



THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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EDITOR : S. P. SEN

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EDITORIAL

Student Unrest:

Student unrest, as violent excesses committed by young men are euphemistically called, has erupted again in recent months in a most virulent form and over an extensive area covering the major part of the country. Universities and Colleges have been forced to close down for long periods; damage to property has been caused to an extent that will take more than a decade to repair; Vice-Chancellors, Principals and teachers have been 'gheraoed', insulted and even assaulted on occasions; University Campuses have been turned into battle-fields between rival groups or between the students and the police; and in larger towns and cities the battle has been carried to the streets, railway stations, Government offices and public utility undertakings. At times the movement looks like a revolt of the youth against the society as a whole. It is high time that not only the Government but the society as a whole, should take note of this alarming trend before it is too late. Earnest and immediate steps must be taken to probe into the causes of this unrest which is becoming dangerously more frequent, more widespread and more violent in recent years.

Unfortunately, there is not much evidence of any serious concern either on the part of the Government or on that of the society. The society as such hardly takes any notice or feels

that it has any role to play. The parents of students are in general apathetic and do not want to be bothered by what their sons and daughters do. Ministers occasionally make speeches regretting the incidents and hoping for a restoration of normal conditions through sheer passage of time and exhaustion of the energy of the students. Politicians either try to make light of the movement by a complacent explanation that it is part of a world-wide movement and nothing can be done about it, or try to defend it as a legitimate protest against the evils of society or international wrongs. The authorities of educational institutions try to buy peace by the easy but not very effective method of offering all kinds of lolly-pops to the young rebels.

Instead of wasting further time the national Government should immediately appoint a high power Committee including political leaders, educationists, and impartial and respected leaders of society. To get at the root of the problem some of the student leaders and ex-student leaders should also be associated. Not that the nature of the unrest is completely unknown. There is a vague but generally accepted realisation that much of the unrest springs not from academic grievances but from political and economic grievances. The political factor cannot be eliminated as long as student bodies are closely linked with different

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political parties and are exploited as party wings on the student front. Here only the political parties can help by a gentlemen's agreement to leave students alone. The economic grievance is real no doubt; yet it affects not only students but all classes of society. Students cannot expect to be treated as a specially privileged section. Regarding the solution of academic grievance, one thing must be avoided at all costs, namely, to lower the standard of education by offering concessions about courses of study and examinations. In fact, this policy which has already been tried at several places has really aggravated the *malaise*.

We hope that the Education Minister, Dr. Triguna Sen, who has shown remarkable ability both as an educationist and as an administrator with imagination and has genuine sympathy for the students, will be able to persuade his Government to appreciate the gravity of the situation and to take up the problem of student unrest as of vital and urgent national importance.

Annual General Meeting:

The Seventh Annual General Meeting of the Institute of Historical Studies was held at the Institute's Meeting Room on September 15, 1968. In presenting the Annual Report for 1967-68, the Director made a fresh appeal for the enrolment of new members to increase the financial resources of the Institute in keeping with its expanding activities. If the existing members make personal efforts to enrol at least two new members each every year for the next three years, it will help a great deal in bridging the widening gap between the Institute's needs and resources. As it is, deficits have been mounting every year, from Rs. 111/- in 1962-63 to Rs. 6,247/- in 1967-68. The financial position will be further affected very gravely by the discontinuance of the Foundation grant. The Director made a fervent appeal to the members to devise means to wipe off the accumulated deficits, and one of the ways suggested by him was that the members should purchase copies of the Institute's publications and order for

copies on behalf of their respective institutions. However, no academic society with extensive activities can continue merely on membership fees without any external financial assistance. The Director expressed a hope that in view of the good constructive work being done by the Institute for the benefit of history scholars all over the country, the Government of India would sanction a recurring grant to offset the loss of the Foundation grant.

Apart from the financial aspect, the Institute's record of work in 1967-68 is quite impressive. It not only maintained the old lines of activity but undertook new projects also.

Some constitutional amendments were adopted with a view to checking floating membership and also to ensure the maintenance of the all-India character of the Institute.

The following new Fellows were elected by the College of Fellows under article V, Clause (ii) of the Constitution :

1. Dr. G. C. Pandey (Rajasthan University).
2. Dr. M. Shesadri (Mysore University).
3. Dr. M. Arokiaswamy (Madras University).
4. Dr. B. B. Misra (Delhi University).
5. Dr. Amba Prasad (Delhi University).
6. Dr. Ganda Singh (Patiala).
7. Dr. Fauja Singh (Panjabi University).

Annual Conference:

The Sixth Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies was held at Srinagar (Kashmir) from 7th to 12th October under the auspices of the University of Jammu and Kashmir. Shri Bhagwan Sahay, Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, while inaugurating the Conference, spoke about the different concepts of History and emphasised the role of the historians in our national life. It was a most refreshing address, touching on various points which professional historians generally tend to over-

look. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, in welcoming the participants, pointed out that it was the first time that an all-India historical Conference was being held in Kashmir and expressed the hope that it would strengthen the link in academic life between Kashmir and the rest of India.

The eminent historian, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar was to have presided over the Conference. But unfortunately, he could not attend on account of bad weather and cancellation of air flights to Srinagar for two days. It was a great disappointment to all. His Presidential Address on the *Evolution of Historiography in Modern India* will be published in the Proceedings Volume of the Conference. In the absence of Dr. Majumdar, Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar presided over the Conference. In a brief but scholarly extempore address Mahamahopadhyaya Potdar dealt with the conception of history entertained by Indians through the ages. He refuted the commonly held idea that ancient Indians had no historical sense and had not produced any historical literature in the strict sense of the term. He then discussed the new technique and methodology introduced in the medieval period and finally, dealt with the new influences in Indian historical writing in the modern period.

The principal theme for discussion at the Conference was *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*. It was the first time that a serious attempt was made to review the writings of Indian historians in the 19th and 20th centuries and to trace the evolution of Indian historical thought and methodology. About thirty papers were read on most of the eminent Indian historians. Papers were also invited on a few more historians, and although they did not reach us in time, they will be included in the Proceedings Volume, to be published under the title *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*. The volume will prove to be most useful to all students of Indian history and will encour-

age further detailed studies in the evolution of Indian historiography.

Another theme for discussion in the Conference was *Sources of the History of Kashmir, (ancient, medieval and modern periods)*. Eight papers were read in this section. They will be published in a separate volume. There was a third or miscellaneous section in which seven papers were read, mostly on historiography and source material.

The Conference was attended by about two hundred scholars from different parts of India and many of the major Universities and Government Institutions sent official delegates. There was a very lively discussion on each paper and it is particularly gratifying to note that most of the participants evinced a serious interest. On the whole, the Conference was a great success from every point of view.

DNB Project:

The collection of material on the Dictionary of National Biography Project is almost completed, except for some new names added to the list in the current year. The list of leaders is being given a final check up to make sure that no name deserving to be included is omitted through oversight or that no undeserving name should be included even though material has already been collected. As a result it has been decided to drop about 25 to 30 names and add nearly the same number of new deserving names. It cannot, however, be claimed that the final list will satisfy everybody. In a matter like this there is bound to be difference of opinion. However, glaring omissions may be rectified in a subsequent edition of the DNB volumes.

As has been reported already, material collected by the research fellows had been sent to the Contributors to help them in writing the actual biographical entries. The Contributors

have been given detailed instructions about the number of words and pattern of entry required. Individual variations in approach, style and treatment cannot be avoided altogether, but every possible care is being taken to ensure uniformity in essentials and basic structural pattern. Biographical entries from Contributors have already started coming in and we expect to have about 300 entries in our hands by the end of December. If things go according to plan, at least 300 entries will reach us every quarter and the whole work will be completed by September 1969. The entries are being duly scrutinised and processed as soon as they come, so that not much time will be lost after receiving the final batch of entries, in arranging

and preparing the press copies of the DNB volumes.

The schedule of progress, however, may be upset if we fail to secure additional funds by March 1969 to meet our present deficit of Rs. 88,000/-. We have applied again to the Government of India and the State Governments. Leaders of all the political parties in the country and other eminent public figures have given their active support to the Project in view of its unique national importance. Encouraged by that support, we feel hopeful that we shall be able to secure the modest additional funds required to enable us to complete the Project according to plan.

FIFTY YEARS OF SOVIET ORIENTAL STUDIES*

(INDOLOGY)

DR. L. B. ALAYEV AND DR. A. K. VAPHA

Indological Traditions in Pre-Revolutionary Russia.

India was first heard of in ancient Russia many, many centuries ago and the impression of India in ancient Russian literature was of a very distant and fabulously rich country. This impression was based more on fantasy than on fact. It became necessary in time, however, to collect and systemize the real facts based on the country's true history. Aphanasy Nikitin's "Travels Beyond Three Seas" was written in the XVth century. The Tver merchant's lively account satisfied contemporary needs and was widely read at the time.

Interest in India grew stronger in Russia as time went on. There were many attempts made by India, as well as by Russia, to establish direct diplomatic and trading contacts between the countries, all of which greatly aided the Russians in their knowledge of India. Many treatises were written by Russian ambassadors and merchants, who upon returning from their journeys, wrote lengthy descriptions of their travels and vivid accounts of India. All sorts of information on the life of the country was thus collected.

There began to appear certain trends in different sciences connected with the study of India as far back as the XVIIIth century. These trends in Indology began developing at the largest university centres and in academical

institutions. Philosophical and cultural studies, chiefly of ancient and medieval India, had also begun. Classical (academical) Indology gradually developed and took shape during the XIXth century. Its achievements and the names of the most outstanding representatives are now well known. Russian classical Indology included a number of branches, all closely connected with each other. It satisfied various social needs, within its capacities, and aided in the development of Indology as an independent science, providing in particular, the necessary linguistic foundations for all the other branches of Indology; collecting, searching for and gathering sources as well as writing commentaries on them; preparing Indologists; satisfying the (growing) interest of Russian society in the fabulously rich Indian culture, etc. In spite of its considerable achievements, however, classical (academical) Indology, did not for various reasons, develop the necessary set of subjects for the study and comprehension of a country, so complicated and original as India was. Topics related to civil (political), social and economic life of Indian society, in particular contemporary Indian society, were almost completely disregarded by academical Indology.

This does not mean, however, that the study and interpretation of these social processes of Indian society were entirely non-existent in Russia. They existed, but chiefly outside the walls of academic institutions and the classification of them into a strict scientific order for this reason, did not take place in old Russia. These facts likewise made it difficult for Indology to develop into a genuine, complex science, and it became possible only much later, under

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entirely different historical conditions. A certain important contribution was made to the study of the socio-political problems of the country. The literature on India, written by travellers to that country, covered a wide range of subjects. Up to the end of the XVIIIth century, this material contained information chiefly of a geographical and ethnographical, historical and economic, philological and philosophical nature, and likewise on the general culture of the country. Writers on India were chiefly practical people who possessed scientific-literary talents, the latter being directly dependent upon the former. Characteristic of this are the works by G. S. Lebedev, who has been rightfully called the founder of Russian Indology. Travellers' essays, or works based on first hand observation, painted pictures of contemporary Indian life of that time. Several of these works, written in the XIXth century, already contained elements of scientific research on political history, economy and the social structure of Indian society. All these aspects were examined in close connection to each other and in unity with past and contemporary events. It is interesting to note that there were analogical tendencies in the works of academical Indologists who wrote of life in Indian society. The diaries of Prof. Minayev, one of the most distinguished Russian Indologists, are an example of the above. The study of the country first and foremost for practical needs became an independent branch of Indology at the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century.

Besides the academical school and the aforementioned trend to study the country for practical needs there existed in Russia another tradition in studying India. Its origins can be traced many years before and it had grown simultaneously with the increase in number of articles on India in the popular press; the development of socio-political journalism was inseparable from that of socio-political thought in Russia. One trend of social thought, because of its peculiar position, was more capable of reflecting the more important sides

of the Indian process, and by this means prepared the ground for a new stage in the development of Indology in our country. The above refers to those ideas on India in the works of progressive writers and revolutionary democrats in Russia.

A resolute note of sympathy towards the peoples of India and censure of the colonial plundering of that country were already encountered in the works of the Russian enlightener, N. I. Novikov and the revolutionary-democrat, A. N. Radischev. The notes and special works on Indian events written by Russian revolutionary democrats in the 40's and 60's of the last century, were significant for their time and aided the subsequent development of Indology in Russia. The predatory character of English colonial domination was not only noted in the works of N. G. Chernyshevsky, N. A. Dobrolyubov, B. G. Belinsky and other writers of that trend (especially in connection with the events of 1857-1859), but they likewise paid especial attention to processes of the inner life in Indian society and pointed out to the valuable contributions made by India to the treasury of world civilization and culture. The revolutionary-democrats, in this manner, affirmed the rights of the Indian people to independent development. The greatest service of these writers was their study of the conditions and activities of the Indian people and the foresightedness with which they perceived and correctly analyzed the main problems of India.

The examination of Indian thematics by revolutionary-democratic writers also pointed to the fact that the study of the civil history, social structure and economics of Indian society in Russia had begun; problems and criterions were formed, which aided in transforming these aspects of Indian studies into independent branches of the future complex of Indological subjects.

The positive ideas expressed in democratic publications along with certain traditions in

studying the country and achievements of the academical school, were accepted and further developed by Soviet Indology on an entirely new basis and under new historical conditions.

The Periods in the Development of Soviet Indology

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the border line at which the new period in the development of Russian Indology began. Entirely new problems had made their appearance and conditions for their solution were also created. Soviet Indology has covered a long and complicated path in the course of its formation and development, by no means smooth and straightforward, full of contradictions and quests, not devoid of mistakes and difficulties. It was a progressive movement, however, through which Soviet Indology has gained significant and important results.

The first period in Soviet Indology¹ which began in 1917 and ended approximately in the middle 30's, may be called the period of its formation. The number of institutions where Indological studies were conducted and which were maintained by the state, noticeably increased. Many of the latter turned into large research centres in the course of time. A large group of Indologists entered the collegium of Orientalists founded at the Asiatic Museum, in 1921. The All-Russian Scientific Association of Orientology was organized in 1922. Later Indological thematics began to be studied at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the International Agrarian Institute, the Institute of World Economics and World Politics, the Scientific-Research Association for the Study of National and Colonial Problems, etc. Specialists were trained chiefly at the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies and at the Leningrad Institute of Living Eastern Languages. Facilities were increased for publishing the works of Indologists in the pages of special periodicals for Oriental and

non-Oriental social-political studies. The more important of these were: "Novy Vostok" (New East), "Revolutsionny Vostok" (Revolutionary East), "Materialy po natsionalno-kolonialnym problemam" (Materials on National-Colonial Problems) published in serial form, and others. The prerequisites for Indological research were thus gradually created during this period.

The increase in Indological research, revealed, however, certain difficulties. The lack of specialists was particularly felt in some of the branches of Indology. Orientalists, during the first period, did not specialize in the study of any particular country. The formation of specialists, professionally occupied in the study of India, began only at the end of the 20's and the beginning of the 30's. But it was during this period that the voices of the new generation of researchers were heard, bringing their practical experience and personal interest in solving new actual problems in Indology. Among them were: V. V. Balabushevich, I. Mazut, A. M. Osipov, I. M. Reisner, B. Seigel, R. A. Ulyanovsky and several others who later became outstanding scholars. Beside the younger generation of Indologists, the scholars of the older academical school also continued their study of the country. Of the latter, such distinguished scholars as F. I. Scherbatsky and S. F. Oldenburg reached the height of their careers during the Soviet period.

An active process of reviewing of old traditions in Indology and elaborating anew viewpoint on problems, aims, subject matter and methodology took place during this period. The works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism were of tremendous importance to Indology as well as to all the other social sciences; of special importance were the works dedicated to the national-colonial problem as a whole and to India in particular. The works of Marx, Engels and Lenin on India were examples of scientific study of the complex problems of that country. On Lenin's works, written in the pre-revolutionary as well as in

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 1858 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 1888 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".

Upon examining the literature of the period, it becomes very apparent how the style, character and methodics of Soviet Indology had changed during the aforementioned twenty years. Most of the works published were in the form of monographs. The authors endeavoured to cover all sources, which were important to the particular subject, in their work, and on this basis, formulate their conceptions. At the same time, descriptive-geographical works were also widely spread at the time. These works, often in journals or in popular-scientific form, covered the most important events in contemporary Indian history, events which the average reader was tremendously interested in. An innovation in Indological literature at that time, were the newly written universal histories, which included large sections on Eastern countries and on India in particular.

Russian translations of the most important Indian historical documents favoured further and deeper research into Indological thematics. The first translation of "Arthashastra" was prepared in the later 30's, several important documents on contemporary history in the middle 30's, and later (during the first half of the 50's), many important documents on Soviet-Indian relations and Indian legal historical sources were published. Indological source material as a whole increased in volume. Almost complete lack of scientific relations between the Soviet Union and India, however, deprived Soviet scholars of the use of Indian archives (of libraries also) and periodicals. Difficulties in receiving scientific literature (especially during World War II) deterred work on source materials a great deal and limited research work in this field.

There were also changes in thematics of works during the 20-year period under review. Soviet Indologists, while primarily continuing their study of contemporary India, also did a great deal of research study in modern and medieval history of India. Many interesting works

(including a number of books) appeared in the latter 40's and the early 50's.

Indological literature of that period, therefore, reflected the specificity of the various epochs in the history of India to a greater degree, while examining some of the more important general laws of the development of the country. In other words, a general conception of the historical process of India was already basically formulated, and the first attempts at its periodicity were made.

New potentialities in the study of India were opened before Soviet researchers after their successful work in the middle 50's. The radical changes in the world at that time and the new stage in the revolutionary and liberation movements gave Indologists new possibilities of examining many of the events in India in a new light. The modern period in the development of Soviet Indological studies had begun.

Scientific research of Indian problems increased considerably and was activated. Many works of the new generation of Soviet Indologists were published; publishing houses expanded; periodicals, new as well as old, were printing more research works on Indological problems; co-ordinating measures, carried out in the numerous scientific institutions of the country, had become more important; discussions and scientific debates on actual Indological problems were being carried out on a much broader scale. The first national conference of Orientalists, where contemporary problems of Indology were discussed amongst others, was held in Tashkent, in June, 1957. All-Union conferences have attained more importance at the present time, since Indological research work is being conducted in many of the Republics and cities of the Soviet Union.

Relations between Soviet Indologists and foreign scientific and Orientalist institutions have strengthened in latter years. Soviet Indologists have actively participated in many international scientific forums, including all

the last Congresses of Orientalists. Books on Indology by Soviet authors are now being regularly reviewed abroad. Especially close contact is maintained between Soviet Indologists and their colleagues from Socialist countries. Scientific collaboration between Soviet and Indian scholars is conducted on friendly terms. Soviet-Indian scientific relations have been greatly strengthened by the publication of a number of large monographs on India², as well as numerous articles by Soviet Indologists in Indian scientific and political periodicals. The works of Indian and other foreign scholars are likewise often published in collections and scientific journals in the USSR.

A considerable expansion and improvement in Indological research led to the formation of new (for Indology) independent disciplines. Considerable literature began to be published, especially dedicated to the foreign relations of India (this refers to independent India), the social structure of Indian society, ethnography, geography, law, philosophical and social-political thought, culture and art. Economic history and the economics of India became an entirely independent branch of study. This clearer-cut differentiation of subjects especially in the contemporary stage of the development, disclosed the complex character of Indological studies.

A close study of the sources and continual increase in and improvement of the source funds are characteristic of this period in the development of Soviet Indology. The new situation which took place in the field of science in independent India, greatly facilitated this process. A great many archives were opened in the country and the amount of material published sharply increased, a large part of which became available to Soviet researchers. As friendly relations between our countries were established, Soviet scholars were given the opportunity to work in some of the Indian archives and libraries. Soviet library funds began to receive much more source material and literature on the subject. Systematic research work is now being carried out by

Indologists in Soviet archives. A large number of documents on the history of relations between the peoples of India and the USSR were found, commented and published. These documents served as foundations for a number of works on this important subject. The number of translations of Indian sources and books on India from other languages, have considerably increased. The study of the sources thus has also become a separate branch of knowledge. The study of the history of Soviet Indology itself and bibliographical work on the subject has also assumed a broader scale. The accumulation of scientific material, plus the growing interest in the contemporary economic and political situation in India, its history and culture, have necessitated the publication of a complete scientifically systematized reference book on the literature of that country. The "Bibliography of India" contains the greater part of popular, scientific, publicistic literature on India and all the translations of Indian belles-letters, which have been published in Russia and in the USSR from the early XVIIIth century to 1961. Material which has been published after this date is listed in the "Bibliographical Annual of Soviet Literature on Asian and African Countries".

A large amount of research material, which has been accumulated during latter years, was being summarized during the last few years. Using this material as well as new sources as a basis, it has not only become possible to reinterpret some of the earlier conceptions and treat some of these problems more profoundly and completely, but also to write a number of new and original scientific books. The above refers chiefly to the study of contemporary history of India, in particular to the period of its independence. The main result of Soviet Indological research at the present time has been the formulation of a scientific conception of the historical process in India from ancient time to the present. This conception is expounded in the academic edition in four volumes, two of which—"Noveishaya Istoria Indii"

(A Contemporary History of India—both in Russian and in English) and "Novaya Istoria Indii" (The Modern History of India) have already been published; the two others—"Drevnyaya Istoria Indii" (The Ancient History of India) and "Istoria Indii Sredniye Veka" (The Medieval History of India) have already been written and will soon be published. Besides these fundamental works, the "Vsyemirnaya Istoria" (the Universal History), in ten volumes, Moscow, 1955-1965, also contains several sections on India. It should be emphasized that the conception of the Indian historical process, naturally, reflects the principles of historical materialism, peculiar to all of the Marxist social sciences. This conception, however, formulated in the process of researching of factual material by Soviet Indologists (likewise of a summary of foreign works on the subject), is not, in any degree, a dead dogma. Allowing for general conceptions, there are several points of view amongst Soviet Indologists on the course and some specific features of the historical progress of Indian society.

