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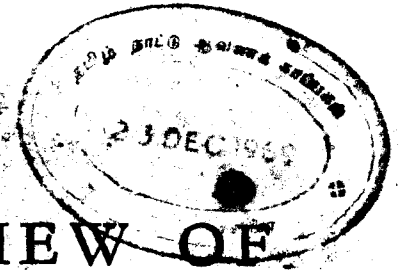
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NUMBER 3

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CALCUTTA



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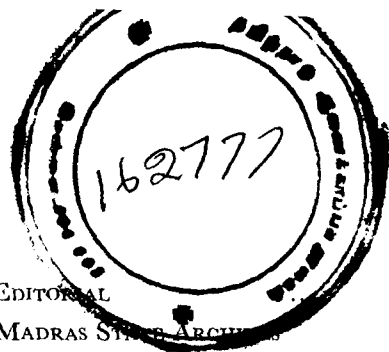
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## THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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## EDITORIAL

## The Wind of Change:

The language question which had stirred violent agitations in different parts of the country in 1967-68 is currently undergoing a silent change. What precise shape it will take in future it is yet too early to predict, but one can clearly feel the wind of change in the sphere of education. The language policy in education started in 1967 with a veiled attempt to eliminate the study of Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking States by stressing the language load of students and seeking to offer relief by prescribing the compulsory study of two languages only, the regional language and English. It immediately raised a vociferous clamour in the Hindi-speaking area and among politicians demanding early replacement of English by Hindi as the national link language. The Education Ministry suddenly discovered that 'discretion is the best part of valour', quickly retraced its steps and fell back on the earlier accepted policy (never seriously implemented anywhere, particularly in the Hindi-speaking States) of a three-language formula. The decision was arrived at after a show of many conferences with this group and that, at the cost of the poor tax-payers' money. English was to be retained as a compulsory language in higher education, but a curious phrase was coined to soothe the feelings of the anti-English-wallahs, that it was to be treated as a 'library language'. All credit goes to the

ingenious person who coined this phrase. We know that English will be studied for many years to come as a living and spoken language.

Recently a new policy has been enunciated, giving more open importance to English in higher education and seeking to slow down the process of change from English to the regional language as the medium of instruction up to the highest level. The situation is yet nebulous, but in view of the support given to the new policy at a recent conference of Vice-Chancellors it seems probable that English-baiting will be checked. The Vice-Chancellors have emphasised the need for retention of English as a compulsory subject of study and while admitting the desirableness of an ultimate switch-over to the regional language as the medium of instruction they have advised caution in the pace of change. The sum total of the decisions arrived at is that English is to retain almost its present position of importance, and although on paper the regional language is accepted as the most suitable medium of instruction, English is to continue for an indefinite period as the medium of instruction in science and technology and also in a number of studies in humanities.

It seems that the Vice-Chancellors were over-cautious and spoke with their tongue in the cheek. We have sympathy for them. Not

knowing which way the wind was blowing, they wanted to play safe. What, however, tickles outside observers is the pliancy of these elderly gentlemen directing universities to the wishes of the Education Ministry. They gave the same lukewarm support to the old policy as they have now given to the new. Swimming with the current is no doubt good at times, but the public would expect the University heads to have the courage to regulate the current when needed. One cannot put off firm decisions for ever. If any stability is to be established in our educational system for at least half a century, there must be some consistent and clearcut decisions about the medium of instruction and the national link-language of the educated elite.

These decisions cannot be arrived at in the isolation of the academic world, as they are inseparably linked with appointments to administrative services and the use of Indian languages in administrative work. The U.P.S.C. has already accepted, obviously under political pressure, the principle of using the regional languages in its examinations, with what chaotic consequences one can easily foresee. In the Union administration Hindi and English will be used simultaneously, though their relationship is not clearly defined. In the State administration the regional language has been accepted as the official language, but it is only on paper and is most likely to remain so for many years yet. To avoid further confusion, it is time that both politicians and academicians realise that the language question must be settled in all its aspects and not in isolated compartments, and that indecision, to avoid unpleasant situations, is not a virtue on all occasions.

We whole-heartedly approve of the new trend and hope that there will not be a change of wind again in the near future. But we wish the Education Ministry would come out more openly with its firm decisions, after consulting the political wing of the Government, and that the educationists would come out with their views more boldly than they had done in the past.

### The Forsaken Baby:

One of the pious wishes put in the Constitution is the introduction of free and compulsory primary education within 15 years. Fortunately for the Government, it was not included in the operative part of the Constitution but in the section which was intended as an expression of lofty ideals to enthuse the generation of the independence era. Still people hoped that at least some serious attempts would be made to implement the promise held out in the Constitution. Nobody could believe that the baby could be so quietly forsaken. Other babies have been fondled and nursed from time to time, Hindi, cowslaughter and secularism, but compulsory primary education has remained a forsaken baby and people in authority rarely even talk about it.

The Union Government refuses to look at it on the ground that the responsibility for primary education should be shouldered by the State Governments. Since Independence the Union Government is steadily increasing its effective control over university, college and to some extent secondary education. Although education is a State subject, the Union Education Ministry has expanded many times its pre-independence size. There are also numerous ancillary bodies, the largest being the U. G. C. Universities, higher institutes and colleges get a substantial part of their funds from the Union Government. There is no move, however, to extend similar assistance to primary education. If college education (which is certainly not *higher education* as envisaged in the Constitution) could be brought within the purview of Central grants by obviously stretching the Constitutional provision, there is no reason why some financial assistance could not be given to primary education if the desire was there. One would wish, if only a part of the money that is spent on the mushroom growth of universities and colleges, institutes and research bodies, seminars, conferences and summer schools could be diverted to the more urgent need for primary education.

While the Centre has so unceremoniously disclaimed the baby, the States are not inclined either to accept responsibility. Like the Central Government, the State Governments (of all hues, white, pink or red) are also determined to impress the public (and incidentally to capture the votes of the politically conscious and vocal sections) by doing big things—creating large universities, raising the salary scales and dearness allowance of college teachers and expanding the administrative personnel in education. They sometimes talk about upgrading secondary education although they have not the least desire to reduce the present sharp caste distinction between school teachers and college teachers, almost as sharp as between the Subordinate State Service and the Indian Administrative Service. But they have always maintained a discreet silence on the question of compulsory primary education. The net result is that the same classes which are favoured and petted by the Central Government also receive the most affectionate attention of the State Governments. No wonder that such pampering has led to a steady decline in standards. In any family if milk is in short supply, the children get the first preference and not the adolescents or the full-grown. But in the post-independence era all the milk has been given to the so-called higher education. Nobody bothers about the forsaken baby.

The example set by the Union and State Governments is followed by non-official organisations also, many of which have crores at their disposal. But they are also equally enamoured of 'the grand and the spectacular.' Many museums, libraries and research institutions have been recently established in memory of political leaders, duplicating and triplicating the work done by earlier agencies; but there was never a move to divert a part of the funds to help the spread of primary education. Multi-volumed biographies of this or that political leader, publication of speeches and writings and collection of their personal belongings are considered as the only worthy objects to spend money on.

The main impediment in the way of the implementation of the Constitutional provision about free and compulsory primary education is not lack of funds but a wrong sense of values. Until those who control political machinery and social structure come to realise that no grand superstructure can be raised without first strengthening the base, primary education is destined to remain a forsaken baby.

### DNB Project:

We are happy to note the increasing interest among all sections in the *Dictionary of National Biography* Project. The national importance of the Project not only as a homage to the makers of modern India but also as a useful contribution to the process of national integration is now widely recognised. We are receiving letters of appreciation from all parts of the country which give us encouragement in our work and make us all the more eager to live up to the public expectations. We take this opportunity to thank those individuals and institutions who have given us encouragement, and we only hope that when we complete the Project in 1971 we shall not disappoint them. With the active collaboration of the most renowned scholars and of the most eminent public figures in the country, we feel hopeful about the success of the Project.

In Vol. VII no. 4 we had published a list of eminent persons who had agreed to write biographical entries for the DNB. The list is quite impressive, representing all the political parties, non-political associations and all shades of opinion. Since then the list has been strengthened by many later additions, the most prominent being: Mr M. C. Setalvad (former Attorney-General of India), Mr. Frank Moraes (Editor-in-Chief, Indian Express), Mr. C. B. Gupta (Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh), Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi (Deputy Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh), Mr. L. Acharya (Finance Minister, Uttar Pradesh), Mr. Jawar Hussain (Finance Minister, Bihar), Mr. Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee (Chief Minister of West

Bengal), Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh (Editor, Amrita Bazar Patrika) and Mr. Sudhangsu Kumar Bose (Editor, Hindusthan Standard). It is most gratifying to get such wide co-operation from different sections.

The progress of work is also quite satisfactory. We have received nearly half the entries already from our contributors. They are being processed. The remaining entries are expected to come in by October. In December we shall have a final check-up of the names before the Dictio-

nary Volumes are made ready for the press.

In spite of the successful progress of work, we are still worried about the financial deficit. We have made fresh appeals for grants to the Union and State Governments. The response has been encouraging, but we shall not be out of the woods until we can raise one lakh of rupees to meet the latest estimated deficit. We are yet hopeful that the country will not allow the Project to be abandoned in the final stage for such a small deficit.

## MADRAS STATE ARCHIVES

THIRU S. SINGARAJAN

(Director, Madras State Archives.)

Madras is a familiar name to historians, administrators and archivists throughout the world. Madras has been complimented by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the 'Intellectual Capital' of India and the Government of Madras had been praised universally as the "best administered State in India". It is self evident that the Madras State Archives is one of the best organised Archives in India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Indian Republic, who visited this Archives had stated that this Archives had a chequered history. The archival holdings of the Government of Madras, preserved in the Madras State Archives reflect the truth that Madras had earned a reputation in all the periods and this is true also of the modern period, as seen from the days of Chennappa Naick, the days of the Dutch, the French and the English. How Madras changed hands and finally came under the sway of the English forms the back ground for the history of Madras. The history pertaining to South East Asia, the Factory of Bengat, the administration of the English Settlements in the Middle East and Bombay are reflected in the records of Madras. Along with Surat and Bantang, Madras had been one of the vital trade centres for the English. The Government of Madras had the fortunate association of many brilliant administrators from the days of Clive and Dupleix down to the many reputed statesmen of our time. The records created by Clive, Munro, Bentinck, Harris, Trevelyan and a host of others make an illuminating ground for the study of the history of Madras and India. The records relating to the reforms of Lord Ripon, the inception of the Congress, the movement of Tilak for Swaraj, the work of

Mrs Annie Besant for Home Rule Movement, the birth and growth of the Justice Party and the rise of Non-Brahmin Movement along with the awakening of the Depressed Classes up to the present day, are some of the subjects which are suggestive of the wide canvas, which depict the variety and richness of the collection in the Madras State Archives. Thus, it forms part of the residuum of vibrant national movements and the administrative measures of the Government in this period.

**History:** During the 17th century, Madras was a small city ruling over a few scattered factories and coastal settlements. The East India Company, though it originally started as a trading organisation, by force of events, began to interfere in the internal politics of the country and in consequence acquired vast territories in India. The expansion of the territories of the Company led to many changes in the administrative policy and gradual increase in the business of the Government. In consequence the records of the Government began to accumulate beyond bounds. The East India Company began to function from the Fort (Fort St. George) from 1639 and regular record series began from 1670. The oldest English record in Madras is a letter dated 9-11-1670 received to the address of "Our Agent and Councill<sup>1</sup> in Fort St. George". The increasing accumulation of records made the Government devise ways and means for their custody and preservation. In the earliest days there was no settled office for the Secretary

<sup>1</sup> Earlier records are available in India Office, London, and some of these have been abridged and published in "Bruce's Annals" London, 1810.

and as such the records were preserved in chests in the Council Chambers in the Fort House. Later on when a room was allotted for the Secretary the records were probably transferred there. In 1754, the Secretariat was divided into two branches, each of which kept its own records. The arrangement continued till 1805. In that year Lord William Bentinck centralised the records which were till then scattered in the various departments of the Secretariat and placed them in charge of a special establishment, to look after the records, to arrange them properly and to issue them promptly on requisition to various departments for reference. In 1821 it was brought to the notice of the Government by the Civil Architect that the buildings were decayed and white ants were attacking the almirahs. The records were therefore moved into the rooms on the first floor of the Secretariat in 1823. In 1825 they were shifted into the Pillar Godowns of the Secretariat Buildings.

In 1837, a year previous to the passing of the Public Record Office Act of 1838 in England, the Government noticed the great inconvenience arising from the immense accumulation of Public records in the principal offices of the Presidency and found it difficult to provide accommodation for their receipt and custody as the volume increased. They therefore appointed Mr. George Garrow, a member of the Civil Service, to arrange the records and to make "a selection of such papers as may, without risk of detriment to individual or public interests and without diminishing the stock of valuable historical information which they contain, be destroyed as useless." He examined the Public Consultations Volumes from 1677 to 1710 and the connected original bundles but he does not seem to have recorded the result of his researches. In 1853 Mr. W. Huddleston, a member of the Civil Service, was commissioned to continue the work under an agreement sanctioned by the Court of Directors in 1855. He, however, performed this work for a short period. The Government finally entrusted the work to Mr. Talboys Wheeler,

Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy, Presidency College, Madras in 1860. He examined the records from 1672 to 1854 and embodied the results of his labour in his "Hand Book to Madras Records" printed in 1861. This book, though it describes in some detail the various subjects dealt with under each class of records, was primarily aimed at selecting documents from the mass of records. Following the Wheeler's Handbook some selections from oldest Madras Records from 1670 to 1681 were published by Mr. Huddleston in 1871-73. In 1890 the Government accepted Mr. Pringle's offer to continue the selections. He issued selections from Diary and Consultation Book from 1681 upto 1694 and also publications in extenso of D and C of 1682-85.

In 1883 the records were again moved into the ground floor of the Secretariat buildings. The administration of the records was continued as a part of the Secretariat work under the charge of an officer designated sometimes as Record Keeper and sometimes as Superintendent of the General Record Department. Special report or selections based on records were prepared by appointing officers specially for the purpose. But these were only the beginning of the dawn of archive consciousness. This arrangement continued to be in operation until 1909 when a separate office, popularly known as Madras Record Office, was organised with the required complement of staff and a full fledged officer as head of the office. Mr. C.M. Schmidt, Registrar of the Chief Secretariat, held office in 1909-11 as head of the Madras Record Office with the designation "Officer in charge of Madras Record Office." In 1911, Mr. H. Dodwell of the Indian Educational Service was appointed to the post with the designation "Curator". The Government have now re-named Madras Record Office as Madras State Archives and redesignated the Curator as Director of Archives. Madras State has assumed her new nomenclature "Tamilnadu" and the State Archives has assumed the new name "Tamilnadu Archives".

**Collections:** The records of the various Departments of the Secretariat, both confidential and non-confidential, from 1670 down to 1963; all the records of various departments of the Board of Revenue from 1786 down to 1957; all important series of Survey records; all the records of the District Collectors from the earliest times to 1857; the pre-Mutiny records of the District Courts; and the records of the defunct departments are centralised here. Besides, records in Dutch, Danish, Persian and Marathi, are also housed in this Archives. The strong room documents such as documents of the land mortgage banks, co-operative societies, bonds and agreements are centralised in this office. The electoral rolls from 1961 to 1969, all the books published in various languages and registered under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 are also preserved here.

The pre-Mutiny records admit broadly the following classification :

1. Consultations.
2. General Letters.
3. Country Correspondence.
4. Special Correspondence and Minutes.
5. Special Consultations.
6. Consultations and Correspondence connected with outstations.
7. Negotiations with Foreign Powers and Treaties.
8. Committees on Finance.
9. Committees and Proceedings as regards individuals.
10. Miscellaneous Letters.
11. Reports.
12. Journals and Narratives.
13. Political Intelligence.
14. Law, Justice and Police.
15. Records respecting establishments.
16. Cowle Books, Registers of grants, Land Customs, etc.
17. Returns.
18. Memorials and Petitions.
19. Covenants and Oaths.
20. General Standing Orders.
21. Gazettes and Newspapers.

The consultations comprise a full record of the formal consultations of the President and Council at Madras from the year 1672. The early proceedings are in the nature of chronicles. At that time all the events of the colony, commercial, political and administrative were recorded in the same series, though in later years some of the miscellaneous matters came to be recorded separately. The General Letters are letters interchanged between the Government of Madras and the Board of Directors in England. Those "to England" contain full information respecting the affairs of this Presidency and those "from England" contain the instructions of the Board of Directors and its approval or non-approval of the Government Proceedings. They are invested with considerable interest, besides possessing high literary value. The "Country Correspondence" comprises the whole of the correspondence which passed between the Military and Political Departments with the native powers from 1753 to 1829 and its historical importance need not be dilated upon. The special correspondence and minutes contain correspondence with the French. The relationship with the French, Surajood Dowla, Monichand, Mir Jaffar, Omichand, Muhammad Ali and others can be gleaned from them. These special correspondence include correspondence on wars with Tippu, Land Settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Poligar Wars, Mysore and Marhatta affairs, Clive's defence of his administration, private debts of the Carnatic Nawab and general administration of territories seized from the Dutch. Special consultations refer to special occurrences which are of historical value. Cession of the Northern Circars, Mr. Humphrey's deportation for having published revolutionary articles in the 'Herald of India' edited by him and his escape, collision between the Government and the Supreme Court, Madras Government Bank and expeditions and mutinies, correspondence connected with outstations and negotiations with foreign powers, need no description. 'Committees and Proceedings as regards individuals' throw light on corruption, indiscipline, mischief etc. The

Miscellaneous Letters contain letters of minor importance not recorded in the Consulation. The Reports contain information on troops, zamindaries, export, secrecy, botanical reports and the like. Journals and narratives are journals of Military Proceedings and other similar records and contain accounts of Revolution in Bengal (1757), narrative of voyages and an account on Hindus, etc. Political intelligence, Law, Justice and Police, Cowle Books, Registers of Grants, Land Customs, Memorials and Petitions, Covenants and oaths, General Standing Orders and Gazettes and Newspapers explain themselves.

#### Post Mutiny Records.

The arrangement is Departmental and chronological. The records of each department contain information on as many subjects as the department had dealt with. It is difficult to indicate them in a short note. But the names of the Departments themselves under which the records are classed would give a broad idea of the subjects themselves.

A list of holdings is given elsewhere.

*Non-Secretariat Records which are a good source Materials.* The records of the Board of Revenue, District Collectors, Mayor's Court, the Dutch Records, the Persian records, the Danish Records, the Factory Records etc. are classified as non-Secretariat records. The records of the Board and the District Collectors give a mine of detailed information about the local conditions and the day to day administration of the district which are not obtainable among the Secretariat records. The records of the Mayor's Court give valuable information on the early administration of judicial practices in Madras. The Dutch occupied Cochin and the Danish Tranquebar in the Madras Presidency. The records left by them contain good material for authentic history. The Persian records mirror the internal administration and the correspondence of the Nawab of the Carnatic during the eighteenth century and as such

contain good source material. Among the books registered at the office of the Registrar of Books which are in about 17 languages, a mine of published information relating to history, sociology, religion, science, politics etc. can be collected for those interested in any particular subject, besides providing material for the study of linguistics, the growth of contemporary literature etc.

**Buildings:** The archival building, specially designed and built in Madras, is the best in India. They are situated in No. 6, Gandhi Irwin Road, Egmore. The Administrative Block and six records blocks were constructed in 1909: the Seventh Record Block was built in 1938. Each of the Record Blocks is 40 feet wide and 120 feet long. All the buildings are of solid construction and are situated in a spacious compound in a more or less quiet locality in Egmore. Some idea of the capacity of the Record Blocks can be obtained when it is stated that their floor area is more than 50,000 square feet and their stack area more than 1,60,00 cubic feet. Special arrangements have been made in these Blocks to provide proper shelving, plenty of light and ventilation and effective protection against insect pests, theft and outbreaks of fire. In the older Blocks the record racks, both the upright and shelves, are wholly made of galvanized iron and polished teak wood; in the new Blocks the racks are made of iron uprights and teak wood shelves, since wood is kinder to records and eliminates all danger of rust, sweating and buckling. All iron racks are painted white. The racks are as a rule 3 feet deep, 10 to 15 feet long and 22 feet tall. Except Block 7 which has two floors, in all Blocks the tall racks are partitioned into three sections by two floors of iron gratings constructed above the ground floor. This provides good vertical ventilation and light. In all Blocks the racks are arranged on either side of a 7 feet wide central passage and at right angles to it, leaving a sub-passage, 3 feet wide between each rack; and each of these sub-passages, both on the ground floor and on the upper tiers, is lighted by a window.

The central passage in the Block is purposely made wide to allow the records being easily carried on trolleys to any part of the ground floor; and the gratings above the ground floor are provided with man-holes through which the records can be taken to the upper tiers more easily than by the staircases provided at either end of the tiers.

There are on the whole more than 1,000 windows in the Blocks. Additional ventilation is secured by ceiling the exhaust fans and cowle ventilators. Save in one Block, which is specially fitted with crystal windows of reinforced glass, the windows in all the Blocks on both the ground floor and the upper tiers are fitted with glazed shutters and iron bars. As an additional protection all the ground floor windows are provided with steel shutters. The walls of the Blocks in most cases are covered with glazed tiles to prevent dust, damp, and danger of white ants; and the floors are made of cement concrete or Guddapah slabs. The joinings of the walls and floors both in the Blocks and in the corridors are rounded off with cement to prevent cracks and entry of white ants and to facilitate clearing. All the buildings are watched during night and out of office hours by a resident Durwan and an Assistant Durwan and their duties are checked with the help of a tell-tale clock. At the entrances to the Blocks and at other convenient places are kept hand-fire engines, stirrup pumps, chemical fire extinguishers and buckets of sand and water. All the Blocks are provided with iron doors and iron fire escapes and all round the Blocks in the compound are located a number of fire hydrants connected to the city water supply. These hydrants are intended chiefly for the use of the public fire engines which can be summoned in an emergency by means of the telephone. There are also large static water tanks inside the office compound. The whole staff of the office is regularly trained in the use of the fire fighting equipment.

The Tamil Nadu Archives buildings stand as a monument to the pioneering work at

scientific preservation of records and are perhaps the best Archival buildings in India.

**Staff.** The Director is the head of the office. He is assisted by one Assistant Director (Gazetted) and a complement of ministerial and non-ministerial staff such as Superintendent (1) Research Assistant (1) Office Assistants (3), Assistants (11), Clerks (6), Typists (3), Stenotypist (1), Binders (2), Menders (20), Attenders (Record Clerks) (44), Durwan (1), Assistant Durwan (1), Duffadar (1), Peons (4), Gardener (1), Sweeper (4) and Sanitary Worker (1).

