the publication of the journal will be fully regularised in future. During the year under review the journal maintained its regular feature of giving research news at different Universities (Karnatak University, Dharwar; Lucknow University; Bhagalpur University and Mysore University) and also published a number of research papers which were highly appreciated.

ed in the scholarly world. It is gratifying to note that our journal has won international recognition and popularity and has the largest circulation among Indian historical journals.

Library:

Considerable additions had been made to the collection of historical journals in our library during the year under review. We have now most of the principal historical journals of the world. After the Institute was shifted to its new home in December 1965, we were able to provide proper reading-room facilities to our members. It is, however, a matter of regret that these facilities are not being utilised as fully as we had expected. Some additions had also been made to the collections of books, pamphlets, reports etc., in our library. We had, however, been handicapped by lack of funds in building up a general library on History, really useful to our members. I take this opportunity to appeal to the Government and the generous public for funds to enlarge the scope of our library and to equip it with important reference books on History for the benefit of research students. We also appeal to all the foreign Consulates to make free gifts of History books to our library.

Research Service Bureau:

The Research Service Bureau showed considerable activity during the year under review. The Bureau sponsored a research scheme on Art History on behalf of an Indian scholar and secured financial assistance from the J. D. R. Third Fund. The Bureau had also undertaken collection of biographical material

<i>Eastern Zone</i>	
Bengal	229
Bihar	54
Assam	28
Orissa	52
	363

on behalf of a foreign scholar on about 100 Indian Communist leaders. The work is expected to be completed by the end of the current year. One of the main tasks of the Bureau is to help scholars with the services of Research Assistants for the collection of material for their projects. During the year under review the Bureau also answered numerous research queries and in many cases helped establishing contacts between research students working in different parts of the country in allied fields of study. To make the Research Service Bureau more useful and active, we need additional funds and we hope that the Government or the U.G.C. will come to our assistance.

Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project:

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project made greater progress in 1965-66 than in the previous two years. We are now confident of being able to complete collection of biographical material according to schedule by the middle of 1967.

Lists of Leaders:

In accordance with the decision of the Advisory Board Meeting, held in June, 1965, the lists of leaders of different zones were revised, deleting several names and adding a few new ones. Some more revisions were done for particular zones at the suggestions of the Research Supervisors and Research Fellows. The final revised lists were drawn up in May, 1966. The total number remains nearly the same as submitted to the Advisory Board in June, 1965. The zone-wise break-up of the total number is given below.

<i>Northern Zone</i>	
U.P., M.P. and Rajasthan	168
Panjab, Kashmir & N. W. F. Province	147
	315

<i>Western Zone</i>	
Bombay-Gujarat	113
Maharashtra	126
	239

<i>Southern Zone</i>	
Madras, Mysore & Pondicherry	129
Andhra	50
Kerala	32
	211

TOTAL:—1128

These lists were submitted to the Advisory Board for final check up and addition wherever necessary. In the final check up we have to make sure that no name at least equal in importance to the names given in the lists is left out through oversight. Secondly, we have to ensure that no name is finally included in the Dictionary which is not in conformity with the fundamental principles drawn up at the Advisory Board Meeting in June 1964. Finally, the names of foreigners who were active participants in the Indian Nationalist Movement have also to be included.

The Advisory Board made several changes in the lists. We have also sought the views of experts and eminent public figures which will help us in finalising the lists. It would possibly

have been better in one sense to give wider publicity to our lists of leaders to ascertain fuller public opinion on our choice of names. But we felt the need of exercising caution in not giving unrestricted publicity, particularly in the popular press, to the lists of leaders to be covered in our Dictionary, in order to avoid pressure from interested political or communal groups. We have to keep our Project on a purely academic and non-partisan basis.

Progress made:

During the year under review (June, 1965-May, 1966) biographical material had been collected on 447 leaders. The zone-wise break-up of the number is given below:

<i>Eastern Zone</i>	
Bengal	53
Bihar	28
Assam	10
Orissa	39
	130

<i>Northern Zone</i>	
U. P., M. P. and Rajasthan	80
Panjab, Kashmir and N.W.F. Province	50
	130

<i>Western Zone</i>	
Bombay-Gujarat	40
Maharashtra	69
	109

<i>Southern Zone</i>	
Madras, Mysore & Pondicherry	45
Andhra	26
Kerala	7
	78

TOTAL:—447.

Taking stock of the total progress made till May 1966, biographical material had been

collected on 762 leaders. The zone-wise break-up is given below:

Eastern Zone

Bengal	115
Bihar	54
Assam	19
Orissa	52

240

Western Zone

Bombay-Gujarat	66
Maharashtra.	101

167

Northern Zone

U.P., M.P. and	
Rajasthan	139
Panjab, Kashmir &	
N.W.F. Province	82

221

Southern Zone

Madras, Mysore &	
Pondicherry	84
Andhra	36
Kerala	14

134

TOTAL:—762

The names had been published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. V. nos.1 and 3.

For 1966-67, 366 leaders remain to be covered. The zone-wise break-up according to the existing list is given below:

Eastern Zone

Bengal	114
Assam	9

123

Southern Zone

Madras, Mysore &	
Pondicherry	45
Andhra	14
Kerala	18

77

Northern Zone

U.P., M.P. &	
Rajasthan	29
Panjab, Kashmir &	
N.W.F. Province	65

94

Western Zone

Bombay-Gujarat	47
Maharashtra	25

72

TOTAL:—366

Even if 50 to 75 names are added to the existing list, the collection of biographical material can be completed by May 1967.

Research Staff:

During the year under review we had the following Research Fellows:

Eastern Zone

Bengal—One whole-time Research Fellow (since January, 1966); two part-time Research Fellows.

Bihar—One whole-time Research Fellow.

Assam—One part-time Research Fellow.

Orissa—One whole-time Research Fellow.

Western Zone

Bombay-Gujarat—One whole-time Research Fellow.

Maharashtra—One whole-time Research Fellow; one part-time Research Fellow converted into a whole-time Research Fellow from March 1966.

Northern Zone

U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan—Two whole-time

Research Fellows till March, 1966; one

whole time Research Fellow from April, 1966

Panjab, Kashmir & N.W.F. Province—One

whole-time Research Fellow; one addi-

tional whole-time Research Fellow since the middle of May, 1966.

Southern Zone

Madras, Mysore & Pondicherry—One whole-time Research Fellow.

Andhra—One part-time Research Fellow converted into a full-time Research Fellow from March, 1966.

Kerala—One whole-time Research Fellow from March, 1966.

Work in Bihar and Orissa was completed in March, 1966. In Assam there was no work from September 1965 to March 1966, on account of some special difficulties of the Research Fellow. Work was resumed in April 1966 and will be completed by October 1966.

In Bengal work will continue, with one whole-time and two part-time Research Fellows, till May 1967.

In U.P., M.P. and Rajasthan one Research Fellow resigned from 1st April 1966. The total work left can be covered by the other Research Fellow by December, 1966. For Panjab, Kashmir and N.W.F. Province an additional Research Fellow was appointed from the middle of May. He will cover the work allotted to him by the end of December, 1966. The remaining work will be completed by the other Research Fellow by March, 1967.

For Bombay-Gujarat, work will continue, with one whole-time Research Fellow till May 1967. For Maharashtra, one whole-time Research Fellow was appointed in June, 1965. Her work will continue till September, 1966. There was also one part-time Research Fellow, who was appointed a whole-time Research Fellow from March, 1966. Between these two Research Fellows, the Maharashtra list will be fully covered by September, 1966.

In Madras-Mysore, work will continue, with one whole-time Research Fellow, till May 1967. In Andhra, there was one part-time Research Fellow who resigned from the middle of July, 1965. Another part-time Research Fellow was appointed in his place from the middle of September, 1965. In order to have the work completed in time, he was appointed a whole-time Research Fellow from March 1966. The Andhra list will be fully covered by September, 1966. In Kerala there was no work from January 1965 to February 1966. From March 1966 a new whole-time Research Fellow was appointed, and it is expected that work in Kerala will be completed by December, 1966.

Editing Work:

Since the Project is to be completed by the middle of 1968, editing work should start from 1966. The Advisory Board at its last meeting took up the question and decided to set up an

Editorial Board with the following members, with powers to co-opt not more than three.

1. Dr. S. P. Sen.
2. Dr. K. K. Datta.
3. Dr. S. Gopal.
4. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
5. Dr. Mohammad Mujeeb.
6. Dr. S. Nurul Hasan.
7. Dr. P. L. Mchra.
8. MM. D. V. Potdar.
9. Dr. G. M. Moraes.
10. Dr. K. K. Pillay.
11. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
12. Dr. P. K. K. Menon.

The Advisory Board also laid down the principles of selecting contributors for biographical entries in the Dictionary. It was felt that the association of some eminent public figures as contributors would enhance the value and utility of the Dictionary. So it was decided to request about 100 men of eminence in public life, not necessarily historians, but closely associated with the leaders concerned, to write the biographical entries on the lines of the standard pattern. The data collected by the Research Fellows will be made available to them. No one in this category is to be requested to write more than one entry. The rest of the work is to be distributed among 100 professional historians, on the basis of 10 to 12 entries each. In order to maintain high academic quality and uniformity of standard, the Editorial Board will have the authority to reject any entry or to make whatever changes may be considered necessary in the interest of the Project. It was also decided that the entries should vary from 400 to 2,000 words according to the eminence of the leaders and at the end of each entry there is to be a bibliography.

Finances:

(i) DICTIONARY PROJECT

During the year under review, our financial

position improved considerably by a grant of Rs. 50,000/- from the Government of India, out of which we received Rs. 35,000/- as the first instalment. In view of the large gap between our Project budget and our resources, we would have been placed in a most difficult situation if the Government of India had not come forward with financial assistance. Even with the utmost economy and cutting down the Project size, we could not have completed the work in any meaningful way without additional funds. We are particularly thankful to Mr. M. C. Chagla, Education Minister, for his kind interest and sympathetic attitude. The grant from the Government of India, apart from its financial importance, is significant as a gesture of appreciation on the part of the Government of the national importance of the Project.

I am also happy to report that we received grants of Rs. 2,000/- each from the Governments of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. We are thankful to the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, who had so kindly responded to our appeal for financial assistance. We are also hoping that our appeals to the Chief Ministers of other States for financial assistance will meet with a favourable response in the year 1966-67.

The Asia Foundation had also paid in March 1966 Rs. 55,000/- as grant for the year 1966-67. This brings the total of the Asia Foundation's grant to Rs. 2,43,184/-. It is a very generous help and I take this opportunity to express our grateful thanks to the Foundation.

The audited statement of accounts for 1965-66 (April, 1965 to March 1966) and budget estimates for 1966-67 (June to May) are submitted separately. In order to give a clearer picture of the financial position for the year ending 31st May, 1966, a separate Statement is also attached, which will show the budget provision and the amount spent on each head. It will be noticed that out of the

budget provision of Rs. 91,000/-, only Rs. 89,361.69p. had been spent from June 1965 to May 1966. The total income in 1965-66 (including the unspent balance as on 31.5.65, the Government of India Grant and the Grants from the Governments of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh received in April, 1966) was Rs. 1,71,195. The balance carried over to the year 1966-67 is Rs. 81,833.51p. To this may be added Rs. 15,000/- as the balance of the Government of India Grant.

On the basis of estimates for the two remaining years of the Project, 1966-67 and 1967-68, we shall require an additional sum of Rs. 55,000/- (Rs. 10,000/- in 1966-67 and Rs. 45,000/- in 1967-68). This does not include the cost of publication. If the Institute is to undertake the publication of the Dictionary, we shall need Rs. 90,000/- more. So including the cost of publication, we require Rs. 1,45,000/- more to complete the Project in the way we want it, so as to make our Dictionary a fitting homage to those illustrious men and women who created modern India. Having proceeded so far, we have every reason to be optimistic enough to hope that we can get this additional sum from Central and State Governments, Educational Foundations, Industrialists and Businessmen and the generous public.

(ii) GENERAL

So far as the general side of the Institute is concerned, the financial position is far from happy. The Asia Foundation's General Support Grant of Rs. 13,500 a year for three years came to an end in March, 1966. Since the organisation had not yet attained a self-supporting stage, we applied to the Asia Foundation for a renewal of the General Support Grant, reduced to Rs. 9,500 a year for another period of three years. The Asia Foundation, appreciating the useful nature of the work being done by the Institute, very generously came to our assistance again and sanctioned a grant for three years more, 1966-67 to 1968-69.

Within these three years of respite, we have to make heroic efforts to build up our own financial strength, so that the termination of the grant in 1969 may not cripple our activities. Our first aim should be to increase the membership by at least 100 every year, which will partly compensate the loss of the Foundation grant in 1969. At the same-time we shall also try to secure funds from the State and Central Governments for specific items like, Library, Research Service Bureau, Annual Conference and Seminars. But before we approach the Government, let us, the members of the profession, first show that we have done on our side as much as we could to build up the financial strength of the organisation. I take this opportunity to appeal to all our members again to kindly exert themselves in enrolling new members, at least 100 every year, which would partially meet our financial needs and also strengthen our hands in seeking help from the Central and State Governments and other sources.

Conclusion:

Before concluding the Annual Report, on behalf of the Institute of Historical Studies, I offer our sincere thanks to the Asia Foundation, the Government of India and the Governments of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh for their generous financial assistance, and to the Universities who had offered us their helpful co-operation in the execution of the Project. I have also to thank the Press and the All-India Radio for their kind co-operation in giving full publicity to our work. I also take this opportunity to offer my thanks to the members of the Executive Committee, the Advisory Board, the Editorial Board, the Project Committee and the Zonal Committees, and to all the members and well-wishers of the Institute for their kind and active interest.

August 22, 1966
Calcutta-12.

S. P. Sen
Director.

DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHIES OF NATIONALIST LEADERS

NAMES OF LEADERS COVERED (APRIL TO OCTOBER, 1966)

Acharya, Jugal Kishore.
 Ahmad, Z. A. (Dr).
 Alam, Sheikh Muhammad.
 Ali, Raza Syed.
 Ambujammal.
 Amin, Motibhai.
 Annapurnayya, M.
 Apte, H. N.
 Atariwala, Chattar Singh.
 Atariwala, Sham Singh.
 Bagal, Madhav Khande Rao.
 Bajaj, Prem Nath.
 Bajpaye, Pt. Ambika Prasad.
 Bal, Loke Nath.
 Banaji, Framji Cowasji.
 Bandyopadhyaya, Hem Chandra.
 Bandyopadhyaya, Rangalal.
 Banker, Shankarlal.
 Banerjee, Jatindra Nath.
 Banerjee, Indra Nath.
 Banerjee, Panchkari.
 Banerjee, Rakhil Das.
 Banerjee, Suresh Chandra.
 Bari, Abdul.
 Bari, Abdul (Maulana).
 Bashir, Dr. Muhammad.
 Beg, Mirza Samiullah.
 Bhaktavatsalam, M.
 Bhalla, Balraj.
 Bhatt, Nanabhai.
 Bhonsle, J. K.
 Bhopatkar, Bhaskar Balwant.
 Bose, Benoy.
 Bose, Girish Chandra.
 Bose, Rajnarain.
 Bose, Satyen.
 Cama, Kharshedji Rustamji.
 Chakravarty, Ambika.
 Chakravarty, Behari Lal.
 Chakravarty, Shyam Sundar.
 Chakravarty, Troilokshya Nath.

Chaudhuri, Shahabuddin.
 Cherukuvada Venkata Narasimham.
 Chitnis, G. Y.
 Dange, S. A.
 Daptari, Dr. Kesava Laxman.
 Das, Mukunda.
 Das, Purna.
 Das, Sundari Mohan.
 Dass, Ram Saran.
 Das Gupta, Pannalal.
 Dastidar, Tarakeshwar.
 Datwi, Balwant Nagesrao.
 Datta, Batukeshwar.
 Dutta, Ullaskar.
 Desai, Morarji.
 Deshmukh, Smt. Durgabai.
 Deo, Shankarrao Dattaray.
 Dev, S. S.
 Dev Goswami, Pitambar.
 Devi, Basanti.
 Devi, Swranakumari.
 Dhebar, U. N.
 Diwakar, R. R.
 Dixit, Gaindalal.
 Dogra, Girdhari Lal.
 Dogra, Prem Nath.
 Dravid Brothers.
 Dubliss, Vishnu Saran.
 Gandhi, Smt. Kasturba.
 Ganguly, Dwarkanath.
 Ganguly, Jyotirmoyce.
 Ganguly, Pratul Chandra.
 Gargaj, Arjan Singh.
 Gharpare Shreemant Narayan Rao (Bahasaheb Ghorepare).
 Gharpare, J. R.
 Ghosh, Ganesh.
 Ghosh, Hemendra Prasad.
 Ghosh, Motilal.
 Ghose, Surendra Mohan.

Giani Dit Singh.
 Gokhale, D. V.
 Goubert, E.
 Gupta, Chandra Bhanu.
 Gupta, Dinesh.
 Gupte, Bhalchandra Mahesh.
 Hati Barua, R. K.
 Hydari, Akbar.
 Islam, Kazi Nazrul.
 Iyer, Ullor Parameswara S.
 Joshi, G. Vasudeo.
 Kale, R. R.
 Kamaraj, K.
 Kamat, B. S.
 Kanhere, A. L.
 Karendikar, J. S.
 Kashmiri, Mohanlal.
 Kevalanand Shastri (Swami).
 Khadiikar, R. K.
 Khare, Waman Sakharan.
 Kolhatkar, Achyut Rao Balvant Rao.
 Kumaran Asan, N.
 Lala, Shankar Lal.
 Leon Saint Jean.
 Mahatma, Budh Singh.
 Majumdar, Ambika Chandra.
 Majumdar, Bhupati.
 Marathe, Narayan Shastri.
 Mama, Parmanand.
 Mandlik, Ramchandra Narayan.
 Mandlik, V. N.
 Mappilai Mammen, K. C.
 Mascarene, (Miss) Annie.
 Mashriqui, Allama.
 Meherally, Yusuf.
 Mehta, G. L.
 Menon, Vallathol Narayana.
 Mirza Basir-ud-din.
 Mitra, Rajendralal.
 Mitra, Sarada Charan.
 Modi, Jivanji Jamshedji.
 More, S. S.
 Mudaliar, Muthuranga.
 Mukherjee, Rajendra Nath.
 Munshi, Sajjad Hussain.
 Munshi, Lilavati.
 Nagar, Amritlal.
 Naidu, G. Rangayya.

Nair, T. M. (Dr).
 Nam Joshi, M. B.
 Nana Patil.
 Naoroji, Ferdoonji.
 Narasimham, Ch. Lakshmi.
 Nayar, (Sir) Chettur Sankaran.
 Nawab of Chhattari.
 Nawab, Muhammad Ismail Khan.
 Nilakanth, Mahipatram.
 Nilakanth, Sir Ramabhai.
 Nilakanth, Smt. Vidagauri.
 Noon, Feroz Khan.
 Pakrasi, Satish Chandra.
 Pakvasa, Mangaldas.
 Palit, Taraknath.
 Paliwal, Tikaram.
 Pandit Lokpat Rai.
 Pandit B. Parasuram.
 Pantulu, V. Ramdass.
 Patil, S. K.
 Patwardhan, Bhai Achyut Rao.
 Petit, Dinshaw.
 Pickthall, Muhammad Marmaduke.
 Pillai, Balakrishna A.
 Pillay, Changanachery Parameswaran K.
 Pillai, Chempakaraman.
 Pillai, Kumbalath Sanku.
 Pillai, P. Kesava.
 Pingle, V. G.
 Puntambekar, A. G.
 Puranik, W. R.
 Puri, Mukund Lal.
 Qadir, Sir Abdul.
 Radhakrishnan, Dr. S.
 Raghavayya, Vennelakanti.
 Rajguru, Shri Ram Hari.
 Raju, K. Linga.
 Ranade, Ramabai.
 Rango Reddy, K. B.
 Rango, Bapuji.
 Rao, Krishna M.
 Rao, M. Narasinha.
 Rao, Kala Venkata.
 Kotagiri, Venkata Krishna.
 Rath, Mrutunjay (Pt).
 Roy, Anil.
 Roy, Kiran Sankar.
 Roy, Ram Mohan.

Roy, Sadhucharan.
 Roychowdhury, Acharya Brajendra Kishore.
 Roychowdhury, Ambikagiri.
 Reddy, Mulangi Govinda.
 Reddi, K. B.
 Reddiar, O. P. Ramaswamy.
 Rehman, Maulana Habib-ur.
 Ruikar, R. S.
 Sahu, Gopinath.
 Saksena, Professor Shubbandal.
 Sanyal, Sachindra Nath.
 Sardar, Bholanath Sarabhai.
 Sardar, Kishan Singh.
 Sarkar, Jadunath.
 Sarkar, Nalini Ranjan.
 Sarma, B. N.
 Sarma, Krishna Nath.
 Satavalekar, Shripad Damodar.
 Savarkar, G. D.
 Sen, Atul Prasad.
 Sen, Nobin Chandra.
 Sen, Rajani Kanta.
 Seth, Damodar Dass Rathi.
 Seth, Damodar Swaroop.
 Seth, Amritlal Nagar.
 Sharma, Pt. Peary Lal.
 Shastri, Hariharanath.
 Shastri, (Pt) Hiralal.
 Singh, Ananta.
 Singh, Bhagwan.
 Singh, Bhai Balwant.
 Singh, Bhai Santokh.

Singh, Hukum.
 Singh, Ranjit.
 Singh, Saligram (Hazaribagh).
 Singh, (Dr.) Mathura.
 Singh, Thikriwala Sewa.
 Shamaldas, Sir Lallubhai.
 Sri Ram, Sir.
 Sridhar, G. Ponnara.
 Seiramulu Potti.
 Subbiah, O. Venkata.
 Subrahmanyam, Dr. B.
 Sufi, Amba Prasad.
 Sundarayya, Dr. P.
 Tawade, Sitaram Ramji.
 Tilak, Rev. N. V.
 Trivedi, Haribhai.
 Trivedi, Ramendra Sundar.
 Tyabji, Abbas.
 Vaidya, Bharatcharya Chintaman Vinayak.
 Varma, Ganga Prasad.
 Varughese, T. M.
 Vartak, Govind Dhamaji.
 Venneti, Satyanarayana.
 Vidyalkar, Satyadeva.
 Vishnubabu Brahmachari alias Vishnu Bhikaji
 Gokhale.
 Viswanatham, T.
 Vivekananda, Swami.
 Yagnik, Indulal.
 Zabbar Ali Khan.
 Zakaullah (of Delhi).

A METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATION ON MODERN INDIAN HISTORY*

DR. TORU MATSUI

Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo

When you say "modern Indian history," one may ask what you mean by it. Periodization, or the definition of the borderline between the pre-modern and modern period of Indian history is an important matter, on which hinges, or into which crystallizes, the understanding of the infinitely complex modern human history, and yet it is a matter not easy to handle and is often evaded. Of course, we have a convention of Indian historiography, by which we usually begin our modern period with the advent of European merchants (but excluding the stories of the Mughal empire at its zenith). Sometimes, we begin it with 1757 or with 1818.¹ The demarcation may be like one of these all right, but it should be, I think, based on some theoretical ground. In establishing this theoretical ground, however, there is one unavoidable difficulty, apparently a conceptual difficulty, or a kind of dilemma.

I know, even today, there are many pre-modern elements in Japanese society. Undoubtedly, Indian society in 1850 was full of these. There might have been particles of modern civilization here and there, but it was predominantly pre-modern agricultural society. When speaking about the modern period, therefore, we find ourselves still arguing about modernization. This might mean, India in the modern period is characterized by something that needs modernization, that waits for modernization, namely, that is not yet modern at all.

To avoid this apparent dilemma, one may be tempted to locate the beginning of the modern period at a much later date. But should we wait for a day, when people no longer talk about modernization? In my opinion, one need not wait for a later date, one can begin the modern period of Indian history with the establishment of the British raj, because with its establishment, a quite new and modern world historical factor was introduced into India. And I think, the criteria of the modern period for European history should not be taken as having always general or world historical applicability. The definition of the modern period for the "under-developed" countries should be given in a somewhat different way.

* * *

To make the point clearer, let us examine our concept of "modernization" and "under-development." It is certain that our idea of what is modern and our idea of historical process that leads to it were first taken out or abstracted from the human experience in West Europe. The concepts of "modernity" and "modernization" are, in any case, deeply connected with modern West European history. They should at least be consistent with it, whatever definition you may give to them, or a kind of prototype of modernity and modernization should be found in West Europe. But at the same time, we should not forget that these concepts are conceived not as something confined to West Europe, but rather as something common to all human beings.

*A lecture delivered on May 20, 1966, at the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta.

European scholars often believe that as their study of their own modern history is well developed and as their modern history contains the model of modernity, they know better, therefore, about the essential qualities of modern human civilization. But are they right? They may know about their modern age in their own way. But if they don't know well what "modernity" means in other regions of the world, and how it will be attained there,—how do you think they can properly interpret even their own modern history as a case of far broader human experience? Or, let me put it this way. If we are almost ignorant about the Indian case, or about the Japanese case, our knowledge about ourselves is imperfect even for the European case. We cannot, for example, distinguish what is common to world history from what is only peculiar to the European case. However, this problem being too great,² I would like to proceed to the examination of the concept of "underdevelopment," by which, I hope, I will make my point clearer.

* * *

It is evident, when one talks about "underdevelopment", there must be a general theory or measure of development, by means of which the level of the development of a society is to be determined. In my opinion, our concept of "modernity" and "modernization" should include in some way such a general theory of human historical development. What is important, however, is that such a general theory or measure of development, if taken alone, cannot lead us to the kernel of the problem of underdevelopment. Or, we cannot well grasp the actuality of underdevelopment, if our tool of analysis is confined to such a general theory or measure. To repeat, we can define "underdevelopment" by means of a general theory or measure. Yet our analysis so far does not approach the actual point of the problem. This "underdevelopment," identified by a general theory or measure, I would like to call "underdevelopment

in the abstract sense," or "abstract underdevelopment."

No doubt mediaeval Europe, mediaeval Japan or 16th-century India was underdeveloped but, in the abstract sense. Pre-Columbian America was underdeveloped in the same sense. One must not forget there was no problem of underdevelopment in the actual sense, nor any consciousness of it.

Generally speaking, the actual "underdevelopment" is not an essential or inner problem of a society regarded as cut off from the outer world. There are neither underdeveloped nor advanced countries, which are such independently. These are both modern phenomena in world history. Or, to repeat, underdevelopment is a modern phenomenon. For, actually, it is a product of interplay—interplay between the advanced and the underdeveloped.

When a spontaneous, free and independent historical development, however slow, becomes no longer possible for a society which was underdeveloped in the abstract sense, under a strong impact from advanced civilization—the nature of this impact being a little different from the working of that advanced civilization in its homeland—then, there arises the problem of underdevelopment.

Independent historical development is disturbed in many ways. Sometimes an innovation is introduced, or compelled; but of course, it is not the whole innovation, not the modernization of the whole society. Sometimes a tradition is preserved, even strengthened; but of course, the traditional as a whole is not supported—it is reorganized, half-demolished, half-preserved and distorted. Something is changed, and something, even if apparently unchanged, is set in different circumstances and induced to play a new role, to take a new historical meaning.

We must note here that not only an impact from outside but also a factor within soon comes to be working for the change. Not only a colonial ruler's intention and foreign merchants' interest, but also a selfconsciousness of underdevelopment and a desire to overtake, sometimes restless and impatient, appears on the scene.

Under these pressures, a new society, a new economy, polity and culture, gradually comes forth, which is, as a whole, no doubt not modern at all in itself, and yet which is not essentially the same as that of England several centuries earlier. The historical change for what is modern, the process of modernization, which was experienced in England from those olden times, is no more to be copied here. Thus we have a society, which not only is underdeveloped in the abstract sense, but has the actual problems of underdevelopment as well. Underdevelopment as a concrete fact of today is thus a product of a long process of interplay in modern world history.³

* * *

If "underdevelopment" is such as I have outlined, our method of analysis should be adapted to it. First, we must have a general theory or an abstract measure, by which the level of development or underdevelopment is to be estimated. This development-theory or development-measure should be more or less of an unilinear character. Because of their essential unilinearity and universality, we can compare many societies, many civilizations directly with each other—that is, without any other considerations—and find out some kind of time-lag between them and say one is advanced and another, underdeveloped, or even measure the extent of advancement or underdevelopment in terms of some indices.

This simple comparative method by means of an unilinear evolutionary theory or measure is no doubt indispensable as a first approach. But, unilinear, universal theories or measures

can include within their logic neither the fact that societies of different levels of development exist side by side and exert interactions upon one another, nor any method of elucidation of these interactions and their results. To repeat, these theories or measures cannot include within their logic either the fact of juxtaposition and interaction, or the method of analysis of the interaction, of the variously developed countries.

We must therefore be prepared to analyse these interactions themselves, or rather, the world historical situation which is beyond the reach of our unilinear, universal theory or measure, and find out the factors outside of them that cause the distortion of the time-lag.

Then by the combination of these two stages of study, which we should neither mix up into confusion, nor separate only to permit onesided argument, we can approach the concrete actualities of "underdevelopment" as a modern world historical phenomenon.

In short, first we survey the abstract underdevelopment (or, advancement) by means of unilinear, universal theory or measure, based on a simple comparative method. Secondly, we examine the world historical factors which are beyond the reach of the above theory or measure. Our study will be mainly an interaction-analysis. Thirdly, by combining these studies, we can approach the concrete actualities of the "underdevelopment" (or, "advancement").

* * *

Needless to say, we might often have to perform, in practice, these stages of study at the same time, not stage after stage, but the study procedure above is logically comprehensible, theoretically necessary. It is important always to bear in mind that we have to perform these stages of study and to make sure at the end that we have completed the whole logical procedure.

* * *

I am afraid, my talk has been too abstract. Too abstract for a historian to venture, perhaps. So, let us depart from the abstract stage of my talk, and draw a few examples from modern Indian history, to illustrate that what I have in mind is not a hard and fast formalism, not a Procrustean bed of the Greek myth, but a conscious system of flexibility for a closer approach to the actuality.

When speaking about the nineteenth-century Indian economic history, many found there a stagnation or deterioration and attributed it to the exploitative nature of the British raj. According to some others' opinion, however, it should be attributed mainly to the backward nature of Indian society itself. Recently an American professor declared that they were all wrong.⁴ We should admit, in his opinion, that there was a substantial growth of total and per capita real income, if we consider the great backwardness at the beginning and the utter shortness of the time-span of a hundred years.

To my thinking, these arguments are all too much swayed by the simple comparative method. I agree that Indian society in the nineteenth-century was by and large underdeveloped or backward, and that there might have probably been some growth—a growth, measured by numerical indices, of the Indian economy in the aggregate. What I want to stress, however, is that the nineteenth-century Indian economy was not only underdeveloped in the abstract sense, but also was led astray from its course of spontaneous, free development, under a modern European colonial rule, and that abstract, aggregative “growth” was, in its content, a very lop-sided one, if we take the British economic development as the standard. Indian economy in 1900 became—as a result of the so-called “growth,” partly—something new to human experience, that which has never been experienced in West Europe, though, taken as a whole, it was certainly underdeveloped yet, in the abstract sense. So here we have an example of colonial

“underdevelopment” as a modern world historical phenomenon.⁵

Similar argument might be possible as to the Hindu-Muslim conflict. I have a hesitation to touch on this topic, but let me give you an idea of how I face and handle the problem as a historian.

For the British, as is known so well, it served as a proof of the necessity of their rule. I have a booklet, entitled “Can the Hindus rule India?” full of stories of communal fighting, which proves, supposedly, the need of an arbitrator, who can be no one else but the British. Indian nationalists maintained, on the contrary, the communal rioting was the product of the British divide-and-rule policy. I think argument on responsibility and argument on cause are too often confused. People ask why, and answer who is to blame. Of course, argument on responsibility has its own merit. But here I am, as a historian, concerned with the causal analysis. For me, it seems that the communalism should be explained in terms of modern colonial “underdevelopment.”

It had its origin in the underdeveloped Indian society itself. There was something there, which could not be regarded as the British creation. But that something was set in new circumstances by the British, and induced to play a new role, finally to become a formidable monster, which can only be explained in terms of modern colonial “underdevelopment,” and which made it useless to argue about how it would have been, if there had been no British rule, for the spontaneous, independent development was so definitely foreclosed.

Let me pick out another, and perhaps more pleasant topic—the Sepoy Mutiny, or the First War of Independence. Regarding this event, it may be asked whether it was essentially an anachronistic reactionary movement led by the old feudal rulers, accom-

panied by a chaotic conglomeration of various grievances against the reckless Anglicization, against the rash introduction of modern Western civilization. The answer should be in the negative, perhaps. But, why? Though there might be found here and there somewhat progressive elements in it, no one can deny that there were also a lot of conservative, retrospective or reactionary elements there.

To my thinking, however, here again we should be careful, not to be misled by the simple comparative method. What is progressive and what is reactionary? The British raj introduced a number of new, Western elements, to be sure. But when all things are considered, it was not the modernization of the whole Indian society at all. It was a foreclosure of spontaneous, independent development, creating as a result, intentionally or unintentionally, a modern colonial “underdevelopment.” It follows, then, that a movement against the British innovation should not be considered as a simple retrospective, anachronistic reaction, even when it was clothed in a traditional garment, for it was playing, intentionally or unintentionally, a new role in world history—namely, nationalistic resistance against colonial rule; which is itself a product of modern colonial “underdevelopment.”

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² A brief consideration on this topic, though utterly outdated, is given in Toru Matsui, “What is the Particular Meaning of ‘Kindai-ka’—A Methodological Consideration,” *Aoyama Keizai Ronshu*, Vol. X, No. 3, 1958.
³ Cf. Toru Matsui, “Modern History of India and ‘Underdevelopment’—A Methodological Reconsidera-

No more examples are necessary, I believe. I am afraid I have picked out controversial topics one after another, and presented a set of vulnerable arguments in a very simplified way. I would like to remind you, however, that what I wanted to present was not these illustrations themselves, which might have been, as illustrations, wrong, but it was the general methodological consideration for the study of underdevelopment in modern world history, and I believe it does not contain so much novelty, but rather it is simply a recognition or reconfirmation of what has been, or should have been, known to all.

Now, in conclusion, I might add a short remark on our first topic, that is, on the periodization of modern Indian history, though I think my point has already become clear. There is, I believe, a sound ground for beginning the modern period with the establishment of the British raj. It is true that Indian society as a whole did not get modernized with it, but a new historical factor was introduced and the period of colonial “underdevelopment” which was itself a modern world historical phenomenon, not to be found in any ancient or mediaeval societies, got started with it, the spontaneous, independent development, however slow, being definitely foreclosed.

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CORRUPTION IN PUBLIC LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

It is sometimes presumed that the demon of corruption that has spread its ominous tentacles so menacingly in national life today and to curb which the Government of India and State Governments are taking steps is the outcome of the modern social set-up. But the infiltration of corruption into our society has taken its own place in the pages of history and it has become inextricably mixed up with social life right from olden times. True, the scope of corruption today is more universal, its ramifications are manifold and varied, and its incidence is fed by sources more diversified, more subtle and more general than in mediaeval times, yet mediaeval (as well as ancient India) was not in any way free from it. Rather many features of present day corruption are easily discernible in mediaeval times also. Contemporary sources,—Persian chronicles and letters, literature and foreign travellers' accounts all throw light on the different facades of corruption in mediaeval India (c. 1000—1757 A.D.). It must not, however, be supposed that mediaeval India was worse than contemporary Europe or England in this respect. Ideas of judicial integrity and impartiality were not firmly established in those countries also. A critical study of the contemporary sources would show that corruption prevailed in some form or other in different strata of political and social life.

1. POLITICAL LIFE

Let us first take the case of rulers and ruling classes. Mediaeval Indian rulers were not altogether free from the taint of corruption in the strict sense of the term. They resorted to doubtful methods to gain their political objectives. Of course, it must be admitted that in every country and in every age *raison d'état*

has superseded morality, a principle which was so forcefully pointed out by that brilliant Florentine of the age of Renaissance in Europe. Nevertheless the fact cannot be gainsaid that some famous rulers in mediaeval India, who were among the greatest in the history of the world, took recourse to political trickery and diplomatic manoeuvres, which, to say the least, were far from morally clean. (a) Forgery and fraud are one of the most heinous offences, known to man. Is it sanctified by being practised by 'kings among men'? Yet the redoubtable Sher Shah and the puritanical Aurangzeb were guilty of forgery and epistolary diplomacy. Sher Shah, when hardpressed by Maldev and about to lose the empire of Hindustan for a handful of *bajra* (millet) in 1544 A.D. could think of no other means to save himself than by writing forged letters in the name of Maldev's nobles, in order to strike terror in his heart.¹ During the War of Succession among Shahjahan's sons Aurangzeb resorted to fictitious letters in order to alienate Shuja from Muhammad Sultan.² Again, during the war with Marwar, Aurangzeb duped that jewel of a servant, Durgadas, by a fictitious letter addressed to Prince Akbar and isolated the ambitious rebel.³

(b) Bribery and treachery were also adopted as suitable methods for reasons of conquest. Sher Shah broke his promise with Puran Mal of Raisin (1543). The greatest ruler of mediaeval India, Akbar the Great, took recourse to bribery to capture Asirgarh, then "the greatest fort in India" (January 1601).⁴ During the Bijapur campaign (1665-'66) that veteran Rajput general of a hundred wars, Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, tried to seduce the Bijapuris by offering bribes, rewards, posts and jagirs from their loyalty to Sultan Adil Shah.⁵ Even Shivaji,

of hallowed memory, had to capture Jawli (1656) by treachery through his envoy Raghunath Ballal during negotiations for Shivaji's marriage with the daughter of the Raja, Chandra Rao.⁶

(c) A more subtle form of corruption was practised by the orthodox Aurangzeb. He concealed his fratricidal vendetta against Dara and Murad by a clever show of legality. He tried, as it were, 'to fix a legal wig on the naked sword', when he manoeuvred the execution of his eldest and youngest brothers on legal grounds.⁷

2. MILITARY ORGANIZATION

If corruption, in some form or other, helped to build up a political fabric, it ultimately acted as a destructive force also. This is seen even in such a vital matter as the military organization of the Turko-Afghans and the Mughals. The Turkish army was essentially an army of horsemen. Each officer was expected to keep a fixed number of men and horses under him, according to his rank and pay. But this was hardly done. By maintaining men and horses less than the required quota, the officers misappropriated a part of their salaries. The army thereby suffered in numerical strength and efficiency. Filthy private gain overbore the greater interests of the state, even in a vital matter like military defence.

This corruption was sought to be checked by various discerning rulers in mediaeval India. But the effect of such reforms was intermittent, depending on the personal equation. Alauddin Khalji was the first ruler in India to introduce branding of horses (*dagh*) (1312-13). It was revived by Sher Shah (1541-2), and then again by Akbar (1573-4). Horses were branded on the thigh with a hot iron before being passed for service, while there was a system of descriptive rolls (*Chihrah*) of men and horses, for purposes of comparison and verification (*tashihah*). For officers and troopers, besides family or tribal details, personal appearance was also recorded minutely (e.g. complexion, hair, forehead,

cycbrows, eyes, nose, beard, ears, teeth, height etc).

Horses were classified according to breed and also elaborately described under 52 items. There was a separate department of Branding and periodical inspections (*musters*, *parades*, i.e. *mahallah*) under the Paymaster of Forces (*Bakhshi*), assisted by certain officers (*darogah*, *amin*, *mushrif*), who carried out the inspection or review, wrote the reports and issued certificates. On the basis of the report an order (*barat*) on the Treasury was prepared for each man for making payments.

The system remained in force till the middle of the eighteenth century. But it was unpopular and its effectiveness was assailed from two quarters. Firstly, the affected sections offered resistance. Akbar's military reforms constituted one of the reasons of rebellions in Bihar and Bengal, which he had to put down with a strong hand. Secondly, the musters were not regularly held. Officers and men went on drawing their pay and the fraud continued unabated subject to adjustment of accounts at the death of the noble. "False musters were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers" (Irvine). Efforts to check the evil were somewhat successful in earlier reigns. But in the post-Aurangzeb period, especially from Muhammad Shah's reign, the precautions fell into disuse in the midst of general confusion and deepening corruption. In Alivardi's Bengal (1750) an officer drawing pay for 1700 men could not muster more than 70 or 80 (*Siyar-ul-muta kherin*). The difference between recorded and actual numbers was indicated by the phrase (*maujud nah kaghazi*, actually present, not merely on paper). By about 1761 the system had so completely disappeared (in Ahmadabad province) that even clerks, cognisant of rules, were not to be found. It must be admitted to

the credit of Mir Casim and Haidar Ali that their armies did not suffer from a single false muster.⁸

The Venetian traveller, Manucci, has recorded an interesting incident about the tyranny of a clerk of the Mughal pay office. A soldier who had gone to draw his pay was kept waiting for a very long time. The impatient and angry soldier threatened to break two teeth of the clerk. The latter made the payment but inwardly swore vengeance. In the descriptive roll of the soldier the clerk noted that he had two teeth less. When the soldier next went to draw his pay, his *Chihrah* did not correspond to the record and so he had to get two teeth extracted before he could get his pay.

3. CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

(i) Official bribery.

Official bribery was a blasting evil in mediaeval administrative system, in western and eastern countries alike. Presents, perquisites, bribes and *pairavi* (pre-sure or influence) constituted its most important facades in mediaeval India. There was a surfeit of corruption, infiltrating from top downwards, from the Emperor to the meanest official, and the cumulative burden fell on the peasant and the trader.

(a) *Presents (Nazr)*: Immemorial custom, the prevailing ideas of social etiquette, and material consideration of humouring one's superiors combined to buttress the practice of offering presents (*nazr*) to the Emperor and the royal princes by nobles and higher officials and to the latter by lower officials. It was the universal rule that none should approach the great empty-handed. Demand for and acceptance of presents by persons in positions of authority was publicly acknowledged. Mirza Ghiyas *Imad ud daulah*, father of Nurjahan and prime minister under Jahangir, used to make shameless demands of presents. The situation worsened under Shahjahan, when from being a voluntary gift it became a compulsory contribution. Practically

every European traveller condemns this gilded form of bribery in strong words. (e.g., Pelsaert, Mundy, Manrique, Mandelslo, Bernier, Manucci and others). Jafar Khan, Aurangzeb's wazir, also demanded presents. Mirza Rajah Jai Singh offered a bribe of Rs. 30,000 to the wazir to influence the Emperor in the matter of his retention in the Deccan as its viceroy after the unsuccessful Bijapur campaign. Bhimsen Burhampuri became disgusted at making payments to everybody at the Mughal Court for getting or retaining an ordinary Civil Office.⁹

Even the Emperor was not free from cupidity. Shahjahan sold a mere *alif* to Mir Khan (Amir Khan) for one lakh of rupees. Aurangzeb asked his son who aspired to a title what offers he would give (*Maasiri, Alamgiri*, Eng. Tr. 290). Aurangzeb sold to Manchardas, qiladar of Sholapur, the title of Rajah for Rs. 50,000. Mughal officers, tired of prolonged warfare in the Deccan, offered large sums of money to Emperor Aurangzeb for ordering their transfer to Hindustan¹⁰.

The head of the state did not realise that the burden of *nazr* percolated downwards to the peasant. Each social stratum offering presents to the higher grade, endeavoured to squeeze the grade below. If the Emperor squeezed the Subahdar, the Subahdar squeezed the zamindars. Again the provincial Diwan, squeezed by the High Diwan, squeezed the subordinate revenue collectors, who, in turn squeezed the ryots.^{10a}

(b) *Perquisites*: Low salaries paid to the vast army of lower officials (e.g. clerks and accountants) in the Mughal empire led to supplement them from other sources and exact perquisites or unauthorised fees from persons who had work to do with them. As the civil and military administration was carried on with their help, the bane was widespread in every department, factory, government store, province, faujdari, army etc.¹¹ Thus acceptance of "writer's fee" (*haqq-ul-taharir*, or *tahriri* was an acknowledged right, and pre-

vailed in law courts or zamindari sheristas till recent times. The *mushrif* (inspector), was advised by Hidayatullah Bihari, author of *Hedayet ul Qawa'id* to take the writer's fee paid willingly by men, as a means of sustenance: "for how else can a man deserving Rs. 50/- but paid a salary of Rs. 20/- a month contrive to live?"¹²

(c) *Bribes*: But perquisites of another kind or bribes were taken secretly by many officials from top to bottom for "doing undeserved favours or deflecting the course of justice" or doing a thing prejudicial to state interests. Such transactions had necessarily to be carried on under a veil of secrecy, because even in mediaeval India bribe taking or official corruption was considered by society to be immoral, wicked and disgraceful.¹³

(d) *Pairavi* (Influence, pressure): Another deep-seated source of corruption in mediaeval India was influence (*pairavi*). It was "the universal and admitted practice", in India as in England under the Tudors and Stuarts for influential persons to sell their influence, i.e. to exact perquisites or gratuities from seekers of favours or supplicants for pushing their business through public channels.¹⁴ Ministers and Courtiers, having easy access to the Emperor, could carry a case to him and reap a rich harvest by sale of 'good offices' to their clients.

Again, bribes in cash or presents were freely given by officers to such influential persons for granting protection to them, for concealing their defects (*ghaib-pushi*), for interceding with the Emperor (*wasila*), and looking after their interests during their absence from the Court.

Presents, perquisites, bribes and *pairavi* formed the four sides of the pyramid of corruption, the line of distinction between them being slight.

(ii) Justice, Police and Espionage

(a) *Justice*: In Mughal India justice was

administered by three separate agencies: (a) Qazi for courts of religious law; (b) local governors, diwans and subordinate officers down to faujdar and kotwal or the Brahman pandits and panchayets for Hindus and villagers, for common law courts; and (c) the Emperor or his agents (not the Qazi) for political cases i.e. offences against the state and against law and order.

Many Qazis were learned lawyers but the primary and indispensable qualifications of a Qazi were, in theory at least, honesty, impartiality, virtuousness and pure detachment from the society. In practice this high ideal was seldom attained. The great power and irresponsible position of the Qazi enabled him to turn his office into a vast field of corruption. All the Qazis of the Mughal period except a few notable exceptions were notorious for taking bribes. The posts of a provincial Qazi and the chief Qazi were often sold for bribes, and the Qazi's department became a byword and reproach in Mughal times (Sarkar)¹⁵. Ibn Hasan writes, "The greatest weakness of the system which is conspicuous throughout and is emphasized by European travellers consisted in the corruption of the Qazis"¹⁶. Akbar adopted strong measures to check corruption of the Qazi's department. Abul Fazl writes that Akbar discovered that the Qazis used to take bribes from the grant-holders and that after enquiry he dismissed most of the Qazis "who wear a turban as a sign of respectability but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves but fall short in sense."¹⁷ Akbar's methods against this class of theologians were not very successful. He required the provincial governors to keep an eye on the Qazis. He lowered their rank and prestige but even he could not deprive them of their power.

The position of the Qazis remained the same under his immediate successors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan and has been commented upon unfavourably by the Dutch factor, Francisco Pelsaert¹⁸ (1620-27) and the French physician, Bernier¹⁹. Even under Aurangzeb the status

of the Qazis does not appear to have risen. In 1702 he ordered that in future the *diwani adalat* (court of justice) should be officially designated court of oppression (*diwanimuzalim*).²⁰ Whatever the precise extent of the Qazi's jurisdiction may have been in theory, he certainly did not rank high in public estimation.²¹ The proverb 'When the Qazi's bitch died, the whole town was at the funeral; when the Qazi himself died, not a soul followed his coffin' indicated the popular scorn for the Qazis.

The power of influence in judicial administration is illustrated by the account of Sir Thomas Roe. According to him the English merchants were helped neither by any court nor by executive officers in the matter of recovery of debts. But the position changed entirely when Roe managed to secure the friendship of the Wazir: the defaulters were imprisoned by the Kotwal and the Wazir summarily disposed of their objections. In this analysis justice became a prize between two competitors in bribery or influence: the successful competitor could have a decision expedited by out-bribing or out-influencing his rival.²²

(b) *Police*: The police system in Mughal India consisted of village police under the *panchayat* or village headman, urban police under the kotwal and district police under the faujdar. Neither the Mughals nor the Marathas directly provided for policing of rural areas. They merely adopted one of the chief features of the traditional system of the old autonomous village community,—the system of local responsibility for local crimes,—under which the village headman and his subordinate watchmen (*chaukidars*) were responsible for prevention and detection of crimes in villages. Sher Shah's emphasis on this indicated a correct appreciation of rural psychology. His biographer writes: "It has been generally ascertained that theft and highway robberies can take place only by the connivance of these headmen....for muqaddams (headmen) and cultivators are alike thieves, and they bear to each other the intimate relations of kinsmen; hence either muqaddams

are implicated in thefts and highway robberies or can ascertain who perpetrated them."²³ Under the Maratha rule the village headman (*Patil*) kept rural police as best as he could with the help of the Zaglas or watchmen, consisting of Mahars and Mangs, assisted by the criminal tribes of the Ramoshis, the Bhils and the Kolis.

The Kotwal was expected to be much more than the Prefect of the city police. He had to be the 'man of all work' of the Mughals. He could be a very powerful autocrat and control the life of the people from the cradle to the grave. He was personally liable to compensate the value of the stolen property which he was unable to recover. From the case, recorded by Thevenot, of an Armenian at Surat whose stolen goods were untraced and who withdrew his complaint under threat of torture by the Kotwal, Moreland comes to the conclusion that the responsibility could be evaded and minimized by the Kotwal and probably also by the village community and the faujdar in practice. Following his argument it may, on the other hand, be asserted that the system worked well and ensured security because the same foreign observer has recorded how a faujdar had to compensate one Mr. Baber of the French East India Company for Rs. 1500. The difference in the two cases might be attributed to the power of influence. If one possessed influence or maintained friendly relations with the authorities, things moved on well and foreign merchants generally were well impressed with the degree of order maintained. Torture was used in India as also in contemporary Europe, to extract confession, recover stolen goods or to divert suspicion.²⁴ Apart from torture, the police also depended on espionage.