It is not our intention to give a complete and systematic account of the Indian historical process, as Soviet Indologists conceive it, but rather to present their solutions to only some of the basic problems of India.

Soviet Indologists on certain basic problems of India

There were traditions amongst world Indologists, while studying the ancient and medieval history of India to pay attention primarily to the processes of political and spiritual life during those times. Russian classical Indologists, as noted above, made large contributions to this work. Economic and social relations in ancient and medieval India, however, were studied to a much lesser degree by the scholars all over the world.

One of the chief problems in the study of ancient India was the socio-economic system of the country during that period, the rôle of

slaves and slave-owner relationships. The prevailing opinion in post-revolutionary Indological literature was, for some time, that "the Asiatic mode of production" predominated in ancient India.

There existed an opinion in the literature of the 30's and 40's, that two social formations had co-existed in the country for many centuries in contradictory union—slave-ownership and feudalism. But even in those years, however, there were several Soviet scholars who persisted in their opinion of the slave-ownership character of the social system of ancient India, while noting the fact that this structure was not entirely identical to that which existed in ancient Greek-Roman society.³ These views were thoroughly substantiated during the following years by G. F. Ilyin. He collected a great deal of material in a number of his works which proved the existence of the exploitation of slaves. He showed, however, that the Sudras in ancient India were not slaves. G. F. Ilyin, in one of his later works,⁴ showed that slavery flourished in India during the later five hundred years B.C. Slavery not only determined the class structure of ancient Indian society, but likewise left its imprints on all aspects of its life: on the state system, ideology, family relationships, the morals of society, etc. Ancient Indian society, is referred to by G. F. Ilyin, in his works as a slave-owning society, but he also emphasized that slavery in ancient times, particularly in comparison to the former tribal relationships in ancient India, as well as everywhere else, was a progressive phenomenon.

Soviet Indologists, beside slavery, also studied some of the more important problems of the earliest periods in ancient Indian history. G. M. Bongard-Levin, for instance, while studying Indian archeological material, succeeded in interpreting one of the signs in the proto-Indian inscriptions at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. Bongard-Levin also elaborated an interesting theory of the process of the "Aryan Conquest" of India, which in his opinion, was an undulate penetration into India of Indo-

Aryan tribes, not to be regarded as the immediate cause of the decline of the Harrapa civilization. Internal reasons were the chief causes for the crisis and decline of the latter.

The author of the above theory also published a series of investigations, in which he compares the material given by Greek authors (chiefly Megasthenes) with the epigraphics of the Asoka period. This comparative analysis has established that the description of India by ancient authors was extremely accurate, and likewise aided in defining many of the terms met with in Indian epigraphy of that period⁵.

Soviet historians of ancient India carefully followed the results of archaeological work in India, and likewise carried out original archaeological research on Soviet territory for material which would throw light upon Indian problems. Archaeological excavations of latter years, in the district of Zang-Tepeh, Central Asia, under the direction of L. Albaum and B. J. Stavisky, have established the ancientness and durability of the economic and cultural relations which had then existed between Central Asia and India⁶.

Soviet Indologists, besides the study of archaeological and epigraphical sources, also made a close examination of ancient Indian literary monuments. The works of B. L. Smirnov, V. I. Kalyanov, G. F. Ilyin, V. I. Toporov, M. E. Sergeenko, A. M. Pyatigorsky, O. F. Volkova, Yu. Glazov and others were particularly interesting in this respect. An extremely important work is now under way—to prepare for publication the so-called Turpan Fund of Manuscripts, collected by N. V. Petrov and S. F. Oldenburg, at the end of the XIXth century in Qashghar.

An important aspect of Soviet Indological literature which began was the study of the Indian Middle Ages. As noted above, the chief problem in that period, as well as in that of ancient history, was the social structure of India. In the 20's and the early 30's, it was determined,

just as in the study of ancient history, by "the Asiatic mode of production". This point of view was to some degree considered by Prof. I. M. Reisner in his first works. In 1932, however, he emphatically supported the opinion that the social structure of medieval India was feudal. However, he called attention to the specific character of Indian feudalism, which differed from the feudal relations in other countries, in particular from those of Europe. And already in the 30's, the point of view on the feudal character of medieval India was predominant among the Soviet Indologists.

This interpretation of the socio-economic system of medieval India naturally raised the question of its evolution, its genesis, the stages of its development and transition to new and higher relationships. The works of Prof. A. M. Osipov of the Moscow University are of considerable value with regard to the problems of the genesis of Indian feudalism. His book, "Kratkii ocherk istorii Indii do X veka" (M., 1948) (A Short Essay of Indian History up to the Xth c.), for the first time in Soviet Indological literature, shows the evolution of the Indian social structure in its earlier stages. A. M. Osipov concluded that early feudal relations were predominant in production in the early class society of India; slavery, however, was ever-present and even played an important role in certain periods. Just before the Christian era, a definite reconstruction took place in the socio-economic structure, connected with the decay of slavery and the growth of early feudal relations which became firmly established in the VIIth century A.D., in the Harsha state. During the following years, the opinion of Soviet scholars on the chronology of slavery and accordingly on the genesis of feudalism in India, somewhat changed. Modern Soviet Indological literature often dates the formation period of feudal relations from the V-VIIth centuries, and a more or less firm establishment of the feudal system, to the VII-VIIIth centuries. The further development of this problem will be found in the works of A. M. Osipov, and likewise in the research work by K. A. Antonova,

and in the numerous articles by E. M. Medvedev.

Soviet Indologists, while studying Indian feudalism, devoted a great deal of time to such an important institution, as the village community. The elaboration of this problem, however, runs against great difficulties because of the lack of source material, synchronously reflecting the development of the village community in one or the other period. Researchers, therefore, often find it necessary to turn to the reconstructions of the earlier stages of the development of the village community in India, resorting to English investigations of the latter XVIIIth and the XIXth centuries. The earliest stages in the development of the village community are only beginning to be studied by Soviet Indologists.

Soviet specialists of the medieval history of India always believed that in order to understand the peculiarities in the historical development of that country (and not only that of the Middle Ages), an analysis of state and private ownership of land is of primary importance. For a long period of time, Soviet scholars had assumed that state ownership was universal in India in the Middle Ages. But later, I. M. Reisner observed in the chapters on India in the book "Novaya istoria kolonialnykh i zavisimykh stran", M., 1940 (Modern History of Colonial and Dependent Countries), that state ownership in many districts of India, during the XVIIIth century, had died out and had actually changed over to private property. From the time of the publication of the above-mentioned work, the prevalent opinion on this question was, that state ownership had gradually deteriorated into private ownership during the Middle Ages. Later, this idea was developed, primarily by I. M. Reisner himself, while studying Indian social life during the late Moghol Empire and the Marathi Confederacy. This idea was confirmed by E. N. Komarov, while investigating the agrarian system of Bengal, and by N. I. Semyenova in her research on the Punjab. A great deal of attention has been paid to the

forms of property, in latter years, by K. Z. Ashrafyan⁷. K. Z. Ashrafyan has studied the struggle between state and private ownership of land in the light of broader problems of the agrarian system in Northern India, especially in her latest fundamental monograph.

Some Soviet Indologists made a supposition that state ownership of land disappeared and reappeared periodically, during the Middle Ages; its economic and political role, however, never being exhausted until the XVIIIth century. The progressive development of the agrarian system in feudal India was expressed, not only in the changes of various forms of property, but in the changes in the forms of exploitation of the peasantry on private as well as on state lands.

In addition to their study of the socio-economic structure of medieval India, Soviet Indologists analyzed popular movements, found out their social origins and their role in the historical process of India. These problems are well covered in the works of K. A. Antonova, K. Z. Ashrafyan, A. M. Osipov and other scholars. One of the most important books in this field was the monograph by Prof. I. M. Reisner, "Narodnye dvizheniya v Indii v XVII-XVIII v. v.", M. 1961 (Popular Movements in India in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries), which was published posthumously, and where the author had summed up the results of his researches on the pre-colonial development in India and the role of popular movements, particularly the movements amongst the Sikhs, the Jats and the Marathas. He showed the role of these movements in the destinies of the Moghol Empire and other Indian feudal states.

The problems of the development of India in modern times were always considered important and complicated in Soviet Indological literature. These problems concerned the level of the development in India at the beginning of colonial enslavement; the problem of the role and influence of the colonial regime on the social life of the country; the problem of the sources of the Indian national-liberation move-

ment, its social nature and trend of development. These problems in their interrelationships were outlined by Prof. I. M. Reisner in his book, "Ocherki klassovoi borby v Indii", M., 1932 (Sketches of the Class Struggle in India). They were further elaborated in the works of many Soviet Indologists.

While studying the level of Indian development at the beginning of colonial enslavement, a number of Soviet Indologists came to the conclusion that the social structure of XVIIth-XVIIIth century India was to a certain extent a static one; the caste system, the village community and state ownership of land retarded the growth of the social division of labour, accumulation of capital and the development of free wage labour. Consequently, capitalism did not develop in India right up to the period of colonial oppression. Certain progressive changes in the social life of the country, however, were becoming noticeable; in particular, the caste system, the community and state ownership of land were gradually being undermined. The above viewpoint was most clearly formulated in the works by K. A. Antonova⁸.

Beside the above viewpoint on this problem, a contradictory opinion existed, according to which the traditional methods of production were undergoing an intensive process of disintegration in the XVIIth and XVIIIth century and that the first germs of capitalist relations had appeared before the establishment of the colonial rule, and independent of it⁹.

Many animated discussions were held while searching a positive solution of this problem and an extensive research literature on the subject was published. At the present time, in spite of the many differences of opinion, which have been preserved, Soviet scholars have reached the general conclusion, that the economic and political structure of India did not remain in a state of stagnation over the centuries preceding colonial enslavement, and that certain prerequisites for capitalist development were created in it. The new social relations

were, however, opposed by the still powerful feudal system, the potentialities of which were not yet exhausted.

The problem of the level of development of India prior to colonial invasion may be referred to as belonging to the Middle Ages as well as to modern times. Soviet Indologists considered it to be even more important because its solution is connected with the analysis of the socio-economic development of India during the first decades after the seizure of the country by foreign invaders.

I. M. Reisner, in his works, during the 1920's, had already treated the well known facts of the undermining of Indian crafts by the imports of English cloth during the first half of the XIXth century and of the creation of factories in India, beginning with the middle of that century. It was he who suggested the proposition of the "breach" in the normal evolution of Indian industry from the crafts through manufactures to the factory. This idea was later developed in the works of a number of other Soviet scholars, particularly in the works by V. I. Pavlov.¹⁰ The latter, in his monograph, noted that the germs of capitalism were destroyed by colonialists, in the first half of the XIXth century. The capitalist tendencies were restored to life only in the latter half of the XIXth century, and then, only as a result of the "transference" of factory manufactures from the metropolis. Petty capitalist industries and manufactures, only then, started their growth once more.

There was also a current opinion (K. A. Antonova and others) that the English colonial invasion marked the beginning of the decay of Indian feudalism and the ripening of capitalist relations.

Despite the aforementioned divergences of opinion on the estimation of the degree of development of India during the pre-colonial period, and the genesis of capitalism in the country, the

greater majority of Soviet Indologists were unified in their opinion, that their primary task was the study of the internal processes of development of Indian society. Soviet scholars, in their analysis of the role of colonialism in India, note as a whole, the adverse influence of colonial invasion on India. At the same time, however, they pointed out to the fact, that the developing process in Indian society in modern times was connected with the origins and consolidation of capitalist relations in the country, which under colonial conditions acquired a somewhat specific and distorted character. Soviet Indologists having studied the general laws of the social-economic life in modern India, gave their interpretations of the problems and events of the political history of that period. Their attention was chiefly concentrated on the sources of the Indian national-liberation movement and, broadly speaking, on the analysis of all the stages and forms of struggle of the Indian people against foreign oppressors.

For many years Soviet Indologists have regarded the events of 1857-1859 as one of the most important problems in Indian history. The study of the 1857-1859 uprising entailed a great many difficulties, as historians had access only to tendentious English sources, where the character of the uprising was reviewed one-sidedly—as a reactionary feudal mutiny. Soviet literature, as far back as the early 30's, emphasized the popular character of the uprising and its progressive role in the history of India. The motive forces of the so-called "Sepoy" rebellion were the peasantry and the city poor. A great number of works, shedding fresh light on various aspects of the 1857-1859 people's war, were published in the Soviet Union on the hundredth anniversary of the uprising. A collection "Narodnoye vostaniye v Indii, 1857-1859" (The People's Uprising in India, 1857-1859) was published in 1957, among its authors were foreign as well as Soviet scholars. A special collection of articles, "Ucheniye zapiski instituta Vostokovedeniya, AN SSSR" (Scientific Memoirs of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Sciences) was published during the

same year. Amongst works dedicated to this problem, A. M. Osipov's original research in this field deserves special notice. He analyzed the social composition of the participants of the uprising in a number of articles and in his monograph¹¹, and showed how the soldiers of the Anglo-Indian Army were chiefly connected by their interests to the upper strata of the peasantry of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and enjoyed the powerful support of the people.

Soviet Indologists were very much attracted by the political aspects of Indian history during the latter half of the XIXth and the early XXth centuries, particularly by the 70's and 80's of the last century, as the formative stage of Indian nationalism and the Indian revolutionary upsurge in 1905-1908. A collection of articles dedicated to the memory of B. G. Tilak¹², was an important and valuable contribution to the study of modern history. The collected articles of N. M. Goldberg, I. M. Reisner, E. N. Komarov, G. G. Kotovsky, A. N. Levkovsky, V. I. Pavlov, L. A. Gordon and A. I. Chicherov, contained sound solutions to the aforementioned problems. While analyzing the national and anti-feudal movement in Maharashtra in the 70's of the XIXth cent., the national-liberation movement in Bengal, and an upsurge in the all-Indian national-liberation movement of 1905-1908, and particularly the participation of the working class in it, the researchers, as noted in the introduction to this collection, strived to show that the "motive force of the Indian national movement were the Indian workers, whose struggle against feudal exploitation and colonial oppression played an important role in the formation of the political views of Tilak and his followers. The idea and activity of the Tilak group reflected the inherent needs of Indian society; for this reason they acquired nation-wide character and were truly progressive".

The study of the most important problems of ancient, medieval and modern history of India has always been considered very impor-

tant. Aside from the fact that such researches have disclosed the general laws and peculiarities of the development of Indian society, they (these researches) have also served as a necessary foundation for comprehending the processes which took place in the contemporary history of India, because in social life in India, as in a number of other countries, the past is closely interwoven with the present. Soviet Indologists, however, while studying the contemporary history of India, have tried to concentrate on the specifically new phenomena of that period. The national-liberation movement attracts the attention of all scholars, no matter what question was being studied at the moment. The perspectives of gaining political independence, the socio-economic structure of Indian society and the role of various social forces, their political organizations and leaders in the struggle for freedom, the policy of the colonialists and the resistance of the Indian people to this policy—such were some of the most important problems of research in contemporary history of India up to 1947. The gaining of political independence, which was a landmark in the long history of the country, raised new problems to be studied, amongst which were, the formation of an independent economy, the economic and political aspects of India's relations with other countries, the path of formation and development of the Indian state, etc. Soviet Indologists while studying the problems of independent India, concentrated their attention on the problems of attaining economic independence of the country and the changes that were taking place in India; they also continued to develop those trends in the investigations that took shape in the course of analysis of the Indian people's fight for national liberation.

While seeking solutions to some of these research problems, various difficulties were met with by scholars; conclusions and constructions, unconfirmed by later social development, were assumed, and hasty summarizations and weakly formulated theories were sometimes arrived at. All this, however, is understandable when

the complexity and contradictions within the object of research are taken into consideration, as well as the exceptional speed with which the historical situation within the country and beyond its borders changed. It must also be borne in mind that some of the mistaken conclusions and constructions were assumed during the early developmental stages of Soviet Indology, during its youth and formative period. The spirit of creation, however, and endeavour, peculiar to Soviet Indology, which manifested itself in the numerous discussions and debates, the gradual accumulation of a large amount of factual material and deeper comprehension of it, led to a reassimilation and new comprehension of some of these old and not entirely veracious appraisals and theories, and prepared the way to a more complete notion of the developmental process of contemporary India.

The study of the Indian people's struggle for freedom and rebirth included a deep analysis of the social structure of Indian society, the condition of different classes and castes and their role in the political life of the country. Similar problems were characteristic of research work not only on contemporary Indian history. While examining the social structure of ancient, medieval and modern India, Soviet researchers also analyzed conditions and historical potentials of the various social forces. However, the sharp social-political differentiations existing in contemporary India, attracted the most serious attention of Soviet scientists to this aspect of social life.

A great deal of energy of Soviet Indologists was devoted to the study of the Indian working class, its condition, political activity, political organizations and its ideology. Books on the subject were published in the early 20's by B. Seigel, L. Geller, V. Balabushevitch and others. Of the latter, B. Seigel, basing his study on the material of the Whitley Commission, showed that the reason for the incredibly difficult position of the proletariat of colonial India, was that his labour power was sold considerably lower than its cost. In latter years,

this situation was covered in detail in L. A. Gordon's book¹², dedicated primarily, to the history of the working class of Bombay. This book represents a complex sociological research, in which other specific aspects of Indian workers' condition during the colonial period were also examined, in particular, the connections that existed between the workers and the peasants, labour and living conditions, etc. Other research works of later years have analyzed the changes in the conditions of the Indian proletariat after the country had gained its independence. Most scholars have come to the conclusion that the proletariat have improved their conditions after years of tenacious struggle. However, the inconsistency and contradictory character of the country's transition to a modern level of development, conditioned by the low level of bourgeois progress in the former colonies, brought in its wake the changes in the standard of living of the proletariat that were also contradictory and often onesided. As much as there is still a vast gap between wages and the growing cost of labour power, there is still ground for existing and sharpening of social contrasts.

An objective analysis of the life of the working class had led to the comprehension of the political struggle of the proletariat, its interests and demands. The works of V. V. Balabushevitch have greatly contributed to the study of the Indian working class movement. In the latter's works, as well as in those of other authors, dedicated to the Indian workers' movement during the colonial period, the dynamics of the class struggle were examined, the progress of the greatest strikes of Indian workers was covered in detail, as well as the history and structure of proletarian organizations and the internal struggle within them particularly in the trade unions, etc. Remarking the growth of the class-consciousness of the workers and the activation of their struggle, Soviet researchers have also shown the close connection between the movement against colonial oppression and the workers' struggle for their rights. An analysis of the early stages of the workers' movement showed

how the political awakening of the Indian proletariat had come about on the basis of the amalgamation of the workers' movement with radical bourgeois nationalism. Soviet Indologists at the same time, however, also pointed out that the introduction of scientific socialism to the workers' movement in the 20's of our century, led to a sharp rise in the political activity of the proletariat; the Indian working class became the vanguard and one of the basic forces in the national-liberation movement.

During the last few years, the workers' movement in independent India has been closely studied in the works of V. V. Balabushevitch, M. M. Egorova, P. V. Kutsobin, T. S. Pokataeva and others. The history and modern status of the Communist movement in the country have also been faithfully analyzed by specialists. These problems are likewise an organic part of those works, which are not especially dedicated to the Indian workers' and Communist movements.

Problems concerning the Indian peasantry and the peasant movement also occupy a large part of Soviet Indological literature. Historical-political and social-economical aspects are closely interwoven in this case. The character of the production relations prevailing in the village, their trend of development and the possibility of converting the peasantry into an active political force (in colonial India, because of the anti-imperialist struggle)—all of these aspects have one general term, the agrarian-peasant problem. Books written in the 20's and 30's, by I. M. Reisner, B. Seigel, R. A. Ulyanovsky and others, analyzed the survivals of feudalism which have prevailed in Indian agriculture, but which are continually being undermined by the developing capitalist relations.

The latter 40's and early 50's were witnesses to a new point of view, according to which, the traditional system of relations in the Indian village is not decaying, but on the contrary, is strengthening because of the growth of the

"feudal shell". This point of view has not been developed in Soviet Indological literature because a large amount of factual material showed its groundlessness. The problem of the development of capitalism in Indian agriculture and the various factors which either hindered, or promoted it, were deeply analyzed in the monographs of G. G. Kotovsky, V. G. Rastyannikov, M. A. Maksimov and others¹⁴. The techno-economical aspects in the development of agricultural production were studied in the works of R. P. Gurvitch. During later years, the aforementioned researchers have concentrated on problems of agrarian relations in independent India. This also refers to the majority of works on the peasant movement, amongst which the researches of N. L. Semyonova and A. M. Melnikov should be especially noted. Incidentally, the research work of the latter is a study of the various periods of the peasant movement in colonial India as well.