**Mending and Binding:** One of the important specialities of this office is that of mending and reconditioning damaged records. The Tamil Nadu Archives has perfected this art and the mending work in Madras is acclaimed as the best in the country.

The office has mended and reconditioned a very large number of manuscript volumes of records and loose files in bundles. All the volumes of the Secretariat records from 1670 to 1800 and many volumes of the same series from 1800 to 1857 have already been mended and re-bound. It has also mended and re-bound hundreds of volumes of the District records, the Mayor's Court Records, the Dutch and Danish records and a large number of maps, plans, etc. The District Court records and the Registration Department volumes have also been mended in full. It is now engaged in mending and reconditioning the records of the Secretariat, the Board of Revenue and other offices of the period 1600 to 1857 and in flattening and repairing all folded files in the bundles, Inam Fair Registers etc. It is also repairing all the damaged Government Orders of the modern period and it takes particular care to see that no records are sent out on requisition unless they are fit for handling. All flattened files are provided with manilla dockets and all mended volumes are re-bound in green art canvas or cloth covers.

**Retirement of Records:** The Secretariat

Departments retain 4 years records including the current year and transfer the rest to this office. The Board of Revenue retains the last 10 years records and transfers the rest to the office yearly.

**Training Centre:** Tamil Nadu Archives has trained many in Archives Keeping and in mending and binding of the old records. These include persons deputed from the Government offices of this State and also from other States. Students of Library Science of the Universities of Madras and Mysore regularly visit this office every year for observational study. Advice on preservation of records are also given to a number of institutions.

**Centre for Research:** One of the important duties of the office is to throw the records open for historical research. The records of the last 50 years are treated as current records and the rest are thrown open for bona fide historical research. Even among the current records those that have been placed at the disposal of the press have been thrown open for research. Rules for the grant of permission, and supply of records etc. have also been framed by the Government. Facilities are available to get copies of the records required by those who cannot undertake the examination of records in person on payment of a moderate search fee and transcription charges; the search and transcription in such cases are undertaken by this office. In order to ensure that the permission granted to consult the records for bonafide

historical research is not misused, the Research Students are required to submit notes, extracts, etc., taken by them to the Director for his scrutiny and release. The Director has been given full discretion to withhold such portions of the notes as are irrelevant and objectionable on public grounds. Many scholars and University students hailing from different Universities both in India and abroad attend this office to do research.

In order to encourage and assist historical research, the office has published lists of records from 1670 to 1800, Guides to District Records for all the Districts up to 1835, Calendars for certain series of records from 1740 to 1765, Compendia on certain subjects, Catalogues for the books registered at the Office of the Registrar of Books. Publications in extenso have been issued for all the volumes from 1670 to 1750 and they are proposed to be issued for the period from 1751 to 1765 also. The publications so far issued will be found in appendix B (Catalogue).

**Modernisation:** The increase in the volume of records held by this Archives, nearly 6 million files, 6 lakhs of books and some thousands of large sized volumes, has necessitated the need to employ the modern techniques of preservation. This archive has therefore now on hand proposals for machine lamination, vacuum fumigation, vacuum cleaning, micro-filming and expansion of research facilities.

## AUGUSTIN OF BORDEAUX AND HIS RELATIONS WITH THE MUGHAL COURT (1612-1632)

Dr. R. NATH

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A Frenchman, named Augustin (or Austin) who was a native of Bordeaux is one of the most controversial figures of medieval Indian history. What part he actually played at the Mughal court during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jehan, is a question which has puzzled students and scholars of Mughal history. Three roles have been attributed to him,

- (1) That he was the designer of the Taj and other marble palaces of Shah Jehan;
- (2) That it was he who introduced and superintended the inlay work which was called 'pietra dura' or Florentine inlay; and
- (3) That he was a jeweller who was employed to work on gold thrones and other gold and silver works during the reigns of these two Mughal Emperors.

### (a) Augustin as an architect?

The idea that Augustin was the designer of the Taj and other buildings of Shah Jehan was suggested by Sleeman (Lt. Col. W. H.) in the first half of the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> He identified him with Ustad Isa, the popularly accepted architect of the Taj.<sup>2</sup> His fantastic hypothesis is not corroborated by any other source, Persian or European, and seems to be too imaginative to be credible. The Mughal architecture as is revealed in the buildings of Shah Jehan had developed gradually and some of its features could be traced as far back as the

ancient Hindu period. The Taj-Mahal's plan was not an isolated phenomenon or a miraculous hit of an architectural genius. It marks the perfect moment in the evolution of Mughal architecture; it is the culmination of an art epoch which began with Akbar. That it derived inspiration from earlier examples is too apparent a fact to be denied. The tomb of Humayun built around 1565 had a plinth of 22' height and an octagonalised-square plan. Even an earlier tomb at Agra which is assigned to the reign of Ibrahim Lodi (1517-1526) had a similar chambered plan and detached kiosks at the angles of its plinth. Minarets appeared on the southern gateway of Akbar's tomb (1605-12) and in an attached form at the tomb of Imdad-ud-Daulah (1622-26) and that of Jahangir (1628). The architect of the Taj drew his fundamentals from these early tombs and no doubt, it was he who worked out the details. Wooden models seem to have been prepared beforehand upon which such details were perfected.<sup>3</sup> Shah Jehan had his own ideas and seems to have played an important part in the finalisation of the plan of the Taj. Its origin therefore cannot be ascribed to the invention of a single master-mind—least of all to a foreigner who could not have been acquainted with the art traditions of the country. It is as much true of Augustin as of Veroneo.<sup>4</sup> Marshall aptly rejected such assumptions, "It is inconceivable that a European, like Veroneo, imbued as he must have been with the traditions of the Renaissance, could have so completely divested himself of those traditions and could have entered so intimately into the spirit of an alien style as to create not only a

masterpiece in that style, but one that is true to it in every essential detail.”<sup>5</sup>

Besides, in his own letters Augustin mentions himself only as a jeweller at the Mughal court, as shall be discussed hereafter. He does not mention at all his involvement in the designing of the buildings. Sleeman observed that “Shah Jehan had commenced his own tomb on the opposite side of the Jumna; and both were to have been united by a bridge. The death of Austin de Bordeaux and the wars between his sons that followed prevented the completion of these magnificent works.”<sup>6</sup> But this is only a fanciful presumption. Augustin was at Chaul near Bombay on 9th March 1632, as his letter mentioned hereafter records. He was on the way to Goa and there or at Cochin he died, most probably the same year. The foundations of the Taj had hardly been completed in March 1632; thus Sleeman’s observation appears to be unhistorical. Many Europeans of early 19th century who were maltreated by the natives or who underwent the tortures of the Indian climate or who fought bitter battles with its people had a biased attitude and were not prepared to admit that these semi-savage, superstitious, illiterate, medieval people could be so artistically advanced. Hence they attributed everything that was beautiful and graceful in Indian architecture to Europeans. In the absence of any support Sleeman’s observation is not acceptable. As a matter of fact he himself was not sure of his analysis, as he later commented, “I would not be thought very positive upon this point. I think I am right but feel that I may be wrong.”<sup>7</sup>

#### (b) Augustin as an Inlayer?

Another theory was introduced by Manrique. It was that Augustin introduced the Florentine *pietra dura* into India and that it was he who worked on the inlaid marble plaques at the Diwan-i-am of the Delhi Fort. This theory was popularised by Sleeman and others. Sleeman held the view that the figure of Orpheus depicted on one of the plaques was a

representation of Augustin of Bordeaux himself. This it seemed to him had been permitted by Shah Jehan in the same way that he had allowed Amanat Khan Shirazi the calligrapher to inscribe his name on the Taj gate.

Fergusson, the pioneer-scholar and one of the most renowned authorities of Indian architecture, was particularly convinced in this respect. He designated the art as a mosaic in ‘*pietro-duro*’ (or *pietra-dura*) and maintained that “in the early part of the 17th century Italian artists, principally, apparently from Florence, were introduced into India and taught the Indians the art of inlaying marble with precious stones. No instance of this mode of decoration occurs so far as I know in the reign of Akbar; but in that of Shah Jehan it became the leading characteristic of the style and both his palaces and his tombs owe their principal distinction to the beauty of the mode in which this new invention was employed.”<sup>8</sup> The confidence which Fergusson placed in this theory may better be assessed by the study of his footnote in the same connection, “Although the fact seems hardly now to be doubted, no very direct evidence has yet been adduced to prove that it was to foreign—Florentine—artists that the Indians owe the art of inlaying in precious stones generally known as work in ‘*petro-duro*’. Austin or Augustine de Bordeaux is the only European artist whose name can positively be identified with any works of the class. He certainly was employed by Shah Jehan at Delhi and executed that mosaic of Orpheus or Apollo playing to the beasts, after Raphael’s picture, which once adorned the throne there, and is now in the Indian Museum at South Kensington.”<sup>9</sup> It is, however, hardly to be expected that natives should record the names of those who surpassed them in their own arts; and needy Italian adventurers were even less likely to have an opportunity of recording the works they executed in a strange and foreign country. Had any Italian who lived at the courts of Jahangir or Shah Jehan written a book, he might have recorded the artistic prowess of his countrymen but none

such so far as I am aware has yet seen light. The internal evidence, however, seems complete. Upto the erection of the gates to Akbar’s tomb at Secundra in the first ten years of Jahangir’s reign, A.D. 1605-1615, we have infinite mosaics of coloured marble but no specimen of ‘*Inlay*’. In It-mad-Doulah’s tomb A.D. 1615-1628, we have both systems in great perfection. In the Taj and palaces at Agra and Delhi built by Shah Jehan A.D. 1628-1668, the mosaic has disappeared being entirely supplanted by the ‘*inlay*’. It was just before that time that the system of inlaying called *pietro-duro* was invented and became the rage at Florence and in fact all throughout Europe and we know that during the reign of the two last-named monarchs many Italian artists were in their service quite capable of giving instruction in the new art.”<sup>10</sup> V. A. Smith closely followed Fergusson and maintained an identical opinion.<sup>11</sup> “The Florentine *pietra dura* inlay,” he observed, “a revival of the ancient Roman *opus sectile* first appears according to Major Cole in the *Fabbrica Ducab* built by Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1558. The earliest certain Indian examples being considerably later in date and identical in technique, a strong presumption arises that the art must have been introduced into India from Italy.”<sup>12</sup>

Fergusson noticed the examples of inlay work first at the Tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah, he did not notice it unfortunately at the tomb of Akbar (1605-12). Here we come across earlier examples of both types of mosaic, the tessellated and the inlaid. Inlay technique has been employed pronouncedly on the spandrels of the arches but even more successfully on the dado slabs of the second storey of the western false gateway. Three such dados have survived which have inlaid borders exactly on the same technique and in the same motifs as are met with at the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah, Musamman Burj in Agra Fort and on a more refined scale at the Taj-Mahal.

Jami Masjid of Fatehpur Sikri finished in

1571 has even earlier examples of inlay with bold patterns, particularly on the central archway of the sanctuary and on the qibla wall. Delhi-gate and Jahangirimahal in the Agra Fort built between 1563 and 1569 have examples of true inlay. The Tomb of Humayun at Delhi also has inlay specimens. Mosaic work on the central archway of the Qila-i-Kuhna mosque at Delhi (1542) is also technically inlaid. The only difference between these early inlaid examples and the Taj inlay is that of the motifs and the scale—the technique all the time remained the same.

The earliest examples of inlay are not, as Fergusson and others fancifully presumed, at the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah but at Mandu and at Sadri. The mausoleum in the Ashrafi Mahal apartments and at the Tower of Victory constructed about 1450 at the former place had patterns inlaid with choice stones.<sup>13</sup> Almost simultaneously the inlay style had been resorted to in the Chaumukhi Jain Temple at Ranpur in Sadri Pass in the Jodhpur State.<sup>14</sup> Here rare stones as cornelian and agate had been used. There is no doubt that the art of inlay developed from these early beginnings; the Mughals added their own motifs and executed it in precious stones. They developed it and it was under their patronage that the art reached to such a high degree of perfection.

The hypothesis has not been supported by any other source, Persian or European, contemporary or later. The marble plaques in the throne chamber of the Diwan-i-am in the Red Fort Delhi, one of which depicts Orpheus playing on the lute, are the sole examples in India of this particular art and were undoubtedly imported ready-made from Florence,<sup>15</sup> in the same way as glass was procured from Aleppo for the embellishment of the Shish-Mahal. The extremely deep black and finely grained marble of these plaques is not procurable in India and is quarried in Italy only.<sup>16</sup> Not only the plaques but also the inlaid stones, the designs and the method are typically Italian so much so that part of their restoration could

only be done in Florence. On the basis of these findings Marshall concluded that "they were not only designed but actually executed in an Italian studio and afterwards imported into the country."<sup>17</sup> His view was confirmed by Signor Menegatti, a Florentine mosaicist and a practical expert of the art, whose services were utilised by the Department of Archaeology when these panels were restored between 1906 and 1909.<sup>18</sup>

E. B. Havell rejected the theory of a Florentine origin of the Mughal inlay art<sup>19</sup>; he noted that, "on technical grounds it is difficult to understand why a French goldsmith and jeweller should be made responsible for inlaid stone work similar in technique but totally different in design to Florentine *pietra dura*."<sup>20</sup> He maintained that the art developed in India indigenously and the solitary instance at the Diwan-i-am of Delhi fort must have been imported ready-made. Percy Brown also agreed that this plaque was imported from Florence and "as a choice work of art was incorporated by the Indian artisan in his ornamental scheme just as a piece of exotic brocade might be included in a patch work quilt."<sup>21</sup> In his opinion the foreign influence in medieval India "was confined almost entirely to the field of the minor and applied arts, the effect on the architecture being of little consequence owing mainly to its inherent constitutional vigour."<sup>22</sup> The nomenclature 'pietra-dura' to signify the Mughal art of inlay thus appears to be a misnomer. It developed as much indigenously as the carved dados in the interior of cenotaph-hall at the Taj-Mahal.

Besides, most convincingly, Augustin in his own letters mentions himself only as a jeweller and as an engineer expert in counterfeiting precious stones and making gold and silver articles. He never mentions himself as an inlayer in marble. There is thus no reason to lay any credit to the hypothesis that the inlay of the Mughal architecture owes its origin to Augustin.

### (c) Augustin the jeweller and an expert in counterfeiting precious stones

In all probability, Augustin was a jeweller and was employed during the reign of Jahangir to work on golden thrones and other movable furniture. He had come to India about 1612,<sup>23</sup> with John Midnall or Mildenhall, the self-styled English ambassador to the Mughal court. He had accompanied Midnall from Persia, was with him at Lahore and Agra and it was in his house at Ajmer that Midnall died in June 1614; Midnall had appointed him his executor and had left his wealth to him in return of the promise that Augustin would marry his daughter and would bring up his son.<sup>24</sup> This led him to trouble with the English East India Company, whose merchants were cheated by Midnall, and to whom the wealth of Midnall really belonged. Petition was lodged to the Emperor and Thomas Keridge, the English agent at Ajmer, could recover part of it from Augustin with great difficulty.<sup>25</sup>

It goes to suggest that Augustin was a man of doubtful credentials. This seems to be confirmed by his association with a cheat and impostor like Midnall, whom his own fellow countrymen reproached vehemently. A letter dated 19th August 1614 mentions Augustin who had embezzled the goods of Midnall.<sup>26</sup> Keridge had an even worse opinion about Augustin to whom he casually alludes in a letter dated 20th September 1614.<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Withington recorded with regret in a letter of 29th October 1614 that as soon as Midnall was dead his books and papers were burnt by the Frenchman<sup>28</sup> who was no other than Augustin. Withington helped his broker Jadov, who had tried to cheat Khwaja Jahan with a false ring; this counterfeit piece of jewellery, Withington observed, belonged to Augustin.<sup>29</sup> Bernier, the famous French traveller, who spent some years at the Mughal court as a physician observed regarding the two peacocks of the Peacock Throne, "They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman<sup>30</sup>

by birth, name.....<sup>31</sup> who after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe by means of false gems which he fabricated with peculiar skill<sup>32</sup> sought refuge in the Great Moghul's court, where he made his fortune."<sup>33</sup> Havell also maintained the view that "Austin was a goldsmith and a jeweller of very doubtful reputation."<sup>34</sup> After scrutinizing these references, one may simply agree with Bernier that Augustin "after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe had come to the Mughal court."

### (d) His coming over to India and employment at the Mughal court

He arrived in the Mughal Empire in approximately 1612. He wrote to Baron du Tour the French diplomat from Lahore on 26th April 1625, "Monsieur—the first acquaintance I had with your lordship was in London when the King sent you to congratulate King James the new King of England on his arrival from Scotland.<sup>35</sup> I have since been several times to see you at the Hotel de Venise in the Faubourg St. Germain and you have known me as a man of many interests. Among other things I was expert at counterfeiting precious stones, but as my age increased my ambition increased also and in order to obtain public esteem it was necessary for me to render some remarkable service to my King and Lord. The year before Henry the Great died<sup>36</sup> I decided to travel in the Kingdoms of the East; and finding nothing in Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia or Persia worthy of a King I passed on towards this King of India commonly called the Grand Mogor or Mogul..."<sup>37</sup> Thus he began his journey from Europe in 1609. We find him in 1614 well established at Ajmer. That brings him to India well around 1612 which is also confirmed by him as referred to above. As it appears he must have been in a fairly advanced age when he moved into India.

He was employed at the Mughal court as a

jeweller.<sup>38</sup> In a letter to Monsieur Castaniac, Merchant Jeweller, Place du Palais, Bordeaux, written from Lahore on 20th July 1620, Augustin narrates, "I have been in this country eight years. All the Frenchmen I had brought with me died in the first year and thereafter I took service with this King, the Great Mogul, who at first gave me 4 crowns a day (—4s.6d. a day) but now during the last year (i.e. in 1619) has made me a captain of 200 horse. I made him a royal throne in which there are several millions of gold and silver... Some years past I wished to take leave, but the King did not wish to give it me. Anticipating that I would obtain it, I sent an elephant through Persia with Don Robert Shirley...I intend to ask again next year for leave and to bring with me another elephant. I beg you to ask the ambassador if it can pass freely through Turkey and to let me know by way of Ispahan addressing the letter to the barefooted Carmelite Fathers in Ispahan. They will send me the letter to the court of the Grand Mogul. I beg you also to forward this letter addressed as follows, to Monsieur Castaniac...so that my relations may know that God has not yet cut the thread of my life, with humble commendations, your obedient, Augustin Houaremand<sup>39</sup> (a Persian name which this King has given me and which means 'Inventor of Arts!')".<sup>40</sup> This has been confirmed by Jahangir in his Memoirs. While describing the new year festivities on the 14th year of his accession in March 1619 he recorded that "Among the offerings of that Madar-us-Saltana (Mirza Chias Beg entitled Itmad-ud-Daulah) there was a throne of gold and silver much ornamented and decorated, the supports of which were in the form of tigers. It had been completed with great assiduity in the space of three years and was made at the cost of 4,50,000. This throne had been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand (skilful) who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller and in all sorts of skill (hunarmandi). He had made it very well and I gave him this name."<sup>41</sup> In continuation Jahangir recorded, "Hunarmand, the European who had made

the jewelled throne I presented with 3000 darb, a horse and an elephant."<sup>42</sup>.

That he sent an elephant with Robert Shirley has again been mentioned by him in this letter; after noting that this elephant had died on the way he declared in the same letter, "So as long as I draw breath in the world I shall not desist from pursuing my plan which is to bring the King several elephants."<sup>43</sup> This has again been confirmed by the East India Company records.<sup>44</sup>

The German traveller, Heinrich Von Poser, was with Augustin for a brief period in 1621-22. He reached Agra from Lahore on December 22, 1621 and on the morning of 25th he received a visit from "Mr. Augustinus Hiriart from Bordeaux in Gascony, Engineer to the Great Mogul."<sup>45</sup> Both Poser and Augustin started for Lahore. Jahangir was at Nurpur where he granted them an interview on 15th January 1622.<sup>46</sup> Poser further recorded, "on the 28th May (1622) I said good-bye to Lahore and the quasi-paternal house of my Mr. Augustin including therewith all my good friends."

Augustin when he wrote in 1625 to Baron du Tour through M.le Baron du Cesi, French ambassador at Constantinople, seems to have been satisfied with his patron, the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, on whom he lavished unbounded praises. He described his durbars, hunts and elephant-fights with a keen sense of interest, sometimes mixed with curiosity and appreciation. The rebellion of Prince Shah Jehan has also been referred to by him in a letter of 26th April 1625.<sup>47</sup>

In a letter of 27th April 1625 written from Lahore, Augustin gave a detailed description of another throne of gold and silver which he designed for the Emperor to be used on Nauroz festival. "I have prepared a design for the construction of a royal throne for the King on which he sits once a year for nine days (which they call the new days) when the Sun enters the sign of the Ram, when their year

commences. This throne is supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals of silver covered with beaten gold leaf and the canopy is supported by 12 columns in which there are 12 thousand ounces of enamelled gold. The canopy which is in the form of a dome has been covered by me with 4 thousand of my artificial stones but the genuine stones corresponding to these are of inestimable value for the King has a great number of pearls and it is certain that he also has more large diamonds and large rubies than all the princes of the universe. On the ascent which has four steps I made 4 'Suissees' like those which are at the gate of the Louvre."<sup>48</sup>

He married a Hindu woman by whom he had two sons and probably one daughter.<sup>49</sup> By 1632 when he wrote his last letter, only one child had survived. Both his wife and the child were at Agra when he went to the Deccan in 1632.<sup>50</sup>

#### (e) His mission to Goa and death in 1632

His last letter was written on 9th March 1632 from Chaol (or Chaul, near Bombay) to Monsieur de Bermon. He narrates, "I had employed these two years at Agra in making plans for a new throne which the King had ordered before he left Agra for the Deccan. The King had required that two hundred times a hundred thousand livres should be spent on this throne in gold, diamonds, rubies, pearls and emeralds." As it seems, he was preparing design for the proposed Peacock Throne. The sentence, which followed in his narrative, however, is as enlightening as it is disappointing; he observed, "But I do not think he will ever have the benefit of it." This proves beyond doubt that the work on this proposed throne had not been begun and Augustin was certainly not employed on the construction of the Peacock Throne as is generally supposed. Abdul Hamid Lahauri made its first mention in 1044 A.H. (=1634 A.D.).<sup>51</sup> He described the throne at length. Jewels, rubies, garnets, diamonds, pearls and

emeralds worth 86 lakhs of rupees were selected. One lakh of tolas of pure gold worth 14 lakhs of rupees was handed over to Be-badal Khan who was superintendent of the goldsmith's department. One very precious ruby presented by Shah Abbas was used in this throne.<sup>52</sup> A masnawi was composed by Haji Muhammad Jan, the final verse of which contained the date. It ran as follows,

"Sarir Humayun Sahab Qirani".