(c) *Espionage*: Espionage was an indispensable appanage of every government in every age. In the Mughal empire the secret service consisted of public reporters (viz., *waqainavis* or *waqainigar*, i.e. writer or surveyor of occurrences) and secret reporters (*sawani nigar khufianavis*

regarding important cases only). The latter were appointed to reside secretly in the provinces and to act as spies on the former, suspected of entering into collusion with the local officers. But the most secret class of reporters was the *harkarah* (courier of news, really a spy), bringing oral news and occasionally sending newsletters.²⁵ Besides these there was a network of detectives, spies and informers. The Darogha of Dak Chauki or superintendent of Posts and Intelligence was the official head of the Department. The task of the *waqainavis* was very delicate, as he had to serve both sides and to keep 'both the shaikh and the Book' in their proper places. Aurangzeb had a vast army of spies whom he regarded as his eyes and ears. In his will he wrote: "The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the news of the kingdom. Negligence for a single moment becomes the cause of disgrace for long years."²⁶ According to Manucci, Aurangzeb's spies knew "even men's very thoughts", and the spy system in Mughal India was more organised than in any other country.^{26a}

But even in spite of severe punishments on slack or collusive news-writers, these secret agencies were not always dependable. Bernier complained of the secret understanding between the official recorders and the Governors, "so that their presence seldom restrains the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people".²⁷ Manucci's remarks are also similar, "Officials in their eagerness to become rich, plunder and act wrongfully. They bribe the *Vakianairs* (official reporters) and the *khufiyah navis* (secret Intelligencers) so that the king may never hear."²⁸ Subject to possible exaggeration, it is clear that the system proved faulty in many instances. Despite the restrictions imposed by the spy system, the Governors exercised almost independent powers. Dr. Freyer also makes unfavourable comments on the honesty of news writers. According to him the main cause of Aurangzeb's failure in the Deccan wars was the dishonesty of his newswriters who frequently sent false reports to him.²⁹ That the views of foreign travellers were not ex-

aggerated can be learnt from Jai Singh's despatches. During the Bijapur campaign (1665-66) Jai Singh's army suffered not only from inadequacy in numbers, deficiency in artillery and war materials, discontent and insubordination among his lieutenants and gross negligence in supply of food and provisions, but its effectiveness as a fighting machine was undermined by what in modern terminology would be called 'Fifth columnists.' The gravity of the danger was heightened by the fact that the Mughal secret service itself, the agency to checkmate and nip such activities in the bud, was the hot-bed of corruption and hence utterly inefficient. Jai Singh reported to Emperor Aurangzeb that the Mughal couriers (*harkaras*) were "liars, selfish, greedy of gain and pro-Deccanis" and were bribed by the Bijapuris into betraying all information about the imperial army.

4. ECONOMIC LIFE

(i) *Revenue extortion*

Corruption spread its dark shadow over the economic life of the people in mediaeval India. The crude, ill-defined and inadequately known system of public taxation, often changing from reign to reign, combined with the insatiable greed of ill-paid officials, gave free scope to official extortion. It could have been checked if the Central Government was strong and there was a strong public spirit among the people. But the Central Government was weak and lacked an adequate number of reliable officers and agents, while the common people were timid. The Emperor, the Diwan and the Subahdar might have been kind, statesmanlike and just in their attitude towards the ryots. But the man on the spot, directly dealing with the lives of the millions of peasants, i.e. the lower revenue official, was incurably corrupt. The life of the people was determined more by the harshness and greed of the cunning and everpresent immediate local officials and subordinates of the revenue department than by the just intentions and occasional benevolent declarations of the distant Emperor.

Revenue extortion was caused, not only by the subordinates of the revenue department but occasionally by superior officers as well. A grasping Diwan might inflate the revenue demand on paper and farm the collection to the highest bidder. A typical case is that of Muhammad Hashim, Diwan of Orissa, whose conduct was reported by the Governor (1662). The Diwan was said to have inflated the revenue (on paper) twofold or threefold in different places and imposed on the candidates for the post of collectors (*krori*) the inflated *paper* assessment of the *pargana*, which was higher than the *actual* yield. He used to change the collectors and take money at every change. Agrarian instability depopulated the villages as the peasants, groaning under extortionate demands, could not pay and fled away.³⁰

(ii) *Abwabs or illegal cesses*

In addition to the regular land revenue or customs duties, various exactions were made on different pretexts, called *abwabs*. These illegal 'direct taxes on sellers and buyers of goods and practitioners of every trade and profession' were repeatedly forbidden by the Muhammadan rulers (e.g. Firuz Tughluq, 1375; Akbar, 1590; Aurangzeb, 1673). But they reappeared soon in a different garb, thanks to the cunning of the officials. These have been discussed in detail by Sir J. N. Sarkar, who has grouped them under six broad classes. The same article came to be taxed twice or thrice notwithstanding imperial prohibitions.³¹

(iii) *Private Trade of local officials*

The Emperor's repeated prohibitions were also defied by local officials in respect of another source of extortion, viz., private trade (*Sauda-i-khas*) of local officials. Producers and consumers alike had to bear the oppressive burden of this indirect taxation.³² This characteristic feature of India's economic life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may easily be compared with blackmarketeering of modern times. As a matter of fact the five worst enemies of the

Indian citizen, as mentioned by President Radhakrishnan on the Independence Day, 1964, viz., adulterers of food stuffs, hoarders, profiteers, black marketeers and speculators, had their counterparts in mediaeval India.

Many influential personages adopted private trade, including Mir Jumla in the Karnatak, and Shuja, Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan and Azim us shan in Bengal. The basis of Mir Jumla's economic system in the Karnatak and Bengal was monopoly. He used to charge monopoly prices and tried to control internal production. He established a monopoly of the trade in all 'brown' or unbleached cloth in his 'new conquests', and they were sold at 20% profit. Again sale of grain seemed to be a strict monopoly. Paddy and other necessities coming to Madras through his jurisdiction had to pay customs, while paddy was sold to the townspeople at 25% more than the market price. The English in Madras could not sell anything except the articles purchased from the men of Nawab's farmer at prices 50% higher than those prevailing in the neighbourhood³³. As Governor of Bengal (1660-1663), Mir Jumla endeavoured to become the sole stockist of all articles of necessity and then sell them at fanciful prices. In 1660 he offered to supply the English factors every year as much saltpetre as they would require for his personal profit. Next year (1661) he made an extraordinary levy in Bengal, demanding Rs. 50,000 from the grain merchants of Dacca as something like an excess profits tax of modern times on the pretext that the latter had made a profit of twice the amount due to the continued presence of the Governor's large camp (on the eve of Kuch Bihar and Assam campaign). They were coerced to pay Rs. 25,000 in all, while, city bankers, forewarned by such severity, paid three lakhs³⁴.

Shaista Khan, as Governor of Bengal, at first abolished the existing trade monopolies and the forbidden *abwabs*. But after a few years his subordinates were left free by his supine rule to squeeze the people and feed his prodigal luxury by reviving the

old methods. "Merchandise was stopped at every outpost and ferry and custom duty charged over and over again in disregard of official permits; cesses (*abwabs*) abolished by imperial decree, still continued to be realised in practice...the Nawab practised a monopoly of the sale of salt, betel-nut and some other prime necessities of life", also in fodder, bamboos, firewood, thatch etc. The goods were distributed among the town merchants at 15% to 10% higher than the market rate.³⁵

Azim us shan, Governor of Bengal (1697-1712), also tried to amass money by *Sauda i khas* i.e. establishing a trade monopoly in most necessities of life and in many precious objects—engrossing goods at the places of origin or ports of unloading and forcing them on retail traders at exorbitant prices. Aurangzeb strongly censured him.³⁶

Further, local governors and faujdars used to open packages of traders on the road and seize whatever caught their fancy at capricious prices fixed by them. Jahangir forbade this, but the evil custom continued to be practised by men in power, including Azim us shan.³⁷

(iv) *Profiteering, blackmarketing, speculation etc.*

Practices like profiteering, blackmarketing, speculation were known in mediaeval India. Historian Zia ud din Barani, the contemporary of Alauddin Khalji, has remarked that it was easier to clear a jungle or to subjugate distant lands than to bring under control the refractory *bazar* people. In those days two types of grain merchants used to run the market: the retail distributors having permanent shops at Delhi, and the *caravanians* or travelling merchants, transporting grain from outside to Delhi and selling it to shopkeepers and the people. Both these types used to make huge profits. The *dallals* (brokers) used to fix the prices in the market and defraud the buyers and sellers alike. The merchants also used to sell goods at high prices and give short weights. Determined to reduce the prices of articles at Delhi, Alauddin

fixed the prices of grain. He also established a grain market where the people as well as the merchants could procure food stuffs. The merchants were left with very little marginal profit. The Delhi shopkeepers were disgusted and in despair. The *caravanians* ceased bringing grain to the city. But the resolute Sultan compelled the itinerant merchants to register themselves. The *Shahnah* or superintendent of the market kept them under watch and they were not released till they signed collective and individual agreements to bring grain regularly and sell it at fixed rates. The Sultan ordered the *Shahnagan* and *mutassarifan* (magistrates and collector) of the Ganga-Jamuna doab to procure as much grain as possible from the peasants. Blackmarketing and profiteering were wiped out. To prevent interruption in supply of grain due to uncertainties of weather, he established two or three well-stocked, government grain stores or granaries in every *mahalla*. During emergencies grain was released therefrom to the roving merchants at fixed prices for sale in the market. Of course such huge accumulations were made that Ibn Batutah, the African traveller, used this stored grain thirty years later. Alauddin further introduced rationing of food and the officers and supervisors were taken to task in case of any flaw. Besides food, prices of other commodities also were fixed—cloth, horse, cattle, slaves, sugarcane, vegetables, bread, combs, slippers, shoes, pitchers, needles, betel nuts, and even betel. Alauddin did not believe in incomplete price control.

To enforce his orders to root out corruption, Alauddin vested large powers in his officials and allowed them facilities. They adopted three courses,—coercion, compulsion and intimidation. Enquiries were made by the overseers of markets from the buyers if they were able to purchase their articles at the fair price. Those merchants who were guilty of charging higher prices were severely punished for violating the Sultan's orders—e.g. by coercion, ill-treatment and public whipping. The Sultan used to make personal enquiries about short weights and if this was proved, the *Diwan i*

Riyasat used to cut off flesh from the haunches of the dishonest shopkeeper, equal to the deficiency in weight. The fraudulent brokers and contumacious shopkeepers were driven out of the market.³⁸

In Mughal India, too, corruption prevailed in the market. The task of checking it in towns devolved on the Kotwal. Blackmarketing as known today was evidently practised in certain areas in the reign of Aurangzeb. Magistrates and other officers in Gujarat used to forcibly buy articles on their own from vendors at prices below the market rate and sell them to traders also by force at exorbitant prices. Aurangzeb's *farman* of 20th November, 1665, tells us that "*Mutasuddis* (collectors), *sethis* (leading merchants) and *desais* (headmen) in many parganahs, when the new harvest is marketed, do not allow the public to buy it, but take up the whole of it themselves, and out of it they force on the traders whatever is rotten or spoilt, taking the price of good grain....Governors and rich men cultivate every kind of kitchen vegetable and fruit in their own gardens and in those of the state, and force them on the vegetable-sellers at double the fair price....In Ahmadabad and the parganahs of that subah certain men have taken in farm (*ijarah*) the monopoly of buying and selling rice and nobody can deal in that grain except with their consent; hence rice has become very dear in Gujarat."³⁹

(b) Corruption among foreigners

Not that the virus of corruption had spread among the Indians only. Foreign merchants coming to India were also hopelessly corrupt. Only two special manifestations thereof are being made here. (a) Saltpetre trade: Saltpetre was exported from India to Europe, as it was the ingredient of manufacture of gunpowder. Different European Companies were, therefore, eager to procure it. But since its trade was controlled by the Mughal Government, its export was subject to restrictions. With the full knowledge of the East India Company, the local English factors used to carry on clandestine

trade in Saltpetre through smuggling. As refined Saltpetre looked like sugar crystals, they used to pass off Saltpetre bags as sugar. But during the famous Gujarat famine of 1630-32 to prevent smuggling of food stuffs, the Mughal Government issued stringent orders. Hence the East India Company also had to issue necessary instructions to the factors in India to desist from such a course in order to save its honour.

(b) Private trade of Europeans: Apart from the permanent factors of the English, Dutch and other Companies, many 'freemen' and adventurers came to India and accumulated huge profits through private trade of their own. They used to indulge in activities which ran counter to the facilities enjoyed by the East India Company as a corporate body in respect of import and export trade. The scale of salaries of the factors and servants of the Company was very low and they used to supplement their income through this fraudulent practice. Behind this secretly practised, illegal private trade, stood some of the highly placed officers of the Company, Mughal government officials, Indian merchants, brokers, and *banias*. The practice had become so widespread that private trade ceased to be private and became widely known. English and Indian guards were appointed to prevent secret stowage of articles of private trade in the hulls of the ships. But these guards also were so corrupt that they permitted it in return for a small amount. The President and Council of Surat informed the Company (6th January, 1648) that it was impossible to check the practice.⁴⁰

We get in the above discussion a reflection of mediaeval India in the mirror of corruption. A study of history reveals to us this truth that in every age, in every country, the influence of dishonesty or corruption prevails in some form or other. For this, political, economic, social and psychological reasons can be adduced. That in the mediaeval period of Indian history in general and Mughal period in particular, corruption prevailed might be due to the submissive or indifferent spirit of the people, or

negligence of the administration or irresponsible conduct of the officialdom. On the other hand, the successful merchants had to conceal their wealth for two contingencies—first, lest after their death, the Emperor, as the heir of all his subjects, escheated their property; second, even during their life time, they might be used as 'filled sponges' i.e. squeezed.⁴¹ Expediency dictated that it was good to be rich but bad to exhibit riches. The rich profit-maker or mer-

chant must conveniently wear the cloak of indigence. Hoarding of money and grain or merchandise became the natural concomitant of such a situation. Or it may be that the conception of corruption has changed. What we call corruption in modern times was not deemed as such during the mediaeval age. But mediaeval India has been judged here in the light of certain accepted standards of morality and integrity in the balance of general humanism.

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JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM AND INDIAN AFFAIRS

DR NEMAI SADIHAN BOSE

Of the numerous Englishmen who came to India in the 19th Century and took keen interest in Indian affairs and people, James Silk Buckingham was unique in many ways. Buckingham is generally remembered as the editor of the influential *Calcutta Journal* which he edited from 1818 to 1823. But this editorship of the *Calcutta Journal*, though most significant and important, formed only a part of his fascinating and eventful life.

Buckingham was born in 1786 at Flushing, near Falmouth in Cornwall. He became a mariner when only 9 and it began for him years of world-wide travels. In course of his life as a mariner he had an eventful life and had experiences which are stranger than fiction. He learnt French, Italian, Greek and the Arabic languages.¹ His extensive travels and intimate contact with various types of people gave him an width of outlook and power of understanding that was uncommon among the Europeans of that age.

As a mariner, in 1813, he was engaged in maritime and mercantile pursuits in the Mediterranean. After suffering heavy losses he came from Egypt to Bombay in April, 1815 to explore the possibilities of a revival of trade relations between Egypt and India. Buckingham, however, failed in his mission as he did not have the necessary licence for staying in India. But his efforts were appreciated by the Governor of Bombay who wrote, "I shall by no means be sorry to see him return with the Company's licence, believing as I do that he would be of use to the mercantile interests, in opening the trade of the Red Sea".²

Encouraged by the initial official reaction in

India Buckingham proceeded with his plan and after securing the Company's licence came back to India in 1816 by an overland journey through Palestine, Mesopotamia and Persia.

In the meantime, however, he was placed in command of a frigate belonging to the Imam of Muscat and had to set out for a long and circuitous voyage. After the completion of the voyage he reached Calcutta in June, 1818. Here he found order waiting for him asking him to proceed to the coast of Madagascar for the purpose of giving convoy to some vessels carrying slaves. Buckingham was bitterly opposed to slavery on principle and resigned his command. It meant a heavy financial loss to him as he was earning £4000 annually and could earn an immense fortune by obeying the order.³ But Buckingham cared for no loss on matters of principle and throughout his life he wrote and worked against slavery.

The exemplary action of Buckingham naturally had a profound impression on the elite of Calcutta among whom were the Governor-General, the Lord Bishop and Mr. Palmer, the head of a leading mercantile firm in Calcutta. Publications of Buckingham's travel accounts had also marked him as a man of literary talent. Mr. Palmer suggested that the English merchants of Calcutta should have a journal independent of Government control as their mouthpiece and requested Buckingham to be its first editor. Buckingham accepted the offer after much hesitation and the paper *Calcutta Journal* appeared as a bi-weekly on October 1, 1818. The paper was intended to be "greatly advantageous to the mercantile community in particular, and salutary even to the Government itself".⁴

The Calcutta Journal soon transcended its own limited objective and by selection of news, ventilation of public grievances, upright criticism of the Company's administration, interest in reprints from British papers and high literary standard, became the most influential paper in India.

The paper became so popular that "it was to be seen on the table of almost every English family in India". Financially also the paper was a great success and Buckingham was earning about £8,000 annually. Among the contemporary English papers adversely affected by the phenomenal success of the *Calcutta Journal* were the *Government Gazette*, the *India Gazette*, the *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Asiatic Mirror* of Rev. Samuel Bryce. Naturally Bryce detested Buckingham and became one of his chief antagonists. He began to vilify Buckingham in the *John Bull in the East*, a paper started to remove the need of a "strictly constitutional Press". It was mainly owned by employees of the Company.⁵ The unbecoming attack on Buckingham was launched in the form of letters under the signature of "A Friend of Mr. Bankes"⁶ alleging that Buckingham was incapable of writing a book and he had stolen the material of his *Travels in Palestine* from Bankes. The latter, however, was found guilty of false evidence, scandalous, malicious libel. These attacks nevertheless undermined the influence of Buckingham and minimised his moral character in the eyes of some people.⁷

Buckingham was a staunch believer in the freedom of the press, an advocate of all public causes and bitter critic of the evils of the Company's administration. The growing criticism of the Company's government in the Indian Press, particularly the point blank and matter of fact criticism of the *Calcutta Journal* made the issue of free press a serious concern of the Government. Officials of the government were alarmed and even the good tempered Governor-General Lord Hastings sent a strong letter to Buckingham warning him of dire consequences.

The latter took it as an attack on the freedom of the press and wrote to the Governor-General: "I know of no way in which I can escape the risk of such supposed violations when those who are at once to be both judges of the law and the fact may at the same moment make the accuser pronounce the sentence and carry it into execution"⁸.

Unconcerned of consequences Buckingham continued to criticize the Company's shortcomings, bunglings, corruption and misuse of power and incurred the displeasure and enmity of high-ranking officials including the members of the Governor-General's Council, among whom was Mr. John Adam. On the evils of a free press in India the latter wrote, "I cannot imagine a greater political absurdity than a government controlled by the voice of its own servants".⁹ Adam and other members of the Governor-General's Council were pressing for the withdrawal of Buckingham's licence to reside in India and to deport him to Europe. But Lord Hastings disfavoured any such drastic measure. In the meantime, Rev. Bryce had become the editor of the *John Bull* and launched an avalanche of attack on Buckingham. The latter rightly observed that, "It is the 'Freedom of the Press' which is the object of their hatred and scorn". Buckingham welcomed the publication of Raja Rammohan Roy's journal the *Sambad Kaumudi* in December 1821, as he hoped it would contribute to the growth of Indian journalism and enlighten Indian views.

In January 1823 John Adam, the great antagonist of Buckingham, became the acting Governor-General and naturally Buckingham became more cautious. On this Bryce sarcastically remarked. "High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect"¹⁰. Very soon Rev. Bryce, a great favourite of Adam, was appointed as the *Clerk of the Stationery*. The appointment was irregular and unjust. Buckingham could not resist himself from making a scathing criticism of this and wrote in his own inimitable way. "This reverend doctor, who has so often evinced the universality of his genius and talents,

whether within the pale of Divinity or without it, is perhaps the very best person that could be selected, all things considered, to take care of the foolscap, pasteboard, wax, sand, gum, lead, leather, and tape, of the Honourable East India Company of Merchants".¹¹

As an inevitable consequence of this criticism Buckingham was ordered to leave the shores of India within two months. As if not satisfied with this revenge, little later the *Calcutta Journal's* licence was revoked for re-publishing portions of a Pamphlet published in England and written by Leicester Stanhope on the subject of a Free Press in British India. Even an offer to lease or rent the use of the press and other material owned by Buckingham was refused on the ground that the latter's influence and control might again return to the paper. This was a heavy financial loss to Buckingham as the journal was "yielding an income of between 6000 l. and 8000 l. a year, and being estimated to be of the full market value of four lacs of rupees, or 40,000 l. sterling".¹²

In England Buckingham continued his fight against the gross injustice done to him by the Company's Government and pleaded with the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The issue was raised in the House of Commons in May, 1824 by Mr. Lambton who remarked that Buckingham's expulsion was the result of "wanton and aggravated spirit of despotism" and asserted that "to suffer the repetition of such practices is to endanger the very existence of the empire".¹³

Buckingham earned the admiration and support of eminent Englishmen like Lord Durham, Sir Charles Forbes, Douglas Kinnaid, Lord John Russell and others. At last in 1834 a Parliamentary Inquiry into the claims of Buckingham was ordered. The Committee in their Report recommended that "compensation ought to be made to Buckingham" which was a virtual vindication of Buckingham's stand. A perusal of the observations and addresses made by various eminent persons of the Buckingham

case clearly indicates that it was a question of principle. Buckingham stood against despotism which others, while feeling it at heart, did not have the courage to condemn openly. Douglas Kinnaid frankly said that everyone including the Indian Directors felt at heart the need of compensation and had not a word against Buckingham. But they say, "if we afford him redress, if we save him from destruction, we pass censure upon the despotic power existing ten thousand miles off, and that we cannot do".¹⁴ It is interesting to note that even Lord William Bentinck referred to the "deep feeling" "that pervaded the public mind generally, as to the injustice with which Mr. Buckingham was treated".¹⁵ The very fact that Buckingham was not allowed to return to India even after the Parliamentary Inquiry reveals the deep apprehension that the authorities had of the possible influence of Buckingham on the Indians and Indian affairs.

The great hardship experienced by Buckingham for his firm stand on the principle of the freedom of the press in India and for his forthright criticism of the Company's administration was widely appreciated in England. An appeal signed by eminent persons in England was issued *To the European and Native Community in India* for financial assistance to Buckingham. The signatories included Sir Charles Forbes, Leicester Stanhope, Henry Brougham, Lord John Russell and Jeremy Bentham and they appealed "to the community of India, of whatever ranks, class, or condition" and pointed out Buckingham's special claim on "all his fellow subjects in India whether Native, Anglo-Indian, or European in whose cause he has made shipwreck of his fortune".¹⁶ That the people of India were not ungrateful and unresponsive is evident from the following extract from the *Calcutta Gazette*. 'Buckingham, who wielded his Goose Quill in India, with the laudable motive, as he thought, of promoting liberal ideas, appealed to the generosity of his former Patrons for assistance, when threatened in England with incarceration; if his debts were not paid, his appeal was heard, and it is well

known that a considerable sum has been collected for his relief, both in this country and at home."¹⁷

While continuing his fight against the East India Company's government Buckingham did not remain idle and his interest in Indian affairs remained as great as ever. In England he became the founder editor of the *Oriental Herald* and through this journal contributed considerably to the abolition of the Company's trading monopoly in 1834 along with a number of other reforms. He also founded the *Sphinx*—a political paper, and the *Athenaeum*, a literary journal. He undertook lecture tours on India in England and these lectures were very popular and well attended. In 1832 he was elected to the House of Commons from the town of Sheffield and proved his worth as a Parliamentarian. His deep sympathy for the sailors earned him the affectionate nick name of the Sailor's Friend. In 1837 he went to the U.S. and stayed there for three years. He travelled extensively throughout the New World and preached the motto of his life "Temperence, Education, Freedom and Peace". Buckingham criticised the narrowness and exclusiveness of the English people in their attitude to foreigners coming to England. On his suggestion and initiative was founded "The British and Foreign Institute" for welcoming foreigners and introducing them to the best English society.

He was connected with the movement for the abolition of *Suttee*, granting of trial by jury to British subjects in India, promotion of Christian Missions in the East and many other noble causes.¹⁸ But among his various interests, India and Indian affairs were foremost in his mind. Buckingham himself said, "I have never relaxed in my interest in and attention to Indian affairs in Parliament and out of it".¹⁹ His *Plan For The Future Government of India* published as a rejoinder to the Bill on India drawn by the President of the Board of Control in 1853, is a remarkable document. It bears testimony to Buckingham's understanding and profound knowledge of Indian problems and their solu-

tions and, what is perhaps more important, his liberalism, deep sympathy and admiration for the Indians. To quote his own words the object of the Plan was "the happiness of the people governed" and "to benefit to the greatest extent, the people of this country by the speedy development of the resources of India, the extension of our commerce with its inhabitants, and the attachment of all ranks and classes of our fellow subjects in that vast and varied empire to the British rule from a conviction of its strength, mildness, equity and justice".²⁰

He advocated a Legislative Council in India which would include a number of Indian members. He laid emphasis on the "high qualifications" of many Indians and to justify his point cited the names of Raja Rammohan Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and the Raja of Mysore. He asserted, "Considering the circumstances under which they were placed, three men of greater talent than these, were never produced in the same age in any country of Europe". He urged, "Let them (Indians) be once admitted to a participation with us in the Government of their own Country".²¹

He welcomed the growth of political discussions in India among the Indians and observed that these would "establish their just claim to a share in the civil and political liberties which we are not worthy to enjoy ourselves if we do not recognise their right to be our fellow freemen as well as fellow-subjects".²² He emphasised the need of useful education in India and its spread to the greatest practicable extent and suggested opening of schools in every village for boys and girls and free education to the poor. A staunch supporter of Temperance movement he made a scathing criticism of the Government policy of granting licences for selling liquors in India. This policy he said, "is making one of the most temperate of nations, the inhabitants of which scarcely even touched intoxicating drinks till the English taught them the habit, into a nation of drunkards".²³ The Plan contained numerous such vehement criticisms and radical suggestions on

vital matters concerning India. Buckingham knew that his suggestions would not be accepted. So in the conclusion he wrote, "This pleasure I may hardly live to realize in the present instances, though my children may share it when I am no more, and, in this anticipation, I commit my plan to the judgement of posterity, if condemned as Utopian by my contem-

poraries".²⁴ How true was his anticipation is well known to the students of Indian History. The changes introduced in the post-Mutiny era largely followed the lines of his suggestions and these were a tribute to the foresight and constructive genius of James Silk Buckingham. But Buckingham still awaits a thorough and critical appraisal and a good biography.

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- ²¹ *Plan for the Future Government of India*, pp. 20-21.
- ²² *Plan* (3rd edition), p. 225.
- ²³ *Plan for the Future Government of India*, p. 30-39.
- ²⁴ *Plan*, p. 64.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE U.S.A.

DR. A. C. BANERJEE

The United States was the last of the great nations of the world to provide for the adequate preservation of its official records. France established her Archives Nationales in 1790 and Britain her Public Record Office in 1838. The archival agencies of some of the States in the U.S.A. are considerably older than the National Archives. The imposing National Archives Building in Washington was completed in 1937. But the U.S. Government had already been creating and accumulating records for more than 150 years. The new building provided good physical surroundings and adequate arrangement of the records and made them more easily usable by scholars and administrators.

In the 196 stack areas the holdings of the National Archives amount to about 900,000 cubic feet of records—enough to fill 150,000 four-drawer filing cabinets. They include 1,600,000 maps, 3,400,000 still pictures, 41,000,000 running feet of motion-picture film, 190,000 rolls of microfilm, and 36,000 sound recordings. They range in date from 1774 to 1965.

In the National Archives are gathered the permanent records of the Federal Government's operations—of its military and diplomatic activities and of its domestic administration. It is the final repository for such records. The non-permanent records—those which have temporary value and are destroyed after stated periods of time—are stored at 16 Federal records centres throughout the United States.

As the military, diplomatic and commercial activities of the United States cover all parts of the world, it is obvious that in the National

Archives in Washington are to be found papers relating to the affairs of all countries and to international affairs in general. This is particularly true so far as the present century is concerned, but even before the United States became a World Power its diplomatic and commercial agents sent reports from different countries containing comprehensive information and shrewd comments about what they saw and heard. For instance, the reports sent by Jefferson, then U.S. Ambassador in France, about the initial stage of the French Revolution indicate the reactions of a neutral and shrewd political observer to an unprecedented political upheaval in Europe.

Despite the political isolation of the American Republic in its formative stage its commercial agents were stationed in distant countries including India. The first U.S. Consul in Calcutta was appointed in 1792. The first Consular despatch from Calcutta was dated November 24, 1794. In the National Archives are preserved Consular despatches from Calcutta (1794-96, 1843-1929), Bombay (1838-1929), Karachi, Madras and Rangoon. In addition, there are returns and reports from Consular agents at Aden, Cocanada, Chittagong, Akyab, Bassein and Moulmein.

There were no diplomatic relations between the U.S. Government and the British Government of India, and the activities of the Consuls and the Consular agents were confined to commercial matters. But they could not ignore important political developments which affected trade and commerce. Moreover, some of the Consuls appear to have taken continuous interest in the political developments amidst which they had to carry on their normal work. As a

result, although the reports of the Consuls and the Consular agents dealt primarily with matters of commercial and economic importance, references to political matters are frequent enough to invest them with a wider interest for the historian. We must remember that the U.S. Consuls were perfectly neutral observers whose narration and interpretation of political events have a special significance. The country which they represented had no political interest in India and was not involved directly or indirectly in the conflicts of the British imperial power with the declining indigenous States. Their testimony deserves greater weight than what the non-British Europeans recorded about Indian affairs.

A brief reference may be made to some items of information available in the U.S. Consular reports: means of transport and communication in India; commercial opportunities for America in India; introduction of American cotton into India; tariff regulations in India; mines and fisheries in India; agriculture in India; natural resources in India and their development; India's trade with different countries including Burma; competition between American and Russian kerosene in India etc. We have reports on particular industries, on floods and earthquakes and famines, on currency, on law and justice, on municipal administration and police organization, on social conditions and education, etc. There are statistical returns of various

kinds. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of these records for a critical study of India's economic and social history in the 19th century.

As regards political matters we have useful information on the Second Sikh War, the Second Burmese War, the "advance of the Russian army into India" (1854), the growing hostility of the Hindus against British rule, the power of the East India Company, etc. Political information became more voluminous and important in the present century. The Consular reports sent from India during this period are to be studied side by side with the reports sent to Washington by the U.S. Embassy in London which throw a flood of light on British policy towards India.

Apart from Consular reports, one might utilise the records of the War Trade Board which contain very useful information on India's trade and commerce during the First World War. The records of the Foreign Economic Administration provide similar information for the Second World War period.

Information regarding the activities of the Ghadr party is to be collected from the records of the Department of Justice as also from those of the U.S. Embassy in London. In the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is to be found much interesting information about the "Komagata Maru" affair.

COURSES OF STUDY

Kerala University

M.A. EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

Paper I	British History with Special Reference to Constitutional Development from 1485 to 1948. or History of Europe from 1789 to 1919.
Paper II	History of India from 1859 to the Present day.
Paper III	History of the U.S.A. or History of Vijayanagar. or Political Thought, Ancient and Medieval.
Paper IV	History of Kerala (Ancient and Medieval till 1500). or History of Greece & Rome (From B.C. 700 to 14 A.D.). or History of India (From 600 B.C. to 647 A.D.).
Paper V	Essay.
Paper VI	History of International Affairs from 1901. or History of the Far East (From 1850 to 1945).
Paper VII	History of Modern Political Thought from 17th Century onwards.
Paper VIII	The Mughals and the Marathas. <i>Viva Voce.</i>

Nagpur University

M.A. EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

PART I	
Paper I	History of England (1760-1939). or Constitutional History of England (1215-1939).
Paper II	The Modern World (1870-1939).
Paper III	History of the Marathas (1707-1818).
Paper IV	History of India from the Rig-vedic Times to 647 A.D. or History of Greece upto the Death of Alexander the Great. or History of Rome upto 476 A.D.
PART II	
Paper I	History of Asia (excluding India & Pakistan) from 1850 to 1950.
Paper II	History of India (1526-1707).
Paper III	History of India (1858-1947).
Paper IV	History of U.S.A. (1860-1945). or History of Russia (1855-1945).
M.A. EXAMINATION IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY & CULTURE	
PART I	
Part I Outline of the History and Cul-	

	ture of India from the earliest times to the foundation of the Maurya Empire.	(i) North India from A.D. 650 to A.D. 1200. or (ii) South India from A.D. 650 to A.D. 1300.
Paper II	Political History of India from the foundation of the Maurya Empire to the end of the Third Century A.D.	Papers II } One paper each from two of & III } the following groups.
Papers III & IV	One paper each from two of the following Groups:—	Group A. (<i>Art, Architecture and Numismatics</i>)
Group A (<i>Art, Architecture and Numismatics</i>)		Paper II Art, Architecture and coinage of India from A.D. 300 to A.D. 1200.
Paper I	Art, Architecture and Coinage of India from the foundation of the Maurya Empire to the end of the Third Century A.D.	Group B (<i>Epigraphy</i>)
Group B (<i>Epigraphy</i>)		Paper II Historical, Literary and Palaeographical study of the Inscriptions prescribed.
Paper I	Historical, Literary and Palaeographical study of prescribed inscriptions.	Group C (<i>Archaeology</i>)
Group C (<i>Archaeology</i>)		Paper II Scope as defined in the detailed syllabus.
Paper I	Scope as defined in the detailed syllabus.	Group D (<i>Greater India</i>)
Group D (<i>Greater India</i>)		Paper II India's relations with South-East Asia up to A.D. 1200.
Paper I	India's relation with Central and Western Asia.	Paper IV Social and Religious History of India up to A.D. 1200.
	PART II	Paper V <i>Viva-Voce</i> , including a practical test.
Paper I	Political History of India from the beginning of the Fourth Century A.D. to 650 A.D. and Political History of—	

RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

(Summarised from Official Regulations)

Nagpur University

PH.D. EXAMINATION

I. Any person who has passed the Final Examination for the Degree of Master of Arts of Nagpur University, or a degree of any University recognised by Nagpur University as equivalent to its degree of Master of Arts, or the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours of Nagpur University; or a degree of any University recognised by Nagpur University as equivalent to its degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours, is eligible for enrolment as a Ph.D. candidate.

II. Every candidate for the degree shall submit an application to the University stating—

- (1) the subject of the proposed thesis;
- (2) an outline of the proposed thesis; and
- (3) the evidence of his qualifications for the proposed research.

The application shall, together with the prescribed fee, be submitted *by the 15th July* of the year in which the applicant proposes to commence his research work.

III. Candidates for the Ph.D. shall be registered and their research work prosecuted in accordance with the following provisions;

- (i) List of teachers approved as competent to supervise research work for the Ph.D. in each branch of a subject shall be published and made available to intending candidates for the Ph.D.

(ii) Each candidate shall settle the subject of his thesis and prepare his synopsis under the guidance of the supervisor under whom he proposes to work. He shall submit his application through the supervisor selected by him who shall state on the application form that the subject of the thesis and the proposed synopsis has his approval and that he is willing to supervise the research work of the candidate concerned. In those cases in which there are more than one person on the approved list of supervisors, the Head of the Department concerned shall advise the candidate with regard to the selection of the supervisor under whom he may prosecute his research work.

(iii) If a candidate intends to prosecute his research in a subject for which no competent supervisor is available from within the University, he shall be informed accordingly. Where facilities for research work do not exist in an institution in the University, the candidate shall carry out his research at an approved institution beyond the jurisdiction of the University, provided that the candidate has taken his M.A. degree of the Nagpur University.

(iv) The candidate shall, during the period in which he prosecutes his research work, reside at Nagpur or at the place within the territorial jurisdiction of the University at which his supervisor resides.

(v) The candidate shall meet and discuss with his supervisor the plans and pro-

gress of his research work at least once in a fortnight during each of the two academic years in which he prosecutes his research.

- (vi) Ordinarily the maximum number of research students for the degree who may carry on their research work under one supervisor shall not exceed six.
- (vii) In exceptional cases, the Academic Council may permit research students to prosecute their research for one of the two academic years in another University or approved institution which is not connected with Nagpur University.
- (viii) Every application shall be placed before the Board of Studies in the subject with which the proposed course of research is concerned. The Board of Studies concerned shall consider the application and report to the Faculty, whether in its judgement, the application should be accepted as it stands, or should be accepted with specified amendments, or should be rejected. The Faculty shall send its report on the recommendations of the Board of Studies to the Academic Council, which shall decide the matter.
- (ix) The Academic Council may, after considering the published research work of a candidate and the recommendation of the Faculty of Arts in this behalf exempt a candidate from carrying on his research work for the degree under a supervisor.
- (x) The supervisor for the research work of the candidate shall submit to the Academic Council a six-monthly report on the work of the candidate and report when the thesis is ready for examination.
- (xi) A thesis shall not be submitted until

two years have elapsed from the date on which the candidate's application was sanctioned; provided that the Academic Council may, after considering the recommendation of the Faculty of Arts in this behalf, reduce the period to not less than one year in case of a candidate exempted from carrying on his research work under a supervisor.

- (xii) Every candidate shall be required to submit his thesis within a period of three years from the date on which his application is sanctioned by the Academic Council. In special cases, the Academic Council may extend the period further by another two years, the extension being sanctioned for not more than one year at a time.

IV. When an application has been sanctioned the candidate shall be registered as a research student of the University. He shall also pay the University such fees, if any, for supervision, or lectures as may be determined by the Executive Council after considering the recommendations of the Academic Council on the subject. (At present the annual fee is Rs. 40/-).

- V (a) The candidate shall submit three copies of his thesis, typewritten or printed, along with three copies of a summary of it about three hundred words in length.
- (b) The candidate shall indicate generally in a preface to his thesis, and specifically in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original.
- (c) The candidate may submit as subsidiary matter in support of his candidature any contribution or contributions to the advancement of the study of the subject of his thesis which he may have previously published indepen-

dently or conjointly with another or with others.

- (d) The candidate shall be required to submit a signed declaration that the thesis submitted is not substantially the same as one which has already been submitted at any other University.

VI. The candidate's thesis, and any other contribution or contributions to the study of the subject of his thesis which he may submit, shall be referred to two examiners who shall be nominated by the Academic Council after considering the recommendations of the Board or Boards of Studies and the Faculty concerned and appointed by the Executive Council. If the examiners so desire the candidate shall be required to present himself at a specified time and place to be tested orally, or by means of a written examination, or by both methods, with reference to the thesis and special subject selected by him.

The examiners shall report to the Academic Council the result of the examination of the thesis and of the oral or the written examination or of both, and if the Academic Council considers, upon the report or reports of the examiners, that the thesis should be approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy it shall report to the Executive Council accordingly. On the receipt of such report the Executive Council, shall declare the thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

VII. In the event of difference of opinion between the two examiners, the Executive Council shall appoint a third examiner nominated by the Academic Council. His decision shall be final.

VIII. If the examiners so recommend, the Academic Council may permit a candidate to submit his thesis again in a revised form within six to twelve months from the date on which he receives the communication conveying the decision of the University in this behalf. In exceptional cases the Academic Council

may permit a candidate a longer period for resubmitting his thesis after revision.

IX. The University shall have the right to publish any thesis so accepted for the conferral of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy without payment of any royalty to the candidate. If necessary, the candidate may be asked to revise the thesis in a form fit for the publication for which the Executive Council may fix such remuneration as it thinks fit. The copyright in the revised thesis will also rest in the University.

I. Any person who has been admitted, (a) not less than three years previously, to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Nagpur University or to a degree recognised by Nagpur University as equivalent thereto, or (b) not less than eight years previously to the degree of Master of Arts of Nagpur University or to a degree recognised by Nagpur University as equivalent thereto, may offer himself as a candidate for the Doctor of Letters.

Provided that the Academic Council may, in the case of any candidate, after considering the recommendations of the Board or Boards of Studies and Faculties concerned, reduce the aforesaid period.

A candidate who has not passed the final examination for the Degree of Master of Arts of Nagpur University shall have resided in Maharashtra for a period of not less than three years immediately preceding the date on which he submits his treatise for the degree of Doctor of Letters.

II. Every candidate for the degree shall submit a treatise or treatises, being original contribution to the advancement of learning, which should be in a printed and published form.

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III. Every candidate for the degree shall —

- (a) Submit a written application to the Registrar.
- (b) Submit to the Registrar three copies of the treatise or treatises mentioned in Paragraph 2, stating their titles, the portions of each which he claims to be original, and the Department or Departments of Studies in the University, with which he considers that the subject of his treatise is most closely connected.

and

- (c) Submit a signed declaration that the treatise or treatises submitted are not substantially the same as those which have already been submitted at another University.

IV. When the foregoing conditions have been fulfilled, the treatise or treatises shall be placed before the Board or Boards of Studies concerned, which shall report to the Faculty concerned whether in its (their) judgement, the treatises are of sufficient merit to justify a reference to examiners. The Faculty shall forward the report or reports to the Academic Council together with its own remarks thereon.

V. If the Academic Council decides that the treatise or treatises are of sufficient merit to justify a reference to examiners, they shall be referred to two examiners, who shall be nominated by the Academic Council after considering the recommendation of the Board or Boards of Studies and of the Faculty concerned and appointed by the Executive Council. The examiners shall report to the Academic Council whether the treatises are of sufficient merit to warrant the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Letters on the candidate, and shall give a concise statement of the grounds on which their conclusion is based. If the Academic Council considers, upon the report or reports of the examiners, that the candidate

is worthy to receive the degree of Doctor of Letters, it shall report to the Executive Council accordingly. On the receipt of such report, the Executive Council shall declare that the candidate has satisfied all the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Letters and shall make an announcement to this effect.

VI. In the event of a difference of opinion between the two examiners, the Executive Council shall appoint a third examiner nominated by the Academic Council. His decision shall be final.

VII. If the Examiners consider that the treatise or treatises are not of sufficient merit to warrant the conferment of the degree on the candidate, but that they are of sufficient merit to warrant the conferment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, they shall report to the Academic Council accordingly and give a concise statement of the grounds on which their conclusion is based. If the Academic Council considers, upon such report that the candidate is worthy of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, it shall report to the Executive Council accordingly. On receipt of such report, the Executive Council shall declare the treatise or treatises approved as thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and shall publish the name of the candidate and the subject of his treatise.

Kerala University

M. LITT. EXAMINATION

I. The Degree of Master of Letters may be awarded to Bachelors of Arts (Honours) or Masters of Arts of this University, or of any other University recognised by the Syndicate as equivalent thereto, on the results of research work extending over a period of not less than two years after passing the examination qualifying them for the Honours Degree or the Master's Degree as the case may be.

II. Candidates for the M.Litt. Degree should

have undertaken their research work under the guidance of a recognised supervising teacher in an institution of this University or of another University or Institute, recognised by the Syndicate for the purpose.

III. Candidates for the M.Litt. Degree shall be required to register themselves as research students before the commencement of their course of research.

The application for registration as a research student and as a candidate for the Degree shall be made to the Registrar on or before the 1st of July every year in the prescribed form and shall be accompanied by the written consent of a recognised teacher of the University or a recognised Institute agreeing to supervise the work of the applicant.

The application shall be considered and disposed of by the Syndicate.

IV. Within six months before the expiry of the prescribed minimum period after registration, or at any other time afterwards, the candidate shall submit to the Registrar four copies of a thesis accompanied by a satisfactory abstract thereof, embodying the results of researches carried out by him. The thesis shall be printed or typewritten in English.

V. The thesis shall comply with the following conditions:

- (a) It must consist of the candidate's own account of his research, provided that it may describe work done in conjunction with the teacher who has supervised the work. The candidate shall state, in a preface, the sources from which he has derived information or guidance for his work, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and how far the thesis embodies the result of his own research or observations, and this statement shall be certified by the Supervising Teacher.

- (b) It must form a distinct contribution to the knowledge of the subject and afford evidence of originality shown either by the discovery of new facts or new relations of facts or by the exercise of independent critical power. The candidate must indicate in what respects his investigations appear to him to advance the study of his subject.

- (c) It must be satisfactory as regards literary presentation and, if not already published in an approved form, must be suitable for publication, either as submitted or in an abridged form:

Provided, however, that a candidate who has presented a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty and failed to secure the Ph.D. Degree may resubmit the same or a revised thesis for the Degree of Master of Letters.

In addition to the thesis, the candidate may submit, as additional evidence, any memoir or work published by him, alone or jointly with others.

VI. The thesis shall be valued by a Board of three Examiners appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate. The candidate shall also be required to undergo an oral test on the subject of the thesis.

The report of the Examiners shall be considered by the Syndicate. If the candidate is adjudged worthy to be awarded the Degree, a resolution to that effect shall be passed by the Syndicate, and the candidate shall be admitted to the Degree under the prescribed conditions.

VII. If the thesis is not approved for the award of the Degree, the candidate may submit after an interval of not less than six months a new or revised thesis.

A candidate shall not be allowed to submit

his thesis on more than two occasions, provided, however, that it shall be competent for the Syndicate, if the Board of Examiners so recommend, to permit the candidate to submit his thesis on a third occasion.

VIII. The thesis whether approved or not, shall not be published without the sanction of the Syndicate, and the Syndicate may grant permission for publication under such conditions as it may impose.

PH.D. EXAMINATION

I. The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) may be awarded:

- (a) to persons holding the Degree of Master of Arts of this University or of another recognised University, on the result of research work extending over a period of not less than three years after passing the examination qualifying them for the Degree of Master of Arts, as embodied in a thesis relating to a subject coming within the purview of the Faculty;
- (b) to persons holding the Degree of Master of Letters of this University or of another recognised University, on the results of research work extending over a period of not less than two years after qualifying for the Degree of Master of Letters, as embodied in a thesis relating to a subject coming within the purview of the Faculty.

The research shall be undertaken under the guidance of a Supervising Teacher in an institution of this University or of another University or an Institute approved by the Syndicate.

II. A candidate shall be required to register himself as a research student and as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, before the commencement of his course of research.

Provided, however, that a candidate who

possesses the Degree of Master of Letters by Research may register at any time during the further period of his two years' research work.

III. The application for registration as a research student and as a candidate for the Ph.D. Degree shall be made to the Registrar on or before the 1st of July of the year in the prescribed form, and shall be accompanied by the written consent of a teacher of the University or of another supervisor recognised for the purpose by the Syndicate, agreeing to supervise the work of the applicant.

IV. The application for registration as a research student and as a candidate for the Degree shall be considered and disposed of by the Syndicate, provided, however, that the opinion of the Board of Studies concerned shall be obtained with regard to the suitability of the institution (if outside Kerala State) for the purpose of any particular course of research.

V. Within six months before the expiry of the prescribed minimum period after registration or at any other time afterwards, the candidate may submit to the Registrar four copies of a thesis, printed or typewritten in English, embodying the results of research carried out by him. The candidate shall state, in a preface, the sources from which he has derived information or guidance for his work, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original.

VI. The thesis shall be accompanied by a declaration signed by the candidate that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title or recognition. The candidate shall also submit a report by the Supervising Teacher certifying that the thesis is a record of bona fide research carried out by the candidate.

In addition to the thesis, the candidate may

submit as additional evidence any memoir or work published by him alone or jointly with others.

VII. The thesis shall be valued by a Board of three Examiners appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate. The candidate shall also be required to undergo an oral test on the subject of the thesis.

The report of the Examiners shall be considered by the Syndicate. If the candidate is adjudged worthy to be awarded the degree, a resolution to that effect shall be passed by the Syndicate and the candidate shall be admitted to the Degree under the prescribed conditions.

VIII. If the thesis is not approved for the award of the Degree, the candidate may submit, after an interval of not less than six months, a new or a revised thesis.

A candidate shall not be allowed to submit his thesis on more than two occasions, provided, however, that it shall be competent for the Syndicate, if the Board of Examiners so recommend, to permit the candidate to submit his thesis on a third occasion.

IX. The thesis, whether approved or not, shall not be published without the sanction of the Syndicate, and the Syndicate may grant permission for the publication under such conditions as it may impose.

ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

Nagpur University

(Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
*Ajay Mitra Shastri	Studies in the Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira,	Dr. V. V. Mirashi
O. P. Varma	The Yadavas of Devagiri and their Times	Dr. V. V. Mirashi
S. K. Nema	Somavamsis and their Times	Dr. V. V. Mirashi
Y. G. Reddi	The Kakatiyas and their Times	Dr. A. M. Shastri
Mrs. Malati Mahajan	Material Culture of Ancient India up to 100 B.C.	Dr. M. K. Dhavalikar
Miss Narmada Kutkar	Socio-religious History of Maharashtra from 250 B.C. to 550 A.D.	Dr. A. M. Shastri
Miss Shukla Mukherjee	Studies in the Agricultural History of Ancient India up to 100 B.C.	Dr. A. M. Shastri

Kerala University

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
M. G. Sankaranarayanam	Political and Social Conditions under Kulasekhara Empire in the 9th and 10th Centuries	Prof. V. Narayana Pillai
Smt. G. Rajamma	History of Venad from the 14th to 18th Century	do
A Samuel Raj	Educational Policy of the Government of India during the British Period	do

*Asterisk indicates thesis completed.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
P. K. Kumara Das	Feudalism in Mediaeval Kerala	Prof. V. Narayana Pillai
A. T. Verghese	History of the Christian Mission in South India	do
A. V. Paul	Evolution of Responsible Government in Cochin State in the 20th Century	Prof. P. S. Velayudhan
K. Sankunni Menon	Cochin and the British, 1790-1947	Dr. T. K. Ravindran
N. Kumaran	Land Revenue Administration in Modern Travancore	Dr. P. K. Karunakara Menon
K. Devi	Travancore and the Paramount Power until 1947	do
D. Jayalakshmi Amma	History of Swarajist Party in India	do
K. Karunakaran Nair	History of the Judiciary of Travancore, 1729-1950	do
T. V. Kuppuswami	Sangam Chieftains and Their Times	do
John M. Jacob	Responsive Co-operation in Indian Freedom Struggle, 1920-1947	do
N. Mohanakumaran Nair	History of Social Reforms in Kerala (1920-1950).	do
P. V. Gangadharan	Life and Work of Sir David Ochterlony	do

SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH WORK

Nagpur University

Recognised Supervisors

Major Publications

(Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture)

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., D.Litt., Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. IV, Studies in Indology (in 3 Vols.)*

Dr. M. G. Dikshit, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of Ancient Indian History & Culture.

Dr. Ajoy Mitra Shastri, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Ancient Indian History & Culture. *An Outline of Early Buddhism.*

Dr. M. K. Dhavalikar, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Ancient Indian History & Culture. *Sanchi—A Study.*

Kerala University

Professor V. Narayana Pillai

Professor P. S. Velayudhan

Dr. T. K. Ravindran.

Professor P. K. Karunakara Menon

Departmental Research Scheme

As Convenor of the Regional Records Survey Committee, Dr. P. K. Karunakara Menon is now engaged in compiling the History of Freedom Movement in Kerala in three volumes. Work on the first two volumes has just been completed and that on the third volume covering the period 1938-47 begun.

He is also editing the Journal of Indian History published by the University of Kerala.

COMMENTS BY SUPERVISOR

Dr. P. K. K. MENON

Professor & Head of the Department of History, University of Kerala

The Department of History under the University of Kerala was started only in the middle of 1963. Research work on particular periods and topics in Kerala History is going on. The research scholars are gathering material and it will take some time before they are able to write their dissertations.

Many of the journals and research treatises are now out of print. The Government Archives Department in Kerala is just being organised and the original material now lying scattered in different parts of the State will take some time to be gathered, properly organised and made available to the research scholars. It is not easy to find the right type of scholars who will pursue research to its logical conclusion in view of the fact that History teachers are required in large numbers in the various colleges. One difficulty that is felt is that the scholars are not qualified to go through the material written in the old scripts. Fresh from

the colleges they do not have sufficient maturity which will enable independent judgment.

A short course in Palaeography extending over 2 or 3 months at least may be instituted under a qualified person who can understand the old scripts and every research scholar or post-graduate student may be asked to undergo it.

Research Assistants must be appointed in large numbers who can go to places where original material is available in private hands and take authenticated copies for research purpose.

The Archives Department must be developed and already steps have been taken by the Government in this direction.

To attract experienced and qualified people to the field of research more scholarships of higher value will have to be instituted.