Soviet Indology has always seriously studied problems connected with the Indian national bourgeoisie—the history of its formation, the stages of its development, its various groups, its interrelations with other social strata and classes of Indian society, the role of its political organizations, its ideology and trends (including the petty-bourgeois) and its outstanding leaders. It has been noted in Soviet research works that in the struggle for national liberation the Indian national bourgeoisie had been the leading force. Its progressive anti-imperialist and anti-feudal potentials were also used in the course of this struggle. The objective conditions of Indian national bourgeoisie, however, as Soviet scholars pointed out, conditioned a noticeable inconsistency, which was revealed in the sphere of political life. We must also note that the social nature and political activity of the Indian national bourgeoisie received also entirely different estimates in Soviet Indological literature. As a whole, though, the above point of view has prevailed. Speaking of research work on the Indian national bourgeoisie, it is difficult to even mention all the names of scholars who have studied this problem; it is obvious that the very

essence of the problem arrested the attention of almost all the researchers who were writing on modern and contemporary history of India. A great deal was written during the 20's and 30's, on this subject, by L. I. Madyar, I. Mazut, I. M. Reisner, B. Seigal, R. A. Ulyanovsky; during the 50's, by V. V. Balabushevitch, A. M. Dyakov, S. M. Melman; and at the present time, by T. F. Devyatkina, E. M. Komarov, A. I. Chicherov and others. V. I. Pavlov's monograph, "Formirovaniye indiiskoi bourzhazie" (The Formation of the Indian Capitalist class) in Russian and in English, and the book by L. I. Reisner and G. K. Shirokov, "Sovremennaya indiiskaya bourzhaziya" (The Modern Indian Bourgeoisie), M., 1966, should also be noted in this connection.

While analyzing the stormy and complex events in contemporary Indian history, Soviet Indologists not only showed the role and importance of the various classes and strata of Indian society, but also diagnosed the very essence of every important political situation; for instance while examining the popular anti-imperialist demonstrations of 1918-1922, 1928-1933, 1937-1939, 1945-1947 or the abolition of the principalities of the rajahs in the republic of India. At the same time, other problems were also studied by Soviet Indologists. This was, primarily, the national question, the study of which has been connected for a great many years with the name of Prof. A. M. Dyakov "Natsionalny vopros i angliiski imperialism v indii", M., 1948 (The National Question and English Imperialism in India), and "Natsionalny vopros v sovremennoi indii", M., 1963 (The National Question in Modern India) and his disciples. There is an effort in these works to connect the problem with the course of historical events, examine it in its development and likewise in connection with social, economic, political and cultural aspects.

While examining the international role of India, especially in our day, Soviet Indologists, (Y. P. Nasenko, V. P. Nihamin, P. M. Shastitko and others), have reviewed the foreign policy

of the sovereign Indian state and the interrelations of India with other countries. An old tradition in Soviet Indological literature is the study of relations between the Soviet Union and India, which can be traced to distant past. Many scholars have studied this subject, amongst whom primarily are, N. M. Goldberg, E. J. Lyusternik and K. A. Antonova.

Economic problems of India also play an important role in the general course of Indological studies, and primarily the economic development of independent India. The following problems:—the social role of the state; interrelations between state and private sectors; maximum variouss of accumulation by the state sector; the role of foreign aid and foreign capital in the economics of the country; the interrelations between small-scale and large industrial production—are all examined in the light of the broader problem—that of the economic independence of India. Many important economic problems in India have been closely examined in A. I. Levkovsky's monograph¹⁵, where the author has disclosed the parasitical structure of British capital in colonial India; where he exposed the social-economic reasons for the crisis of British rule in the country and likewise for the objective necessity of creating a state sector (or state capitalism), in order to accelerate the economic development of India. Functional problems of the state sector have been studied by R. A. Ulyanovsky¹⁶. The character of economic relations between India and capitalist countries has been studied in the works of this scholar as well as in those of V. I. Pavlov, M. A. Alexandrov and others¹⁷. A unified opinion is expressed in these works, that the favourable effects of this economic aid are greatly overbalanced by a number of unfavourable social and economic consequences. The nature of this aid is exposed upon comparing it with economic cooperation on equal terms, which is developing between the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries and India. A great deal of literature has been dedicated to this aspect of the problem. Among other problems on the economics of India, which

are now being studied by Soviet Indologists mention should be made of the problem connected with foreign capital in the economy of the country (which S. M. Melman¹⁸ has successfully studied for many years), the problem of the struggle between national and foreign capital on the internal market (to which L. I. Reisner has dedicated a number of his works), the problems of the industrial development, transportation, internal trade and finances (which are covered in the works of A. L. Batalov, N. D. Grodtko, V. A. Kondratyev, G. I. Mamrykin, L. I. Reisner, G. K. Shirokov and others).

In conclusion of our necessarily short essay on some of the main problems studied by Soviet Indologists, a few words should be said on the research work in the field of Indian ideology and culture and the great importance attached to it by Soviet scholars. The traditions of Russian classical Indology are continued in this field, while new methods are also being elaborated. While studying the spiritual life of ancient and medieval India, scholars are paying especial attention to the materialist traditions of philosophical and social thought and the struggle between materialistic and idealistic tendencies. Two interesting books, latterly published on this subject are: N. P. Anikeyev, "O materialisticheskikh traditsiyakh v indiiskoi filosofii", M., 1965 (Materialist Traditions in Indian Philosophy) and A. M. Pyatigorsky, "Materialy po istorii indiiskoi filosofii", M., 1962 (Materials on the History of Indian Philosophy). Research work on the later periods of development of Indian philosophical and social thought show a marked tendency to study their progressive trends. In this respect, the conception of Indian social thought developed by N. M. Goldberg, E. N. Komarov and others in a number of articles in the above mentioned collection dedicated to B. G. Tilak, is of definite interest. The studies of R. Tagore's world outlook, expressed in a number of articles, published on the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great humanist¹⁹, are also of great interest. Special collections of articles on Indian ideology,

(two of which have already been published),²⁰ in which the ideological heritage of R. M. Roy, Aurobinda Ghosh, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya, Swami Vivekananda and other thinkers have been studied, are also of importance. The ideas put forward in such articles, are often the bases for more serious and broader researches, as was the case with A. D. Litman's monograph, "Philosophskaya mysl nezavisimoi indii", M. 1966 (Philosophical Thought in Independent India). L. P. Gordon-Polonskaya's book, "Musulmanskiye techeniya v obschestvennoi mysli Indii i Pakistana", M., 1963 (Moslem trends in the Social Thought of India and Pakistan) likewise discloses some of the problems of social thought in India. A special study (in the works of A. M. Dyakov, R. A. Ulyanovsky, I. M. Reisner and others) of various aspects of Gandhism, one of the most important tendencies in the ideology of the Indian national-liberation movement, has been going on for many years. In later years, A. D. Litman had worked on this problem, and has published a number of articles on the world outlook of M. K. Gandhi. A large group of authors have undertaken the work of generalizing the main problems of development in the spiritual life of independent India, the first attempt of its kind in Soviet literature. The fruit of their work has been the book called, "Kultura sovremennoi Indii" (The Culture of Modern India).

Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal Problems in the works of Soviet scholars

Soviet Pakistanology, as a new branch of Orientology, was developed a comparatively short time ago. It appeared and developed first as a branch of Soviet Indology, which had already experienced scholars at its disposal, and elaborated traditional methods to study the past of the peoples of the Hindustan subcontinent.²¹

Pakistanology, as a trend and a branch of science, had only begun to take shape during the first decade after Pakistan's independence.

This was a period which served as a necessary stage for the accumulation of facts and for the training of specialists. The first works published were primarily of descriptive nature. Such, for example, were A. A. Zmeyev's monograph, "Ekonomika i vnyeshnaya trgovlya Pakistana", 1956 (The Economy and Foreign Trade of Pakistan); L. N. Bonifatyeva's brochure, which gave the economical-geographical description of Pakistan (also published in 1956) and a textbook on the history of Pakistan by L. I. Yurevich.

1957 witnessed the beginning of a new period in the study of Pakistan. During this period the Pakistan Section was established in the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, the organizational base for research was strengthened, the number of scholars increased and the number of scientific publications—monographs, brochures, and collections of articles, grew enormously.

The chief subjects of research in Soviet Pakistanology are the peculiarities of historical development, national consolidation and popular movements and problems of economic development of Pakistan.

On the national question a great deal was accomplished by Y. V. Gankovsky, who summarized the results of many years of research in two monographs: the first is dedicated to the main stages of the ethnological history of the Pakistan peoples, while the second analyzes the national problem and popular movements in Pakistan, 1947-1958²². In 1959, a historical-ethnographical essay on the Baloochis was published in a book by M. G. Pikulin. In 1967, he published a historical-ethnographical essay on the Brahui. Historical-ethnographical essays on all the peoples of Pakistan were also written for the "Narody Yuzhnoi Azii" (The Peoples of Southern Asia), part of the series, "Narody mira" (Peoples of the World) (authors of articles: S. A. Kuzmin, B. I. Klyuev, F. A. Trynich, M. K. Kudryavtsev, M. G. Aslanov, V. I. Kochnev and F. G. Gafferberg.) In 1959

V. A. Romodin published a book on the Push-toon people of the Dir and Swat principalities.

Moslem nationalism began to attract the attention of Pakistanologists and a number of works were written on the Moslem movement in colonial India, as well as on the ideological leaders and enlighteners of Moslem nationalism, Syed Ahmad-Khan, and Muhammad Iqbal, the ideology of the Jamaat-i Islami Party (by L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya, L. I. Yurevich, M. T. Stepanyants and N. P. Anikeeva).

A detailed analysis of the historical roots of the Moslem religious-communal movement and the modern trends in the ideology of Islam can be found in L. P. Gordon-Polonskaya's monograph²³.

The economic and political history of Pakistan was also closely studied by Soviet scholars. This study, it is true, proceeded very unevenly, especially during the early years. Research work was done primarily by a small group of pioneer Pakistanologists (Y. V. Gankovsky, L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya, S. A. Kuzmin and V. G. Pastyannikov) and there are still a great many gaps to be filled in, in this field, on thematics and chronology. Agrarian problems were more thoroughly studied, as was the penetration of foreign, chiefly American, capital into the country and into the foreign trade of Pakistan. Problems concerning the complete economic independence of Pakistan were also studied. The peculiarities of agrarian relations in a number of districts in Pakistan during the colonial period and the early years of independence were examined. Interesting books on the formation of the national bourgeoisie and on the origins of industrial monopolies in Pakistan were written by S. F. Levin.

Considerable work has been done on the study of the political history of Pakistan, including its internal and foreign policy.

"The History of Pakistan", by Y. V. Ganko-

vsky and L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya was published in 1961; a translation into English of a revised and completed edition was published in 1964. This monograph contains a systematic review of the history of the Moslem movement in colonial India and the political history of independent Pakistan from 1947 to 1959. Pakistan-American relations were thoroughly analyzed.

During the past decade, there has been a gradual increase in the number of problems investigated, from general economical-geographical essays on the provinces to studies of separate problems of internal as well as foreign policy of the country. Books on the history of the largest political parties have been published, on the Pakistani governmental system, on the development of Pakistani-Indian relations and on the condition of the people in Pakistan (works by V. N. Moskalenko, S. F. Levin, and S. S. Baranov), and likewise researches on the various problems of economic development of the newly-formed state (by M. A. Sidorov, G. G. Fyodorova, Y. Yershov, A. N. Zabolotskaya and L. L. Klotchkovsky). A monograph on the Pakistan working class, by T. Ruziev, came out in 1966.

Books on the history, culture and literature of the peoples of Pakistan were published.

In 1966, the first large reference-book on Pakistan was published in the USSR.²⁴

During the short period of its existence, Soviet Pakistanology has become an independent branch of study, with definite achievements to its credit.

The history of Ceylon has not been as well studied as the history of India or Pakistan, but a considerable improvement has been made in latter years in this field also. "Ocherki noveishoi istorii Tseilona" (Essays on the Contemporary History of Ceylon) was written by E. D. Talmud and published in 1960. They cover the main stages of the national-liberation

struggles in Ceylon in 1917-1948 and the development of independent Ceylon in 1948-1956.

An interesting book on the role of the Buddhist monastic order, the sangha, in ancient and medieval Ceylon has been written by E. S. Semeka. Her research work borders on the history of religion and civil history and is important not only to historians of Ceylon, but to historians of other Asian countries as well. This book is soon to be published.

Not long ago Soviet scholars have begun the study of Nepal. While studying the complex and many-sided life of Indian society, the problems of Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal,

their economy, history and culture, Soviet scientists have always recognized the tremendous importance of the problems, because of the role which the peoples of these countries have played in the past and are to play in the future destinies of humanity. The work that has already been done in this field, is looked upon by Soviet scholars, primarily in the light of new scientific researches to be carried out in the near future. Soviet scholars have always had the highest opinion of the works of their foreign colleagues on the problems of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal, especially the works by scholars of those countries. Soviet Indologists recognize their own work as a contribution in strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between our countries.

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THE KASHMIR RESIDENCY QUESTION

(1846-85)

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(II)

Lord Lytton came to India with a firm resolve to secure her North-West frontier against any possible external attack. The most feared enemy was Russia; besides her, there were also Afghanistan and China. In the context of India's frontier defence the importance of Kashmir was undoubted, and Lord Lytton was fully aware of it. "The remarkable depression or break," he wrote to Cranbrook, the Secretary of State for India, "in the great mountain barrier of the Hindu Kush where it is crossed by the Iskoman and Baroghil passes, occurs just where a section of our frontier with Central Asia is held by a Native Indian State."¹

In fact, Lytton believed that the natural frontier beyond Kashmir was formed by the convergence of the great mountain ranges of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush.² The wild country to the south of these ranges was in the possession of the petty chieftains of Chitral, Darel, Yasin, Hunza and other small dependencies. They were rather too volatile to remain for long under any political authority, and their vacillations kept the country in a continuous state of flux. Actually, these chiefs were in the habit of tendering, more or less surreptitiously, their allegiance alternately to Kabul, Kashmir and China. But in Lytton's opinion the greater part of the country between Wakhan and the border of India proper was well within the reach of the effective influence of the Government of India, and no foreign influence within that

sphere could be tolerated.³ The recent acquisition "by the Chinese of the dominions of the late Amir of Kashgar", coupled with the possible existence of a secret understanding between Russia and China for territorial exchanges in Eastern Turkistan, had immensely added, Lytton thought, to the strategical importance of Kashmir.⁴ Lytton was certain that sooner or later the Russians would be at Yarkand, and undoubtedly "Cashmere will then become a very important feudatory."⁵

But a clear definition of his frontier policy was deferred by Lytton till, according to the instructions of Salisbury,⁶ he had tried to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement with Shere Ali, the Afghan Amir. To him both Afghanistan and Kashmir were "indivisible parts of a single imperial question",⁷ that also involved an adequate control over the passes of the mountain barrier separating the Indian territories from the plateaus of Central Asia.⁸ The idea of a strong buffer in Afghanistan as an offset against the Russian advance in Central Asia was not new, and Lytton's first object was to secure in the Afghan Prince a strong and subordinate ally of the Indian Government who would ungrudgingly accept a British Resident at Kabul. Should that attempt fail, however, Kashmir was to be set up as a buffer,⁹ and encouraged to extend her influence to Chitral and Yasin. The idea of the extension of Kashmir's control to these territories was not, of course, Lytton's own. As he admitted, it was the parting advice to him by

his predecessor¹⁰ who, in his turn, had obtained it from Biddulph.¹¹ But Lytton was reluctant to do anything before he had tried Shere Ali, and the Punjab authorities were accordingly asked not to dabble in the Chitral question.¹² In fact, Lytton was even prepared to consider the absorption of Chitral by Afghanistan on certain conditions, if only Shere Ali could be thoroughly secured on behalf of the Indian Government. If not, Chitral would be the trump card in his hand to be played against the Afghan chief.¹³

Lytton's overtures to the Amir for a satisfactory settlement of the Afghan question did not meet with any immediate result, and this led him to reconsider his Kashmir policy. Fortunately for Lytton, the ruler of Chitral, being threatened by Shere Ali, had in the meantime offered his allegiance to the Maharaja,¹⁴ and Lytton availed himself of this opportunity for a resettlement of British relations with Kashmir.¹⁵ He was prepared to allow the Maharaja to take possession of Chitral and Yasin, as a part of a general arrangement involving the permanent appointment of a British Resident in Kashmir, and an agent at Gilgit.¹⁶ Such an arrangement would secure to the Indian Government an effective control over the Iskoman and Baroghil passes and thus serve as a check upon Russian (or even Afghan) encroachment upon the northern frontier of India.¹⁷ With a firm control over Chitral and Yasin on the one hand, and a satisfactory re-settlement of British relations with Khelat on the other, Lord Lytton hoped to secure the two wings of the north-west frontier of India against any invading army.

The Viceroy's Council, however, was at first opposed to the idea of Kashmiri occupation of Chitral and Yasin, but with Salisbury's approval, Lytton found it no difficult task to persuade them to accept his scheme of frontier re-arrangement.¹⁸ It was discussed by him with Ranbir Singh at Madhopore on 17 and 18 November, 1876. The Maharaja was but too willing to extend his political influence over

Chitral and Yasin, if necessary, with British aid, but he "kicked long and strenuously" against the appointment of a British Agent at Gilgit.¹⁹ But Lytton made it a *sine qua non* of the proposed arrangement, and at one stage it seemed as if the negotiation would fall through. The matter, however, was settled when Lytton gave assurances to Ranbir Singh that the Gilgit Agent would not interfere in his domestic affairs, but would only be concerned with obtaining information as to the progress of events beyond the Kashmir frontier.

With the establishment of the Gilgit Agency a provision was made to secure a vicarious control over the tribal chiefs beyond the Kashmir frontier,¹⁹ but Lytton did not rest contented with that. He proceeded to establish a more direct contact with the Kashmir Darbar as, in his opinion, a special importance now attached to Kashmir—a state with which the relations of the Indian Government were imperial rather than local, and whose interests were identical with those of the Indian Empire.²⁰ He, therefore, informed both the Punjab Government and the Maharaja that henceforth the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir would directly correspond with the Government of India which would take into its own hands the direct conduct of all its political relations with Kashmir. On matters of local or provincial interest, the British agent was to correspond, as heretofore, directly with the Punjab Government. In lieu of this change, Lytton was prepared to accept an accredited *Vakil* of the Maharaja who would reside at the Viceregal Court for the special representation of the interests of the Kashmir Darbar.²¹

At the same time Lytton prevailed upon Aman-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Chitral, to come to a definitive agreement with the Kashmir Darbar. Though at first inclined to accept the suzerainty of the Maharaja, Aman was reluctant to commit himself to any definite arrangement. Lytton, of course, invited Chitral agents to attend the Delhi Darbar in order to impress them with the splendour of the

British *raj* and to explain to them the significance of the Madhopore arrangements.²² But nothing came out of all his efforts till the Government of India took upon themselves the responsibility of defining the terms of the proposed arrangement between Chitral and Kashmir, and it was not till the end of 1878 that Aman committed himself to a treaty of alliance with the Maharaja by which he recognised the suzerainty of the latter in return for an annual subsidy of Rs. 12,000.²³

Matters thus stood for some time till the Kashmir famine of 1877-80 inaugurated a new change. That catastrophe had affected nearly three-fifths of Kashmir's population,²⁴ and both the Anglo-Indian and the British Press largely attributed it to the mis-government of the Kashmiri officials. In the name of humanity the annexation of the Happy Valley was suggested by some, while others urged the British Government to intervene in order to afford the people some immediate relief.²⁵ The official reaction to the incident was equally pronounced. Cranbrook was horrified at the reports of Kashmir atrocities and maladministration during the famine,²⁶ while both Henvey,²⁷ the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir, and Lyall, Lytton's Foreign Secretary, urged immediate and effective intervention.²⁸

Lytton was disposed to believe that the "sensational statements" in the newspapers were full of exaggeration, although he was aware that the administration of the state was not above reproach. But in his opinion the Kashmir question was much larger than the mere matter of interference in time of a famine, deserving "very careful consideration as a whole". Starting from this premise he proceeded to reconsider his Kashmir policy in the light not merely of the famine mismanagement, but also of the Afghan war and the recent reports of some treasonable correspondence by the Kashmir Maharaja with both Tashkend and Kabul.²⁹

The question of Kashmiri intrigues was a dubious one, and formed a subject of prolonged investigation. Although no conclusive evidence was ever obtained, there was some proof to show that Russia was trying to intrigue with the Kashmir Darbar.³⁰ General Roberts, who had marched to Kabul after the assassination of Louis Cavagnari,³¹ and to whom was entrusted the task of investigating the alleged treasonable correspondence of Ranbir Singh, failed to secure any evidence on the subject.³² Even the Macgregor Commission, whose depositions included enquiries about Kashmiri intrigues, could not bring anything to light suggestive of the Maharaja's treachery.³³ But in Lytton's opinion,

"although the correspondence now in our hands contains no proof of actual treachery on his (the Maharaja's) part, it certainly does prove a very inadequate appreciation of the great confidence reposed in him and an unfitness for the functions entrusted to him."³⁴

For lack of adequate evidence which would have justified any overt action, Lytton proceeded to consider a revision of British relations with Kashmir on other grounds. "As regards our purely political relations", he observed, "such other grounds for the revision of them are, I think, amply furnished by the important change which has taken place in our relations with Afghanistan."³⁵

Actually, as Lytton explained, when "our present political arrangement was made with him (the Maharaja), Afghanistan was, to us, forbidden ground: Chitral and Yasin were inaccessible, and our relations with them could only be worked indirectly through Kashmir."³⁶

But the second Afghan war and the consequent disappearance of Shere Ali had completely changed the situation in Afghanistan. That country was indeed a *tabula rasa* and, as Lytton claimed, completely "thrown open to us".³⁷ With this advantage, Lytton asserted, Chitral

and Yasin could be worked directly, and much more conveniently, from Jalalabad.³⁸ Besides, the Madhopore arrangement had not worked satisfactorily, and Biddulph's task at Gilgit had become unpleasant owing to the inevitable difficulties of his situation.³⁹

Lytton therefore came to the conclusion that the Maharaja should now be relieved of all responsibilities, and deprived of all powers, in regard to Chitral and Yasin; that he should be simultaneously relieved of the small subsidy he paid to the Mir of Chitral, and of the unwelcome presence of a British Officer at Gilgit; that the agency for British relations with Chitral and Yasin should be transferred to Jalalabad; and that Ranbir Singh should be plainly told that henceforth he would neither be required, nor permitted, to meddle with the affairs of any state, great or small, beyond the frontier of Kashmir.⁴⁰

As regards the measures to be taken on the administrative side of the Kashmir question, Lytton proposed the establishment of a regular Resident in Kashmir, with certain recognised power of advice and control. His business would be to watch the proceedings of the Kashmir Darbar, and to suggest specific measures whenever they appeared to him really required.⁴¹

In spite of Lytton's desire to place a Resident at the Kashmir Darbar he could not immediately act for fear of offending the other feudatory states of India.⁴² By and large, however, as the internal situation worsened on account of the protracted course of the famine and the Maharaja's illness, Lytton felt obliged to act. He decided to meet the Maharaja at Simla in order to impose upon him a programme of reforms and a permanent British Resident. Personally, Lytton was very firm in his decision; Ranbir Singh must accept his "advice" or go. As he wrote to Cranbrook:

"Shere Ali's case is a sufficient illustration of

the certainty with which 'Don't care' brings Tommy to a bad end".⁴³

Lytton however was spared the trouble of an obviously unpleasant task by the defeat of the Conservatives at home in the election of 1880. But that did not deter him from recording for his successor's guidance that the Kashmir problem was the most ticklish of those that would first demand his attention.⁴⁴

Ripon came to India at a time when the misgovernment of the Kashmir Darbar had become a subject of gossip, and reports of Kashmiri intrigues with Russia were rife.⁴⁵ Ripon of course refused to take any notice of the reports of the Maharaja's intrigues,⁴⁶ but he decided to take an active interest in the affairs of the Kashmir Darbar. Shortly after his arrival in India Ripon urged on Ranbir Singh the urgent need for reform of his administration,⁴⁷ and only a year later Henvey, the Special Officer on duty at Srinagar, was asked to remind the Maharaja again.⁴⁸ Hartington agreed with Ripon that they had a very heavy "responsibility for improving this abominable government", and suggested the desirability of attempting "to mitigate its evils".⁴⁹ He was particularly annoyed that the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir was precluded from enquiring too closely, or reporting, on the administration of Kashmir, and desired that a more decided course of action should be pursued. Ripon agreed to do so and before long, asked Colonel St. John, Henvey's successor at Srinagar, to submit a report on the administration of the State.