Lahauri made no mention of Augustin or any other European

Augustin was not on favourable terms with Shah Jehan on whom he heaped unbridled reproaches. He had obtained leave to go to Europe and this he records jubilantly. Meanwhile he was selected by the Emperor to conduct a business deal with the Portuguese and was consequently sent to the Deccan. He himself records, "From Chaul, 9th March 1632. In seven days if it please God I shall be at Goa. My wife and child are at Agra..... I have left Burhanpur where the King's court now is and am going to Goa on business and should return in two month's time to fetch my family, my wife and one child who is left to me from the affliction about which I have written to you. I have an elephant and several other animals and a certain large diamond which will enable me to pass the rest of this life, so full of salt seas with such little streamlets of sweetness, which deceive us making us unconsciously totter into the tomb of cold, pale and chill oblivion.....The English are employing me on this journey to Goa to negotiate a truce between the Portuguese and English. This is one of the reasons why I am going to see the Viceroy at Goa."<sup>53</sup> It shows that he had two commissions, one to do some business with the Portuguese on behalf of the Mughals, and the other to negotiate a truce between the Portuguese and the English. Tavernier, another French jeweller and a merchant who traded in precious stones and who came to India first in 1640, confirmed that Shah Jehan

wanted to employ Augustin of Bordeaux to work on the silver arch at Khas-Mahal in the Agra Fort but the Frenchman was sent "to Goa to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done for, as the ability of Augustin feared he was poisoned on his return from Cochin."<sup>54</sup> There is no reason to disbelieve Tavernier, who was also a Frenchman, a jeweller and was closely connected with the Mughal court. He had first hand information. As it seems, Augustin died at Chaul, Goa or at Cochin in 1632, as thereafter we do not hear of him at all. He was buried, as seems to have been the only course, at the place of his death. It is not probable that his body was brought to Agra to be interred in the Roman Catholic Cemetery (then known as Padre Santos Chapel). No doubt dead bodies of Christians were brought to Agra from Lahore and Ajmer but in Augustin's case it would have been completely different. There were Christian cemeteries in the nearby towns, e.g. in Goa, Chaul, Cochin and other places in the Deccan and to bury him in one of them would have been the only practicable alternative. Rev. H. Hosten alluded to a tomb at Agra bearing the inscription—"Iane de Hiriart filia de Augustin... gigne (ro)....."<sup>55</sup> but it is not traceable.

The death of Augustin Hiriart, jeweller, native of Bordeaux, in 1632, ending with him a chapter of adventure with its glare of diamonds, deceptions, ambitions and hundred other eccentricities, renders it out of the question that he could have participated in the construction of the Peacock Throne or in inlay work at the Taj-Mahal. At the best he could have been employed between 1628 and 1632 in the execution of silver ceilings in the marble pavilions of the Lahore, Delhi and Agra Forts which were all looted or replaced by the invaders at later dates. But there can be no doubt that Augustin was a jeweller and an expert in counterfeiting precious stones throughout his life and it was in this capacity that he was attached to the Mughal court. He cannot be associated with the inlay art of the Mughals for, for this, there is no evidence at all. He no doubt occupied a

unique position at the court of Jahangir, and this may be attributed in part to the Emperor's extraordinary favour to the Europeans and his love of rare things. Augustin's history, how-

ever, throws valuable light on some of the very obscure and controversial aspects of medieval Indian history and helps to fill in certain blanks.

## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Officer', Vol. II (London, 1844) p. 34.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid., 34: "He was called by the natives Oostan Eesan, Nadir of Asur the wonderful of the Age; and for his office of Nuksha nuwees or plan drawer he received a regular salary of one thousand rupees a month."
- <sup>3</sup> "Bannujib aur naksha lateefaye Rauzaye chahabee taiyar shud" Cf. Mughal Beg, 'Taj-Mahal' I. 11, ms. under possession of the Department of Archaeology, Agra.
- <sup>4</sup> Nath, R. 'Important Christian Tombs at Agra' INDICA, Vol. IV, Number 1, (March, 1967).
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. A.S.I., Annual Report, 1904-5, p. 2.
- <sup>6</sup> Cf. loc. cit. p. 35.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 35 f.
- <sup>8</sup> Cf. 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture' (London, 1876) p. 588.
- <sup>9</sup> It was later acquired and restored at the Diwan-i-Am, Delhi by Marshall in 1906-9.
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. loc. cit., p. 588 fn. 1.
- <sup>11</sup> Cf. History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon (Oxford, 1911) p. 438.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 438.
- <sup>13</sup> Brown, P. 'Indian Architecture' (Islamic period) p. 66.
- <sup>14</sup> Tod, James 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan', Vol. I (London, 1920) p. 337 fn. 1; Sarda, Harbilas 'Maharana Kumbha' (Ajmer, 1917) p. 86; Cousens, Henry 'A.S.I. Annual Report 1907-8, pp. 205-12.
- <sup>15</sup> Marshall, Sir J. H. 'A.S.I. Annual Report 1902-3, pp. 26-27, A.S.I. Annual Report 1904-5 pp. 2-3, "The presence of these Italian plaques demonstrates trade connections but nothing more"; Sanderson, Gordon—A.S.I. Annual Report 1-11-12, p. 21.
- <sup>16</sup> Marshall, Annual Report, 1902-3, p. 26; Sanderson, loc. cit. p. 21; He observed "I am informed by the Director General of Geological Survey of India that true black marble is practically unknown in India, although a dark grey variety is found at Bhanslana in Rajputana."
- <sup>17</sup> Cf. Annual Report 1902-3, p. 27.
- <sup>18</sup> Cf. Annual Report 1904-5, p. 3.
- <sup>19</sup> Cf. 'A Handbook to Agra and the Taj' (Calcutta, 1912) p. 141. "The technique of pietra dura was probably practised by Indian workmen long before the time of Austin de Bordeaux."
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 141.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. op. cit., p. 105.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 105.
- <sup>23</sup> In his letter dated at Lahore the 20th July 1620, Cf. "Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux", Journal of the Panjab Historical Society Vol. IV, No. 1, (Calcutta, 1916) p. 7. Augustin records, "I have been in this country eight years."
- <sup>24</sup> Foster, W. 'Early Travels in India' (Oxford, 1921), pp. 51-52; Nicholas Withington confirmed, Cf. ibid., p. 222 fn; Letter from the English factors at Surat dated the 19th August 1614 Cf. 'Letters Received by the East India Company' Vol. II (London, 1897) p. 98; Letters

in the same volume from Thomas Keridge dated at Ajmer the 20th September 1614, pp. 103-6 and from Nicholas Withington dated at Agra the 29th October 1614 pp. 141-2 confirm.

- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 299-300.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 98.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 105-6.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 141.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 142.
- <sup>30</sup> Who could be no other than Augustin.
- <sup>31</sup> The name has not been mentioned! The reason is unaccounted for.
- <sup>32</sup> That he could make false gems, fabricated with peculiar skill, has been confirmed by Augustin himself in a letter of 26th April 1625 from Lahore (Cf. J.P.H.S., op. cit., p. 9), "I was expert at counterfeiting precious stone"; Augustin again mentions in a letter of 27th April 1625, also from Lahore, that he used four thousand of his artificial stones in the throne which he prepared for the Emperor (Cf. Ibid., p. 13).
- <sup>33</sup> Bernier, Francois—'Travels in the Mogul Empire' (A. Constable) (London, 1891), p. 269. His original French runs as follows, "deux Paons couverts de pierreries et de perles, qui sont de l'artifice d'un Francois nommé .....qui étoit un merveilleux Ouvrier et qui après avoir trompé plusieurs Princes d'Europe par ces Doublets qu'il savoit faire à merveille, se refugia dans cette Cour où il fit fortune."
- <sup>34</sup> Op. cit., p. 141.
- <sup>35</sup> E.g. in 1603.
- <sup>36</sup> Actually assassinated in 1610.
- <sup>37</sup> J.P.H.S., op. cit., p. 9.
- <sup>38</sup> Every now and then he introduces himself as 'Augustin Hiriart Jeweller, Native of Bordeaux'. See for example his letter dated 26th April 1625, cf. J.P.H.S., op. cit., p. 9.
- <sup>39</sup> I.e. Humarmand.
- <sup>40</sup> J.P.H.S., op. cit., p. 7.
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- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp. 82-83.
- <sup>43</sup> J.P.H.S. loc. cit., p. 11.
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- <sup>45</sup> Irvine, W. 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October 1910, p. 1343.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 1344.
- <sup>47</sup> J.P.H.S. loc. cit., p. 11.
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- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 11 fn. 3.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 15.
- <sup>51</sup> Elliot & Dowson—'History of India as told by its own Historians' Vol. VII, p. 45.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 46.
- <sup>53</sup> J.P.H.S., loc. cit., p. 17.
- <sup>54</sup> Cf. 'Travels in India by J. B. Tavernier' (V. Ball) Vol. I (1925) p. 108.
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## SOME INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(1919-1935)

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One conspicuous event which made the year 1919 a great landmark in the constitutional history of India was the passing of the Government of India Act, which laid the foundations of responsible government in India. That Act merely gave effect in the sphere of Indian Government and administration to the profound change which had been introduced earlier in the same year in the constitutional relationship of India to the rest of the British Empire, when India was admitted to sign on her own behalf the Treaty of Versailles and became an original member of the League of Nations. This change had already been foreshadowed during the First World War when India was given the membership of the Imperial Conference in 1917. But it was at Versailles that the recognition of India's new status in the international field was placed for the first time on record and in no way more formally and solemnly than by her enrolment as an original member of the League.

India's new international status, it must be noted, accelerated the pace of her constitutional development. In view of Montagu Declaration of August 1917, it was certain that India would get some sort of responsible government after the war. But her membership of an international organisation of sovereign states made it absolutely necessary that she should acquire a constitutional position befitting her international status. This development gave Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, one more argument to urge the

House of Commons to pass the Government of India Bill. Referring to India's separate representation at the Paris Peace Conference and the decision already made that she was to be an original member of the League of Nations he observed in the Commons on May 22, 1919: "I can only repeat that these things.....commit this House and Parliament to the view that this position is only justified if you can raise India to the position of a sister nation in the British Empire and it is wholly inconsistent with the position of subordination."<sup>1</sup>

On June 5, 1919, he again referred to India's membership of the League of Nations and urged the Commons to raise India's internal status by passing the Bill so as to bring it in harmony with her international status: "India is to be an original member of the League of Nations. Therefore, I say whatever difficulties there may be in your path, your imperial task is to overcome those difficulties and to help India on the path of nationality".<sup>2</sup> In fact, when at the Paris Peace Conference India was given separate representation on the footing of complete equality with the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire, the British Government committed itself to accord India the same status which the other Dominions were enjoying internally. As Professor A. R. Keith wrote: "...by securing admission of India to the League, the British Government bound itself to the task of creating a self-governing India."<sup>3</sup> Earlier, at Paris, in the

League of Nations Commission of the Peace Conference, the British representative, Lord Robert Cecil, had pleaded India's case for her membership of the League by saying that India was "democratically governed" and that the British Government intended "to advance India into a self-governing country" as soon as possible.<sup>4</sup> It was on this assurance that President Wilson agreed to India's membership of the League. Any delay in advancing India to this goal would have amounted to a breach of a solemn assurance given in an international gathering. The Government of India Act, 1919 was thus as much a product of the Announcement of August 20, 1917 as of India's representation at the Paris Peace Conference and her membership of the League of Nations.

It has been said that the Government of India Act, 1919, was to a great extent, influenced by some contemporary concepts of internationalism. A section of British intellectuals claimed that the high principles of the League Covenant pervaded the underlying spirit of the Montagu Reforms. The Mandate system was one of the methods laid down in the Covenant for dealing with those countries which were not in a position to govern themselves. Certain countries were assigned the duties of acting as trustees of those people. The object was gradually to create necessary conditions whereby these people, might in course of time, be able to manage their own affairs and eventually become self-governing communities. Some British intellectuals maintained that the same principle applied to Britain's position in regard to India. "We can only regard ourselves", said David Davies, "as trustees for the interest, welfare, prosperity and progress of the people of India. I think that this theory is definitely recognised in the Montagu Bill".<sup>5</sup> Montagu too had alluded to this aspect of his India Bill when he said: "We have recently been so sympathetic to the national aspirations of the Arabs, the Czechoslovaks, of Serbs, of Croats and of Slovenes. Here is a country desirous of achieving nation-

ality once again. I repeat an original member of the League of Nations developed under our *protecting care*.....Let us pass this Bill and start it under the aegis of the British flag on the road which we ourselves have travelled"<sup>6</sup> (stress provided).

At the present stage of our knowledge it is difficult to say how far the mandatory principle of the League influenced the Act of 1919. But it goes without saying that membership of the League definitely affected the course of India's system of government. It was indeed an "anomaly of anomalies",<sup>7</sup> that a country should have the right to direct, conjointly with others, the common affairs of a large number of countries of the world, without the right to govern herself. The Act of 1919 was intended to remove this anomaly to some extent.

The Reforms of 1919 did not satisfy the national aspirations of Indians and they continued to demand another instalment of constitutional reforms. During the twenties of the present century the main demand of Indian nationalists was for full Dominion status as enjoyed by other self-governing Dominions of the Empire. The elevation of India's international status was bound to react on her internal position and the Indian members of the Central Legislature lost no time in utilizing India's League membership for demanding Dominion status and responsible government. In a stormy debate that took place in the Legislative Assembly on February 13 and 18, 1924 over a motion regarding the grant of full Dominion status for India, a large number of members pointed out the incongruity of India's position vis-a-vis her League membership.<sup>8</sup> At a later stage, while protesting against the non-inclusion of a single Indian in the Simon Commission Madan Mohan Malviya said:

"Remembering that it was at the instance of England that India was invited to become a member of the League of Nations and take

part in deciding the affairs of other nations of Europe, can anything be more selfish and unjust on the part of England than to refuse to India the right of self-determination".<sup>9</sup> Phiroz Sethna, a member of the Council of State pointing to India's anomalous position said: "India cannot take her rightful place in international affairs unless she has her rightful place as a nation here in India. Until that is done Indians will regard their representation in the League of Nations as a mockery".<sup>10</sup> India's inferior constitutional position disabled her from coming into her own in the League although she was its original member. This argument was pressed, off and on, within and without the Legislature, to strengthen India's demand for Dominionhood.

In this demand the Indians were supported by a powerful and influential section of British politicians. Morgen Jones, a member of the House of Commons, wondered that "though they (Indians) can perform these very onerous and highly important services (in the League of Nations).....they are not considered fit for the responsibility of self-government at home".<sup>11</sup> The Marquess of Reading, citing India's membership of the League, advocated for another liberal constitutional instalment for India. He said: "The reason why we are now agreed that advance has to be made is partly the condition inside India and partly the position she occupies internationally".<sup>12</sup>

India's membership of an organisation of sovereign or self-governing states emphasised the duty on the part of the British Government to grant India Dominion status with all possible haste. Otherwise it appeared difficult to belittle the argument that Britain was using India's membership of the League mainly to secure her own imperial interest. Already at Paris Peace Conference it was openly said that India's membership of the League of Nations was a British trick to multiply its own vote in the Assembly. If that impression was to be erased, it was necessary to raise India's internal status and to harmonise it with her international

position. There was indeed no doubt that for some time to come there could not be serious divergence of views between Indian and British delegations to the League on the question of foreign and imperial policy of paramount importance. But foreign powers were perfectly entitled to expect that the Indian Legislature was accorded at least the right to discuss freely and fully matters touching India's foreign relations and advise the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on these matters. Now that India had been admitted to the membership of the League on the basis of equality with other fully self-governing states as members, it was the paramount duty of the British Government to reduce the Imperial control on India's foreign policy to the lowest possible degree. The hasty decision to appoint the Simon Commission earlier than provided in the Act of 1919 to report on the working of Montagu Reforms, was influenced to a great extent by the desire to remove the anomalous position which India occupied in international polity.

According to the Interpretation Act of 1889 India was defined to be "British India together with any territories of any native prince or chief under the suzerainty of Her Majesty". It was this "India" and not British India alone, which was a member of the League.<sup>13</sup> But the princely states of India occupied a special position. They had been granted varying degrees of autonomy in their domestic affairs. The fact that "India" signed an international convention did not bind them and the Paramount Power had ordinarily no authority to compel an Indian state to accept a convention. As a result a very unhappy situation arose in international law. Instances were not lacking in which the conventions and Protocols of the League of Nations were specifically mentioned by the British Government as not applying to the Indian states. These were the Slavery Convention of 1926, the Conventions, Agreements and Protocols for the abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions of 1927 and 1928,

the Conventions and Protocols for the Suppression of Counterfeit Currency of 1929, the Convention on Certain Questions relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws, the Protocol Relating to Military Obligations in certain cases of Double Nationality and the Protocol and Special Protocol relating to certain Cases of Statelessness.<sup>11</sup>

On the labour side, the position of the Indian states was even more untenable. Under the Government of India Act, 1919 India found it possible to be one of the most active members of the International Labour Organisation. Up to 1932, she had ratified twelve conventions, a number larger than any Asiatic State had accepted. The power of legislation which the central authorities enjoyed concurrently with the Provinces made it possible to secure the application of these conventions throughout British India. But they were not applied to princely states and because of that, in several cases, the Conference of I.L.O. exempted India from any obligation in respect of the states by insertion in conventions of special limitative clause. In other cases conventions were ratified on the understanding that obligations were only being assumed on behalf of British India.<sup>15</sup> It followed, therefore, that a Draft Convention could be ratified by India only in the sense that obligations were accepted as applying to British India only. In fact, progressive labour conventions were applied and enforced only in British India,<sup>16</sup> and the hands of Geneva never reached the states. This anomaly was criticised by the Indian labour delegates to the International Labour Conference<sup>17</sup> and was adversely referred to by the British Indian labour representatives at the Round Table Conferences at London.<sup>18</sup> In both cases, criticism was made on the ground that the position of British Indian workers was jeopardised by the temptation, so long as the conventions were not enforced or enforceable in the Indian states, for British Indians and other industrialists to transfer their factories and industrial enterprises to those states and thereby to enter into unfair competition with

the enterprises carried on in British India under the restrictions of the I.L.O. conventions applied and enforced there.

This situation strengthened the demand for a strong federation for India at the first Round Table Conference. It was maintained that if federal legislature was not given authority to legislate to give effect to treaty commitments, India would be under a perpetual handicap in international negotiations. Fears were expressed that a loose federation would deprive even the British Indian worker of the advantages accruing from Geneva.<sup>9</sup> If the states entered an All India Federation on terms which did not permit the Federation to enforce within its territory the provisions of labour conventions it would cease to be possible to ratify conventions on behalf of India. It was said that if all authority to legislate upon labour questions were devolved upon the constituent units, India would no longer be in a position to ratify International Labour Conventions and might even be obliged to denounce some of those by which she was already bound. The Central Government, having lost its control of legislation, could no longer undertake to secure the application of their provisions.<sup>20</sup> The consequences would be two-fold. The stimulus which the Indian legislative machinery had possessed during the past years would be lost, and India's industrial competitors, notably China and Japan, knowing India to be unable to ratify would also be unlikely to bind themselves to an international standard. Under the pressure of vested industrial interests the Governments of China and Japan could always plead the incapacity of India to contract international obligations as reason for not accepting Geneva Labour Conventions for their own country.<sup>21</sup>

The issue was immensely important and the whole future of the I.L.O. hang on the decision then being taken by the participants at the Round Table Conference. It was clear that international regulation of industrial conditions in Asia would be completely impossible

if India was constitutionally incapacitated from taking part in it. With Asia out of picture the entire labour movement would have become a shadow of unreality.

One cannot examine the proceedings of the Round Table Conference without feeling that the international aspect did not receive the attention it deserved. Legislation required to give effect to international engagements escaped mention in the Report of the Round Table Conference devoted to the assignment of subjects to different legislative authorities. The Act of 1935 too ignored this aspect. This Act effected important changes in the constitutional position in India, and in particular, substantially altered the relations between the Central Government and the Provinces in the sphere of labour. Prior to April 1, 1937 the Central Government had full control over the matter. But under the new Act labour and employment had gone under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government.

In the changed situation the Government of India found it difficult to adhere to Washington Unemployment Convention of 1919 and on April 14, 1938 it gave notice of its intention to denounce the Convention. The reasons for this extraordinary decision were explained in the letter from the India Office to the Secretary General of the League of Nations and the Director of the International Labour Office.<sup>22</sup> The letter after explaining the changed constitutional position stated that in respect of the unemployment convention, whereas the Government of India had formerly power to require the submission of the statistics whose supply was obligatory under Article I of the Convention they had now no such power. Further, whereas they formerly constituted a "central authority" having ultimate control over the provincial authorities for the purpose of Article 2 of the Convention such power of the Centre had now disappeared.<sup>23</sup> For all these

reasons the Government of India considered it impossible that India should continue to be bound by the provisions of the Convention and, therefore, decided that its denunciation "is the only proper course to be taken".<sup>24</sup>

From the international point of view the Act of 1935 suffered from several other limitations also. The framers of the Act gave practically no attention to the importance of integrating the constitution of federal India with the new structure of international society. This was true, except a very few of other existing constitutions also, which reflected a purely national outlook and showed no sign of an attempt to organise the state with a view to international co-operation. But India was singularly well-placed for playing a pioneering part in the movement for building the national constitution into the framework of international government. By ignoring this fact the framers of the Act of 1935 committed a great mistake. For, India was a member of the League of Nations, she was one of the eight chief industrial states of the world and was thus permanently represented on the Governing Body of the I.L.O. She was an original signatory of the Pact of Paris and she had accepted the optional clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice. She had contracted a large number of international obligations. Her membership of these institutions and separate acceptance of these obligations had given her an international status even though she was a dependency of Britain. It was desirable, therefore, her new constitution should have underpinned her international obligations. The proposed federation, in all fairness, should have been empowered to give full effect to future treaty obligations which India would have naturally wished to assume in order to assert her newly won international status and to take the part which was her due in shaping the destinies of the world community.