THESES PRESENTED

Jadavpur University

A STUDY OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF
NORTHERN INDIA (A.D. 550—A.D. 650)

MISS SUKLA DAS

The dissertation entitled "A Study of the Socio-economic life of Northern India from A.D. 550 to A.D. 650" is an attempt towards a comprehensive study of social and economic conditions of Northern India during that period. It aims to give special stress and due importance to a period generally overlooked.

The year 550 A.D. has generally been accepted by Indologists as the deathknell of the vast Gupta empire which was considered as the culmination of material progress in ancient India. From the political point of view, therefore, the period appears to be rather gloomy and the interval between the collapse of the

Gupta empire and the rise of Sthanisvara under Harsavardhana of the Pusyabhuti dynasty at the dawn of the seventh century remains a period of confusion and obscurity. A number of independent states in Northern India struggled for power and supremacy till Harsa made Sthanisvara the centre of interest. But as Northern India failed to produce another succession of rulers of exceptional ability and as Harsa died without an heir, it is only natural that after him the edifice of his empire fell to pieces and the Pusyabhuti family came to an early end. Political significance of the period under review is, thus, overshadowed by the Gupta brilliance of the preceding age.

If the period is politically not bright, one cannot underestimate its social and economic significance. From the social point of view the period under consideration is as much interesting as the previous one because the social structure is much more stable than its political counterpart. This social change is a story of gradual progress or decline in the process of evolution. The work, therefore, pays special attention to trace the changes and continuity of the social forces.

The first chapter deals with the available source materials and their respective values to understand the subject clearly. Seven subsequent chapters describe important aspects of social life. The Chapter on Social Organisations discusses family, rural life, and urban life. The Chapter on Social Divisions reveals that though caste system played a very significant role in Indian society of the period under review, laxity of social codes and improved position of the Vaisyas and the Sudras were notable redeeming features. To ascertain the actual position of women in Chapter four, proper attention has been paid to understand their position in theory and law and their practical position in everyday life. The Chapter on education not only surveys the general condition of education and its effect on social outlook but also deals with the advanced centres of learning like the

Universities of Nalanda and Valabhi which spread the cultural heritage of India and thereby assured closer contacts with foreign lands, during the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Chapters on food and drinks, costume and toilet, and pastime and recreation speak of cultural attainments and aesthetic refinements of Indians and some definite developments in these respects with the urbanisation of people. All these show that social aspects of this particular period had great affinities with those of the previous one. Changes that took place and progress which occurred gradually in the structure of society were only questions of degree.

While reconstructing the economic fabric of Northern India after the disintegration of the Gupta Empire the work intends to point out that in spite of political upheavals trade and commerce was not at a standstill, industrial enterprises were not discouraged, agricultural improvements were aimed at, while the toiling mass was not in a position to utilise the political situation to their advantage. Seven Chapters entitled Landed wealth, Agriculture, Industries, Trade and Commerce, System of Labour, Corporate Organisations and Money Lending and Currency afford a glimpse of the economic life and activities of the period.

Therefore, the work on the one hand discusses the continuity of the process of social evolution and economic progress with modification and adjustment even after the fall of the Imperial Guptas, while on the other it intends to show how new forces were gradually making their headway to fit in the new political framework created by the changed situation. Moreover, this socio-economic survey not only displays the strength and stability of the two basic forces but further belies the common belief that Ancient India focussed her emphasis on spiritualism in preference to material attainments. If at all, India's spiritualism only represented the pitch of cultural refinement as a result of phenomenal material progress rather than the negation of it.

Nagpur University

STUDIES IN THE BRIHATSAMHITA OF VARAHAMIHIRA

DR. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The Studies in the Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira aims at fulfilling a long-felt need by presenting an exhaustive study of the cultural evidence of Varahamihira's writings, especially the *Brihatsamhita*. The thesis, split up into eight chapters, opens with the much-discussed question of Varahamihira's date, life and works. After critically reviewing all the current theories and relevant evidence, the author concludes that the Saka-kala mentioned by Varahamihira is the same as the era of that name commencing in A.D. 78, that Saka 427 (A.D. 505) refers to the year of the composition of the *Panchasiddhantika*, and that it cannot be the date of Varahamihira's birth, or of the composition of the *Romaka-siddhanta* or its commentary or its adaptation as it is generally held. The cultural evidence of Varahamihira's writings is for the first time brought to bear upon the general question of his age, and information about some unpublished works attributed to him is also collected from catalogues of manuscripts. The next chapter, sub-divided into four sections, deals with the geographical data. It is followed by a comprehensive picture of the religious conditions of the period as gleaned from the sources. Social life in its different aspects

is treated in the eight sections of Ch. IV. The *Brihatsamhita* offers materials for an important chapter on the history of agricultural practices, tree-culture, flora, hydrology and fauna which form the subject-matter of the first two sections of the next chapter, the remaining sections being occupied by an account of arts and crafts, trade, jewel-industry, and weights and measures. Contemporary astrological beliefs and superstitions are summarily noticed in Ch. VI, while much new material on architecture, sculpture, iconometry, music and painting is contained in the following chapter. The work ends with a discussion of Varahamihira's references to older writers and works.

It will be evident from the above that though the evidence of the *Brihatsamhita* has been sparingly utilised by some previous writers, the present work is the first attempt at a comprehensive study of its evidence in a historical perspective. The evidence of Varahamihira's less known works like the *Brihajjataka*, *Laghujataka*, *Yogayatra*, *Tikanika-yatra*, *Brihad-yatra* and *Vivaha-patala*, the last two of which are still awaiting publication, is studied here for the first time.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Role of Feudatories in Pallava History
by M. S. GOVINDASAMY; Published by *The Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar*.

The book under review discusses in detail the history of the Banas (c. A. D. 350-895), the Muttaraiyars (c.A.D. 650-860), the Kodumbatturs (c. A. D. 600-900), the Cholas of Uraiyur and Palaiyarai (A. D. 575-895), the Cholas of Benandu (A. D. 545-630), the Adigamans (A. D. 550-880), the Western Gangas (A.D. 445-895) and a few other individual feudatories of the Pallavas, one of the celebrated imperial powers of the ancient south. Manifestly, the objective of Mr. M.S. Govindasamy is two-fold: to make a comprehensive study of a group of hitherto little known dynasties of the south and to evaluate their role in the otherwise well-known history of the Pallavas. The work is thus an attempt to study the history of the Pallavas from the standpoint of their feudatories.

Whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that empires or big kingdoms in ancient India were but federations of states loosely linked in a sort of quasi-feudal relationship with the overlords. Emperors or kings were satisfied, or perhaps, had to remain content, with the nominal allegiance of their vanquished enemies (cf. Samudragupta's act of liberating the kings of the south). Fleet must have had this cardinal feature of Indian history in his mind when he remarked, quite rightly, that the history of an imperial dynasty of ancient India will be incomplete without a detailed notice of at least the important feudatory families.

The significance of this remark of the great scholar has been hardly understood by our historians. Illustrious imperial dynasties of ancient India have received exhaustive treat-

ment in the hands of competent scholars. And indeed the results obtained in researches on the dynastic history of ancient India are sometimes brilliant. But there is also a great need for studying the ups and downs of these imperial dynasties from the viewpoint of their feudatories. Professor R. Sathianathaier regards such a study as an example of "right method of historical investigations", though the word 'right' for its sense of exclusiveness should be substituted by some other word like 'important' or 'fruitful'. In any case, the present work has succeeded in demonstrating the fruitfulness of the method that Professor Sathianathaier calls 'right'.

Feudatories in ancient India proved to be both centripetal and centrifugal forces in the history of their overlords. One of the weakest points of ancient Indian imperial powers was that they failed to devise and maintain a governmental machine adequate to control a really large state. Consequently, they had to depend largely on the loyalty of the local or subordinate powers. In the present context, the feudatories of the Pallavas, as the author informs us, had their own armies and were in possession of strategically important territories. Not unnaturally, therefore, they exert some influence on the course of the history of their overlords. Thus Pallava Nandivarman II had to be grateful to Udayachandra and to Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan II for the stability of his rule. The support of the Banas was of considerable help to the Pallavas in the frontier wars and enabled them to withstand the incursions of the Pandyas. The more familiar side of the shield should not also be lost sight of. Like other feudatories of their times, the Banas, the Muttaraiyars and their friends were also anxious to throw off the imperial yoke at the earliest convenient opportunity.

What is more, they generally acknowledged the supremacy of their powerful neighbour or the victorious enemy and rarely stood by their weak and vanquished masters. When the Pandya King Nedunjadaiyan alias Parantakan ousted the Pallavas from the Kaveri region, the Muttaraiyars did not lose any time in changing their allegiance to the Pandya victor. When the Pallava power was on the wane in the 9th century, the Muttaraiyars and the Banas declared their independence and Chola Aditya I set up an independent kingdom of his own.

The annals of these individual families can in no way be much pleasant reading. Taken together they have, however, important bearings on the history of the Pallavas. A clue for a better understanding of the decline of the Pallavas may be found in the annals of these feudatories. Similarly, the role played by these feudatories in the cultural history of the South, or for that matter of India as a whole, was considerably important. Their services in fostering the Bhakti cult in particular and art and architecture in general deserve adequate attention. Their contributions to what generally goes by the designation 'Pallava culture' should in no way be ignored or overlooked.

In many ways, therefore, the work under review is an admirable piece of historical research. The author has patiently tapped every possible source, both archaeological and literary, and by intelligently correlating the facts gleaned therefrom, he has advanced our knowledge of the history of the Pallavas and their times to an appreciable extent. By producing an amply documented survey of the activities of the feudatories of the Pallavas, Mr. Govindasamy, has opened a long ignored perspective. Can we expect studies of other celebrated dynasties of North and South India from a feudatory point of view from the fellow-workers of our author?

KALYAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA

Studies in Social History (Modern India).
Edited by PROFESSOR O. P. BHATNAGAR, *Allahabad*, 1964. Pp. 387. Price Rs. 7.50.

This volume is a collection of sixteen Papers presented by a number of scholars at the Summer School of Indian Social History, held at Kodaikanal in July 1963, under the joint auspices of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, and the History Department, University of Allahabad. The object of the Summer School was to draw the attention of the scholars 'to the necessity of making a critical study of Indian social life'.

Dr. R. I. Crane, an American scholar, who was invited to lead the discussion, submitted a paper on *Technique and Method in Social History*. He made some comments on the aims of social historian and referred to some techniques and methods which could be put to use in writing social history. He emphasised the necessity of carefully studying 'social milieu' and the social environment in which events take place.

The paper on *Racial factor in Indian social life* by Dr (Mrs.) Iravati Karve, deals with Indian races, caste system and inter-relations between different communities. She analysed various divisible factors in present day Indian life and pointed out that in a multi-cultural society like India mutual toleration and understanding can be built up only by making people learn the truth. She studied this problem in the context of national integration.

Dr. G. C. Pande wrote a paper on *The influence of religion on Indian social life*. He had examined the social institutions and traditions created under the impress of Vedic religion, Jainism Buddhism, Tantra and Bhakti.

Dr. L. Gopal read a paper on *Socio-Economic implications of feudalism in Northern India (700-1200 A.D.)* This particular period was selected by him because "it not only represents the culmination of the institutions of ancient India,

but also provides a possible clue to the origins of several feudal institutions of the medieval period of Indian history." He studied feudalism as a socio-economic institution and often referred to European feudal system. He stated that in earlier times the cultivators in India were not tied to the soil like the European serfs. Even the manorial system was not widespread in India. It was due to the preservation of imperial administrative machinery in some form or other. Moreover, there was not a total collapse of commercial intercourse. Besides, several other important features of feudalism were explained by him.

Dr. John W. Spellman in his paper on *The impact of Ancient India on modern Indian politics and society* tried to show that the glories of India's past had been deliberately used by certain leaders in the nationalist movement. Individual leaders interpreted the Hindu Classics to suit their own point of view. The author has shown that "the ideas and institutions of ancient India have had an impact on modern Indian society and politics".

Dr. V. N. Hari Rao's paper on *Vaishnavism in South India in the Modern Period* deals with different schools of Vaishnavism. He also examined the role of the 'mutts' in the social life. In fact each Vaishnava sect in South India has its own "mutts". The mutts of different schools were considered by the author as the bulwark of orthodoxy and conservatism.

In the paper on *Caste in the Tamil Country*, Dr. N. Subrahmaniam discussed the origin and nature of the caste system in the context of Indian national aspiration. The author has mentioned the activities of the Justice party in Tamilnad. This party tried to mobilise public opinion against the Brahmins. But the author also pointed out the difficulty of destroying the institution of caste.

Dr. S. Natarajan submitted a paper on *Some aspects of social life of the peasantry in the nineteenth century*. He supplied some interest-

ing facts regarding the social life in the rural areas.

Dr. K. K. Pillay in his paper on *British Educational Policy and social change* examined the British educational policy from 1781 to 1937 and the social changes brought about by the introduction of western education.

Dr. Barin De submitted a paper on *Some implications of political tendencies and social factors in eighteenth century India* with particular reference to examples from Northern and Eastern India from the reign of Aurangzeb till 1760. He raised some interesting questions on the reign of Aurangzeb and the administration of Murshid Quli Khan, and regarding "the social evils which beset the fabric of Indian society and politics in the last days of Mughal rule". Dr. De thoroughly examined the arguments of those historians of India and Pakistan who were influenced by communal ideas. He tried to uncover the roots of 'Pro-Hindu' and 'anti-Hindu' feeling.

Mr. V. N. Datta's paper on *Suttee and the Official Policy* deals with the problems of 'Suttee' in the 19th century. Dr. Nemai Sadhan Bose wrote a paper on *Social attitude as reflected in Bengali literature (1799-1857)*. He observed "Bengali literature in general, by the middle of the 19th century does reflect a trend of progress in its attitude to social and other problems". Dr. M. S. Vairana Pillai characterised Henry Fawcett (1833-1884) as "one of the foremost champions of the Indian cause outside the borders of India" in his paper on *Professor Henry Fawcett and Indian Nationalism*. Mr. P. C. Gupta sent a paper on *Modern Indian literature as a factor in moulding social life*.

Professor O. P. Bhatnagar in his paper on *Some Aspects of Indian Social Life in the 19th century* has presented the main events of the time.

The summary of the talk of Dr. N. K. Sinha is included in this volume. The author has

shown the main features of the economic and industrial change in Bengal from 1793 to 1833 and changes in the society as influenced by economy from 1870 to 1905. Dr. Sinha raised some important questions regarding Indian economy and emphasised the necessity of writing social history in the light of economic and industrial change.

Mr. Peter M. M. Gardner, a young American anthropologist, attended the Summer School as an observer and submitted a paper on *Historical consequences of Anthropological Research*, dealing with the tribes in the South.

Before concluding the discussion I like to emphasise one point. The attitude of the 19th century educated Hindus towards the Muslim community was not examined by any scholar. It would have been better if some scholars could devote some time to this problem.

The U.G.C. and the History Department, University of Allahabad, deserve congratulations for the publication of this volume. It would be of great help to those who are engaged in studying social history of India. A list of books on social history and an exhaustive index have added to the merit of the book.

AMALENDU DE

Itihas Sikshan by PROFESSOR DILIP KUMAR BISWAS; Published by Dasgupta & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd. Price Rs. 4.50.

Professor Biswas has rendered service by producing this volume on the theory and practice of teaching of history of the Pre-University level. In gleaning opinion on the subject from world renowned authorities he has also inter-leaved their views with his own interpretation. Teachers of history may find these discourses interesting and stimulating.

Starting with a definitive discussion on the true nature of history itself, the author has dwelt upon the relationships that exist between the discipline of history and those of Geography, Politics, Civics etc. While pointing out the various attributes which help to make a successful teacher of history, he has laid special stress on the interpretative and correlating aspects.

The book also deals with practical problems, like systems of examination, evaluation of papers, audio-visual and other teaching aids and draws extensively from experiences gained by other authorities. These chapters (altogether 27 chapters) may be of some help to all interested in the teaching of history.

AMIYA BARAT

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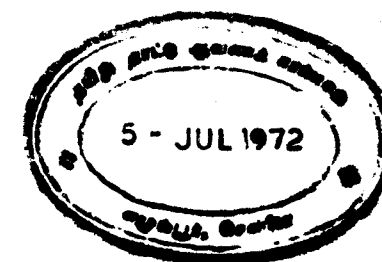
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EDITORIAL

Dictionary of Biographies Project:

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project has been making good progress. The Research Fellows working in different parts of India have so far collected biographical material on more than 1000 leaders out of a total of 1200. In our previous number we published a list of leaders covered from April to October 1966, while in two earlier numbers, Vol. V nos. 1 and 3, names of leaders covered till March 1966 had been published. In our next issue we shall publish again a list of leaders covered from November 1966 to March 1967. At the present rate of progress it can be reasonably hoped that collection of biographical data on all the 1200 leaders will be completed by the middle of the year. If the Project is not unduly held up by lack of funds, the work of writing biographical entries will be distributed among contributors, each to cover 10 to 12 leaders, by June. It is hoped that the contributors will be able to complete their assignment in a year's time and that, after allowing six months' time for editing, the Dictionary volumes will be ready for the press by the end of 1968.

A meeting of the Editorial Board was held at Mysore in December 1966. The Board made a careful scrutiny of the names of leaders from

different zones and drew up a final list. While it was felt desirable to include several new names whose contribution to the Nationalist Movement could not be ignored, no substantial increase in the total number could be made for lack of funds. It is hoped, however, that if the Dictionary gets a good and appreciative public reception and additional funds are available, we may be in a position to add 300 to 400 names in the second edition.

The Editorial Board also drew up lists of leaders of Sind and Goa, not covered earlier, as also a list of about 20 foreigners who took an active part in the Indian Nationalist Movement.

Suggestions had been invited from different Universities, research centres and eminent scholars for names of contributors for each region who may be requested to write biographical entries on the basis of the material collected by the Research Fellows. We are grateful to all the institutions and individuals approached for their ready assistance and co-operation. The suggestions were placed before the Editorial Board and a tentative list of about 150 contributors was drawn up, including some who are not professional historians but are nevertheless most competent to write on some leaders with whom they had been closely asso-

ciated. If necessary funds had been available in time, as we had earnestly hoped, appointment of contributors could have been made in January 1967 and their work could have started without needless delay. Unfortunately, in spite of our best efforts we could not get the additional funds required, and hence the Project work has been held up. If the necessary funds are not forthcoming even by the middle of this year, it will seriously upset our schedule.

In December last we appealed again to the Minister of Education, Government of India, and to the Chief Ministers of all the States for additional funds. We had also applied to half a dozen Indian Educational Foundations and about twenty industrialists and businessmen for financial assistance. Unfortunately, we have not yet received any favourable response. But we still hope that the country will not allow a Project of such national importance and academic value to be abandoned in the final stage for want of a very modest sum.

The total Project budget, from 1963-64 to 1968-69, has been finally estimated at Rs. 4,50,000, including the cost of publication of three volumes of 800 to 850 pages each. Out of this total, we have received so far Rs. 3,00,000, and we are faced with a deficit of Rs. 1,50,000. We must find resources to meet the deficit; otherwise all the money, time and labour spent during the last four years will be simply wasted. If only ten State Governments could contribute Rs. 15,000 each, a fraction of what is spent on meaningless props to official dignity, the whole deficit could be easily met; or if only 15 industrialists could contribute Rs. 10,000 each, a fraction of what they spend on so-called business entertainments, it would provide the little additional money we need. Or, if, finally, the Government of India could contribute a sum equal to the money spent annually on maintaining the lawns of the old Viceregal Lodge in Simla, now housing the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, or the money spent on many of the U. G. C. charities and purposeless shows, all coming from the Union Education Budget,

we would be saved from the tragic prospect of having to abandon a Project of such unique importance and national value, in the final stage of its execution, after Rs. 3,00,000 had been spent and 16 Research Fellows had worked tirelessly for nearly four years.

Our present frustration is to a large extent due to the closed mind of the bureaucracy, tuned to routine file-work and dubious about all non-Governmental projects. The *Indian Express* (Delhi Edition) commented editorially on October 31, 1966: "The sorry state of affairs which prevails as regards historical research in India is evident from the fact that the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies, the most important organised research work ever undertaken in the country from the point of national history, cannot be completed for want of funds... Research scholars are today more and more at the mercy of the bureaucracy. If such a situation continues it will sound the death-knell of learning in a land which has in the past produced scholars and savants. An effort must be made by the Government as well as the public to raise money so that this worthwhile project can continue without resort to foreign aid".

We appeal to the Minister of Education, Government of India, and to the Chief Ministers of different States to look at our Project not as administrators but as patriotic men and women, and offer us the modest assistance required to complete our work. The Biographies Project will be the best grateful homage of the present generation enjoying the fruits of freedom to those brave and sacrificing pioneers who made that freedom possible.

University News:

We are publishing in the present number an account of historical studies at two Universities, Burdwan (West Bengal) and Jamia Millia Islamia (Delhi). The courses of study at Burdwan University are fairly balanced. For B.A. Honours Examination in History,

there are three papers on Indian History, Ancient, Medieval and Modern, three papers on Western History, one on the history of Modern Asia, and one on Ancient or Medieval civilisation. For M.A. Examination in History there are three papers on Indian History, with a happy emphasis on administrative and economic history and the history of the Nationalist Movement, while three deal with British Constitutional History, International Law and Organisation, and History of Political Thought. Among the special papers are history of the Far East and South East Asia, European history from 1914, and history of the U.S.A. We feel that the M.A. syllabus needs revision, particularly to provide a wider choice of special papers. Special papers are intended for a study in depth, and it is interesting to note that no period of Medieval or Modern Indian history is included among the special papers.

At the Jamia Millia Islamia University there is no B.A. Honours in History. The M.A. course consists of eight papers and a *Viva-Voce*. Of the eight written papers, five are compulsory, Historiography, Modern European history and three papers on Medieval Indian history. The other three papers are to be chosen either from Ancient or from Modern Indian history. There is a deliberate emphasis on Indian history. If one takes up Ancient and Medieval periods, only one out of eight papers relates to countries other than India. If one takes up Medieval and Modern periods, only two papers out of eight relate to countries other than India. The Jamia Millia, being one of the old National Universities, was started with the deliberate objective of putting a special emphasis on the study of Indian History and Culture. But since it is now a Statutory University like others and its students have the same career opportunities as students of other Universities, it would be advisable to revise its course of study for M.A. Examination in History to bring it at par with the courses of other Universities.

So far as Indian history is concerned, the course provides for a thorough and compre-

hensive study, dealing with all aspects—political, social, economic, cultural and literary. The Jamia Millia is happily one of the few Indian Universities where historiography is a compulsory paper in the M.A. course. As we wrote earlier in these columns, a paper on historiography should be included in the M.A. course at every University. Advanced students of history ought to know the ideas of history and methodology employed by the master craftsmen of their trade. The Jamia Millia has also another good feature, namely provision about a *viva-voce* examination which, if properly conducted, ensures a better evaluation of the merits of candidates.

Regarding rules for Research Degrees, it is curious to note that while the History Faculty at Jamia Millia is pretty strong and some students are carrying on research, the University has not yet been able to draw up definite rules and regulations to put research carried on in the History Department on a regular and recognised basis. We can only hope that the University authorities will pay early attention to this lacuna and draw up a set of rules for Research Degrees as at other Universities. It is also interesting to note that the three students who are currently carrying on research at Jamia Millia have chosen topics relating to Modern Indian history. One should have thought that at least equal emphasis would have been put on Medieval Indian history for which the Faculty is eminently competent.

The rules for Research Degrees at Burdwan University provide for a qualifying test at the end of the first year of enrolment. The qualifying test includes a test of the necessary linguistic equipment of the candidates. The rules, however, do not provide for any close and regular contact between the research student and his supervisor. The research student is required to meet his supervisor only once in two months. There is no provision for seminars, lectures or other ways of research training. The rules also insist on unanimity among three examiners. As we wrote in an earlier issue,

the insistence on unanimity is neither fair to the candidate nor to the two examiners who may happen to differ from the third and whose recommendations can be vetoed by one dissenting examiner. Several Universities provide for a reference to a fourth examiner in case of a difference of opinion among the first three. This, in our view, is the most satisfactory system.

Although Burdwan University is new, having been started in 1961, the enrolment for Research Degree is quite satisfactory. Nine students are at present enrolled for Ph.D. and the subjects covered are fairly wide in range. There is of course more emphasis on the Modern Period, but Ancient and Medieval Periods have not been neglected altogether, nor any undue emphasis been placed on regional or local history.

Discussion Meetings:

Since the publication of our last number only two Discussion Meetings could be held. Dr (Mrs.) Aparna Bose spoke on *Education and Politics in India* (1898-1918); and Dr. D. K. Ghosh on *Kashmir Residency Question* (1846-1885). The meetings were well attended and the talks will be published in due course in the *Quarterly Review*.

We regret that due to disturbed conditions in the city and later to the General Election excitement our scheduled programme of Research Students Seminar had to remain suspended for several months. Now that normal conditions have been restored, it is hoped to resume the Seminar, which has proved so useful to all research students.

Annual Conference:

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Institute was held at the University of Mysore on 1st January 1967, following the Indian History Congress session. In the morning session twelve papers were read on selected themes covering Ancient, Medieval and Modern

Indian history. The themes chosen and the names of contributors of papers are given below:

I. THE CHRONICLERS OF ANCIENT INDIA:

Dr. Bimal Kanti Majumdar (*Jadavpur University*)

II. THE NEWS WRITERS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA:

Dr. J. N. Sarkar (*Jadavpur University*)

Dr. G. H. Khare (*Bharat Itihas Sansodhak Mandal, Poona*)

III. THE GROWTH OF THE INDIAN PRESS IN THE MODERN PERIOD:

Dr. K. K. Pillay (*Madras University*)
—Tamil Press.

Dr. Sarojini Regani (*Osmania University, Hyderabad*)—Telugu Press.

Dr. V. D. Rao (*Shivaji University, Kolhapur*)—Marathi Press.

Dr. Sharadadevi Vedalkar (*Bhagalpur University*)—Hindi Press.

Prof. K. Sajanalal (*Osmania University, Hyderabad*)—Urdu Press.

Mrs. Kalpana Bishui (*Calcutta University*)—Bengali Press.

Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee (*Visva-Bharati University*)—Bengali Press.

Dr. G. S. Dikshit (*Karnatak University, Dharwar*)—Press in Mysore.

Dr. B. Muddachari (*Mysore University*)
—Press in Mysore.

All the papers will shortly be published in a special volume. It is hoped that the volume will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the study of the history of Indian journalism.

In the afternoon session there was a symposium on the *Education Commission's Report*. The principal speakers were Professor Bisheshwar Prasad of Delhi University and Dr. S. S. Dave of Vallabh Vidyapith, Anand, Gujarat. There was a thorough and critical examination of several aspects of the Education Commission's Report relating to Higher Education and Research.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL (1903–1908)*

SUMIT SARKAR

(*University of Burdwan*)

In my work on problems connected with the Partition of Bengal of 1905, I have decided to concentrate on the period from December 1903 (the publication of the Risley letter) to the second half of 1908 (when, with the Alipore Bomb Case, the deportations, and the ban on the principal Samitis, the open or public movement in Bengal—as distinct from underground revolutionary work or Terrorism—virtually collapses). As the choice of the period indicates, my main interest has been this open, public or more-or-less mass struggle and its changing forms. The origins of Terrorism come into my subject but not its later developments, and Government attitudes and policies occupy only a marginal place.

My sources so far (I must state at the outset that the work is far from complete) include the Home Public and Home Political series in the National Archives (here the Fortnightly Reports from the two Bengal Provinces, dossiers on important leaders, and special surveys on the National Volunteers and National Schools may be mentioned in particular), the excerpts from the Intelligence Branch records preserved in the West Bengal State Archives, and the official Reports on the Native Press of Bengal. Of equal, if not greater, value in my particular subject have been the non-official sources—memoirs and general surveys; contemporary pamphlets; newspapers, like the *Bengalee*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and the *Bande Mataram* (standing, roughly speaking, for the right, centre, and left of the national movement of those days); periodicals, particularly the rather

neglected vernacular ones, invaluable for the information they give about ideological conflicts; and the literature of the age. Very recently, I have had the good fortune of getting access also to several collections of private papers hitherto unused, the richest being those of Aswini Goomar Banerji—barrister, Swadeshi leader, and one of our first labour organizers. His papers include letters written to him by most of the prominent men of Swadeshi Bengal (46 written by Surendranath, for instance), a number of trade union documents, and a brief autobiographical account.

In arranging my materials, I have come to feel that the conventional picture we have of the Swadeshi age—a united movement against the Partition splitting up into 'Moderate' and 'Extremist' (or 'Nationalist') currents, and the latter eventually developing into 'Terrorism'—is not quite adequate. Contemporaries sometimes seem to assume or imply a more complicated situation,¹ and I found it difficult to fit the various conflicts reflected in the periodical press into the simple three-fold classification of trends. In a recent article², I have tried to explore the possibilities of an analysis in terms of four logically-distinct trends: the Moderates, seeking constitutional reforms through the technique of putting forward a fool-proof case in order to convince British public opinion; the supporters of what I have called 'Constructive Swadeshi', rejecting the 'mendicancy' of the old-style politics, advocating in its place self-help efforts in Swadeshi enterprise, national education, and village organisation and improvement, and avoiding a direct political clash ('A

*Paper read at Research Students Seminar.

subject nation has no politics", declared Asutosh Chaudhuri at the Burdwan Provincial Conference in 1904); 'Political Extremism', with "complete autonomy" or independence as the goal and "extended boycott" or "passive resistance" (as well as self-help work) as the new technique of mass political action; and 'Terrorism', which in practice if not always in intention came to mean elite action by groups of heroic young men to drive out the British by force of arms.

The rather neglected trend of Constructive Swadeshi found its best theoretical expression in the writings of Rabindranath (*Swadeshi Samaj* may be regarded as its *locus classicus*); on the practical level, we may mention the work of men like Jogendra Chandra Ghosh (of the Association for Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education), Satis Chandra Mukherjee and the Dawn group, Taraknath Palit, and Swadeshi enthusiasts like P. N. Bose, Nilratan Sircar, Ambica Charan Ukil, or Upendranath Sen. That Constructive Swadeshi has some claim to be considered a logically distinct trend is indicated by the fact that it came under attack from two sides—men like Prithwis Chandra Ray or Pramathanath Roychaudhuri defended the old style of agitation against Rabindranath,³ while a little later we find Pal, Upadhyay, and Aurobindo criticising it for the tendency to keep aloof from any kind of politics.¹

I would like to emphasise also that the crucial distinction between political Extremism and Terrorism is, not the use of physical force (the rigid moral barrier between violence and non-violence came only later with Gandhi, and in any case 'violence', 'militant nationalism', or 'revolutionary' activity may take many different forms), but the contrast between mass action and elite action. Passive resistance as preached by Pal and Aurobindo during 1906-07 required for its success a considerable degree of active participation by the masses, while the kind of revolutionary activity we had in Bengal from the closing years of the Swadeshi period on-

wards amounted to assassination of specially obnoxious officials or spies, dacoities to raise funds, and at best (with the more sophisticated group of Bagha Jatin) attempts to import arms from abroad and win over sections of the army in order to stage a *coup d'état*. There is never any attempt to set up guerilla bases or "liberated areas" in the countryside.

A full picture of the age must include also the conflicts between 'Modernist' or 'Westernist' attitudes and the forces of revivalism. The period as a whole was obviously marked by a strong anti-West current, but dissident voices were never entirely absent.⁵ Personal attitudes of course were not always consistent or unchanging—thus Rabindranath, who went with the nationalist tide during 1901-1906 to the extent of finding virtues in the traditional caste system, child-marriage, and restrictions on widows, sharply modified his views from 1907 onwards.⁶ The conflict was not purely theoretical; it found expression also in differences over very concrete and practical questions, like the composition of the National Council of Education (from which many Brahmins seem to have been deliberately excluded)⁷, the installation of a Bhabani image at the June 1906 Shivaji Utsava in Calcutta⁸, the relative importance of handicrafts as against factory industries in the promotion of Swadeshi⁹, and the problem of achieving Hindu-Muslim unity.

An analysis in terms of trends always runs the risk of becoming too schematic. But considered as a working hypothesis, relevant perhaps only on a certain level of abstraction, I feel that the above scheme may claim the merit of drawing attention to shifts within the movement and thus helping to elucidate its inner logic. The trends that I have distinguished of course did not succeed each other neatly every time; they no doubt existed side by side in the Bengal of 1905, or even earlier. But what is important is the change in relative importance. Thus a few secret societies thinking in terms of terroristic action had come into existence even before Partition in Bengal, but Terrorism be-

came the predominant form of nationalist activity only after 1907-08.

For the remaining part of my talk today I want to concentrate on what I consider was the most important of these shifts in emphasis, from political Extremism to Terrorism, mass activity to elite action. Due perhaps to the romantic appeal which Terrorism has always had among educated Bengalees, the problem of its origins has not been properly or critically analysed so far. It has been assumed to be the inevitable reflex of repression, and often hailed as the logical climax of the national movement of those years.¹⁰ I want to put forward today a rather controversial thesis, and will now try to prove three propositions:

1. Political Extremism with its technique of passive resistance, supplemented by constructive work, had considerable possibilities for developing into a real mass movement, anticipating in fact much of the later achievements of the '20s and '30s. I will try to substantiate this by discussing in some detail two rather neglected topics: the work of the Samitis, and Labour unrest and organisation.

2. The movement, however, had two crucial limitations: the lack of a peasant programme, and the failure to achieve or maintain Hindu-Muslim unity. Due to the social structure of parts of Bengal (overwhelmingly Hindu *bhadralok* gentry—predominantly Muslim peasants), the two limitations often were interconnected. The decline of the open movement was thus not due solely or mainly to police repression.

3. The real root of Terrorism is, therefore, the contradiction between the lofty aspirations of groups of educated youths and the passivity of the major part of the population, combined with the active hostility of certain Muslim sections. The path of elite action was a tempting short-cut, a very natural appeal to the impatience of youth; its heroism and considerable contribution to the freedom movement is indisputable, but it also diverted the attention and

energies of a whole generation of patriots from the need to give nationalism a solid mass foundation.

Politics before 1905 had been a staid and respectable affair, a matter of annual "three days' tamashas"¹¹ organized by "rings of lawyers,"¹² other professional men, and (to a lesser extent probably) zamindars. The Swadeshi period, however, saw the development of a new kind of organization—the Samitis or "National Volunteer" movements of young men. Later nationalist accounts had tended to describe these almost wholly in terms of incipient Terrorism, but contemporary sources¹³ give quite a different impression of a much more broad-based and many-sided movement. Inner circles planning violence may have existed within some of the Samitis from an early date, but down to 1907-08 their main activity seems to have been quite open and peaceful mass work—physical and moral training of members; famine relief and volunteer work during festivals; Swadeshi propaganda (through songs, jattras, magic lantern lectures); promotion of Swadeshi sales and crafts; organisation of national schools and palli samajas; and the enforcement of the boycott through picketing and social boycott of recalcitrant elements. By 1907 there were Samitis in every district of East Bengal and Assam except Sibsagar, Goalpara, and the Garo Hills.¹⁴ Their combined membership was officially estimated to be about 8500 in the new province in June 1907, with Dacca and Backergunj providing some 2500 each¹⁵. The social composition reveals an interesting link with the intermediate rungs in the Permanent Settlement ladder—thus in Sarupkhati (Backergunj District) nearly half the volunteers are said to be talukdars, that is to say, persons with a tenure-holding interest in the land.¹⁶

Two examples may make the discussion more concrete. The first *Annual Report of the Anti-Circular Society* of Calcutta¹⁷ shows it to have been primarily an organisation of students and youngmen, founded by Sachindraprasad Basu and Romakanta Roy and guided by Krishnakumar

Mitra, the veteran Brahmo leader. It had been started on 4th November, 1905, at the height of the college boycott movement provoked by the Carlyle Circular, and it organized the first national schools in Calcutta and Rangpur to meet the needs of rusticated students. Later on its main activity became the hawking of Swadeshi goods at cost price through its Supply Department and its 75 mofussil branches—this had become necessary as ordinary shopkeepers seem to have been profiteering merrily on Swadeshi. Very interesting monthly sales figures are given in the *Annual Report*. Other activities included organizing processions and meetings, famine relief, and physical culture; a semi-secret Defence Association was also set up, but only later on. Even more impressive is the record of the Swadesh Bandhav Samiti of Barisal, organized by Aswini Kumar Dutta, who even before 1905 had built up something like a mass base through quiet social work in his district. This Samiti claimed to have set up within a year no less than 163 branch village associations; the boycott had been extremely effective, closing all but one of the 56 wine shops in the district for example; 89 arbitration courts had been organized and these had settled 523 cases; and there had been 346 instances of social boycott.¹⁸ All accounts agree in emphasising both the strength and the absolutely peaceful character of the movement in Barisal, and that the Government was getting nervous about the degree of mass (including some Muslim) support Aswini Dutta was acquiring is evident from the files on his deportation.¹⁹ There was absolutely no evidence in his case of Terrorist links—and later on Hemchandra Kanungo was to give a rather entertaining account of how Aswinibabu managed to get rid of Barin Ghosh and himself when they came to Barisal in the summer of 1906 with the bright idea of taking a pot-shot at some British officials.²⁰

The most neglected theme of the Swadeshi age is labour unrest and the attempt to start trade unions. Dr. R. C. Majumdar for instance, has considered the subject to be worth only six lines.²¹ It was therefore with a distinct

feeling of surprise, that I found a whole chapter entitled 'Industrial Unrest' in a Government report,²² and learnt from there that labour trouble had been "a marked feature of the quinquennium" (1903-08), with "a briefless Hindu barrister" trying to set up unions for "Indian press employees, mill-hands, and railway servants". Actually newspaper references to labour troubles are by no means infrequent, and recently I have managed to get some additional data from the private papers of Aswini Coomar Banerjee and of a Budge Budge agent of his, named Surjyakumar Ghosal.

Some general features of the labour unrest of those years may be mentioned. The participants seem to have been mainly Bengali Hindu white-collar employees, but at times the genuine proletariat got drawn in also, particularly in the jute industry. Strikes were caused primarily by material grievances, like ill-treatment by (mainly European) officers and rising prices; yet a political undertone was not entirely absent, as when trouble started at the Fort Gloster Jute Mills with Europeans objecting to mill-hands exchanging rakhis.²³ Strikes in foreign-owned enterprises got the sympathy of all sections of nationalists. Funds were raised through newspapers, nationalist leaders addressed meetings of strikers, while a small group took up labour organisation as the main form of their public activity. This group comprised three barristers—Aswini Coomar Banerji, Prabhatkum Roy Chaudhuri (the son of Debiprasanna, the Brahmo editor of *Navyabharat*), Apurba Kumar Ghosh—and Premtosh Bose, the owner of a small press in North Calcutta.

I attempt now a brief and no doubt quite incomplete list of the major strikes in Bengal between 1905 and 1908. First in the series came the walk-out by some 250 clerks of the Burn Iron Works (Howrah) in September 1905 in protest against humiliating service conditions. This created a major sensation and aroused a lot of sympathy—funds for the strikers were raised at Swadeshi meetings and by the *Bengalee*

and the *Sanjivani*, and there were proposals for starting a Clerks Defence Association though nothing concrete seems to have emerged from this.²⁴ Then in October 1905 Calcutta tram-conductors struck for better pay and improved conditions of service. "It seems that this is the season of strikes", remarked the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 6th October 1905. A. C. Banerji helped to settle this strike by mediation.²⁵ Newspaper reports of Partition day—16th October 1905—read almost like a contemporary hartal account—11,000 handcart pullers kept off the streets, and 12 jute presses, about 70 jute mills, one sugar and one lac factory were closed. No doubt the initiative in many of these cases came from the management, but in at least two places—Cossipore Gun Factory and a Sibpur Jute mill—the workers are reported to have walked out shouting *Bande Mataram*, disregarding the appeals of their officers.²⁶

Between September and November 1905, there were intermittent strikes at the Government of India and Bengal Government Presses. A Printers Union was started on 21st October with Brahmabandhav Upadhyay and Apurba Kumar Ghosh as Secretaries.²⁷ This Union came to acquire a strength and stability remarkable for those days—it had expanded to cover most of the big private presses in the city by June 1906 (when A. C. Banerjee claimed for it a membership of 20,000), it led several successful strikes (e.g. at Thackers Spink in June 1906); and men under its banner joined a body the 7th August demonstration of that year.²⁸

In jute, we have first three successive strikes at Fort Gloster Mill (Bauria) between November 1905 and March 1906. During the third strike, goondas backed by police made an attack on the village where most of the workers lived. Prabhatkum Roy Chaudhuri went down to investigate, and then wrote to A. C. Banerji asking for his advice.²⁹ A few months later we find these two working together in starting an Indian Mill Hands Union at Budge Budge.³⁰ A letter from the operatives of the Budge Budge Jute Mill detailing their grievances is extant

among A.C. Banerji's private papers—it contains the names of 28 workers, many of them Muslims and Hindusthanis, and is dated 11 Paus 1313 (December 1906). Jute strikes were pretty frequent during 1906-07—a Government report mentions them at Serampore and Naihati in 1906, and at Hastings, Clive, Wellington, Aratheon, Scorah, and Upper Hooghly Mills next year.³¹ A. C. Banerji's papers show the Mill-Hands Union at work in the Delta Jute Mills of Sankrail (October 1907) and Belvedere and National Jute Mills in Rajgunj (January-February 1908); it seems to have helped to settle also the strike at the Budge Budge oil depot (June 1907). Banerji was kept posted about developments in Budge-Budge by Surjya Kumar Ghoshal, an agent of his, some of whose letters have survived. With perhaps a not unpardonable element of exaggeration, Aswini Coomar in later life described his work of organizing "more than 50,000 mill-hands" and "inculcating socialistic principles" through meetings twice or thrice a month. He related an attempt by the Editor of *Capital* to buy him off by an offer of Rs. 1800 a month on behalf of 12 mill-owners.³²

The strike which created the greatest sensation was of East Indian Railway clerical staff between July and September 1906, demanding among other things an end to race discrimination in matters of pay and service. Two station-masters—Nriyagopal Bhattacharya and Surendranath Mukherji—took the initiative at first; then a Railwaymen's Union was started on 27th July under Apurba Kumar Ghosh and Premtosh Bose. The strike spread to Asansol and the Sahibgunj Loop, with leaders like Premtosh Bose, Leakat Hussain and Abdul Hussain touring the entire area. On 27th August European officers fired on 14,000 coolies of the Jamalpur workshop coming out to attend a Union meeting, but elsewhere the strike seems to have been confined to Bengali Hindu white-collar employees—probably its eventual collapse (after a dogged fight around Asansol with A. C. Banerji as the main figure) with a hundred losing their jobs was due to this

limited scope, train services being hindered but never quite paralysed. The strike of white drivers and guards of the ETR in October 1907 was much more effective, though it naturally got no nationalist sympathy at all. There was also a strike by Muslim drivers and firemen of the Eastern Bengal State Railway in December 1907.³³

Finally, two strikes of 1908 may be mentioned—the successful strike of Calcutta postal delivery peons (March 1908), which seems to have left as a legacy a permanent Postal League,³⁴ and the month-long struggle at the Kidderpore Royal Indian Marine Dockyard led by A. C. Banerji (March–April 1908).³⁵

The new developments in the field of labour attracted quite a lot of contemporary attention. The *Bande Mataram* during 1907 frequently hailed the strikes as a peculiarly Nationalist contribution³⁶—a bit of self-praise which was not quite justified, except in so far as only the Extremists seem to have regarded organization of labour as a possible part of a general programme. Khaparde in October 1906 even suggested the promotion of Trade Unions as an item for the coming Congress.³⁷ A Moderate critic, C. Y. Chintamani, on the other hand, rejected such aspects of extremism as being quite premature.³⁸ But perhaps the most interesting comment was that of the rabidly anti-nationalist *Pioneer*—mentioning the efforts to organise jute workers, it thundered in August 1906: “Let the politician agitate about and against the Partition to his heart’s content, but when he interferes unnecessarily and on political grounds between labour and capital—it is time that a Government of law and order asserted itself.”³⁹

II. Aurobindo in his famous Uttarpara speech soon after his acquittal described in vivid terms the change in the atmosphere of Bengal during the period of his enforced absence.⁴⁰ By 1909, there had taken place some revival of old-style “mendicancy” on the one side, while at the opposite pole Terrorism was gathering strength; efforts at “constructive swadeshi” were still

going on but with obviously a declining tempo; but what had disappeared almost entirely was the passive resistance trend. The contrast with the success of Gandhi in South Africa was painfully clear.⁴¹ The Samitis had either disappeared or been transformed into secret revolutionary societies, and interest in labour matters had ebbed away.⁴²

The collapse of the open movement can hardly be explained by repression alone. Aurobindo in 1907 had suggested peaceful violation of unjust laws and mass courting of arrest;^{42a} it is surely interesting to raise the question why this clear anticipation of the Gandhian technique of flooding the prisons with volunteers found no practical application in Swadeshi Bengal. We have to consider in fact the inner weaknesses of the movement.

Nationalism in the Swadeshi period—despite a wealth of good intentions and a lot of talk about the need to organize the villages—never developed a real peasant programme. We see no attempt to win over the peasants by raising issues (like rent-reduction or problems of indebtedness) which could have had a direct appeal for them. Aurobindo in fact while discussing passive resistance explicitly rejected the Irish technique of a tax-and-rent-strike, on the ground that this would injure the (presumably patriotic) zamindars.⁴³ A not unexpected attitude in a movement deriving much of its social support from *bhadraloks* having at least one foot in the soil in the form of tenure holdings, it nevertheless meant (as Rabindranath pointed out bluntly in 1907) that the peasants were being asked to buy shoddy goods at higher prices (and perhaps face Gurkhalathis also) by people who had so long treated them with indifference or condescension, and that the whole cause must have seemed to them rather distant and foreign, “an affair of the babus”.⁴⁴ The result was that the movement had to depend to a considerable extent on zamindari and upper caste pressure (the “social boycott”). Consider, for example, an October 1906 report from Faridpur—one of the strong-

holds of Swadeshi. Swadeshi is successful in areas like Bairashi and Habiganj, due mainly to the initiative of the local zamindars. At Goalundo, however, things are quite different—the “local public are indignant, but the zamindars are perfectly apathetic”. There is no “violence or compulsion”, our nationalist correspondent tells us, only “at Bairashi the zamindars openly prohibited the guests from attending (Puja) festivities dressed in foreign clothing.”⁴⁵ Zamindari agents frequently face tenants or shopkeepers in Swadeshi cases, and the latter are Muslims in an ominously large number of instances.

In Hindu-Muslim relations, the Swadeshi pattern was one of earnest efforts, some initial successes and ultimate failure. There were striking scenes of unity in the early phase; the movement threw up a whole galaxy of Muslim Nationalist leaders—Rasul and Ghaznavi, Abul Kasem and Abul Hossain, Dedar Bux and Din Mohammad, Abdul Gafur and Leakat Hussain—whose names deserve to be remembered; and as late as October 1906, with the Salimulla campaign in support of Partition in full swing, the *Bengalee* could still list 67 meetings on Rakhi-day where Muslims had joined in large numbers.⁴⁶ Yet separatism was developing, and that on two levels. Attention has usually been concentrated on the activities of sections of the Muslim upper-class lured by the bait of jobs and other favours, the Salimulla group, or the men who got together the Simla deputation. But much more serious and ominous in the long run was the response the separatist propaganda was getting from the Muslim peasants of districts like Mymensingh. This led straight to communal riots—at Iswargunj in Mymensingh (May 1906), Comilla (March 1907) and Jamalpur in Mymensingh again (May 1907), to mention the more serious ones only.

The standard nationalist explanation, then as well as later on, was that the riots had been caused by communal *mullas* aided and abetted by the British. This is fairly convincing if we confine ourselves to immediate causes alone,

but one feels that it does not go deep enough. As Rabindranath pointed out, “That Muslims could be used against Hindus is the really worrying fact, who used them is not as important. Satans cannot enter till he finds a flaw.”⁴⁷ The crucial question surely is how and why the separatist message got across to the Muslim peasants at a time when the earnest and sincere efforts of Swadeshi agitators (also often using the medium of religion) were failing to move the Hindu villagers in any sustained manner. The greater cohesion or fanaticism of the Muslim community (still relatively untouched by Western education) may supply part of the answer; a second factor was possibly the style and nature of the Swadeshi agitation itself—the use to a certain extent of zamindari coercion, and the emphasis on Hindu motifs, particularly evident among the Extremists. It is noteworthy that even the Muslim newspaper *Soltan*—generally, if only mildly, pro-Swadeshi, in sharp contrast to the rabidly communal *Mihir-o-Sudhakar*—protested several times against the Sitaram and Sivaji festivals and the use of certain abusive terms in Bengali Hindu literature.⁴⁸ But I think the major explanation should be in terms of the objective facts of social structure, which created a sort of built-in advantage for Muslim communalism. The *mullas* could easily indulge in a species of anti-landlord and anti-mahajan demagoguery, while the nationalists with their Hindu gentry base were inhibited from developing any radical agrarian programme. The evidence for this class appeal is to be found in the pages of the nationalist (and Hindu-managed) papers themselves. Thus the *Charu Mihir* of Mymensingh complains as early as 23rd January 1906—“The Mussalman cultivating classes are already showing signs of unrest. They are being led to think that Government has taken their side against their Hindu landlords, and that it is the intention of the authorities that they should pay rents at the low rates which obtained years ago and not at the high rates which obtain at present. Serious consequences may follow the harbouring of such wild ideas by illiterate low-class cultivators.”⁴⁹ The *maulvis* persuaded Muslims to

stop tilling Hindu barga lands, and Hindu Mahajans were terrorised into giving up deeds proving indebtedness.⁵⁰ Such instances can be easily multiplied.

Faced with this situation, some Moderate leaders attempted reconciliation from the top—thus a joint deputation to Minto was organized after the Comilla affair. Like many similar later efforts, these attempts did not touch the deeper social roots of the problem. The Extremists, however—strongly afflicted already by revivalist sentiments and carried away by emotion—apparently did their best to make things worse. Thus the *Bande Mataram* carried a huge photograph of the desecrated Jamalpur image, thundered editorially 'Let Young Bengal Answer the Question', and printed letters condemning reconciliation meetings and calling for force against force.⁵¹ Of course, subjectively these men were not communalists but sincere patriots, wanting above all things to drive out the British—they would have been glad no doubt to get Muslim support. The tragic mistake was that they thought the movement could go ahead and be victorious even if the Muslims (63% in Faridpur, 70% in Backergunj, 75% in Mymensingh)⁵² remained aloof or became permanently hostile.⁵³

III. Thus by 1907-08 a contradiction was emerging between subjective desires and the objective situation. The *Bande Mataram* reiterates the "resolve to rise and fight and fall and again rise and fight and fall, waging the battle for ever until this once great and free nation should again be great and free".⁵⁴ It still calls fervently for passive resistance, for a new educational boycott, for instance, against the Risley Circular of May 1907—but the student response this time seems to have been negligible. Repression in the meantime was getting more and more intensive and brutal. It is this situa-

tion, I suggest, that produced the shift to Terrorism.