St. John reported that the country on which nature had bestowed her gifts so lavishly was gradually dwindling in population and revenue. The public treasury was empty; speculation was rife at all levels; and the officials and workmen were suffering from arrears of pay. He considered that the maladministration of Kashmir justified British interference, though not indeed during the lifetime of Ranbir Singh. But with his demise, certain obligations and

unwritten bonds would pass away, and then, St. John suggested, the new Maharaja ought to be brought down to the level of the other feudatories of the empire. The Officer on Special Duty should be replaced by a regular Resident, if necessary under some other name, with an assistant to remain all the year round in Kashmir. The British flag should be hoisted over the Residency, and measures symbolic of the paramount power ought to be imposed on the new chief. This should be followed by a stringent warning about the maladministration of Kashmir, "to be followed if necessary by more stringent measures."⁵⁰

Even so, for some time to come Ripon was hesitant about interfering too closely in the matters of Kashmir administration. To see for himself the condition of the country, he undertook a tour to Kashmir and was sorry to find that the political condition of the country was very unsatisfactory. But he agreed with St. John that in spite of the unsatisfactory state of affairs at the Darbar, nothing could be done during the life time of Ranbir Singh, although advantage could be taken of the accession of a new Prince to improve the situation.⁵¹

A decision was, however, not long in coming. Early in 1884, St. John again reported that

"the administration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, always bad, even among Native States, has been steadily deteriorating since the commencement of the Maharaja's illness, and now appears to be not far from a point at which the machine will come to a standstill altogether."⁵²

The state of affairs, in St. John's opinion, was such as to make it fairly certain that the Maharaja's death, which in the advanced stage of his mortal disease,⁵³ could occur at any moment, was sure to be the signal for a general debacle, if not for serious outbreaks. It therefore seemed advisable to him that a line of action should be determined in advance, so that no time might

be lost in discussion after the Maharaja's death. St. John seems, however, to have been rather predisposed to establish his personal control over the Kashmir Darbar. It is also not unlikely that he deliberately gave a very bad account of the state of affairs in order to force the hands of the Indian Government. Berkeley, who once acted for St. John, gave very much a different opinion on the Kashmir administration. He wrote: "...so far as I have seen, things are not worse than in several native states in India... Of course there are oppression and corruption. Where are they not, *even in our own districts*, but it strikes me that *Henvey and St. John... have exaggerated matters*."⁵⁴

But Ripon attached greater importance to St. John's reports and decided to take advantage of Ranbir Singh's death "to secure improved administration for the Kashmir State".⁵⁵ In this matter he had the full support of Lord Kimberley, the new Secretary of State for India, who agreed with him that, in introducing any changes, the Government of India should appear as little as possible, and ought to endeavour to have them proposed by the Darbar.⁵⁶

With Kimberley's private approval Ripon proceeded officially to lay his case before the Secretary of State for India and his Council. In the meantime, in anticipation of the sanction of the Home authorities, he had sent instructions for St. John's guidance in case of an emergency arising in Kashmir. In his official despatch,⁵⁷ sent home on April 7, 1884, Lord Ripon, after referring to the misgovernment of the Kashmir Darbar, disposed of the question of succession, as St. John had suggested. In this matter, he refused to be guided by any other consideration than that of the law of primogeniture, and bestowed the crown upon Pratap Singh, the eldest son of Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

As regards the Kashmir administration, Ripon asked the Secretary of State for his official sanction to the appointment of a Resident

Political Officer, who would exercise a general supervision over the affairs of the Maharaja, without however any actual position in the Government of the State. The measure proposed was

"called for not merely by the need of assisting and supervising administrative reforms, but also by the increasing importance to the Government of India of watching events beyond the North-Western frontier of Kashmir. Any disturbances which continued misgovernment might create in Kashmir would be acutely felt on the frontiers of Afghanistan; the connexion between Kashmir and its dependent chiefships would in all probability be severed; and grave political complications might easily ensue."⁵⁸

Ripon considered it necessary to provide for efficient political supervision, not only in the interests of the state of Kashmir, but in the interests as well of the empire of India.

The instructions for St. John's guidance

contained a scheme of reform which was to be gradually implemented after the accession of the new chief. In order to afford the Maharaja all possible help in the introduction of such reform the Viceroy agreed to grant him a loan from Imperial revenues, and also to place at his disposal the services of any officers of the British Government specially qualified to assist the new administration in carrying out the contemplated measures.⁵⁹ But with reference to the relations existing between Kashmir and the States upon her northern borders, Ripon merely asked St. John to keep a close attention over affairs beyond the Kashmir border and to advise Pratap Singh freely on all matters of frontier policy. In thus instructing the Political Resident, Ripon was aware that circumstances might occur to which the terms of his instructions might not be strictly applicable. In such a contingency, St. John was asked to use his own discretion; and on top of all that, he was urged to keep it always in mind that his instructions were "strictly confidential", and must on no account be divulged till the time should come for acting upon them.⁶⁰

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- ³ G.I. to S.S., 28 Feb. 1879, PSLEI/21, pp. 859-63. It was this view to which the Government of India eventually came round during Dufferin's Viceroyalty.
- ⁴ G. I. to S. S., 28 Feb. 1879, as above.
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- ⁷ G. I. to S. S., 23 March 1877, PSLEI/13, pp. 235-47.
- ⁸ Lytton believed that unless the outer debouches of the passes were controlled, "our 'mountain-frontier', on which the 'Lawrentians' profess to place such reliance, is simply a fortress with no glacis—in other words, a military mouse-trap". At first he was inclined to apply this doctrine to the northern frontier, but came to believe afterwards that it would be enough to push up to the southern outlets of the passes in that direction. Lytton to Salisbury, 18 Sept. 1876, Lytton Papers/518/1, pp. 460-67; Lytton to Cranbrook, 9 April 1878 and 3 August 1878, *Ibid.*/518/3, pp. 233, 531; Balfour, B. *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, pp. 185-88 and pp. 249-60.
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- ¹⁰ Lytton to Egerton, 2 Dec. 1879, Lytton Papers/518/4, pp. 1065-76.

- ¹¹ John Biddulph, 19th Hussars, was A.D.C. to Lytton. He was twice sent on deputation to the Northern frontiers (Pamir Steppes, Wakhan, Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza etc.) to make certain explorations. He was also a member of the Yarkand Mission despatched by Northbrook.
- ¹² Political relations with the Kashmir Darbar had hitherto been controlled by the Punjab Government, but soon a change was initiated by Lytton.
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- ¹⁷ Lytton to Salisbury, 22 July 1876, Lytton Papers/518/1, pp. 304-06; Lytton to Salisbury, 20 Aug. 1876, *Ibid.*, pp. 406-07.
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- ¹⁹ Biddulph, the newly appointed British Officer on Special Duty at Gilgit, was instructed to cultivate friendly relations with the tribes beyond the border with a view to bringing them gradually under the influence and control of the Maharaja. Memo. on Chitral by A. N.

Wollaston, 8 Oct. 1878, PSM/A 18 pt. 1, p. 17; also Lytton to Lord Staplehurst, 9 April 1878, Lytton Papers/518/3, pp. 233-36.

²⁰ Lytton to Henderson, 12 May 1877, Lytton Papers/518/2, pp. 362-63. *Vide* also, Lytton to the Queen, 10 January 1877, Balfour, B. *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 121: Ranbir Singh is said to have observed, "...our interests are identical with those of the empire".

²¹ Lytton to Henderson, 12 May 1877, Lytton Papers/518/2, pp. 362-63; India to Punjab, May 14, 1877, PFP/860, May 1877, p. 380; Lytton to Maharaja, May 4, 1877, *Ibid.*, p. 381.

²² Lytton to Beaconsfield, 3 Oct. 1876, Lytton Papers/518/1, pp. 515-18; G. I. to S. S. 11 June 1877, PSLEI/14, p. 537, App. V, p. 6.

²³ Aitchison, C. U., *Treaties etc.*, vol. XI, p. 427.

²⁴ "It is impossible to state, with any accuracy, the number of deaths. The opinion of officers at Srinagar, who were commissioned to visit as much of the valley as possible, and to whom reports were submitted from outlying districts, seems to be that three-fifths of the population have emigrated or perished." P.A.R. 1878-79, pp. 2-3; also, Barton, W. *The Princes of India*, p. 122.

²⁵ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 5 Sept. 1878, p. 1; *The Friend of India*, 17 Sept. 1878, p. 831, 3 January 1879, p. 17; *The Pioneer*, 17 January 1879, pp. 1 & 5; *The Times*, 25, 27 and 30 Aug. 1879, Sept. 4, 1879.

²⁶ Cranbrook to Lytton, 5 Oct. 1879, Lytton Papers/518/4, No. 81.

²⁷ An Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, he was appointed Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir during Lytton's Viceroyalty. Later became Commissioner of Hyderabad.

²⁸ Lytton to Egerton, Dec. 2, 1879, Lytton Papers/5618/4 pp. 1065-7.

²⁹ Lytton to Cranbrook, Oct. 2, 1879, and Nov. 5, 1879, Lytton Papers/518/1, pp. 845-46, pp. 979-86.

³⁰ Lytton to Egerton, Dec. 2, 1879, *Ibid.*, pp. 1065-76.

³¹ Lyall to Burne, 25 Feb. 1880, PSLEI/24, p. 1159A, S.S. to G.I., 6 Nov., 1879, PSDI/5, pp. 315-16.

³² The British Resident at Kabul. *Vide*, Ghose, D.K., *op.cit.*, Chap. III.

³³ Roberts to Lytton, 18 Nov. 1879, Lytton Papers/519/12, No. 106; Lytton to Roberts, Dec. 12, 13, 14, 1879, Lytton Papers/518/4, pp. 1079-1100.

³⁴ Depositions of Yahia Khan and Muhammad Sarwar Khan, PSLEI/24, pp. 708-10, and pp. 713-14.

³⁵ Lytton to Egerton, Dec. 2, 1879, Lytton Papers/518-4, pp. 1065-1076.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Lytton to Egerton, Dec. 2, 1879, Lytton Papers/518/4, pp. 1065-1076; Ghose, D.K., *op.cit.*, p. 65.

³⁹ *Ibid.* In fact Lytton's idea was the virtual retention of Jhalabad under the control of the Government of India. This was a part of his scheme of disintegration of Afghanistan. Lytton to Roberts, 20 and 21 March 1880, Roberts Papers/Box File L7, R37/84.

⁴⁰ Biddulph, J. Memo on the present condition of affairs in Gilgit, March 1881, PSM/A 18. The difficulty of the situation was that Gilgit was an isolated post; the Kashmir Darbar was weak to render it sufficient assistance; the Government of India was somewhat reluctant to commit itself to perpetual material aid in times of difficulty; and on top of all that, the frontier tribes were troublesome neighbours to deal with—in fact, could hardly be dealt with without sufficient show of force.

⁴¹ Lytton to Egerton, 2 Dec. 1879, Lytton Papers/518/4, pp. 1065-76.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Lytton to Cranbrook, 15 Nov. 1879, Lytton Papers/518/4, p. 979.

⁴⁴ Dated 25 Feb. 1880, Lytton Papers/518/6, pp. 139-44.

⁴⁵ Lytton to Ripon, 8 June 1880, *Ibid.*, p. 365.

⁴⁶ Lyall to Burne, 25 Feb. 1880, PSLEI/24, p. 1159A.

⁴⁷ Ripon to Hartington, 20 April 1881, Ripon Papers/I.S.290/5, Vol. II, p. 83.

⁴⁸ Ripon to Maharaja, 13 July 1880, IFP/1922, Sept. 1882, Cons. 268, pp. 217-18.

⁴⁹ Ripon to Hartington, 22 Oct. 1881, Ripon Papers/I.S.290/5, Vol. II., 238-40; Lyall to Henvey, 26 Aug. 1881, IFP/1922, Cons. 277, p. 220.

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⁵¹ St. John to Ripon, 22 July 1883, Ripon Papers/Add MSS. 43,613, 74-83(b).

⁵² Ripon to Halifax, 17 Nov. 1883, Ripon Papers/I.S.290/7, Vol. IV, pp. 180(a)-(b).

⁵³ Encl. to G.I. to S.S., 7 April 1884, PSLEI/40, p. 27; pp. 1890, LIV, C. 6072, pp. 231-32.

⁵⁴ He had long been suffering from diabetes. Gradually, other complications set in which hastened the end.

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⁵⁶ Ripon to Kimberley, 19 Feb. 1884, Ripon Papers/I.S.290/5, Vol. V, p. 40.

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⁶⁰ G.I. to S.S. 19 Oct. 1885, Encl. 1 PSLEI/45, p. 1019.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

ABBREVIATIONS

- PSLEI —Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures from India (C.R.O., London);
- PP —Parliamentary Papers.
- PSM —Political and Secret Memoranda (C.R.O., London)
- PFP —Punjab Foreign Proceedings (C.R.O., London)
- PAR —Punjab Administration Reports
- PSDI —Political and Secret Despatches to India (C.R.O., London)
- IFP —India Foreign Proceedings (C.R.O., London)

MORLEY AND KITCHENER: A PRIVATE WAR

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The years from 1905 to 1910 are invariably labelled the Morley-Minto period in modern Indian history: John, Viscount Morley, was the Secretary of State for India in Britain's Liberal Government; the fourth Earl of Minto, the Governor-General appointed by the previous Unionist administration in its final weeks. Together, as much by friction as cooperation, they produced the reform legislation that bears their names and for which each claimed the initiative.

Although Morley and Minto are often described as antagonists in the endemic struggle between Whitehall and Simla—the Home Government and the man on the spot—this antithesis is better reflected in Morley's less cordial relationship with a third partner, whose influence upon events has too often gone unrecognized. This was Viscount (later Earl) Kitchener of Khartoum, commander-in-chief of the Indian Army. The most celebrated imperial hero of his time, Kitchener stood in marked contrast to Morley, a confirmed Little Englander and the acknowledged heir to the Gladstonian tradition of retrenchment, financial and imperial. Between them, they reflected the contradictions that underlay British rule in India during the early twentieth century.

Kitchener had preceded both Minto and Morley to Indian affairs by some three years. His position was strengthened not only by seniority of service, but also by his well-publicized feud with Minto's predecessor, Lord Curzon, that had ended in Curzon's departure from India before the expiration of his viceregal term. By virtue of his reputation, his standing

in the Anglo-Indian community, and the close ties he developed with Minto, Kitchener was able to exert strong pressures upon the Government of India. But he was far less successful in his attempts to influence Morley, who was farther removed from Indian exigencies and inherently antagonistic to militarism in general and him in particular.

Morley's American friends, as soon as they heard the unexpected news that he had taken the India Office in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's 1905 Cabinet, realized that this would bring him into headlong conflict with Lord Kitchener. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, presumed that Morley's appointment signalled the determination of the new Government to "work for the supremacy of the civil over the military in the dependencies as well as at home."¹ Precisely the same thought occurred to Andrew Carnegie, who counselled his friend: "India is the best of all for you—much the best. What a position: 'three hundred millions under King John.' Kitchener will be uneasy."²

Morley arrived at the India Office with similar thoughts. A strict Gladstonian, he was determined to cut military appropriations, to halt the spiralling number of Indian troops, to curtail excursions beyond India's frontiers, and, in the light of the Curzon-Kitchener quarrel, to limit military encroachments upon civilian affairs: "...Since the days when Charles I lost his head," he had declared in a speech on October 23, 1905, "it had always been agreed that the civil power should prevail over the military power."³ Lord Kitchener's continued

presence at the helm of the Indian Army intensified Morley's reforming zeal. In 1899, Morley was among the most prominent of fifty-one Members of Parliament who opposed a grant to Kitchener in recognition of his valor at Khartoum, where he had avenged the death of General Charles ("China") Gordon by desecrating the tomb of the Mahdi, at whose hand Gordon had been defeated in 1885. The passing years had neither tempered Morley's wrath nor lessened its justification. At Fashoda and again in South Africa, Kitchener personified all that Morley disdained as jingoism. When Kitchener failed to reply to a query in 1907, Morley concluded that "the Soudan was rather a bad school of manners, e.g., the Mahdi's head."⁴ To retaliate for the disquieting decade during which Kitchener and men of his stamp had trampled upon alien soil and Gladstonian sensibilities, Morley, to a far greater extent than most secretaries of state, kept a tight rein on Indian military affairs.

Indian unrest, much of it of a violent nature, precluded the economies that Morley would have liked to effect. At best, he could only hold military outlays to their inflated 1905 proportions. "Whatever else the bombs may do," he complained to Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, "they have at any rate made a considerable hole in any policy of mine. I hoped for instance to get some military reductions."⁵ Morley's motives were not altogether financial. His knowledge of western nationalist movements enabled him to perceive that any increase in the size or influence of India's military establishment would exacerbate popular feelings and thereby deprive any projected reform scheme of its therapeutic powers. "Of course, I thoroughly understand you and sympathise with you," he assured Minto, "when you say how 'strongly you feel how dangerous any appearance of a reduction of our military prestige in India would be.' But I hope this does not mean that every request from the military people is to be held sacred and inexorable."⁶ Morley refused to countenance General Beauchamp Duff's re-

commendation for an augmentation of forces to offset the dangers of any "extension of Native rights," and he instructed Minto: "If this idea should reach your ears, either from K [itchener] or anybody else, I do hope you will promptly step upon it."⁷

But Lord Minto proved a hesitant and often an unreliable confederate in Morley's private war against rising military expenditures and ambitions. In moments of acute distress, which occurred with alarming frequency, the Viceroy was highly susceptible to those visions of an imminent Armageddon that had haunted Indian bureaucrats since the Great Mutiny. Kitchener, of course, played up these fears. "It is more and more evident every day," Minto reported to Morley in the spring of 1907, "that the intention of the Extremist is to influence the Native Army by means of the Press and the circulation of seditious pamphlets."⁸ A week later, Minto confirmed the identity of his source ("Lord K. is very anxious about the Army"⁹) and suggested a Press Act. Morley rightly doubted the justification for Minto's consternation and insisted that, in any event, press restrictions constituted neither a judicious nor an effective barrier against insurrection.