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<sup>11</sup> 260 H. C. Deb. 5S Col. 1331.  
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<sup>21</sup> *Indian Round Table Conference (Second Session), Proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee and Minority Committee* (1931), p. 280.  
<sup>22</sup> *Legislative Assembly Debates* (1938) Vol. IV, p. 169.  
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## SUN WORSHIP IN THE EPICS

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The Sun was worshipped as a god not only in the Vedic period but also probably earlier by the Indo-Europeans.<sup>1</sup> In the Vedic literature we find several aspects of the Sun-god, such as Surya, Savitr, Varuna, Mitra, Visnu, etc. These gods were collectively known as the Adityas and, according to later mythology, were the sons of Aditi. Gradually, however, some of the Sun-gods came to be looked upon as independent deities. Varuna became 'the Lord of the Seas', and Visnu 'the Preserver of the three worlds' and one of the supreme gods. Mitra, for reasons not quite known, sank into insignificance.

Although the two supreme gods in the epics are Visnu and Siva, the worship of the Sun-god Surya and some of his other manifestations, was not discontinued. Quite a large number of *ślokas* in both the epics are devoted to the said divinities. We are not trying here to determine the extent of Sun worship, but to discuss some of the principal features of the cult.

It is natural that the Sun, as the dispeller of darkness, should be regarded as a benevolent, auspicious and boon-granting deity. In both the epics the poets are never tired of emphasising this aspect of the Sun-god. We are told in the *Mahabharata*<sup>2</sup> that Savitr (one of the principal manifestations of the Sun-god) first caused plants to spring up. It is he, who drenched by the lunar influence, is transformed, upon the sprouting of seeds, into holy vegetables furnished with six tastes. The poet further argues that the food, which supports the lives of all creatures is instinct with solar energy, and the Sun is, therefore, the Father of all

creatures. In the same Chapter Yudhisthira addresses Surya as the 'Eye of the Universe' and the 'Soul of all corporeal existences'. In the *Ramayana* the Sun is not only described as the *Tamobhedi*\* but also as the most auspicious of all gods. The Sun-god gave to Draupadi a copper vessel, the food cooked in which became inexhaustible. Elsewhere we find him appointing a Raksasa to protect Krishna from amorous Kicaka, the general of the king Virata.<sup>3</sup> In his war against the demon Ravana, Rama is helped by the Sun-god. Elsewhere he is invoked by Kausalya to protect Rama.<sup>4</sup> In the *Baudhayana Dharmasastra* sick persons are advised to worship the Sun-god<sup>5</sup>; obviously the author of that particular work looked upon Surya as one capable of curing all diseases. It is interesting to note that among the 108 names of Surya enumerated in the *Great Epic*, we have the immensely significant name *Dhanvantari* famous in Indian mythology as the 'Master Physician.' We are further told that a devotee of the Sun-god is never assailed by diseases. We should also note in this connexion the epithet *Pranadhavaka* bestowed upon him by Dhaumya.<sup>6</sup>

Surya is not only the friend of Rama,<sup>7</sup> but also the god worshipped by one of the famous ancestors of Yudhisthira, the Kuru king Samvarana. That this king is not merely a shadowy figure is proved by the fact that he is also mentioned in the *Rigveda*.<sup>8</sup> "His name is a personification of the veiling surrounding the Sun".<sup>9</sup> According to one story<sup>10</sup>, he married Tapati, the daughter of Tapanas. She is described as the younger sister of Savitri. The story of the romantic love of Samvarana and

Tapati is one of the most beautiful in the whole of the *Great Epic*. It should be noted that both the Kuru and Ikshvaku dynasties claim descent from Manu who was regarded as one of the sons of Vivasvat, another aspect of the Sun-god.<sup>11</sup>

We have already seen that it is the Sun-god who came to the rescue of Yudhisthira and his men, when they faced starvation in the forest. His other liberal acts are also recorded in the *Great Epic*. In one place the poet pictures him giving Jamadagni umbrella (*chatra*) and *paduka* (shoe).<sup>12</sup> The poet further states that it is he, who introduced these two things for the first time, among mankind.<sup>13</sup>

More than once the Sun-god is connected with the horse. One particular verse runs thus: "here (out of the Sea) rises the Sun (Visnu) with the head of a horse, filling the world made beautiful (by him) and causing it to be filled with voices."<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere the Sun is expressly identified with the horse,<sup>15</sup> and is described as the Father of the Asvins.<sup>16</sup> In another place we read "And Tvastri, of the form of Vadava (a mare) became the wife of Savita. And she gave birth, in the skies, to the greatly fortunate twins, the Asvins".<sup>17</sup>

Visnu who sometimes appears also as an Aditya is described as *Asvastra Harih*.<sup>18</sup>

It is not difficult to explain the Sun's connection with the horse.<sup>19</sup> In the Vedic literature the horse is frequently connected with the god Varuna, who was looked upon chiefly as a Sun-god. In several places of the *Satapatha Brahmana* Varuna is actually identified with the horse. In the *Taittiriya Brahmana* Varuna's connection with the horse is referred to.<sup>20</sup> It is in the form of the horse that the Sun is praised in one of the hymns of the First Mandala of the *Rigveda*.<sup>21</sup> He is once alluded to as a white and brilliant steed in the same work<sup>22</sup> brought by Usas. "His horses represent his rays which are seven in number (*Rv.* 8.61.16). His seven mares are called the daughters of his car (*Rv.* 1.50.9)"<sup>23</sup> In this connection we can quote

Eggeling's following observation, "In the Vedic hymns the association of the God Varuna with the noble quadruped finds a ready if rather commonplace explanation in a common natural phenomenon: Varuna's horse is no other than the fiery racer who pursues his diurnal course across the all-encompassing arch of heaven, the sphere of Varuna, the all-ruler".<sup>24</sup> In the later literature also, the Sun is sometimes described as a horse. According to a tradition recorded both in the *Brahmanda Purana* and the *Bhagavata*, Surya instructed Yajnavalkya in the form of a horse.<sup>25</sup> Havare the Avestan counterpart of the Indian Sun-god we are told, has swift horses.<sup>26</sup>

The Sun-god was also conceived by the poets of the epics as a god of instruction and learning. In 3.81.5 of the *Mahabharata* Savitri (another and perhaps the noblest aspect of the Sun-god), is described as the 'Mother of the Vedas, whom she does not desert. She is further described as the 'first of all knowledges'.<sup>27</sup> She appears as the 'Mother of the initiated regenerate' in the same work.<sup>28</sup> It is recorded, more than once, that Surya or Savitri bestowed the Yajus formulas on the famous saint Yajnavalkya.<sup>29</sup> This statement is confirmed, by the evidence of some of the Puranas. Among his 108 names enumerated by Dhaumya to Yudhisthira, we get such names as *Vedakartha*, *Vedanga*, *Vedavahana* which indirectly connect him with learning, particularly Vedic learning.

As the god of wisdom, Surya is connected with 'Yoga'. We learn from the Great epic that the system of 'Yoga' was first declared by Krishna to Surya and then he passed it on to Manu.<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere in the *Mahabharata* (12.348.37) we are told the same thing. Among his 108 names the name Yogi is conspicuous by its presence. He is called 'the only refuge of the Yogis' by Yudhisthira.

The Sun-god is often pictured in the epics, particularly the Great epic, as an opponent of Indra. In the Vedic literature also, there

is no love lost between them.<sup>31</sup> The authors of the *Vedic Index* find in this quarrel a possible reference to the obscuration of the Sun by the Thunderstorm.<sup>32</sup> In the Bharata War we find him favouring his son Karna against Arjuna, the son of Indra. In that famous scene in the *Mahabharata* (1.137) we find both Indra and Surya shielding respectively Arjuna and Karna. Elsewhere, the Sun tries his best to save his son from Indra's machinations. As Hopkins so cogently observes, "it is possible that Karna himself represents the Sun".<sup>33</sup> Hopkins further suggests that, his death at the hand of (Indra as) Arjuna might point to a Sun and Storm myth. Again in the quarrel between Garuda and Indra we can discern the same rivalry. According to one story recorded in the *Mahabharata* (1.31.34) the two brothers Aruna and Garuda were born to avenge the Valakhilya saints on Indra, who had insulted them. Now Garuda is described, in one place of the *Mahabharata*, as the Sun.<sup>34</sup> He was certainly regarded as one of the forms of the Sun-god. Afterwards he became a vehicle of the powerful god Vishnu, who himself was originally an Aditya. In the *Ramayana*, Garuda helps Vishnu by carrying him, even by fighting for him.<sup>35</sup> He cures Rama and Lakshmana when they were grievously injured by Indrajit.<sup>36</sup> In the *Ramayana*, the two brothers Valin and Sugriva (pictured as bitter rivals) are described respectively as the sons of Indra and Surya.<sup>37</sup> Here, however, the *Suryaputra* is ultimately vindicated. But Sugriva owed his triumph to Rama, described repeatedly as god Vishnu<sup>38</sup> (another Aditya).

Not very infrequently in the Vedic literature the Sun-god is delineated as repeller of the evil spirits, especially the raksasas. He is sometimes, described as the wielder of the Thunderbolt.<sup>39</sup> His unimpaired strength is also alluded to.<sup>40</sup> In one place of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, the Sun appears as the divine *Ksatra*.<sup>41</sup> The Great Epic rightly calls him 'Ariha' (i.e. the destroyer of enemies).<sup>42</sup> In the *Ramayana* we find him burning the feathers of the giant-bird Jatayu. An interesting story recorded in the

Great Epic<sup>43</sup> pictures the Sun-god as burning Renuka, the wife of Bhargava Jamadagni. There we are told of the great 'powers' (Pratapa) of Tapanas. In the Great Epic Karna is repeatedly described as having inherited some of the strength and glory from his father, the Sun-god. From the *Mahabharata* we further learn that Vivasvat burnt up all his foes.<sup>44</sup>

It is somewhat strange to note, that such an auspicious god as the sun should be conceived also as an evil spirit. In the *Mahabharata* Surya is distinctly called the 'king of the Grahas' (*Surya grahanamadhipo*) or evil planets.<sup>45</sup> Vivasvat, one of the forms of the Sun-god in the Vedic literature, is a truly dreaded figure<sup>46</sup>. "The worshipper prays that the arrow of Vivasvat may not smite him before old age".<sup>47</sup> Probably the poets had the terrible and piercing rays of the hot Sun in mind, when they conceived Surya as something malignant and harmful. In India nothing is more dreadful than the summer Sun.

The Sun-god is not only connected with the horse, he is also associated with the cow in the epic literature. More than once he is called Gopati.<sup>48</sup> In one place of the Great Epic the cow is described as the daughter of Surya.<sup>49</sup> We should also remember in this connexion that Varuna is 'Gopati' in the *Rigveda*.

There is a veiled allusion to the image-worship of the Sun-god in one place of the Great Epic. We quote here the relevant lines:

*Ajagama tato rajamstvaramano Divakarah.  
Madhupingo mahabahuh kambugrivo hasanniva  
Angadi baddhamukuto disah prajvalayanniva.*<sup>50</sup>

"Thereupon o king, Maker of the day came hastily, (he was) yellow as honey, had great arms, and his neck was marked with line like those of conch-shell, and he smiled, he wore bracelets and was adorned with a diadem, and lit up all the quarters of heaven". Elsewhere in the *Mahabharata* there is a reference to two hands of Vivasvat, the Sun-god.<sup>51</sup>

Only once Surya is depicted as a romantic and amorous god. We are referring to his seduction of Pritha, the mother of Karna and five Pandava brothers, when she was a virgin. Only then he appears as a somewhat unchaste voluptuary, bent upon deflowering a curious, yet innocent maiden. Since all the epic gods are amorous, he may readily be forgiven for this solitary slip. In the *Rigveda* the romantic relation between Surya and Usas is indicated more than once.<sup>52</sup>

Aryaman, another 'Aditya' in the *Rigveda* appears as a wooer of the maidens.<sup>53</sup> The Solar-deity Pusan, too is a romantic god in the *Rigveda*, being described as the wooer of his mother and lover of his sister.<sup>54</sup>

The epics disclose the names of at least three wives of the Sun-god, viz. Tvastri,<sup>55</sup> Suvarcala<sup>56</sup> and Samjna.<sup>57</sup> In the *Harivamsa* we have Chaya as the wife of the Sun-god.<sup>58</sup> The *Rigveda*, as already noticed, mentions Usas as the mistress of that god. So the Sun-god dallies with Usas in the Veda, with Tvastri, Suvarcala and Samjna in the epics, and with Chaya in the later literature.

The epic conception of Surya or Bhaskara, it must have to be pointed out, is both poetic

and imaginative. Some of the most stirring verses of both the epics, especially those of the *Ramayana*<sup>59</sup> have been monopolized by this god. A good number of the high-sounding epithets of the *Ramayana* are reserved for this god, e.g. *Bhuvaneshvara*<sup>60</sup> *Jagatpati*,<sup>61</sup> *Devasuramashktan*<sup>62</sup> etc. It is natural that the Sun, which is the brightest object in the sky, should move the fancy of our ancient poets, most of whom, like their counterparts in Hellas, had strong passion for everything beautiful. As a symbol of brightness and purity, he has been lauded again and again not only in the *Rigveda*<sup>63</sup> but also in the epics and the Puranas.

The hymn addressed by Agastya to Surya in the *Ramayana*<sup>64</sup> marks the high watermark of Epic Poetry.

In conclusion, it has, however, to be conceded, that the position of the Sun-god in the epics does not compare favourably with that in the Vedic literature, especially the *Rigveda*. A large number of the principal gods, as we have noted in the beginning of this dissertation, were conceived by the Rigvedic poets as purely Solar-deities. But in the epics, only Surya, Vivasvati and Savitr are lauded as Sun-gods.

## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> V. G. Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 80f.
- The original Indo-European word for Sun is *S(u)wen*; *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 2078.
- <sup>2</sup> See *Mbh.* 3.3.5-10 trans. P. C. Roy, Vol. II, p. 9.
- <sup>3</sup> *Mbh.* 4.15.20.
- <sup>4</sup> *CFR.* 2.44.8.
- <sup>5</sup> 2.1.1.28 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. 14, p. 215).
- <sup>6</sup> *Mbh.* 3.3.25.
- <sup>7</sup> *CFR.* 2.44.8.
- <sup>8</sup> 5.1.1. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. I., p. 442; also Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.* (6th ed.), p. 25.
- <sup>9</sup> Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 88.
- <sup>10</sup> *Mbh.* T. 163.1-23.
- <sup>11</sup> Hopkins, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>12</sup> 13.96.13-14.
- <sup>13</sup> 96.16 (*chatropanahametat tu Suryanailat pravartitam*) See also P. C. Roy's translation, Vol. XI, p. 176.
- <sup>14</sup> *Mbh.* 5.99.5; also Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 212.
- <sup>15</sup> *Mbh.* 12.79.6; see also P. C. Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
- <sup>16</sup> See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
- <sup>17</sup> 1.60.34: *Tvastri tu Saviturbharya vadavarupadharini Asvaya mahabhaga santarikse asvinarubhau.* In the Vedic literature, too, we get almost the same legend (see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 51). The intimate connection of Asvins with the horses is emphasised several times in the *Rgveda* (see Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 50).
- <sup>18</sup> *CFR.* the epithet *Hayasirya* in *Mbh.* 12.340.59.
- <sup>19</sup> *CFR.* V. 3.1.5; VI. 2.1.5; VII. 5.2.18; XIII. 5.1.17-18. See also *S.B.E.*, Vol. 44, Introduction, p. XIX.
- <sup>20</sup> III. 9.16.1.
- <sup>21</sup> No. 163.
- <sup>22</sup> 7.77.3.
- <sup>23</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- <sup>24</sup> *S.B.E.*, Vol. 44, Intro. p. XIX.
- <sup>25</sup> *CFR.* *Brahmanda*, II. 35.23-25; *Bhagavata*, XII. 6.66.74.
- <sup>26</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- <sup>27</sup> *Mbh.* 14.44.5.
- <sup>28</sup> 3.100.34; cf. the *Manusmṛti*, 2, 19 and 170.
- <sup>29</sup> *Mbh.* 5.108.11; also P. C. Roy's tr. Vol. IV, p. 225; 6.28.1.
- <sup>30</sup> See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 465ff; *Rv.* I. 175.4; IV. 30.4; X. 43.5. Also *Vedic Mythology*, p. 30.
- <sup>31</sup> *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 465ff. See also Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- <sup>32</sup> Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
- <sup>33</sup> *Tapanah Suryah* (1.23.9); see also Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 21f. and Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- <sup>34</sup> *R. 7.8.19f.*
- <sup>35</sup> 6.50.33f.
- <sup>36</sup> Valin is *Mahendraputram* (*R.* 4.17.11) and *Sugriva* is *Suryaputra* (*R.* 4.14.22).
- <sup>37</sup> *CFR.* *R.* 1.15.26-9; 2.1.7; 2.2.45.
- <sup>38</sup> *CFR.* *SB.* 1.3.4.8; 8.5.1.10. The Sun-god Visnu's warrior-aspect is stressed repeatedly in the *Rgveda* (see Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1.). Varuna, the solar deity has the epithets like *raja Samraj* and *Ksatriya* in the *Rgveda*.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.7.2.7
- <sup>40</sup> 12.1.7.3.
- <sup>41</sup> See the list of Suryas 108 names in *Mbh.* 3.3. *CFR.* also the adjective *Sarvasatruvinasanam* applied to him (Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 24).
- <sup>42</sup> in the *Ramayana*, 6.105.4.
- <sup>43</sup> 4.58.4.
- <sup>44</sup> 13.95.18f.
- <sup>45</sup> 3.315. 19; also P. C. Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 680.
- <sup>46</sup> See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- <sup>47</sup> *Rv.* 8.56.20; *Av.* 19.9.7. There are only two or three allusions to the Sun's burning heat in the *Rgveda*, 7.34.19. 9.107.20).
- <sup>48</sup> See Keith, *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI., p. 28.
- <sup>49</sup> See Sorensen, *Index to the names in the Mahabharata*, p. 312.
- <sup>50</sup> 3.200.128, *Suryasutasca gavah*. In some inscriptions of the Gupta period also, the cow is described as the daughter of the Sun, see *C.I.I. Vol. III*, pp. 194, 198, 296. See also D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 177, fn. 2.
- <sup>51</sup> 3.290.7-8.
- <sup>52</sup> 12.343. 16. (see also Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 85).
- <sup>53</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 48; *Rv.* 1.92.11; 1.115.2; 1.123.10.
- <sup>54</sup> *Rv.* 5.3.2; see also *Vedic Mythology*, p. 45.
- <sup>55</sup> *Rv.* 6.55.5; 6.55.4-5; also Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
- <sup>56</sup> In the *Rgveda* (10.17.2) *Saranyu* is *Tvastri* (i.e., the daughter of *Tvastre*).
- <sup>57</sup> *Mbh.* 13.146.5; *R.* 2.30.30; *R.* 5.24.9.
- <sup>58</sup> *Mbh.* 13.151.14.
- <sup>59</sup> See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- <sup>60</sup> *CFR.* *R.* 6.105.
- <sup>61</sup> *R.* 6.105.6.
- <sup>62</sup> *R.* 6.105.26.
- <sup>63</sup> *R.* 6.105.6.
- <sup>64</sup> See Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30f.
- <sup>65</sup> 6.105. 6-21

## WAS AKBAR AN EPILEPTIC?

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While describing an extraordinary experience in the life of Akbar, historian Dr. V. A. Smith on the basis of Du Jarric's isolated remark assumes that Akbar might have suffered from an epileptic fit. Sir Wolsley Haig, however, accepting entirely the conjecture of Smith makes a definite statement that Akbar was known to have suffered from that malady. He also quotes a passage from the narrative of Smith. In this paper an attempt is made to refute the charge of the two historians as baseless and unjustified.

Akbar since his early youth had been extremely interested in the mysteries regarding the relation between man and God. The early years of his reign, however, kept him occupied with the consolidation of his empire, and the expansion of his dominions. His passion for enquiry into religious truth, however, was never at rest, but exigencies of the moment forced him to set aside such ideas for a more opportune time when he would have the leisure to indulge in them. Akbar himself said, "Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected."<sup>1</sup>

After a long succession of remarkable victories, and the latest that of the conquest of Bengal, when Akbar returned to Fatehpur-Sikri in January 1574, he felt himself at leisure to indulge in his favourite obsession—religious discussions, for the revelation of spiritual truth. Accordingly he gave orders for the construction of a "House of Worship" or

Ibadatkhana. Abul Fazl narrates, "At this time (February-March 1575) when the capital was illuminated by his glorious advent, His Majesty ordered that a house of worship (Ibadatkhana) should be built in order to be the adornment of the spiritual kingdom, and that it should have four verandahs."<sup>2</sup> It is related that Akbar on Thursday evenings after sunset held discussions in this hall. In the beginning debates were held among four classes of Muslims only, namely, the Shaikhs who were ascetic holymen, the Sayyids who claimed direct descent from the Prophet Mohammed, the Ulemas or doctors of Muslim law, and the Amirs or grandees of the court who were interested in discussing religion.

The debates and discussions left a deep and profound impression on Akbar's mind. During 1576-77 Akbar's views and beliefs witnessed a remarkable change towards more liberalism and catholicity.<sup>3</sup> Abul Fazl seems to have minutely noticed the change when he says, "Glory to the sublime strength which keeps the lamp of oneness alight in the strong wind of multiplicity, and observes solitude in the midst of society. And hail to the lofty perception which keeps sovereignty shoulder to shoulder with saintship and preserves unity of colour."<sup>4</sup>

During this time Akbar's mysticism checked for some time by vigorous self-control seemed to crave for an outlet. He had become pensive and meditative. A revolutionary change had come upon him. An inner conflict which needed solace and a final solution seemed to be his problem. This inward conflict on one

occasion brought him into a state of inexplicable religious ecstasy.

In May 1578, while Akbar was camping on the banks of the river Jhelum at Bhera<sup>5</sup> he underwent an extraordinary experience in his life. On 22nd April, 1578 he ordered for arrangements to be made for a Kamargah (battue) hunt. This was a most peculiar method of hunting animals. The game within a circumference of about fifty miles<sup>6</sup> was surrounded by a multitude of beaters and driven to the place of the hunt. While arrangements were still in full swing and four or ten days<sup>7</sup> had elapsed in preparation, Akbar all of a sudden ordered the hunt to be abandoned, and that the animals were not to be harmed and were to be allowed to go wherever they liked. "Active men made every endeavour that no one should touch the feather of a finch and that they should allow all the animals to depart according to their habits. The caravans of animated beings had fresh life. The dumb of the world hastened to the rose-garden of joy."<sup>8</sup> Akbar seems to have been enthralled in a grip of inexplicable religious ecstasy which comes at times by direct communion with God. It is, as if a devotee filled to the brim with faith suddenly comes face to face with Divine Providence in his meditation. "As attainment follows upon search, the lamp of vision became brilliant. A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (Jazba) of cognition of God cast its ray. The description of it cannot be comprehended by the feeble intellect of commonplace men."<sup>9</sup>

Badaoni also recounts the incident and states, "And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the Kamargah hunt were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And everyone attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth

secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned."<sup>10</sup>

Nizamuddin states that Akbar distributed "money to faqirs under the tree where he had experienced the attraction, and ordered a house and garden to be made there."<sup>11</sup>

It is further stated that Akbar cut off his hair. "He shortened his hair which was long and beautiful and entrancing."<sup>12</sup> Many of his nobles followed suit.