A comparison between two seditious nationalist leaflets,—one of 1905 and the other of 1907, vividly illustrates the change in tone and atmosphere. The first, entitled *Raja Ke?* (who is our King?) and reprinted in translation in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 16th September 1905, is notable not merely for its violent (and vulgar) abuse of "those scoundrels, sons of devils"; more remarkable, indeed almost unique, is the class appeal to the peasantry. The zamindars are denounced for their servility before the foreign rulers, there is a threat that "enhanced rents" will not be paid, and Hindu-Muslim unity is called for.⁵⁵ The *Sonar Bangla* Bengali leaflet, printed without press-line and posted from Mymensingh to Aswini Coomar Banerji on 20th April 1907,⁵⁶ calls for violence much more explicitly, urging the need to form secret societies, collect arms, and proceed on the "Russian" model. But the peasant appeal has disappeared, and instead of Hindu-Muslim unity, the very first line refers to the Comilla riots (where the Hindus had successfully beaten back a Muslim attack) in the following way: "Bengalees! Comilla has taught you the strength of your arms; do not be afraid any longer, make yourself stronger. Know that the strength which defended your property, life and honour at Comilla—it is this strength that will give you swarajya—."

So the curtain rises on the epic saga of thirty years of Terrorism in Bengal, and in the given circumstances it cannot be termed an unnatural development. But the natural path is not necessarily or always the wisest, and perhaps Rabindranath's unheeded warning had some point—"My impatience never makes my road in the world shorter, nor will time lessen itself for my special benefit."⁵⁷

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² *Trends in Bengal's Swadeshi Movement* (1903—1908)—Bengal Past and Present Vol. LXXXIV, Parts I, II, Serial Nos. 157-158 (1965, January—June, July—December).
³ Prithwis Chandra Ray: *Swadeshi Samaj—Byadhi-o-*

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⁶ Cf. also Mr. A. Chaudhuri's *Policy*, Editorial in *Bande Mataram*, 22 June, 1907.

⁷ Benoyendranath Sen: *Bartaman Yuger Swadhin-Chinta*—Bangadarshan, Asar 1313 (1906); Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay: *Sarbabishay Swadeshi*—Prabasi, Kartik 1313 (1906); Sibnath Sastri: *Swadeshi Dhua*—Prabasi, Asar 1312 (1905), *Jatiya Ekata*—Prabasi, Bhadra 1312 (1905), *Swadesh-Prem Byadhi*—Prabasi, Jyestha 1313 (1906).

⁸ Compare, for instance, essays like *Samaj-bhed* (1901) and *Brahman* (1902) with *Byadhi-o-Pratihar* (1907) or *Path-o-Patheo* (1908).

⁹ The *Bengalee* published two letters criticising the omission of men like Heramba Chandra Maitra, Prankrishna Acharya, Sibnath Sastri, and—most surprising of all—Krishnakumar Maitra—"A Hindu Observer", 23rd March, 1906, Naresh Chandra Sengupta, 28th March, 1906.

¹⁰ Sachindraprasad Basu in the *Annual Report of the Anti-Circular Society* stated that "we could not take part in the last Shivaji festival, lest it might wound the susceptibilities of our numerous Mahomedan workers and sympathizers", (*Bengalee* 9.11.06). Tilak, on the other hand, had bluntly declared at a meeting during the festival—"I am told that some persons objected to the worship of Kali here to-day. I see no reason, in fact no logical reason why such objections should be raised. We are all Hindus and idolaters and I am not ashamed of the fact." (*Ibid* 6.6.06).

¹¹ Thus the monthly *Swadeshi* edited by Jogindranath Chattopadhyay repeatedly pleaded for hand-spinning and weaving and criticized the craze for Swadeshi mills (Kartik 1312 (1905)); it was also strongly traditionalist in tone.

¹² Dr. R. C. Majumdar: *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. II* is a good example of this. Gandhian historians, of course, sometimes go to the other extreme.

¹³ Aswini Kumar Dutta is reported to have used this expression at the Amraoti Congress (1897)—Sarat Kumar Roy: *Mahatma Aswinikumar* (1926) pg. 121.

¹⁴ Bipin Ch. Pal: *The Shell and the Seed*—*Bande Mataram* 17.9.06.

¹⁵ *Home Political Deposit*—1907 October Proc. 19, 1909 August Proc. 26. *An Account of Samitis and Volunteer Organizations in Bengal—Materials on the History of the Freedom Movement in Bengal*, No. 63. Also newspaper references.

¹⁶ *Home Political Deposit*, 1909 August Proc. 26.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, Appendix I.

¹⁸ *Home Political Deposit*, 1907 October Proc. 19.

¹⁹ *Bengalee*, 7.11—10.11.06 gives the full text of this Report.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 14.9.06.

²¹ *Home Political Deposit*, 1907 August Proc. 106; *Home Political Deposit*, 1909 November Proc. 6.

²² Hemchandra Kanungo: *Banglay Biplab Prachesta* (1928) ch. 9. This very unusual book contains a remarkably critical account of the early days of Terrorism.

²³ Dr. R. C. Majumdar: *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. II* p. 59.

²⁴ *Administration of Bengal under Andrew Fraser* (1903-08) p. 24—30.

²⁵ *Bengalee*, 18.10.05.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 3.9.05, 4.10.05. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 3.10.05.

²⁷ *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 12.10.05.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 17.10.05.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 24.10.05, 28.10.05.

³⁰ *Bengalee*, 24.6.06, 8.8.06.

³¹ *Howrah Hitaishi*, 24.3.06; Prabhatkum Roy Chaudhuri to Aswini Coomar Banerji, 25.3.06.

³² *Bengalee*, 21.8.06.

³³ *Administration of Bengal under Andrew Fraser* (1903-08).

³⁴ Unpublished autobiographical account, in Private papers of A.C. Banerjee.

³⁵ My main sources for this paragraph have been the files of *Bengalee* (July-September 1906) and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (October-December 1907); the *Reports on the Native Press (Bengal)* have also been consulted.

³⁶ *Administration of Bengal under Andrew Fraser* (1903-08); S.C. Sen (Secretary, Postal League, Dacca) to A.C. Banerjee, 23.12.08.

³⁷ *Statesman*, 18.3.08, *Indian Daily News*, 20.3.08, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 9.4.08.

³⁸ Cf. for example *Bande Mataram* 7.9.07, 17.9.07 (Editorials).

³⁹ *Open letter* dated 9.10.06 (*Bengalee* 1.11.06).

⁴⁰ C. Y. Chintamani: *Extremist Politics, Modern Review*, April 1907.

⁴¹ *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 27.8.06.

⁴² "When I went to jail the whole country was alive with the cry of *Bande Mataram*, alive with the hope of a nation ... When I came out of jail ... a hush had fallen on the country and men seemed bewildered".—Uttarpara Speech (4th ed., 1943) p. 3.

⁴³ *Dharma* (weekly, edited by Aurobindo) 20th Agra-hayan 1316 (1909) comments on this with regret.

⁴⁴ Thus A. C. Banerji's Private papers contain no reference to labour matters after 1908.

⁴⁵ Aurobindo: *Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (1907, 1948) pp. 50-56.

⁴⁶ Aurobindo: *Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (1907, 1948) pg. 43.

⁴⁷ Tagore: *Byadhi-o-Pratihar* (1907), *Rabindra-Rachanabali* Vol. X, pg. 630.

⁴⁸ *Bengalee*, 3.10.06.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, Editorials of 24.25.26, 28.10.06.

⁵⁰ Tagore: *Op. Cit.* Vol. X, pg. 627.

⁵¹ *Soltan* 13.5.04 (RNP(B) of week ending 21.5.04); 7.10.04. [*Ibid*, 15.10.04]; 10.2.05 (*Ibid* 18.2.05); 8.6.06 (*Ibid*, 16.6.06).

⁵² *Report on Native Press* (Bengal) for week ending 3.2.06.

⁵³ *Charu Mihir*, 22.5.06. *Ibid*, for week ending 2.6.06.

⁵⁴ *Bande Mataram*, 1.5.07, 11.5.07, 27.5.07.

⁵⁵ *District Gazetteers*.

⁵⁶ Hemchandra Kanungo: *Banglay Biplab Prachesta*, Ch. V states this to have been the general sentiment among the secret society leaders (the Barin Ghosh group). He is extremely critical about the mixing-up of Hindu revivalism with nationalist politics.

⁵⁷ *Bande Mataram*, 22nd June, 1907.

⁵⁸ The leaflet had first been published in the *Pioneer*. The question of the authorship of such leaflets has been discussed in Haridas and Uma Mukherji: *Upadhyay Brahmabandhav-o-Bharatiya Jatiyatabad* (1961) Appendix.

⁵⁹ There seems to have been several leaflets called *Sonar Bangla*, one of them contemporaneous with *Raja Ke?* and discussed by the Mukherjees in the above-mentioned work. But internal evidence indicates this version to be not earlier than the Comilla riots (March 1907).

⁶⁰ Tagore: *Path-o-Patheo* (1908), *Rabindra-Rachanabali*, Vol. X, p. 518. I have tried to analyse Rabindranath's views and the very significant change in these that took place in 1907 in my article in the *Bengal Past and Present* referred to above.

THE ROLE OF INDIAN RELIGION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA (EARLY PERIOD)

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The role of Indian religion and with it India's religious art and language in South-East Asia,—the impact of Indian culture on the peoples of that part of Asiatic Continent for a period extending over 1000 years from the 2nd—3rd Century A.D. to the 13th—14th Century A.D.—has been really great. We may conveniently call it the role of Indian religion. India's religious art (specimens of secular art being very insignificant outside India) alone supplied the motive force in spreading Indian culture abroad. The Indian social structure with its caste system was not, as Dr. Wales points out, thoroughly absorbed in South-East Asia.¹ The term "South East Asia" came into general use during the Second World War (1939-45). It comprises the Eastern Asiatic Continent forming the Indo-Chinese peninsula, Indonesia and Philippines. Thus the region under discussion includes Burma, Siam, Malay peninsula and the islands stretching eastward from the Andamans and Nicobars to Philippines. From this area Assam and Philippines are conveniently excluded because they have practically no connection with the main currents of historical development. The Indian equivalent of South-East Asia or a near approach to it is Subarnabhumi or Suvarnadvipa mentioned in some of the well known literary works, both Brahmanical and Buddhist.

The study of Indian cultural influences in South-East Asia, sometimes called Dvipantara Bharata or modern Indonesia or Greater India or India across the seas is of recent growth. Thanks to the commendable labours and sound scholarship of a band of French scholars like Mas-

pero, Louis Finot, Paul Pelliot, Georges Coedes, Henri Parmentier, etc., and Dutch scholars and archaeologists like N. J. Krom, H. Kern, W. Stutterheim, F. D. K. Bosch and F. M. Schintger, and others, the glorious heritage of the South-East Asian peoples was brought to light. During the last 50 years or so i.e. after the First World War Indian scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. P. N. Basu, Dr. B. R. Chatterjee, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. N. R. Ray, Dr. Niranjana Chakravarti, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Prof. Himansubhusan Sarkar, Dr. B. C. Chhabra and Dr. Monmohan Ghosh have done very useful work in this field of research with a view to evaluate correctly the extent of Indian influences. To promote a systematic study of India's cultural relations with South-East Asia the Greater India Society was founded in 1926 in Calcutta. The first issue of the Journal of the Greater India Society edited by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal appeared in January 1934 with an inspiring preface given by the poet Rabindranath Tagore. It runs as follows: 'To know my country in truth one has to travel to that age when she realised her soul and thus transcended her physical boundaries, when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illumined the Eastern horizon, making her recognised as their own by those in alien shores who were awakened into a new surprise of life.....'

ETHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Before we begin our subject proper i.e. the role of Indian religion and religious art in ancient period, it is necessary to say a few words

about the ethnological background of South-East Asia and the culture of the people prior to their contact with Indians. In pre-historic times the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and Indonesia were inhabited by men who belonged to the *Melanesian* group and came probably from Australia and New Guinea. In the course of time the Melanesians disappeared and their place was taken by the people who belonged to the Indonesian group. The whole of Malayasia was inhabited by some primitive races who were known as the Semangs, the Sakai, the Proto-Malays and the Malays. The eminent philologist Dr. Schmidt regards the people of Indo-China and East India as belonging to the same stock as the Munda and other allied tribes of Central India and the Khasis of N. E. India. But there is hardly any proof of such an assumption.² When the age of Hindu settlement began in the early centuries of the Christian era and the peoples of South-East Asia came into contact with Indian culture, they had a civilisation of their own, generally described as *Austro-Asiatic culture*.³

To determine the type of culture they possessed, it is necessary to examine the pre-historic archaeological remains of Malay peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes and Timor. These would include the Palaeolithic and Neolithic implements of various sorts, and on the basis of these pre-historic remains Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁴ concludes that 'they present a picture of a very primitive culture' that prevailed in these regions before the advent of the Hindu colonists. It will not be far wrong to call it megalithic culture.

The question of Pre-Hindu culture in South-East Asia has been the subject of some interesting discussions in recent times. Theories have been advanced to prove the relationship between this culture and that of Pre-Aryan India. Coedes's theory is that 'one or several ethnic waves, originating in Indo-China or the islands, flowed into India before the Aryan migration'. A second theory is that either the Dravidians or the Aryans when they entered India succeeded

in pushing back the aboriginal inhabitants of the land to South-East Asia and 'there was thus a pre-Aryan influx of Indian culture which would explain the evidence afforded by tools and language of a common culture throughout both regions.'⁵ 'The theories of Schmidt, Levi, Hornell and Hutton.....all presuppose or are at least satisfactorily explained by a stream of migration of Indian peoples towards the east and south-east to Assam, Burma, Indo-China and Malay Archipelago, both by land and sea.'⁶ Dr. Von Heine Geldern's theory that West China was the original home of the *Indonesian* and pre-Aryan culture still awaits solution. The subject is highly speculative and the problem has not yet been solved.

The testimony of pre-historic archaeological remains in Malay peninsula, Sumatra, and Java, as well as Chinese notices render it possible that the Austronesian races must have entered South-East Asian lands sufficiently in advance of the Hindu colonists whose culture they imbibed to a large extent in the course of their co-existence. It is permissible to conjecture that South-East Asia received higher cultural influence both in prehistoric and historical times from India and China, the two well known centres of ancient civilisation.

With the establishment of the Colonial empires of Great Britain, France and Holland, the foundation of the French School of the Far East (*Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi) in 1898, the Batavian Academy of Sciences in 1767 and other institutions and the solid work done by the Leiden Institute, systematic investigation into history and archaeology of Indo-China and Indonesia had its auspicious start. A large number of inscriptions have been published in the famous bulletins of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* which started in 1901. A number of Cham inscriptions were also edited by E. Aymonier in *Journal Asiatique* (1891), Paris.

All scholars working on the early period of South-East Asian history agree that Indian

religion—the Puranic form of Brahmanical religion, Saivism and Vaishnavism, Buddhism, and Indian language, Sanskrit and Pali, were carried to these far-off lands by Indian merchants, sailors, missionaries and kshatriya princes. The oldest Indian settlement which the Chinese annalists call Fu-nan (ancient Kambuja) claims an Indian origin. It was founded, if a legend current in Fu-nan and recorded by K'and Tai is to be believed, by Brahmana Kaundinya. The Cambodian annals give another interesting story, according to which a king of Indrasprastha, Aditya-Vamsa by name, came to the country of Kok-tho-lok and got possession of the country by marrying the daughter of the Nagaraja. This Nagi tradition appears in a changed form in an inscription of Champa (Annam) dated 657 A.D. The History of the Liang dynasty (502-556 A.D.) records the story of another Kaundinya, a Brahmana from P'an-P'an. He was elected king by the people of Fu-nan and he introduced Indian laws, manners and customs.⁷ A Malayan epigraph⁸ written in Sanskrit speaks of the great sailor (Mahanavika) Budhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamritika, identified with Rangamati in Murshidabad district, West Bengal. The Jataka stories are replete with accounts of sea voyages to the Far Eastern countries. A voyage from Champa (East Bihar) to Survarnabhumi (Lower Burma) is recorded in the Mahajanaka Jataka.

Several theories have been advanced to explain the causes and circumstances of Indian emigration to and settlement in South-East Asian countries in the early centuries of the Christian era and even in the pre-Christian era.

Scholars like Georges Coedes, H.G.Q. Wales and others assign different reasons. Disturbed political conditions born of foreign invasions and other circumstances led a large number of men to seek new homes across the sea. Thus Asoka's conquest of Kalinga, the persecution of the Buddhists, the invasion of the Greeks, the Sakas and the Kushanas and Samudra-

gupta's conquest of the Deccan might have facilitated Indian migration to S. E. Asia. Dr. Coedes⁹ argues that due to the movements of the nomads in the 2nd Century B. C. India lost her principal source for the import of her precious metals. In the first Century A.D. her requirements were principally met from the Roman empire. This is attested by the commercial activities of Indian ports and market towns mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. But in the 2nd Century A.D. due to new political developments, that source also became ineffective. In the circumstances, India naturally diverted her attention to Subarnabhumi and Subarnadvipa for gold. Then again, the discovery of the "monsoons" by Greek pilot Hippalus in the reign of Emperor Claudius and consequent increase in voyages between India and the Red Sea ports rendered communication between India and Far Eastern countries easy. The central fact underlying emigration by batches (the theory of mass emigration has been rejected by scholars) seems to be the promotion of trade.

The theory of political conquests in S.E. Asia by Indians has been ruled out. There is no evidence at least before the Cholas of Tanjore of military conquest and annexation. No reference is to be found in Indian literature to any contact between India and South-East Asian lands and the geographical knowledge of this region seems extremely hazy even in the late Puranas.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is an example of peaceful penetration spread over a long period of time. Rightly does Sir Charles Eliot¹¹ observe: 'The spread of Hindu thought in S.E. Asia is an intellectual conquest, not an exchange of ideas.' The adoption of Indian religion and assimilation of Indian languages and to some extent Indian ways of life or, in other words, the emergence of Indian culture, mainly Buddhist in religion and art, was due to the active and on-the-spot influence of the Indians.

The chronology of the Hindu cultural expansion, we must confess, is a difficult subject. To

determine it one has to take into consideration the various legends and local traditions. It seems reasonable to state that by the beginning of the Christian era Indian settlements had taken deep root in the region extending from Burma in the north to Java in the South and Annam in the South-east. Trade relations between India and China existed by way of sea as far back as the 2nd Century B. C. On the basis of this fact the beginnings of Indian settlement in South-East Asia may be placed not later than the first century of the Christian era (Indian Historical Quarterly, XIV. 380). The discovery of the images of the Buddha of the Amaravati style assignable to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. in the islands of Sumatra, Java and Celebes and in Siam (Thailand) and Annam and the recent discoveries of the archaeological remains near the Gulf of Siam are very important clues. Ptolemy's geography which records a number of Sanskrit place-names, the Vocanh Rock Inscription of Srimara, Chinese annals and the archaeological finds at OCEO, lying to the west of Cochin-China would give us a rough idea of the period of ancient India's cultural expansion.¹²

Now we shall trace by way of illustration the religious development in three separate regions in S.E. Asia, viz., two in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and one in Indonesia.

I. Cambodia (Indo-China)

It is generally believed that in the beginning of the Christian era Indo-China was under the influence of two civilisations, Chinese and Indian. The Annamites of Annam and Tonkin were within the Chinese sphere, while the Mons of Pegu, the Khmers of Cambodia including part of Cochin China and Laos and the Chams of Champa (S. E. Annam) were within the Indian sphere.¹³

In the Fu-nan period of Cambodian history (c. 1st Cent. A.D. to 550 A.D.) Saivism was the prevailing religion. The Bodhisattva cult might also have some adherents, Buddhism definitely

enjoyed popularity. Buddhist monks Sanghupala and Mandrasena who translated some Buddhist texts into Chinese, are said to have gone into China from Fu-nan. In 484 A.D. Nagasena was deputed by king Jayavarman to the Chinese Court. He related before the Chinese authorities the religious condition in Fu-nan. He spoke of God Mahesvar and praised Buddhism by saying that Buddha's influence extended over ten regions and that every one received his aid¹⁴. In the Chen-la period (c. 550-802 A.D.) we have a number of Sanskrit inscriptions. The Bayang inscription¹⁵ (Saka 551) is Vedantic in tone. Siva of this epigraph is identified with the Paramatman of the Upanishads. The Vat Chakret Inscription relates to the erection of a Siva-Vishnu (Harihara) image. The Vat Prei Vier Inscription dated 664-665 A.D. is believed by the French scholar, A. Barth, to be the first Buddhist inscription. Dr. Briggs, (The Ancient Khmer Empire, p. 55) however, refers to an undated Khmer inscription of Vat Prasat which may be older than that of Vat Prei Vier. It records a gift of slaves to three Bodhi-Sattvas,—Sasta, Maitreya and Avalokitesvara. Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri (South Indian Influences in the Far East, p. 44) finds a clear reference to Bhagvan Sankar, the famous South Indian teacher of Advaita philosophy, in a later inscription of Kambujadesa, Inscription of Indra-varman I, dated Saka 80). The inscription of the Prosat Ba An in the province Tonle-Repon describes the erection of an image of Tribhuvanesvara (Siva) accompanied by a figure of the Sun. A Brahmana savant donated in this connection a copy of the Ramayana, a copy of the Mahabharata and apparently a copy of the Purana.¹⁶ An inscription of the 6th Century tells us that *Pasupata sect* existed in Kambujadesa.

The religious development reached its height in the Angkor period (9th to 14th Century). Jayavarman II (c. 802-854) introduced the Devaraja cult. It is the same as Jagat-ta-raja referred to in the Sdok kak Thom inscription of 1052 A.D. The Devaraja or the royal-god was 'the eternal prototype of the mortal kings'. A Brahmana priest was a permanent link

between Devaraja (Siva linga) and the ruling dynasty. Jayavarman II was a fervent Mahāyānist and adopted a Tantric form of Śaivism. The image of Lokeśvara (Buddha) at Angkor Thom (Sanskrit Nagaradhām) bore a close resemblance to that of Śiva. In India there is one temple dedicated to Brahma at Puskar. The only monument dedicated exclusively to Brahma in all Cambodia is the Prasat Banteay Pir chan erected by King Jayavarman IV (Briggs.—P.122). King Jayavarman V's (968-1001) Buddhist minister Kirtipandita is stated to have brought from foreign countries books on religion and philosophy and commentaries on Mahayana Buddhism. King Surya-Varman I (c. 1001—1050 A.D.) was the first Buddhist king to occupy the throne. He received the posthumous name of Nirvanapada. King-Surya Varman II (Posthumous name Paramavishnuloka) (1111—1150 A.D.) has left an undying name by erecting the famous Angkor Vat, his own mortuary temple in which he is portrayed as Vishnu. Referring to the Great temple of Angkor, Dr. R. Le May observes:—'To sing the praises of this superb work of art to their fullest height would require the knowledge of a skilled architect, the imagination of a poet, the flair of a born artist, and the fluent pen of a master prose writer.' (The Culture of South-East Asia, p. 133). During the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181—1220 A.D.), the last of the great Kambuja monarchs, Mahayanism seemed to be the dominant religion. Two of the interesting facts in the religious history of the Khmer land may be put down as: (1) syncretism between Saivism and Māhayānism and (2) prevalence of the cults of Lokesvara Bodhisattva and Mahesvar Siva side by side without any evident signs of animosity.¹⁷ Cambodia turned Hinayānist following the Siamese sack of the Kambuja capital in about 1313 A. D. It was a Sinhalese form of Buddhism brought into Cambodia by the Mons of Lovo and Thais of the North. Chou-Ta-Kuan who visited Kambuja towards the end of the 13th Century (1296-97) refers to *three religions*, viz., Pan-chi, Chu-ku and Pa-sseu-wei. The first were evidently the Brahmanas, the second

Hinayānist bronzes and the third, as he himself says, *Taoists*. Finot and Pelliot take them to be Pāśūpatas, Coedès regards them as an ascetic cult,—worshippers of Linga (Buggs. op. cit. p. 248).

H. Champa (Indo-China)

The role of religion in the propagation of Indian civilisation outside India is never doubted. In Champa (Annam, now N & S. Viet Nam) which was clearly an Indian settlement, Indian religions—Puranic Hinduism and Buddhism—had great influence on the natives of the soil. In making this statement we stand on epigraphy. The majority of the inscriptions in Champa invoke Siva who is first referred to as Bhadresvar in the My-son inscriptions (Nos. 4 & 5 in Dr. Majumdar's list).¹⁸ Though all the three members of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were adored, Siva was given decidedly a superior position. The two main groups of temples,—those of My-son and Po-Nagar are dedicated to the Sivaite gods. Siva was represented as a human figure as well as in his linga form. In addition to the Siva-linga we hear of Mukha-linga of Sambhu at Po-Nagar which is a variety of Indian cult. The Mukha-linga symbolises the identity of the king with Siva to whose favour the kings of Champa owed their prosperity in every field.

The worship of Vishnu did not, however, play a mean part. Vishnu has been invoked in several inscriptions, viz., Nos. 11, 27, 121 of Dr. Majumdar's List. We get a positive evidence of Vaishnavism in the reign of king Prakasadharmma. He dedicated a temple to Valmiki who was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu. Another inscription of 1157 A.D. regards King Jayavarman to be an incarnation of Vishnu.

That Buddhism flourished in ancient Champa is proved by a number of inscriptions. Several Buddha images have been discovered amid the ruins of Dong-duong which was apparently a centre of Buddhist faith. I-tsing (673—95

A.D.) remarks, 'The Buddhists generally belong to the Arya-Sammitanikaya and there are also a few followers of the Sarvastivadanikaya.' The King Indravarman II is described as 'Parama-bodhisattva' (Dong-duong inscription No. 65 in Dr. Majumdar's List: Champa B. K. III p. 169). The recent discovery of the images of Buddha of the Amaravati style in Annam already referred to is an indication of the introduction of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. A standing image of Bodhisattva in stone and terracotta seals containing Buddhist figures have been found at Phnec Tint and Quang-Binh respectively. Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that Mahayana Buddhism, possibly even the Tantric forms, continued to exercise great influence until Champa made her exit as an independent kingdom. The Annamites who conquered Champa in the 15th Century introduced Chinese form of Buddhism and Islam.¹⁹

III. Sumatra (Indonesia)

The religious development in the island of Sumatra, sometimes identified with Suvarnadvipa, is full of interest. Both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished during the rule of Indianised kings. In 684 A.D. it was ruled by Sri Jayanasa who was a Buddhist by all means. The Malayan epigraph²⁰ suggests that the rulers of Sri-Vijaya (modern Palembang) favoured the Vajrayana doctrine. The Vajrayana form or mystic form of Buddhism did not flourish here till the arrival of Vajrabodhi from South India. He was probably the same monk who preached *Ch'an* or *Dhyana* Buddhism in China (vide Dr. P. C. Bagchi's India and China, p. 115). In the 8th Century Mahayana made much headway. I-tsing²¹ speaks of Sumatra as a great centre of Buddhism. Dharmapala of Kanchi (7th Cent. A.D.) and Atisa-Dipankara of Bengal (11th Cent. A.D.) visited Suvarnabhūmi which was then a reputed seat of Buddhist learning. The Nalanda²² plate of Devapala records the grant of some villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda by Balaputradeva of the

Sailendra dynasty. Sumatran iconography shows unmistakable traces of Hinduism and Buddhism. The ruins of some brick temples called Bioro (vihara) contain Brahmanical and Buddhist images. A few stone and bronze images of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Siva, Vishnu and some minor deities have been found. These sculptures appear to have been executed in Amaravati, Gupta and Pala styles.²³ Tantrism or Sakti worship, common to both Hinduism and Buddhism in their later phases, seems to have gained a footing in Sumatra. Adityavarman, prince of Sumatra in the 14th century, issued two inscriptions which describe Tantric rites. One describes the consecration of a Buddhist sculptural group consisting of Amoghapasha and his companions and praises God Matanganisha and Tara. Prof. Kern thinks that Matanganisha and Tara must be the same as Amoghapasha and his Sakti. Another epigraph dated 1375 A.D. describes in lurid detail the typical Tantric rites.²⁴ Whether Brahmanism or Buddhism came first to Indonesia is an interesting question, a question which may indicate the part from which the earliest colonists came. 'The probability is', writes Dr. Reginald Le May, 'that both religions were imported more or less simultaneously and that while Brahmanism remained the religion of certain well defined bodies of colonists and was also a necessary adjunct to all the local courts, . . . it never appealed to the general mass of the peoples of further India, who found the simpler teaching of Hinayana Buddhism more congenial'. (The Culture of South-East Asia, London 1954, p. 29). The absence of images of the Brahmanical gods in the early period in S.E. Asia does not prove that Brahmanical religion arrived late or that Buddhists were the pioneer of Indian colonisation in this area.

CONCLUSION

In a paper entitled 'Historical Writings on Indonesia' (Early period) Dr. J. G. De Casparis of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, has discussed the Indian approach

to Indonesian history which differs from the Western approach. He takes exception to such expressions as "ancient Indian Colony", 'Indian rulers'; because these smack of colonialism and may create a good deal of misunderstanding. 'The new trends in historical research on Older Indonesian History have since 1926 been to emphasise the original Indonesian features', and this he says, 'is partly due to a reaction against Indian research which laid too much stress on Indian elements in Indonesian culture'. The learned scholar admits, however, the notable contribution of Indian researchers in discovering new data and pointing out the Indian elements in Indonesia and feels 'that in tracing the history of the development of Indonesian culture these are absolutely necessary.'²⁵

Prof. Hall in his recent work 'A History of South-East Asia' has accused Indian writers of early South-East Asian history of an India-centric approach.²⁶ 'A large body of Modern Indian writings dealing with Indian influence on the development of South-East Asian Civilisation showed clearly India-centric approach to the subject.' It is interesting to note that Prof. Hall has also been criticised because of his 'Anglo-centric' approach. (Vide A. W. Macdonald's article in *Historians of S.E. Asia*, p. 326, referring to Tangers' article in the *Far Eastern Quarterly*). Following the present trend in historical research, Dr. H. G. Q. Wales²⁷ in his work 'The Making of Greater India', London, 1951 (pp. 24 ff) has made an attempt to minimise, on insufficient grounds, as Dr. R. C. Majumdar²⁸ says, the part played by the Hindus in the cultural evolution in S.E. Asia with special reference to art by dividing South-East Asia into two distinct zones, by raising the question of the role of local genius ('basic personality'), partial and extreme acculturation and of the resurgence of pre-Indian civilisation. In his so-called "western zone", comprising Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Malay peninsula and Sumatra, the acculturation is extreme, giving rise to a purely imitative culture; while in his "eastern zone", comprising Cambodia,

Champa and Java, 'the Greater Indian cultures are always operative through local genius and tend to resurge as Indian influences slacken.' In the western zone the local genius was destroyed, while in the eastern zone Indianisation was not so extreme as to destroy local genius. This is his theory of culture change. The materials for writing a history of South-East Asia from this new angle 'in its own right', as Prof. Hall puts it, apart from Indian or Chinese influences i.e. on the basis of original Indonesian features, are still wanting and must remain a task for the future, a task by no means easy, though worth undertaking.

The literary and archaeological materials so far collected, examined and interpreted by western and eastern scholars, prove the penetration of Indian cultural influences in Indo-China and Indonesia. The period during which these influences worked was appreciably long. Far-reaching political changes, advent of Islam and resurgence to some extent of indigenous elements were responsible for the gradual waning of that influence.

Prof. O. C. Ganguly,²⁹ formerly Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts, Calcutta University, who is dubbed as a nationalist by western scholars observes:—

"It is not a question of influences; it is a question of wholesale transportation of the phases of Indian culture, bag and baggage . . . Indian culture in Indonesia is in fact a substantial part of the original context of Indian civilisation carried overseas by Indian emigrants to a new culture area,—a new Karma-bhumi. . . . It is for future workers in the field to say whether the above is an extreme or at best a patriotic view. Referring to the several Indianised states in South-East Asia, Rene Grousset (*Civilisations de l'Extrême-Orient*, 2 vols. Paris, 1929-1930) writes: 'These spiritual colonies, represented by Borobudur and Angkor Wat, constitute India's greatest title to fame, her contribution to mankind.'

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A FRESH ANALYSIS OF THE 19 YEARS REVENUE RATES PRESERVED IN AIN IN THE CHAPTER AIN-I-NUWAZDAHSA

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The short text of the chapter *Ain-i-Nuwazdahsala*¹ precedes the lengthy tables of land revenue rates for 19 years from 6th to 24th regnal years of Akbar's reign. These tables have been arranged province-wise showing the land revenue demand per standard Polaj Bigha, the demand being commuted into cash-rates and shown in dams for all the crops in a year, comprising both the seasons, Rabi and Kharif. The court historian² wants us to believe that these figures were calculated and collected by experienced and skilled men, after most diligent inquiries, who used to ascertain the current prices; and then grain demand based on *rai* (schedule) of crop-yields was commuted into cash rates on the basis of those prices. A fresh analysis of these revenue figures reveals the following points of note:—

I

Revenue rates, according to the tables for the years from 6th to 9th, reveal uniformity for almost every crop in each year in all the five provinces (i.e. Agra, Allahabad, Delhi, Lahore and Oudh). It appears that in the early years of Akbar's reign one single standard *rai*³ (schedule) of produce for all crops stating the land revenue demand as 1/3rd of the average produce of a Polaj Bigha, actual demand being made in all cases in cash and the grain rates being commuted on the basis of current prices probably prevalent in the army camp or at the capital city, was applied throughout the whole empire from Lahore to Allahabad, otherwise how the land revenue demand over such a large area from Lahore to Allahabad

could be uniform. It is also clear from the figures that cash-rates were commuted on the basis of a single price list, otherwise how could revenue figures be uniform? Then two inferences can be drawn. Firstly, the local productivity of the land was not taken into account. Secondly, local variation of the prices was also ignored. This shows that the application of the uniform state demand all over the empire, with varied productivity of land on one hand and local variation of prices on the other, was an additional heavy burden over the peasantry, in addition to the already heavy State demand which actually was levied on gross produce and collected from net-produce.

Pulses were not heavily over-assessed: Moreland says that pulses during these years (i.e. 6th to 9th) were very heavily assessed relatively to cereals⁴. His explanation is "that pulses⁵ all over the country were assessed on the basis of high prices necessarily prevailing in a large army camp crowded with animals." His main argument to support his view is that because there was great demand (need) of the pulses in the army camp the prices of the pulses were comparatively very high and therefore on the basis of these high prices pulses were very heavily over-assessed. But following few points are worth noting, in contrast to Moreland's theory:

A. If the relative productivity of both cereals and pulses is taken from *rai* given in *Ain*⁶ and the relative normal prices from another section of *Ain*⁷ and studied together with the figures (given in the tables for these years), then the theory of heavy assessment is not borne out. For

instance, the demand on wheat, if calculated on the basis of *rai* and normal price list, comes to 51.75; while the demand on adas is 25.8. And if jowar and moth are taken, then the demand for jowar and moth would be 34.5 and 20.7 respectively. In case of country gram, the figure is 27.6 and the figure for Kabuli gram is 56.9.⁸ On the basis of this calculation it can be inferred that revenue demand on pulses was not very heavy.

The annexed tables of *rai* (Table I) and price list (Table II) reproduced from *Ain* can further illustrate the point.

B. Secondly, the figures (in the tables for early years of Akbar) for wheat, barley, jowar and millet apparently are higher than the figures for mung, mash, adas, and lobhia, except dal-i-mukhud.

C. Even if the theory of heavy assessment of pulses is taken to be correct, it, however, can be said that Moreland takes into account only the great demand (need) of the pulses and ignores the factor of under production. His explanation is that because pulses were in great demand, their prices were high and consequently there were high revenue figures for them. But it can be argued that great demand, although a factor in increasing the price, nevertheless was not the sole and the only factor. The factor of under production could not be ignored. The total production⁹ of pulses then, as now, was quite small in comparison to cereals and therefore there was scarcity of pulses and consequently pulses were very costly. And the factor responsible for the under production was that generally the pulses were sown comparatively on less area (in bighas) than cereals. Suppose a farmer has 50 bighas of cultivated land, then he hardly would sow pulses on five or six bighas while the remaining bighas he will prepare for cereals, for instance, wheat, barley etc. This tendency as it is today was also then. The reason was that pulses in Hindustan were not the staple food and they hardly could be eaten separately. Generally they were

taken with cereals to make the food delicious, energetic and vitaminic.

II

From the 10th regnal year onwards the tables have the revenue rates to show the tendency towards lower assessment rates. From the 10th year onwards another change is noticeable and it is the mention of minimum and maximum revenue-rates shown in the tables, prescribed for every crop, for each year and for each Subah; and the land revenue in a province could be settled in between the minimum and maximum rates by revenue officials in consultation with the peasant according to the local variation of the prices. This change also reveals the fact that one single price list ceased to be applied for the whole empire. Revenue demand at one-third of the produce of a Polaj bigha remained intact. In other words, since the grain demand still remained uniform, the differences in revenue-rates can only be attributed to the differences in prices. Whether the local productivity of the land and its effect was taken into account is not known.

III

From 10th to 14th years revenue-rates show no change except a gradual increase in the local differentiation, that is to say, year after year there is a tendency towards the lower assessment rates. Land revenue demand seems to have remained at one-third of the produce as usual. Only the variation of prices was taken into account. But from a passage in *Akbarnama*¹⁰ we learn that in the 13th regnal year annual measurement was discontinued in Khalisa areas and the practice of *Nasag* was adopted. In *Nasag*, the practice of annual measurement was abandoned while the implication of fixed revenue demand, on the basis of measurement results or statistics, once arrived at after complete *paimaish*, remained intact. The term *Nasag* requires an explanation.

A great controversy exists round the inter-

TABLE I
Standard Big

Cereal	Produce of the best	Produce of the middle	Produce of the bad
Bigha	Bigha	Bigha	Bigha

Reproduced from the *Rai of Sher Khun*
Preserved in *Ain*, ii, pp. 297-300

TABLE II

HERE IS PRICE LIST ALSO PRODUCED FROM AIN-1-PP 60-63, TO SHOW RELATIVE PRICES BOTH OF CEREALS AND PULSES

CEREALS	
Crops	One Maun
Wheat	37
Gram	22
Barley	22
Mung	22
Jowar	22
Arjan	22

pretation of this Persian word. Medieval historians do not define it. In the historical literature of the period it has been used both in a general as well as in a technical sense.¹¹ In its general sense *Nasaq* means "administration", but in its technical sense it appears as an independent method of revenue assessment. *Nasaq* can better be understood if all the passages wherever it is used in *Ain* or elsewhere are studied together.

We learn from *Akbarnama*¹² that in 13th regnal year when Shihabuddin Ahmad was assigned the charge of crown lands, he, in order to cheapen the assessment procedure and to minimize the deeply rooted corruption and embezzlement in the measurement department, abandoned the practice of *Zabt-i-harsala* and substituted it by *Nasag*, because, to quote the official records, “Khalisa business was large (*bisyar*) and honest men or rather officers who did not embezzle much were few”. This reference clearly shows that the word *Nasag* is definitely used to denote the sense of a method of assessment, other than *Zabt-i-harsala*, in which *harsala paimaish* was not required.

There is a reference to *Nasaq* in *Ain*¹³ also where the *amalguzar* is instructed to let the peasants choose one out of two methods of assessment, either measurement (*paimaish*) or *Nasaq*. Here also *Nasaq* is an alternative system of *paimaish-i-harsala*. At another place in *Akbar-nama*,¹⁴ *Nasaq* has been indirectly suggested to replace *paimaish-i-harsala*. Raja Todar Mal, when he was Grand Wazir in 27th regnal year, suggested that "it is known that in the Parganahs of Khalisa the arazi (area) is getting less year by year. And if the land has been measured once for all (then) the raiyat can increase the arazi every year and establish a *nasaq-i-juzu*."

On the basis of the above references, the only interpretation which can be attempted is that in *Nasq* there was no need of *harsala paimaish*. Although *paimaish* was essential¹⁵ in *Nasq* also, it was only once and not year by year. If once *paimaish* was done, it was enough for many

years to come. On the basis of already existing measurement results and statistics, revenue could be settled, because in *Ain* the Amalguzar is clearly instructed to let the peasant choose the assessments, either *Nasaq* or *harsala paimaish*. In *Nasaq* the Amalguzar used to go to the peasant and assess the revenue on the basis of already made or existing measurement results and if the peasant did not agree to pay according to the already existing measurement result and preferred a fresh measurement then the Amalguzar could agree to *paimaish* and then assessment.

There is another reference to *Nasaq* in *Ain-i-Amalguzar*¹⁶ where the Amalguzar is instructed not to make *Nasaq* with village headmen but to deal individually with peasants. The reason is that village headmen could depart from the right path and indulge in corruption.

Having analysed all the references, it can be inferred that *Nasaq* was an¹⁷ independent method of land revenue assessment in which measurement was necessary but not the *harsala paimaish*. The measurement of the cultivated land, if once done, was enough. And on the basis of that measurement revenue could be settled between Amalguzar and the peasant after mutual agreement. And therefore the *Nasaq*, as it was applied, could simplify the assessment procedure and minimize the chances of corruption and it was for this reason that Shihabuddin adopted it and abandoned *harsala paimaish*.

(IV) QANUNGO ASSESSMENT SYSTEM

In the fifteenth regnal year, as the figures in the tables reveal, another change can be noticed, in the assessment policy. Now there appears a marked widening in the gaps between maximum and minimum revenue rates, as well as increased divergence among provinces. For the first time new crops were introduced. This shows that in that year a general change in the assessment policy took place. This change certainly was the result of the acceptance of the local productivity of the land, local revenue statistical details

and the local prices. This inference is supported by a passage in *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁸ It tells us that when the old jama (valuation) became unworkable owing to the corruption and selfishness in the revenue ministry and among officials, in the 15th year (when Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mal were joint wazirs) Taqsimat-i-mulk¹⁹ (that is to say the division of the empire into assessment circles, particulars of the local area and the revenue statistical details of the country) was taken from the various qanungos and having ascertained the mahsul (produce or revenue or both) by appraisal and estimate (qiyas-u-Takhmin), a new jama (valuation) was made. Probably each qanungo used to ascertain and write on paper the local details of the parganah, such as particulars of the land, schedule of crop-yields, revenue and other taxes, number of villages, area statistics and prices current, etc. And then the qanungos used to prepare local schedules of the produce for each parganah in the same form as that which had been already in use showing the demand on each crop stated in grain as one third of the average produce of a Polaj bigha with the only difference that now it was separately applied to each parganah or assessment circle instead of the empire as a whole. The demand continued to be made in cash as usual on the basis of local prices.

According to this new jama, the worst defect of the old jama, that is, the not taking into consideration of the local variability of land was removed. Although, as *Ain*²⁰ tells us, the new jama fell somewhat below the former jama, however, there still was a wide discrepancy between the estimate (jama) and the actual hasil.

(V) AIN-I-DAHSALA

From the 15th regnal year to 24th the revenue-rates show no further change in the revenue assessment policy. It appears that qanungo rates assessment system (or karori experiment) continued. The silence of the authorities also confirms the point. But

again *Ain* tells us that "When through the prudent management of the emperor the empire became enlarged, it became difficult to ascertain each year the current price and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. The husbandman complained of extensive exaction (Afson Khuhai) and the Jagirdars became aggrieved on account of the revenue balances (Baqays)". *Ain*²¹ further tells us that "H.M. then devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorned mind fixed in settlement for ten years". From the beginning of the 15th to 24th years figures were taken to calculate the mahsul-i-dahsala (revenue of ten years) and then one-tenth of that was taken as harsala. But they took the 20th to 24th years as ascertained and the five previous years from the statements of uprightmen. And every year the high grade crops were taken into account and they took the year which was greatest, as the table shows. The so-called ten year assessment system was the final device in the land revenue assessment policy of Akbar. It was the innovation of the Emperor himself. It came into being because of the various defects of the so-called qanungo-rates system. This system, was based upon two things: firstly (as *Akbarnama*²² tells us) the hal-i-Dahsala (the ascertainment of the state of ten previous years of every parganah), that is to say, the detailed ascertainment of the condition of cultivation in various categories and the levels of prices; and secondly, the mahsul of ten years, one-tenth of which was fixed as mahsul-i-harsala.

Assignment system was not abandoned: Modern scholars²³ generally argue that in the reign of Akbar, from 19th to 24th regnal years, the so-called assignment system (jagir) was abandoned and the empire was put to direct administration (Khalisa). But a fresh examination of the chronicles supports the view that the practices of assignment (jagir) continued even in the period in which according to Moreland (*Agrarian System*, p. 96) "assignments were not made". There are several clear references in the chronicles where already assigned jagirs

continued, fresh jagirs were assigned and even confiscated jagirs were reassigned.

A comparison of the period from 19th to 24th regnal years and the period from 25th to 30th regnal years (in which Moreland says: "assignments became common in all the provinces where the system was abandoned" p. 97), reveals that in the period from 25th to 30th regnal years there is only one single reference in *Akbarnama* (iii, 397) in the 27th year, when a fresh Jagir of Sambal in Delhi province was assigned to Said Khan. While in the period between 19th to 24th regnal years (in which Moreland²⁴ says "Assignments were not made"), there are six clear references of fresh assignments, e.g., Bhakkar (in Subah Multan) in the 19th year was assigned to Torsan Khan (*Akbarnama* III p. 91); Dastam Khan was assigned the Sarkar of Ranthambor (in Subah Ajmer). In 22nd regnal year (*Akbarnama* iii. p. 210) parganah Tihara (in Sarkar Sirhind) was bestowed on Rahman Quli Qushbagi in 22nd year (*Akbarnama* iii, p. 235); Masum Khan Farankhandi was granted Sarkar Ghazipur (in Allahabad Subah) in 24th year (*Akbarnama* III p. 281); Jaunpur²⁵ (in Subah Allahabad) was taken from Masum Khan Farankhandi and given to Torsan Mohammad Khan in 24th year (*Akbarnama* iii p. 281); Jalesar²⁶ (in Subah Agra) was taken from Khaldin Khan and given to Mir Jamaluddin Husain Anju in 24th year (*Akbarnama* iii. p. 292).

Moreover, there are constant references between 19th and 24th regnal years of the continuation of Jagirs already assigned, e.g., in the 19th year Hussainkhan²⁷ held the parganah of Kant-o-Golab and Patyali as Jagir. In the same year Khwajah-i-Jahan²⁸ was given whatever Jagir he wanted. In 19th year Babu Qaqshal was the Jagirdar of the Parganah which was situated between Kalpi and Allahabad²⁹ and the village Chakor³⁰ was attached to this Pargana where a Brahmin had his own daughter in his house as wife. In 23rd regnal year there were Jagirdars in Malwa.³¹ In the same year (23rd) there is a mention of the Jagirs of Kachh-

waha³² family in Panjab. In 24th year the town Etawah was the fief of Zain Khan³³ Kokaltash. In 24th year there were Jagirdars in Allahabad³⁴ and Oudh.

In 23rd regnal year there is a reference to Jagirs of Kachhwaha family in Panjab where Raja Todar Mal was sent to arrange the affairs (*Akbarnama*, iii. 248). Again in 25th year there is a reference to Kuwar Man Singh and Rajah Bhagwan Singh, the fief-holders of Panjab, together with other Jagirdars of the area preparing for the defence of Lahore City against Md. Hakim's invasion (*Akbarnama*, iii. 345). But there is no mention in the chronicle as to when the Jagirs of Raja Man Singh and others were confiscated under the general policy of abolition of Jagirs and when again they were reassigned that we find them again as fief-holders in Panjab.

We hear in chronicles that Khalisa land was extended and direct management was applied at least to the old five provinces of northern India. But we fail to find any reference in chronicles when the policy of reassignment was adopted again and when so many Jagirs were reassigned that we find constant references to Jagirs throughout the period under review. Only Badaoni³⁵ is said to have referred to the general policy of reassignment. It is said that Shahbaz Khan Kambu, the Mir Bakshi, who had taken charge of the administration at Agra, "during the absence of the Emperor, gave away all the country right from Garhi to the Panjab in Jagir to men on his own authority . . . when the Emperor asked him the reason for his having dared do this, he answered that if he had not conciliated the troops, they would have all rebelled immediately" (Badaoni II p. 296). But it is very difficult to agree with Badaoni for the following reasons:—

1. Akbar who was a personal observer of every thing and keen administrator, certainly could not have given so much authority to a Bakhshi to enforce such a serious administrative regulation even without

his prior consultation and particularly when he (Akbar) disliked the assignment system.

2. It is also difficult to believe how in a moment the whole country was parcelled out in Jagirs and the Emperor had no prior information.
3. It is also difficult to believe that Shahbaz Khan was an officer of such confidence that he could take even so adventurous decisions and Akbar, who personally disliked the system, did nothing against him.
4. In *Akbarnama* there is no such story that in a moment the whole country was reassigned only by an official.

Having taken all the references to assignments together, it can be said that the Jagirdari system, as suggested by some scholars, was never completely abandoned. It continued even in the

period in which Moreland and others say that it was abandoned. There are clear references to Jagirs between the years 19th to 24th. On the basis of available facts it can be inferred that Jagirs already assigned continued, fresh assignments were made and even confiscated Jagirs were reassigned.

It was the period of experiments in the land revenue policy of Akbar. Here and there some certain parganahs³⁶ consisting of best tracts of land were put to direct administration to gain experience and to test the experiment, and probably to this the court historian highlights the general policy of resumption of all the jagirs throughout northern India. It is certainly very difficult to believe how the whole empire could be made *naqdi*. Assignment was a long established practice and the reversion from one practice (assignment) to another (cash payment) could not have been made without involving serious administrative risks.

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- ¹ Ain-i-Akbari. II. p. 303.
² Ain-ii, 347.
³ Ain tells us that in the early years of Akbar's reign the *rai* of Sher Khan was adopted and applied to the whole empire. Ain-ii, p. 297.
⁴ Agrarian system, p. 84.
⁵ Agrarian system, p. 85.
⁶ Ain-ii, pp. 297-300.
⁷ Ain-i, pp. 60-63.
⁸ The case of gram (nukhud) which has been chosen by Moreland as an example to prove the theory of over-assessment is exceptional. Because it (nukhud) was consumed both as cereal and pulse and was exceptionally more and more consumed as Dana for army animals. Secondly, gram was of two types, country and Kabuli. Kabuli was very rarely cultivated and it was very costly, say 16½ dams a maund (Ain-i-60); while country gram was widely cultivated in Panjab, Doab and in some parts of Rajputana and its price was 8 dams a maund (Ain-i-60). But the price of Dal-i-Nukhud as given in Ain is 16½ dams. Probably it was the price of Dal-i-Nukhud-i-Kabuli, not of country gram. And hence having in view the exceptional case of Kabuligram alone, the case of all pulses cannot be generalized.
⁹ Moreland elsewhere argues (India at the Death of Akbar, p. 103) that taking a wide view of India as a whole, the system of agriculture has not changed materially. He further argues that the relative output per acre of most of food crops has remained constant from the time of Ain upto the recent times.
This contention can be supported by the following table (Irfan Habib, p. 432) showing the comparative values of per acre output of food crops in the time of Ain and in the Meerut District Gazetteer, 1922, pp. 42 ff.
- | Crops | Dastur-circle of Mirath drawn from Ain | Meerut District Gazetteer 1922 |
|--------|--|--------------------------------|
| Wheat | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Rice | 82.5 | 66.5 to 77.7 |
| Barley | 65.3 | 55.5 |
| Jowar | 57.7 | 44.4 to 66.6 |
| Bajra | 38.4 | 44.4 |
| Gram | 69.2 | 66.0 |
| Peas | 42.3 | 55.5 |
| Urd | 59.6 | 44.4 |
| Moth | 38.4 | 33.3 |
- ¹⁰ Akbarnama ii, p. 333.
¹¹ For instance the author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* uses the word very frequently both in a general as well as in a technical sense. At many places *Nasaq* is used in groups with the word *Nasam*, e.g., *nasm-u-nasaq*; *nasaq-u-nasm* and sometimes it is used separately. Here in both cases *Nasaq* means administration. But thrice in the same book (*Mirat*; id; pp. 134, 254, 366) *Nasaq* has been used with *Zabt* and here it is used to denote the technical sense, that is to say a method of assessment other than *Zabt*.
¹² Akbarnama iii, p. 333.
¹³ Ain-in-Akbari-i, 285.
¹⁴ Akbarnama iii, pp. 281-282.
¹⁵ Bayazit Bayat when undertaking the revenue duties at Ujjain first measured the land then made Jamabandi and then fixed the *Nasaq*. P. 353.
¹⁶ Ain-in, p. 286.
¹⁷ *Nasaq* was an independent system of revenue assessment in Gujarat, Bengal, Berar, & Kashmir. Gujarat was *Nasaqi* (Ain. I. p. 485); Berar was also *Nasaqi* from ancient times (Ain. I. 478). In Bengal where the *ghalla-bakshi*

was not the rule and *zabt* very exceptionally practised, most revenue demand was based upon *nasaq*. (Ain. I. 389). "*Nasaq* was also a well known and old established mode of assessment". (Dr. R. P. Tripathi—*Rise & Fall of the Mughal Empire* p. 242). Moreland says "*Nasaq* must be read as denoting a particular method of assessment other than sharing or measurement with both of which it is specially contrasted". (*The Agrarian System*, p. 236).