Morley considered it more vital to halt the territorial expansion of the British Raj. This was not only a constant drain upon revenue, but a threat to diplomatic accord between Great Britain and Russia. He boasted to James Bryce that his "care and vigilance" had helped make possible the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907: "The Government of India is always Jingo, and [Sir Edward] Grey's work, as he often over-generously says, would have been impossible if there had not happened to be over the G. of I. a Secretary of State to whom the Jingo is the devil incarnate."¹⁰ In one of his earliest letters to Minto, Morley made clear that neither he nor his colleagues would sanction two foreign policies, one emanating from Whitehall, the other from Simla:

"The new Parliament and the new Cabinet

will be, in the highest degree, jealous both of anything that looks like expansion, extended protectorates, spheres of influence, and so forth; and of anything with the savour of militarism about it. I do not dream that the G. of I. in your hands will follow in the steps of your predecessors as to Thibet, Persia, the Amir [of Afghanistan]. But I note one or two expressions about the Persian loan...that seem to imply the propriety of using Indian funds for expansive designs on the frontier. Of policy of that sort I am invariably jealous, and the Cabinet will assuredly sympathise with my jealousy, and so will the House of Commons even more loudly, if the occasion arises".¹¹

He subsequently berated Minto for expressing the traditional viceregal attitude toward Tibet: "When you speak of the loss of British influence in Thibet as being deplorable, you do not recognize—do you—that the present Government here, just like our predecessors, regard Curzon's Thibet policy as hugely mistaken."¹² If Morley failed to dismantle the Empire of Swagger, he nonetheless managed to impede its forward march.

India's militarists, and such distinguished accomplices in England as Lord Roberts and Lord Lansdowne, argued strenuously for renewed border campaigns. Morley unwittingly nourished false hopes in jingo breasts by lending an approbatory ear to complaints against the Zakka Khels, a tribe of "ruffians" on India's north-west frontier "who need castigation from time to time, but whose castigation may easily drag us into positions where we do ourselves no good."¹³ Minto plied him with graphic accounts of tribal barbarities, interspersed with professions of Simla's unflagging devotion to peace: "I am no more eager than you to fight the Zakka Khels," he assured him on April 2, 1907, "and Lord K. has always been most opposed to it...."¹⁴ Meanwhile Minto informed Kitchener, who spurred him on, that he was gradually persuading Morley to endorse an attack on

"Zakka Khel country, and staying there, i.e., occupying such posts permanently as we thought necessary. He does not mention this particular case, but there are indications of a new view of frontier policy."¹⁵

Ultimately Morley sanctioned a punitive expedition against these insolent tribesmen, but he affixed more strings to his acquiescence than his petitioners had anticipated. He decreed that the offensive, which finally got underway early in 1908, was to follow his specifications rather than the Commander-in-Chief's. "This is certainly not the Government," he reminded Minto, "to initiate in any shape or form, the policy of occupation or annexation advocated by Kitchener in his famous memorandum."¹⁶ On the eve of his announcement of the project to the Commons, Morley dined at Lord Rosebery's with the Prince of Wales. "H. R. H. said he supposed we should remain in Zakka Khel country for 2 or 3 harvests," Morley's secretary recorded; Morley, less enthusiastic about the venture, replied: "Oh dear, no—a fortnight."¹⁷

Morley took pains to make certain that Kitchener's march through Zakka Khel territory was briefer and more closely supervised than his more memorable march along the Upper Nile. "I have always fully appreciated your pacific policy," he told Minto, "but when military operations once begin they tend to grow, and the zeal of military subordinates must not override policy."¹⁸ A decade earlier, for the benefit of his Scottish constituents, Morley had outlined the five acts in Lord Curzon's comedy, "Forward Rake's Progress," which was then being performed on Indian frontier stages to the acclaim of jingo audiences:

"First you push on into the territories where you have no business to be, and, in our case, where you promised you would not go; secondly your intrusion provokes resentment, and in these wild countries resentment means resistance; thirdly, you

instantly cry out that the people are rebellious and that their act is rebellion, this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them; fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion; and fifthly, having spread bloodshed, confusion and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave this territory would be left in a condition which no civilised power could contemplate with equanimity or with composure".¹⁹

In order to restrain the "Forward Rake" at the core of every Anglo-Indian official, Morley made a concentrated effort to keep the Zakka Khel enterprise within pre-determined bounds. Kitchener chafed at the Indian Secretary's directives and at one telegram in particular "laying down that we shall not annex territory already ours and well within our frontiers.....He, of course, means that the present system of administration will not be altered after the expedition."²⁰ But so long as his instructions were respected, Morley did not mind the derision that they provoked. He derived ample compensation from the fact that the Zakka Khel affair was conducted exactly as he had prescribed; it had been, he boasted to Sir George Clarke,

"not only a piece of effective military work, but the triumph of sensible policy. As you may easily guess, there were certain high people in India who would fain have made the thing the first move in 'rolling the tribes up to the Durand Line, etc., etc. I was resolute against going a single inch in that direction....."²¹

Years later, Morley could look back and "exult that I never sat for an hour in a war cabinet... though I was once responsible for frontier war with a tribe of Indian wild-cats, but it only lasted a fortnight, and only cost £35,000."²²

➤ Kitchener continually added fresh insults

to past injuries. He proved himself an opponent of reform, an advocate of stringent repression and, to make matters worse, a participant in political intrigues. Morley was furious when the Commander-in-Chief criticized the provisions of the Anglo-Russian Convention to "an important journalist here," exhorting him to publish these objections in the British press; in addition, he reported to Minto, Kitchener

"complained to his journalistic friend that the Home Government had refused him a prison law which he had told them he considered essential to the safety of the Army. I wish he would have the courage and straight-forwardness to get somebody to raise this in the H. of C. I would give him a trouncing that would astonish him".²³

Morley did not, however, have to risk another encounter with pro-Kitchener forces on the floor of the Commons in order to strike back at his antagonist.

Morley's most valiant and undoubtedly his most significant assault against military influence was his successful effort to bar Kitchener's open path to the viceregal throne. The search for a successor to Lord Minto began in earnest during the spring of 1909, while nearly twenty months remained to the current Viceroy's five-year term. Kitchener at once appeared the foremost contender: his candidacy was enhanced by his outstanding record of imperial service, by his resourceful campaign for the coveted position, and, not least of all, by the King's endorsement. Much to Morley's personal dismay, the field seemed exceedingly narrow. R. B. Haldane and Lewis Harcourt were approached, but neither responded with enthusiasm. Haldane, in fact, pressed Morley to dispatch Kitchener, whom he hoped in vain to keep out of the vicinity of the war office.²⁴ Asquith, anxious to divest himself of the Home Secretary he had inherited, proposed Herbert Gladstone, but the mere thought of "the greatest failure

of this Government" made Morley's "blood run cold," and he "begged Mr. A. not to think of it."²⁵

Morley's preference rested with Sir Charles Hardinge, an accomplished diplomat, whom he fastened upon primarily because Hardinge seemed the single alternative to Kitchener who might enjoy royal favour. But in the summer of 1909, he learned that the King had pledged his support to Kitchener. "The last time I heard of H. M.'s views," he wrote to Minto on July 22, "they turned towards Charles Hardinge of the F. O. to G.G. Yesterday, he thought that C. H. was cut out for the Paris Embassy." Morley remained confident that a suitable candidate would be chosen without his assistance: "I fondly hope," he advised Minto, "that this business will not need my attention, nor do I think it very likely."²⁶ To Haldane, a more intimate correspondent, he expressed doubts whether he would remain at the India Office long enough to take hand in the selection of Minto's successor.²⁷

When the matter came to a head nearly a year later, Morley was still wielding his ministerial powers, and his opposition to Kitchener's appointment remained unabated. To an extent, his prejudice against Kitchener had been tempered by Lord Minto's frequent intercessions, which played a decisive role in the succession drama. The Viceroy solemnly assured the sceptical Secretary of State that Kitchener "is not at all the blood and thunder soldier the man in the street assumes him to be."²⁸ At times, Minto appears to have nearly succeeded in his attempts to convince Morley, who admitted early in 1907: "You are slowly winning me over to believe in [Kitchener] as a peculiarly moderating force among your civilian advisers."²⁹

Though the eventual choice of Hardinge over Kitchener has often been ascribed exclusively to Morley's psychopathic distrust of the military mind and to his malice toward the hero of Fashoda, Lord Minto not only

echoed, but nourished many of Morley's apprehensions. The commendations the Viceroy accorded his Commander-in-Chief were often unusually back-handed: "[Kitchener], with whom constitutional reforms, Indian members and the like go somewhat against the grain, has been very loyal and helpful," he reported on March 11, 1909.³⁰ The passing months brought only dubious support from Minto for Kitchener's candidacy. He cited certain personal deficiencies in his bachelor-friend: "Her Excellency too will always have a big part to play and must be reckoned with."³¹ Minto's misgivings about Kitchener's qualifications were sincere and justifiable. He praised Kitchener as "a big man in many ways," who would undoubtedly "give confidence in certain quarters—at home at least—but I hear Gokhale [leader of the Moderate forces in the Indian National Congress] said the other day his appointment 'would look like punishing a naughty schoolboy'."³² Though he discounted fears of Kitchener's high-handedness, Minto shared Whitehall's view that the promotion of a military leader would create the unfortunate impression that the Morley-Minto reforms were being retracted. "What you say about the possible appointment of K," he informed Morley in early April, 1910,

"viz., that it 'would be to plant our Indian system on a military basis' is no doubt true as regards the view the Indian public would take of the appointment, and the English public, too; and one cannot disregard the immediate effects of such views."³³

A month later, Minto praised Kitchener for "great caution and administrative ability," but concluded that "the reasons for his appointment would be understood in England and in India in one sense only, and its effects, though due to quite mistaken conclusions, cannot be disregarded."³⁴ When news of Hardinge's selection reached Simla, Minto cabled his enthusiastic approval: "Great relief to hear of successor. Appointment seems to be excellent."³⁵

On April 29, 1910, a week before his death, the King made a final attempt "to persuade Morley to send Kitchener to rule India with a strong hand."³⁶ Such appeals were doomed to fall upon deaf ears, as had Edward's previous remonstrances to defer or dilute portions of the Morley-Minto reform scheme. By this time, Morley had proclaimed that his retention of the India Office was contingent upon the rejection of Kitchener's bid. His determination was reinforced by conversations with the aspirant, who had recently returned to England to wage a vigorous campaign on his own behalf. Morley confessed to Minto that "an unkind suspicion crossed my mind" when Kitchener volunteered his willingness to conciliate nationalist opinion by amending the partition of Bengal: this smacked too much of a conscious manoeuvre to ingratiate himself with "the ingenuous person to whom he was talking and with whom very naturally he wished to stand well."³⁷

His interview with Kitchener, to whatever degree it lessened his personal antagonism, left Morley firmly convinced that India could ill afford the implicit dangers of Kitchener's appointment. In a memorandum to Minto, he enumerated his considerations:

"...To put our biggest soldier in the post of G. G. would be to set up the sword as the symbol of our rule over India, and the basis of it; it would be construed as a sign that our policy of the last four years was a failure, or that we at all events were afraid that it would turn out a failure; it would shake the confidence of the Moderate Indian politicians in the stability, consistency, and good faith of British statesmen; while shaking the Moderates, it would in the same proportion furnish new arguments to the enemy."³⁸

In an account of the same conversation which he furnished to Haldane, Morley interjected a few less professional observations: "Last Monday I had 1½ hours with K.—my cards frankly on the table. I liked him very well, but he is not clever. I think rather clumsy."³⁹

On May 25, Morley informed the Viceroy of the virtual certainty "that Hardinge will be our man. He is in age, health, knowledge of great affairs, and other qualities, extremely fitted."⁴⁰ It remained for him to procure the Prime Minister's assent and to submit his recommendation for the formality of royal approval. In mid-June, he broached the subject with Asquith, stressing that his "last word" and his explicit response to its possible rejection were equally unconditional: "If I am not fortunate enough to carry you with me," he stated, "you will of course decide the thing for yourself. If, on the other hand, you do not take this responsibility, you will then, I have no doubt, support my view with H.M."⁴¹ The task of persuading the new monarch, which had threatened to be a difficult one, was lightened considerably by Lord Minto's active cooperation.⁴²

A post-script was added to this story on the eve of the First World War, when the two antagonists had exchanged positions on the rotating wheel of political fortune. On the evening of July 29, 1914, Morley sponsored a dinner in Kitchener's honour at the United Services Club. "Within ten days," he later recalled, "Kitchener was installed in my chair in the Cabinet!"⁴³ But Morley could console himself that four years before the violent jolt of August 2, he had checkmated Kitchener's steady advance. It is perhaps for this accomplishment, more than any other, that he deserves India's gratitude.

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⁴¹ Morley to Asquith, June 15, 1910, Asquith Papers.
⁴² Minto to King George, June 22, 1910 [copy], Minto Papers.
⁴³ Morley, *Memorandum on Resignation* (London, 1928), 8-9. Morley resigned when war was declared; Kitchener became Secretary of State for War.

MALIK AMBAR'S CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

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An administrative machinery is divided in modern times into three branches: (1) legislative, (2) executive and (3) judiciary. Before the development of the modern form of administrative system, the legislative branch was generally wanting, since laws were to be 'discovered' rather than 'made'. Whatever laws were 'made' at all, took the form of executive orders issued by the administrative branch. Some came to be made, of course, in the modern way by the judiciary in the form of (a) case laws, (b) interpretation of the codified laws or of the existing customs, and (c) discussion of general principles. In India, all these forms of judge-made laws very often took the form of codes (Smritis) compiled by learned men from time to time. It need hardly be said that the main form of the administration that obtained during the time of Malik Ambar was of the above type.

The administrative machinery is, now-a-days divided into two branches, the Civil and the Military. Before the advent of modern times the two could not be distinguished from each other very clearly. In general, the civil administrators were military administrators and leaders. Nay, they were something more. The ministers combined in themselves all the above aspects of administration, i.e., they were ministers, governors, military organisers and generals rolled into one. The administrative machinery of Malik Ambar's regime was identical with this system for all intents and purposes. In this discussion, the above-noted two distinctive features have to be kept in mind in order to have a clear grasp of Malik Ambar's administration.

1. The Central Executive:

The Central Executive set up by Malik Ambar consisted of the king in form and name and a number of ministers¹ of whom the head (Peshwa and Vazier-i-Kul and Mamlakat-madari) was Malik Ambar himself. In practice, however, the king counted for nothing, and, whenever he tried to assert his authority, as Murtaza Nizamshah set up by him in 1601 A.D. did, he was set aside or done away with, and a more submissive one, the boy king, Burhan Nizamshah III, was raised to the throne to succeed the former in the year 1610 A.D. with Malik Ambar as the Chief Minister and his Representative (बकील-ज-सलानन). Malik Ambar carried on the administration of the State in accordance with his own will and desire, the other ministers being only his meek and obedient subordinates, placed in charge of various offices to give effect to his orders. Malik Ambar's power and authority were unresisted,² challenged only at times by occasional risings of his subordinate ministers and limited by their influence and advice accepted by him. In one of the contemporary Marathi documents it has been said that Malik Ambar's regime was a one-man rule.³ It is needless to point out here that either the king or his chief minister had been an autocrat in the past. The Council of Ministers, in the real sense of the term, never existed in those times. There can be hardly any complaint against Malik Ambar, considering the prevalent administrative tendencies of those days. Without a powerful King or a powerful Chief Minister, there could be no efficient administrative machinery or administration worth the name.

As the Nizamshahi State after 1600 A.D., that is, after the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the Moghuls, was revived and created by Malik Ambar, it was natural that the King was a nominal and titular head of the State⁴ and Malik Ambar was *defacto* supreme ruler and authority and the other ministers had no other choice than to carry out his orders in their respective departmental jurisdictions. In a nutshell, the King reigned whereas the Chief Minister and Regent ruled for all effects and purposes. The names of a few ministers can be compiled on the basis of the historical documents as follows:

- (1). Mir Abdul Fatiz (Fatch?)—An Abbyssinian—Mir Jumla.⁵
- (2). Yakutkhan—Another Abbyssinian—Commander-in-Chief⁶ ("Sar-Naubat")
- (3). Haibatkhan, the elder—Perhaps, Finance Minister.⁷

Malik Ambar's regime merits a few comments in brief. His rule, though autocratic, was benevolent in effect and promoted the interests, welfare and well-being of the ruled as far as circumstances permitted. He "behaved to the populace with justice, kept the soldiers and cultivators pleased with himself."⁸ The contemporary Italian traveller, Pietro Della Valle, observes, "Malik Ambar administers the State Territory.....with such authority that at this day this Territory is more generally known and called by the name of Malik Ambar's country, than the Kingdom of Nizam-Sciah. Nevertheless, this Malik Ambar governs not fraudulently, and with design to usurp but according as I have better understood since from persons informed nearer hand, he administers with fidelity and submission towards the young king."⁹

The other nobles of the Nizamshahi Kingdom could not view with favour and tolerance the dominating position acquired and maintained by Malik Ambar. "The nobles of the house

of Nizam Shah", mentions Fuzuni Astarabadi, the author of the *Futuh-i-Adilshahi*, "each of whom considered himself as the equal of Malik Ambar, nay higher, and who were jealous of him, were on the watch to overthrow him and preferred discord to cooperation with him."¹⁰ It may be said to the credit of Malik Ambar that he succeeded in keeping up his domineering position in the teeth of bitter opposition to the end of his life.

In connection with the history of Burhan Nizamshah I, the names of the four offices of Ministers occur: (1) Peshwa, (2) Amir Jumla, (3) Vakeel and (4) Sare-e-Naubat.¹¹ These names of offices of Ministers continued in the Nizamshahi State to its end; but their functions seem to have changed. The Peshwa seems to have become the Chief Minister (वकील-ई-कुल). He seems to have arrogated to himself the powers and functions of Vakeel (Vakeel-i-Sultanat), the representative of the Kingdom, something resembling the Pratinidhi of the old times and of Post-Shivaji Maratha times. Shivaji, rather Shahji after him, borrowed some of the Persian names (पेशवा, शही, सानोवन, मुजुददार) from the Nizamshahi Kingdom which just preceded his. Probably, the eight of the Ministers were borrowed from this source by him, and not directly from the old Hindu Polity. The designation of 'Dabir' is to be noted.¹² This word has been used in the sense of 'Chief Secretary'. The chief office of the Finance Minister was called दीवान आला, and its head clerk was probably called मकिकनीस. The names of the offices of other ministers cannot be gleaned at present from any sources. But again it has to be surmised that they were to carry out his dictates. Only in this way, could the central administration work.

As the ministers were governors, military organisers, and generals too, they had their lieutenants, sometimes a number of them, to carry out the office duties in accordance with the instructions of their immediate head and the supreme head, namely, Malik Ambar.

It seems that Malik Ambar kept control over even minute details of administrative matters and his seal was thought to be necessary in order to secure the enforcement of an order. In a letter of Shivaji addressed to Visaji Ballal Subedar on the 17th December, 1668, there is a reference to a decision given by Malik Ambar, which bore the seal of not only the King, but also of Malik Ambar.

2. Local Administration: The Executive Bureaucracy

A kingdom was usually divided in those times into Provinces which consisted of a number of Districts (Sarkars), each of which consisted of a number of Parganas and each Pargana had its Talukas or Karyats—modern Tahsils or 'Circles'. The Nizamshahi State, after its decline on the loss of Berar, does not seem to have been divided into Provinces. But it was certainly divided into Sarkars to which there are references in some of the contemporary documents.¹³ In one of these, Junner has been referred to as 'Sarkar'. The same has been sometimes called Mamle (मामले)¹⁴ or Sammat¹⁵ or Pargana¹⁶. Each Sarkar or Sammat or Pargana was divided into a number of Tarfs (तर्फ) or Tapes (तपे).¹⁷ Originally, 'Tarf' was equal to a province; but, later on, it seems to have been divided into Sarkars, Sammat or Parganas; and, ultimately, it became synonymous with a part of the latter. In very early documents, 'Tape' does not seem to occur; this word becomes noticeable in the documents of the 16th century. Each 'Tarf' or 'Tape' was subdivided into 'Mahals'; and each Mahal contained a number of villages; village being the primary unit in the administrative divisions.