Akbar, however, soon came out of his trance as Abul Fazl mentions, "In a short space of time he by God-given strength turned his face to outer world and attended to indispensable matters."<sup>13</sup> As a mark of reverence to his strange experience he ordered the filling of a tank named Anuptalao in the palace of Fatehpur-Sikri with a vast amount of coins exceeding ten million rupees in value which were subsequently distributed.

Some strange power must have engulfed Akbar, and something exceptional and extraordinary did happen to him. However, as Vincent Smith supposes that, "Perhaps he (Akbar) slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had an epileptic fit,"<sup>14</sup> it seems to be a conjecture of his far-fetched imagination. Smith bases his assumption on a phrase by Du Jarric, "Natura erat melancholicus, et epileptico subjectus morbo,"<sup>15</sup> meaning that Akbar's nature was melancholic and that he was subject to epilepsy. Smith is not positive as regards the source of information of Du Jarric, neither does he make a definite statement himself. He states, "There is abundant evidence concerning Akbar's innate melancholy, but I have not met elsewhere the statement that he was epileptic,"; but Smith assumes in continuation that, "Du Jarric must have got it from one or other of the Jesuit missionaries."<sup>16</sup> Such a statement is a mere assumption unsupported by facts and, therefore, cannot be relied upon. We know of no other Jesuit missionary who was in so close

a contact with Akbar as Father Rudolph Aquaviva and Father Antonio Monseratte, the members of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court. Aquaviva sent many despatches<sup>17</sup> to various personages from Fatehpur-Sikri but never once hinted that Akbar suffered from epilepsy. Monseratte in his remarkable Commentary<sup>18</sup> has left a vivid account of Akbar's personality besides other subjects dealt in his narrative. He had accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Kabul, and was for some time the tutor to Prince Murad. Nowhere in his Commentary do we find a single reference to Akbar being an epileptic. How can we then rely upon the support given by Smith to Du Jarric? The statement of Du Jarric, therefore, is either based on hearsay, or is a product of his fanciful imagination.

On his own Smith gives a very feeble reasoning as an inducement to believe that Akbar might have suffered from epilepsy. He states that Prophet Mohammed, Julius Caesar and some other eminent men have been supposed by various writers to have suffered from epilepsy, though, as Smith himself states, that there is no sufficient proof. Being mere suppositions they hardly carry any weight. Further quoting from the Encyclopaedia Britannica Smith states that, the presence of the disease, "is quite consistent with a high degree of bodily vigour."<sup>19</sup> The statement itself clearly reveals that not everyone with a high degree of bodily vigour is necessarily liable to suffer from the disease. The reasoning is so shallow and unsound that one can hardly be led to believe in it.

Sir Wolseley Haig, however, makes a definite statement. After ending the account of Akbar's strange experience he says, "The vision was perhaps preceded or followed by an epileptic fit for Akbar was subject to that malady."<sup>20</sup> On what grounds he makes such a charge we do not know as the writer has given none. It seems he has blindly followed and believed in the conjecture of Smith as Haig relates a passage from the narrative of Smith. It reads as follows: "Akbar was by nature a mystic

who sought earnestly, like his Sufi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality, and now and again believed or fancied, that he had succeeded. His temperament was profoundly melancholic, and there seems to be some reason to suspect that at times he was not far from the danger of falling into a state of religious mania. His ambition and intense interest in all the affairs of this world saved him from that fate, and brought him back from dreams to the actualities of human life. He was not an ordinary man, and his complex nature, like that of St. Paul, Muhammed, Dante, and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, presents perplexing problems."<sup>21</sup>

How the above stated passage corresponds with Akbar as an epileptic does not stand to reason. Tremendous stress has been laid upon the notion that Akbar was profoundly melancholic. It is difficult to comprehend as to how one could meditate upon deep spiritual matters except in a serious and secluded mood. Akbar as evident was deeply interested in spiritual philosophy and naturally when he tended towards mysticism he appeared very serious and pensive. This does not, however, mean that his nature and temperament was melancholic. Such an assumption is thoroughly unjustified. Akbar is known to be a man of varied tastes and interests, and in appearance thoroughly regal and majestic. Apart from being a mystic at times, he utilised his leisure with various other activities. He was a keen sportsman, interested in indoor and vigorous outdoor sports, hunting and polo being his favourite sports. The game of Chaupar kept him busy indoors. He was known to have invented besides other things, a game played with cards. He liberally patronised the fine arts of his day, being chiefly fascinated by painting and music. He was a builder of no mean repute. Being exceptionally intelligent and humorous himself he appreciated and enjoyed such qualities in others and thus his close comradeship with the witty Raja Birbal. He felt at ease with the learned men of his court. He paid due respect

to their knowledge and endowed them handsomely. A man so gifted with exceptional qualities of the head and heart can hardly be called melancholic.

Again great emphasis has been laid as to the meagre details of Akbar's strange experience. As to the details of Abul Fazl regarding the incident Smith says, "Those phrases fail to represent a clear picture,"<sup>22</sup> and that, "The information is tantalising in its meagreness."<sup>23</sup> Haig alleges, "It is difficult to understand precisely what happened to Akbar."<sup>24</sup> Abul Fazl as best as he could has amply conveyed his message. With the choicest words he has clarified that Akbar had some kind of communion with God. Badaoni on the other hand has explicitly defined the condition of Akbar. What more could be said. As Akbar soon came out of his trance and started attending to matters of daily routine, Abul Fazl also gave no further attention to the matter. All that can be revealed by commonsense is that Akbar must have felt some divine power entering within him. The experience was so sudden, and its impact so severe, that for a short while Akbar was completely engrossed with it. Such experiences have often been felt by holymen, and ascetics. However, such experiences cannot be commonly defined, and perhaps that is the reason why Akbar could not express it himself.

Now let us consider Epilepsy<sup>25</sup> from the medical aspect and observe whether Akbar was subject to the disease from the medical point of view.

"Epilepsy in the widest sense, is a persistent liability to occasional seizures. The seizures may be associated with organic disease of the brain or a toxic state, and if so the epilepsy is said to be symptomatic." The known causes of symptomatic epilepsy are numerous. In addition the diagnosis is often based on assumption because some item in the history of the case provides a basis for supporting that organic cerebral disease or injury has occurred, and it requires much knowledge and good judge-

ment to assess whether such an assumption is well founded. Injury of the brain of any nature whatever, whether from violence from without or from disease within, may cause epilepsy.

Idiopathic epilepsy is defined as follows: "A liability to fits or minor seizures, prone to recur over long periods of time or even throughout life, without any discoverable organic disease of the brain or other known cause of fits." Defining the cause of epilepsy it is stated, "of remote causes of the liability in addition to organic disease of the brain, heredity is the most important. While this factor is regarded much less seriously now than formerly, the fact remains that in a still considerable proportion of cases, a history of epilepsy in a near relative is obtained." Further it is mentioned, "In a vast majority of cases of idiopathic epilepsy the tendency to fits first reveals itself in childhood or adolescence. In 70 per cent of cases attacks have begun by the age of 20, in 85 per cent by the age of 25. In a small number of cases idiopathic epilepsy first manifests itself in the fourth or fifth decade, but far more frequently fits coming on after the age of 25 are symptomatic of organic cerebral diseases. Often children starting to have fits in adolescence have had convulsions in infancy."

Giving a description of the attacks and the state of an epileptic it is stated that in general convulsive fits the tonic spasm in epilepsy commences with conjugate deviation of both eyes to one side, followed by rotation of the head to the same side. The blood pressure falls, the face appears to be pallid, the eyes widely open, the pupils dilated and the corneae insensitive.

At times an epileptic lets out what is known as the "epileptic cry," which are two quite different sounds that may occur at the commencement of an epileptic attack. One is a natural, conscious cry of terror as the fit commences to grip the patient. The other is a weird, unearthly sound.

Sometimes epileptic patients bite their tongues, and are liable to incontinence often evacuating urine, seldom the bowel, and rarely both. Simple twitchings of individual muscles or group of muscles, occurring, now in one part of the body, now in another, are seen in the majority of epileptics at some time or other.

Local convulsive fits better known as "Jacksonian epilepsy" have their own symptoms. In it the common foci of onset are the angle of the mouth, the thumb and index finger, and the great toe. Occasionally other parts of the body are also affected.

In addition there are other forms of epileptic fits commonly known, such as, local paralytic fits, sensory epileptic disturbances, psychomotor fits, and minor epilepsy which are more or less common with the types already stated.

Whatever the causes, signs, symptoms and conditions of the different varieties of epilepsy, one relevant feature is clearly evident that if one is afflicted with the malady the victim occasionally, if not frequently, undergoes the torments of the disease entailing the risks of its dangerous consequences at times. *It is not a disease which grips one only once in a lifetime and then leaves the victim in peace.*

After taking into account the case-study of epilepsy in the preceding pages it can be stated that Akbar never suffered from any

disease of the brain. There is no evidence of the fact either in contemporary history or later records. On the contrary a searching study of Akbar's life and reign reveals that he was a man gifted with extraordinary qualities of the head and heart. He was in possession of a robust health and an iron constitution. As stated already that before diagnosing a case of epilepsy a sound knowledge and a good judgement are extremely essential which, however, have not been exercised by the two historians in the case of Akbar. They have made no effort to substantiate their charge by historical or medical proof.

As regards heredity we do not come across any instance where Akbar's grandfather Babur, or father Humayun, or their near relatives suffered from epilepsy. About Babur and Humayun we have excellent details in history of their lives and deeds.

As regards the age factor we have no evidence, whatever, to show that Akbar in his infancy, childhood, adolescence or in later years suffered from the malady. As for other signs, symptoms and conditions of epilepsy we have further no evidence to have found him in any such state. So many contemporary writers, foreign visitors to his court, both with a friendly and biased attitude, have written in detail about his life and the events of his reign but not a single one has made reference to any such allusion.

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- <sup>2</sup>Abul Fazl—Akbarnama, Trans: H. Beveridge, (London 1921) Vol. III, p. 157.
- <sup>3</sup>A. L. Srivastava—Akbar the Great (Agra 1962) Vol. I, p. 233.
- <sup>4</sup>Ibid: p. 233. Abul Fazl as cited by A. L. Srivastava.
- <sup>5</sup>In the Shahpur district of the Punjab. See Akbarnama Vol. III, loc. cit, p. 345, fn. 2.
- <sup>6</sup>Abul Fazl mentions 25 Kos approximately 50 miles.
- <sup>7</sup>Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 346, fn I and 4.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid: pp. 347-348.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid: pp. 346-347.
- <sup>10</sup>Badaoni—Muntakhabut-Twarikh, Bib. Ind., Trans: Lowe, Vol. II, pp. 260-61.
- <sup>11</sup>Nizamuddin as cited by Beveridge, Akbarnama, Vol. III, pp. 346-347, fn. 4.
- <sup>12</sup>Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 348.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid: p. 354.
- <sup>14</sup>V. A. Smith—Akbar the Great Mogul, (Oxford 1917) pp. 159-160.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid: p. 160, fn I, Du Jarric as cited by Smith, vide, Du Jarric, Vol. II, p. 498.
- <sup>16</sup>Smith—Akbar p. 160, fn. 1.
- <sup>17</sup>The despatches can be conveniently read in Goldie—First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul. (1897).
- <sup>18</sup>Commentary of Father Monserrat, Trans: Hoyland and Banerjee, (Oxford 1922).
- <sup>19</sup>Smith—Akbar p. 160, fn I.
- <sup>20</sup>Cambridge History of India (1937) Vol. IV, p. 120.
- <sup>21</sup>Ibid: p. 120, Smith as cited by Haig.
- <sup>22</sup>Smith—Akbar, p. 158.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid: p. 159.
- <sup>24</sup>Cambridge History of India, Vol. II, p. 119.
- <sup>25</sup>Price—Textbook of the Practice of Medicine, edited by Donald Hunter (Oxford 1956). For the nature, causes, signs and symptoms, and conditions of Epilepsy, and also for the references given the reader may refer to pp. 1492-1501.

## MEERUT UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE

INDIA'S FIRST PERIODICAL DEVOTED  
TO HUMOUR •

B. M. SANKHDIHER •

(National Archives of India, New Delhi.)

It is incontrovertible that humour is an indispensable attribute of sound and imaginative journalism. It is, therefore, rather astonishing that newspapers and periodicals in the early nineteenth century India could not cultivate this trait and exhibited a total neglect of this potential mode of journalism. With the exception of a few, such as the *Calcutta Journal* edited by James Silk Buckingham, the *Friend of India* edited by J.C. Marshman, the *Asiatic Researches* conducted by the Serampore missionaries, the *John Bull*, the *Oriental Herald*, and the *Bengal Magazine*, most of the early nineteenth century journalistic productions in this country demonstrated a total lack of this literary characteristic. Even these newspapers and periodicals applied humour in a crude way without an appreciation of its subtle influence and effectiveness. Humour thus was not in vogue and was considered by the serious writers as a humdrum, monotonous journalistic device to attract subscribers. Perhaps, the quality of humour which was often attempted in different quarters may also be attributed to this unhappy phenomenon.

The *Meerut Universal Magazine* was the first literary journal in India devoted exclusively to humour. Both in the selection of themes and news items as well as in the mode of their presentation the sole criterion was the amount of humour they were likely to produce. Edited by Captain Harvey Tuckett of the Eleventh Light Dragoons, it commenced publication in 1835. It was printed first at the Observer

Press, Meerut, and then at the Agra Press, Agra, under the supervision of W. Ward and J.T. King. It may be mentioned that Captain Harvey Tuckett had a long journalistic experience. In 1831 he had started a journal at Meerut known as the *Meerut Observer*, which, it is believed, he had carried on in manuscript form since 1827.

Since its inception the *Meerut Universal Magazine*, which was popularly known as the MUM, came into conflict with the journalistic world of India. The *Englishman* criticized it for its 'bastard language', the *Bengal Herald* found it 'indefensible' many a time, and in the opinion of the *India Gazette* and the *Bengal Chronicle* 'the communication of old hunks' through the *Meerut Universal Magazine* was not 'authenticated'. Inter alia the most obvious reason for this scathing condemnation was a systematic tirade which the *Meerut Universal Magazine* had launched against everything vulnerable both in the journalistic world and outside. Through its tantalizing satire, ridicule, sarcasm and wit, which filled its pages, the Magazine did not spare anybody or anything from its devastating criticism and exposure.

Whatever its merits and limitations, the *Meerut Universal Magazine* was a unique periodical, with 'wit and humour' as its declared desideratum. It is difficult to come across articles, poems, news, editorials and other items in it, without a touch of humour. It does not, however, mean that the treatment of

subjects in this journal was far from serious, sober or sophisticated. The biographical sketch of the U.S. President Andrew Jackson, 'Cicero as a Philosopher', 'On Juries', and many other articles which were published in 1836 in the *Meerut Universal Magazine* were illustrative of its sobriety and sophistication. It published from time to time general information about the towns of India, such as statistics about the town of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar etc. The predominant quality of this literary magazine, however, remained humour. Even in these items a few brilliant literary flashes of humour could be discovered. Writing about the towns in India, the *Meerut Universal Magazine* remarked in 1836:

"All the towns in India, with a very few exceptions are in ruins. Delhi is surrounded by ruins. Agra, Burhanpore, Aurangabad have immense suburbs in ruins. The Deccan is a heap of ruins. Many towns in Central India, that had their hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, are now literally without one, and are swarming with leopards, tigers, elks, and buffaloes. In deep forests you stumble upon Hindu temples, Muhammedan gateways, stone tanks 800 yards square, brick wells of large dimensions, scores of acres of burying grounds, and all the other concomitants and proofs of wealth, power and population. Malthus would never have written his too celebrated work nor Godwin ever written his too little valued answer had they been in India."

Similar expositions were made in an article on 'Despotism? Democracy and Aristocracy or Tri-morpho-politeia-Heterodoxica', when the editor tried to define political adulterations in 1836. Despotism was described as the simplest form of government.

An idea about the quality of humour contained in this monthly publication may be obtained from the numerous comments which the editor published under the caption 'Loose Lectures'. On Matrimony, the following ex-

tract published in the year 1836, provides an interesting reading:

"Wedlock is a ticklish thing,  
Hey diddledee ho, ho diddledee he."

AND FURTHER:

"...Petticoat Government is pure despotism. There is no greater Autocrat on earth than a woman when she calls her husband Mister. That females are capable of sustaining the energies of Political Government is unquestionable, when we call to our memories the names of Zenobia, Catherine and Elizabeth, Joanna etc. But in domestic economy when a woman usurps undue authority, when what she has a right to have is not tempered with discretion and forbearance, the less of such government the better."

AND STILL FURTHER:

"...Oh blue eyes, and black eyes and hazel eyes, and light grey eyes, how do I doat on you all; Oh lovely eyes, oh shining, searching eyes, Oh lively tickling eyes, and oh affectionate eyes, what delicious, endearing overwhelming effects ye produce! Mysteries of mysteries."

In the same year the *Meerut Universal Magazine* published an interesting case of requisition, the sole object of which, it is axiomatic, was not a genuine need but humour, pure and simple:

WANTED

A lady under thirty years of age, of unexceptionable character and good connexions. With the usual female accomplishments. She will be expected to take a hand in culinary preparations, as occasion may require. The knowledge of Rolly Polly and custards absolutely indispensable. Money not positively requisite. She must not stand five feet without her shoes, must be docile, have good feet and teeth and must pronounce the word OBEY audibly in the

marriage service, otherwise not to be deemed valid.

N.B. Red hair, not altogether furious, will not be objected to. Applications to be made through the printer to the address of LL."

The *Meerut Universal Magazine* had a passion for poetry. Almost every number of this short-lived magazine overflowed with poetic compositions. Under "Lays from the Benighted: Illustration of a Picture by Buss", the MUM published the following unorthodox extract:

"...And as she sat, fast snoring in her chair,  
Her feet were on the table elevated;  
A posture, not exactly to compare  
With that which is of Werter's love related  
When weeping over his tomb:-one leg was bare  
For her red garter was alack! unmated  
And so her stocking (Black it was, not blue)  
Slipt down, revealing such a calf to view."

The same year Rokeby Cassilis wrote 'Lady Edith: A Legendary Lay':

"She bent and kissed her lover's cheek,  
't was cold as winter's snow!  
She felt his heart, it did not beat!

And her's grew chill with woe!  
The moon burst forth. What to her gaze  
Hath its red light displayed?  
She startled, shrieked with wild amaze,  
Is that father's blade?

Thus the MUM was hardly mum about anything. On the contrary, it was both bold and outspoken. The Loose Lectures, the Hepatitis Hippobatees, My Notebook: A thing of shreds and patches, Whiting's Eyes, the Turton Fund, Item on IT, My Furlough and many other such articles and comments were all full of "Hurra, fai-lal-de-lai-da" and similar expressions of joy, laughter and merriment. What a sane advice, the MUM had to give to its readers under 'Azim: A tale of Khorassan':

"Poor fellow! he had suffered much of late,  
Was wounded, slashed and cut in every way,  
His senses too were wandering, for what  
He strived to seize just now 't were hard to say,  
Perhaps he saw his dear-beloved mate,  
Who might have showed herself like wanton fay;  
But when a rival takes your wife, by gad!  
It's quite enough to drive the devil mad!!!

The *Meerut Universal Magazine* came to an end in 1837.

## THE WORK OF CHHATRAPATI RAJARAM IN MAHARASHTRA

FROM MANCHAKAROHANA TO THE DEPARTURE FOR JINJI

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The work of Chhatrapati Rajaram in Maharashtra from the time of his Manchakarohana to his departure for Jinji, i.e., during the period from 12-2-1689 to 26-9-1689 A.D., gives us an idea about his capacity to organize and manage military and administrative matters and to face critical situations.

The historical sources for the study of Chhatrapati Rajaram for this period are meagre. But if we read them critically, they give us ample information about his work and activities in Maharashtra to resist Emperor Aurangzeb.

The Maratha general Santaji Ghorpade, Khando Ballal and others, escaping from the skirmish in which Chhatrapati Sambhaji was captured by Mughal general Mukarrabkhan at Sangameshwar, reached Raigad before 8-2-1689<sup>1</sup>. Santaji Ghorpade collected the Maratha army and proceeded to rescue Sambhaji from the hands of Mukarrabkhan<sup>2</sup>. Another Maratha general, Dhanaji Jadhav, also marched against the Mughal army<sup>3</sup>. All this seems to be before the Manchakarohana ceremony of Rajaram, which took place on 12-2-1689. By that time the Marathas had realized that it was not possible to rescue Sambhaji from the hands of the Mughals<sup>4</sup>.

Taking into account the cordial relations which Rajaram had with Sambhaji and his queen Yesubai<sup>5</sup> and the respect and affection he held for them and Shahu<sup>6</sup> it can be construed that Rajaram might have taken some

steps for the release of Sambhaji. But as yet we do not have any proof for this from the available historical records. Moreover, Rajaram's steps do not seem to have materialized into anything as Sambhaji was actually dragged to the camp of Aurangzeb at Bahadurgad on 15-2-1689<sup>7</sup>, hardly after three days from the time of the Manchakarohana ceremony of Rajaram. Till the 15th of March 1689, Aurangzeb cruelly played with the life of Sambhaji by torturing and humiliating him and finally by putting him to death<sup>8</sup>.

When the Maratha State was shaken by the calamity of Sambhaji's capture and death, Chhatrapati Rajaram rose to the occasion and saved it from a fall.

Rajaram was a man of genial<sup>9</sup> and sober temperament<sup>10</sup> having agreeable speech.<sup>11</sup> He was of self-sacrificing zeal<sup>12</sup> and was capable of handling tricky politics and fighting as occasion demanded<sup>13</sup>. Rajaram was brave and clever.<sup>14</sup> He possessed military skill and experience<sup>15</sup>. "When called upon to save his father's kingdom, he brought to his task a cautious, discerning mind, a vigour unimpaired by vice and a spirit that no danger could appal, no disaster dismay"<sup>16</sup>.

When Rajaram became the Chhatrapati, he started his administration by continuing the persons of the administration of Sambhaji in their respective departments and posts<sup>17</sup>. This assured their loyalty to the Maratha State and they did not betray the cause of

Rajaram even when Aurangzeb had tempted them to do so<sup>18</sup>.