¹⁸ Ain-ii, 348.

¹⁹ According to Moreland, *Taqsimat-i-mulk* was the office name for the schedule. p. 244-245. Dr. Irfan Habib takes it to mean "revenue statistics (taqsimat) of the country", p. 203. Here the word *Taqsimat-i-mulk* is used in a technical sense. It may mean first the division of the empire into revenue circles (yielding one karor dams under what is called the *karori* experiment), then acquiring the particulars of the area such as the number of villages, cultivated and uncultivated land, jungle, inhabitation, gardens, nullah, various crops, revenue statistics and also the local prices.

²⁰ Ain-ii, 348.

²¹ Ain-ii, 348.

²² Akbarnama III, 282-283.

²³ Moreland says "In the 18th regnal year he decided (iii. 69) on drastic action, to put the bulk of his services on cash salaries, and take the northern provinces on cash salaries, under direct administration." He further goes on saying—"In the 19th year, a large staff of collectors was appointed and posted to circles formed for the purpose... It (direct administration) was carried on for five years and then abandoned. Direct management extended to what may be called the old provinces, Multan and Lahore, Delhi and Agra, Awadh and Allahabad, and also to Ajmer and Malwa." (pp. 95-96).—On the same

page in the next paragraph he further says, "from the 19th to 24th year, Assignments were not made in this tract in the ordinary course, and consequently there was no need for a valuation". "The Agrarian System of Moslem India" p. 96 (Dr. Irfan M. Habib "The Agrarian System of Mughal India" pp. 262 & 271. Dr. R. P. Tripathi—"Rise and Fall of Mughal Empire" p. 239).

²⁴ Agrarian System, p. 96.

²⁵ This is one instance of confiscation and then reassignment.

²⁶ Another instance of first confiscation of a Jagir and then reassignment.

²⁷ Badaoni, Lowe ii, pp. 187-188.

²⁸ Badaoni, Lowe ii, pp. 189-190.

²⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, B.De. ii, pp. 436-437, in the chronicle text it appears that this parganah was between Kalpi and Allahabad.

³⁰ Akbarnama ii, 88.

³¹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, B.Ed.Eng. Tr. ii, p. 496.

³² Akbarnama iii, p. 248. *Massir-ul-Umara*, Beveridge Eng. Tr. Vol. p. 278.

³³ Akbarnama III, p. 278.

³⁴ Ibid III, p. 278.

³⁵ "Agrarian System of Mughal India" p. 271 in the footnote (Dr. Irfan Habib).

³⁶ For instance (in 20th year) Bayazit Bayat recommended that Sarkar Sarangpur was not fit to be converted into Khalisa and on his recommendation Sarangpur was made the Jagir of Shajhat Khan, p. 353. Dr. R. P. Tripathi in his "Some Aspect", p. 316, argues that Akbar's policy of encouraging Khalisa "did not mean the abolition of the Jagir system which was never abolished. But Akbar, like other great Sultans, gave preference to the Khalsa and brought within it most of the best tracts of land".

THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE MARATHAS ON MARWAR

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Many historians would admit without hesitation that the Maratha State, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century threw on war. It was the result of the militant nationalism of the age, which, though short-lived, upset many of the established political traditions and the older forms of civilisation in Maharashtra. When, under the Peshwas the Marathas expanded their empire to cover the whole of India, they were without any set political traditions. The change-over in the administration was made to adapt to the new social and political trends, which had gained ground in Maharashtra after 1707. Under the feudal set up, so organized, the rule of the Peshwas was guaranteed only if they kept the state machinery on the basis of constant wars. Wars required money and the Peshwas believed that the people, who lived beyond the territories of *Swarajya* should enrich their war-chest. As such, in the course of time, when their arms reached Marwar, their main object—to keep the Rathor State under their influence—was centred round this principle.¹

It was in 1728 that Baji Rao I categorised the territory of Marwar as the *saranjami* of Malhar Rao Holkar.² In the same year Pilaji and Kanthaji plundered Jalor and its adjoining area and forced the ruler (Abhay Singh) to pay for their penetration.³ The civil war in Marwar between Ram Singh and Bakht Singh (1749-1752) and later on between Ram Singh and Bijay Singh (1752-1756) gave an opening to the Marathas under Jayappa Sindhia into the Rathor principality. The siege of Nagor (1754-1756) resulted in the capitulation of regular tribute of the State by its ruler to the Mara-

thas from 1756 onwards. The long reign of Bijay Singh was a constant struggle against the Marathas to keep them beyond the Rathor patrimony in particular and Rajputana in general. He was successful at Tunga in 1787 but his defeat at Merta three years later made the Marathas the supreme lords of the land. Henceforth (from 1790 to 1818), the Marathas played a dominating role in the affairs of Marwar and shaped its policies to suit their ends.

The political relations between the Marathas and the Rathors were guided by the agreement of February, 1756. According to it, Bijay Singh not only withdrew his hold from Ajmer district but also agreed to supply a force to defend the Maratha interest in Ajmer. The Marathas recognized two governments of the Rathor principality, one headed by Bijay Singh at Jodhpur and the other under Ram Singh, to whom was transferred the territories of Jalor, Sojat, Parbatsar, Sambhar and Marot districts of Marwar and eightyfour villages of Ajmer. The Marathas, in lieu of the tributary rights, promised not to align themselves with the further designs of Ram Singh on Bijay Singh's territory. In case Ram Singh did so, they agreed to remain neutral provided Bijay Singh did not encroach upon their interests in the territory of Ram Singh.⁴

Though the Rathor State became a tribute paying state to the Marathas, it did not accept their sovereignty. They continued to regard Mughal Emperors as their Sovereign, though nominally. Bijay Singh had sought permission from Shah Alam II to legalise the *Bijayshahi*

coins in his state in 1781.⁵ Unless the successions were confirmed by the Mughal Emperors, the rulers were not *de jure* heads of the State. As late as 1807, when the Emperor Shah Alam II was a mere pensioner of the British power, Man Singh tried to get a *farman* from the Emperor, bestowing Marwar on him.⁶ However, the Mughal overlordship was a mere formality. The Rathor rulers were free to act independently in their internal affairs and carry freely their relations with the different foreign powers. The agreement of 1756 with the Marathas did not change the nature of their position as the head of the State. Mahadaji Sindhia, writing to Bijay Singh on September 29, 1786,⁷ clearly explained that the Marathas had no other political relations with Marwar except the regular collection of the tribute and they had nothing to do with the kind of relations the Rathors were having with their neighbours or with any other power.

However, the Marathas were not unaware of the political motives of the Rathors. They jealously protected their suzerainty in Northern India, and went to the extent of invading Marwar, when it was threatened. The Rathor-Abdali overtures,⁸ on the eve of the battle of Panipat, were construed by the Peshwas as a great danger to the Maratha position in Northern India.⁹ Bijay Singh was forced to take a neutral position.¹⁰ The Rathor ruler was not allowed to take an independent stand in the Mewar affairs between 1769 and 1772.¹¹ Again in 1780, he was warned by Mahadaji not to play with fire by fomenting feudal revolts against the Marathas in Ajmer.¹² After his success at Tunga in 1787, Bijay Singh carried on clandestine correspondence with Timur Shah of Afghanistan,¹³ the British power,¹⁴ the Sikh leaders,¹⁵ Tukoji Holkar,¹⁶ the Jaipur ruler and the Mughals¹⁷ to uproot Mahadaji Sindhia's hold in Northern India. Quickly re-organising his army and regaining his lost position, the Sindhia crushed the Rathor power at Merta on September 10, 1790,¹⁸ and forced its ruler to sign a humiliating peace at Sambhur on February 5, 1791.¹⁹ Soon after, at the dicta-

tes of Mahadaji, Bijay Singh asked Ismail Beg Khan, an avowed enemy to Sindhia, to quit Marwar²⁰. With the Rathors lying at the mercy of Mahadaji after 1790, the latter did not think it wise to bring Marwar under the direct administration of the Marathas. The constitutional relations remained only to the limit of tribute-paying. However, two Rathor persons of note were kept with Sindhia as hostages²¹ to guarantee that the ruler would not pursue a policy hostile to the Marathas in the North. The Rathors made a futile attempt to change the British for the Marathas in 1803, when Man Singh proposed an alliance to Lord Wellesley.²² Sindhia scored a diplomatic victory, when the British recognized Marwar as the territory under Sindhia's influence through article eight of the treaty of Surji Arjangaon in 1804.²³ Though the Maratha power began to decline after 1804, yet the Rathors dared not repudiate up to 1818, the hold of Sindhia, whatever it was, on their state. It was only in February 1818, that the Marwar ruler transferred the right to collect the tribute to the British, previously assigned to Sindhia.²⁴

With the twin motives in Marwar, i.e., to realise regular tribute and to keep the Rathors friendly towards them, the Marathas evolved a well organised and effective machinery. In the early years of their contacts with the Rathors, when Marwar was a *Saranjami*, the Peshwa appointed *Pandits* at Jodhpur to look after the Maratha interests.²⁵ After Marwar became a tribute paying State, they sent their *Vakils* to represent them.²⁶ The *Vakil* sent daily reports about Marwar affairs, received instructions from the Peshwas and communicated news regarding the movements of the Maratha leaders. He was responsible for collecting tributes and maintaining the accounts. He also acted as the link between the Maratha leaders and the Maharajas. In short, he was collector of the tribute and an envoy of the Marathas in the State.²⁷ Soon after the treaty of 1756, the Maratha envoy appointed by the Peshwa, was one Pandit Sada Shiv, who was also asked to collect tribute from Ram Singh's portion of

divided Marwar.²⁸ Krishnaji Jagannath was another important *Vakil*, who remained at the court of Bijay Singh for a long time.²⁹ With the growing influence of Sindhia, the rulers of Marwar paid the tribute to the Peshwas through him. Hence, the latter kept his own agents at Jodhpur. Pandit Rama Rao Sada Shiv, who represented him from 1791 to 1793, effectively carried out the terms of the treaty of Sambhur.³⁰

Next to the *Vakils*, the most important officials were *Kamvisdars*. They were purely revenue officers and looked after the Maratha interests in the region. They had to be present in the villages at the time of harvest and collected the Maratha share then and there so as to avoid delay in the payment. Occasionally they collected the share from the customs duties of the towns also. They were assigned the duty to supervise the work of *Naib-Kamvisdars* and to keep the *Vakils* informed about the activities of the Maharaja's officials. Apart from them, *Fadnavis*, *Chitnavis*, *Arjeenavis*, *Majumdars*, *Karkuns*, *Mukasdars* etc., sent by the Peshwa from time to time, helped the *Vakils* in maintaining the accounts and collecting the tributes. The ultimate responsibility of all the affairs concerning the Marathas in the State rested on the *Vakils*.³¹

Time and again, the Peshwas appointed special envoys at Jodhpur. These, including *Vakils*, played a vital role in the internal affairs of the State. Both Rama Rao Sada Shiv and Krishnaji Jagannath helped Bhim Singh to gain the throne of Marwar, soon after the death of Bijay Singh in July 1793.³² Bapuji Sindhia and Amir Khan dominated the political scene in Marwar from 1811 to 1817. Amir Khan had his hand in the murder of Dewan Inder Raj Singhvi in 1815³³ and the abdication of Man Singh two years later.³⁴ Bapuji Sindhia's hand was visible in the political changes that led to the ministerial instability in Marwar after Inder Raj's murder.³⁵ Whenever these envoys helped the rulers to bring the political situation in their favour, they received handsome remuneration

besides the cost of the military expeditions. They were given great receptions on their arrival at the Rathor capital. Officials of note were sent to receive them, miles off the capital. The State took the responsibility for the security of their person and looked after their comfortable stay.³⁶

The Peshwas did not object to the employment of the Marathas in the State services as they realised that it would facilitate the development of good relations between them and the Rathors. On the recommendations of Malhar Rao Holkar in February 1747, Maharaja Abhay Singh employed one Gopal Trimbak Rao on a monthly salary of rupees four hundred.³⁷ One Baji Rao, employed by Man Singh, proved to be an expert in accounts. He was in charge of Jodhpur *Kacheri* in 1827 and held important revenue records in his custody.³⁸ The infantry of Hira Singh, who was formerly in the service of Sirji Rao Ghatke, was employed by Man Singh in 1808.³⁹ Dan Singh, a former military officer in the employ of the Maratha Governor of Ajmer, secured a job in 1817 at Jodhpur.⁴⁰ Whereas the civilian Maratha officers of the State proved helpful in maintaining the good relations between the Rathors and the Marathas, the employment of military leaders was not liked by the latter. It at times strained relations, and Sindhia insisted on their withdrawal from the State Services.⁴¹

During the sixty years of close relations, the Marathas, slowly and gradually, became a part and parcel of the body politic of the feudal order in the State. They, by their shrewd and tactful manoeuvring, gained *Jagirs* for themselves. The contemporary documents⁴² reveal that villages like Gangva in the Parbatsar district, Harsor in Degana district, Panduvali and Akeli in Merta district and Mandal in the east of Marwar were Maratha *Jagirs* and Makarana was given in *Inam* to Sindhia. The villages of Bhasudi and Rugoli in Godwad were allotted to the family of Jaswant Rao Holkar to meet the expenses of its stay in Marwar from 1805 to 1809.⁴³ The expenses of the *chhatris* of

Jayappa Sindhia at Tausar near Nagor were met from the revenues of the village Kudoli.⁴⁴ These villages were given either at the pleasure of the rulers or in *Peshkash*.⁴⁵ Proper sanads and copper plates for the grants under official seals of the rulers were issued.⁴⁶ If the officials of the State or the feudal chiefs of the adjoining *Jagirs* interfered in these villages, the State was responsible to safeguard the Maratha interests.⁴⁷ Whenever the State resumed any of their villages, alternative arrangements were also made.⁴⁸ The Maratha *jagirdars* were different from the other *jagirdars* of the State in the sense, that the former did not have any footing in the State hierarchy as the latter had.

The Marathas always found Marwar a safe asylum during times of emergency. The rulers extended their whole-hearted cooperation for their comfortable, secure and hospitable stay. The family of Kavi Kalash, which moved to Marwar in 1706, resided at Bilara. Durga Das asked the *hakim* of Merta to meet its expenses at the rate of rupee one and annas fifty a day.⁴⁹ When Laxman Anand, popularly known as Lakhwa Dada, revolted against Daulat Rao Sindhia, he sent his family to Jodhpur in 1800.⁵⁰ The Holkar family consisting of Jaswant Rao's

two wives, daughters and a long retinue of attendants remained at Chenpura, now a suburb of Jodhpur, after Holkar's debacle at Deeg, from 1805 to 1809.⁵¹ Appaji Bhonsle passed the last twelve years of his life at Jodhpur and on his death in 1840, a State funeral was arranged.⁵²

To sum up, the political relations between the Rathors and the Marathas between 1756 and 1818 were based on the Treaty of Nagor, 1756, by which Marwar became a tribute-paying State to the Marathas. The Marathas had no absolute power over the rulers so as to control their external affairs. However, they checked the political activity of the Rathors, even by force of arms at times, when they became hostile to their suzerainty in North India. The Rathors were not subordinated to the Maratha power by any treaty or agreement. However, their clash with the refractory feudal chiefs at home always made them rely on Maratha arms, thus allowing them to influence their internal affairs. The Marathas took the maximum benefit under such circumstances. However, they failed to consolidate their gains, resulting in their total exit from Marwar after 1818.

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R.A. (Jp)—do. Jaipur Records.
The dates have been converted from Hindi and Persian versions referred in the letters.
- ¹ A letter from Mahadaji Sindhia to Bijay Singh dated Sept. 29, 1786 (Portfolio No. VI, letter No. 65 R.A. (Jd); *Hath Bahi* No. II p. 134 R.A. (Jd).
 - ² Selections from Peshwa Daftar (New Series) Vol. 1, letter No. 6.
 - ³ Marwar Khyat Vol. II, p. 131.
 - ⁴ A letter from Jankoji to Bijay Singh dated June 26, 1756 (Portfolio No. VI, file No. 108/12, R.A. (Jd)).
 - ⁵ A letter from Bijay Singh to Anand Rao Bable dated June 22, 1760. (*Arzee Bahi* No. IV, p. 91 R.A. (Jd)).
 - ⁶ Selections from Peshwa Daftar Vol. XXI, letter Nos. 82-84, Vol. XXVII, letter No. 128; Hingane Daftar Vol. I letter No. 189; Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali pp. 407-408; Marwar Khyat Vol. III, p. 12.
 - ⁷ W. W. Webb: The Currencies of Hindu States of Rajputana, p. 43.
 - ⁸ *Hakikat Bahi* No. IX, p. 193, R.A. (Jd).
 - ⁹ Portfolio No. VI, letter No. 65. R.A. (Jd).
 - ¹⁰ *Farman* from Ahmad Shah to Madho Singh (Jaipur) dated Sept. 10, 1759 and to Bijay Singh dated Dec. 10, 1759. R. A. (Jd).
 - ¹¹ Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, Letter No. 106.
 - ¹² Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXXX, letter No. 126.
 - ¹³ Ibid., Vol. XXI, letter No. 187.
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1893 : A YEAR OF UNREST IN INDIA

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1893 was a year of unrest in India. Outwardly, this unrest manifested itself in the form of violent conflicts between the Hindus and the Muslims in several parts of the country. These conflicts occurred first in some small traditional type of villages and towns in the North West Provinces and Oudh (present Uttar Pradesh) in the month of April 1893. During the next two months, the Hindu-Muslim disturbances spread to the adjacent Ballia and Ghazipur districts in the same province. While these disturbances were taking a dangerous shape all over the eastern parts of the North West Provinces and Oudh towards the close of June 1893, a very serious riot took place at Rangoon, the capital of the province of Burma, between her Hindu and Muslim immigrant communities on the eve of the Muslim *Bagr-I'd* festival on June 25. A month later, in Western India, another major riot occurred between the followers of Islam and of Hinduism at Veraval or Prabhas Patan, an ancient pilgrim centre of the Hindus, situated in the then Princely State of Junagadh which was ruled by a Muslim *Nawab*. In less than a fortnight after the Prabhas Patan riots of July 25, Bombay, then considered the "First City in India" and the "Second City in the (British) Empire" witnessed its first Hindu-Muslim riot which was also the most serious of all the inter-communal conflicts that had occurred in the three centuries of its previous history. Subsequent to the Bombay outbreak of August 11, which received a wide publicity, both within and outside India, small towns in Western India, like Poona, Yeola and Wave Wadkal where the Hindus and the Muslims had lived together peacefully for several years in the past began to show signs of unrest which also mani-

festated itself in the form of violent conflicts between these two communities throughout the rest of the year, and also during a major part of the following year.

The year 1893 witnessed a serious religious unrest also in India. This religious unrest centred mainly around what is commonly known as the "cow" and the "music" questions which have been a perennial source of conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims almost ever since they came into contact with each other more than ten centuries ago. The crux of the music question which came into great prominence in 1893 was whether the Hindu processions could pass by mosques with music or not. The Muslims insisted that there should be no music near their places of worship at any time of the day or night, as it disturbed their prayer and meditation, while the Hindus argued that any break in the continuity of their music at their processions would "destroy all the merit of the procession," and hence they would not stop their music even while passing by mosques¹. From the Hindu point of view, the main argument in the cow question is that, according to their sacred scriptures, cow is a sacred animal and hence they should do everything in their power to put an end to cow-slaughter in India. But, according to the Muslims, cow is no more sacred than any other animal, and since the laws of British India did not prohibit cow-slaughter, they insisted on their right, not only to eat beef, but also to perform their traditional ritual of cow-sacrifice in accordance with the dictates of their own religion, whatever might have been the religious feelings of the Hindus on

this question. Though the music and the cow questions had led to violent conflicts between the two communities in many parts of India, both before and after the rise of the British power, the year 1893 must be considered extremely significant in the long history of these two questions for two important reasons: in the first place, it was only in this year that, in an unprecedented manner, numerous petitions were sent by the members of the two communities to the government, expressing their respective grievances on these two questions and also urging a remedy; and secondly, the movement that was set on foot by some Hindus for the protection of cows about a decade before, which was in itself the first of its kind, adopted some unusual methods, since April 1893, in order to realise its aims. All through the rest of the year, both the Hindu agitation on the cow and the music questions, and the Muslim counter-agitation for the protection of their rights to pray in silence in their mosques, and also to eat beef and to perform their cow-sacrifice, gathered a great momentum in many parts of India, causing a serious concern to the members of the government.

Apart from this religious unrest, in which the unlettered masses were deeply involved, the year 1893 witnessed also a serious political unrest in India. This political unrest which was most pronounced in the modernized cities of India, such as Bombay and Calcutta, and in which India's new western-educated elite figured prominently, was preceded by epoch-making decisions which the British Parliament took in connection with the government and administration of India. The first of these decisions which was taken early in 1892 was to increase the number of members and the powers of the legislative councils of India, and also to introduce the principle of election of the members of these councils. While these decisions were being implemented by the government of India, both at the centre and in the provinces, from about April 1893, the British House of Commons passed a resolution on June 2, to the effect that the competitive examinations

for the recruitment of candidates to the Indian Civil Service which had hitherto been held only in England should, in future, be held simultaneously both in England and in India. These two British proposals for reform were received with a tremendous enthusiasm by the followers of the Indian National Congress, a predominantly-Hindu organisation which was founded in 1885 for the purpose of gaining greater political rights for the Indians than they had hitherto enjoyed; but, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898), a severe Muslim critic of the Indian National Congress and the founder of a predominantly-Muslim organisation called the United Patriotic Association (1888), vehemently opposed both the decisions on the ground that, if implemented, they would place the Muslim minority community which had once ruled over a greater part of India under the control of the numerically-superior Hindus, some of whom had become materially and intellectually very advanced under the British rule. From the month of June 1893, several public meetings were held in different parts of India by the leaders of the Congress and the United Patriotic Association in order to impress upon the people the wisdom of their respective stands. Angry words were sometimes exchanged at these meetings by the leaders of these two antagonistic groups; and the articles in the newspapers and periodicals of each of these groups were full of denunciations and adverse comments on the aims and activities of the other. On the whole, the later half of the year 1893 seemed to mark an unprecedented political activity and unrest in India.

As regards the nature and extent of the interaction of these two sources of the unrest and their probable links with the Hindu-Muslim riots of this year, the contemporaries themselves put forward various theories. Of these, the cow theory which was most popular among a large body of the British bureaucrats and a considerable section of the Indian Muslim leaders may be examined first.

The first basic proposition of this cow theory

is that the cow-protection societies were largely responsible for most of the riots in this year. In the case of the Azamgarh, Ghazipur and Ballia disturbances, for example, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces and Oudh, held that "the outburst of fanaticism" in these districts was "immediately due to the influence of the cow-protection societies."² Mr. Finlay, the officiating Commissioner of the Benares region of this province also asserted that "the wire-pullers of the anti-kine-killing movement" who commenced their "operations in the Ghazipur district" even as early as 1886 "were largely responsible for the disturbances" in his region in 1893.³ The Rangoon riots of June 25, according to a report of the government, arose in consequence of the Hindu opposition to an attempt made by a wealthy Muslim to sacrifice a cow in his house which was situated opposite to a Hindu temple.⁴ The Bombay outbreak of August 11, was attributed by Mr. R. H. Vincent, the Police Commissioner of the city, to the local cow-protection movements, especially to the *Gau Palana Upadeshak Sabha* (Society for the Propagation of Cow Protection) which was founded in June 1893 by a militant wing of the Hindu communalists.⁵ Supporting Mr. Vincent's theory that "the cow was at the bottom of the riots" in Bombay, Lord Harris, the Governor of the Bombay Presidency also held that "the mischievous activity of the cow-protection societies was beyond question responsible for a greater part of the strife" in the city.⁶ The *Akhbar Islam*, a Muslim-owned Gujarati tri-weekly newspaper of Ahmedabad, was "firmly of the opinion" that the disturbances in Bombay were "solely due to the cow-protection movement."⁷ The *Musalman of India*, a Muslim-owned English weekly of Bombay, also held that the riots were "due to the machinations of the agents of the cow-protection societies."⁸

The second basic proposition of the cow theory is that the cow-protection movement was not, at least at the level of some of its western-educated leaders, a religious movement, but that, at their level, it had an ulterior political motive. Holding this view, the *Musal-*

man of India promptly warned the Muslim community even as early as April 1893, saying,

"It must be conceded that the Hindu religion, as it is currently understood, declares cow a sacred animal. But, when we look at the people who are heading the movement everywhere, we find reason to suspect that with them at least the question of religion can have no weight. Of course, the masses are being tutored everywhere to follow the biddings of the chiefs in the matter as one of religious importance. If those people who have taken the lead, for a time, withdraw, the agitation will soon die out. These considerations demonstrate that the leaders of the cow-protection movement have some other objects in view."⁹

Further clarifying what, in its view, was the "ulterior motive" of the movement, the same paper wrote, "it is to bring about a union of the whole of Hindu nation of India;" by raising the cow question, it added, the cow-protection leaders "have furnished the masses with a standard round which they are all expected to rally with zeal and fervour."¹⁰ Repeating this warning to the Muslims, the *Musalman of India* wrote again in October 1893 that the "cow-protection movement concealed a deep political object which simply aims at the overthrowal of the British raj in India."¹¹ Elaborating the same theme, the same paper wrote, "The Go-Rakshini Sabhas (cow-protection societies) are not at all an outcome of any religious feelings; they are an outcome of the rebellious feelings."¹² Asserting that the movement had no "religious origin," a correspondent to the *Musalman of India* also wrote in September 1893 that "the persecution of the Mahomedans, the undermining of the British power, and the slow, but sure establishment of a Hindu empire" were "the objects" it really aimed at.¹³ Sharing this view, a Muslim *Maulvi* who held the position of a Justice of Peace and who had been "watching the proceedings of these (cow-protection) societies for some time" before the Bombay outbreak was convinced that "the movement

was only a means to an end" and that "its end was to build a Hindu dominion in India."¹⁴ Among the British officials, Lord Harris held that the cow-protection movement had "an ulterior aim" which was "sinister to the British raj."¹⁵ Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces and Oudh, and Sir James Macdonald, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, frankly confessed that they were "getting alarmed about this doctrine" of cow-protection.¹⁶ The Viceroy of India also came to the conclusion, on the basis of some confidential reports that he had received about the movement from various parts of India that it was organised by men who were "thoroughly disloyal" to the government. "They join this movement" he wrote, "not on account of their religious convictions, but because they see in it a means of shaking our authority and increasing our difficulties."¹⁷ Holding that there was a big Hindu conspiracy in the cow-protection movement, Mr. Ardagh, the Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India, wrote to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State, "Begun in the harmless guise of benevolent protection for aged animals, they (cow-protection societies) have developed into fanatical secret societies, embracing the whole Hindu population, and coercing them by religious penalties of a most-effective kind, to commit acts of violence against the Mahomedans and the civil power." "The danger lies" he added "in the enormous influence which the wire-pullers appear to possess and the secrecy and all-prevailing ramifications of the conspiracy."¹⁸ Agreeing with Mr. Ardagh, the Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. C. H. Lyall also observed, "the great Hindu movement for cow-protection is much more dangerous to the peace of India than Fenianism ever was to that of Ireland."¹⁹ Though the Secretary of State for India, wanted "to avoid showing outwardly alarm or uneasiness" about the movement, he warned his Indian officials at the same time "not to have too great a confidence that tomorrow is sure to be like yesterday which always gets possession of one's mind after long periods of tranquillity."²⁰

The third basic proposition of the cow theory is that there was virtually no difference between the Congress and the cow-protection movements, at least as far as their ultimate aims were concerned. "Speaking for the Punjab" wrote a Bombay Muslim "we know for a fact that the Congress and the cow agitations are one and the same thing."²¹ He added, "they (the leaders of the two movements) suit their addresses to the audience; when Mahomedans form part of the gathering, they descant on the beauties of self-government, but in Hindu and Sikh villages, they denounce cow-killing."²² "The cow-killing agitation" he concluded, "aims at the same thing as the Congress, namely, the expulsion of the British and the subjection of the Mahomedans to the Hindu rule."²³ Supporting this view, another Bombay Muslim asked, "If a majority of Congress Hindus became councillors, is there any doubt that the cow-killing will be proscribed and other religious vagaries promulgated?"²⁴ Some British officials also must have held such views, even though they did not openly express them at this time. A suggestion to this effect was, however, made by the Viceroy when he wrote to Lord Harris saying, "It seems to me that the malcontent and disloyal party (Congress?) had discovered in these cow-protection societies the means of placing their mischievous activity upon a popular basis and that the result may be extremely dangerous; the Irish Home Rulers were harmless enough until they connected themselves with agrarian agitation. The parallel seems to be exact and ominous."²⁵

The ultimate implication of the cow theory is that the riots were the means chosen by some Hindu leaders of the Congress and the cow-protection movements to realise their aim of building their *raj* in India. This theory derives its strength chiefly from the fact that the Hindus were extremely aggressive in their attitude towards the Muslims and also towards the civil power in the Azamgarh, Ghazipur and Ballia districts where the riots occurred first during this year. There are, however, three

major flaws in this theory; in the first place, it frees the Muslims from all responsibility for the riots, even though, some of them were, in fact, guilty of having started the disturbances especially in Prabhas Patan and Bombay; secondly, it does not take into account the important fact that there were some truly secular nationalists in the Congress and that they not only refused to have anything to do with the cow-protection movement, but they went even to the extent of publicly denouncing the methods of the cow-protection leaders;²⁶ thirdly, it also ignores the equally important fact that, at the level of the orthodox Hindu leaders and the conservative Hindu masses, the cow question has always been nothing more than a purely religious question.

As opposed to the cow theory, the supporters of the Congress and the cow-protection movements put forward their own theory of the riots which may be called the 'divide and rule' theory. The essence of this theory is that the riots were deliberately instigated or encouraged by the British officials with the hope of getting the political reforms cancelled or postponed. This theory seems extremely probable, especially in view of the fact that the British officials were really reluctant during this year to implement the reforms which the Congress demanded and which the British liberal government conceded. For example, advising Gladstone not to implement the resolution on the simultaneous examinations, the Secretary of State for India declared that in the interest of peace and order in India, "the foundation of our administration must rest upon that European edifice which we have so long maintained."²⁷ Mr. Andrew Scobble, a member of the Secretary of State's Council, also hastened to suggest to the British government immediately after the Bombay riots that these incidents pointed to the dangers of implementing the scheme of simultaneous examinations. Even though the supporters of the 'divide and rule' theory do not have any direct evidence to prove the British complicity in these riots, they may point to the instances when some British officials precipitated some

of these riots by issuing certain orders which tended to excite the religious passions of the Hindu or the Muslim masses; for example, in Azamgarh, an order of the local magistrate, asking the Muslims to notify the places where they had intended to sacrifice cows on the eve of the *I'd* infuriated the Hindus²⁸; likewise, at Rangoon, the Muslims grew angry in 1893 when, in response to a Hindu appeal, the magistrate issued an order, prohibiting the Muslims from sacrificing cows in a place where they had been sacrificing in the previous years.²⁹

However, these two examples could be cited by the British officials to prove their own point that they were not partial to any community in the cow controversy. The difficulty in accepting the 'divide and rule' theory springs also from the fact that even though the Hindus must have known that any disturbance at this time was likely to be used by the British officials as a pretext for cancelling or postponing the reforms, they indulged in a virulent cow-protection agitation which certainly tended to excite the religious passions of the Hindu and the Muslim masses. Moreover, before accepting the 'divide and rule' theory, one must ask whether the British government was not, like any government in the world, concerned about the growth of violence in the country, even if it was between two sections of the population. In fact, in 1893, the Viceroy himself was so greatly alarmed by the riots that he wrote to the Earl of Kimberley, saying, "The Hindu and Mahomedan riots which have taken place at Bombay during the last few days (August 11-13) are very disagreeable. As you know, I regard the recurrence of these disorders as a most serious matter."³⁰

The chief defect in all the contemporary theories of the riots is that they try to attribute the riots to a single cause. In general, the riots are the outcome of a combination of causes, some of which may be religious and some, political or economic; some may be immediate and others remote. The Hindu-Muslim problem is one of the most complex problems in Indian

history. In some respects, it can be said to have had its origin at the time of the first Islamic incursions into India in the 8th Century A. D. At the very root of this problem lie the fundamental ideological differences between the two communities which have remained largely unreconciled to the present day. The 19th Century religious revivalist movements, such as the *Wahabi* movement in the case of the Muslims and the *Arya Samaj* in the case of the Hindus, contributed to the widening of the ideological gulf between the two; the 19th Century historical writings on the Islamic rule over India also seems to have kept the memories of their ancient conflicts alive in the minds of both the communities. But, these were probably only the remote causes for the riots of 1893; the immediate cause for these riots may be seen in the political struggle between the Congress and the United Patriotic Association of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and more particularly in the cow controversy which came to the forefront suddenly during the early part of this year. The cow question was, from the point of view of the conservative Hindus and Muslims, purely a religious question which could have, by itself, caused the riots, at least in some places, but, at the level of some of their leaders, it merged with the contemporary political questions. In some places, some Hindu leaders might have instigated these riots, while in others, some Muslim leaders might have done the same;³¹ in still others, some British officials were also probably involved in these riots. In joining the riots, the Hindu and the Muslim masses were motivated by religious as well as economic considerations—in urban areas like Bombay, economic considerations must have been stronger than the religious.³² After the improvements in the means of transport and communications in the 19th Century, the riots developed a tendency to

spread quickly from place to place; this tendency can be seen, for the first time, in the case of the 1893 riots which spread rapidly from the North West Provinces and Oudh first to Rangoon in June, then to Prabhas Patan in July, then to Bombay in August, and then to Poona, Yecola and Wave Wadkal in the subsequent months.

What is perhaps still more significant to note in the riots of 1893 is that they were the first in the series of the riots in modern Indian history to occur during a period of exceptional political unrest; in the period following the Bombay outbreak, the riots and the communal political activities began to push each other forward, rendering the task of the secular nationalist Hindu and Muslim leaders in building a united nation extremely difficult. A beginning in this direction was made at Poona where, soon after the Bombay outbreak, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and some of his Hindu friends, not only advised the Hindu masses to boycott the *Mohurram*, at which they had hitherto enthusiastically participated, but also started a new Hindu public festival called the *Ganapati* festival with the declared object of consolidating the Hindu masses. More or less at the same time, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the chief spokesman of the Muslim interests, abandoned his faith in his multi-communal United Patriotic Association, and founded, under British patronage, an exclusively Muslim organisation called the Anglo-Mohammedan Oriental Defence Association of Upper India with the declared object of protecting the "political rights of the Muslims."³³ Thus, the riots of 1893 intensified the Hindu and Muslim communal political activities which, in their turn, laid the foundation, in the subsequent period, for the highly influential communal political parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League.

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¹⁸ Letter from J. C. Ardagh, Private Secretary to the Viceroy to A. Wodchouse, Private Secretary to the Earl of Kimberley, September 10, 1893, The Marquess of Lansdowne, *Correspondence with the Secretary of State*, p. 94.

¹⁹ Letter from C. J. Lyall, Secretary to the Government of India to J. C. Ardagh, November 9, 1893, The Marquess of Lansdowne, *Correspondence with the Secretary of State*, p. 475.

²⁰ Letter from the Earl of Kimberley to the Marquess of Lansdowne, dated August 18, 1893, Marquess of Lansdowne, *Correspondence with the Secretary of State*, p. 66.

²¹ *Bombay Gazette*, Thursday, August 24, 1893, p. 5, Col. 3.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Wednesday, August 23, 1893, p. 6, Col. 1.

²⁵ Letter from the Marquess of Lansdowne to Lord Harris, dated, August 25, 1893, The Marquess of Lansdowne, *Correspondence with Persons in India*, p. 125.

²⁶ For example, at the third annual session of the Congress that was held in Madras in 1887, a resolution urging the prohibition of cow-slaughter was introduced by a delegate who was obviously an enthusiastic leader of the cow-protection movement, but the secular nationalists rejected that resolution on the ground it dealt with a controversial religious question. Surendranath Banerjee, *A Nation in the Making*, Oxford, Bombay, 1961, p. 100.

²⁷ Quoted in the *Times of India*, Tuesday, July 18, 1893, p. 4, Col. 2.

²⁸ Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the North West Provinces and Oudh to the Secretary to the Government of India, August 28, 1893, p. 19.

²⁹ Report of A. S. Fleming, Deputy Commissioner, Rangoon town, to the Commissioner of the Pegu Division, June 28, 1893, *East India (Religious Disturbances)*, March 5, 1894, p. 6.

³⁰ Letter from the Marquess of Lansdowne to the Earl of Kimberley, August 15, 1893, Marquess of Lansdowne, *Correspondence with the Secretary of State for India*, Government Central Press, Calcutta, 1894, British Museum, I. S., Bo. 420/14, pp. 121-22.

³¹ There is a great deal of circumstantial evidence to prove that the riots were premeditated in some places, even though it may not be possible to name the persons who instigated them. For example, in the Azamgarh and Ghazipur districts, the riots were preceded by several secret meetings of the cow-protection societies, collection of compulsory subscriptions from every Hindu family, and distribution of pictures and pamphlets by some agents of these societies. Notices were also issued to the Hindu villagers by some societies, asking them to "come quickly to certain spots" in order to "rescue cattle" from the Muslim butchers. On the eve of the *Pd*, excited groups of Hindu peasants "wandered around the districts" with deadly weapons, and forced the Muslims in several villages to surrender the cattle which they had intended to slaughter. Since these Hindu peasants did not commit such acts before the cow-protection societies were activated in 1893, it seems safe to conclude that they were instigated in these acts by some of their leaders. Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the North West Provinces to the Secretary to the Government of India, August 28, 1893, p. 19.

On the other hand, the Hindus were quite unprepared when the Muslims launched their ferocious attack on them in Bombay on August 11; the fact that the Muslims had a large number of "sticks of uniform size and shape" when they emerged out of the *Juma Masjid*, immediately after their mid-day prayer on this *Juma Day* to attack the Hindus clearly shows that they had preconcerted the riots in the city. Letter from R. H. Vincent to G. C. Whitworth, September 9, 1893, p. 86.

³² For example, in Bombay, during the period of the riots which lasted continuously for three days (Aug. 11-13), the Muslims plundered goods worth about Rs. 85,000/- from the Hindu shops, while, during the same period, the Hindus, in their turn, looted property worth about Rs. 100,000/- from the Muslim shops. Statement accompanying R. H. Vincent's letter to G. C. Whitworth, September 9, 1893, p. 100-107.

³³ Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims, A Political History* (1858-1947), Asia, Bombay, 1959, p. 72.

COURSES OF STUDY

Burdwan University**B.A. HONOURS IN HISTORY**

Paper I	Special Period of Ancient and Medieval Civilisations. Any one of the following: (a) Ancient Egypt, Babylon and Assyria. (b) Ancient Greece. (c) Ancient Rome. (d) Europe in the Middle Ages, 800-1453.	Paper II	(b) A selected period of Indian History (1556-1761), with special reference to the History of Bengal. The Administrative and Economic History of India, 1757-1833.
Paper II	History of Europe, 1789-1871.	Paper III	History of Indian National Movement, with special reference to the life and thought of Indian leaders.
Paper III	History of Europe, 1871-1945.	Paper IV	Constitutional History of Great Britain (1485-1911).
Paper IV	History of England under the Tudors and Stuarts, 1485-1714.	Paper V	International Law and Organisation.
Paper V	History of Asia in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.	Paper VI	History of Political Thought, from Hobbes to the present day.
Paper VI	History of India, up to 1206.	Paper VII	Any one of the following subjects: (a) History of East and South East Asia in the Twentieth Century. (b) History of selected dynasties of Ancient India.
Paper VII	History of India, 1206-1857.		
Paper VIII	History of India, 1857-1950.		

Note: The first four papers are meant for Part I Examination and the rest for Part II.

M.A. EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

Paper I	Any one of the following subjects: (a) A selected period of Indian History (from the first century A.D. to the sixth century A.D.). (b) History of the United States of America, from Thomas Jefferson to Franklin D. Roosevelt.
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Jamia Millia Islamia**M.A. IN HISTORY**

The M. A. Examination shall consist of eight written papers of 100 marks each and a *Viva Voce* Examination of 50 marks. All students will have to offer Groups (A) and (B) or Groups (B) and (C). Papers X and XI are compulsory.

Group (A) Ancient Period (Indus Valley Civilisation to 700 A.D.).

Paper I	Social and Political History (Indus Valley Civilisation to 330 A.D.).
Paper II	Social and Political History (330 A.D.-700 A.D.).
Paper III	Art, Architecture and Literature.

Group (B) Medieval Period (700-1707).

Paper IV	Political History (Either 700-1526 or 1526-1707.).
Paper V	Art, Architecture and Literature.
Paper VI	Social and Economic History.

Group (C) Modern Period.

Paper VII	Political History of India (1707-1947).
Paper VIII	British History (1760-1939).
Paper IX	Social, Economic and Cultural History of India.

Compulsory Papers:

Paper X	Comparative Historiography.
Paper XI	European History (1870-1939.)

RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

(Summarised from Official Regulations)

Burdwan University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY EXAMINATION

I. A Master of Arts of the University of Burdwan may apply to the Registrar for registration as a candidate for D.Phil Degree in any of the subjects in which D. Phil Degree may be instituted; provided that he took his Master's Degree in that subject or in an allied subject.

The Executive Council may grant permission to a Master of Arts of any other University, the Master's Degree of which is recognised by the University as equivalent to its own, to apply for registration as a candidate for D. Phil. Degree.

II. Every application for registration shall contain a full statement of qualifications of the candidate and shall be supported by a certificate from a Supervisor.

Every such application shall be placed before the Board of Research Studies in the subject.

The Executive Council may grant registration of a candidate on the recommendation of the Board of Research Studies in the subject.

On his application for registration being granted, a candidate shall pay registration fee of Rs. 50/- for enrolment in the Register of candidates for D. Phil Degree.

III. Preferably within one year after enrolment a candidate shall be required to submit to a test to be taken by the Supervisor on a course of study connected with his research work

including his possession of the necessary linguistic equipment prescribed by the Supervisor. The Supervisor shall report the result of the test to the Board.

Further continuance of the candidate with the research work will depend on satisfactory result in the test.

In the event of unsatisfactory result in the test, the Board may allow the candidate a further chance to appear in a fresh test to be held not less than six months after the first test.

In the event of the result of the second test not being satisfactory, registration of the candidate may be cancelled.

IV. After satisfactory result in the test, a candidate shall put himself in touch with his Supervisor every two months in course of the period of his research and produce a certificate from him every time about his regular and satisfactory progress.

A candidate shall work for a period of not less than two years from the date of registration under a Supervisor recognised for the purpose and may submit a thesis for the Degree thereafter.

A candidate shall be required to pay a fee of Rs. 200/- along with his thesis. No candidate who fails to pass or present himself for examination shall be entitled to claim a refund of his fee.

V. In case the thesis is approved unanimously by the Board of Examiners, the candidate shall be required to appear in a *viva-voce* examination.

In the event of the candidate's knowledge not being found up to the standard, he may be allowed to appear again in the *viva-voce* examination at an interval of six months on payment of an additional fee of Rs. 50/-.

VI. The Board of Research Studies may recommend the names of at least three experts or specialists of whom one shall be the Supervisor, to constitute the Board of Examiners for each thesis and the Executive Council shall appoint the Board of Examiners after considering the names suggested by the Board of Research Studies.

An examiner shall state in his report:

(a) Whether the Degree should be awarded to the candidate;

(b) Whether the thesis is fit for publication;

(c) Whether the thesis should be rejected;

(d) Whether the candidate should be allowed to re-submit the thesis after revision.

In the last case, the thesis may be re-submitted not earlier than six months from the date of decision of the Executive Council on payment of a fee of Rs. 100/-.

COMMENTS BY SUPERVISOR

DR. S. B. CHAUDHURI

Professor and Head of the Department of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in History, Burdwan University

The state of historical research in this up and coming University is only at the take-off stage. The ground has to be cleared and the proper climate must set in, before any bid was made to catch up with the progress of historical research of other centres. Yet there is ample scope for this University to grow up into an advanced centre of regional social history in its precise meaning.

Initial hurdles are, however, many. We are yet to have a properly equipped library for research scholars. Hence, we have to look up to Calcutta till now. But there is a rich stockpile of original source material in the personal collections of the Burdwan Raj and in the

network of villages skirting Burdwan awaiting the attention of scholars.

The quality of students is not always up to the mark. The spirit of enquiry and industry are, however, not lacking. But the students should undergo a thorough training in research methodology before taking up research proper.

To facilitate research, the University Library is being given due orientations and a qualifying test in research methodology is being introduced. A plan has been contemplated to comb regional source materials and preserve the findings scientifically for the use of research scholars.

ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES (1960-66)

Burdwan University

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
B. S. Das	The Jungle Mahals during the Early British Rule	Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri
G. S. Mukherji	British Relations with the later Mogul Emperors	Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri
R. N. Chattaraj	Historical Topography of Ancient Orissa	Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri
M. R. Ray	Political History of Mathura in the early centuries of Christian Era	Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri
S. K. Chakrabarti	History of the Maharajas of Burdwan in relation to the East India Company, 1757-1857	Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri
Miss Nandita Thakur	The History of the Vaishnava Movement in Burdwan	Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri
S. N. Samanta	Temple Art and Architecture of Burdwan	Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri
S. S. Garani	British Educational Policy and the Growth of National Awareness in India, 1882-1905	Dr. A. K. Dasgupta
S. N. Banerji	British Relations with Gwalior	Dr. D. K. Ghosh

Jamia Millia Islamia

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Dilip Chandra	The Role of Mythology in the Indian Nationalist Movement
Qamaruddin	The Mehdavi Movement
Mujeeb Ashraf	Pro-British Sentiments Among Indian Muslims

SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH WORK

Burdwan University

<i>Recognised Supervisors</i>	<i>Major Publications</i>
Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of History, Burdwan University.	Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India; Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India; Civil Rebellion in Indian Mutinies; Theories of the Mutiny; History of the Indian Gazetteers;
Dr. D. K. Ghosh, M.A. (Cal.), D. Phil (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Reader in History, Burdwan University.	England and Afganisthan; Cashmere in Transition (in Press).
Dr. A. K. Dasgupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cornell), Reader in History, Burdwan University.	(Jt. Editor) Ochterlony Papers.

Departmental Research Scheme

The Department of History has taken up a History of Burdwan Project, contemplated as the only comprehensive and standard reference work on Burdwan. Chapters have been allotted to specialised scholars, including teachers of the Department. The work is in progress.

Jamia Millia Islamia

<i>Recognised Supervisors</i>	<i>Major Publications</i>
Professor Mohibbul Hasan, Professor & Head of the Department of Indian History & Culture.	History of Tipu Sultan; Kashmir Under the Sultans; Readings in Democracy; Messages of Freedom; Waqai Manazil-i-Rum (Tipu's Embassy to Constantinople)—(in Press); Historians of Medieval India (editing)—(in Press);

Dr. B. R. Grover, Reader in the Department of Indian History & Culture, Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals (From Akbar to Aurangzeb).

Dr. Rafiqat Ali Khan, Lecturer, Department of Indian History & Culture, Life of Raja Man Singh of Amber (in Press).

Dr. Sudhir Chandra, Lecturer, Department of Indian History & Culture, The Background of Indian Nationalism (1858-1885).

Dr. S. N. Sinha, Lecturer, Department of Indian History & Culture, History of the Subah of Allahabad Under the Mughals, from 1526 to 1707.

Departmental Research Scheme

In the Fourth Plan the University's Scheme is: (a) to bring out a Dictionary of Medieval Indian History; and (b) to edit texts of unpublished works of the reign of Akbar.

THESES PRESENTED

Lucknow University

TWO KINGS OF AVADH: MUHAMMAD ALI SHAH & AMJAD ALI SHAH (1837-47)

DR. SAFI AHMAD

There is hardly any thing substantial in published works about the two kings—Muhammad Ali Shah and Amjad Ali Shah (1837-1847)—who ruled Avadh at a critical time. I had to unearth material, gather facts and then to evaluate them in order to form a true estimate of these two rulers. I may, therefore, humbly claim to have, for the first time, thrown light on this hitherto unravelled period of Avadh history. Thus my work has been to find material for which I had to spend much time in search and then to select, sift and utilise it for the purpose of this thesis.

In 1837 the young king of Avadh, Naseer-ud-din Haydar, died without any recognised heir. He was succeeded by his uncle, Muhammad Ali Shah, ailing with numerous diseases. The poor decrepit monarch heroically fought his physical weaknesses and stemmed the tide of maladministration which engulfed the state. Muhammad Ali Shah, an extremely able ruler, unfortunately died within five years of his accession and was succeeded by his son Amjad Ali Shah who was above forty years. But he had no talents to cope with the peculiarly difficult problems of administration which were left in the hands of his deputies and favourites. Being too religious by temperament, he was narrow-minded and possessed no ingenuity. He also did not live long and had only a span of five years to enjoy his kingship.

The thesis is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the political history of the period, and the second with the cultural,

economic and social problems of the time. The first contains six chapters.

Chapter I is a resume of the history of Avadh up to the accession of Muhammad Ali Shah which took place after a *coup d'état*. This important event has been fully described in the light of both indigenous and foreign records left by those who took part in the *coup*. The event was a momentous one and naturally significant, as it was directly connected with the important question of succession.

Chapter II deals with the Treaty of 1837 which had its own significance. It is not only one of the three important landmarks in the history of Avadh but is also the most controversial engagement in the annals of Anglo-Avadh relations. It is upon this that the justifiability of Lord Dalhousie's much criticised policy of the annexation of the state depends.