In the latter part of the 17th century, the chief government officer of a Sarkar or Sammat or Pargana was called Subedar. But the documents of Malik Ambar show that the head officer of a Sarkar, etc., like the head officer of a Tarf or Tape, was called Havaladar. In some cases, he was called Mamledar.¹⁸

Probably, the word came to be applied to all officers of a type. There was one more officer known as Karkoon (कारकून) who was responsible for purely revenue administration of a division such as Sarkar or Tarf. His office was called 'Diwan', but he worked under the supervision of the Havaladar who was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and, for general administration. The Havaladar was, as we have already said, a military officer too, and had a body of troops under him, led by a Thanedar¹⁹, for the maintenance of law and order. He was, at times, expected to organise a military campaign and even lead it. At times, he seems to have combined in him the duties of a Karkoon too²⁰, in which case he had his agents (मुतालिक) for the work²¹. The two Havaladars, one of Sarkar and the other of 'Tarf' performed almost similar duties in their respective spheres. The officer of the 'Mahal' was called 'Mahaldar'²² or Havaladar²³. In some cases, there were assistants (नायब न नेव).²⁴ To assist the head of each administrative division in keeping accounts, there were Mazumdars, as there was one Minister in the Central Government.²⁵ He was not only to maintain accounts, but was also enjoined to bring about improvement in agriculture.²⁶ Each office had generally a host of clerks, who seem to have been styled Huddedars (हुद्ददार), translated into Marathi as 'Adhikari' (अधिकारी).²⁷ Finally, in the chain of bureaucracy, there were agents of these officers who were called Mutalik.²⁸ Clerks used to change from time to time, like other officers.²⁹ The agents, sometimes deputed by them on some mission, were called Vakeels (वकील) or Hejib (हेजीब).³⁰ Conclusive evidence points to the fact that the officers were paid in cash.³¹ The Mazumdar of Tarf Bhor was ordered to be paid 13 Hons per month, that is, Rupees 45 to 50: his predecessor in the office having been paid only 6 Hons per month. In a Firman of Malik Ambar issued to Chand Khatib of Mamle Sholapur in 1625, it is mentioned, "Your salary has been fixed". (तुम्ही तनका मोकरर करून दिला आहे)³²

What additional privileges they enjoyed is not at all evident. But it is manifest that all such officers in those times required to be paid tips or *nazarana* for the work done for anyone of the subjects. This was a well-established practice, to which nobody took any objection or resented the payment. It was considered to be a legitimate addition to the regular salary. Those who were slack or negligent in their duties were warned or even penalised. To illustrate this point the following may be cited as an example:

Malik Ambar writes to Bahiro Ganapati Mazumdar, "The Deshmukh of Tarf Bhor..... informs me: 'I ask him to tour from village to village to promote agriculture, but he does not do it, and whenever a Kunbi, that is, a cultivator visits the office, he allows him to go his own way. He further writes that Serikar tours from village to village and brings about cultivation. It seems you sit in the office and make entries (in the books), but do not tour and look-after cultivation. This will not contribute to your promotion. You now tour over the whole territory and encourage cultivation.'"³³ Even the Vatandars and people could report against an officer not attending to his duties and get him transferred. The following extract throws ample light on this point:

"After the King's officer arrived, the Zamindars saw him in connection with the questions of the civil administration of the Mamle, and discussed with him the question of how to bring about prosperity in the area. In case the officer did not act up to the suggestions and requests of the Zamindars (i.e., the Deshmukhs etc.), and troubled the people, the latter made him to submit and to act up to their suggestions and requests by drawing his attention to the orders issued by the King and his high officers. If he defied them also, they (i.e., Zamindars) wrote direct to His Majesty to the effect that officer so and so who was sent for the administration of the Mamle, reached the headquarters on date

so and so, that they saw him in connection with the civil administration of the Mamle and acquainted him with the rules and practices regarding revenue realisations, duties, cesses, etc., but he did not mind them and set them at nought and troubled the people who, therefore, got perturbed and disturbed, and, therefore, having thought it necessary, (they) ventured to write (about the officer's behaviour) to His Majesty, who was powerful enough and like the parents of the people, to keep an eye upon their good and issue orders accordingly, and be kindly pleased to change the officer with a view to the good of the people, and that, in case the said officer continued to remain there, the area was sure to be ruined and destroyed. Thus it was the practice during the (Nizamshahi?) rule to get an officer changed and to arrange for the appointment of another Subedar."³⁴ Malik Ambar did not hesitate to scold even the Vatandars. He informed Daud Khan, Thanedar of Karyat Sangamner Wavi that "he had learnt that Krishnaji Narsinha, Kulkarni of the said township, was acting in a high-handed fashion, that though there were no dues from the people, he was habituated to showing arrears and to realise money in excess. The people therefore had begun quitting the place, (it was pointed out) that the Kulkarni was not a permanent (hereditary) person. Though the assessed amount was a fixed one, he was in the habit of showing a different (i.e., greater) amount due in the village, he did not issue receipts immediately on payment of money. He did never make proper arrangements in accordance with the order of the Karkoon, (and) he had taken an excess amount last year, which was to be returned and the people were not pleased with him. Malik Ambar asked the Thanedar to explain as to why he did not enquire, if non-permanent Kulkarni troubled the people and realised in excess (of the fixed amount), though his place was very near it, and to make proper arrangements and give assurance to the people and look after the agriculture so that the people might not have to complain again".³⁵ In

the same connection, Malik Ambar informed the Karkoon of Pargana Sangamner that as Pantaji Rakhamangad Kokil had represented that he was the permanent Kulkarni and that he appealed to him to be reinstated, the said Pantaji Rakhamangad Kokil was to be reinstated as Kulkarni and was to be allowed to do that work, and that Krishna (Narsinha) was to be removed and papers after verification with reference to the people were to be handed over (to the permanent Kulkarni, then deputed)."³⁶

➤ Evidently, Malik Ambar paid full and timely attention to the grievances of the people with a view to redress them and he did not tolerate the excesses, either of the officers or of the Vatandars.

3. The Local Administration:

The Permanent Executive (The Vatandars).

Besides the bureaucracy comprising of the changing officers, there was at that time, almost all over the Deccan, a permanent executive comprising of the hereditary Vatandars. There were Deshmukhs (also called Dcsais, and in the Karnatak, Nadgauda), Deshkulkarnis or Nadkarnis, Mokdams, or Patels, Kulkarnis, Chauglas, Balutes, Chaudharis, Hakimsharas, Gurhos, and in some places Sardeshmukhs or Sardesais or Sar-sammats, Sar-patils, Sargurhos, Shete-Mahajans, Melhars, Godgavdas, Kotvals, or Mahars, Mokasdars, etc. These Vatandars were responsible for some administrative functions and had some powers and perquisites attached to these offices. Most of them were rural officials, but Shete-Mahajans, Hakimsharas, Kotwals, were urban officials. We must analyse their work, responsibilities and perquisites which they enjoyed.

Deshmukhs:

As this word denotes, a Deshmukh was the leader of a particular portion of 'Desh', that

is, country or territory. From the very name, it is clear that he existed in this country, some centuries before the advent of the Muslims in India. The other word corresponding to it is 'Desai' which seems to be a corrupt form of 'Desh-Swami'.³⁷ In the Karnatak (that is, Kanadi-speaking area), the word 'Nadgauda' was in vogue. A Deshmukh or Desai or Nadgauda was an official for a Pargana, but, in some cases, there was Deshmukh etc. for a smaller area as Tarf or Tape or Karyat, or even for a Mahal.³⁸ The Deshmukh controlled all the ryots of the country, and, as such was an important official. "Not only in Malik Ambar's time, but, even in later time Deshmukhs were a very important part of the Government machinery. They were usually responsible for the realisation of Government dues, namely, land-revenue, and the advancement of agriculture, as also for peace and order in the country. A Deshmukh expected to be invited at all meetings of the public, official or non-official, and all important Government papers had his seal (with the plough in it to show his relation with agriculture) stamped upon them. Many papers without his seal were regarded invalid. The possession of the seal, therefore, was an important honour, and, at times, quarrels and bloodsheds occurred over a dispute about its possession. At the same time, his responsibility was great. If he failed in realising government dues, he could be arrested and punished³⁹. He had, therefore, to sell his *vatan*, partly or fully, if he failed to realise the government dues. He maintained a regular office and a number of clerks and, at times, agents in the different parts of the 'Pargana'. As he was a hereditary officer, he continued unchanged though the government servants went on changing; he continued to exist though kings came and went. At times, he served two or more kings as the Shitole Deshmukhs of Poona did. Generally, the Vatandars of the border territory between two kingdoms that changed hands, very often had to face this position. The Bhonseles, in the capacity of Mokdams and Patils, had probably

to face the same position in the territory round about the Bhima river. New Deshmukhs could not be created by a king except in exceptional cases. They continued to enjoy their position from generation to generation but for change effected by a regular transfer, either by sale or endowment.

What perquisites a Deshmukh enjoyed can be known from one of the contemporary documents. It is mentioned therein that the Deshmukh of Tape Kati had seven fields (in the village and headquarters together), some percentage of government dues, export duty, octroi duty, ferry-duty, and fruits from three kinds of trees for the services rendered to the society.⁴⁰ The recipients of Vatans were assigned cesses on all trades obtaining in their territorial jurisdiction.⁴¹ They were entitled to receive presents on ceremonial occasions.⁴² They were authorised to collect a kind of succession-tax (निपुत्रिक) for themselves from the owner without a son to succeed him. Besides, they could command services from cultivators for the cultivation of their fields. The Deshmukh could be the Mokdam of some villages in 'Pargana'. He had, thus, various sources of income, and enjoyed the first place of honour in the society.

The Patil or Mokdam:

The village was the primary administrative unit, and its own administrator was called Patil in the Hindu Period and Mokdam in the Muslim Period of Indian History. He was the counterpart of the Deshmukh of a 'Pargana'. His functions, powers, perquisites and position in the society were similar to those of the Deshmukh, but limited to the village of which he was the Patil or Mokdam. He was to realise government dues, for failure in which he could be arrested and punished. He was entitled to (1) the cultivation of some land in the village, (2) some cesses on the trades followed in it, (3) presents on seasonal products and ceremonial occasions, (4) services for the cultiva-

tion of his land, and (5) a certain percentage of government dues.

The Deshmukh was the supervising officer of the Patil who could be chastised for failure in his duties. Patilship could be transferred by sale or mortgage or endowment just like Deshmukhship. Whenever Patilship fell vacant, the Deshmukh had to take it over⁴³; but, at times, it could be bestowed upon another person by the king. The Patil was styled 'Khot' in the Konkan and performed the same duties, and exercised the same powers and was entitled to the same perquisites and position as the Patil-Mokdam of the Plateau.⁴⁴

The Kulkarni and Deshkulkarni:

The Patil as well as the Deshmukh required some one to maintain the accounts of the Village and the Pargana, and to keep records of the dues to be realised from each peasant in accordance with the fields possessed by him and the kinds of crops sown in them, the dues to be paid for the village as a whole, dues to be realised on the different trades on behalf of the Government and the Patil or the Deshmukh, and such other matters. The accountant of the Village was simply known as 'Kulkarni' and that of the Pargana or smaller areas was called Deshkulkarni, or Deshpande, or Nadkarni (in the Karnatak). It must be remembered that 'Kul' is a Sanskrit word, meaning 'peasant'. It is clear, therefore, that he existed from time immemorial along with Patil and Deshmukh, and was always closely associated with him; co-operation among these persons was quite necessary for the efficient discharge of their duties. As work required the incumbent to be a literate man, he was generally a Brahman or a Prabhu (Kayastha) by caste. The Brahman Kulkarni did one more work, namely, that of an astrologer (Jyotishi for the village or a group of villages in his charge). It may, however, be noted that this additional duty was not a necessary accompaniment in every case. There

were several Kulkarnis who did not necessarily do the work of a Jyotishi, and vice versa.

The Kulkarni like the Patil-Mokdam and Deshmukh enjoyed certain privileges and sources of income. Just like them he was in possession of some rent-free land. Secondly, he got a certain amount of remuneration. Thirdly, he also had his share in the cesses realised in the village and enjoyed some presents. The Deshkulkarni enjoyed similar privileges in each village, the sum total making a good income.⁴⁵

The Kulkarni-ship was a hereditary position, but, like all other Vatans, it could be acquired by purchase or mortgage or endowment. At times, whenever an office fell vacant and there was no claimant, Government could bestow it upon a deserving person. He could also be punished for failure in his duties, especially, in that of realisation of Government dues. He also enjoyed the privilege of taking part in the decision of local disputes, his position being considered to be next in importance to that of the Patil or Deshmukh in accordance with his being a Kulkarni or Deshkulkarni. A Kulkarni or Deshkulkarni could employ agents for the performance of his duties.

The Chaugla:

There were some more Vatandars, of whom Chaugla was one. His functions are not indicated in the contemporary documents of Malik Ambar. It seems one of his important duties was to deposit the Government dues safely in the Government Treasury. He performed many social duties in the village. He had also a seal with the plough and dagger in it. The plough indicated his relation with agriculture and the dagger indicated that he was responsible for the protection, especially, of the Patil-Mokdam of the village. He also enjoyed certain perquisites, especially rent-free land.

At times, at some places the Mokdam combined the duties of the Chaugla⁴⁶.

The Vatandar Mahar:

There was, in addition, a Vatandar Mahar in the village. He was untouchable by caste and performed the duty of the watchman and was the bodyguard of the Patil. He also enjoyed certain perquisites, chiefly some rent-free land. The use of dead animals was his special privilege.

Balutes and Alutes:

Besides the above-mentioned Vatandars, there were Balutes and Alutes in a village. The Balutes were mostly artisans whose services were quite necessary in the economic life of the village. Their services were essential for the happiness and comforts of the rural life. The Balutes were paid in kind invariably, while the Alutes were paid for the service whenever demanded and rendered. The names of the Balutes and Alutes have not been mentioned in any of the extant documents of Malik Ambar's time. The Balutes were usually the following:

- (1) Washerman
- (2) Barber
- (3) Gurav
- (4) Carpenter
- (5) Shoemaker or Cobbler
- (6) Potter
- (7) Blacksmith
- (8) Mahar
- (9) Astrologer
- (10) Mang
- (11) Maulana
- (12) Thakur

The Alutes seem to have been the following:

- (1) Ramoshi
- (2) Bhat
- (3) Koli
- (4) Goldsmith
- (5) Taral

The functions of the Balutes were indispensable and hence they were an essential feature of the village economy, while those of the Alutes were of an optional nature and, therefore, their services were paid whenever they were demanded by anyone. *Maulana* seems to have been added during the Muslim regime, but the rest of them obtained from time immemorial. The Balutes came to acquire social titles as noted below:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1). Bhat (भट) | — Pandit Rao |
| (2). Carpenter | — बाणराव |
| (3). Blacksmith | — आणीराव |
| (4). Washerman | — शंभारराव |
| (5). Koli (Fisherman) | — पतंगराव |
| (6). Shoe-maker | — तकराव |
| (7). Barber | — स्वरूपराव |
| (8). Mahar | — इमानराव |
| (9). Mang | — राउतराव |
| (10). Goldsmith | — पसंतराव |
| (11). Potter | — चक्राव |

In Malik Ambar's history, there is a reference to 'Patang Rao' in connection with "Vyankat Rao Koli".

The Vatandars of the Towns:

The towns, specially, the market-centres, had their own Vatandars. Their names were Shetes, Mahajans, Chaudharis, Bidwais, etc. Probably, there were some whose names and functions are not referred to in the contemporary documents. Market-towns in general came into existence at either crossroads, that is, nodal centres or at the forts or by the side of hill-forts or ground-forts. Usually, the persons responsible for starting a marketing centre were entrusted with the control of the market, and were accorded certain rights of levying various cesses and taxes and had some privileges, honours, and presents. The word 'शेते' is the corrupt form of श्रेष्ठिन (Shreshthin). A student of the early ancient history of India knows that the 'Shreshthins' used to organise trade and manufacturing guilds, associations and corporations and were very influential

and powerful persons in the society. The Shetes inherited most of the old functions, powers and social position. They were to organise and advance trade and manufacture, help government officials in the maintenance of peace and order and realise Government dues. The administration of the market was in their hands. Their privileges included realisation of cesses in cash or kind from the different trades, exemption from forced labour and house-cess, honours on ceremonial occasions, labour for a number of days from the artisans, presents on ceremonial occasions, fines for some offences, some succession-tax, etc. Like all other Vatandars, some privileges could be bestowed by the Government. A 'Shete' could enjoy the right to arrest and punish an offender, and sometimes, he could award capital punishment. His was a position of honour. The umbrella was to be carried over his head and the torch was to be carried in front to show him the way. He, of course, sat in judicial and public assemblies of the town.

The Mahajan was to the Shete, what the Kulkarni was to the Patil and the Deshkulkarni to the Deshmukh. He was mainly in charge of the accounts of the market, and acted as his assistant. His perquisites were very much similar to those of the Shetes, but of a lower value. Just like the Chaugla of the village, there was the Chaudhari of the market-place. In some places, there was a Bidwai to look after the arrangement of the market. A large portion of the market cesses must have gone into the Government coffers and formed a lucrative source of income to the Government. Therefore, Government generally encouraged the establishment of markets at suitable places.

Some Fundamental Features of Vatandari System.

(i) It has been shown that the Vatandars generally acquired their position, rights and privileges by inheritance, but at times by transfer, sale, mortgage or free endowment. They, therefore, formed a permanent feature

of the governmental machinery, and, in a way, performed some very useful functions.

(ii). As a consequence, they continued even if kings and dynasties changed. Sometimes, one and the same Vatandar served two kings or even more during his own life-time. His office provided all information about the places in his jurisdiction.

(iii). Whenever anyone acquired a Vatandarship, he had to pay to the government a recognition tax, known as 'शेरणी'.

Malik Ambar's Control over the Vatandars:

The Vatandars were not allowed a free hand over the people. On the other hand, there is ample evidence to show that Malik Ambar curbed them and tried to bring them to the right path whenever they deviated from their duty. The relevant documents have already been cited above which bear convincing evidence of his vigilant and strict control over the Vatandars.

APPENDIX A

As no chronicle of Malik Ambar's history and administration is available, it cannot be said definitely how many administrative divisions were in the Nizamshahi Kingdom. Moreover, the boundaries of the Kingdom fluctuated from time to time. Below, the names of divisions have been compiled on the basis of the official and non-official documents of the time available now. It need hardly be said that the lists are by no means complete.

(a). Parganas:

- (1). Pandependgaon. (Sanads and Letters, p. 10; Raj XV, 373, 388, 389, 394, and 396).
- (2). Haveli. (Sanads and Letters, p. 10.)
- (3). Karhad. (Ibid., p. 14; Raj. XV-65).
- (4). Poona. (Sanads and Letters, p. 15; Sh.

Ch.S., IV, 675; Raj. XVIII, 2; Raj. XX, 225 and 226).

(5). Shirwal. (Sh.Ch.S., I, pp. 7, 14, 16, and 17).

(6). Nyamatabad. (P.D., XXXI, Doc. Nos 2 and 4).

(7). Indapur. (Sh.Ch.S., III, 655 and 719).

(8). Newas. (Sh.Ch.S., IV, 702).

(9). Dindori. (Ibid., 716).

(10). Sangamner. (Sh.Ch.S., III, 467 and 469; Raj. XX, 254; Raj. 379 and 371).

(11). Ghat Deulgaon. (P. D. XXXI, 7).

(12). Yedalabad. (Sh.Ch.S., IV, 731).

(13). Wai. (Raj. XX, 65, 67 and 68; Raj. XV, 380).

(14). Kannarad. (Raj. XV, 370).

(15). Supa. (Q.B.I.S.M., II, pp. 57 and 58).

(16). Yelur. (Raj. XV, 385).

(17). Deulgaon. (P.D. XXXI, 7).

(18). Khedle. (B.I.S.M.-Itivatra IV, p. 49).

(19). Derhadi

(20). Gandapur. (Raj. XV, 371).

(21). Ahmadabad alias Gaudgaon.

(22). Man-Dahigaon. (Raj. XX, 217).

(b). Sarkar:

(1). Junner. (Sanads and Letters, p. 13; P.D., XXXI, 6).

(2). Daultabad (Raj. XV, 385).

(c). Mamle:

(1). Jafarabad. (Sanads and Letters, p. 14; Raj. XX, 386).

(2). Sholapur. (Sanads and Letters, p. 16).

(3). Aminabad alias Pali. (Sh.Ch.S., III, 20, 416).

(4). Murtazabad (alias Chaul) (Sh.Ch.S., IV, 710, Sh.Ch.S., IX, 1-54, 57, 59-70, 72-75, 77-98, 100).

(5). Gulshanabad (alias Nasik) (Sh.Ch.S., IV, 706; Sh.Ch.S., II, 287, 289).

(6). Rairi. (P.D. XXXI, 8); (Raj. XVI, 7, 8, and 12).

(7). Ahmadabad*. (Raj. XV, 368, 369).

(8). Parenda. (Raj. XX, 217).

- (9). Baramaval. (Raj. XVI, 11, 12).
 (10). Sholapur. * (Sanads and Letters, p.16).

*These obtain in the list of Parganas too. Evidently, in these cases, it appears that a Pargana is equivalent to a 'Mamle'.

(d). **Sammat:**

- (1). Jafarabad. ** (Raj. XV, 368).
 (2). Daultabad. @ (Raj. XV, 369, 370).
 (3). Junner. @ (Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of B.I.S.M., Poona, p. 95; Raj. XV, 431).

**The name also occurs in the list of 'Sarkars'. Therefore, in this case, a 'Sarkar' is equivalent to a 'Sammat'.

@These names obtain in the list of 'Sarkars'. So, in this case, a 'Sarkar' is equal to a 'Sammat'.

(e). **Tarfs:**

- (1). Ahirgaon. (Sanads and Letters, p. 17).
 (2). Bhor. (Sh.Ch.S., II, p. 205).
 (3). Utarwali. (Sh.Ch.S., V, 760).
 (4). Rohidkhore. (Sh.Ch.S., III, 576, Raj. XV, Gupte, Deshpande and Jedhe—Deshmukh paper.
 (5). Khedebare. (P.D., XXXI,).
 (6). Jamkhed. (Sh.Ch.S., III, 620-623).
 (7). Nirthadi. (Sh.Ch.S., II, 94).
 (8). Kanadkhore. (Raj. XVI, 5, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17).
 (9). Karade. (Raj. , 394).

(f). **Tape:**

- (1). Undargaon. (Sanads and Letters, p. 10).
 (2). Bhos. (Ibid).
 (3). Karkamb. (Ibid., p. 11).
 (4). Hirdasmaval. (Sh.Ch.S., I, p. 11; Sh. Ch.S., II, 201, 249, 230, 202, 198; Raj. XV, 330-331).
 (5). Rohida.
 (6). Welwandkhore.
 (7). Bhor. * (Sh.Ch.S., II, p. 229; Raj. XV, 330).

- (8). Mosekhore. (Sh.Ch.S., I, p. 19).
 (9). Jamkhed* (Sh.Ch.S., IV., 622).
 (10). Kanadkhore. * (P.D. XXXI, 8; Raj. XVI, 6, 7 and 8; Sh.Ch.S., IV, 747, 748, 749).
 (11). Sondal. (Sh.Ch.S., IV, 680).
 (12). Gujanmaval. (Sh.Ch.S., I, p. 7).