After this, Rajaram settled the case of the Panhala conspiracy, which Sambhaji could not decide due to his unexpected capture by the Mughals. Unearthing the plot of the Panhala conspiracy, Sambhaji had arrested the persons who made an attempt to hand over Rajaram and the fort of Panhala treacherously to the Mughals<sup>19</sup>. Rajaram released and restored to their offices the persons who were innocent and hurled down from a periciple, Yesaji and Sidoji Farjand, who were found guilty<sup>20</sup>.

From Rajaram's Adnyapatra—a letter of the Chhatrapati himself<sup>21</sup>, dated 23rd April 1689<sup>22</sup>, we come to know about an administrative measure taken by Rajaram in February 1689<sup>23</sup>, i.e. soon after his Manchakarohana ceremony at Raigad. We learn that Naropant Amatya was plundered by bandits at Pedabe, Taluka Chiplun, when he was on his way from Samgameshwar to Raigad. To conduct the investigation about this looting, Rajaram deputed his officer, Khandoji Gade.

"About this period (1689), the attention of the emperor (Aurangzeb) was attracted to the English, and in consequence of piracies which began to be committed by individuals, several of the factories belonging to the East India Company were seized"<sup>24</sup>. Aurangzeb ordered Siddi Yakutkhan to drive the English from Bombay<sup>25</sup>. Siddi Yakutkhan attacked the island of Bombay during the period of 15-2-1689 to 22-6-1690<sup>26</sup>. During this period of their conflict with the Siddi, the condition of the English at Bombay had become very critical<sup>27</sup>. But the English at Bombay got saved from the Siddies, i.e., from the Mughals due to the timely help given to them by Rajaram<sup>28</sup>. Rajaram allowed the English to recruit troops in the Maratha territory<sup>29</sup> and sent for their help his 15 ships with Maratha soldiers on 19-3-1689<sup>30</sup>. On 23-3-1689 and 26-3-1689 the leaders of the Maratha soldiers of Rajaram went out from

Bombay and procured more help for the English<sup>31</sup>. Meanwhile, Rajaram sent his assurance of sending his 1500 soldiers for the help of the English at Bombay<sup>32</sup>. The men of Rajaram also sent back safely to Bombay, three Englishmen who were arrested by the Siddi, and because of whose cruel and inhuman treatment to them they had fled to the Maratha territory from Rajapur<sup>33</sup>. On 9-9-1689 Rajaram sent his 60 soldiers to the English for help and wrote letters to them assuring the English his continuous support in their conflict against Aurangzeb<sup>34</sup>. It is clear from these actions of Rajaram that he wished to have good relations with the English as were maintained by Shivaji<sup>35</sup> and Sambhaji<sup>36</sup>, especially when they were fighting against his enemy, Aurangzeb.

The wise policy of statesmanship which we see of Rajaram towards the English, to make common cause with them against Aurangzeb, was also followed by him in his relations with the Portuguese in Goa. Aurangzeb had started taking steps against the Portuguese just as he had taken against the English in India<sup>37</sup>. Since he sensed the emergence of a conflict between the Mughals and the Portuguese, it appears that Rajaram decided to have the alliance of peace and friendship with the Portuguese, which the Portuguese maintained with Shivaji<sup>38</sup> but which was disturbed during the time of Sambhaji<sup>39</sup>. From the letter dated 16-1-1691 of the Portuguese viceroy of Goa to the King of Portugal we learn that "of late years he (Rajaram) has been repeating this request (to the Portuguese government in Goa)" and "had previously on several occasions he (Rajaram) wrote to the Governors Dom Rodrigo da Costa and Dom Miguel de Almeida, requesting them to renew the alliance of peace and friendship"<sup>40</sup>. This clearly proves that as soon as Rajaram started looking after the matters of the Maratha State he took necessary and wise steps to establish friendly relations with the English and the Portuguese, as Aurangzeb was a common enemy to all of them. To the request of Rajaram

for friendship, the Portuguese "responded with the same demonstrations of friendship"<sup>41</sup>. "The friendly relations with the Portuguese encouraged many officers of Rajaram to leave their families in the Portuguese territory"<sup>42</sup>.

When Rajaram was busy in doing the above work from Raigad, the Mughal General Itiquat Khan (Later Zulfikhar Khan) besieged that fortress on 25-3-1689<sup>43</sup> to capture Rajaram<sup>44</sup>. The Mughal siege of Raigad obstructed the work of Rajaram and his ministers and created danger to the life and safety of Rajaram, Yesubai and her son, Shahu. To find out a way to meet successfully this critical and dangerous situation, Rajaram, Yesubai, the Maratha statesmen, ministers and nobles held a consultation meeting at Raigad<sup>45</sup>.

In this meeting, when the stock of the entire situation was taken, Yesubai advised Rajaram and his ministers to escape from Raigad and open a second front of warfare against the Mughals in Maharashtra. As the fortress of Raigad was sufficiently strong and well provided to defy the Mughals for some years, she asked them not to worry about the safety of herself and her son, Shahu<sup>46</sup>. As the advice of Yesubai was selfless and practical to meet the exigencies of the time, Rajaram, his ministers, nobles and generals accepted it<sup>47</sup>. After this, Rajaram, his ministers, nobles and generals took an Oath of Allegiance to Shahu, who was regarded by Rajaram as the rightful heir to the throne of Shambhaji<sup>48</sup>. Rajaram then urged upon all to forget the unfortunate happenings of the past and work more zealously than before, to protect the Maratha State by defeating Aurangzeb<sup>49</sup>.

"As the besiegers strengthened their posts, Rajaram wisely decided not to risk his all by shutting himself up in that fort (Raigad), but to go out of it in time, raise forces from the country at large and with them try to drive away the besiegers of Raigad"<sup>50</sup>. Instilling courage and optimism in the hearts of the disheartened Marathas, Rajaram slipped out

of Raigad with his family and ministers like Ramchandrapant, Pralhad Niraji, Shankaraji Malhar and others on 5-4-1689 and reached Pratapgad<sup>51</sup>. But before his reaching Pratapgad, we are informed from the correspondence between the Portuguese Governor of Goa, D. Rodrigo da Costa and Nabab Bahadur Khan, that Rajaram had gone to the fortress of Javly (Javali) and had spread rumour that "he has gone to Jingee"<sup>52</sup>. Rajaram's going to Javali (which is in the hills and to which the way is very difficult) is again confirmed by the letter of Zulfikar Khan written to his father, Asad Khan, who was the Prime Minister of Aurangzeb<sup>53</sup>. In addition to this, Zulfikar Khan tells us that "the cunning enemy (Rajaram) wandered in the hills and forests of Maharashtra in different parts. He was not keeping himself shut in any particular fort"<sup>54</sup>.

We learn from the *Jedhe Karina*, that at the time when Rajaram reached Pratapgad, there were conditions of severe famine (in Maharashtra)<sup>55</sup>. In spite of this, the plan of Rajaram was to keep his family at the forts of Vishalgad and Rangana and to keep on roving in Maharashtra to fight against the Mughal armies<sup>56</sup>. The ministers of Rajaram, Ramchandrapant, Pralhad Niraji and Shankaraji Malhar also did the work of raising and organizing the Maratha troops in Maharashtra<sup>57</sup>.

The *Bakhar of Rajaram* tells us that "after reaching Pratapgad, Rajaram wrote letters to different persons, inspected different forts and provided them with material to conduct their defence against the Mughals"<sup>58</sup>.

Even when Rajaram was busy in the military matters, he paid proper attention to the work of his government administration. This becomes clear to us from his *Adhyapatra*, dated 23-4-1689<sup>59</sup>. It shows that Rajaram's officer, Khandoji Gade, whom Rajaram had deputed to conduct an investigation in the episode of the looting of Naropant Amatya at Pedabe (Taluka Chiplun) in February 1689, had

completed the work of his investigation. He had recovered the articles which Naropant had lost to the bandits. From those articles which Rajaram returned to Naropant, he kept for himself an ink-stand of gold (probably for his own use)<sup>60</sup>. In return for the ink-stand of gold, Rajaram decided to give Naropant a quantity of gold equal to its weight. In the *Adhyapatra*, Rajaram had ordered Bahirji Naik Ghatge, who was in charge of the treasury at Raigad, to give that much of gold to Naropant without hesitation. We also come to know from the contents of this *Adhyapatra* that Rajaram had written the same type of *Adhyapatra* to his other officer, Rahuji Somnath<sup>61</sup>.

We come to know from the letter of Zulfikhar Khan that Rajaram did not stay for long in the fort of Pratapgad<sup>62</sup>, when he saw that the Mughals were going to invest it<sup>63</sup>. After making proper arrangements for its defence<sup>64</sup>, he went to fort Vasota<sup>65</sup>, which is in the hills of Satara, 5 miles to the west of Tambigaon<sup>66</sup> when the Mughals were pursuing him<sup>67</sup>. From fort Vasota Rajaram seems to have gone to the fort of Rajgad with his ministers and nobles. We learn from the *Futuhate Alamgiri* that after getting the news about Rajaram and his prominent nobles at Rajgad, Aurangzeb deputed Raja Kishor Sing to conquer Rajgad and to either kill or capture Rajaram and his nobles<sup>68</sup>. When Kishor Sing besieged Rajgad, Rajaram conducted with him talks about his surrender to Aurangzeb<sup>69</sup>. Rajaram kept the talks lingering for two-three days and at the proper opportunity one day escaped in the night from Rajgad<sup>70</sup>.

From Rajgad, Rajaram seems to have gone to Satara and Parali, to pay homage to the Samadhi of Saint Ramdas. He halted in between these places, to take rest, to levy troops and to arrange defence against the Mughals<sup>71</sup>. Rajaram showed himself in his different forts<sup>72</sup>. All this vigorous activity was conducted by Rajaram in the rainy season, and when the Mughals pressed hard upon him, he went for safety to fort Panhala<sup>73</sup>. At

times he also moved to the Vishalgad and Rangana forts<sup>74</sup>.

When Rajaram was at Panhala his minister, Ramchandrapant, deputed Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav to harass Zulfikar Khan who had besieged Raigad, and other Mughal generals who were invading the territories in Maharashtra. Santaji boldly raided the camp of Aurangzeb at Tulapur and cutting the gold tops off his tent poles carried them as trophies<sup>75</sup>. He and his brothers, Bahirji and Maloji Ghorpade and the Maratha general, Vithoji Chavan, attacked Zulfikar Khan and captured five elephants from him<sup>76</sup>. When they presented all these things to Rajaram at Panhala, Rajaram honoured them suitably by giving the title of "Mamalkat Madar" to Santaji, "Hindurao" to Bahirji, "Amir-ul-Umrao" to Maloji and "Himmat Bahaddar" to Vithoji Chavan<sup>77</sup>. Rajaram appointed Santaji Ghorpade as the Commander in Chief of the Maratha army due to the recommendation of Ramchandrapant even though he himself was in favour of appointing Dhanaji Jadhav to that post<sup>78</sup>. Dhanaji Jadhav also harassed the Mughal troops greatly and achieved success. At Panhala, he was honoured by the title "Jaisingrao" by Rajaram<sup>79</sup>. About the personal activity of Rajaram himself we are told by Manucci, that "Shivaji (Ram Raja) never ceased rushing about every where with the officers who sided with him, and every where succeeded in his enterprises"<sup>80</sup>.

All these Maratha victories and military activity, though dazzling in nature and quality, do not seem to have produced a check on the onward march of the Mughal armies in Maharashtra. After the death of Sambhaji, the Mughal army conquered Kalyan, Prabalgaad (near Matheran), Mahuli, and the forts Karnala, Mukutgad, Mangalgad, Chanderi, Khahuda, Manikgad, Sankia and Dugad in the Konkan area<sup>81</sup>. In the Thana District, the territory of the Marathas went under the Mughals by August 1689. The Mughal armies had spread in Maratha areas of Panhala, Raigad and Chakan<sup>82</sup>. In the area around

Raigad, Zulfikar Khan was harassing the Maratha troops and population<sup>83</sup>. Aurangzeb personally had stationed himself at Koregaon and was reducing the territory around Poona<sup>84</sup>. The Mughals had also become the masters of the forts of Pratapgad, Sinhagad, Purañdar, Lohagad, Rajgad, Torna and Rohida<sup>85</sup>. The forts of Fonda, Banda and the territories of Kudal, Sankhali, Dicholi and Maneri had been conquered by the Mughals<sup>86</sup>. In the different areas of the Maratha Kingdom, at places like, Supe, Baramati, Indapur, Mhasvad, Khatav, Budh, Pachgaon, Kolhapur, Masur, Shirur, Chakan, Shirval, Wai, Poona and Karad, the Mughals had established their strong military posts<sup>87</sup>. Only the territory of Ratnagiri (barring Sangameshwar) and the forts of Satara, Parli, Vishalgad, Vasantgad, Rajmachi and Kulaba (Alibag) had remained in the hands of the Marathas<sup>88</sup>. In that, seeing the vigorous military activity of the Marathas from Panhala, Aurangzeb sent additional troops to strengthen the Mughal posts in different parts of Maharashtra and Raigad<sup>89</sup>. The Mughals also invested the fortresses of Rangana and Vishalgad to check the activities of the Marathas<sup>90</sup> and the Mughal general Mukarrab Khan invested the fort of Panhala<sup>91</sup>.

At this juncture, Chhatrapati Rajaram held consultations at Panhala with his ministers to decide about the course of action they were to follow<sup>92</sup>. We get the information about these consultations and the meeting of Rajaram with his ministers from the *Rajaram Charitam*, a contemporary work of Keshav Pandit, who was the Danadhyaksha of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram<sup>93</sup>.

We are informed by Keshav Pandit that in a meeting which Rajaram held with his ministers at Panhala, different ministers gave different advice to Rajaram. Some ministers gave the advice of continuing warfare vigorously against Aurangzeb (in Maharashtra) and the other ministers advised the means of conciliation, bribery, dissension and surrender in the war that was going on against Aurangzeb<sup>94</sup>. But

Rajaram did not approve (accept)<sup>95</sup>, their advice. In that meeting, Rajaram's minister, Pralhad Niraji, suggested that by leaving the care of the territory of Maharashtra to Ramchandrapant, Rajaram should go to Karnatak and work persistently from there to protect the Maratha State from the Mughal attacks<sup>96</sup>. As the military situation in Maharashtra was very critical for the Marathas, Rajaram approved (accepted) the advice of Pralhad Niraji<sup>97</sup>.

This consultation meeting of Rajaram with his ministers was in line with the administrative policy of Shivaji the Great, who freely sought advice from his ministers<sup>98</sup>. The ministers of Shivaji were expected to give him advice when he asked for it. But he was not bound by their advice; he could accept or reject it<sup>99</sup>. In his meeting with the ministers, Rajaram did not approve (accept) the advice of some ministers, but he approved (accepted) the advice of his minister, Pralhad Niraji and decided to follow it.

In the light of this, the contention of Shri Bendre, that... "as the ministers of Rajaram decided to go to Karnatak, 'weak-minded' Rajaram, 'without any alternative', went after them"<sup>100</sup> becomes untenable. If he was really of a weak mind, since constitutionally he was competent even to accept the advice of a surrender to Aurangzeb, Rajaram would have accepted it as soon as some of his ministers suggested it. But Rajaram, being a man of sterner mettle, chose to follow a hard path of fighting relentlessly against mighty Aurangzeb. Moreover, it does not appear that the plan about Rajaram's going to Jinji was decided upon for the first time in this meeting. The plan which seems to have been mooted earlier was decided to be acted upon during the time of the meeting at Panhala. For, it clearly gets revealed from the correspondence between the Portuguese Governor D. Rodrigo da Costa of Goa and the Mughal Governor of Belgaum, Bahadur Khan, that while leaving Raigad itself, i.e. in April, 1689, Rajaram had spread

the rumour that "he has gone to Jingee"<sup>101</sup>. This means that at Raigad itself the possibility of Rajaram's going to Karnatak was known to all, including Yesubai.

In addition to the cause that the military situation in Maharashtra had become critical for the Marathas, there seems to be another immediate cause which led Rajaram to take the decision to go to Karnatak.

It appears that sometime during this period, when he was planning to go to Karnatak, Rajaram received at Panhala, the news about the upheaval that was taking place in Karnatak<sup>102</sup>. We learn that since 1687 A.D., Aurangzeb was trying to bring the whole of Karnatak under his control<sup>103</sup>. When the pressure of the Mughals was increasing in 1689 A.D., the Chief Maratha Subhedar of Karnatak, Hirji Mahadik, the husband of Sambhaji's sister, Ambikabai, was "upset by the reports of the Mughal progress and Maratha reverses in Maharashtra and for a time he seems to have thought of submitting to the Mughals and paying them tribute"<sup>104</sup>. In that, he had serious dissensions with his assistant, Kesho Trimal Pingle<sup>105</sup>.

In the context of this additional complicated situation it seems that Rajaram and his ministers decided to go to Karnatak. Keshav Pandit does not seem to be in the know about this and has therefore not told us anything about the situation in Karnatak and this additional reason due to which Rajaram went to Jinji, in his *Rajaram Charitam*. But we get a fairly good idea about the aims and motives of Rajaram due to which he went to Jinji from the Madras English Factory Records. We are told that the aims and objectives of Rajaram to go to Jinji from Maharashtra were, to establish order in Karnatak; to open a second front of warfare in Karnatak; bifurcate the Mughal army which was pressing its full strength on Maharashtra and by uniting the Hindu Princes and the Nayaks, to re-establish the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur which were lost to the Mughals<sup>106</sup>. He also had an idea to arrange

for the attack on the Mughal army in Maharashtra from Karnatak<sup>107</sup>.

Having told us about the decision of Rajaram to go to Karnatak, Keshav Pandit tells us that Rajaram performed the Navaratra Puja and celebrated the festival of Vijaya-Dashmi (Dasara) with his ministers, generals and relatives at Panhala up to 14-9-1689<sup>108</sup>. After the Dasara Day, i.e. 14-9-1689 A.D., the other Mughal forces begin to converge upon Panhala<sup>109</sup>. Seeing this, Rajaram seems to have made up his mind finally to go to Karnatak and he started making arrangements for his administration during the time of his absence in Maharashtra.

Out of the ministers of Sambhaji, Yesubai had already given the post of the Pratinidhi to Pralhad Niraji at the time of the Manchakarohana of Rajaram<sup>110</sup>. That, Pralhad Niraji acted as the Pratinidhi when Rajaram had not gone to Jinji is proved by his seal on a letter dated 22-9-1689<sup>111</sup>. Rajaram placed the territory of the Maratha State around Korigod for administration under his minister Shankaraji Narayan. The rest of the territory of the Maratha State was given by him under Ramchandrapant Amatya. He also placed the Maratha army and its generals, Santaji Ghodpade and Dhanaji Jadhav under the control of Ramchandrapant<sup>112</sup>.

When Rajaram was busy in making the above arrangement for his administration, we find that he paid attention to the other matters of his administration and its correspondence. This is proved by the fact that he wrote letters to the Portuguese of Goa to renew the alliance of peace and friendship which they had with Shivaji<sup>113</sup> repeatedly and to the English at Bombay assuring them his help against the Siddis<sup>114</sup> and thereby against Aurangzeb. Rajaram might have also received letters in reply from them. In the Maratha administration according to the Jabta (order) of Shivaji, in which he had laid down the rules for the work of his different ministers and officers, we learn

that the Chitnis was required to read to the king the letters received for him<sup>115</sup> and the Diwan was required to explain the contents of the letters written by the Ministers and others to the king<sup>116</sup>. Support to the continuance of this practice in the Maratha administration is lent by the fact that it was observed by Sambhaji<sup>117</sup>. It was also continued by Rajaram<sup>118</sup> who had continued in his administration the ministers and officers of Sambhaji. The inference about the continuance of this practice under Rajaram is strengthened more by the fact that as required by the Jabta of Shivaji<sup>119</sup> the ministers of Rajaram were constantly with him to transact the State business and other matters. The ministers of Rajaram, Ramchandrapant, Pralhad Niraji, Shankaraji Malhar, Khando Ballal, Nilakantha Moreshwar Pingle, Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad and others were with Rajaram at Raigad and at Panhala<sup>120</sup>. This point gets proved more when we take into account the contents of the letter dated 22-9-1689 on which we find the seals of Nilakantha Moreshwar, the Prime Minister, and Pralhad Niraji, the Pratinidhi of Rajaram<sup>121</sup>. In this letter it is stated that the commander of 5000 troops, Malhar Dadaji, communicated the desire of Malharji Bhandvalkar to serve faithfully under Rajaram; Malhar Dadaji had conveyed the

obeisance of Malharji Bhandvalkar to Rajaram and that Malharji Bhandvalkar would serve the Maratha State faithfully. These details and his *Adnyapatra* dated 23-4-1689 A.D. prove that Rajaram was receiving communications and was issuing orders.

It becomes clear from the evidence recorded above that Rajaram took important decisions in matters of administration, held meetings of his ministers for their advice at critical times, accepted or rejected their advice, roamed in the difficult hilly parts and forests of Maharashtra to arrange the Maratha resistance against Aurangzeb and continued the administrative practices of Shivaji.

This proves that the view of Shri Sardesai, G. S., that "Rajaram possessed no dash or initiative" and that "his (Rajaram's) mind and body were both weak"<sup>122</sup> and which is largely supported by Shri Bendre<sup>123</sup>, Dr. Brij Kishore<sup>124</sup>, Shri Garge<sup>125</sup> and others, is untenable.

After completing due arrangements for the administration and defence of Maharashtra, Rajaram escaped from Panhala for Jinji "in order to be beyond the reach of the Mughals" on 26-9-1689<sup>126</sup>, when the Mughal armies were scattered<sup>127</sup> in Maharashtra.

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- <sup>95</sup> Keshav Pandit—*Ibid.*, *Sarga I, Vs. 38*, p. 54; Bendre, V. S., *Sambhaji*, p. 633. In this verse Keshav Pandit uses an expression which Shri Bendre has translated as "their (ministers) advice will not touch the mind of the King." I think that in the context of the consultation meeting of Rajaram (the King) and his Ministers, the

translation of the expression as "approve" (accept) will be correct. The King was either to accept or reject the advice of his ministers in the meeting.