Chapters III and IV give separately detailed accounts of the important events of the reigns of the two kings, Muhammad Ali Shah and Amjad Ali Shah, based on original sources. The harem intrigues and the influence of various parties at the court which shaped the state policy have been dealt with in detail.

Chapter V deals with the history of Anglo-Avadh relations and the evolution of the powers of the Resident, a subject which claims importance in the history of Avadh. The Resident in Avadh "exercised a more unlimited sway

over a king and court and five million of people than any sovereign in Europe".

In this chapter an attempt has been made to indicate the role played by such a powerful functionary (the Resident) in shaping the British policy towards Avadh. No intelligent and exact estimate of a ruler of Avadh is indeed possible unless he is viewed in this perspective, i.e., in his relations with the Resident. Hence the utility of the chapter. To give a complete picture of the relations between the state and the suzerain power, the different stages of the evolution of the powers of the Resident have been summarised.

Chapter VI deals with the evils of administration, many of which were the outcome of the overweening influence of the Resident who used to hold darbars every Saturday where the subjects of the king of Avadh were encouraged to complain against their own sovereign. Thus the Avadh ruler was assailed within his dominions and his position was greatly compromised.

The second section deals with the social, economic, literary and cultural activities of the time. Some of the chapters of this section are too general to be confined within the limits of the period under review because they contain general trends. Hence some events connected with the reigns of other rulers have been given in order to draw a more complete and interesting picture of the history of the development of various arts detailed therein.

Chapter VII deals with the harem influences and position of women in society. Malika Kishwar, the chief wife of Amjad Ali Shah and the mother of Wajid Ali Shah, who died in Paris after a toilsome sea journey, has left an abiding mark on the history of Avadh. Her life has been depicted in Knighton's pseudo-historical book *The Life of An Eastern Queen*, and this chapter particularly deals with the life of the zenana which centred around this illustrious lady.

Chapter VIII deals with the social and econo-

mic conditions of the state. The material used is based on the records left by foreign travellers, namely, Leopold Von Orlich who visited Lucknow in 1845; Emily Eden, the sister of Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General; Emma Roberts, Fanny Parkes and others. Even indigenous sources like *Fasana-i-Ibrat* have been fully utilised. For purposes of clarity, the chapter has been divided into a number of sub-headings, namely, the king, his court, the nobility, the *shurafa*, the landed aristocracy, manners and etiquette of the common people, the prevailing social evils, amusements and life in the rural and urban areas.

Chapter IX gives a short account of all the religious tendencies with special reference to the growth and development of Shiism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in northern India.

Chapter X on literature deals with the growth of Urdu poetry, prose and *Alexia-goi* (elegy-writing), a special feature of the literary and religious life of Lucknow.

Chapter XI deals with the development of arts and crafts such as chikan making, embroidery and calligraphy. Other arts like *Tib-i-Unani* (medicine), dance and music which received great impetus during the Nawabi rule have been discussed therein.

Chapter XII deals with the Lucknow architecture, one of whose most beautiful specimens, the Imambara of Husainabad, was the product of Muhammad Ali Shah's developed taste and love of fine arts.

Four appendices have been added, two of which (B & C) deal with the two unusual occurrences of the uneventful reign of Amjad Ali Shah, namely, Darshan Singh's invasion of Nepal, and the organisation of Avadh Frontier Police, a measure intended to prevent the growing lawlessness on the Avadh frontiers.

The history of Avadh proverbially suffers from

paucity of records. Dr. Hoey (the translator of a few Persian manuscripts on Avadh history) writing in 1885 observed—"The History of Avadh has never been written. We have a few sketches by English hands and we have some brief epitomes in the Vernacular, but we have nothing which can be called history", which is true even up to this day. Moreover this decade was hemmed in by two other periods of boisterous revelry and great merry-making whose details have been tastefully given by contemporary chroniclers. Therefore, the period under review has attracted little notice and historical records were extinct. Attempts were made previously even by other students to unravel it but they failed because of the paucity of records, in English particularly. Some uncatalogued libraries had to be hunted for material which have supplied useful data for the analysis of this hitherto confused and unthrashed part of Avadh history.

I have utilised for the first time a number of manuscripts preserved in different catalogued and uncatalogued libraries. The unpublished records (of the period) preserved in the *National Archives of India, New Delhi*, have been fully utilised. Persian manuscript, *Kitab Akhbar Deorhi*

Badshah Oudh which contains a first-rate account of the day to day occurrences of one full year of Muhammad Ali Shah has for the first time been deciphered and thoroughly used. *Miral-ul-Awda* and *Muraqqa-i-Khusravi*, contemporary records in Urdu and Persian which have come to us from two officers holding responsible posts in the state government, have also been sifted and utilised. *Fasana-i-Ibrat* of Suroor, a well-known prose-writer and contemporary of these two kings of Avadh has supplied us useful information about maladministration, political quibbles and nepotism, not obtainable elsewhere. A vindication of the kingdom of Avadh by Masihuddin Khan, published in London in 1857 (edited by me under the title *British Aggression in Oudh* with an Introduction on the life of the author) and immediately suppressed by the British government, has been thoroughly made use of. I have also been fortunate enough to obtain a manuscript of the biographical sketch of the life of all the Residents at the court of Avadh (copied from the *British Museum, London*). The present dissertation is original in this sense that a readable connected account based on original sources has been presented for the first time.

BOOK REVIEWS

Resurgent India by SISIR KUMAR MITRA; Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay 1963; pp 432; price Rs. 26/-.

The title of the book is an expression hallowed by Sri Aurobindo's use. It is primarily an attempt to narrate the story of, and to interpret the motivating forces behind, the reawakening of India in the 19th century and the early part of the 20th. The story has been told by many others and in different ways. But Mr. Sisir Kumar Mitra's approach is quite novel. He belongs to that school of history which maintains that history is based on the biographies of great men. It is the few great men in every age and country who mould historical development not only by what they actually thought or did or achieved, but also by what they made possible. Sometimes a person's immediate work might not be of any tremendous importance by itself, but still may be of far-reaching significance, releasing new forces and helping greater achievements in later years. So in a biographical approach to history it is not enough to know what a man actually did or achieved; what is of greater importance is to know the impelling forces released by his influence on contemporaries and later generations which made possible greater achievements in a subsequent period. It is this approach which has been adopted by Mr. Sisir Kumar Mitra. He has chosen about thirty of the most prominent figures, from Raja Rammohan Roy to Sri Aurobindo, with a few other subsidiary figures, to narrate the inner story of India's resurrection in the 19th century. In such a selection covering the whole of India and spread over such a long period, there is bound to be some difference of opinion, and it would be unfair to accuse the author of any bias or prejudice. No selection can satisfy all. On the whole Mr. Mitra's selection has been judicious and relevant to the

main theme of his book, although some may criticise it on the ground of being too Bengal-oriented, ignoring the claims of other regions of India. There are no doubt some unfortunate omissions, but for which the book would have been valued even more. For example, the name of Gandhi does not appear anywhere in the book. But it must be admitted that the author should have wide discretion in the selection of figures he considers to be the most important for developing his principal theme.

The main theme of the book is the role of the spiritual force in bringing about India's reawakening in the modern period. Great men have been selected from different walks of life, their ideas and activities have been narrated like in any ordinary book of history, but the under-current of spiritual force is always present. Another objective of the author is to show that India's reawakening in the modern period, based primarily on spiritual force, had its deep roots in the past. Contrary to the views of many who hold that the new India was a creation of the Western impact, Mr. Mitra thinks and has clearly shown in his book that the inner force of the resurgence is to be seen in the Vedas and the Upanishads and other ancient religious literature, as also in the teachings of the medieval mystics. He has given a brilliant survey of the evolution of Indian culture and thought from the Vedic times, linking up the past with the present as one continuous chain of evolution. At the same time he also holds out vision of a new dawn in which India's spiritual force will show the light to the whole world. The book is well-conceived and well-written and deserves the attention of all students of history.

S.P.S.

Internal Market of India, 1845-1900. by Dr. TARASANKAR BANERJEE; Published by Academic Publishers, Rs. 20/-.

Since independence research in economic History has made considerable progress, and new questions are being formulated in the light of contemporary economic thought. In his book which has grown out of a doctoral thesis, Dr. Banerjee throws a good deal of light on the development of the home market in India in the second half of the nineteenth century. Using important new material Dr. Banerjee examines Government policy with regard to transport and tariff, and reiterates the familiar view that the needs of commercial penetration led the Government to abolish the inland customs duties and undertake the construction of roads and bridges and railways.

In 1834 Trevelyan wrote his famous report on the customs and town duties and anticipated the potentialities of the Indian market. The duties were abolished in Bengal in 1836, and in Bombay and Madras in 1844. It was the task of Dalhousie to carry forward this policy, and undertake railway building which "boosted up the commercial operations in the country". Attempts were made to reform weights and measures; Trevelyan called attention to the great waste of "human labour caused by the existing confusion of weights and measures"; but the Act of 1871 which was intended "to unify the weights and measures" in India was not implemented. It is not fortuitous that Lancashire, the real home and power-house of the free trade movement, kept on pressurizing the Government for the abolition of the import duties. In fact, all import duties were abolished except on salt and liquor in 1882, and Ripon prided in the fact that the Indian customs Tariff had been remodelled on the basis of free trade principles.

Dr. Banerjee rightly points out that commercial agriculture received stimulus from the development of transport. There is, however, a tendency to exaggerate the impact of transport

development on rural economy: "Improved means of communications revolutionised the whole set up slowly but steadily. The establishment and gradual expansion of roads and railways invaded the isolated interior of the country. It had thrown a dynamic element in the concept of business transactions. The virtual monopoly of the local middlemen crumbled as the speeding locomotives passed by" (p.318.). On the contrary, the monopoly of middlemen did not crumble down; in fact the middlemen did and could operate in the vast sprawling hinterland so long as the peasants remained poor and had to sell the cash crops to the middlemen in order to supplement their meagre incomes from land. The home market itself remained cramped because of the poverty of the peasants. It is difficult to agree with Dr. Banerjee when he comments that "The break up of the old order was complete". On the contrary, "the old order" based on the outmoded agrarian relations was preserved by the ruling class; and it hampered the development of the home market, and created conditions which forced the peasants to deliver a very large share of their produce to the money-lender-cum-trader, to the *dalals* and *pykars* who became familiar figures in the market centres. Indeed one would like to know more of the operations of these men in the hinterland of Calcutta and Bombay.

SUNIL SEN

Studies in Industrial Policy and Development of India (1858-1914) by Dr. SUNIL KUMAR SEN, Calcutta: Progressive Publishers, 1964 pp. 192. Rs. 12.50.

This book is a significant contribution to modern Indian economic history. Books on this subject are no longer as scarce as they used to be. But their production leaves much to be desired. Indian economic historians do not suffer from any lack of material; on the other hand, there is too much of it. Their besetting problem seems to be that they tried to describe rather than analyse. In this respect the book under review is refreshingly different. It breaks new

ground in treating the impact of government spending on India's industrial development. The author has closely analysed the nature and scale of state enterprise, joint-stock enterprise and that peculiar feature of commercial organisation in the East, the managing agency system. Government policy gets the focus of attention. But there is also valuable discussion on several other factors of India's economic development, like the role of foreign capital, the nature of Indian entrepreneurship and the pattern of public expenditure.

The book is a well-balanced study and singularly free of verbiage usually found in books of this kind as they are produced here. The author

has collected his materials mostly from primary sources. He has handled these materials analytically, carefully supporting his general statements by statistical tables and figures. Of special interest is the information relating to the value of stores imported through the India Office, Indian manufactures purchased in India, goods obtained from Government factories and public investment in iron works, coal mines and pioneer factories. The monograph is a most welcome and valuable addition to a relatively neglected area of British Indian economic history and is likely to serve both the historian and the economist.

NUMANI MUKHERJEE

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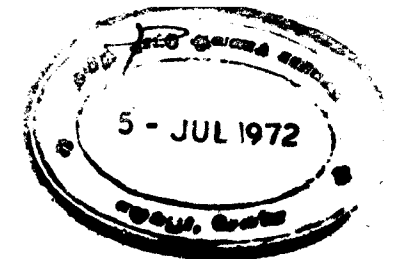
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EDITORIAL

The New Deal :

Our educational system is passing through a grave crisis. There are serious defects in the system, from the primary to the University stage, to a large extent created or aggravated by hasty and thoughtless planning during the last twenty years. The Independence era, no doubt, started with an unhappy legacy from the past. The disease was grave and treatment was urgently needed. But, unfortunately, the treatment fell into unimaginative hands, which in fact aggravated the disease. Nowhere is caution more needed in making changes than in the sphere of national education. This cardinal fact was completely ignored by those who took upon themselves the task of educational reforms during the last twenty years.

Thus it was that while primary education continued to be sadly neglected, Universities and Colleges sprang up like mushrooms all over the country, in a foolish zeal to impress the public and to win votes. This overnight expansion of higher education, without any thought of the colossal expense of money, wastage of man-power and rapidly declining quality, far from curing the original disease, has really aggravated it. Then again the bid to improve secondary education by abolishing

the earlier Intermediate course and splitting it up between the high school and the degree college has proved to be not only a failure but a miserable blunder. The introduction of specialised courses in the higher secondary stage, determining the whole future career of a student at the age of twelve or thirteen, has proved to be as ridiculous as ruinous.

The recasting of the undergraduate degree course from a four-year to a three-year period was equally ill-considered and resulted in a deterioration of standard. Professional colleges in particular felt it necessary to bypass it by adding one more year—Pre-Medical or Pre-Engineering—to their courses. The mushrooming of Universities, all with poor funds, inadequate equipments, less qualified teachers and increasing number of students not suitable for higher education, had simply diverted our limited resources which could have been utilised for setting up just a few centres of advanced training and research on a par with similar centres in the West.

The U.G.C. which had been intended merely to serve as an expert and impartial agency for distribution of funds among Universities has in fact taken up much more than it can chew, holding seminars, directly

awarding research fellowships, and in short acting as a Board of Control over the affairs of the Universities. In fact the U.G.C. administrative body has expanded out of all proportions to the original conception of the institution and is paralleled only by the huge Planning Commission structure. Viewing the educational system as a whole and the frantic zeal for reforms during the last twenty years, one is bound to conclude—what an enormous wastage of limited national resources for how little benefit!

The new regime, twenty years after Independence, has thus inherited a situation much worse than what it was in 1947. Drastic remedies are needed. Unfortunately, however, the new doctors, who have assumed responsibility to cure the disease, are not thinking more wisely and cautiously than the earlier ones. Indeed, the impatient zeal to overhaul the entire structure overnight, hastily undoing nearly all that had been done during the last twenty years, and experimenting with strong new remedies, would make most sensible people not only sceptical but also fearful of the disastrous consequences.

In order to prove that a new era has dawned, everybody seems anxious to offer a New Deal. No doubt much of the thinking is supposed to be based on the Kothari Commission Report. Curiously little attempt has been made, particularly in high academic circles, to assess the quality and nature of the Report and to evaluate its recommendations in all seriousness. Indeed, it is one of those books which are widely talked about but not read. In truth, the Report for the most part appears to be a huge mass of undigested material, interspersed with platitudes and tutorial essays. Many of the calculations, e.g. man-power requirements and rate of expansion of educational facilities in future, are incorrect and many of the conclusions and recommendations are based on wrong premises.

The New Deal proposed by the Education

Ministers and Committee of Parliamentarians would take one's breath away by the rapidity and radical nature of the changes suggested. Structurally, it provides for a return to the old school system, a ten years' course instead of eleven; to the old Intermediate system under a different name; and to the old undergraduate degree course, except adding one more year for honours students. But fundamentally the change appears similar to the repainting of Railway coaches after every new classification in the early years of the Independence era—a change more in name than in reality, but all the same burdening the national exchequer. There is not much serious anxiety to make primary education universal and compulsory in the shortest possible time, curtailing much of the wasteful expenditure on College and University education far in excess of real national requirements.

Then again without going into the root causes of falling standards, the New Deal has hit upon a quick remedy, namely, to make the regional language medium of instruction up to the highest University stage in five years. The risks and the practical difficulties involved have hardly been considered. Apart from the fact that the transition period, five years, is much too short for such a radical change and that many of the regional languages are not yet adequate for the purpose, the change will snap the intellectual link among the educated sections in different parts of the country and will only help the forces of disintegration, which are very much in evidence. Whatever other remedies may be tried with lesser dangers, the one thing that must be avoided at all costs is to snap this link of unity among the educated sections so abruptly. Besides, the new scheme will put a stop to the mobility of teachers and students. Universities in each state cannot have teachers and students from other states. To reassure linguistic minorities and to please everybody, a novel suggestion has been made which makes confusion worse confounded, namely, to set up in each state a special University with English as medium of

instruction. If this is done by setting up twenty new Universities, it will only mean further wastage of public money. If on the other hand, one of the existing Universities in each state is converted into a special University with English as medium of instruction, it will only mean introducing a caste system among Universities. English-medium Universities will automatically rank higher than other Universities. A psychological barrier will be created between students and teachers of the two types of Universities.

Another important provision of the New Deal is to abandon the three-language formula in high schools, accepted by the Government after mature thinking of the needs of national integration in a multi-lingual country like India, and to adopt a two-language formula, which in plain words means, the regional language and English. The new formula is proposed in the interest of students, to lessen their linguistic burden, so as to enable them to pay more attention to other subjects of study. The net effect of the two-language formula would be to discourage learning of Hindi in non-Hindi areas. Before adopting the two-language formula, a more honourable course would have been to review the entire language question and to assess whether the temper of the present generation is to stick to the decision of the Constituent Assembly regarding Hindi as a national link language or to scrap it altogether. The second course will be decidedly opposed by the Hindi-speaking areas and many in other regions too and hence a constitutional amendment will be difficult. If the first course is to be adopted, there is no alternative to accepting the three-language formula, so that the link-language recognised by the Constitution must be compulsorily taught in all schools throughout the country. It is basically wrong to tinker with the language question in schools without first changing the fundamental policy framed by our Constitution-makers.

A further point to be noted is the rather amateurish and light-hearted handling of the

question of admissions to Colleges and Universities. Some pious wishes have been expressed about restricting admissions to those who are really meritorious and are likely to benefit from University education. But no concrete suggestions have been made about the most effective ways of restricting admissions. Until adequate alternative facilities are provided in the post-high school period and until the present practice is firmly checked in all avenues of employment of requiring a University degree (even a Post-Graduate degree) as a condition of eligibility even for subordinate ranks of service, the hope of restricting admissions to Colleges and Universities will remain a mere pious wish. Moreover, the authorities must be prepared to show more boldness not to yield to the clamours of certain vocal sections who had been agitating against any attempt to restrict admissions in the name of people's fundamental right to higher education. Admissions must be drastically restricted to all Colleges and Universities, so as to maintain the proper student-teacher ratio, necessary for effective training. Besides this step, courses of training must be so arranged as to keep the students really busy and not to leave them free to agitate and riot on extra-academic issues for the major part of the year, as is the present practice. In this respect while medical and engineering students are forced to take their work more seriously, arts, science, commerce and law students have plenty of leisure time at their disposal. While many other aspects of students' indiscipline have been discussed, this particular aspect has been carefully overlooked, since almost everybody is anxious to avoid saying hard and unpleasant things about the student community. It is time, however, that one must have the courage to call a spade a spade.

The New Deal also holds out a promise of encouraging advanced studies and research by setting up centres of advanced study in particular subjects in some Universities and also by upgrading wholesale half a dozen Universities. The idea is to create facilities for higher study

and research at a few selected centres in this country on a level of equality with the best centres of learning in other countries of the world. The experience of Advanced Centres, however, at several Universities for the last few years does not, however, show that any substantial improvement has been either achieved or ever aimed at. An Advanced Centre has simply come to mean a slight expansion of the existing University Department, with one or two research projects, a few research scholars and a number of seminar meetings, all dealing with the same fields of study for which facilities had existed in the Department even earlier. Particularly in humanities no expansion of the existing fields of study has been attempted. The result is, people wishing to study ancient Egyptian history or modern French history or Western philosophy or Soviet economy have still to flock to foreign Universities.

It is not quite clear what the second proposal, namely, upgrading six Universities wholesale, really means. If it means that all the Departments of these Universities will be elevated to the status of Advanced Centres, it will hardly make any of these Universities equal to the best centres of learning in the West. If on the other hand, it is intended to make the improvement real, much hard thinking is needed about the nature and scope of improvement and the enormous funds required. Necessary funds could have been provided if so many mushroom Universities had not been created, saddling the national exchequer with a huge burden. The nation is confronted today with so many pressing problems, and in the matter of allocation of funds education is almost at the bottom of the priority list. Instead of frittering away our limited resources in the name of upgrading a few selected Universities, which might end in only a slight improvement on the present, let us first of all think in clear terms what type of upgrading we really want. It is only when we feel that we have the resources to create centres on the best models in the advanced countries and within a planned

period that we may take the plunge with a clear conscience.

Dictionary of Biographies Project:

The collection of material by Research Fellows for the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project is almost complete. We have covered nearly 1100 leaders out of a total of 1200. The remaining number is expected to be covered by July. In the present number we are publishing a list of leaders covered from November 1966 to April 1967. Earlier lists had been published in Vol. V Nos. 1 & 3. A list of Contributors, about 150, from all the regions of India has already been drawn up. The Contributors will write biographical entries on the basis of the material collected by the Research Fellows. Each entry in the Dictionary will have the names of the Research Fellow and the Contributor. It is proposed to allot the work to the Contributors in July.

The main problem that was holding up the Project work, namely, lack of funds, has been partly solved by a generous additional grant of Rs. 59,000/- from the Ministry of Education, Government of India, and smaller grants from the Government of Maharashtra (Rs. 2,000/-) and the Government of Mysore (Rs. 4,000/-). We take this opportunity to thank the Government of India and the Governments of Maharashtra and Mysore for their kind financial assistance. We are still faced with a deficit of Rs. 94,000/- and we must secure additional funds to complete our Project. The Government of India's total contribution to the Project so far is Rs. 1,09,000/-, while contributions from five State Governments, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra and Mysore, amount to Rs. 12,000/-. We have appealed to all the State Governments again, and if only six State Governments contribute Rs. 15,000/- each our entire deficit can be met. We are still optimistic that in view of the national importance of the Project and of the satisfactory progress made so far we shall, in the course of the present year, be able to raise the modest

sum of Rs. 94,000/- to meet our current deficit.

Discussion Meetings:

Since the publication of our last number three Discussion Meetings were held at the Institute. Dr. (Mrs.) H.K. Naqvi (Indian Statistical Institute) spoke on *Cities and Industries in Hindustan (1556-1803)*; Dr. John Roselli (University of Sussex) on *British Encouragement of Italian Independence*; and Dr. Jayanta Kumar Ray (Jadavpur University) on *The Problem of East Pakistan*. The talks will be published in due course in the *Quarterly Review*.

Seminars:

Recently two interesting Seminars were held in Calcutta. The first was on *The Concept of National Education in India*, held on March 11 and 12, and organised by the National Council of Education as a part of its Diamond Jubilee Celebration. There were two sessions each day. The subject for the first session was *The Movement for National Education in Bengal in the 19th century*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar presided and the following papers were read:

Dr. Biman Behari Majumdar—Re-action against the Derozians and Young Bengal.

Dr. R. K. Das Gupta—Some Representative Thinkers on National Education.

Mr. Dilip Biswas—National Education and the Brahmo Leaders.

Principal Amiya Majumdar—Swami Vivekananda and National Education.

The theme for the second session was *National Education and Swadeshi Industries*. The following papers were read:

Dr. Barun De—Trend of Thought of Nationalist Leaders on Industrialisation.

Mr. Soumendra Nath Tagore—Swadeshi Industries of Bengal From Naba Gopal Mitra to 1905.

Mr. Udayan Chatterjee—Swadeshi Industries of Bengal, 1905-1947.

The third session was on *Institutions Imparting National Education*. The following papers were read:

Mr. Prabhat Mukherjee—Rabindra Nath and the Viswa-Bharati.

Mr. V. S. K. Rao—Gurukuls of the Arya Samaj.

Dr. (Mrs.) Aparna Basu—Dr. Kaive's University for Women.

Prof. M. Mujeeb—Jamia Millia Islamia.

Dr. Sisir Chatterjee—The National Council of Education.

Srimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam—Basic Education.

The fourth and the concluding session was on *National Education in Free India*. The following papers were read:

Swami Prabhananda—Indian Cultural Heritage in School Syllabus.

Mr. Binayendra Mohan Chaudhuri—Indian Cultural Heritage in Syllabus for Technology and Science.

Mr. Nikhil Roy—Indian Cultural Heritage in Adult Education Programme.

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose—Process of Education and National Integration.

The Seminar was most interesting and of a high academic standard. We look forward to the publication of the proceedings volume which will be the fittest tribute to the memory

of those great men who laid the foundation of the National Council of Education sixty years ago.

The second Seminar was on *Social Developments in the 19th Century Bengalee Community* and was organised by the Calcutta Centre of the American Institute of Indian Studies. The Seminar was spread over two days, 18th and 19th March. On the first day the following papers were read:

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee—The Relationship of Language and Social Status in 19th century Bengal.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar—Hindu Revivalism and Politics in 19th century Bengal.

Dr. Biman Behari Majumdar—Bengalee Vaisnavism in the 19th century.

On the second day four papers were read:

Dr. P. C. Gupta—Social and Political Relationships between Bengal and other Regions of India at the Beginning of the 19th century.

Dr. N. K. Sinha—The Bengalee Business Community in the 19th century.

Mr. Dilip Biswas—Brahmo Samaj and Social Innovation in the 19th century.

Dr. David MacCuthion—Evidence for the Impact of the Europeans from Bengalee Temple Art and Architecture.

The Seminar was well planned and conducted. When the papers and discussions are published, the volume will be an important contribution to the study of 19th century Bengal history. We congratulate Miss Rachel R. Van Meter, who is in charge of the Calcutta Centre of the American Institute of Indian Studies on the success of the Seminar.

In April a Seminar on *Modern Techniques in Historical Research* was held in Delhi by the U.G.C., the British Council and a group of British Universities. The Seminar, which lasted for three weeks, was intended to give young University teachers in India an opportunity to study the techniques of historical research now employed in Britain. A number of well-known British scholars took part in the Seminar.

SOUTH ASIAN LIBRARY AND RESEARCH NOTES

(Pre-Publication Announcement)

From the next number, Vol. VII (1967-68) No. 1 of the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, we shall add as a regular feature a new section under the heading *South Asian Library and Research Notes*. The main objective is to help research students with necessary clues about the various kinds of source material on South Asian History, preserved in libraries, archives and private custody. We shall prepare and publish descriptive lists of the following types of source material:

- (1) Archival material;
- (2) Newspapers and Periodicals;
- (3) Pamphlets, Tracts, Reports, Manifestos, etc.;
- (4) Private Papers, Correspondence, Diaries, etc.;
- (5) Rare Books and Manuscripts;
- (6) Microfilm holdings.

Our attention will not be confined to source material available in India or South Asia only. With the kind help of the foreign Fellows of the Institute and Correspondents, we shall also try to collect material available in other countries. The new section will be of 16 pages in each issue of the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*. Each number will contain information about material available in India and also in foreign countries.

Many of our readers are possibly familiar with the *South Asia Microform News Letter* published in the United States from February 1964 to February 1966. The *News Letter* was discontinued after Volume III number 1. It was then taken up by the Educational Resources Centre in New Delhi and three more numbers

of the volume were published in 1966 under a new title *South Asian Library And Research Notes*. The publication of the SALARN from New Delhi stopped after Volume III number 4. In view of the importance and usefulness of the *News Letter* and the SALARN to all research students interested in South Asian History, the Institute of Historical Studies decided to continue the work from the year 1967-68. Although the title remains the same, *South Asian Library And Research Notes*, there will be a great change in the nature and scope of the publication, and it may be considered as a new series from the point of view of contents.

For the first two years, 1967-68 and 1968-69, this particular section of the *Quarterly Review* will also be available in off-prints, with a separate cover, to the readers of the earlier series published from New Delhi by the Educational Resources Centre. It is hoped, however, that they will in course of time subscribe to the *Quarterly Review*, making it unnecessary to issue the *South Asian Library and Research Notes* in separate off-prints after two years.

The publication of the *South Asian Library and Research Notes* depends much on the co-operation of scholars all over the world, and we take this opportunity to request all our readers to send us whatever information they may have about not-too-widely-known source material of South Asian history. All contributions sent will be thankfully acknowledged.

Further enquiries are to be addressed to Dr. P. C. Gupta, Adviser, South Asian Library and Research Notes Committee, Institute of Historical Studies, 21, Kenderdine Lane, Calcutta-12, India.

DICTIONARY OF NATIONALIST BIOGRAPHIES PROJECT

NAMES OF LEADERS COVERED FROM OCTOBER, 1966 to APRIL, 1967

Ahmad, Sir (Dr.) Ziauddin.
 Acharya, Surendra Nath.
 Behn, Satyawati Devi.
 Bajpai, Pt. Ambika Prasad.
 Banerjee, Jatindranath.
 Bhalla, Balraj.
 Bhargava, Pt. Mukut Beharilal.
 Bhatt, Gokulbhai.
 Bindu, D. G.
 Blavatsky, Madame H.P.
 Bradlaugh, Charles.
 Brahmachari, Nilakanta.
 Chakravarty, Byomkesh.
 Chakravarty, Troilokyanath.
 Chandra, Bholanath.
 Chaudhary, Ram Narain.
 Chettiar, T.A.R.
 Chetty, Gajulu Lakshminarasu.
 Chetty, P. Theagaraja.
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 Dasgupta, Pannalal.
 Dasan, Bharathi.
 Datta, Hirendra Nath.
 Datta, Kalpana (Joshi).
 Deb, Narendrakrishna.
 Dogra, Girdharilal.
 Dogra, Premnath.
 Ganguly, Bepin Behari.
 Ganguly, Pratul Chandra.
 Gandhi, (Mahatma) M.K.
 Gantz, W.S.
 Goswami, T.C.
 Hasan, Yakub.
 Hume, A.O.
 Hyndman, H.M.
 Jinnah, M.A.
 Joachim, Alva.
 John, A.J.

Joshi, Pandit Mahadeo Shastri.
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 Menon, V.K. Krishna.
 Mitra, Nabagopal.
 Mitra, Sarada Charan.
 Mohsin, Haji Mohammed.
 Mudaliar, Arokiaswami.
 Mudholkar, Rao Bahadur Ranganath "Nara-
 simha".
 Mukherjee, Raj Krishna.
 Mukherjee, Shambhunath.
 Naicker, Adikyavalu P.M.
 Naidu, Munuswami.
 Naik, Waman.
 Namboodripad, K.M.
 Nair, N. Sreekanthan.
 Narasimham, Ch. Lakshmi.
 Nawab of Chhatari.
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 Pandit Lakshpat Rai.
 Pandit Vishnu Parasuram Shastri.
 Pathik, Vijay Singh.
 Patwardhan, Bhai Achyutrao.
 Pattani, Prabhashankar.
 Philippose, E. John.

Pickthal, Muhammad Marmaduke.
 Pillai, A.K.
 Pillai, P. Kesava.
 Pillai, C. Narayana.
 Pillai, Pattom A. Thanu.
 Raja of Mahmudabad.
 Rao, Gopal Singh of Kharwa.
 Roy, M. N.
 Rao, Koppalle Hanumantha.
 Rao, M. Narasimha.
 Rao, Kalluru Subba.
 Rao, P. Lakshmi Narasingha.
 Rao, Raghavendra.
 Rao, K. Ramakoteswara.
 Rao, M. Tirumala.
 Rao, Vidya Kashinath.
 Ranga Reddy, K.V.
 Raghavayya, Vennelakanti.
 Reddi, K. Brahmananda.
 Reddy, R.L. Purushottam.
 Reddi, Ravi Narayana.
 Sanyal, Sachindra Nath.
 Saraf, Bhanwarlal.
 Sarkar, Jadunath.

Sarkar, Mahendralal.
 Sen, Atul Prasad.
 Sethi, Pt. Arjunlal.
 Shankarlal, Banker.
 Shaikat, Usmani.
 Singh, Budh.
 Singh, Hukum.
 Singh, Dr. Mathura.
 Singh, Randhir.
 Sinha, Kali Prasanna.
 Sitaram, Sir.
 Sivaraj, N.
 Subbamma, Smt. D.
 Subbiah, V.
 Sundarayya, P.
 Surana, Shri Anand Raj.
 Thivy, John.
 Thomas, Daniel.
 Vidyabhusan, Yogendranath.
 Vidyavachaspati, Indra.
 Warrior, E. Ikkanda.
 Wedderburn, Sir William.
 White, D.S.

CAUSES OF THE PARTITION OF INDIA RE-EXAMINED*

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Several years have passed since India was partitioned on August 14, 1947.¹ Mahatma Gandhi, who had declared that the vivisection of his body was to be preferred to the vivisection of India, is dead. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the chief architect of Pakistan, is silent in his grave. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the man hated by many Muslims, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, the "right hand"² of Jinnah, are no more. Quite a lot of water has flowed under the bridge since the unhappy events which followed the partition. Now is the time to pause and look back.

Whenever I remember those hectic years before the partition, and review within myself the events which led to the partition, a thought arises in my mind: What were the real causes of the partition? Could we have avoided it?

Looking back at the events which preceded the partition of India, I conclude it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid partition. In my view, the causes of the partition were:

1. The Muslim Attitude

- (i) Pan Islam
- (ii) A sense of superiority
- (iii) Distrust of the Hindus
- (iv) An ever increasing catalogue of Muslim demands.

2. The British Policy

- (i) Divide et Impera
- (ii) Separate Electorates

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3. Personal Factor of Mr. Jinnah

- (i) The Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity
- (ii) His ego
- (iii) His frustration

4. The Tactlessness of the Indian National Congress

- (i) Failure to rally the Muslim League
- (ii) Playing into Jinnah's hands

1. The Muslim Attitude

Let me now examine the issues and see how far they support my thesis.

1. PAN-ISLAM

Right since its rise Islam spread rapidly over several countries. Neither the colour of the skin nor other ethnic differences could come in its way. Absolute faith in the Koran had been a binding force for the Muslims all over the world. This is not so much true nowadays especially among the Arab nations. India was ruled for about five hundred years by the Muslims who came from outside, the Turks, the Afghans and the Moghuls. The Indian Muslim looked to them for inspiration. Naturally, he had more concern for the mid-Eastern Muslim nations than for Indian independence.³ From the beginning of the Balkan War to the end of the First World War, Muslim India was more interested in the fate of the Ottoman Empire than in the political emancipation of India.⁴ While addressing a jury at Karachi in 1921 Maulana Mohammad Ali made this quite clear. He said, "The only

allegiance a Mussalman, whether civilian or soldier, whether living under Muslim or under a non-Muslim administration, is commanded by the Koran to acknowledge is his allegiance to God, to his Prophet and to those in authority from among the Mussalmans, chief among the last mentioned being of course that Prophet's successor, commander of the faithful."⁵ (Emperor of Turkey who was looked upon as a successor of the Prophet and hence the religious head). His Highness the Aga Khan, the spiritual leader of the Ismailias, echoed similar sentiments. He said: "This is a right and legitimate Pan-Islamism to which every sincere and believing Mohamedan belongs—that is, the theory of the spiritual brotherhood and unity of the children of the Prophet."⁶ Dr. Ambedkar has very ably summed up the Muslim attitude in these words: "The allegiance of a Muslim does not rest on his domicile in the country which is his, but on the faith to which he belongs. To the Muslim *ibi bene, ibi patria* is unthinkable. Wherever there is the rule of Islam, there is his own country." In conclusion he remarks, "Islam can never allow a true Muslim to adopt India as his motherland."⁷ Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, India's Nobel Laureate for literature, once said, "Mohamedans could not confine their patriotism to any one country."⁸

It will thus be seen that religion had always been a dominating force in the attitude of a Muslim. His approach to Indian problems was naturally governed by it, and he looked upon every situation from this angle. The effect of this attitude on Indian politics was very grave. Right since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a large number of Indian Muslim leaders looked to the welfare of their co-religionists. If they had done only this, no one would have a cause to quarrel. But, unfortunately, in the pursuit of their undertaking, some of them thought it proper to side with the British masters of India and to be an obstacle in the path of Indian independence. Referring to the services of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to Islam, Mr. Qureshi writes, "His

(Sir Syed's) opposition to the Congress was due to his belief that if some representative institutions are introduced, it would lead to the rule of the Hindu majority. So fearful was he of such an eventuality that he accepted British rule in preference to Hindu majority."⁹ This is still more poignant when we note that on an earlier occasion Sir Syed had said, "We Hindus and Mohamedans should try to become one heart and soul and act in unison; if united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both. (cheer). In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, and we see it even now, that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term one *nation*. The different tribes of Afghanistan are termed one nation, and so the Europeans though abounding in a variety of thoughts and religions, are still known as members of one nation, though people of other countries also do come and settle with them, but being mixed together they are called members of one and the same nation. So that from the oldest time the word nation is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mohamedan brethren, do you people have any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burnt and buried on the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mohamedan are only meant for religious distinction. Otherwise, all persons, whether Hindu or Mohamedan, even the Christians who reside in this country are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation. (cheers). Then all these different sects can only be described as one nation; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all."¹⁰

The later attitude of Sir Syed and his followers and admirers was due partly to their sense of Muslim superiority and partly to their distrust of the Hindus.

2. A SENSE OF SUPERIORITY

The Muslims ruled quite a large area in India for about 500 years. During this period they enjoyed a number of privileges as the ruling class. The Hindus on the other hand were relegated to a lower level and were denied political and sometimes even social rights. Naturally the Muslims developed a sense of superiority. The government was theirs. The law was theirs. The social institutions were theirs. Even the language was theirs. After the death of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) the Moghul empire lost its glory and began to crumble and fall. Yet for many years the Moghul cultural influence remained strong, especially in North India where it lasted for about 150 years after Aurangzeb. Even the Marathas who, to a great extent, brought about the fall of the Moghuls, followed the Muslim calendar and their court system. Quite a large number of words from Persian, the court language of the rulers, entered the dialects spoken around Delhi. This confluence brought into being a language spoken by the man in the street. It came to be called Urdu. Urdu was raised to a high level by a number of great poets, prominent among whom were Mirza Ghalib and Sir Mohammad Iqbal.

Urdu is the language of about 30 million Muslims.¹¹ None of the four components of Pakistan—Sind, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Bengal—has Urdu as its language, their languages being Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushtu and Bengali respectively. (Ironically enough, Urdu which has been declared as the national language of Pakistan, is the language of a good number of Indians—both Hindus and Muslims.). Notwithstanding this, Sir Syed Ahmed was sorry to note an attempt by the Benares Hindus in 1867 to revive Hindi, their language. He felt that the Hindus and the Muslims would never “join whole-heartedly in anything.”¹² To Mr. Alexander Shakespear he said, “At present there is no open hostility between the two

communities, but on account of the so-called educated people, it will increase immensely in future. He who lives will see.”¹³ Seventy years after, Jinnah claimed Urdu as the national language of India.¹⁴ In an article written in *Time and Tide* he reiterated, “The real national language (of India) was Urdu.”¹⁵ (Jinnah himself could not speak Urdu fluently. His speeches even before the illiterate Muslims used to be in English.)

A few outbursts of this kind are worth noting. In a statement issued in 1928, Khwaja Hasan Nizami writes, “Mussalmans are separate from the Hindus...the Mussalmans are one united nation and they alone will be masters of India...They have ruled India for hundreds of years and hence they have prescriptive right over the country.”¹⁶ Mr. F. K. Khan Durrani in his *Meaning of Pakistan* states, “Being a member of the Muslim Nation, naturally I contended that Muslims should strive to reconquer India for Islam and make that their political goal. I am still of the same mind, for I believe the ultimate political salvation of India lies in Islam only.”¹⁷ Speaking at Lahore in March 1926, Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew said, “One thing I shall declare plainly. Listen, my dear Hindu brothers, listen very attentively. If you put obstacles in the path of our *Tanzim* movement, and do not give us our rights, we shall make common cause with Afghanistan or some other Mussalman power and establish our rule in this country.”¹⁸ And now read the speech of Maulana Azad Sobhani at Sylhet, Assam, on January 27, 1939.

“If there is any eminent leader in India who is in favour of driving out the English from this country, then I am that leader. In spite of this, I want that there should be no fight with the English on behalf of the Muslim League. Our big fight is with the 22 crores (220 millions) of our Hindu enemies, who constitute the majority. Only 4½ crores Englishmen have practically swallowed the whole world by becoming powerful. And

these 22 crores of Hindus who are equally advanced in intelligence and wealth as in number, if they become powerful then these Hindus will swallow Muslim India and gradually even Egypt, Turkey, Kabul, Mecca, Medina and other Muslim principalities, like Yajuj-Majuj (it is so mentioned in the Koran that, before the destruction of the world, they will appear on the earth and will devour whatever they will find).

“The English are gradually becoming weak... They will go away from India in the near future. So if we do not fight the greatest enemies of Islam, the Hindus, from now on, and make them weak, then they will not only establish *Ramarajya* in India but also gradually spread all over the world. It depends on the 9 crores of Indian Muslims either to strengthen or to weaken them (the Hindus). So it is the essential duty of every devout Muslim to fight on by joining the Muslim League so that the Hindus may not be established here and a Moslem rule may be established in India as soon as the English depart.”¹⁹

This attitude went to such an extreme that Maulana Mohammad Ali, who presided over the Coconada session of the Indian National Congress in 1924, said on a subsequent occasion, “However pure Mr. Gandhi’s character may be, he must appear to me from the point of view of religion inferior to any Mussalman, even though he be without character...according to my religion and creed I do hold an adulterous and fallen Mussalman to be better than Mr. Gandhi.”²⁰

3. DISTRUST OF THE HINDUS

The Muslims had been masters of the Hindus for over 500 years. The British rule brought them on par with the Hindus. “From masters to subjects was degradation enough, but a change from the status of fellow subjects to that of subjects of the Hindus” was felt by them as great humiliation.²¹ This was the cause of the utter distrust felt by the Muslims

for all the Hindu attempts at India’s political emancipation. In the early eighties Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had said, “Now suppose that the English...were to leave India, then who would be the ruler of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations, the Mohamedans and Hindus could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable.”²² In 1893 there were serious Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay. The Muslims had objected to the Hindu religious processions with musical instruments passing by the side of their mosques. The Hindus refused to concede. The riot intensified Sir Syed’s fears. “He began to wonder that if under the British rule, Hindus wished to exercise so much pressure against normal civic rights of Muslims, what would be the state of affairs if the British left India and the reins of government passed into the hands of the majority community.”²³ The same fear was expressed by Nawab Wiqar-ul-mulk, who was a staunch follower of Sir Syed’s Aligarh Movement. He said, “We are numerically one-fifth of the other community. If at any time, the British Government ceases to exist in India, we shall have to live as the subjects of the Hindus, and our lives, our property, our self respect and our religion will all be in danger.”²⁴

Once the Muslims adopted this attitude towards the Hindus, they began to feel suspicious about every one of the Hindu deeds. One example would suffice to clear this. “Bande Mataram” (lit. Bow to the Mother), a song in praise of the motherland which was described by Edwin Montagu (Secretary of State for India, 1917-1920) as “that harmless wailing song,”²⁵ has been called by Mr. Noman as “a most vituperative song.”²⁶ Mr. Rawoof writes, “Bande Mataram, a song composed in full hatred of the Muslims.”²⁷ In the later years even Mr. Jinnah demanded that the song be given up.²⁸ Maulana Azad (an ex-

president of the Indian National Congress and Education Minister of India from 1947 up to the time of his death in 1958) has described a small incident, yet one which shows "how far suspicion and distrust had developed in the minds of the nominees of the Muslim League." In 1948 Nehru, as Vice-President of the Interim Government, used to invite other members before the formal meeting of the Executive Council for informal discussions. Usually for this purpose invitations to tea were issued by Nehru's private secretary. When the nominees of the Muslim League joined the Executive Council, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali objected to the procedure and even to such meetings, though later on he himself called such meetings.²⁹

To this attitude of distrust was added the aggressive spirit of the Muslims. As Dr. Ambedkar points out, "The Muslim spirit of aggression is his native endowment."³⁰ Perhaps the comparison of the fates meted out to the assassins of Gandhi and of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali respectively will bear out this point. Both the leaders were assassinated at public meetings. Gandhi's assassin was caught by the people and was handed over to the police. He was tried, found guilty and was executed. The murderer of Liaquat Ali was pounced upon by the people and was practically cut to pieces.

According to Islam, a country could be "Dar-ul-Islam" (abode of Islam) or "Dar-ul-Harb" (abode of War).³¹ Only such countries as were ruled by the Muslims could be "Dar-ul-Islam." All the rest were "Dar-ul-Harb." To an extent, therefore, they looked upon India to be in a state of perpetual war, because under any type of democratic constitution, the majority community (the Hindus) was sure to have a controlling voice. The Hindus tried to alleviate this feeling, but unfortunately this was looked upon as a sign of their weakness. This policy of appeasement was exploited by the Muslims. Two illustrations will suffice to bear out my point. Music,

oral or instrumental, before the mosques is common in all the Muslim countries, but in India it was objected to by the Muslims on the ground that it interfered with their *Namaz* (prayer). Again no Islamic law requires the slaughter of cows on *Id* (Muslim festival) days. Even at the time of *Haj* (pilgrimage) there is no cow slaughter at Mecca. Actually nowhere in the Muslim world, cow slaughter has anything to do with the Muslim religion. Yet in India, where the Hindus look upon cows as sacred, the Muslims demanded cow slaughter as a part of their religious rites.³² This policy went to such an extreme extent that a balanced scholar like Dr. Ambedkar, who supported the Muslim demand for Pakistan, termed it "gangster methods in politics."³³ As a logical corollary of this policy, at the Karachi session of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah and Haji Sir Abdulla Haroon compared the Indian Muslims with the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia.³⁴ This led to mutual jealousy and suspicion. When the Hindus established the Benares Hindu University, the Muslims replied by starting the Aligarh Muslim University. When the Hindus launched the *Shuddhi* (lit.: purification—a movement to re-admit in the Hindu fold one who has been converted to any other religion) movement, the Muslims retorted by starting the *Tablig* (for converting the Hindus to Islam) movement. When the Hindus organized *Sanghathan* (lit.: getting together), the Muslims had their *Tanjim* for the same purpose. The *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (national volunteer corps) of the Hindus was met by a few Muslims by organizing the *Khaksar* (volunteer) movement.³⁵ This feeling is reflected in the activities of the Muslims for a long time. Rightly Mr. Callard remarks that "the force behind the establishment of Pakistan was largely the feeling of insecurity."³⁶

To get Muslim cooperation in the struggle for Indian independence the Indian nationalist leaders made a number of attempts to mitigate the Muslim grievances. To remove the fear of Hindu domination Maulana Azad told his

fellow religionists, "There is no need to fear the Hindus. You should only fear God."³⁷ Soon after the outbreak of the First World War 19 members of the Imperial Legislative Council, both Hindus and Muslims, prepared a plan for constitutional advance of India. The idea behind it was to draw up a scheme agreeable both to the Hindus and to the Muslims. One of the prime movers in this matter was Jinnah. He was the common bond between the Congress and the League between 1915 and 1920.³⁸ The other was Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Because of the efforts of these two the plan was accepted by both the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League in 1916 at Lucknow. It is, therefore, known as the Lucknow Pact or the Congress-League Pact. According to this pact the Congress accepted the principle of separate electorates. Though Jinnah himself did not subscribe to the principle, he did not oppose it as "rightly or wrongly the Muslims had decided to insist upon it."³⁹ Addressing the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad in 1916, Jinnah appealed to his "Hindu brethren" not to resist the Muslim demand for separate electorates. The Congress not only conceded the separate electorates but also agreed to a generous quota of seats for the Muslims in the central and the provincial legislature.⁴⁰ Tilak took the lead in persuading the Hindus to make all these concessions to the Muslims. He was the real author of the Congress-League scheme.⁴¹

To win Muslim support for the national cause, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das went still further. Fifty per cent of the population of Bengal was Muslim, yet because of backwardness they held only 30% of the government jobs. Das offered to give them 60% jobs and in Calcutta Municipality even 80% jobs, because he believed that the Hindu-Muslim issue was more economic than political.⁴²

In spite of this the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity proved to be very difficult. Perhaps this may be on account of what Dr.

Ambedkar calls the "inherent antagonism" between them. He thinks that "the two faiths are mutually exclusive and at their core and centre are irreconcilable."⁴³ Or, as Sir Percival Griffith puts it, "The philosopher might deplore the fact that Hindus and Muslims thought of themselves as separate people but the statesman had to accept."⁴⁴ Lala Lajpat Rai in a letter to Chittaranjan Das writes, "I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it (i.e., Hindu-Muslim unity) is neither possible nor practicable."⁴⁵

4. THE EVER GROWING CATALOGUE OF MUSLIM DEMANDS

But the greatest hindrance in the path of Hindu-Muslim unity was the ever-growing catalogue of Muslim demands.

The Muslim deputation which waited upon Lord Minto asked for: (1) communal representation, in accordance with their numerical strength, social position and local influence, on provincial councils and district and municipal boards; (2) weightage and right to vote in general constituencies; and (3) representation on the governing bodies of certain universities. By 1909 all these were granted.⁴⁶

By the Congress-League scheme of 1916, one third of the seats in the central legislature were given to the Muslims. In addition, the Lucknow Pact suggested that no communal bill should proceed if it was opposed by three fourths of the members of the community concerned. Both these propositions were accepted by the Montford reforms of 1919.⁴⁷

In 1929 Jinnah submitted his 14 points before the All Parties Conference. Therein he asked, *inter alia*, for: (1) separation of Sind, (2) Baluchistan and N. W. F. provinces to be made governor's provinces, and (3) adequate share in the services.⁴⁸ The Government of India Act of 1935 separated Sind from Bombay

and thus created one more Muslim majority province, raised the N. W. F. province to the status of a governor's province, and made provision for 25% reservation for the Muslims in the services.

In the thirties Muslim demands were skyrocketed. By 1938 Jinnah demanded: (1) full freedom for cow slaughter, (2) ban on singing of *Bande Mataram* [This song was sung on the Congress platform since the eighties of the last century. Jinnah was a prominent member of the Congress for at least fifteen years when this song was being sung. Rajendra Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 147], (3) Urdu as national language of India [Urdu was the language not even of all the Muslims. Only one third of the Muslims could speak Urdu. Ambedkar, *op. cit.*, p. 261], and (4) recognition of the Muslim League as the only authoritative body of the Muslims.⁴⁹ In 1939 he demanded a parity with the caste Hindus. In this connection Dr. Ambedkar remarks, "The Muslims are speaking the language of Hitler. This demand is a counter-part of the German claim 'Deutschland Uber Alles, and 'Lebenstraum'." ⁵⁰ Thus at every stage of the political reforms in India the Muslims were ready with some new demands. At last in 1940 came their final demand of Pakistan.