*these names occur in the list of Tarfs also; thus, it follows that 'Tape' is a corrupt form of Tarf.

(g). **Karyat:**

- (1). Saswad. (Sh.Ch.S., I, p. 7 and 11).
 (2). Malewadi. (Raj. XV, 376).
 (3). Patas. (Raj. XV, 401).

APPENDIX B

An Account of Haibatkhani.

Haibatkhani was one of the ministers of the Nizamshahi state and an important colleague of Malik Ambar. What portfolio was entrusted to him, it is difficult to say. Probably, he was in charge of the finances of the state and looked after the arrangement of revenue and its assessment. It seems that he carried out the assessment of land-revenue in accordance with the ideals and aims of Malik Ambar. He appears to have been a Brahman by name Vittal Jagdeo.⁴⁷ Padam Bhatta, son of Shankar Bhatta, has been called the Priest of Haibatkhani.⁴⁸ (उपाधेहैवतखी)

This indicates that Haibatkhani, though a Muslim, had a Brahman priest to perform Hindu religious ceremonies for him. This Padam Bhatta has been referred to as the priest of a renegade (हरामखोराचा यज्ञ).⁴⁹ He was, probably, the elder brother of the well-known Murar Jagdeo, the first Prize Minister of Mohammad Adilshah and should have belonged to the Adilshahi kingdom by birth.⁵⁰ He was an officer of the rank of a Sardar (Vazier) and administered the territory of Wai for 23 years and 9 months (21½ years during the regime of Ibrahim Adilshah and 2½ years during the

reign of Mohammad Adilshah). In addition to Wai, he appears to have been in charge of the Pargana of Shirwal from 1604 A.D. to 1621 A.D.⁵¹ Similarly, he also held the charge of Poona as one petitioner had to go to Wai to see Haibatkhani concerning an application addressed to the Karkoons and Deshmukhs of Poona.⁵²

It may be noted that Wai, Shirwal and Poona belonged to the Nizamshahi state but were placed under the protection of the Adilshah. In the beginning of the assumption of power and consolidation of the Nizamshahi Kingdom by Malik Ambar, policy dictated that the Adilshah was to be kept friendly and helpful to him, and, therefore, Malik Ambar, either on account of choice or on account of having been pressed by the Adilshah, more or less temporarily handed over Wai, Shirwal, Poona, etc., to the Adilshah. The Adilshah kept his officers in charge of these areas or made the Nizamshahi officers responsible to himself, the revenues of Wai being probably paid to the Adilshah and those of the Shirwal and Poona to the Nizamshah. In fact, Wai for all intents and purposes belonged to the Adilshah. Haibatkhani made Wai his headquarters for sufficiently long period.⁵³ However, Poona continued to be under the sway of the Nizamshah.⁵³ It must have been under his sway from the very beginning of Malik Ambar's regime. It may safely be inferred that Shirwal, an intermediate pargana, should also have continued to be in charge of the Nizamshah. Malik Ambar, a sworn enemy of Miya Raju, seems to have taken possession of the Pargana of Poona in 1603 A.D. from the latter.⁵⁴ Haibatkhani kept his agent at Wai (named Ata Malik) styled as Naib Gaibat (नायबगायत).⁵⁵ The position and power acquired by Haibatkhani in 1605 and 1606 A.D. did not last long. He seems to have been replaced by Yaqut Khan (another colleague of Malik Ambar and the Commander-In-Chief of the Nizamshahi army) and by Rajes Mohammad. One of the documents states that Haibatkhani was in charge of Shirwal from 1604 to 1621 A.D.

but this does not appear to be the true state of affairs. All these years, he was in charge of Wai, but kept his agent there. About 1613 A.D. and three years thereafter, his son, also styled as Adilshahi Haibatkhani, was in charge.⁵⁶ Vangoji Nimbalkar, the Mansabdar of Shirwal took to Polygarship in the territory of Wai which was almost Adilshahi at that time. Probably, he had secret instructions from Malik Ambar, without which he could not dare to carry on his depredations. Vangoji was attacked in 1609 A.D.⁵⁷ and Shirwal was taken possession of by the Adilshah⁵⁸ and retained by him, till 1617 A.D. with Haibatkhani (younger?) as its officer. In the same year, it was restored to the Nizamshahi by a treaty and Kazi Husain was deputed to take charge of it from the Adilshahi possession. During these years, he continued to be in charge of the Pargana of Poona.⁵⁹ After this, it seems that Haibatkhani, probably younger, was in charge of Wai and some adjacent areas of the Nizamshahi state handed back a little later.⁶⁰ Yaqut Khan, and at times, Malik Ambar himself, seems to have held charge of Shirwal, Poona, Supa, etc.⁶¹ In 1618 A.D., it was complained to Junjar Rao Maral of Tape Kanadkhore that Adilshahi subjects made incursions from time to time to the borders of Wai and Phaltan and disturbed the peace of the territory in Shirwal and adjoining area. Vithoji Shitole, Deshmukh of Poona, was therefore deputed on an expedition against them. Kanhoki Junjar Rao, Deshmukh of Kanadkhore Mamle Rairi, is informed by Patang Rao that Adilshahi Haibatkhani led expeditions in the territory and looted it and took its possession. Evidently, Haibatkhani (younger?) continued to be the officer of Wai (probably of Phaltan too) and led expeditions into the adjacent Sahyadri portion and tried to take possession of it. The elder Haibatkhani should have, however, continued in the service of the Nizamshahi. For these depredations, Adilshah can certainly be held responsible (and it is likely that he might have done this at the instigation of the Moghul Emperor). Hereafter, began a long warfare between the Adilshah and Nizamshah, and the former

seems to have been gradually successful for some time⁶². Haibat Khan (probably younger) was the officer of Wai.⁶³ He was in charge of these Parganas in 1623, but he was at that time a Nizamshahi officer. Shahji had been given Mokasas in Poona, Shirwal, Supa-Baramati and Indapur⁶⁴ and deputed by Malik Ambar to conquer back all the territory—which task he seems to have performed successfully. Hereafter, we do not get any account of Haibat Khan.

APPENDIX C

An Account of Yaqut-Khan.

Yaqut-Khan was the Commander-in-Chief of the Nizamshahi state and was a trusted Lieutenant of Malik Ambar.⁶⁵ The earliest reference to Yaqut-Khan dated back to 1606

REFERENCES

1. The second king, Mohammad, in the line of the Bahamani Kings systematised the central administration by dividing the work into departments and placing one or more departments under a minister. Thus, there came to be eight ministers, namely, (1) Wakil-i-Saltanat (Regent), (2) Vazier-i-Kul (the Chief Minister), (3) Amir Jumla (Finance Minister) (a?), (4) Vazier-i-Ashraf (Foreign Minister), (5) Nazir (Minister in charge of stores), (6) Peshwa (counterpart of a modern private secretary), (7) Kotwal (the head officer of the capital), and (8) Sadra-i-Jahan (Chief Justice). It is clear that this arrangement, done in the 14th century, must have changed in the course of time. So, we cannot expect it to have remained unchanged and to have obtained in the 17th century. Malik Ambar, the Chief Minister, has been called 'Peshwa' in the Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri (Vol. I, p. 220).
2. In the beginning, Malik Ambar's position, in spite of his strong and autocratic administration, was rather shaky and the other ministers very often resented his autocracy and domination. The Futuh-i-Adilshahi clearly mentions that the Nizamshahi Lords not only thought themselves equal but superior to Malik Ambar, and were ever ready to set him aside. They took interest in opposing him rather than in co-operating with him. Once they represented to the king that the Chief Minister was to be selected by the army and that Malik Ambar was to render service as they had to do. This attitude of the other ministers and nobles continued to the end of Malik Ambar's career. One of his lieutenants, Mansur Khan went over to the Moghuls (E.F.I., Vol. I, p. 210, dated 25th November, 1620 and p. 267, dated 8th Sept., 1621). This very event occurred on the eve of the Battle of Bhatwadi about three years later. But it must be noted that the resentment might be due to the envy, jealousy and ambitions of those

A.D. as an administrator of Wai after Haibat Khan's regime at that place. Wai was Nizamshahi in the beginning of the 17th century. In the next reference, Yaqut-Khan is referred to as Adilshahi officer of the Pargana of Supa in 1607 A.D.⁶⁶ Another reference mentions him to be Adilshahi officer in March, 1616 in connection with the Pargana of Wai⁶⁷. This is so most probably because Wai had almost become Adilshahi and the Havalgars thereof were in charge of the adjacent parganas. In June, 1621, he has been referred to as the late Thanedar of Poona, just preceding Raya Rao. There was probably one Adilshahi Yaqut-Khan but it is doubtful whether he was so important at that time. The Nizamshahi Yaqut-Khan was in charge of Wai in the beginning of the 17th century; after the settlement of the year 1617, he seems to have been in charge of the Pargana of Supa⁶⁸.

who resented his autocratic behaviour. Contemporary people, specially, colleagues and ambitious subordinates seldom realised and appreciated the worth of an autocrat the necessity of such a person during reign of a weak king. They looked upto their self-aggrandisement and none at all to the national or royal interests. Hence autocratic behaviour of a strong minister was misunderstood and resented.

3. "मलिक साहेबी एक वजा आहे" Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 23, Doc-No. 13, dated Jan. 1621.
4. Q.B.I.S.M., XXIII, 2, 63-4.
5. Ibid., XI, 1, 8. Van Ravestein's travel account.
6. E.F.I., Vol. I, p. 231, dated 8th February, 1621. Siddi Yakut Khan Habshi was the most trusted man of Malik Ambar. (Wad: Sanad and Letters, p. 70).
7. Haibat Khan, the elder, seems to have been one of the ministers and a close colleague of Malik Ambar. Before his name High Appellations such as, **आलीशान** (Most excellent), (Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 10), **मलिक अजम** (the highest servant of the King) (Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 8), **खाने आलीशान रफि अबकदर बकीमकान** (the highest amongst the nobles, most exalted and the trusted of the King) Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 7, are mentioned. He appears to the Head Diwan (Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 92 and Sh.Ch.S. VII, p. 67). But he over to the Adilshahi kingdom in 1622 A.D. or thereabout. His son, also styled himself as Haibat Khan, was already in the Adilshahi service. (Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 20, 22, 28, 33 and 35 and Raj., XX, p. *36, "तो हैवातखानाया फिरका इपता",

- and P.D. Vol. XXXI, 8, dated the 5th July, 1618, **यावर हैवतखान आदिलशाहीने तर्फ कबज केली** Then there was Adilshahi Haibat Khan; he took the possession of the Tarf.
8. F.A. (Sarkar's translation) (Folio 270b).
 9. Vol. II, 146-7.
 10. F.A. (Sarkar's translation) (Folio 273a).
 11. Fer., III, 211-2.
 12. Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 23.
 13. Wad: Sanads and Letters, 7, p. 13.
 14. Wad: Sanads and Letters, 11, dated 22nd July, 1607.
 15. Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Sixth Annual Proceedings, p. 95.
 16. Wad: Sanads and Letters, 4, dated 27th May, 1604.
 17. Tape appears to be a corrupt form of 'Tarf'.
 18. Sh.Ch.S. II, p. 28.
 19. Ibid., I, pp. 19 & 31.
 20. Raj. XVI, 11, 7th May, 1624.
 21. Wad: Sanads and Letters, 4, dated 27th May, 1604.
 22. Sh.Ch.S. II, 323.
 23. Sources of the History of Tal-Kokah, Doc. No. 86, dated 1626.
 24. Raj. XV, 6, p. 24.
 25. Sh.Ch.S. I, 13, p. 19.
 26. Ibid., II, 200, dated 5th Sept., 1624.
 27. This meaning is clear from Raj. XV, Doc. No. 400, dated 7th Oct., 1618 (Mokasa's Huddedar, Sanads and Letters by Wad, 45, p. 62, dated 18th March, 1623 and Raj. XV, 396, dated March 1623).
 28. Wad: Sanads and Letters, 4, dated 27th May, 1604; Sh.Ch.S. I, p. 12.
 29. Sh.Ch.S. II, 179, dated 11th Dec. 1589; Proceedings of B.I.S.M., Sixth Conference of Shaka 1890 (1918 A.D.) p. 88, dated 1596 A.D.
 30. Sh.Ch.S., I, p. 12; Wad: Sanads and Letters, 4.
 31. Sh.Ch.S., II, 200, dated 5th Sept., 1624.
 32. Wad: Sanads and Letters, Part II, 11, p. 17.
 33. Sh.Ch.S., II, 199, dated 15th Aug., 1624; and also 200, dated 5th Sept., 1624.
 34. Sh.Ch.S., II, 200, dated 5th Sept. 1624; and also 199.
 35. Sh.Ch.S., III, 470, dated 23rd May, 1618; and also 471.
 36. Sh. Ch.S., III, 470, dated 23rd May, 1618.
 37. Cf. Gosai with it.
 38. Wad: Sanads and Letters; p. 43; Sh.Ch.S., II, Doc. No. 154, 239 etc.
 39. B.I.S.M., the six monthly proceedings for the Shaka 1834, that is, 1912 A.D., p. 140.
 40. Sh.Ch.S., VIII, pp. 12-14.

41. Shiocharitra-Pradeep, Doc. No. 73.
42. Sh.Ch.S., VIII, 28.
43. Sh.Ch.S., III, 611.
44. Ibid., IX, 19 and 21.
45. Sh.Ch.S., VII, 10; Sh.Ch.S., VIII, 1.
46. Raj. XV, 381, dated 11th Feb., 1616 A.D.
47. Sh.Ch.S., VI, p. 65.
48. Ibid., 170.
49. Ibid., 85.
50. Sh.Ch.S., I, 2;
51. Sh.Ch.S., VII, 3.
52. Sh.Ch.S., VII, 3.
53. Sh.Ch.S., IV, 675.
54. Q.B.I.S.M., I-2, p. 35.
55. Wrongly read by V. K. Rajwade in this document namely, Raj. XX, 226, and by others in other documents.
56. Sh.Ch.S., I, 7, 13 (pp. 20, 22, 28-29, 35-36).
57. Sh.Ch.S., I, pp. 9, 12, and 14; Ibid., 9 and 11.
58. Ibid., 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13.
59. Raj. XVI, 7, dated 5th July, 1618.
60. Sh.Ch.S., I, 13, p. 24; Q.B.S.F.M., II, p. 58.
61. Sh.Ch.S. I, pp. 19, 29, 34, 35 and 36 for Shirwal; Ibid. and Wad: Sanads and Letters, pp. 38-43, for Poona and Supa.
62. Raj. XX, 68, dated 1st Sept., 1622.
63. Sh.Ch.S., I, 83.
64. E.F.I. I, p. 231, dated 8th Feb., 1621.
65. Pharsi Sahitya, Vol. I, doc. 72, dated 1623-4 A.D.
66. Raj. XX, 171.
67. Sh.Ch.S., p. 65.
68. Sh.Ch.S., II, 114.

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5. Quarterly of Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona. Q.B.I.S.M.
6. V. K. Rajwade: Sources of Maratha History. (Marathi.) Raj.
7. Wad: Sanads and Letters. Wad.
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10. Pharsi Sahitya.

BOOK REVIEWS

Firoz Tughluq (1351-1388 A.D.) by Dr. R. C. JAUHRI, Department of History, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. Published by Shiv Lal Agarwal & Co., Agra. 1968. pp. 231+XI. Price Rs. 15/-.

We have had two research monographs on Firoz Tughluq during the last eight or ten months. Both these are based on original contemporary sources and are the result of painstaking research. It is natural for these works to cover the same ground and bring out the same facts. But it is in their approach and in their interpretation of facts that they not only differ but seem to be the antithesis of each other. Whereas in the book under review Dr. Jauhri has shown faith in the rectitude and honesty of the contemporary Muslim chroniclers, including Firozshah himself (who wrote a small treatise on his biography), and accepted their views wherever they are corroborated by other contemporary and later writers and do not conflict with human reason and facts of life, Dr. Jamini Mohan Banerjee, the author of 'History of Firoz Shah Tughluq' does not believe in the integrity of the contemporary historians and thinks that they wrote for the gratification of the Central Asian Muslim audience and with a view either to flatter the Sultan or to win for him the support of the Indian Muslim community and therefore, they not only exaggerated facts but forged them in fulfilment of their objectives. Dr. Banerjee does not believe Firoz's own positive and categorical assertion that he was a pious Muslim ruler who faithfully followed the *shari* (Muslim law) in the administration of his kingdom. In fact Dr. Banerjee has preferred what the Allahabad School of Medieval Indian history says, the path of "civic duty" to that of "academic rectitude." That is why the two works are diametrically opposed to each other.

Dr. Jauhri has made a critical study of all available original sources, contemporary and near contemporary, in the Persian language of which he possesses a good knowledge. He has also utilised all modern works relevant to his subject, and has not neglected the numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence and brought them all in a comprehensive review and judgment. It has thus been possible for him to throw fresh light on Firoz's earlier career, his childhood and upbringing, to examine critically the incidents of his military expeditions, and to evaluate his administration. He has successfully identified numerous places mentioned in his thesis and given a balanced account of the Sultan's personality and character. He has discussed and tried to solve the riddle of the *Ibakhatis* in an appendix. Dr. I. H. Qureshi was of the opinion that the *Ibakhatis* were a sect of the Hindus. After examining Dr. Qureshi's arguments in the light of contemporary and modern evidence, Dr. Jauhri comes to the conclusion that they were a sect of Ismaili Shias. In another appendix the learned author has given a description of Firoz Tughluq's court. The work is enriched with a comprehensive bibliography and an index. In short, this thesis marks a high watermark of scholarship among doctoral dissertations. The paper, printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Crime and Punishment in Mughal India. by DR. SATYA PRAKASH SANGAR. Sterling Publishers (Pvt) Ltd., Mori Gate, Delhi. 1967. Pp. 249+XII. Price Rs. 25/-.

The Crime and Punishment in Mughal India is substantially a Ph.D. thesis approved by the University of Poona in 1957. It is divided into nine chapters, and also contains

a bibliography and an index. The first chapter is on Muslim law. It discusses the sources of Muslim law, Islamic jurisprudence, its various sections, and the jurisprudence followed by the Mughals. The second chapter is entitled administration of justice in Mughal India. Naturally it describes the various types of courts, their jurisdictions and the mode of trial of cases and punishments inflicted under the law. The third chapter is on theft and high-way robbery. It begins with a descriptive account of law and order situation in the country on the eve of the Mughal age and gives a sketch of the character of the robber-tribes and the localities inhabited by them. Dr. Sangar gives some of the cases that were decided by the emperors and other agencies and gives the punishments meted out to the culprits in specific cases. The fourth chapter is on murder. The Muslim law did not look upon murder as a crime against the state. It was a crime against individuals and, therefore, compensation or blood money was given to the next of kin of the person murdered. Another form of punishment was retaliation on the spot. Dr. Sangar gives details of various kinds of murder and punishments prescribed by the law. In a very interesting and important chapter, Dr. Sangar gives an account of official corruption. Bribery was as common during the Mughal rule as it is today, but there was an elaborate machinery to prevent bribery and corruption, and news-writers were particularly instructed to keep the emperor and high officials informed of cases of corruption. In spite of all these, there did occur cases of even high officials accepting bribe. Sometimes even the emperor was bribed by highly placed men to secure their continuance in office. Rich presents were offered to the emperor, empresses and princes. There are many cases on record of rich presents being sent to Nur Jahan. Nur Jahan's father, Itmad-ud-daulah, was notorious for taking bribes. Another besetting sin was embezzlement by high and low officers, of which numerous examples are given by the learned author. We have an equally interesting chapter on the abuse of authority

by public servants of which a graphic account is found in the pages of this thesis. We have also a picture of the grievances of ryots and complaints against the oppressions of tax collectors and faujdars. It seems that the merchants were particularly harassed. The emperors, however, tried to remove the grievances of the people and to punish the offending officers. A fairly elaborate account is given of religious crimes, which included drinking and sale of liquor, gambling, prostitution, blasphemy, heresy, slaughter of animals, conversion from Islam, public worship in Hindu temples, Sati, forbidden Hindu practices and fallacious writings. The author devotes eight pages to an account of sexual crimes and the punishment meted out to the offenders. The last chapter deals with offences against the safety of the state, in which are included the crime of collusion with the enemy, desertion by troops or their flight from the battle-field, neglect of duty, criticism of government by public servants, infringement of royal prerogatives, breach of court etiquette, etc.

The book is based on a critical and careful study of unpublished and published sources in Persian, Hindi and English. The most important sources utilised, are many volumes of the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mullah* and *Araiz-o-Faramin* which were not used on such a large scale by any previous writer of this subject. In short, this book is a systematic and comprehensive account of criminal law and procedure during the Mughal age. It is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the administration of justice under the great Mughals.

There are, however, a few flaws in the plan, and in the execution of the book which the author will do well to remove in the next edition. Some of these are:

1. Price's edition of Jahangir's Memoirs is spurious and should not have been depended upon.
2. The law and order situation in Mughal

India (pp. 41-50) should have been prefaced to the measures taken in each reign to improve the situation and not in one place as the author has done.

3. Many of those called by the author 'robbers' were really rebels against the government. It was the Mughal way of describing the rebels.
4. The *places* mentioned in the book should have been identified and their location given.
5. Spellings of proper and place names should have been modernised.
6. The quotations from the travellers' accounts should have been explained in foot-notes, wherever necessary in the interest of clarity.
7. A glossary of obscure terms should have been given.
8. The author does not mention the full titles of books, their authors' names, editions of the volumes used, and date and place of publication.
9. Fauzdar should be *faujdar*, Bakshi should be *bakhshi* and Baklāna should be *Bagzāna*.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

South Asian History (1750-1950)—A Guide to Periodicals, Dissertations and Newspapers by MARGARET H. CASE. Published by Princeton University Press, 1968, pp. XIII-561. Price \$ 17.50.