- <sup>96</sup> Keshav Pandit—*Ibid.*, *Sarga I, Verses 43-45*, p. 55.  
<sup>97</sup> Keshav Pandit—*Ibid.*, *Sarga I, Verses 41; 46-47*, p. 55.  
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<sup>100</sup> Bendre, V. S.—*Sambhaji*, pp. 634; 653-654. Shri Bendre ascribes the responsibility and blemish of this decision to go to Karnatak to the ministers of Rajaram. Even though, he himself has stated that 'No intention of vengeance can be reasonably attributed to Rajaram or to his Mandal—Ministers'—(*Rajaram Charitam*, p. 9); in his work *Sambhaji*, pp. 653-654, he has charged the ministers of Rajaram for having afforded, with evil motives towards Yesubai, an opportunity to the Mughals to capture Shahu in the fort of Raigad on 3-11-1689. This surmise of Shri Bendre is mainly due to the fact that he thinks that Rajaram was "unfit", (*Sambhaji*, p. 632) and "weak-minded", (*Ibid.*, p. 633) to fight against the Mughals. Shri Bendre's surmises about Rajaram get disproved amply from the evidence recorded about Rajaram's ability in this article as well as in my another article, (*Q.R.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 180-186*). In that, we learn from Shri Bendre himself that, "Rajaram was affectionate towards Shahu and was in allegiance with him throughout his life." (*Sambhaji*, p. 653). He again tells us that "Rajaram made efforts to rescue Shahu from the Mughal Camp" (*Ibid.*, p. 659). Further, Shri Bendre holds the decision of Rajaram to go to Karnatak a wrong one as according to him, the Maratha position in Maharashtra had started improving due to the Maratha victories at Sangameshwar, Gunavantgad and Sundargad at this time (*Ibid.*, p. 636). But all these victories were earned by the Marathas after Rajaram had left Panhala for Jinji and not before that time. (*Rajaram Charitam Sarga II, Vs. 9-38*, pp. 58-61; Pagdi, Setumadhavrao, *Hindavi Swarajya Ani Mogal*, p. 99). Moreover, about Pralhad Niraji, who advised Rajaram to go to Karnatak, we learn from Shri Bendre himself that "at the time of the Manchakrohana ceremony of Rajaram, Yesubai herself had given him the post of the Pratinidhi in the Maratha Government." (*Bharatiya Itihas Ani Samskruti, Year 3, No. 11, Oct. 1966, loc. cit.*, p. 50). In view of these facts the blame ascribed by Shri Bendre to Rajaram and his ministers in this matter is not correct.  
<sup>101</sup> Pissurlencar Panduranga—*Loc. cit.*, p. 222.

- <sup>102</sup> Sarkar, J. N.—*Angangzib, Vol. V*, pp. 56-61.  
<sup>103</sup> Sarkar, J. N.—*Ibid.*, p. 62.  
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<sup>106</sup> Bendre, V. S.—*Sambhaji*, pp. 640-641; Sarkar, J. N., *Ib.*, p. 63.  
<sup>107</sup> Rajwade, V. K.—*Vol. 15, Lekhanka* 282, pp. 288-290.  
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<sup>111</sup> Bendre, V. S.—*B.I.A.S. (Quarterly, Bombay), Year 3, No. 11, Oct. 1966, Loc. cit.*, p. 50.  
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<sup>113</sup> Keshav Pandit—*op. cit.*, *Sarga IV, Verses—11-14*, pp. 66-67.  
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## THESIS PRESENTED

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### THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CURZON: SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICIES

V. C. BHUTANI

The study opens with an account of socio-economic conditions in British India during the period 1880-1898. The statements and hypotheses presented are based on the views of Indian nationalist leaders and English statesmen and officials. The state of agriculture has been examined. The causes of lack of industrial development are also studied and the extent of the establishment of their employment potential has been stated. The progress of educational processes and political advance have also been noted. Particular notice has been taken of the policies which are studied in detail in the ensuing chapters.

The first chapter embodies an evaluation of the criticism of the land revenue administration in all the major provinces. The question has been treated provincewise, and the history and development of the land revenue system in each province has been reviewed beginning from a period which formed a convenient stage for each province separately. It has been necessary frequently to go back a hundred years. The government's statement of its land revenue policy has been analyzed and evaluated. While defending its policy the government realized that there were certain rigid features and aberrations which would bear liberalizing. Such modifications have been noted and their importance and impact on land revenue systems explained. The principal acts of government in this direction were its revision of the practice in respect of exemption of improvements by landlords at their expense from assessment of revenue (and a similar exemption of improvements by tenants from enhancement of rent) and the systematizing of the policy of suspen-

sions and remissions of land revenue on account of variations of season to suit the paying capacity of agriculturists.

The second chapter attempts to trace the circumstances that led to the extensive indebtedness of the agricultural classes who were forced to borrow from village moneylenders. This result had been brought about by the land revenue policy of the government as well as by the parenthetic imposition of the western type judicial and legal structure which favoured moneylenders against agriculturists. This process of borrowing eventuated in considerable transfers of agricultural land which was the only means open to moneylenders to enforce repayment of credits. In order to stop this dispossession of the agricultural classes the government could not bring about any organic or radical changes in its land revenue policy or judicial system. The transfers were therefore prohibited by law. Under the new law only agriculturists could buy agricultural land. In the Punjab the result was stoppage of transfers to non-agriculturists but larger agricultural tribes were absorbing the possessions of smaller tribes. The credit of cultivators contracted slightly. The experiment in Bundelkhand led to similar results. In Bombay the policy of restricting transfers was not introduced because such withdrawal of rights would lead to strong political agitation which the government had no confidence to face.

The third chapter deals with the attempts of the government to remedy the defects which its policies and Indian conditions had called into existence. The first of these was the organi-

zation of the co-operative movement by which it was hoped to provide some of the credit which under prevailing conditions was obtained from moneylenders. The rules under which the *takavi* advances were given and recovered were liberalized. The objects of the government in incurring the outlay on irrigation schemes have been examined and the result of that effort stated. The beginning of the development of scientific agriculture and arrangements for agricultural education have been recorded. The evolution of a liberal and enlightened famine relief administration has been traced.

The fourth chapter deals with the highly urbanized subject of education. Its relation with the agrarian subjects dealt with in the first three chapters has been stated. The results of agricultural and allied operations had an equal importance for the urban people who were able to question the efficacy of the economic policies of the government and eventually also the whole logic of British presence in India. The reform of the educational system was governed by the need to check the advance of an anti-British feeling which at that time was synonymous with the development of national consciousness. The stages in the implementation of programme of educational reform have been studied. The reconstitution of the governing

bodies of universities was carried out with the object of preserving the predominance of western educated men. This amounted to the exclusion of Indians from any effective say in the control of university action. Indian criticism of this reconstitution of university organs has been stated and assessed.

In the conclusion an attempt has been made to determine the place and importance of policies studied in the chapters in the perspective of Lord Curzon's administration as a whole by including, besides the statement of findings in respect of matters dealt with in detail, a review of the remaining administrative policies regarding financial and political matters. The objects of British policy towards India and her progress have been stated on the basis of the foregoing study. It has also been attempted to present an understanding of the nature, result and prospects of the Indo-British relationship at the opening of the twentieth century.

The bibliography contains details of sources consulted in writing the thesis. The sources are listed in the following categories: unpublished records of government, unpublished official compilations, private papers, unpublished theses, official publications, periodical literature and secondary works.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757-1813**, by P. J. MARSHALL; *Historical Problems: Studies and Documents*, No. 3, edited by G. R. ELTON, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1968, Price 18s.

There is a danger that this slender volume might be overlooked. One does not expect to find a comprehensive discussion of an historical problem in an introduction to a collection of documents. Nor does one expect a significant collection of original documents on a major topic in such a brief space. But here both may be found. Of particular significance for India is that the material presented is good M.A. standard, though here also there is danger in its being overlooked because the problem of empire is presented as a chapter in British history and therefore not directly related to our courses in Indian history. But this also would be unfortunate because the two histories are so interrelated.

The introduction provides little that is new. Its significance is that in 100 pages the reader has an excellent summary of recent scholarship in three well-written essays. The first, *State and Company*, considers the constitutional questions raised by the acquisition of political power by a chartered trading company, and the gradual intervention by parliament. In a brief compass the major points of Lucy Sutherland's basic work on the company in 18th century politics are given. The second essay, *Responsibilities of Empire*, traces the debates in parliament over the precise form which this authority should take. There is a certain weakness in seeing the issues here as being decided exclusively in parliament, when the crucial scene of action was in India. But the author does acknowledge that the discussion and decisions he describes are largely reaction

to fait accompli in India. The third essay, *Trade and Tribute*, properly restores a focus on the central function of the company, describing in detail the nature of its trade. There is an interesting suggestion of the way parliament came to think of trade as tribute paid to a sovereign who had won the right to rule through military conquest. Put together these three essays present a complete and accurate picture of the problems of early empire which confronted the British.

The collection of documents is even more impressive. There are 45 separate items, and each is a carefully edited bit included to make a particular point. Unfortunately they are put in a completely random order. This limits their usefulness to being used in conjunction with the text, where they are mentioned as they illustrate the point being made by the writer. They could better be grouped by the nature of the documents: Charters and Acts of Parliament; Parliamentary Debates; Questions of Trade; Attitudes toward India; Miscellaneous. Of course such a grouping might reveal some gaps but no major ones. This work is a model of a proper use of introduction to a subject with supporting documents. One could only wish that there were many more such works available for our M.A. students.

FRANK D. VAN AALST

**Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes to India**, by S. N. MUKHERJEE, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1968. Price 50s.

Here is another example of biography qualifying as history. This work joins an impressive group of recent works of a similar sort by Kenneth Ballhatchet, Ainslie Embree,

Vishnu Narain and T. H. Beaglehole among others. Taken together these works demonstrate how biography of representative persons can illuminate major issues and provide a focus for analysis which is helpful both to the researcher and the reader. Such works raise afresh the question of the rôle of great men in history. When put alongside recent monographs in which historians try to emulate sociologists, the importance of these studies can readily be seen. Particularly for the young research scholar and his guide this sort of topic commends itself as being both manageable and worthwhile. It presents two problems: (1) How to weave the biographical and general material into a meaningful pattern; and (2) How to select a properly representative person. The present book is eminently successful on the first count, but runs into snags on the second.

Mukherjee's organization is closer to the traditional form of biography, than some of the other similar works. He has taken great pains in the writing, indicating that the work was not rushed into press, a welcome rarity these days. After a concise introduction on general British attitudes to India, Chapter 2 traces the first half of Jones' career, its English phase, as that of a "philosopher among courtiers," emphasizing the interesting combination of Jones' obvious dedication to scholarship and his involvement in the world of action. Here Jones' career is traced. In the third chapter Jones' fascination with oriental scholarship is described and his contribution evaluated. Chapter 4 "A Staunch Whig but very Wrong-headed," summarizes his legal and political ideas, and places them firmly in the context of the times. This chapter also discusses the delay in Jones' appointment to the Bengal judgeship but unfortunately sheds no new light on the reasons for the delay. Such an explanation would be valuable in understanding how politics influenced India appointments. From Chapter 5 there is a record of Jones' Indian career, the first again being chronological and biographical, focusing on the establishment of the Asiatic Society.

Next comes an evaluation of Jones' precise contribution to Indic studies. (This is perhaps the book's major contribution.) The final chapter discusses his legal and political views about British rule in India. All is clearly and concisely written. The interesting career of this fascinating intellect draws the reader from chapter to chapter and in the process introduces him to the main intellectual currents of the late eighteenth century.

But there is something lacking. After Jones' career is divided up into its English and Indian phases, and his mind into its legal, political and oriental compartments, one wonders whether it is possible to put Jones back together again. Also, the subtitle of the book: *A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes to India*, leads the reader to expect more than is to be found. Who is to blame: Jones or Mukherjee? In one sense, Jones. He was a genius, but an erratic one. His interests in law, politics and oriental studies are not all of a piece. Also, his interest in India was largely mundane. He wanted a position which would give him financial security while making it possible to pursue his oriental studies. He was also motivated by a desire to get away from England, where he found the political climate unfavorable, and his need for money too pressing. So he thought of leaving; to America or India. The former offered prospects of political freedom; the latter of easy money and opportunities for study. But it should be remembered that Jones' oriental interests started with Arabic and Persian, and included Chinese before Sanskrit. Apart from a general interest in Asia, his attitude to India had no real content. After arrival in Calcutta his sensitive nature and determination to work made him appreciative of Indian civilization, and led him to make significant contributions to Indic studies. Certainly his role in the founding of the Asiatic Society was decisive, and only his persistence kept it alive in its infancy. Mukherjee does analyze the exact nature of his contribution to scholarship, but there is little about Jones' attitude to India, and less about his

influence on others. Was he a moulder of opinion? Did his work make any impact beyond the study tables of his fellow scholars? The author does not tell us. It is strange that in the summary chapter on Jones' legacy it is stated that his most important contribution was the founding of the Asiatic Society; and then in explaining this significance he relates the beginnings of the Indian renaissance and nationalist movement to the work of the society. Certainly this is important, but it is not directly related to the British attitudes to India. So it seems that Jones' greatest contribution had an impact on Indians, but not so much on Britishers. What Jones considered his major contribution to British government in India was the digest of laws which he had not yet completed at his death. Here Mukherjee goes into considerable detail explaining the attitude of Jones to India and the British rôle. But he glosses over the fact that this great work was never utilized by the government. A law code for India was not really formulated until the early 1830s. The implication of these observations is that Jones, for all his genius, was not a very influential person nor representative of British attitudes to Asia. If this is so, then the work under review qualifies as nothing more than a traditional biography. As such it is certainly a good one. But for the purposes announced, Jones does not live up to our expectations, and therefore was a poor choice.

Still, Jones cannot be completely dismissed. He was one of the first important persons to have careers both in England and in India. And in both he made some mark, even though seemingly not commensurate with his genius. There is one major point which if elucidated could make the book live up to its claim. Interestingly this point is mentioned in the introduction, and even the dust cover mentions it: Jones was a Whig and almost a radical at home, supporting the cause of liberty. In India he accepted the authoritarian pattern of British rule. How was this possible? This is one of the major questions of British attitudes.

In the late nineteenth century it becomes a psychosis, a kind of schizophrenia. Jones is one of the best early examples of the central problem. Mukherjee does describe the position of Jones on this score, but does not give it as full a treatment as other of his ideas. Those aspects of Jones' thought which are less important vis à vis the British attitude to India are admirably dealt with, and provide the reader with a good introduction to the intellectual history of the time. But on this one subject, the author does not fit it into the wider context and is satisfied to describe Jones' ideas in isolation. Here the fault is not Jones'. This gap compounds the weakness inherent in the choice of Jones for the purpose of illuminating eighteenth century British attitudes to India. This illustrates the problem of this type of historical study, but also indicates its fruitfulness when properly employed.

FRANK D. VAN AALST

**Early Centuries of Russian History** by B. RYBAKOV: *Progress Publishers, Moscow*, 1965. pp. 231, with map and plates.

This book under review, written by a prominent Soviet historian, is purely based on ancient chronicles, the testimony of foreign writers, codes of law and also on archaeological findings, and covers the period between the 9th and the beginning of the 13th centuries A.D. In the 9th century A.D., a huge and historically important state came into being in Eastern Europe—the Middle Dnieper region. This Kiev Rus state may justly be placed alongside the empire of Charlemagne. Kiev was the capital of this feudal state and it served as "the mother of Russian Cities", at that time. With the gradual enlargement of the territorial boundaries of this state the concept of "the Russian land" was extended to all the territories of Eastern Slavdom. It has been established by noted Soviet historians, by studying earlier sources and comparing them with archaeological data, that "since ancient times the name Rus has been associated with the Slavic Dnieper

region". In fact a mass of information about Kiev Rus can be found in Russian bylinas (epics), Scandinavian sagas and Polovtsian songs, accounts of the Arabian and Persian geographers, Byzantine chroniclers and the Russian annalists.

In this book Mr. Rybakov has traced the early history of Kiev Rus, characterised it as one of the largest states of Medieval Europe and analysed the break-up of Kiev Rus state into independent principality-kingdoms during the epoch of "feudal fragmentation" (as the Russian historians termed it.)

This work is devoted to a detailed study of the village, town and castle of feudal Rus the class struggle, prominent rulers, wars with the Polovtsi and the political history of the Russian lands. It gives a clear idea about the methodology applied by Soviet scholars in studying medieval history.

The scholarship manifested in this book is of a high standard and there is a useful glossary of technical terms.

AMALENDU DE

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Debate at the General Court held at the East India House on...December 6, 1798 for...reconsidering...the resolution...for granting a pension to Robert, Lord Hobart,...reported by William Woodfall. London, 1799.

210. ———

The Debates held at the East India House on...the 17th December, 1801... reported by William Woodfall. London, 1801.

211. ———

An enquiry into the rights of the East India Company of making war and peace; and of possessing their territorial acquisitions without the participation or inspection of the British Government...

written in the year 1769, and now first pubd. [sd: An old proprietor] London, 1772.

212. East India Company.

An essay on the rights of the East India Company to the perpetuity of their trade, possession and revenues in India, and to the appointment of their officers and servants...3rd ed. London, 1778.

213. ———

An Examination of statements made during a recent debate at the East India House, in a letter to Lieutenant General Welsh, and the 220 service Memorialists of the Indian Army. By a proprietor. London, 1852.

214. ———

A gradation list of the officers of the Bengal Infantry with the dates of their commissions. London, 1796.

215. ———

Heads of an agreement between Parliament and the East India Company. London, 1780.

216. ———

Heads of the speech of the Right Hon. H. Dundas in the House of Commons, February 25th, 1793 on the affairs of the East India Company. London, 1793.

217. ———

A hint upon the present debates on Indian Affairs. London, 1782.

218. ———

A history of all the European settlements in the East Indies...with a preliminary discourse, containing a concise account of Sic History, from the earliest times to the first arrival, by sea, of the European navigators. (The Oriental Magazine or East India Intelligencer, no. 1) London, 1782.

Compiled by N. CHATTERJEE

## MICROFILM HOLDINGS OF REPORTS ON INDIAN NATIVE NEWSPAPERS IN THE U.S.A.

(MADRAS: JUNE 1908—Nov. 1909)

### Reel No. 8

*Madras Native Newspapers: June-Dec., 1908;  
Jan.-Nov., 1909.*

June 13, 1908: British Rule—Explosives Act—Press Act—Famine—Anglo-Indians—American Sympathy.

June 20, 1908: Whipping Act—Police—Railways—British Rule—India Council—Judicial Officers—Non-violence—Explosives Act—Press Act—Famine—Swadeshism.

June 27, 1908: Pan-Islamism—Land Revenue—Courts—Lord Morley—Decentralization—Boycott—Anarchy and Sedition—Americans.

July 4, 1908: Lord Morley—Persia—Anglo-Indians—Legislative Council—Self-Government—Press Act.

July 11, 1908: Sedition Cases—Church of England—Press—Persia—Lord Morley—Unrest.

July 18, 1908: Sedition Cases—British Rule—Press—Partition of Bengal—Swadeshism—South Africa.

July 25, 1908: Sedition Cases—Punishments—Lord Morley—Press Act.

Aug. 1, 1908: Sedition Cases—Factory Labor—Tariff Reform—Executive Council—Press—British Rule.

Aug. 8, 1908: Press—Provincial Conference—Sedition Cases—Exodus to Hills—Unrest—Indian Rights.

Aug. 15, 1908: Disease—Sedition Cases—Voting—Indian Rights—Press Act.

Aug. 22, 1908: Sedition Cases—Indian Grievances—Currency—Press Act—Congress—Politics in Schools.

Aug. 29, 1908: Sedition Cases—Press Act—Swadeshism—Congress—British Rule—Industrial Conference—Self-Government—Unrest.

Sept. 5, 1908: Sedition Cases—Self-Government—Indians in South Africa—Administrative Reforms—Press Act.

Sept. 12, 1908: Indians in South Africa—Judicial Functions—Sedition—Swadeshism—Political Offenders—Representative Government.

Sept. 19, 1908: South Africa—Sedition Cases—Industrial Conference—Judicial Functions—Village Courts—Land Survey—Self-Government.

Sept. 26, 1908: South Africa—Industrial Conference—Military Budget—Nationalism—Sedition—Students.

Oct. 3, 1908: Turkish Revolution—Criminal Law—Military Budget—Government Reform—Fertilizers—Congress—Public Works Department.

Oct. 10, 1908: Racial Question in Australia—South Africa—Courts—Primary Education—Indian Constitution—Lord Morley's Reforms—Representative Assembly—Nationalism—Congress—Sedition—Arms Act.

Oct. 17, 1908: South Africa—Morocco—Near East—Small Pox—Burning Grounds—Students—Nationalism—Congress—Sedition—Agriculture.

Oct. 24, 1908: Turkey—South Africa—Pan-Islamism—Plague—Reforms—Press Act—Military Budget—Native States—Royal Proclamation—Congress—Sedition Cases.

Oct. 31, 1908: South Africa—Police—Jails—Reform—Elections—Restoring Peace to India—Loyalty—Royal Proclamation.

Nov. 7, 1908: Courts—Sedition Cases—Post Offices—Military Budget—Royal Proclamation—Police—Municipalities—Native States—Hindus and Muhammadans.

Nov. 14, 1908: Sedition Cases—Local Self-Government—Attempted Assassination—Congress—Civil Service Examination—Students—Italy—Proclamation.

Nov. 21, 1908: Persia—Sedition Cases—Excise Administration—Political Crimes—Income Tax—Turkey—Municipal Reforms—Royal Proclamation—Anarchism—Boycott.

Nov. 28, 1908: Turkey—South Africa—Sedition Cases—Courts—Arms Act—Anarchism—Muhammadans—Congress—Nationalism—Missionaries

Dec. 5, 1908: Sedition Cases—Political Crimes—Unrest—Congress—Police—Reforms—India Office—Native States.

Dec. 12, 1908: University Examinations—Municipal Administration—Abkari—Budget—Military—Anarchism Bill—Congress—Extremists Conference—Muslim League—Police—Civil Service—Press.

Dec. 19, 1908: Police—Burial Grounds—Partition of Bengal—Indian Reforms—Arrests in Bengal—New Crimes Act—

Matrimonial Case—Extremists—Press—Congress.

Dec. 26, 1908: Indian Reforms—Police—Free Education—Press Act—Deportations—Congress—Lord Morley.

Jan. 2, 1909: Indian Reforms—Industrial Conference—Congress.

Jan. 9, 1909: Indian Reforms—Army—Congress—Primary Education—Industrial Conference.

Jan. 16, 1909: Education—Native States—Railways—Executive Councils—South Africa.

Jan. 28, 1909: Courts—Indian Reforms—Co-operative Credit Societies—Food Prices—Bombs—Lord Morley—Nationalism—Industries.

Jan. 30, 1909: Courts—Legislative Council—Indian Reforms—Alcoholism—Students—Boycott—Theodore Roosevelt—Royal Proclamation.

Feb. 6, 1909: Bomb Case—Indian Reforms—Civil Service—Municipal Administration—Hospital—Boycott—Industrial Education—Sedition.