II. The British Policy

1. DIVIDE ET IMPERA

To add fuel to the fire, the British followed a policy of "divide and rule." Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the lieutenant governor of Eastern Bengal, openly said after the partition of Bengal that the "Government looked upon the Moslem community as its favourite wife."⁵¹ After the partition of Bengal, the political awakening amongst the Hindus of Bengal was so great, that the government found it difficult to put their faith in the Hindu officers. They therefore brought to Bengal Muslim officers from U.P. This created a feeling in the minds of the Hindus that the Muslims

were a hindrance in the path of India's political emancipation.⁵² As a matter of fact, Lord Curzon's object in partitioning Bengal was to create a Muslim province where the Muslims would have a preponderant voice.⁵³ Referring to the Muslim deputation that waited upon Lord Minto, the Governor-General, in 1906 and requested special privileges for the Muslims, an official wrote the following lines to Her Excellency, the Countess of Minto, "I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very, very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty millions of people (Muslims) from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."⁵⁴ (A few years later Maulana Mohammad Ali, in his presidential address at the Coconada session of the Indian National Congress, referred to the work of this deputation as a "command performance").⁵⁵ Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the first Labour Prime Minister of England, says in his book, *The Awakening of India*, "The Anglo-Indian officials have sown discord between Hindus and Mohamedan communities, by showing the Muslims special favour."⁵⁶

In their zeal to follow this policy the British statesmen sometimes gave to the Muslims much more than what they had asked for. For instance, at the first Round Table Conference (1930) the Muslims were prepared to accept joint electorates with reserved seats provided they were given a statutory majority in the Punjab and Bengal. If the statutory majority was denied to them, then they wanted a minority of seats with separate electorates. The British government "took statutory majority from the first demand and separate electorates from the second demand and give the Muslims both, when they had not asked for both."⁵⁷ In 1937 when the Congress emerged as the strongest party in the elections to the provincial legislatures, the British bureaucracy and the reactionary forces were so much alarmed that they "set themselves to disrupt the nationalist movement."⁵⁸

2. SEPARATE ELECTORATES

The introduction of separate electorates in 1909 completed this process. The origin of this concept of political separation among Indians seems to be a mystery. It is believed that as early as 1888 Lord Dufferin, the then Governor-General, opined that the system of representation would have to be on different lines. His idea was to wean away the Muslims from the Congress.⁵⁹ The germs of this idea may be found not in the Indian Councils Act 1892, but in the directions under the Act for framing regulations as to the classes and interests to whom representation was to be given.⁶⁰

Not only the British statesmen but also the British residents of India helped to foment this fissiparous tendency. The brain behind the Muslim demand of separate electorates was Mr. Archbold, the then Principal of the Aligarh College, who had been in touch with the private secretary of the Viceroy.⁶¹ The Muslim League was formed for this demand.⁶²

Strangely enough, the great Indian statesman and patriot, Gokhale, could not perceive the dangerous seeds in this move. Speaking at the Deccan Sabha, Poona, on July 4, 1909, Gokhale supported separate electorates not only for the Muslims but also for the other minorities.⁶³ On January 24, 1911, while addressing the Imperial Legislative Council, Gokhale said, "Working of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 resulted in a great preponderance of Hindu members...At our present stage special electorates cannot be avoided...what does it really matter how many Hindus and how many Muhammedans sit in this Council? The more important question is how many of us work and in what spirit we work here."⁶⁴ Unfortunately, very few Indians had the vision and broadmindedness of Gokhale. Even his trusted friend and colleague Sir Pherozshah Mehta differed from him.⁶⁵ One young Muslim leader saw the evil contained in the separate electorates and condemned the principle of

communal representation. Ironically enough he was Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan.⁶⁶ Jinnah signed the memorandum of the Bombay Presidency Association, submitted to Lord Minto against separate electorates for Muslims proposed for inclusion in the Morley-Minto reforms.⁶⁷ He also deprecated the extension of the principle of separate communal electorate to municipalities, district boards and other local bodies.⁶⁸

The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates meant the recognition by the British government officially that the Hindus and Muslims were separate entities.⁶⁹ Mr. Rezaul Karim states "an impartial critic will find that the entire scheme was conceived in a spirit of revenge."⁷⁰ The Muslim League was established to press forward this demand for separate electorates. The seed of the partition of India was thus first sown at Dacca in 1906. It required quite a time for its growth and reached its culminating point in "Pakistan Resolution" of the Lahore session of the Muslim League in 1940.⁷¹ As Professor Naik rightly points out "what began in India in 1909 as separate communal electorates for Muslims ended in 1947 in the partition of India."⁷²

3. THE CONCEPT OF PAKISTAN

As far back as 1888 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan used the word "two nations" to denote the Hindus and the Muslims. He is thus the first to propound the now famous "two nation theory." He made an important assertion that the Hindus and the Muslims were two nations in India based not upon geography but upon religion. He is, therefore, the prophet of the concept of Pakistan, because once the two nation theory is accepted the rest of the argument for Pakistan follows in a logical manner.⁷³ In his *Akhari Madamin*, Sir Syed declared that though the Muslims were in a minority they were a highly united minority, and that traditionally they were prone to take sword in hand when oppressed by the majority.⁷⁴ This philosophy and the two nation theory

had a deep influence on the Aligarh school which he established. Till the time Jinnah took up this theory, the Aligarh school had done much spade work in support of the two nation theory, at least among the Muslim intellectuals.

Mr. Saiyid, the private secretary and biographer of Jinnah, makes a startling statement. According to him, Lala Lajpat Rai, the venerable Hindu leader of Punjab, thinking that the question of Hindu-Muslim unity defied any solution, suggested the partition of India. Mr. Saiyid writes: "Lala Lajpat Rai wrote: Under my scheme the Muslims will have four Muslim States: 1. The Pathan Province or the N. W. F., 2. Western Punjab, 3. Sind, and 4. Eastern Bengal...But it should be distinctly understood that this is not united India. It means a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India."⁷⁵ Mr. Saiyid has not given the source of this statement, hence it is difficult to check its authenticity.

Giving evidence before the N. W. F. committee in 1923, Khan Saheb Sardar Muhammad Gul Khan said in reply to Mr. N. M. Samarth, "Hindu-Muslim unity will never become a fact...We would very much see the separation of the Hindus and Muhammadans, 23 crores of the Hindus to the south and 8 crores of Muslims to the North."⁷⁶ Even Maulana Mohammad Ali, who presided over the Coconada session of the Congress in 1924, demanded the right of N. W. F. province to join either India or Afghanistan.⁷⁷

In his presidential address at the Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League held in 1930, the great poet, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal exhorted, "I would like to see the Punjab, N. W. F. Province, Sind, and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire and the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India."⁷⁸ [The

irony of this is that the same poet is the author of the famous poem:

Sare Jahan se achha Hindostan hamara
Mazab nahin sikhata apas men bair rakhana
Hindi hain ham watan hai Hindostan hamara

English Translation

Better than all the world, is our Hindustan;
Religion does not teach that we should hate
one another;

We are Hindus, Hindustan is our motherland.]

Iqbal's idea, however, was not adopted by the Muslim League in 1930. During the Round Table Conferences in London a leaflet was circulated from Cambridge in 1933 by four young Muslims who demanded a separate state for the Muslims in North West India.⁷⁹ They called it *Pakistan*. *Pak* means pure and *stan* means abode, or the abode of the pure. In 1935 Mr. C. Rehmat Ali, who styled himself as "founder-president of the Pakistan National Movement," made a vigorous plea not only for N. W. Pakistan, but also for what he called "Bang-i-Islam" (Islam in Bengal, i.e., Bengal and Assam) and *Usmanastan* (the state of Hyderabad, whose ruler's name was Mir Usman Ali).⁸⁰ In the late thirties the idea of Pakistan was discussed by a number of prominent Muslims including Haji Sir Abdulla Haroon and Chaudhary Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. Ultimately, Jinnah took it up and at the Lahore session of the Muslim League held in March, 1940, accepted the now famous Pakistan resolution demanding "that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority should be grouped to constitute independent states."⁸¹

Once Pakistan became the accepted goal of the Muslims in India even responsible Muslim leaders went to the extreme in supporting it. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who was once a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council and for some time Indian High Commissioner

in London, said, in April, 1949, "If the Hindus give us Pakistan and freedom, then the Hindus are our best friends. If the British give it to us, then the British are our best friends. But if neither will give it to us, then Russia is our best friend."⁸²

II. Peculiar Characteristics of Jinnah

The causes of the partition of India mentioned above have been discussed by a number of writers on this problem. To these I propose to add a new one. I believe that the peculiar nature of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was one of the most important forces responsible for the final vivisection of India.

Jinnah started his political career as the private secretary of Dadabhai Naoroji at the Calcutta Congress of 1906. He called himself a disciple of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee.⁸³ In early days it was his ambition to be a Muslim Gokhale.⁸⁴ An English-educated young man, Jinnah was a thorough nationalist. Speaking on the finance bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1925 he said: "I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and a nationalist last...I once more appeal to this house, whether you are a Mussalman or a Hindu, for God's sake do not import the discussion of communal matters into this house and degrade this assembly which we desire should become a real National Parliament."⁸⁵ Again at the All Parties Conference held at Delhi on January 23, 1925, he declared: "I have not come to say what Mussalmans want. We have come to sit with you as co-workers. Let us put our heads together not as Hindus or Mussalmans, but as Indians."⁸⁶ Because of this nature Jinnah did not join the Muslim League when it was established in 1906.⁸⁷ At the Karachi Congress of 1911 he sat as a cross bencher and not with other Muslims.⁸⁸ At the request of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Jinnah joined the Muslim League in 1913, but only after the League leaders had taken a sacrament that the activities of the League would not come in the way of

India's national aspirations.⁸⁹ Because of his nationalist approach which was in direct contrast to the narrow communalism of the leaders of the Muslim League, Gokhale said of him: "He has the stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudices which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity."⁹⁰

Hindu-Muslim unity was the life-long ambition of young Jinnah.⁹¹ In those days he was the trusted friend of the Hindus.⁹² Addressing the All Parties Convention in 1928, he said: "Believe me there is no progress for India until the Mussalmans and the Hindus are united...Nothing will make me more happy than to see the Hindu-Muslim Union."⁹³ It is because of this view that Jinnah was for organizing Indian public opinion on party basis rather than on denominational lines.⁹⁴ To attain Hindu-Muslim unity Jinnah brought pressure on his co-religionists to accept joint electorates with reserved seats for the Muslims. At his insistence the informal conference of the Muslims held at Delhi in March, 1927, passed the following resolution: "The Mussalmans would accept joint electorates with reservation of seats in all provinces and make concessions to Hindu minorities in the matter of the number of representatives in the three provinces of Sind, North West Frontier and Baluchistan as Hindu majority provinces would be prepared to make to Muslim minorities in other provinces."⁹⁵

"I practiced for a time at the Bombay High Court, where I had the opportunity to observe Jinnah from close quarters. Jinnah was a patrician politician. With all his zeal for Hindu-Muslim unity and nationalist outlook he was too self-opinionated an egotist. His arrogance was matched only by his intelligence."⁹⁶ After a conversation with Jinnah Mr. Louis Fischer records, "Jinnah gave me nothing but his conclusion."⁹⁷ General Sir Douglas Gracey complained to Mr. Hector Bolitho, Jinnah's official biographer, about the arrogant attitude of Jinnah toward the

British army officers while examining witnesses as a member of the Indianization of the Army Committee.⁹⁸ Diwan Chamanlal, a close friend of Jinnah in his early days, travelled with him from Bombay to London on board the S. S. Rajputana in May 1928. Mr. Chamanlal said: "He has never belonged to a party, unless he himself was the party."⁹⁹

By the time Gandhi appeared in the political firmament of India, Jinnah had almost reached the top. He was the coming man in Congress politics.¹⁰⁰ Mr. Walker, a representative of the *Manchester Guardian* who was touring India in 1918, gave the following impression about Jinnah to Mr. Edwin Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, who was also in India at the same time. Said Mr. Walker, "At the root of Jinnah's activities is ambition. He believes that when Besant and Tilak have disappeared, he will be the leader."¹⁰¹ Especially Jinnah's successful piloting of the Lucknow Pact had endeared him to the Hindus and the Muslims alike. His place as the first man in the Congress after Tilak was assured. Just at this time Gandhi returned to India from South Africa after a successful experiment of his idea of *Satyagraha* (lit.: Insistence on truth, passive resistance). Soon it was evident that the Indian nation had assigned to Gandhi the first place in political leadership for life. This was too much for proud Jinnah. He totally disagreed with Gandhian methods and resigned from the Home Rule League after Gandhi became its president. When Gandhi requested him to reconsider his resignation Jinnah snapped back: "I thank you for your kind suggestion offering me to take my share in the new life that has opened up before the country. If by 'new life' you mean your methods and your programme, I am afraid I cannot accept them, for I am fully convinced they must lead to disaster.... Your methods have already caused split and division in almost every institution that you have approached hitherto."¹⁰²

By nature Jinnah would never accept a

second position anywhere in life. In this connection it is pertinent to note Dr. Ambedkar's observations. Dr. Ambedkar writes: "He is unable to reconcile himself to a second place and work with others in that capacity for a public cause."¹⁰³ In 1946 when the Muslim League finally decided to join the Governor-General's Executive Council, Jinnah himself did not accept a seat there, but asked Liaquat Ali to lead the Muslim League representatives. It was evident that he would not like to be a minister to a Viceroy, neither would he consider himself on par with the Congress leaders who had accepted posts there.¹⁰⁴

On the non-cooperation resolution being passed at the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1920, Jinnah left the Congress.¹⁰⁵ The Nagpur session was a personal triumph for Gandhi. He was acclaimed as the uncrowned King of India. Jinnah refused to play second fiddle to Gandhi and therefore had no option but to get out of the Congress.

After leaving the Congress, Jinnah had no platform. He could not represent the nation. He, therefore, had no alternative but to lead the Muslim League. It took some time, however, for the frustrated, yet nationalist Jinnah to jump headlong into communalism. For ten full years after leaving the Congress, Jinnah was toying with his first love, Hindu-Muslim unity. Now he was representing the Muslims only and not the whole nation as he did in his earlier days. Yet the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity in him died hard. When the *Times of India* (October 3, 1925) alleged that he had denounced the Congress as a "Hindu institution," Jinnah hastened to correct "this misleading report."¹⁰⁶ But slowly and perhaps unconsciously he was leaning towards communalism. At the All Parties National Convention (December 22, 1928) he moved an amendment to the Nehru (Pandit Motilal) Report demanding 1/3rd of the seats for the Muslims in the Central Legislature, separation of Sind and population-wise representation in Punjab and Bengal. When his amendment

was defeated he said that he had come to the parting of the ways.¹⁰⁷ In his famous fourteen points he went a step further and demanded that no cabinet either at the Centre or in any of the provinces should be formed unless at least one third of its ministers should be Muslims.¹⁰⁸ The "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" praised to the skies by Gokhale and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had inconceivably changed. The dream of his youth was shattered to pieces.

Destiny had chosen almost the same time for another severe frustration for Jinnah. This time the blow came from his private life. The sad story is made known to the world for the first time in the official biography of Jinnah by Hector Bolitho. In 1918 Jinnah, who was above forty, married Ruttie Petit (below twenty), a well known beauty among the elite of Bombay and daughter of the famous Parsee millionaire, Sir Dinshaw Petit. According to Bolitho, Jinnah "succumbed to his wife's charm."¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, there was very little in common between the two. Ruttie was interested in social life of the elite of Bombay, while Jinnah's attention was focussed on politics and law. The marriage proved to be a failure. Difference in age and habits made harmony impossible. Ultimately Mrs. Jinnah left her husband early in 1928 and came to stay at the Taj Mahal hotel. Soon she sailed for Europe with her parents.¹¹⁰ While in Europe she became seriously ill. Jinnah saw her in Paris. For a time they were reconciled, but soon they quarrelled again. According to Diwan Chamanlal, who was a family friend of the Jinnahs and who was with them at this time, "Jinnah was inherently incapable of understanding her."¹¹¹ Mrs. Jinnah went back to Bombay. She died at the Taj Mahal hotel, Bombay, in 1929 at the age of 29. Jinnah was away at the time of her death, but came to Bombay for her burial.¹¹² This was the end forever of the only experiment Jinnah made in private happiness.

Thus by the beginning of the thirties, Jinnah was disappointed both in public and private

life. To make matters worse Lord Irwin was succeeded by Lord Willingdon as Governor-General. Jinnah and Willingdon were almost personal enemies. In 1918, Lord Willingdon retired as Governor of Bombay. A meeting of the citizens of Bombay was called to give him a customary farewell. Jinnah led the popular opposition to the move and made the meeting a huge fiasco. Outside the hall Mrs. Jinnah picketed.¹¹³ [Hector Bolitho gives an "alleged episode" to explain the conflict between Jinnah and Willingdon. The Jinnahs were invited by the Willingdons for dinner. Mrs. Jinnah's low-cut dress did not please Lady Willingdon. She asked an A. D. C. to bring a wrap for Mrs. Jinnah in case she felt cold. On this Jinnah rose and said, "When Mrs. Jinnah feels cold, she will say so and ask for a wrap herself." So saying he led his wife out and never again went to the Government House. *Ibid.*, p. 75.]. A grateful people raised a memorial to Jinnah. It is still standing very near the Bombay Congress House, and is called "Peoples' Jinnah Hall."

On Willingdon's arrival in India, a fully frustrated Jinnah sold his estate in Bombay and went to England with the intention of having a permanent home there. According to an unconfirmed report, he tried to become a Labour member of the House of Commons.¹¹⁴ Though Jinnah was in London when the sessions of the second and the third Round Table Conferences (1932-33) were held, he was not invited to attend. Neither was he called to be a member of or to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee (1934). At a time when he was kept out of politics, his old rivals like Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru played a leading role in these sessions. This filled to the brim Jinnah's cup of bitterness.

The Government of India Act 1935 introduced full responsible government in the provinces. Now was the time to tighten party organizations. Since Jinnah left India, the Muslim League was almost dormant. Nawab-

zada Liaquat Ali came to England, met Jinnah and requested him to lead the Muslims. Jinnah came to India to take stock of the then existing conditions. After he was satisfied about his chances to stage a comeback in Indian politics, he went to London, sold all his property, and returned to India to play his part as a leader of the Muslims. Once Jinnah became a communalist, he tried to win first place there also. For this he had to out-Herod Herod. The old "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" declared: "Our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindu. We are different beings. There is nothing in life which links us together....The one thing which keeps the British in India is the false idea of a united India as preached by Gandhi."¹¹⁵ The ardent nationalist of the first two decades of the twentieth century said at Lahore "The word 'nationalism' has now become the play of conjurers in politics."¹¹⁶

As long as Jinnah was for Hindu-Muslim unity and was fighting the British, he had practically no support among the Muslim masses. As soon as he became anti-Hindu, he could give a call of Islam in danger and gather the faithful under his banner. This aspect of the Muslim character has been succinctly described by the late Shams-ul-Ulema Allama Shibli Nomani in the beginning of this century in the following words: "The followers of the Prophet do not respond to the call of nationalism. Appeal to them in the name of religion and you will see what a splendid response you get."¹¹⁷ Jinnah did get a "splendid response" when he organized them on a religious basis. To organize them against the British was difficult because thereby they would lose their privileges, titles and perhaps would have to go to jail. To organize them against the "Hindu" Congress was quite easy as that gave them all they had plus earned for them the goodwill of the British. It was only in the last stage of the fight that Jinnah made them give up the titles, and gave a call

for direct action when it was very clear that the British would not try to crush them.

The Jinnah who returned to India in 1935 was a ghost of his former self. His point of view, together with that of the Muslims, had undergone a complete revolution.¹¹⁸ He failed in his attempts to unite with him Muslim leaders like Mian Sir Fazli Hussain of Punjab, the Nawab of Chhattari of U.P., Syed Abdul Aziz of Bihar and Haji Sir Abdulla Haroon of Sind (1936). On this failure the patrician politician decided to get down from his pedestal and with the help of Liaquat Ali made a determined effort to go to the masses.¹¹⁹ Once again his old ambition came up. Wherever he was, he must be number one. When he could not carry the top Muslim leaders with him he appealed to the masses. About the mission of the Muslim League he said: "The Muslim League is determined to win freedom, but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and the suppressed."¹²⁰ To get the masses with him he had to offer them much more than what they could have under the old leadership. Soon Jinnah accepted the "two-nation" theory and demanded Pakistan. (1940)

In his attempts to be the one undisputed leader of the Muslims he was unconsciously helped by Mahatma Gandhi. Maulana Azad, a lifelong friend of the Mahatma, writes: "It was largely due to Gandhiji's Acts of commission and omission that Mr. Jinnah regained his importance in Indian political life. In fact, it is doubtful if Mr. Jinnah could ever have achieved supremacy but for Gandhiji's attitude. Large sections of the Indian Moslems were doubtful about Mr. Jinnah and his policy, but when they found that Gandhiji was continually running after him and entreating him, many of them developed a new respect for Mr. Jinnah." I may mention here that it was Gandhiji who first gave currency to the title 'Qaid-i Azam' or great leader."¹²¹

Jinnah himself was aware of the change in

his outlook. He was dining with Mr. R. G. Casey, the Australian politician who was Governor of Bengal during the War. When Mr. Casey remarked about fanaticism in some quarters, Jinnah said, "Don't decry fanatics. If I hadn't been a fanatic, there would never have been Pakistan."¹²²

IV. The Tactlessness Of the Congress

In spite of the heroic efforts of Jinnah, the Muslim League could capture only 108 out of 485 Muslim seats in 1937 elections to the provincial legislatures.¹²³ Even in the Muslim majority provinces of Punjab, Bengal, Frontier and Sind, the Muslim League could not muster strong majorities. This was the golden opportunity for the Congress to placate the non-Muslim League Muslim opinion. The Congress had no appreciable following among the Muslims. The Congress contested only 58 out of the 485 Muslim seats and won only 26.¹²⁴ But the astounding victory that Congress got in all the non-Muslim constituencies¹²⁵ went to its head. Knowing its own weakness among the Muslims, the Congress should have invited the Muslims to join the ministries in all the Congress majority provinces on equal terms. But the Congress High Command insisted on the Muslims joining the Congress before they could be taken as ministers. The Congress decided to have homogeneous ministries of their own.¹²⁶

In Punjab, Chaudhari Sir Sikander Hyat Khan formed a coalition with the Hindus after the great election victory won by his Unionist Party. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board, failed to follow the statesmanlike lead of Sir Sikander. Many Hindu leaders disliked and condemned the Congress policy.¹²⁷ The Con-

gress tactlessness in refusing to form coalitions with the Muslim League embittered Jinnah still more. This was the beginning of the serious rift between the Congress and the Muslim League.¹²⁸ The intoxication of victory drove some eminent Congress leaders to still more rash actions. Nehru, always known for his short temper, challenged Jinnah about the "inherent strength" of his party.¹²⁹ Jinnah gave a bitter reply and used Nehru's letter to solidify the anti-Congress Muslim opinion.

Maulana Azad has recorded in his book an incident to show how the short-sighted policy of Nehru spoiled an attempt he had made for getting the cooperation of the Muslims in U.P. After the 1937 elections many of Jinnah's supporters had been on the point of leaving him, but after Nehru's tough policy towards the Muslims, Jinnah was able to win back his followers to his fold. Nehru's action gave the Muslim League a new lease of life.¹³⁰ In April, 1942, the Congress authorized the Madras Legislative Congress Party to accept office and to invite the Muslim League to form a coalition.¹³¹ But now it was too late. In sheer disgust Professor Naik exclaims: "Jinnah was made a communalist by the Congress."¹³²

The British were not slow to take advantage of this lack of statesmanship on the part of the Congress. They now boosted the Muslim League. Let me conclude in the words of Jinnah: "After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone."¹³³

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- ¹²⁸ Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- ¹²⁹ Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
- ¹³⁰ Azad, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.
- ¹³¹ Rajkumar (ed.), *The Background of India's Foreign Policy* (New Delhi; A.I.C.C., 1952), p. 84.
- ¹³² Naik, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- ¹³³ Jinnah, *Speeches*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 162.

RANA BENI MADHO SINGH—A FREEDOM FIGHTER OF AWADH

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Every great national movement throws up a number of resplendent personalities who are partly its creators and partly its creation. They are its creation, for without the background and impulse provided by the movement, their thought and action could not have taken shape; or even if they did, would have remained still-born and ineffective. They are also its creators, for they help to give form and direction to urges and tendencies which, till their emergence, had stirred only in the subconscious mind of the people.

The Indian Movement of 1857-59 was one such upsurge of the people's spirit which extended a gigantic challenge to British political authority in India. It caused immense anxiety and alarm to the Whitehall, to Simla, to Calcutta and to those placed in other centres of British administration in India. It marked, indeed, a turning-point in Indian history and produced momentous consequences, though it was ruthlessly suppressed by the ruling authority.

Baiswara in Awadh played a highly significant role in this great Indian Revolt, with Shankarpur as its spearhead, under the inspiring leadership of Rana Beni Madho Singh, who displayed wonderful valour, courage, military skill and strategy, and spurned all offers of the British Government inviting him to surrender.

He was the son of Ram Narain Singh, who belonged to a high-class Kshatriya family of Bais Rajputs of Awadh¹. He was also a kinsman of Shiv Prasad Singh, a talukdar of Shankarpur². Shiv Prasad Singh, who

had no male issue to succeed him, adopted Beni Madho as his son³. It is interesting to note that Beni Madho Singh was closely related to Babu Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur through the marriage of his son to the latter's daughter.⁴ He was a God-fearing man as is revealed from his letters which he wrote to different persons from time to time⁵. He was a great devotee of Lord Siva, as is clear from his portrait mounted on horse-back with *Tripunda* on his forehead⁶. Russell also states in his 'Diary':

"His reputation as a devotee was confirmed by the shrines, well provided and furnished with deities, in the neighbourhood of his house from one of which I took a marble elephant (which was in great danger of destruction by the hands of our soldiery), and had it carried to the camp, where it attracted great marks of respect and affection from my servants of the Hindu faith."⁷

Beni Madho had inherited an extensive property which included 223 villages and four big forts, viz., Shankarpur, Bhikha, Jagatpur and Pukubayan⁸. Out of these four forts, that at Shankarpur, was the biggest and the strongest one, where he himself used to reside. It was made of mud, with its outer ditch of nearly eight miles in circumference. There were three separate strongholds within that fort and the intervening space was occupied by dense thorny jungles, traversed by few narrow foot-paths⁹.

Like other princes, Rana Beni Madho Singh also became a victim of the territorial greed of

Lord Dalhousie. Out of his 223 villages, he was deprived of 119 under the Oudh Settlement of 1856, which had fallen crushingly upon Hanu-mant Singh of Dharupur, Prithipal Singh of Palwar, and Rustam Shah of Sultanpur also¹⁰. From the day he was deprived of his 119 villages, he became a sworn enemy of the British Government and, along with his brother Gajraj Singh, he joined the forces of revolt and imparted some of his burning patriotism to the organisation of Awadh.

Though Beni Madho was an old man at the time of revolt, yet he was extraordinarily stout in physique, and resolute in character. A warrior by nature, and possessed of the instincts of a real General, Beni Madho became so popular a man at that time in Baiswara that even Russell has paid tribute to him in the following words,

"Beni Madho has long headed the Byswara district and tribe, which furnished in old days about 40,000 of the finest of our sepoys to the Bengal army, and has, naturally, great influence in the country..."¹¹

With his wonderful power of organization, he had maintained an army of 15,000 men in the field and was himself an expert in guerrilla warfare in which, it is said, he was second only to Tatya Tope¹². This recklessly courageous—and a bit outrageous—Bais chief, who found exhilaration in danger and relished nothing better than crisis, had, in the early phase of the revolt, sent military help to Lucknow and also fought himself in the two famous battles there, viz., those of Ballie Guard and Alambagh, in the months respectively of June and December,¹³ 1857. He was always busy with his guerrilla warfare against the British army on the Grand Trunk Road which was then an endless ribbon of burning sand.¹⁴ According to Holmes, on May 25, 1858, Sir Hope Grant was ordered by the British authorities to attack Beni Madho's army on the Kanpur Road. Everything was very well-planned by the English army, but Beni Madho

was so clever in guerrilla activities that Hope Grant, when he reached the spot, could not find anyone.¹⁵ This strategic escape of Beni Madho must have impressed Hope Grant too, who wrote:

"He always avoided serious engagement, adopting instead the ubiquitous tactics of genuine guerrilla warfare—skirmishes and surprises; ceaselessly harassing and then eluding the British troops, which he could easily do, as his followers (of whom he is said to have had over 80,000, chiefly matchlockmen, scattered over the district) knew every inch of the ground."¹⁶

Some of the soldiers of Beni Madho's army had also entered Fatehpur where they troubled the British army in many ways. His brother Gajraj Singh, who was always in touch with Nana Saheb, had sent an army to him for his support.¹⁷

These anti-British activities made the Rana very popular among the leading revolutionaries of Awadh. Begam Hazrat Mahal and her son Birjis Qadr (the young Nawab of Awadh) were so much impressed by this valiant Rajput, particularly on his superb performance at the Ballie Guard, that they gave him the *khillat* of *Dilair Jung* and appointed him as the permanent *Amil* (Administrator) of Jaunpur and Azamgarh districts on August 17, 1857 (26th Zilhijja 1273 A.H.), by the Proclamation issued under the seal of Nawab Birjis Qadr. The Proclamation was:

"As I am fully bent upon populating the land, securing all conveniences for its people and betterment of its inhabitants, I have, therefore, decided to exterminate, the cruel ill-behaved Kaffir (the Unbelievers) Firangis from my hereditary dominions, both old and new. Consequently I have nominated the brave Raja Beni Madho Singh for the *ilaqas* of Jaunpore and Azimgarh and order that in obedience to the instructions of the said Raja, you should capture,

put to the sword and annihilate the entire group of these perverted unbelievers and make every effort to extirpate them from this country. Considering the said Raja a permanent Amil of this part of the country, you should do your best for the collection of revenue and betterment of the ryot. You will, consequently, be rewarded with favours."¹⁸

With this new offer, Beni Madho had sworn fealty to the Nawab Birjis Qadr, whom he accepted as lawful sovereign. Thus he was now fully prepared to lead a life of dedication and to sacrifice everything for the cause of Awadh. For the 'Extermination of Kaffirs'¹⁹ and consolidation of the talukdars and zamindars of Awadh, Beni Madho was extended every sort of help by the Nawab. He was issued many blank copies of Proclamation, bearing the seal of the Nawab, which he was to fill up and circulate among as many talukdars and zamindars as possible, in order to unite them against the alien power.²⁰ Beni Madho also wrote a few letters to the Awadh talukdars with a view to uniting and consolidating them against the foreign power. One of his letters addressed to Thakur Rustam Shah Singh, the talukdar of Dera, is an important document in this connection. The letter runs:

"His Majesty directs me by means of a force he has sent, to settle the districts of Jounpore and Azimghur and to instruct the rajas and talookdars of these parts to destroy the troops of the English. With my guns and men, and the assistance of the rajas of these parts, I will start for and settle Azimghur in one week.

I write to you that if well inclined you may come and help me with your guns and men."²¹

This was just the beginning of Beni Madho's campaign for strengthening and increasing the force of the freedom fighters. He had started, first of all, for Sultanpur with the same mission along with 13,000 men and 8 guns on August

16, 1858, where all the Baiswara talukdars were summoned for a get-together by the Raja of Amethi to discuss the plans for opposing the Sultanpur column of the English army.²² Thereafter, he also visited Pantabgarh with the same purpose.²³ Later, he went to Salempur too with over 20,000 men and gave an open threat to all the friends, supporters and well-wishers of the English.²⁴

While Beni Madho was thus busy in organising the landed aristocracy of Awadh for the impending crisis, Lord Canning's Proclamation of March 20, 1858, further provoked the talukdars to defend their estates. There was so much discontentment amongst the Awadh talukdars due to this Proclamation that even the Proclamation of November 1, 1858, made by Queen Victoria for pacifying matters and consoling the people, could not do anything. On the other hand, Begam Hazrat Mahal condemned the Proclamation of Queen Victoria outright and made an open appeal to all the revolutionaries of Awadh not to be led away by any assurances and speeches of these Kaffirs.²⁵ Beni Madho's Shankarpurnay, the whole of Baiswara, was now fully prepared to open up the war. Campbell²⁶ also, on the other hand, was getting himself ready to crush the Rana. He had posted his camps at Kishwapur (Keshopur), a place just on the road to Shankarpur, which was the stronghold of Rana Beni Madho Singh. Soon the whole of Shankarpur was surrounded by the same three English Columns—Pickney's, Witherall's and Hope Grant's—from three sides—north, east and south—which had surrounded the fort of Raja Lal Madho Singh.²⁷ Apart from this, Eveleigh's brigade from Poorwa on the Lucknow line, was also ordered to advance on it from the west. After the whole of Shankarpur was thus surrounded by the mighty English forces, Sir Colin Campbell, as he had already done with the Raja of Amethi, also extended tempting offers for surrender to Rana Beni Madho. To this end, Campbell had the following letter sent to him over the signature of Major Barrington, the political agent at the headquarters.

letter was written on November 5, 1858, and was despatched from the British Camp at Udaipur in order to ascertain Beni Madho's intentions about taking advantage of the amnesty promised in Queen Victoria's Proclamation which is evident from the following letter:²⁸

"The Commander-in-Chief having received the fullest powers from the Governor-General to deal with all insurgents either by force of arms or treaty, as may seem to His Excellency to be right according to the offences and claims to consideration of each individual, sends the Proclamation of the Queen of Great Britain to Rana Bainie Madhoo.

"The Rana is informed that under the terms of that Proclamation his life is secured on due submission being made. The Governor-General is not disposed to deal harshly, but Bainie Madhoo must recollect that he has long been a rebel in arms, and but very recently attacked Her Majesty's troops. He must, therefore, make the fullest submissive surrender of his forts and cannons, and come out at the head of his sepoys and armed followers, and with them lay down his arms in the presence of Her Majesty's troops. The sepoys and armed followers will then be allowed to go to their homes without molestation, each of the former receiving a certificate from the Commissioner.

"When complete surrender and submission has been made, Bainie Madhoo will not have cause to distrust the generosity and clemency of the Governor-General; and even his claims on account of estates he may consider himself wrongfully deprived of, may be heard; but, in the meantime before submission is made, and the arms of the Rana, his sepoys and followers, publicly laid down, no treaty is allowed by the Governor-General.

"The Commander-in-Chief wants Bainie

Madhoo to lose no time. His columns are closing round the Rana, and any delay on Bainie Madhoo's part will deprive him of the benefit of the Queen's mercy, and render it impossible for the Governor-General to exercise generosity in his behalf; the safety of his family and of his followers is in his own hands."²⁹

After sending this letter to Beni Madho, Campbell, with all his preparations, waited for the reply from the Rana. On the 5th of November 1858, the Commander-in-Chief (Campbell) received a messenger, coming from Shankarpur with the following letter, professedly from a son of Beni Madho:

"I have received Your Excellency's *purwannah*, and with it the Proclamation. I beg to say that I was formerly *Cabooliatdar* (*Qabulivatdar*) of this ellaga (*Ilaqa*), and am still in possession of the same; and if the government will continue the settlement with me, I will turn out my father, Beinie Madhoo. He is on the part of Birjies Kuddr, but I am loyal to the British Government, and I do not wish to be ruined for my father's sake."³⁰

Russell has stated in his diary that the above-mentioned letter was dictated by Beni Madho himself. But the thing is that, whosoever would have drafted the letter or sent it, this much is certain that it was only a master stroke of diplomacy of the revolutionaries, which kept the British army-officers perturbed all the time. While Campbell and others were still thinking about this letter as to what sort of decision should be taken, in order to carry out a definite line of action, another letter appeared. This time the letter, a genuine one, was from Beni Madho in which he had rejected all offers of amnesty very plainly. He had openly explained it thus:

"It being henceforth impossible to defend the fort, I am going to leave it, but I will

never surrender myself to you, for my person belongs not to me, but to my King.³¹

Such a bold reply on the part of Beni Madho that he would not surrender his person, because that belonged to his sovereign for whom he was bound to fight, but that he would give up the fort as it was his own property³², really makes him a true fighter for freedom. The English Commander was taken aback to hear these words of the valiant Rana. Moreover, what had made the English forces, which had surrounded the Shankarpur fort from all sides, more frightened and terrified, was the information given to them by their messenger who had handed over the letter of Campbell to Rana Beni Madho and who was also a spy belonging to the English Camp. According to this messenger, Beni Madho had about 4,000 soldiers, 2,000 horses and 40 guns.³³ The result of this was, the English themselves became so suspicious that they started taking precautions against Beni Madho's surprise attack. Each and every English soldier was asked to be ready and alert, and guard the fort of Shankarpur from all angles. But it was to the utter surprise of everyone that, with a master-stroke, Beni Madho evacuated the Shankarpur fort under the cover of midnight on the 15th of November 1858, with almost all his guns and troops, some 15,000 in number, and a large amount of treasure, going to jungles of Purai, eight miles from Rae Bareilly on the Unnao Road.³⁴ On the morning of 16th November, the British Commanders with their gigantic army marched into the fort. Shankarpur fell into the hands of the English but not Beni Madho who had left the fort so miraculously and sought refuge in flight. Beni Madho's great dodge to the English army at Shankarpur is a grim chapter in the history of his adventurous career.

Russell, the Reporter of London 'Times', and who was also present at Shankarpur at the time of Beni Madho's flight, gives a graphic description of the whole incident. He writes:

"November 16—After all these fellows are

too clever for us. Patrols indeed were out, and pickets were posted, Sir Hope Grant was on the N. W. (north-west), and Lord Clyde on the S.E. (south-east) last night, and a bright moonlight favoured us till two O'clock in the morning. Then the moon went down and out came Bene Madho, with all his *budmashes*, treasure, guns, women, and baggage, steadily in the dark, and moved round between Sir Hope Grant's right flank pickets, towards the west, thence wheeled round and marched for a place called Poorwa. The moment the retreat was discovered this morning, we rushed into the fort and entrenched camp, and found it empty. Not a soul was left, except a few feeble old men, priests, dirty *fakirs*, and a mad elephant, with some gun-bullocks."³⁵

On the basis of some contemporary accounts, Charles Ball has also given a picture of the Shankarpur fort in the following words:

"The outer works of the fort consisted of a very deep but narrow ditch, and a low parapet of irregular trace, inside which nothing could be seen but dense jungle. There was no entrance visible till we had ridden southwards about two miles. Several hamlets and villages, quite deserted, lay outside the ditch; and only cats and dogs inhabited the streets. In one there was a small and very handsome Hindoo temple, covered outside with hideous idols. All these villages offered the greatest facilities for resistance in the hands of a determined enemy, and could only have been cleared in such a case, by very hard fighting or severe vertical fire. Through one of those villages lay the road to the outer fort. A bastion of earth towered above it, but the flanking fire was indifferently directed. The gateway was of bamboo, and opened upon a ramp across the ditch to a strong mud wall, widening over a tortuous street, access through which into the interior was obtained by a wooden gate, of no strength. Inside, the

place was somewhat like Amathie, only that the central residence was not so fine. An old Brahmin, very sick, was the sole human being to be met with; an elephant was tied by chains in the courtyard of the fort; gun-bullocks wandered about; and dhoolies, tents, a spring-van, litters, and various stores lumbered the enclosures, which were full also of bedsteads and a few articles of furniture. Only a few old matchlocks could be found after the minutest search; and, as if in mockery, four very small brass guns, mere children's playthings, were laid out in a row in front of one of the verandahs. In the women's apartments, some miserable daubs, left upon the walls, showed the wretched taste of the occupants. Idols abounded in the rooms; some had engravings, a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, and embossed drawings of wild beasts were hung in the *divan*, in which were also glass chandeliers, covered with linen bags. In the rooms around the courts, immense quantities of *ghee*, nuts, wheat, and corn were found; also a laboratory for making powder, and about 9,000 lbs. of that article of native manufacture. It is probable that most of the good guns of the forts in Oude were sent into Lucknow, or were captured by Havelock and others in their earlier fights. It is certain that Bainie Madho took only nine with him when he fled."³⁶

According to Kavanagh, the Englishmen had composed a verse on Beni Madho when they could not round him up in his Shankarpur fort. The verse runs:

Where have you been to all the day
Benec Madho, Benec Madho?
Trying to keep, Sir, out of the way
Very bad O! Very bad O!
Why so shy of British pluck
Benec Madho, Benec Madho?
Because to beat you is not my luck
That very sad O! very sad O!³⁷

The moment Shankarpur fell, Brigadier Eveleigh was ordered to chase Beni Madho;

and, on the 17th of November, his column marched to Grinwarra and reached there the same day.³⁸ His instructions were not to be diverted from the pursuit—not to lose sight of the flying Rana for a moment, when once up with him. While being after the Rana, the men had to pass through the village of Berwa, the inhabitants of which appeared to be friendly, and who, in reply to the inquiries of the English officers, assured them that there was no enemy near the place; but just as the rear-guard of the column, with the guns, were clearing the village, three guns opened fire upon it, accompanied by a fire of musketry from the houses.³⁹ Though these rebels were chased out of the place and had to suffer a lot both at the hands of Brigadier Eveleigh at Berwa as well as Major Mills at Simree,⁴⁰ yet one has to agree upon the greatness of Beni Madho's influence on them who fought for Awadh so truly and sincerely.

While Brigadier Eveleigh's column was still at Grinwarra, Campbell too, having placed a small force in the Shankarpur fort, marched from its camping ground, Kishwapore (Keshopur), at 8 p.m. on the 18th of November 1858, after effecting a junction with Colonel Bulwar's force from Purwa; and reached there at 10 O'clock in the morning of November 19, 1858.⁴¹ By the time Campbell arrived at Grinwarra, Beni Madho with his army of freedom-fighters had already left for Dundia Khera, a place 28 miles south of Kanpur, where Babu Ram Baksh Singh, whose men had fired on Mowbray Thomson's party, was having his residence. Campbell ordered Brigadier Eveleigh to pursue him and, in order to facilitate Eveleigh's chase of the rebel Rana, the Commander-in-Chief (Campbell) relieved him of all his heavy guns, and took them with his own, to Rae Bareilly. The whole of the 20th November was occupied, at that place, in making necessary arrangements. The sites for various camps were determined upon; and at midnight the troops again marched forward. It is also to be noted here that the English army officers, even though Eveleigh was sent towards Dundia Khera to pursue Beni Madho, were not at all

definite about the Rana's whereabouts⁴². It was only after great difficulty that they could come to know about Beni Madho's having retired to Raja Ram Baksh's village. But, as Russell has also expressed, 'the fight was with a Parthian enemy'⁴³. On the 24th of November, 1858, the English and Beni Madho's army faced each other at Dandia Khera. The English army was composed of two columns with Brigadier Eveleigh and Colonel Jones as their respective commanders. Campbell himself was having a view of both the armies from the top of a mound near Bidhura. The two wings the right and the left of Beni Madho's army were on the Buxer and Dandia Khera sides respectively; and just to the back of them, the River Ganges was gurgling. As soon as Beni Madho saw the English forces advancing towards him, he ordered his soldiers to open fire. A grim battle was fought between the two. The rebels suffered defeat but Beni Madho eluded capture very easily. He was closely pursued but all in vain⁴⁴. Russell writes:

"November 24th—So far the whole affair (at Dhondhkhhera) had been a failure. Beni Madho was gone, though some hundreds of his thousands had perished in the action. Our only gain was the possession of a useless stronghold. No one liked this, except possibly Beni Madho himself, and those who escaped; and I fear that the cutting and hacking, and bayoneting which went on was directed against objects who were really not of a character to excite the animosity of an honourable enemy, according to the laws of war.

"Beni Madho has got off with his treasure, which is said to be considerable; and our loot consists of some *atta*, and articles of clothing unfit for European use. I rode back with Lord Clyde to our camp, and on my way found the carabineers with dust and half-mad with excitement, wiping their swords or rubbing down their panting horses. Some of these fellows have met with a frightful end; for, in addition to those who were

shot down by the enemy concealed in the trees or topes, a few, in the dust and fury of the charge, fell down into wells many feet deep, in which of course death was all but certain. One of these unfortunates was extricated this evening still alive, although I believe he died in the course of the night. They told me they had followed a considerable body of the enemy till they came to a small ravine where the guns stuck fast. The cavalry got across and pursued the sepoys, who, however, got to another ravine, and crossed it, when they coolly drew up, and seeing that our cavalry were unaccompanied by their guns, opened on them so sharp a fire of matchlocks and musketry that the men had to be withdrawn."⁴⁵

After Dandia Khera's fierce fighting, Beni Madho, with his broken army of some 5,000 men, had entered into the Bahraich Division on December 4, 1858, and encamped close to the River Ghagra, at a place called Bairam Ghat, which is about 22 miles away, below the junction of that river and the Chowka⁴⁶. The Commander-in-Chief, Colin Campbell, tried all his best to cut off Beni Madho's retreat northwards. But he could not achieve any success thereat. Beni Madho, Devi Baksh, Amar Singh, Begam Hazrat Mahal, Nana Sahib, Bala Sahib, Jwala Prasad, Muhammad Hasan, Khan Bahadur Khan and Mammu Khan, with other important rebel leaders, were driven out of their home districts and hemmed in a narrow region on the Nepal border.⁴⁷ Now the strategy of the English was to push them further to the north into the hostile land of Rana Jang Bahadur.

The most interesting thing in this connection to note is that on December 23rd, Colin Campbell again insisted that Beni Madho's followers must lay down their arms in camp, and that similar condition should be attached to the submission of all other chiefs.⁴⁸ Russell also says that,

"There were political reasons for our 'beck

at Buraech. First: there are two of the Begums willing to surrender. Next: Mammoo Khan makes overtures. Nay, the Begum herself and Brijais Kudr despach letters and emissaries to the Civil Commissioner, Major Barrow. Old Hunwunt Singh sets off to use his persuasive power with his obstinate and gallant kinsman, Beni Madho, and is sanguine of securing his submission."⁴⁹

But the diplomacy of both, Commander Campbell's as well as Major Barrow's, failed in its main objective. Begam Hazrat Mahal had little faith in British sincerity. Beni Madho would not surrender and submit so long as the Begam continued in arms.

Colin Campbell returned to Nanpara on 29th of December and was told that Nana Sahib Peshwa and Rana Beni Madho were both at Banki, on the banks of River Rapti, about 20 miles away. He immediately ordered his forces for a night march on the 30th of December to overtake them unawares.⁵⁰ Though again a fierce engagement was fought between the English and the rebel forces, yet both the rebel leaders could no more be rounded up and they entered the territories of Rana Jang Bahadur of Nepal. Campbell's task was thus accomplished and, on January 18, 1859, he came back to Lucknow⁵¹. The whole of Baiswara and Lucknow was now under the complete control of the English forces.

While in Nepal, the condition of the rebel forces was pitiable. According to Dr. Sen,

"The fugitives moved from place to place between Chitwan, Bhutwal and Nayakot and suffered terrible privations. Some of the sepoys had to sell even their muskets to buy their food. The Gurkhas were prepared to sell them rice but the price demanded was exorbitant and fever and dysentery took as large a toll as starvation. The Nepal Government employed their

troops for the capture and expulsion of their uninvited guests."⁵²

Rana Jang Bahadur who was an ally of the British Government wrote threatening letters to Rana Beni Madho Singh and other rebel leaders. The abstract translation of one such letter which was written in September 1859 by Maharaja Jang Bahadur to Mammoo Khan, Nana Rao and Rana Beni Madho Singh, is as follows:

"From the letters which I have lately received from you, I know all your circumstances.

"When you first came into Nepal, I believed that you wanted an asylum in the country; but your troops soon commenced plundering our villages, beating and often killing the ryots, and violating their women. I have therefore now become convinced that such is not your object and that you have merely come here for purposes of plunder and oppression.

"But, notwithstanding all your violence, I have hitherto solely out of consideration for yourselves, put up with all this misconduct upon the part of your followers, but I cannot bear it any longer and I require that they shall now lay down their arms at the Towleywa Cutchery and proceed quietly to their homes in the British Provinces.

"The door of pardon is still open to all who have not committed murders.

"If your troops will not disperse and leave this country, the British forces will soon come up from the southward and from the westward and the Goorkhas shall advance from the northward and from the eastward and shall attack them, and they will so entirely destroy them that no traces of their existence, not even their names, shall remain.

"The British and the Goorkha Governments have been at peace, and upon most friendly

terms for the last 42 years, and we are bound by Treaty with each other to surrender all murderers. For which reason, were you to produce all your riches, we should not attend to your requests or do any thing that might be likely to lead to misunderstanding with so very powerful Government. We will show your troops no mercy whatever.

"If your females and children do not desire to leave the country, we will not force them to do so, but they shall remain in it subject to the conditions we formerly made with them, that is, they shall hold no communication with their relatives in the plains of India, nor with other persons, British subjects there, nor with any one except by our permission.

"I will receive no more *urzees*, and will listen to no overtures of any kind either from your *Oomras*, or from your troops; so I now write distinctly to warn you not to expect me to do so.

"You are now very few in number, you have but few weapons or guns, very little treasure, scarcely any munitions of war and have quitted your own *Raj*; do you suppose that you can fight against the British Government? The British are as powerful as the planet Saturn. You could not gain from them 4 inches of territory even if you were to sacrifice the whole of your lives in trying to do so. You may depend upon the truth of this. I am writing it for your benefit. Their country is the whole of Hindustan.

"Even if you formerly thought that we should go to war with a powerful nation like the British and break our treaties with them out of mere friendship for yourselves, do you think that we could do so now that you have committed every kind of outrage and violence in the country, have plundered our villages and deprived the wives of our subjects of their caste?

"I advise you to leave this country and to throw yourselves upon the mercy of the British Government,"⁵³

Though several of the rebel leaders did follow Maharaja Jang Bahadur's advice, the 'valiant Rana Beni Madho did not respond at all to the overtures of the Maharaja to surrender himself. Eventually, the Maharaja made good his threat by sending a strong force against him. A momentous battle was waged between the two troops in the Dang Valley and there, with many of his troops, Beni Madho, 'Dabir Jang Bahadur', the popular hero of Shankarpur, met with his heroic death⁵⁴. His brother, Gajraj Singh, also met the same fate with his brother in the same valley.⁵⁵ His surviving brother (perhaps Dylall, whose name is illegible and which appears in Message No. 233 from the Commissioner, Banaras, to the Secretary to Government, Allahabad, dated 14th April⁵⁶ 1858) along with Rana's widow and son (then 14 years of age) remained in Nepal till December 1859. Eventually, the son of Rana Beni Madho received from the British Government an estate yielding an income of about Rs. 6,000 a year, and was sent to Sitapur for his education⁵⁷.

Thus ended the life of the great hero of Shankarpur who, in spite of heavy odds against him, resisted foreign authority not only in Awadh but also outside its area, with grim determination and vigorous efforts, unwearied by the weightage of years. He was really a great patriot and hero who lived and died for his country and his principles, leaving behind an example of unique valour and self-sacrifice.