Feb. 13, 1909: Forced Labour—Governor's Tour—Anglo-Indians—Social Reform—Bomb Case—Railroads—Deportations—Religious Endowments—Self-Government—South Africa—Press.

Feb. 20, 1909: Education—Municipalities—Public Works Department—Co-operative Credit Societies—Students and Politics—Sedition Cases—Lord Morley's Reforms—Self-Government.

Feb. 27, 1909: Indian Reforms—Life Insurance Companies—Medical Congress—Primary

Education—Famine—Sedition and Anarchy—Students.

March 6, 1909: Madras Corporation—Indian Reforms—Persia—Education—Famine—Students—Boycott—Industries.

March 13, 1909: Indian Councils Bill—Cotton Industry—Reforms Bill—Students.

March 20, 1909: Exodus to Hills—Temperance—Reforms Bill—Hindus and Mohammadans.

March 27, 1909: Anglo-Indians—Reforms Bill.

April 3, 1909: Appointment of Officials—Liberal Party—Congress.

April 10, 1909: Agriculture—Reforms Bill—Decentralization—Bomb Incidents.

April 17, 1909: East India Association—Jails—Vernacular in University—Budget—Abkari Department—Bomb Incidents.

April 24, 1909: Sedition Case—Bogus Provident Funds—Reforms Bill—Poverty—Hindu Press—Self-Government.

May 1, 1909: Sedition Cases—Jails—Reforms Bill—Deportations—Budget—Sanitation—Discontent.

May 8, 1909: Turkish Revolution—Courts—Jails—Guntur Officers Case—Native States—Cotton Industry—Poverty.

May 15, 1909: Political Crimes—Bomb Case—Church—Guntur Officers Case—Forest Administration—Courts—Loyalty—Taxes.

May 22, 1909: Riot Cases—Tramways—Police—Courts—India Councils Bill—Co-operative Credit Societies—Loyalty.

May 29, 1909: Temperance Association—Guntur Officers Case—Police—Public Works—Railways—Councils Bill.

June 5, 1909: Bomb Case—Railway Strike—Guntur Officers Case—Sultan of Turkey—Municipalities—Food Prices—Sedition.

June 12, 1909: Education—Council Reform—Police—Bomb Case—Jails—Railway Strike—Guntur Officers Case—Deportations.

June 19, 1909: Imperial Defence—Police—Sedition Cases—Deportations—Famine Relief—Lord Curzon—Racial Feeling.

June 26, 1909: Religious Endowments—Police—Riot Case—Self-Government—Anglo-Europeans.

July 3, 1909: Land Settlement—Railway Strike—Police—Courts—Technical Education—Reforms—Legislative Council—Public Works.

July 10, 1909: Railways—Police—Deportations—Imperial Defence—Executive Councils.

July 17, 1909: Purchase of Government Stores—Congress—Military Budget—Postal Grievances—Reform—Lord Morley—Unrest.

July 24, 1909: Railways—Partition of Bengal—Self-Government—Boycott—Congress—Government Stores—Crops—Swadeshism—Imperial Press Conference.

July 31, 1909: Charities—Forests—Councils Reform—Bengal Administration—Factories Bill—Press—Railways—Police—Hindus and Muhammadans—South Africa.

Aug. 7, 1909: South Africa—Courts—Reforms—Students—Legislative Councils—Budget—Factory Bill—National Congress—Railways—Police Act—Parliament—Self-Government.

Aug. 14, 1909: China and Japan—South Africa—India on Executive Council—Budget—British Rule—Boycott—Police Act—Land Tax.

- Aug. 21, 1909: South Africa Union—Students—Boycott—Famine—Budget—Poverty.
- Aug. 28, 1909: Tariff Reform—Police—Famine—Legislative Councils—Lord Curzon—Swadeshism.
- Sept. 4, 1909: South Africa Union—Coolies in Ceylon—Land Revenue—Swadeshi Navigation Company—Education—Appointment of Officials—Loyalty.
- Sept. 11, 1909: South Africa—National Congress—Police—District Conference.
- Sept. 18, 1909: Courts—Jails—Sedition—English Education—Unrest.
- Sept. 25, 1909: Jails—Native State Budget—Sedition—Appointment of Officials.
- Oct. 2, 1909: South Africa—Police—Native Army—Factory Bill—National Congress—Courts—Press—Boycott.
- Oct. 9, 1909: South Africa—Courts—Sanitation—Governor's Visit—Native Rulers—National Congress—Anglo-Indian Association—Police—Primary Education—Currency Bill.
- Oct. 16, 1909: Malaria Conference—Students and Politics—Primary Education—South Africa—Ryots.
- Oct. 23, 1909: Courts—Education—Students and Politics—India in the Empire—Native States.
- Oct. 30, 1909: Police—Students—Railways—Legislative Council Reform—Castes in Government Service—Reforms and Muhammadans—Agitation in England—Hindu Conference.
- Nov. 6, 1909: Revenue Settlement—Legislative Council—Native States—Nationalism—Business and Politics—Police—Appointment of Officials—Primary Education.
- Nov. 13, 1909: Police—Irrigation—Younger Generation—Judicial Functions—Legislative Council—Christian Missionaries.
- Nov. 20, 1909: Council Reforms—Tuberculosis—Attack on Viceroy—Reforms—Police—Press Act—British Rule—Budget.
- Nov. 27, 1909: British Parliament—Councils—Indians in Straits Settlements.

[ For further particulars, write to South Asia Microform and Library Committee of the Association for Asian Studies ]

## THE DIARY OF HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

### December 2, Wednesday 1891:

The new Hackney Carriage Act is now in force. The hire of the first class carriages is Re. 1/- for the first hour, and -/8/- for the second and so on. No doubt the first class carriages would be decent looking and respectable. No driver of the third class hackney carriage would be permitted to use horses which would be under a fixed height.

### December 3, Thursday 1891:

Poor unfortunate Princes of Monipore. To tell anything more of the banished Princes will be a twice told tale. Pur Chandra the late King of Monipore who was driven away by his own brothers is here. He will not get the pension till he goes to the Brindaban. A meeting of the Student Association will be held to-morrow at the Albert Hall, College Square. The subject is "Whether Free Trade is suited to India in its present condition". Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee will preside.

### December 8, Tuesday, 1891

I went to the General Assembly's Institution where a meeting was held to raise the question about the Sea Voyage of the Hindoos. Kumar Benay Krishna took the chair and Babu Bankim Bihary Mitra B.A. read a paper. Then spoke Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and Pandit etc. and to my greatest joy that the Sea Voyage of the Hindoos is sin, it has been proved from the passages of the Vidas and Puranas.<sup>1</sup>

### December 9, Wednesday, 1891

Maharaja Pur Chandra<sup>2</sup> died some one week before...Charu Chand will soon be placed in the Guddi by the English Government.

### December 14, Monday, 1891

Lord Lytton<sup>3</sup> (Late Viceroy of India) died in France where he was the Consul of the English Government, when he was writing a poem. He had heart disease and died of it, a sudden death as those suffering from it generally does.

### December 15, Tuesday, 1891

I have bought of Messrs. G.C. Bose & Co. 1 Canchannagore knife (2 blades). It is a very beautiful one and esp. in my eyes as it is made by one of my countrymen, a 'mystry' of Canchannagore and the Govt. is using his knife. These were introduced by Lord Ripon the Friend of India. The Govt. by doing this has showed that they are paternal and want to encourage native manufactured knife.

A meeting of the rate-payers was held in the Albert Hall and called by Babu Bhupendra Nath Bosu<sup>4</sup> (Attorney) to oppose the resolution of the increase of Rs. 500/- in the pay of the Chairman of Calcutta Municipality.

### December 21, Monday, 1891

Mr. Archibold, M.A. (Oxon) is showing the Phonograph<sup>5</sup> that wonderful instrument which is proof of the improvement of that science has attained during the present century. That day their Excellencies Lord Lansdowne and Lady Lansdowne<sup>6</sup> and staff were present at the Town Hall where he is showing it.

### December 22, Tuesday, 1891

As Professor Archibold, M.A. (Oxon) was kind enough to allow the students to see the performance of the Phonograph by paying -/8/-

only I went this night...Death of Manacjee Rustamjee the Parsian consul.

### December 23, Wednesday, 1891

Mr. Jacob of the Imperial Diamond Case with His Highness the Nizam has been discharged of the Criminal Suit.

### December 26, Saturday, 1891

In the page of 22nd December I noted the death of the Persian Consul Manacjee Rustamjee. The Venerable old man was the Consul in Calcutta. He has been welcomed and lead farewell by at least 15 Governor Generals of India.

### December 27, Sunday, 1891

To-morrow is the opening day of the Indian National Congress. Rao Bahadoor Ananda Charlu<sup>7</sup> has been elected the President of the meeting of the Indian National Congress. Hon'ble Justice Subrammania Ayer was elected the President but when he was elected he was made officiating Justice of the Madras High Court. But it seems to me that to be the President of the Congress is more honourable than to be a Justice of a Court of Justice of her most gracious Majesty the Queen of England.

### December 29, Tuesday, 1891

General Booth<sup>8</sup> of the Salvation Army who will be here on the 8th of January has sent a telegram to the President of the Indian National Congress expressing his fullest sympathy with the Indian National Congress.

### January 1, Friday, 1892

Before entering into the embrace of another year I must thank the Almighty father the Creator of the world.

In the new year let my mottoe be

"Lead Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,

Lead Thou me on.  
The night is dark, and I am far from home  
Lead Thou me on.  
Keep thou my feet; I do not wish to see  
The distant scene; one step is enough for me."

The New Year's cards and presents are distributed. I have received a letter from Miss J.W. Adam. We went to Venerable Ramtonoo Lahiry and have given him a New Year's card.

### January 2, Saturday, 1892

I have received the following books as New years presents.

1. From Log cabin to White house (The life of President Garfield) from Babu Rajendra Nath Ghose.

2. Edgeworth's Moral Tales (Ruby Series) from J. Ghose Esqr M.A.

Most of the delegates to the Indian National Congress have returned. A resolution was moved by Mr. Pherosah Mehata the president of the Sixth Indian National Congress to express sorrow for Late Mr. Bradlaugh. The whole assembly rose up and expressed their sorrow for the late lamented friend of India.

### January 3, Sunday, 1892

A meeting of the Library Culture section of the Society for the higher training of youngmen was held at Ray Bankim Chandra Chatterjee Bahadoor. Bankim babu is the best authority as regards any question on Bengalee literature. He is retired deputy magistrate, the first novelist of the day and the author of some religious work. He said that if there is any field for culture for us (natives of India) now it is the field of Historical culture. He gave a brief sketch of the subject and will give a detailed one on next Sunday when he will deliver a lecture on "Research of the history of Bengal".<sup>9</sup>

### January 4, Monday, 1892

Our School was reopened today at the usual hour. I joined the gymnastic class at 4 P.M. Babu Bidhu Bhusan Ghose has made me a present of a book named *With the facts in smoke-land* published by a company of tobacco merchants. The pretty little volume is full of quotations from great writers of praised tobacco. The value the book has got is only as if a present from a friend. I entertain a bitter hatred against cigars or tobacco in any other form and I wish I would entertain it till I die. He has also presented me with a copy of the portrait of Lord Dufferin & Ava Late Viceroy of India. Lord Dufferin hated the Indian National Congress and is hated by most of the educated native of India<sup>10</sup>. "General" Booth the father of the salvation army will arrive here on the 8th of January. He has travelled through many parts of the world and on his way back to England has visited many parts of India. He shall stay here only 5 days.

### January 5, Tuesday, 1892

This afternoon I went to the Salvation army hall 267 Bow Bazar Street to secure 2 reserved seat tickets for the meeting of "General" Booth to be held at the Emerald Theatre Beadon Street. He (Booth) is foremost reformer of the century. He has a warm heart of pity. He will be accompanied to Calcutta by Colonel Nichol his private secretary and Colonel Ajeet Singh the commanding officer of the Salvation army in India.

### January 6, Wednesday, 1892

General Booth's Calcutta programme continued; an address by the "General" & staff, subject "The Religion of Humanity." Monday Jan: 11th 8 P.M., In the General Assembly's Institution, Cornwallis Square, subject "Conquering Christianity". Tuesday Jan: 12th 5.30 P.M., In the Methodist Episcopal Church "Farewell address" by the "General" and

staff. Illuminated march from Bowbazar hall (headquarters of the Salvation army) to Howrah Station.

### January 7, Thursday, 1892

This afternoon I went to the Peace Cottage Lower Circular Road to attend the meeting of the Purity section of the Society for the Higher training of youngmen, but I was to return disappointed as Rev. Protap Chandra Mazumder was not at home. Returning from the Peace Cottage I went to Messers S. K. Lahiri & Co., 54, College Street and bought a copy of Black's (Adam & Charles Black Edinburgh) *School Atlas of modern, ancient, and physical geography*. It is the best atlas in use among the students of India. Babu Romoni Mohan Sen a class friend of mine has made me a present of a copy of the book named *The Pioneerboy and how he became President*, on the life of Abraham Lincon; the price is -/13½/- I gave him a copy of Shelly's poems as a new year present.

### January 8, Friday, 1892

"General" Booth arrived here at 6.15 A.M. In the Station there was large gathering though the morning was dreary and gloom & foggy. The number of natives present to receive the "General" exceeded that of the European. Rev. Kally Ch[aran] Bannerjee, Mr. A. M. Basu Bar-at-law & many other distinguished men were present. In the afternoon, Babu Rajendra Nath Ghosh and I went to the Town hall. We bought -/4/- admission tickets but were allowed to take one seat with the 1/- ticket holders. Punctually at 5-30 the "General" arrived & was received with "Haurras". The whole hall rose up & saluted him. He is tall & lean, has a long beard and a good voice and eloquence. The subject on which he spoke was "The Social work of the Salvation army". He sometimes stammers but is on the whole a good speaker. The meeting dissolved at about 7 P.M. General Merrill United States Consul took the chair.

### January 9, Saturday, 1892

In the morning the "General" after meeting 2 distinguished natives viz., Rev. Protap Ch. Mozumder and Mr. A. M. Bosu Bar-at-law went to the government house and met His Excellency the Viceroy. Thence he went to Sir Moharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore's. He then went to the Sri Chaitanna Yoga Sadhu Samaj, where he took tea & some fruits & got a present of a silver handled brush; at 4-30 P.M. he delivered in the Emerald Theatre a lecture on "The Salvation army and its work." It is useless for a cyper like me to criticise the lecture of a man like "General" Booth. He speaks from the bottom of his heart & had a good audience. Even the reserved seats were full. I attended the meeting. At 8 P.M. he delivered another lecture in the Albert hall in a meeting called by Rev. Kally Ch[aran] Banerjee. Tickets were issued but I was called in without one. I have got the "Generals" autograph in my Shakespeare Birth Day Book. The "General" gave it most gladly and shook hands with me.

### January 10, Sunday, 1892

"General" Booth delivered a lecture on "The Christianity of Christ" in Entally for the native Christian assembly. I went to Roy Bankim Chandra Chatterjee Bahadoor's to attend the meeting of literary section of the Society for the higher training of young man. But as Babu Bankim Chandra was unwell I was to return home disappointed. "General" Booth had a large audience in all his meetings. Almost all the educated natives of Calcutta were present at his meeting. He defined the essence of his religion in 4 letters "love".

### January 11, Monday, 1892

I attended the meeting of "General" Booth in the City College where the Brammos of Calcutta gave him an address. Rev. Protap Chandra Mozumder took the Chair. Mr. A. M. Bosu read the address, 2 songs were sung by

ladies. The "General" delivered a lecture in the General Assembly's Institution, the subject was "Conquering Christianity".

Pandit Ajoodhianath<sup>11</sup> the joint Sec: of the Indian National Congress has died at Allahabad today. He died of the effects of a chill which developed itself to phumonia. He was a partiot in the true sense of the word. In the last meeting of the Congress at Nagpur he said that he would bear the expenses of the meeting of the Congress at Allahabad himself if the people would not help him.

### January 12, Tuesday, 1892

The open air meeting of "General" Booth in the Wellington Square was postponed as he was too busy to deliver a lecture there. However the farewell meeting was held in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dharmatola Street. At 8 P.M. the "General" went from Bowbazar hall (Head quarters of the Salvation army) to Howrah railway station. There was a torch light procession. I went there. About 300 natives & 100 Europeans followed the procession. The "General" went in an open carriage waving his hat and four bands of the Salvation army followed the carriage and songs were sung, but nothing could be heard as the 'Hurrahs' were very loud. The procession marched through, Bowbazar Street, Chitpore Road, Canning Street, and Strand Road to Howrah. His speech on the platform was most effective.

### January 14, Thursday, 1892

Prince Albert Victor<sup>12</sup> the present Duke of Clarence and Arondel has died to-day. He was the eldest son of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales and so the heir apparent to the throne of England. He was to be married with princess Victoria Mary of Teck on the 24 of February. Only the other day H.R.H. the Prince of Wales said in the Civil Service dinner that he was proud that his son was going to marry one born and brought upon his own soil and the

British newspapers said "Let the German pettifoggers know that they have not the only claim to the royal family of England". But alas for the hope of the nation. Now the future King of England and Emperor of India is Prince George the sailor prince. The country mourns the death of the future Emperor.

### January 15, Friday, 1892

Yesterday we went to the Belvedere. I went at 2-30 P.M. to the Zoological garden and thence at 4.00 P.M. to the Belvedere. We (the members of the Society H.T.Y. & the students of the 3rd, 4th & 5th years of some schools) numbered to some 100 young men. We played Lawn tennis and football. Then H.H. the Lieutenant Governor asked us to take tiffin. He said (pointing to the tiffin tent of the orthodox Hindoos) there is arrangements for you and if you are not orthodox come here (pointing to the tent where there was arrangement for hetrodoxes). I took the hetrodox tiffin consisting of tea, loaf, cakes, biscuits lemonades & etc., Both Mr. & Lady Elliot<sup>13</sup> were very kind to us. His Honour said to us "you have a friend in your Lieutenant-Governor". We were introduced.

### January 16, Saturday, 1892

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a letter of condolence to H.R.H. Queen Victoria. The answer sent by the Queen is as follows: "Many thanks. Fully aware of the sympathies of my

loyal Indian people." Another message has been sent by Mr. Mackay the Sheriff of Calcutta to the Queen and another to H.R.H. The Prince of Wales. Courts & Offices at Bombay were closed on Friday. The native Schools and Bazars too were closed to express the deepest sorrow felt by the death of the late Prince Albert Victor.

### January 17, Sunday, 1892

This afternoon I went to Messrs. S. C. Addy & Co's bookshop, Wellington Street and bought a copy of

"Donald Duke the Tarkee Detective" (Tales of startling mystry series) the price is 6d or -/4½/- as. Yesterday I went to Messrs Thacker Spink & Co's book shop and got a copy of their sheet almanac for the current year. The Government has granted a general holiday on Wednesday the 20th instant on which His royal Highness Prince Albert Victor the Duke of Clarence and Arondale will be burried.

### January 20, Wednesday, 1892

The Temperence Associations have lost a great support by the death of His Eminence Cardinal Manning. His Eminence was a total abstainer. This strong minded man left off the habit of drinking in one day. While advocating the cause of temperence associations he thought that he ought to have become an abstainer before he would begin to advice other people to become abstainers.

### NOTES

<sup>11</sup>This was one of the popular subjects for discussion in Hemendra Prosad Ghose's younger days. Ghose apparently got out of his aversion later on. During the first World War he visited as a member of a team of journalists battle fronts in Europe and the Middle East.

<sup>12</sup>The investiture of Raja Chura Chand took place on 29 September, 1892.

<sup>13</sup>Viceroy of India (1876-80), later British Ambassador at Paris; the poem referred to is probably 'King Poppy'. It is a long poem and Lytton took years over it before it received its final shape. 'King Poppy' was published in 1892 after Lytton's death. He died "when he was writing a poem" is not perhaps an accurate statement.

<sup>14</sup>Solicitor; born 1859; President of the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress (1914); member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal; Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta; member, Viceroy's Legislative Council; represented the Government of India at the International Labour Conference at Geneva; died 1924.

<sup>15</sup>A prototype of the phonograph called 'phonautograph' was exhibited by Leon Scott before the Royal Association in 1859. Thomas Edison improved on this device and called his "talking machine", phonograph.

<sup>16</sup>Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1888-94); during this period the Imperial Library (now National Library) was founded; his otherwise peaceful adminis-

tration was troubled by incidents in Manipur.

<sup>7</sup>Lawyer in Madras; President of the Indian National Congress in 1891.

<sup>8</sup>Born 1829, founded the Christian Revival Association with the help of his wife Catherine Mumford whom he married in 1855. The Association became known as the Salvation Army in 1878.

<sup>9</sup>It would have been interesting to know more of this lecture. Many would be familiar with Bankim Chandra's earlier articles on the subject, published in *Bangadarshan* and *Prachar*, later on collected in *Bibidha Prabandha* (1892).

<sup>10</sup>Lord Dufferin towards the end of his administration became very critical of the Indian National Congress. Surendra Nath Banerjee writes, "Lord Dufferin had just before he vacated his Viceroyalty, denounced the Congress and its programme, and referred to the educated community as a 'microscopic minority', Indian officialdom took its cue from him," *A Nation in Making* (1963), p. 101.

<sup>11</sup>Eldest son of the Prince of Wales (Edward VII).

<sup>12</sup>Official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The building was sometimes regarded as one-time residence of Warren Hastings. Hastings is said to have "hunted tigers in its neighbourhood". The following

extract from Blechynden's *Calcutta Past and Present* may be of interest.: "That Hastings House is the actual house in which Warren Hastings lived at Alipore is now indisputably proved but that honour has repeatedly been claimed for "Belvedere". The mistake originated with Mrs. Fay who writing in 1780 spoke of Mrs. Hastings as residing at Belvedere House..... When Tolly bought "Belvedere" for the sake no doubt of its convenient situation as regards his canal, he probably did so from the Murshidabad family. During the Nawab Jaffir Ali's residence in Alipore, his family and retainers must have occupied a very large number of houses, forming quite a colony ..... and it was probably one of these houses which Tolly bought and adopted to European requirements, and named it "Belvedere" ... Soon after the death of Colonel Tolly ... in 1784, Belvedere was advertised for sale, but appears not to have found a purchaser, for in 1802 it was again advertised by order of the attorney to the administrator of the late Colonel William Tolly... "Belvedere" changed owners for the last time in 1854. It was then the property of Mr. Charles Prinsep and was purchased from him by the Government to be the official residence of the Lieut.-Governors of Bengal". pp. 96-102.

<sup>13</sup>Sri Charles Alfred Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1890-95.

Edited by : Dr. P. C. Gupta, Mr. A. De and Mr. P. Bhattacharyya

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