One very important characteristic of Beni Madho as a true Rajput was that he used his sword only in the battle-field and did not soil his hands by killing the non-combatant Europeans or their helpless women and children. That is why even the British in their heart of hearts, were true admirers of the Rana for his valour and high descent and were always genuinely anxious for his friendship and co-

operation. Their repeated endeavours to secure his surrender while he was alive; and also the sympathetic behaviour to his widow and his minor son after he died, bear ample testimony to the Britishers' appreciation of his intrinsic merits. In the records of the Government, Beni Madho's name appeared only in the list of 'rebels', and not as one of those who stood charged with murder and atrocities. What a worthy antagonist Beni Madho was to the Britishers!⁵⁸

Montgomery Martin has paid high tribute to the character and sincerity of this Bais chief in these words:

"Bainic Madhoo, the Rana of Shunkerpoor (another Rajpoot of similar rank to Lal Madhoo Singh, and whose son had married the daughter of Kooer Singh), abandoned

his fort on the approach of Lord Clyde (November 15), and marched off, with his adherents, treasure, guns, women, and baggage, to join the Begum of Oude and Birjis Kudder who was, he said, his lawful sovereign, and must be obeyed as such. He proved his sincerity at heavy cost; for—though offered his life, his lands, the redress of injuries, the full investigation of grievances—he rejected all, and became a homeless wanderer in the Terai, for the sake of the Begum and her son, to whom he had sworn fealty."⁵⁹

Though there is no memorial to such a deserving hero, yet the village bards have immortalised his valour and phenomenal exploits; and their ballads are still sung mostly on the occasion of the Holi festival.

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- ¹ Mishra, A. S., *Nana Saheb Peshwa*, p. 553.
- ² Vide also; *Sangharshkaleen Netaon Ki Jeevaniyan*, (1957), p. 184.
- ³ *Shankarpur* is in Rae Bareilly district. It is a village situated about 16 miles to the south-east of Rae Bareilly town, in Tahsil and Pargana Dalmau. It lies in the north-eastern extremity of the Pargana Dalmau on the road from Rae Bareilly to Allahabad.
- ⁴ Mishra, A. S., *Nana Saheb Peshwa*, p. 553.
- ⁵ *Ibid*; loc. cit.
- ⁶ Vide also; *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 210.
- ⁷ He was in the habit of writing in each of his letters such phrases as: 'If God wills', or 'By the grace of God', etc.
- ⁸ See Illustration No. 556 A, of Mishra, A. S., *Nana Saheb Peshwa*.
- ⁹ Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p. 226.
- ¹⁰ Chaudhuri, S. B., *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, p. 16.
- ¹¹ Vide also; *Sangharshkaleen Netaon Ki Jeevaniyan*, (1957), p. 184.
- ¹² *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, pp. 403-407, 537.
- ¹³ Innes, *Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny*, App. X, p. 323.
- ¹⁴ Vide also; Chaudhuri, S. B., *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies* p. 16. Vide also; Chaudhuri, S. B., *Theories of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 108-109.
- ¹⁵ Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p. 227. Vide also; Chaudhuri, S. B., *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, p. 118.
- ¹⁶ Mishra, A. S., *Nana Saheb Peshwa*, p. 554. Vide also; Chaudhuri, S. B., *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, p. 118.
- ¹⁷ Commonwealth Relations Office, London. Secret Letters from India, Vol. 163, pp. 403, 405. Vide also; Gazetteer of the Rae Bareilly District; p. 151.
- ¹⁸ Letter No. 642 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 18th July 1858, Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 26; (N.A.).
- ¹⁹ Holmes, T. R. E., *History of Indian Mutiny*, p. 531.
- ²⁰ *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 406.
- ²¹ Allahabad Record Room; File No. 1035. Vide also; *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 210.
- ²² Trial Proceedings; Government vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh. Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta; quoted in the *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 121.
- ²³ *Ibid*; loc. cit.
- ²⁴ *Ibid*; loc. cit.
- ²⁵ Further Papers (No. 7) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies, 1857, Enclosure 27 in No. 8; pp. 149, 150.
- ²⁶ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
- ²⁷ Foreign Political Consultations, 17th September, 1858. Nos. 120-124; National Archives of India, New Delhi.
- ²⁸ *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 475.
- ²⁹ Ball, Charles, *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 543, 544.
- ³⁰ Colin Campbell, the Commander-in-Chief, who later became Lord Clyde.
- ³¹ *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 537.
- ³² *Sangharshkaleen Netaon Ki Jeevaniyan*, p. 158. (1957).
- ³³ Mishra, A. S., *Nana Saheb Peshwa*, pp. 554, 555. Vide also; *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, pp. 546, 547.
- ³⁴ Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, pp. 225, 226.
- ³⁵ On this subject, Russell wrote as follows in the 'Times' of January 17, 1859, that 'A kinsman and great friend of

his resided, at the time of the outbreak, on his estates between Allahabad and Futehpur. The Commissioner (Chester), aware of his character, wrote to him to say that he was to remain in his house, and give us such aid as he could render. He did so: he provided coolies, transport and stores for our troops. Some Sikhs quarrelled with his villagers; and in the fight, it is said, a few men lost their lives. The Zamindar was called in to Futehpur, and he and his eldest son fled to Bainie Madhoo for protection, and was assured that he would never be abandoned. Out of the 223 villages on Bainie Madhoo's estates, 119 were taken from him on the second revision, after annexation; but, as he was assured that any complaints of unjust treatment in former days would be considered in the event of his submission, it must be supposed he had some strong personal feeling at work (to account) for the extra-ordinary animosity he has displayed against us.' Quoted by Montgomery Martin in *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 498. Vide also; Forrest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. III, p. 517; *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 548; & Mishra, A. S., *Nana Sahib Peshwa*, p. 504.

³² Forrest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. III, p. 517.

³³ *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 548. Vide also; *Sangharshkaleen Netaon ki Jeevaniyan*, p. 186. (1957).

³⁴ Colin Campbell, (London 1895), p. 202. Vide also; Charles Ball, *Indian Mutiny*, p. 538; & *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 538.

³⁵ Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p. 226.

³⁶ Charles Ball, *Indian Mutiny*, p. 538. Vide also; *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 549.

³⁷ Kavanagh, *How I won the Victoria Cross*, (London 1860), p. 216.

³⁸ *Sangharshkaleen Netaon ki Jeevaniyan*, (1957), p. 188.

³⁹ *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 550.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*; loc. cit.

⁴¹ *Sangharshkaleen Netaon ki Jeevaniyan*, (1957), p. 189.

⁴² 'Beni Madho to be discovered. We have 'certain' intelligence that he is at all points of the compass exactly the same hour of the same day, and we have not thirty-

one columns to spare to verify these reports.' Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p. 231.

⁴³ *Ibid*; p. 235.

⁴⁴ Forrest, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 521, 522.

Vide also; Charles Ball, *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 540, 542; Kavanagh, *How I won the Victoria Cross*, p. 217; & Colin Campbell, p. 203.

⁴⁵ Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, pp. 238, 239.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*; p. 242.

⁴⁷ Sen, S. N., *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, p. 361.

⁴⁸ Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p. 225.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*; p. 359.

⁵⁰ Russell, W. H., *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p. 269. Vide also; Colin Campbell, p. 208.

⁵¹ Sen, S. N., *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, p. 362.

⁵² *Ibid*; p. 368.

⁵³ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th September 1859, Nos. 291/6 & K. W.; National Archives, New Delhi.

⁵⁴ 'In November 1859, Jung Bahadur, marched his forces into the Terai and encountered Bainie Madhoo, who with 200 men, withstood the Gorkas, but was killed with half his followers.' The 'Times', London, January 21, 1860.

⁵⁵ Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 184-185, 24th February, 1860. Vide also; 'Trial Proceedings in the case, Government vs. Mangor Singh', File No. 74, Ghazipur Mutiny Collectorate Basta; quoted in *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. IV, pp. 286, 287, 289.

⁵⁶ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858; No. 310. (N.A.).

⁵⁷ Foreign Department Proceedings, Nos. 214-15; 9th March 1860 (N.A.).

⁵⁸ Letter from the Commissioner, Lucknow Division, to the Chief Commissioner, Ayadh, No. 238 of May 30, 1859. Quoted in the *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 583. Vide also; Letter No. 238 of 1859 from S. A. Abbot, the Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh, dated Lucknow, Commissioner's Office, the 30th May 1859. Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July 1859, No. 261/61; (N.A.).

⁵⁹ Quoted in Mishra, A. S., *Nana Sahib Peshwa*, p. 556.

products not only met home consumption, they also commanded foreign markets stretching from "the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, the Gulf of Persia and the Red Sea, nay even Manila, China, and the Coast of Africa". Articles of trade included cotton and silk piecegoods, raw silk, sugar, salt, jute, saltpetre, opium, pearls, dyestuff, perfumes, copice etc. The extent of external trade can be grasped from the following lines: "At the end of 17th century, great quantities of cheap and graceful Indian calicoes, muslins and chintzes were imported into England and they found such favour that the woollen and silk manufacturers were seriously alarmed. Acts of Parliament were accordingly passed in 1700 and in 1721 absolutely prohibiting, with a very few specified exceptions, the employment of printed or dyed calicoes in England, either in dress or in furniture and the use of any printed or dyed goods of which cotton formed any part".⁵ It is noticed even in Alivardi's time that nearly seventy lacs of rupees' worth of raw silk was entered in the customs office books at Murshidabad exclusive of the European investment. "Less than a hundred years ago," wrote Sir Henry Cotton in 1890 "the whole commerce of Dacca was estimated at one crore of rupees In 1787, the exports of Dacca muslin to England amounted to 30 lacs of rupees...."⁶ In fact between 1708 and 1786, Bengal directly imported bullion from abroad which constituted 3/4ths of the total import. The drain of gold from England to pay for Indian goods was a matter of grave concern for Englishmen at the time. L.C.A. Knowles lays bare the problem that plagued the captains of mercantilism in these lines: "The whole difficulty of trading with the East lay in the fact that Europe had so little to send out that the East wanted—a few luxury articles for the courts, lead, copper, quick-silver and tin, coral, gold and ivory were the only commodities except silver that India would absorb. Therefore it was mainly silver that was taken out".⁷

The quality of indigenous industries and artistic skill in India before British rule is

also attested by the Indian Industrial Commission Report (1916-18) in its Preface. It reads: "At a time when the West of Europe, the birth-place of the modern industrial system, was inhabited by uncivilised tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers and for the high artistic skill of craftsmen. And even at a much later period, when merchant adventurers from the West made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was at any rate not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations". T. H. Holland noted in his Report "the high quality of the native-made iron, the early anticipation of the processes now employed in Europe for the manufacture of high class steels and the artistic products in copper and brass gave India at one time a prominent position in the metallurgical world".⁸ Precisely the same picture of native iron-smelting industry is drawn by D. H. Buchanan. He observes: "In India steel was used for weapons, for decorative purposes and for tools and remarkably high grade articles were produced. The old weapons are second to none and it is said that the famous Damascus blades were forged from steel imported from Hyderabad in India.....Remains of old smelting furnaces found throughout India are essentially like those in Europe prior to modern times..... The Agarias or iron-smelting caste were widely dispersed and the name Lohara is applied to a great many district producing iron ore. But the introduction of cheaply made European iron has taken away nearly all their trade and most Agarias have turned to unskilled labour. A century and a quarter ago, Dr. Francis Buchanan found many of these smelters".⁹ It is quite well known that brass, copper and bell-metal wares are specialisation of many industrial centres in India like Benares, Tanjore, Nasik, and Ahmedabad. Jewellery, stone-carving, artistic work in marble, sandalwood, ivory and glass are family occupations in every community.

The commercial heritage has been most candidly acknowledged by R. M. Maitra

in his evidence before the Parliamentary Enquiry Committee in 1840. His experience prompted him to protest against the make-belief that India was a nation of agriculturists. Replying to Mr. Brocklehurst, Martin stated: "I do not agree that India is an agricultural country; India is as much a manufacturing country as agricultural and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of Civilisation. I do not suppose that India is to become the agricultural farm of England. She is a manufacturing country, her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages and have never been able to be competed with by any nation wherever fair play has been given to them. I speak not now of her Dacca muslins and her Cashmere shawls but of various articles which she has manufactured in a manner superior to any part of the world. To reduce her now to an agricultural country would be an injustice to India".¹⁰

Indians at the turn of the 19th century had almost all the requisites to become a manufacturing and commercial nation. That India could boast of its rich resources has been put beyond dispute by Industrial Commission Report. It had wealth and skill. It had banking and shipping and merchants, big and small, and to mobilise them for production that made India self-sufficient. In the list of bankers, the House of Jagat Seth has the first place. As keeper of Government revenue, dealer in commercial credit, stockists of bullion and controllers of currency, it virtually fed and fostered Bengal's trade and economy. Its magnitude and efficiency put native banking genius at par with any European counterpart. The tradition was continued by Bolaquidas, Monohar Das and many other eminent bankers. Hastings chose as managers of his State bank two natives again—Huzuri Mall and Rai Dayal Chaud. Besides the banking houses, there were numbers of shroffs all over the country, ready to lend money for investment against

securities and convert coins at a discount to ensure greater mobility of inland trade.

Shipping was also not lost sight of. Several names of Bengali ship-owners are on record to prove native enterprise on this score. Thus Pancho Dutt, Ramgopal Mullick, Madan Dutt and to cap them all, Ramdulal Dey, were a few noted stevedores of the time. That Indian shipping caused alarm to British authorities can be gathered from the ban on importation of articles from the East in vessels manned by Indian sailors, laskars etc. (54 George III C136, 1814). Nor were some commercial entrepreneurs lacking. Of the celebrated merchants, mention may be made of Umi Chand and Nanda Kumar.

Thus, indigenous trade and industries were developing satisfactorily and had all the prospects of far-reaching possibilities. But the progress suddenly came to a virtual standstill and a century of arrested growth followed to put the hands of the clock back in India. What factors were responsible for this stunted development? What forces operated to stultify progress?

The reigning idea seems to be that Indians being essentially tied to the soil, were quite indifferent to business. They lacked business enterprise and acumen and Bengali entrepreneurship hardly existed during the period under discussion.

It is also argued that whatever capital the Bengali Baboos accumulated, they squandered away on occasions like marriage and *sradh* ceremonies for social climbing. The character of this class is immediately conjured up from Sibnath Sastri's memorable passages in his *Ramtanu Lahiri*¹¹ and a typical case of wanton expense may be cited from *Samachar Darpan* (14th May 1825) where a graphic account occurs of the *sradh* ceremony of Ramdulal Dey which entailed an expenditure of lacs of rupees, considerably reducing the wealth of Satubabu and Latubabu, the heirs to his

property. Another factor breaking up accumulated capital is the division of assets among heirs after the death of the owner. Business being a personal concern, the capital was too often withdrawn from business by the heirs and more frequently their assets were liquidated in protracted law-suits. The case of the Mullicks (Bishwambhar, Ruplal and others) illustrates the point. Thus the capital formation was far too inadequate to sustain any large-scale enterprise.

One important suggestion is that possession of land symbolised social status in Bengal and since it was also a safe and lucrative investment, the idle money was mostly invested by the wealthy section in land. After Permanent Settlement, this indeed became the order. Thus, capital not only was drawn to land, it also lost its velocity of circulation.

R. C. Dutt, the economic historian of India, after a careful study of the problem, however, came to the unhesitating conclusion that the ruin of indigenous trade and industries was the direct consequence of the drain of wealth from Bengal and discriminatory economic policy by the British Raj against the native enterprise. Singled out from the whole contest as presented above, it has been sometimes dismissed as nationalist effervescence. All the same it should merit our serious consideration.

Finally, quite a distinct view is held by a group of historians who feel that it was all due to the inexorable process of logic by which the old system has to yield place to the new. In a changing world, one must adjust or perish. The fact that England underwent an industrial revolution while India could not stage one gave England the superiority she deserved. The mechanisation of industries, the growth of capital, the technique of joint stock company and managing agency and monopolisation of colonial markets for her finished goods enabled her to score a complete victory over India. It was natural that the antiquated indigenous system of merchant capital supported by

shroffs would go down before joint stock companies, the archaic handicrafts and industries would collapse before the onslaught of machine made goods.

A stocktaking of these views may help us to see the truth. The first assertion that natives had no commercial heritage has been already disproved. As to the contention that Bengali entrepreneurship was conspicuous by its absence, names of a good number of our captains of trade and industry can be traced who had all the qualities that make an entrepreneur and who could attain whatever success could be achieved under the circumstances. Names of Madan Datta, Ramdulal De, Ramchandra Mitra, Dwarkanath Tagore, Rustomji Cowasji, Ramgopal Ghosh, Motilal Seal, Digambar Mitra, Bholanath Chandra, Ruplal Mullick, Suryakumar Tagore, Romanath Tagore, Raghunath Goswami, Sens of Kolutolla, etc. come readily to the mind. If their achievements were not spectacular and if their number was only handful, it was not due to their lack of enterprise, as will be borne out by short sketches of the careers of a few of them.

Ramdulal De: (1760-1824)¹² He rose from the humble position of a Sarkar attached to the Fairlies to the position of a leading ship-owner, and stevedore. He acted as the agent of the American traders which made him a millionaire. But as the American trade gradually passed into the hands of the British companies, they no longer favoured the Indian agent though his rates were lower than those of British firms. As a result he was ruined and in 1813 he had only one ship in the port of Calcutta signifying 'the last tragic gesture of the Bengali.' His enterprising spirit can be measured from his bold idea to reclaim and colonise the Sunderbans.

Dwarkanath Tagore:¹³ His landed estates and the fortune he acquired as the Dewan of the Company's salt and opium department put him in a position to make

industrial speculations. His monumental achievement was the formation of the Carr Tagore & Co. The first captain of indigenous industry, he invested his capital in indigo, sugar and silk and his judicious handling and uncanny ability to make the right speculation made him a millionaire in a short time. He was also one of the doyens of the modern system of Banking in our country. The Union Bank, of which he was a director, contributed signally to the development of native trade and commerce by extending commercial credit. In 1837, he bought off the Chinakuri coal mines in Raniganj and started the Bengal Coal Company which operates successfully to this day. Thus, Dwarkanath was the author of the most challenging enterprises in our country. His business farsight led him to buy a ship named *Forbes* on behalf of the Calcutta Steam Tug Association of which he was a Director. When it fetched a profit of 3000/- per month at one time, the local press nicknamed the Company as the 'Thug' Association.

But Dwarkanath also looked beyond his country's frontiers. Let us end his business career with two of his long-distance ventures. Dwarkanath was the spearhead of the movement which proposed the introduction in 1833 of a Steam-transport between India and England. He even speculated on flax trade 15 years before the Crimean War to gain British market if Russian flax stopped coming to it after an Anglo-Russian showdown. This shows his wide appreciation of world market and breadth of vision. But this entrepreneur per excellence had still to suffer setback and had to turn to land and landholders' politics, as opposition to native venture became too strong for him.

Rustomji Cowasji:¹⁴ This celebrated Parsee had the unique credit of being the first Indian to challenge European monopolies in the fields of insurance, shipping and banking. Rustomji, Turner and Company was his singular attempt at a joint stock company with foreign collaboration, started even before Carr, Tagore and Company took shape (Govt. Gazette 5th

Feb. 1827). Associated first with the Union Insurance Company in 1828, he soon became the mainstay of many such contemporary companies like the Sun Life, New Oriental Life, Universal Life Assurance Company etc. and made this a new field of opening for the natives.

He also was the main prop of banking business. As partner of the Union Bank, he left his mark and to bear the brunt of its insolvency, he was reduced to a pauper. Rustomji also brought shipping and docking to the fore as its chief promoter. He owned a fleet of 40 ships which sailed regularly to the Far East, Australia and Southern Coast of India. In 1837, he also started a Docking Company and bought up Kidderpore and Salkia Docks. Many ships were built here of which the ship bearing his name was renowned for its speed. He had the farsight to plan a regular Steamer Service in rivers of Bengal. For this purpose, on 8th May, 1844, the Indian General Steam Navigation Company was founded, of which Rustomji was the only Indian director.

His concern for indigenous industries led him to sponsor an ice-producing concern in Calcutta to prevent its import from Boston. He also launched the Bengal Salt Company in Sunderban area to compete with foreign salt. Rustomji beyond doubt was one of the best specimens of business entrepreneurs by any standard.

Digambar Mitra:¹⁵ Digambar began his career of business by investing capital in Union Bank. When the Bank failed in 1849, he was left with only 25,000/-. But with this small sum, he did miracles. He invested it in silk and indigo manufacturing. He soon had factories in Ramkhollah, Rajapatty, Mirzapur, and Daulatbazar in Murshidabad and got back his fortune. The *Indian Mirror* (22nd April, 1879) in an obituary notice noted that "in this trade he achieved most remarkable success—his trade mark D.M., we believe, having given special value to the silk of Berhampore which was

then in great demand." He made full use of the China War by capturing wide markets with his stepped up production.

Motilal Seal:¹⁶ Initially a trader in corks and bottles, Motilal was fated to be a big entrepreneur. A first rate judge of country produce, he soon realised that he was in a better position than Europeans to speculate in indigo, silk, sugar, salt etc. and resolved to export them to foreign markets at a bargain. The export and import trade became his chief occupation and gave him fabulous fortune. Soon he was also drawn to carrying trade. He built up his own fleet and competed with foreign liners in shipping cargo to Europe and the Far East. He was one of the first few to introduce Tug Steamers in coastal shipping.

The careers of Ramgopal Ghosh, Surya Kumar Tagore, Raghunath Goswami, Bholanath Chandra and Kishorilal Mukherjee, founder of K. L. Mukherji & Company (1867) only illustrate the point further. But the above sketches are enough to refute the charge that Indians had no knack in trade and industry. The reason for their small number was that Indians had to compete with Europeans, patronised by the Muslim rule in the form of duty-free inland trade from Murshid Quli onwards, and then by the Company's rule with its monopolistic agency house system which controlled the trade from raw produce level to shipment, backed by preferential Government policy in inland transit and toll duties. Thus, Indians were ruthlessly beaten down if they tried their hands in trade and industry. They naturally became shy and sought safer speculations and turned away from business not due to basic indolence. They could at least have some returns by financing European projects by way of commission. The same reason prompted the rich to buy Government papers as the sum would not be liquidated by the withering touch of the British commercial policy. It gives unique credit to the handful of entrepreneurs who braved this predicament and staked their fortune on trade.

If the editor of contemporary *Prabhakar* deplores Bengali attitude in general in this respect as slave mentality, it is because he does not go deep into the problem and the passages therein should not be adduced to make out a case of Indian indifference to trade.¹⁷

The limited nature of native capital has been said to have been due to squandering on social functions, division of inheritance and resultant liquidation in some cases, and financing of law-suits. These are all plausible explanations. But these could not have sapped the total wealth of the country but for the bleeding operations performed by the British rule. The mere fact that the practice could be continued for more than a century testifies to the country's rich resources. Bled in the same manner, any other country would have collapsed in no time as Martin pointed out in 1840.

Now, about the lure of land for Indians. It is true that Indians were very much tied to the soil and agriculture was the staple of daily labour. But the commercial heritage, the flourishing handicrafts were not so nominal as to be discounted. It has been already shown that as a commercial nation India was quite abreast with England before the Industrial Revolution. Particular swing to land was noticed in the period under review. The reason why the trading class reverted to land has been stated above. As to the social status, it is true that Indian tradition acknowledges acquisition of land as a mark of social position. But this notion was specially promoted by the Permanent Settlement which brought with it the British aristocratic vintage. The commercial speculators baffled in their field turned to land speculation when Cornwallis held the bait before them, and had the consolation of a higher status in society by land purchases.¹⁸ It was a safer speculation with sure returns and at the same time conferring social distinction. What could be more covetable under the circumstances? Thus even men like Dwarkanath, Motilal, and Digambar Mitra began to in-

vest in land at the end of their career. As to the commonfolk, the artisans and the shroffs driven out by foreign competition also flocked to land. They certainly did not indulge in social climbing by falling upon land. When land was overcrowded and fragmented and was in the process of being exhausted, the British Government, still harped on the pet theme of 'sons of the soil'.

The deeper one goes into the problem, the more one is convinced of the truth of R. C. Dutt's explanation. If indigenous tradition and enterprise more than warranted a natural economic growth and if that was arrested by circumstances other than local inhibitions, it becomes palpable that the discriminatory economic policy of the British Raj had sapped our possibilities as a commercial and industrial nation.

The many-pronged attack on our commerce and industries by the British Government has been laid bare by noble-minded Englishmen who were shocked at the magnitude of British rapacity. Referring to the blood-letting operation, R. M. Martin wrote in 1838: "The annual drain of £3,000,000 on British India amounted in thirty years at 12 per cent compound interest to the enormous sum of £723,997,917 sterling. So constant and accumulating a drain even on England would soon impoverish her; how severe then must be its effects on India, where the wages of a labourer is from two pence to three pence a day? For half a century we have gone on draining from two to three and sometimes four million pounds sterling a year from India, which has been remitted to Great Britain. I do not think it possible for human ingenuity to avert entirely the evil effects of a continued drain of three or four million pounds a year from a distant country like India and which is never returned to it in any shape".¹⁹

F. G. Shore remarked in 1833: "Is it possible that any country can stand such a constant

drain or under such proceedings avoid being impoverished?"²⁰

Regarding revenue exactions, Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India could not help pointing out in bitter sarcasm "As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested or at least sufficient, not to those which are already feeble from the want of it".²¹ This was an appeal to spare the villages where capital was scarce.

But drain of wealth is much too well-known to be adduced. Let us look into the unequal laws and invidious discriminations that strangled our enterprise. We turn to Martin again whose candid criticism pries into the predatory process. "England, I hesitate not to say, has displayed a niggard, selfish and ungenerous course of treatment towards India in her commercial relations with that country; her incessant cry has been for facilities to export her steamwrought manufactures to Calcutta and at one or two per cent, while in the tyrannous spirit of a conqueror, she imposes a duty of ten per cent on the hand-wrought manufactures of the Hindus, at the same time imposing onerous or prohibitory duties on her sugar, coffee, etc. Yet, let England beware—let her recollect that a perseverance in this disgraceful policy lost her the United States of America."²¹

Thornton feels the same way regarding Indian manufacturing. "She ought, however, to be allowed a fair chance of success. If we can do little to advance, we ought to do nothing to depress her manufacturing industry. Yet our statute-book contains provisions which have a direct tendency to this end. The injustice which excludes her sugar from consumption is extended to her cotton and silk piecegoods—the former are charged in this country with a duty of ten per cent, the latter with a still more oppressive impost of twenty per cent, while British goods are imported into India free of duty. If any indulgence were

shown it surely ought to be to the weak. Here the case is reversed in favour of the strong."²²

Coming to bare statistics, reference may be made to Martin again. "England compels the natives of British India to receive her steam-wrought manufacture at a rate of but 2½ per cent while she imposes 20 to 30 per cent on the hand-wrought cottons and silks of the Hindoos, whose sugar is taxed 150 per cent, coffee 200 per cent, pepper 300 per cent, rum 500 per cent etc. when imported into the United Kingdom."²³

This is also borne out by Wilson: "It was stated in evidence (in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture."²⁴

Let alone export trade, even inland trade run by the commercial classes was sought to be gagged by transit duties, harassments, preferential treatment to the British in law courts and elsewhere. Trevelyan's Report on Internal Customs stands testimony to the fact. Lord Ellenborough drawing from it reported in Parliament in 1835: "The raw hide pays 5 per cent. On being manufactured into leather it pays 5 per cent more and when the leather is made into boots and shoes, a further duty is imposed of 5 per cent. Thus, in all, there is a duty of 15 per cent (on Indian leather goods used in India)."

"No less than 235 separate articles are subjected to Inland Duties. The tariff includes almost everything of personal or

domestic use and its operation, combined with the system of search, is of the most vexatious and offensive character, without materially benefitting the revenue."²⁵

Shore also records in his Notes: "Other causes might be mentioned. Of these, the almost utter annihilation of credit and mercantile confidence by the encouragement of the proceedings of our civil courts... dishonesty is... by no means, the least conspicuous."²⁶

Thus Indians were virtually forced to retire from both Inland and Foreign trade. The same stepmotherly attitude was shown to Indian shipping which was seldom called for shipment of cargo and it has already been pointed out that by the Navigation Act of 1814, Indian shipping was denied the right of shipment to England.

R. C. Dutt in his magnum opus had admirably exposed the British 'oneway free trade' policy but he had, not proved that there was also a struggling class of entrepreneurs who in vain tried to raise their head. He had not also recorded that Indians were much restive under the circumstance and that they were quite vocal in their protest. Had he done so, he could not have been dismissed as a nationalist agitator and decline of Indian trade and industry could not have been explained away in terms of Indian indifference to trade, lack of indigenous enterprise and skill.

The facts of Indian entrepreneurship have been stated. A record of Indian agitation against British policy must now be presented to prove what really ruined Indian trade. The protest against British policy started from an early date. Pointing to the drain, Rammohun suggested that Europeans accumulating capital in India should be encouraged to settle in India so that the wealth might not go out of the country.

In a petition dated Calcutta, the 1st Sep-

tember, 1831, to the Right Honourable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council for Trade, signed by 117 natives of high respectability, the native grievance finds eloquent expression. "That of late years your petitioners have found their business nearly superseded by the introduction of the fabrics of Great Britain into Bengal, the importation of which augments every year, to the great prejudice of native manufacturers.....that the fabrics of Great Britain are consumed in Bengal without any duties being levied thereon to protect the native fabrics.....They, therefore, pray to be admitted to the privilege of British subjects and humbly entreat your Lordships to allow the cotton and silk fabrics of Bengal to be used in Great Britain 'free of duty' or at the same rate which may be charged on British fabrics consumed in Bengal."²⁷

Another interesting petition has been quoted in Martin's *Anglo-Eastern Empire* of about the same time having similar import. This was also signed by a group of wealthy inhabitants of Bengal. At one place, it states: "That the petitioners and, more especially, the labouring manufacturing classes of natives are already suffering grievous hardships in consequence of those principles in trade and commerce which the petitioners are told are not actuating the English Councils, not being extended to the produce of that country, while every encouragement is held out to the exportation from England to that country of the growth and produce of foreign as well as English industry, while many thousands of the natives of that country, who a short time ago derived livelihood from the growth of cotton goods are without bread in consequence of the facilities afforded to the produce of America and the manufacturing industry of England; and the article of sugar, to the production of which the lands of the petitioners might be turned, is loaded with such heavy duties in England as effectually to shut the market against the industry of the East Indians, when turned to this particular commodity."²⁸

The mounting public opinion on the subject can be measured from the fiery speech of Rasik Krishna Mullick at the Town Hall meeting of 5th January 1835, denouncing the charter of 1833, "It was passed not for the benefit of India but for the benefit of the proprietors of India stock and the benefit of the people of England while the welfare of the millions who inhabit these vast regions was not at all cared for..... If our welfare was thought of, why was not the monopoly of salt and opium abolished?.....In vain do I look for any clause that speaks of the removal of the restriction upon commerce.....I cannot say what may be the enterprise of the merchants of Calcutta, but I ask if these restrictions under which Indian commerce labours, had been removed, whether this country would not have flourished and increased in wealth and power more than it has done."²⁹

Equally resounding was the voice of Kishori-chand Mitra when he declared in his *Introductory Discourse* at the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society in 1843: "I would be the first person to reprobate the narrow and short-sighted policy of our merchant princes, our joint stock sovereigns to advocate the abolition of their salt and opium monopoly in order that the natives may participate in the benefit of an unfettered commerce....."³⁰

Words more stirring fell from the lips of Chandranath Bose when he addressed the Social Science Association in 1869....."She (India) is yet only a hewer of wood and drawer of water for English civilisation in the East. But once let manufacturers be established in Bengal, let Bengal once know that cloth which she wears, the paper on which she writes and the knife with which she cuts will be no longer prepared for her by England.....Then will England herself form with her a friendship more close, more intellectual than subsists at present and then will that friendship be placed on that basis of mutual esteem and respect without which friendship is a serious misnomer."³¹ Charged with a spirit of self-dependence and

self-respect, it marks the seedtime of Swadeshim in Bengal.

To cap it came the blazing tirade from Bholanath Chandra against British commercial policy and his call for boycott for the first time in our annals has been rightly hailed as the birthery of Swadeshi movement. Bholanath wrote in 1873: "To strip naked the disguised truth, the English want to reduce us all to the condition of agriculturists...let us receive a commercial and industrial education. Allow us a share in the administration and to frame our own tariff—and with perhaps at starting a bit of patriotism to refuse to buy foreign goods, the children of India will prove to the world whether providence has willed them to be mere agriculturists or whether they cannot dethrone king cotton of Manchester and once more establish their sway in the cotton world."³²

Denouncing the British commercial policy, he remarked "It may be summarised as a policy wholly and purely of interest and not of duty. At first prohibitive, next aggressive, then suppressive, it has at last become repressive, setting bounds to native ambition for anything approaching commercial rivalry. In name it advocates free trade. In fact, it upholds a gigantic monopoly."³³

The prophet of Swadeshi continued: "The native English, and vernacular papers should preach for the founding of independent Native Banks, Native Companies and Corporations, Native Mills and Factories, and Native Chambers of Commerce in the Presidencies. They should denounce the insensate practice of preferring foreign goods to home-made manufactures. They should inculcate the discipline of self-denial and the cultivation of patriotic sentiments. They should collect and compile details of Indian urban life to draw public attention to the helpless condition of our weavers, blacksmiths, and mechanics. They should point out the enormous and increasing drain upon

the profit of Indian labour to show that the country is growing poorer year by year and thoroughly expose the statistical delusion of the authorities. They should sedulously strive for the subversion of the policy which in addition to our political slavery, has steeped the country also in an industrial slavery."

"Without using any physical force, without incurring any disloyalty, without praying for any legislative succour, it lies quite in our power to regain our lost position. It would be no crime for us to take the only but most effectual weapon, moral hostility...Let us make use of this potent weapon by resolving to non-consume the goods of England."³⁴

The text reads like Swadeshi manifesto and no wonder if the later Swadeshites took this as their blueprint. Thus the efforts of the early captains of commerce and industry and the sustained agitation by the natives are eloquent testimonies to what R. C. Dutt wrote as underlying the decline of our trade and industries. In doing so he was stating facts and not preaching nationalist ideas as his critics made him out to be.

There still remains one more point to be cleared. It is doubted if India could compete with an industrialist England, even without the discriminatory policy. Hence, the axiom that ruin of Indian trade and industries was inevitable. But Indian enterprise was never given a fair trial. With the assets at command, India could have attained a fair standard of commercial development, even if not blessed by an industrial revolution, sufficient to hold her ground. With the power to frame her own tariff, she could have effectively met the Western challenge. She was denied the privileges of a free nation. It is scarcely possible to deny that India had been grievously wronged. After all even the English Industrial Revolution had largely to draw from Indian resources for its culmination.

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BUILDINGS AND GARDENS OF THE ROYAL LADIES DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

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The reign of the Mughals has been an outstanding period of Indian History. Various factors have contributed to the making of this period of progress and prosperity. While the contributions of the male representatives of the dynasty were undoubtedly greater, the contributions made by the representatives of the fair sex were also not negligible. Personages, places and happenings do not always and necessarily get the chronicles they deserve. The one-sided presentation of the historical landscape by students of history does not do full justice to the capabilities of these unsung ladies of the Mughal period. While the great Mughal Emperors, right from Babur down to Aurangzeb, could boast of their achievements in varied fields, the ladies in their household have their own peculiar share in the greatness and glory of the Mughal era of Indian History.

During this period some ladies of the harem took keen interest not only in religion, literature, fine arts etc. but also in the construction and supervision of buildings and gardens. So overwhelming was the greatness and glory of the Mughals that the achievements in the fields of architecture of the Princesses could not shine with equal brilliance to catch the attention of the historians.

Haji Begam, the wife of Humayun, seems to have shown her interest in building activities. It was under her supervision that the tomb of Humayun was built after his death. Another building to her credit was the Arab Sarai for the accommodation of the Arab travellers and merchants¹. Besides this, a royal house and

garden was built by her on the road from Agra to Bayana. According to the information gathered from Thevenot, the "Royal house built by the queen mother of Achar (Haji Begam) with gardens" was "kept in very good order".²

The wife of illustrious Akbar, Salima Sultan Begam, seems to have built her tomb where she was buried amidst the buildings in Mandakkar garden, in the selection of which she had taken particular care.³

It is interesting to note that Maryam-uz-zamani, the mother of Jahangir, built a Baoli (step-well) in the pargana of Jasut. She also laid out a garden there. To Jahangir's eyes it appeared "a grand building" which had been "built exceedingly well".⁴ A sum of rupees 20,000 had been expended on this well.

Nurjahan Begam, the wife of Jahangir, made her influence felt not only in the style of dress and costumes, in jewellery and perfume and on court manners but also on architecture. At her instance her Vakils built a house and a garden at Nur Sarai and after its completion she gave a feast.⁵ Her officials also built a Sarai at Sikandarabad.⁶ Nurjahan Begam has also the credit of having designed and inspired many pleasure spots. Her garden called Shah Dara was built near Lahore, of which Jahangir gives a vivid description in his memoirs.⁷

It is interesting to note that the architectural activities of the ladies of the time were not confined only to the construction of various types of

buildings but also extended to the laying out of beautiful gardens. The ladies like Bika Begam, the grand mother of Akbar, Miriam Makani, the grand mother of Jahangir, and Shahar Banu Begam, daughter of Mirza Abu Said who was aunt of Emperor Babur, were interested in laying out gardens. Even Jahangir in his memoirs refers to his having visited these gardens.⁸

Besides Nurjahan, during the reign of Jahangir, in 1619 A.D. another lady, Aqa Aqayan, who was in his service built a Sarai and a garden in Delhi.⁹

Purhunar Banu Begam, daughter of Shahjahan, was buried in the mausoleum which was said to have been built by a mason under her direction.¹⁰

Jahanara Begam was a fairly noted builder. She chalked out the plan of a Bazar which was built under her instructions in Lahore. This was known as Chowk Sarai.¹¹ To gain everlasting fame, reputation and reward in the life to come she used her personal allowances in building a mosque in Agra. Earlier, Emperor Shahjahan had been interested in building the same mosque out of her personal financial resources but later he allowed Jahanara to build it.¹² The Begam also constructed a monastery (Rabat)¹³. In the village of Achhol which belonged to her she built a house for herself.¹⁴

In Kashmir she built a poor house at a cost of Rs. 20,000/-.¹⁵ Her interest was not confined to the building of houses of different types in different places but also included the construction of caravansarais, gardens and reservoirs. One such caravansarai was built in Delhi with a lovely garden and reservoir in Delhi.¹⁶ In the caravansarai of Begam Saheb only the great Mughal and Persian merchants were permitted to stay.¹⁷

Jahanara Begam owned many gardens, one of them was situated at Ambala¹⁸ and another was at Surat.¹⁹ She also seems to have received or inherited some gardens as gifts. After the death of Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara received Bagh-i-Jahanara²⁰, whereas Bagh-i-Shaharare was given to her by her father.²¹ She had also a garden in Bachchol which had various trees and canals etc.²² She possessed three more gardens in Kashmir, Bagh-i-Aishabad, Bagh-i-Nurafshan, and Bagh-i-Safa²³, which were laid out under the supervision of Jawahar Khan Khwaja Sara.²⁴

The last lady in our reference who seems to have taken interest in building construction was Zinat-un-nissa Begam, the daughter of Aurangzeb. She built near about 14 caravansarais²⁵. According to Prof. J. N. Sarkar, she was buried in the Zinatul Masjid which was built at her expense in Delhi.²⁶

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BOOK REVIEWS

Assam In the Days of the Company, 1826-1858 (Lawyer's Book Stall, Gauhati, Assam, 1963: Rs. 20/-: X + maps + 312pp.)

Professor Barpujari has produced a good example of how the administrative history of an Indian region should be written. He has selected the region that he knows best, his own State of Assam, and has looked at various types of government records, in the India Office Library in London, in the National Archives in New Delhi, in the Old Bengal Secretariat in Calcutta, and in the Assam Secretariat in Shillong, to construct the framework of administrative policies and activities of the British rulers in Assam during the period of the British conquest and initial settlement of Assam. He has not written a bald account of administrative measures, but has clothed them with the necessary vestments of motives and results, in so far as they can be gathered from a study of contemporary English works, and accounts written in the Assamese language itself. The result is that this book is not just a manual of administrative events, but is a fairly comprehensive description of the circumstances and consequences of the British occupation of Assam. A study of this book emphasises the need for administrative historians of British Indian provinces to search for government records in repositories, outside the region itself, and, further, to fill in the gaps which are inevitable, by studying the literature of the regional language, as well as in the language of the conquerors. In this sense, Barpujari shows a greater capacity for comprehension than the more well known and more elegant British administrative historians, from the times of Dodwell to that of Beaglehole.

Barpujari pursues his theme in detail, starting with the geographical delineation of his region, an account of the decadence of the

previous rulers, a description of the struggle for the Assam Valley, between the Ahom Kings, the Alaungpaya dynasty of Burma, and the British East India Company. He shows how conflicts between the Ahom princes themselves, the supineness of neighbouring Indian princes such as Manipur, Jaintia and Cachar, and the feeling of the people of Assam that any rule was better than that of the marauding Burmese, created the conditions for the British occupation of Assam. Barpujari gives many details about the transition from Assamese administration, and from the social order of the *khel* system of organising the service of *pykes*, which supported this indigenous administration, to the British pattern. He also deals thoroughly with the circumstances under which first one Assamese chief and then another tried to rise against British rule putting forward the claims of various Royal princes; until after all the tall poppies had been struck down piecemeal, it was possible for the British to finally remove the last subject Raja of Assam, Purandar Singha, and "to stand forth" as the direct rulers. This was a pattern of occupation and revenue settlement, which is commonly found in almost every region of India which was conquered by the British. It might be interesting if some historian endeavours to show the uniformities and regularities in the regional occupation of India by the East India Company, over differential time spans.

Barpujari also deals competently with the extension of British Power into the hills, east and south of the Brahmaputra Valley. The conquest of the Muttok country around Sadiya, which had been ruled by the Gohains of the Moanaria sect, of the territory of Tularam Senapati, south of Sadiya, the attacks on Manipur, Jaintia and Cachar, and the transition in the distribution of power in these regions, are all chronicled in a way which will be com-

prehensible to students in Honours and Post-Graduate classes; this detailed sub-regional treatment of the process of British expansion in the hills, is no mean achievement. Dr. Barpujari's maps are useful. On page 99 he reproduces a rather curious document which is an Arzee of the Forty Sempungs of Cachar to the Agent of the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, in 1832, in which they wrote "it is customary with us that whomsoever we the Forty Sempungs alone appoint Raja, that individual alone can continue such. The duties of a Raja thus appointed is to protect and nourish his subjects and to conform in his proceedings to the counsel of his Ministers of State, in return for which we (according to ancient usage) submit to his authority and commands. In consequence of the violation by the Raja Gobinda Chandra of established customs, we separated ourselves from his authority and placing Gooabaree and the Jatinga rivers as a boundary between us and him, we chose an independent abode in the northern parts of the country. We subsequently restored the Raja to his authority over us..... yet the Raja wishes to lord over us and reduce us to the level of his Ryots". Barpujari has not noted the significance of the political theory, which is implicit in this petition. The chieftains of Cachar seem to have had a lineage structure, and a system of government by consensus, which reminds us at the same time of Locke's idea of the social contract, as well as of the pattern of monarchy based on chieftainship, which the Soviet Academician Reisner, writing of Afghanistan, called "tribal feudalism". Dr. Barpujari might conceivably continue research on the social structure of chieftainship in Assam, on the historical-anthropological lines which were indicated by Dr. Surajit Sinha in his Presidential address to Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress of 1962.

In the last chapter Barpujari puts together some details about the final risings of a few members of the old official class against the British in 1857 which still appealed to the shadow sovereignty of a *ci-devant* royal prince,

and thus he is able to place Maniram Dewan's Mutiny in its correct perspective of the last sparks of the dying aristocracy. Barpujari writes about the two great elements of modernisation in Assam, the cultivation of tea and the introduction of English education, which created a minute class, epitomised by men such as Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, who competed with the Bengali *Amlahs* in reviving culture in Assam. He writes enough to whet one's curiosity, but leaves one with the impression that a more detailed study is necessary of the impact of British occupation, and of the new exploitation of cash crop resources, on the economy and society of the regions which the British conquered. When this sort of work is done in detail, then only will we have the raw materials for writing the integrated social history of India.

One feels that Dr. Barpujari could have gone much further if he had been prepared to cut down on the administrative details, and if he had used the guidelines of Social Anthropology and Sociology in reconstructing the picture of the Assamese society and the Assamese economy, in the period when the East India Company destroyed it, and the British Government began to give it new forms. We hope that either he, or the new historians of Assam such as Dr. Amalendu Guha who has recently done an excellent survey of the land tenures of late mediaeval Assam (IESHR), will soon give us an account of the specific features of the economy and society of indigenous Assam, and of the way it has become integrated into the Indian Union.

BARUN DE

The Study of History and College History Teaching—Edited by JOHN C. B. WEBSTER, Patiala, 1965, pp.92.

This volume under review is in fact the report of the Seminar on "The Study of History and College History Teaching" held at Patiala from March 29 to April 17, 1965. The report

is written, as the editor says, with three distinct groups of people in view,—“educationists and educational bodies who want to know something about degree college teachers;” “people who are interested in holding seminars similar to this one”; and “history teachers who may find in the report some valuable material both for their own study of history and for their teaching work.” The report is divided into four parts with an introduction by Mr. Webster:

- Part I The Study of History
- Part II College History Teaching
- Part III Recommendations
- Part IV Evaluations of the Seminar

The first part mainly deals with the concept and interpretations of history. Within this short span, of course, the papers discussed are bound to be sketchy. Whether the method of scientific analysis can be profitably applied to the field of history is too vast a problem to be decided in a few pages.

Part II has approached the problem in a realistic manner and serious thought has been given to the different facets of it. But one may ask whether the problem of teaching history in colleges can be well understood without the perspective of the history teaching in the secondary stage, especially when the raising of the standard in degree classes is emphasised. Moreover, we should not lose sight of the much deeper problem, that is, the general apathy to such subjects in this age of experimental science.

In Part III, we find a number of recommendations which are not striking in nature. Any attempt to reform the present system in the manner suggested without doing away with the essay-type examination is bound to fail.

TARASANKAR BANERJEE

India: Independence and Oil—By Y. YERSHOV. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, pp. 180.

In this well documented and nicely written volume the author has presented a specialised problem relating to the development of the Petroleum industry in India in a manner which would arouse interest even in the mind of a layman. With adequate statistical data, Mr. Yershov has tried to prove his thesis that oil and independence of a country are two closely connected propositions. That oil is a measuring stick of a country's progress can be hardly doubted. India which is “very near the bottom of the league in the consumption of commercial energy per head of population” (p-6), has to depend largely on foreign countries to meet her own demand. The author laments over the slow development of this industry.

British and American oil companies first made their appearance in India at the turn of the century and since then they are trying to tighten their grip over the oil resources of our country (chap-2). We fully agree with the author when he says that “the embryonic state of India's oil extracting industry is one of the chief results of U.S. and British monopoly dominations” (p-47). In the interest of this foreign monopoly, the flow of Indian capital was hindered. But it must be admitted that India was helpless till she unshackled herself from foreign rule. It is true that “India's colonial legacy and the weak position of the state sector in the petroleum trade in the early years of independence allowed the monopolies to fleece the Indian consumer” (p-66); but one can find unmistakable signs since the fifties that India is steadily asserting herself (chap-IV). New oil fields have been explored and a few refineries have been set up. The new awareness should not be allowed to die out, but at the same time, immediate precipitate measures with regard to the foreign oil companies should be avoided lest our oil economy should be deranged by their concerted attempt. The author also observed “the foreign mono-

polies' campaign to disrupt co-operation between India and the socialist countries” (p-153), and their attempt to “influence the Indian public by misleading press reports” that the Soviet oil exports to capitalist countries have “political rather than commercial purposes” (p-154).

Mr. Yershov appears to be hyper-sensitive on this point. He sincerely wants India “to escape from British and American control of her liquid fuel supplies and to remove the continuing threat to her independence...” (p-28); but it must be said that he has overemphasised the “continuing threat” to India's independence from these foreign oil companies. The author, however, observes with satisfaction that “India has taken the first step towards solving the oil problem” (p-180), and suggests in conclusion that “the key solution lies in the public sector of the oil industry and trade”.

TARASANKAR BANERJEE

The Aligarh Movement—Its Origin and Development (1858-1906), by M. S. JAIN, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Sri Ram Mehra & Co, Agra, 1965.

This book is a thorough and exhaustive study of the Aligarh movement in all its aspects—educational, political, social and religious. It consists of eleven chapters. In the first two chapters the author traces the historical background and the genesis of the movement. The third chapter treats the movement in outline. The next three chapters (four, five and six) are devoted to the discussion of the educational aspect—the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, the Muhammadan Educational Conference etc. Chapter seven deals with the religious and social aspects. The political aspect, the most important one, has been dealt with in chapters eight and nine. Chapter ten brings to the forefront the role of the British Indian Government and individual Englishmen in the

Aligarh movement. The eleventh chapter gives a retrospective view of the whole movement.

The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that the author has tapped many contemporary original sources, including the unpublished letters of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and other notables taking part in the movement, and also the private papers of different Viceroys, with the help of which he has been able to throw fresh light on some of the much discussed problems connected with the Muslim politics of the period under review. The author has supported his arguments, though sometimes not conforming to the established view, with an array of documentary evidence. He has very aptly discussed in his book some of the controversial points, such as Beck's influence on Sayyid Ahmad, how far Sayyid acted as a tool in the hands of the British imperialists in their policy of divide and rule, how far the Muslim deputation of 1906 to Lord Minto was a “command performance”. His evaluation of Sayyid as a leader may leave scope for difference of opinion, but on the whole the treatment of the subject shows the author's critical judgement and judicious handling of materials. The book is definitely a valuable contribution to historical research.

K. BISHUI

Yukta Banglar Sesh Adhyaya by Mr. KALI PADA BISWAS; Published by the Orient Book Company, Calcutta 1966. Price 12.50.

The circumstances under which India won her independence and suffered partition form an important subject of study. Contemporary writers like A.C. Johnson, L. Mosley, Moulana Azad have thrown light on some of the facts which led to the partition, but yet many more facts remain untold and undiscussed. Mr. Kali Pada Biswas, a well-known journalist and eye witness of many incidents, has positively contributed to the understanding of this fascinating development by recording his impressions in his *Yukta Banglar Sesh Adhyaya*.

As the title suggests, Mr. Biswas has primarily concerned himself with the developments in Bengal, and as the principal actor on the stage he has chosen Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq, a Bengali in the true sense of the term. Mr. Biswas commences his analysis from 1920 and highlights the circumstances which brought Fazlul Huq to the fore as one of the leaders of the undivided Bengal. The elections of 1937 and the decision taken by the Congress not to form a ministry with Fazlul Huq and his party as a team, in the opinion of the author, converted him from being a leader of the Bengalees to that of the Muslims. Mr. Biswas believes this incident to be the turning point of the history of pre-Partition Bengal. The

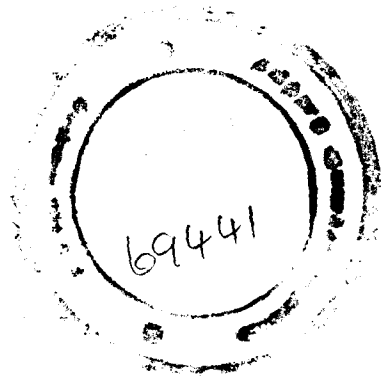
aftermath was only a logical consequence of this political bifurcation. In the forties, while some attempts were made by the provincial politicians to arrest the slide, the forces generated proved to be too strong to overcome.

Written in a journalistic style, Mr. Biswas has shown a sense of proportion and discipline in marshalling his facts. The book should provide valuable materials for the future scholars who might be interested in examining this interesting period.

AMIYA BARAT

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