The volume under review is a monumental bibliographic *guide* to the researchers in the history of the India-Pakistan subcontinent. It is an attempt to help scholars to locate materials relevant to their research in periodicals, dissertations and newspapers. Part I

deals with periodicals, and articles in them have been classified under the following heads:—

- (a) Areas not under British control.
- (b) Areas primarily under British control.
- (c) Nationalism and politics.
- (d) Economic History.
- (e) Social History
- (f) Cultural History.

Under Part II dissertations in Indian and foreign Universities have been arranged under similar heads. In part III we get a very good list of Indian newspapers arranged place-wise.

As it has been rightly pointed out in the foreword, it is not a "complete inventory, but a careful selection, evaluation and arrangement of those items of a particular kind which the researcher should be aware of from the outset of his inquiry". The principle followed by the author in selecting articles is to include those written on the basis of "archival research, responsible contemporary reporting or direct personal observation". Though the period of the volume mentioned is between 1750 and 1950, actually articles published between 1800 and 1965 in 351 periodicals in India and abroad have been taken into account. Dissertations up to 1965, numbering about 650, have been included. Regarding newspapers Mrs. Case's task was, however, difficult, as most of these newspapers no longer existed in complete files.

Though there are a few omissions—which is unavoidable in such a work—the volume will definitely facilitate historical research in India. This will be of immense help to the beginners, and will also help in selecting topics for research in future. In India where research in history is not yet well organised, such a guide is highly welcome.

TARASANKAR BANERJEE

Sam Higginbottom of Allahabad—by GARY R. HESS. Published by the University of Virginia, 1967 pp. ix-177 (price not stated).

The volume under review is a biography cum history of the evolution of an institution. As the author himself admits, it began as a biography of Sam Higginbottom but developed into a history of Allahabad Agricultural Institute which Sam had founded as the earliest representative of Christian Agricultural Mission in India. After finishing his education in the United States Sam Higginbottom came to India in November 1903 rather reluctantly; but he could not then realise that he was destined to stay in this country for more than forty years. His Indian experience was a mixed one in the early years and he tried to evaluate the role of the Christian missionaries. The author, however, projected his own thinking in this case and tried to magnify the role of the Christian missionaries (p.10). A change in the course of Sam's career was in the offing when he had to accept, against his wishes, a teaching assignment in the Allahabad Christian College as directed by the Presbyterian mission.

During his stay in Allahabad the young and newly wed missionary acquired intimate knowledge of the problems of Indian life and threw himself into an endless chain of activities. His wife Ethilend also came by his side and started a leper-home adjacent to the Naini Jail. It was at this time that the problem of Indian agriculture captured the mind of Higginbottom who thought of establishing a Christian agricultural school. It is really surprising that he "attributed most of the responsibility for the poverty to Hindu religious beliefs and customs". (p. 21) "The veneration of the cow particularly irritated Higginbottom" (p. 21). The author, however, did not agree with him and expressed the opinion that "Higginbottom's failure to credit positive values to caste and Hinduism revealed a lack of depth in his understanding (p. 22)". Sam's analysis also betrays the attitudes of orthodox Christian missionaries in general who could only see the darker side of the Indian society. And like all missionaries his panacea for the evils of the Indian society was to start work saturated

with the gospels of Christ. Higginbottom conceived of something positive to translate into action the command of Christ to feed the hungry. "The education of the villagers in agriculture seemed to him a fulfilment of the command" (p. 23). Here is the genesis of Allahabad Agricultural Institute.

In 1907 he began planning his agricultural school and went back to the United States for training and raising fund. After graduating from the School of Agriculture of Ohio State University, he returned to Allahabad and started his agricultural venture there in 1912. The initial years between 1912 and 1919 were "years of uncertainty" and manifold difficulties. Undaunted he worked hard, raised new funds, managed to recruit an extraordinary talented group of young people to work at Allahabad and dramatically enlisted the support of the Indian Princes. Even Gandhi was fascinated with his ideas (p. 39). "He and Gandhi became friends and began corresponding about India's economic problems" (p. 40). The ideas of Higginbottom bore fruit on February 2, 1919, when the agricultural department of the Allahabad University became completely separated and was renamed Allahabad Agricultural Institute. He became its first Principal.

During the "years of promise", 1920-31, the Institute made much headway under his inspiring guidance. Thanks to his suggestion Tagore could procure Elmhirst for his Sriniketan programme. In spite of his shortcomings, Higginbottom looked forward to the day when "the leadership of the Institute would pass into the hands of dedicated and competent Indians" (p. 62). It was also at this stage that a difference in approach to the problem of rural India developed between Gandhi and him and "the sincerity of Gandhi's interest in agricultural work was questioned later by Higginbottom" (p. 63). At long last, Higginbottom's dream of a degree college was realised in 1932 and the Allahabad Agricultural Institute became the sixth Indian agricultural college. To the American public he was now identified with

the Christian Agricultural Movement and his "success at Allahabad stimulated the development of rural mission work throughout the world" (p. 67).

With the establishment of the degree college, however, Higginbottom's work did not end. An account of his daily routine (chap v) will show the hard work he used to do all those years for the development of the Institute. The gradual development of it meant the fulfilment of his dreams and justified his years of work, determination, frustrations and disappointments" (p. 88). The Institute drew admiration from Indian nationalist leaders including Gandhi. But it was not an easy sailing for Higginbottom. Financial, administrative and other difficulties continued to plague him, and his last few years in India were really grinding. His health was failing and family difficulties were worrying him. But his untiring efforts did not fail. New implements were devised, new methods of cultivation and manuring were developed and rural education was being emphasised. When he finally retired and left India in 1945, the Institute was strongly established to do a great service to the cause of Indian agriculture. In retirement also he continued his interest in developments at Allahabad. Even after 1945, the Institute continued to expand and reflect the philosophy, personality and dreams of its founder.

The book is remarkable for its lucid style of writing and is fascinating reading.

TARASANKAR BANERJEE

Oliver Cromwell and the English Parliament, 1653-1658. DR. AMITABHA MUKHERJEE, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta 1964. pp. 92. Price. Rs. 5/-.

In this slender but useful treatise, originally prepared as a dissertation for the A.M. degree of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Amitabha

Mukherjee has made a careful analysis of the constitutional experiments of the Cromwellian period. A brief survey of Oliver Cromwell's career is followed by a more detailed study of the parliamentary history of the Protectorate, and here a number of printed original sources have been utilised as well as the standard works of Gardiner, Firth and Morley. There are separate sections on the electoral reforms made by the Instrument of Government, Cromwell's techniques of Parliamentary management, and their flaws, and the composition of the 'Other House' of 1657-58. Interesting tit-bits relieve an otherwise inevitably dry account—as for instance about Speaker Widdrington's habit of charging £ 5 for each private bill, or the occasional over-long sessions with members growing "hungry and consequently angry".

The dominant theme throughout is the re-emergence of traditional constitutional forms and ideas from beneath the receding tide of revolutionary politics. Dr. Mukherjee has rightly emphasized how in this way the objective conditions were being prepared for the Restoration even before the death of the Lord Protector. One would have liked to see, however, some attempts to relate these developments with the changing social and economic realities of the England of the 1650s, on the lines perhaps of an amplification of Christopher Hill's interesting hint that after the suppression of the Levellers in 1649-50, social conservatism inevitably led to conservative politics. Dr. Mukherjee has rather conventionally attributed Cromwell's failure to the "contradictory nature of his political objectives"; the rule of the saints could not be reconciled with the rule of constitutional law. But surely the dilemma was not just a personal one. The Puritan tragedy was that of a revolutionary elite which after seizing power, found itself to have run ahead of the masses. In different forms the same problem would haunt the Jacobins and the Bolsheviks in later revolutions.

SUMIT SARKAR

SOUTH ASIAN LIBRARY AND RESEARCH NOTES

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCE MATERIAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Serial Publications—Newspapers

National Library, Calcutta (1906-1912)

(THE) MUSSALMAN; AN ORGAN OF MAHOMEDAN PUBLIC OPINION, WEEKLY (*Daily*)

v. I. 1906, Calcutta, Mussalman Publishing Co., 1906.

(First published as a weekly, upto Oct. 1930; from Nov. 1930 to Sept. 1932, thrice in a week; from Oct. 1932 daily).

In its first issue dated the 7th December, 1906, the ideal of the paper is detailed in the language given below:

"We commence our labours to-day as an organ of Mahomedan public opinion in Bengal. Our first and foremost endeavour will be to give adequate expression to such opinion and to lead and guide it in channels which we believe will be fraught with benefit to the community we seek to represent; in upholding the interests of our class it will be our aim to promote the welfare of the great Indian community to which we belong and whose progress, we are persuaded, can only be secured by mutual sympathy and active co-operation between the different sections that compose it."

"All social, political and religious movements calculated to further the interests of the Mahomedan community and of the Indian public at large will command our utmost sympathy. Loyalty to the British Government will be a part of our fundamental creed". This paper gives a true picture of the role of Mahomedans in Indian politics.

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Available issues: Dec. 1906—Nov. 1907; Dec. 1907—Nov. 1913; Dec. 1916—Nov. 1917; Dec. 1917—Nov. 1918; Jan—Dec. 1919—Sept. 1933.

INDIAN PEOPLE (*Thrice in a week*)

v. I, New Series, 1907.

Allahabad, The Imperial Press, 1907.

Published every Sunday & Thursday.

The issues under reference are full of information regarding the socio-political consciousness of the Indian people throughout India. The editorials on current political movement may be of interest to the researchers.

Available issues: 1908, Jan.—Dec.; 1909; Jan.—Oct.

MUSLIM PATRIOT, formerly known as "KOUUMI HULCHUL" (*Weekly*).

New Series, v. I. 1907, Madras,

Published every Thursday.

Editorials and special articles relating to Muslim politics may be of use to the scholars working on Muslim politics in India in all its implications. This was "a sort of weekly review on a modest scale like the "London Spectator" and the "Saturday Review" dealing with the burning topics of the day. Some of the important articles and editorials are noted below.

The Turkish Empire: its administration, its progress and its resources; Mahomedans

and world politics; Ninth Anniversary of Sir Syed; The crisis at Aligarh, an appeal to old boys; The Aligarh of to-day; The Mahomedan Educational Society, Vaniambady; The administration of Turkey; Proposed Hindu-Mahomedan League; Lord Cromer on Egyptian affairs; The Muslim Education in Southern India; Sir Henry Cotton on "The situation in India"; The Islamic activities at Trichinopoly; The unrest in Bengal; Militarism in India; The Bankim Anniversary; Castes and tribes in Bengal; Babu B. C. Pal on Islam and the Indian Nation; Calumnies against Musalmans of Eastern Bengal; Draft of the Constitution of the All India Muslim League; The crescent versus the cross; A plea for Moderation; Mr. Ameer Ali on "The unrest in India—its meaning"; "Indian Administration and Swadeshi"; Britain's Task in India; Britain in Egypt; Inter-marriages and the Hindu-Mahomedan problem; Woman in the Buddhist Church; The Musalman opposition; The Basis of social Reconstruction in India; Musalmans and the Madras Revenue Department; Mr. Syed Husain Bilgrami; The death of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

Available issues: 1907, April—Oct.

THE ANGLO INDIAN RECORDER (*Weekly*)

A medium for Anglo-Indian representation.

v. I. August 15, 1912, Calcutta, The Methodist Press, 1912.

The first issue of the journal details its objects in the following language:

"The object of the journal will be to advance politically and in other respects the interests of the Anglo-Indian community for whom it stands, to promote a better feeling with existing sister organisations so much desired and which alone can strengthen our hands in the great work before us....."

"There will be no paid staff and the profits

that might accrue from our undertaking will go to the National Fund of the League".....

This paper may be of use to the scholars who are working on Anglo-Indians in India.

Available issue: 1912, August—Dec.

Vernacular Newspapers (1818-1912)

THE SAMACHAR DURPAN (*Weekly*)

v. I. 23rd May, 1818; Serampore 23rd May, 1818: Edited by J. C. Marshman.

The Samachar Durpan is the first Bengali Newspaper. This was issued in three series: 1st series 1818-41, 2nd series 1842, 3rd series 1851-52. It contained foreign intelligence, commercial news, literary, political, social and news of historical importance. When the Samachar Durpan came out Marquis of Hastings was the Governor General of India. The said paper received the patronage of the then Government. "It exerted an influence over the vast population of Bengal and was an important factor in the national life of Bengal..... This was the channel through which political ideas and thoughts generated into the country....." Durpan had a special knack in catering historical, political and geographical information.

According to Rev. James Long, "The officers of Government felt it as a check on their misconduct and dreaded its exposures". This paper did not indulge in religious controversy.

Available issues : 1831-37, v. 13, No. 681 to v. 19, No. 1124. [Rare].

(The) SAMACHAR GHANDRIKA (*Tri-weekly*)

v. I. 5th March, 1822—Calcutta, 1822. Edited by Bhowani Charan Bandyopadhyay.

"It was ever proved to be the consistent advocate of thorough going Hindu orthodoxy,

and has been the enthusiastic friend of *Dharma Sabha*".

This paper counteracted the Brahmo influence in the Bengali society.

Available issues: 1843—46: Incomplete file [Rare].

(THE) BUNGEE-DOOTH (Bangadut) (*Weekly*).

v. I. No. 1, 9th May, 1829; Calcutta, 1829. Edited by Pundit Neelrutton Halder.

The prospectus of the Bengal Herald gives the following information about this paper.... "A Native paper to be printed in the Bengalee, Persian and Nagree character, will be subjoined, but distinct, and under the superintendence of the most trained Hindoos; translations from whose contributions will be occasionally made". Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, Sri Prasanna Kumar Tagore, and Raja Rammohan Roy were associated with this paper.

It contained information on education, literature and society.

Available issue: 1829 [Rare].

(THE) SAMBAD PROBHAKAR (*Daily*)

v. I. No. 1, The 28th Jan. 1831. Edited by Isvar Chandra Gupta.

The Sambad Probhakar was first issued as a weekly. In 1836 it became a tri-weekly and on and from the 14th June, 1839 it was issued as a daily.

This paper is considered as the first Bengali daily. According to R.C. Dutt this paper influenced the Bengalee reader very much and "the Probhakar was eagerly sought for everywhere, and Isvar Gupta's witty and flowing verse was learned by rote by a large class of readers".

....Probhakar was a conservative paper so far as female education and traditional Hindu society are concerned. Scholars engaged in the study and research of the nineteenth century social history may be benefitted by this paper.

Available issues: 1847—56—5 Vols. (1253 B.S.—1255 B.S., 1257 B.S.—1362: B.S.) Incomplete file [Rare].

(THE) SAMBAD PURNA CHANDRODAYA (*Daily*)

v. I. No. 1, 10th June, 1835; Calcutta, 1835. Edited by Harachandra Bandyopadhyaya.

.....Purna Chandrodaya was started as a monthly, on 9th April—it became a weekly and in November, 1844 it became a daily.

It was a literary and political paper. News on education and society was also catered.

Available issues: 1850—1852: Vol. 16, No. 2131—Vol. 18. No. 2932 [Rare].

(THE) SAMACHAR SUDHABARSHAN (*Daily*)

v. I. No. 1, June, 1854; Calcutta, 1859. Edited by Shyam Sunder Sen.

This was a daily bi-lingual newspaper. It was printed in Bengali and Nagri script. The Samachar Sudhabarshan has a special place in the history of Indian journalism and periodical literature. This is considered as the first Hindi Newspaper too.

The coverage of this paper was trade and commerce but the scope was not comprehensive enough.

Available issues: v. 2., 1855—56. [Rare].

(THE) EDUCATION GAZETTE O SAPTAHIK BARTABAHA (*Weekly*)

v. I. No. 1, 4th July, 1856, Calcutta 1856

Editors:

MR. O'BRIEN SMITH, 1856—
MR. PEARI CHARAN SARKAR, 1866—
MR. BHUDEV CHANDRA MUKHERJEE, 1868—

Under the editorship of Bhudev Chandra Mukherjee the paper was issued from the Hooghly Bodhadaya Yantra. The D.P.I.'s report notes the object of the paper as "to supply the people in the interior of the country with a Newspaper cheap in price and healthy in tone". This paper was devoted to complicated social questions, humorous stories, poems and educational intelligence.

Available issues: 1893-'95 [Rare].

(THE) SADHARANI (*Weekly*)

v. I. No. 1, 1873, Chinsura (11, Kartick, 1280: B.S.). Edited by Akshoy Kumar Sircar.

HISTORICAL STATISTICS

An informal international group of economic historians is interested in collecting historical statistics. Those scholars who have access to historical statistics or material from which historical statistics can be extrapolated for general use, are asked to notify one of the following with details of the materials: Dr. Morris D. Morris, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, New Jersey, USA; Dr. Eric Stokes, Cambridge University; Dr. Ray

This paper was intended solely to deal with politics and literature. Sadharani satisfied the longings of young Bengal to deal in politics. For the socio-political history of Bengal before the foundation of the Indian National Congress, this paper may be of much use to the scholars. The valuable materials on Hindu-Mela may be found therein.

Available issues: v. I-II; 1873-84

(wanting issues: v. 5, No. 23, v. 11, No. 20)

(Compiled by : N. Chatterjee)

[From the coming issue a select bibliography of tracts and pamphlets on Indian history compiled by Mr. N. Chatterji will be published in this Column. —EDITOR]

Chaudhuri, Delhi University. At the moment there is no plan for immediate publication of such material, the first step being the compiling of a register of where such materials are, followed by a refinement of these materials into usable form with eventual publication as objective.

HENRY FERGUSON
Educational Resources Centre,
New Delhi.

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

(MADRAS: SEPTEMBER 1902—NOVEMBER 1905)

Reel No. 6

Sept.-Dec., 1902; Jan.-Dec., 1903; Jan.-Dec., 1904; Jan.-Nov., 1905.

Sept. 6, 1902: Coronation—Transvaal War—Universities Commission—Courts—Poverty—Viceroy.

Sept. 13, 1902: Education—Press and Coronation.

Sept. 20, 1902: Education—Railways—National Congress—Coronation—Lord Curzon.

Sept. 27, 1902: Lord Curzon—Police Commission—Railways—Legislative Councils—Coronation.

Oct. 4, 1902: Coronation.

Oct. 11, 1902: Police—Universities Commission—Railways—Muhammadan Marriages—British Rule—Political Reforms—Coronation.

Oct. 18, 1902: Police—Juries—Universities Commission—Religious Endowments—Lord Milner.

Oct. 25, 1902: Municipalities—Land Assessment—Poverty—Coronation—Lord Ampthill.

Nov. 1, 1902: Land Assessment—Village Officials.

Nov. 8, 1902: South Africa—Police—Condition of Ryots—Coronation.

Nov. 15, 1902: Lord George Hamilton—Forests

—Land Assessment—Police—Afghanistan—Coronation—South Africa.

Nov. 22, 1902: Police—South Africa.

Nov. 29, 1902: Afghanistan—Police—Economy—Sir Henry Cotton—Courts—Railways.

Dec. 6, 1902: Police—Railways—British Colonies.

Dec. 13, 1902: Afghanistan—Railways—Religious Endowments—British Rule.

Dec. 20, 1902: Silver Chuckrum—British Rule—District Boards—Revenue Inspectors—Legislative Council—Anglo-Indians.

Dec. 27, 1902: Legislative Councils.

Jan. 3, 1903: Afghanistan—Police Unrest—Coolies—Silver Chuckrum—Berar Question—Congress—Coronation—Viceroy.

Jan. 10, 1903: British Imperialism—Salt Tax—Ryots—Plague—Land Revenue—Coronation.

Jan. 17, 1903: Delhi Exhibition—Salt Tax—Coronation—Chuckrums.

Jan. 24, 1903: Lord Curzon—Emigration—Coronation—Land Revenue—Planters Labour Bill.

Jan. 31, 1903: Police—Village Roads—South Africa—Salt—Income Tax—Poverty—Coronation—Viceroy.

Feb. 7, 1903: Sanitation—Railways—Courts—Governor's Tours—Planters Labour Bill—Coronation.

Feb. 14, 1903: Afghanistan—South Africa—Police—Planters Labour Bill—Indian Loyalty—Coronation.

Feb. 21, 1903: Bulgaria—Police—British Rule—Civil Service—Coronation—Military—Irrigation.

Feb. 28, 1903: Police—Legislative Council—Lord Curzon.

March 7, 1903: Missionaries—Planters Labour Bill—Viceroy—Anglo-Indians.

March 14, 1903: Police—Education—Slavery—Lord Ampthill.

March 21, 1903: Chuckrum—Education—Lord Ampthill—Press.

March 28, 1903: Chuckrum—Kashmir—British Rule.

April 4, 1903: Railways—Hindu-Muhammadan Relations.

April 11, 1903: Lord Ampthill—Taxation—Agriculture.

April 18, 1903: Hindu-Muhammadan Relations—Budget.

April 25, 1903: Police Officials—Royal Visit—Education.

May 2, 1903: Indians in South Africa—Afghanistan—Railways—Female Education—Municipality—Racial Prejudice—Taxation—Lord Curzon.

May 9, 1903: Courts—Civil Service—Food Prices—Anglo-Indians—Viceroy.

May 16, 1903: Police—Railways—Ryots—Muhammadans.

May 23, 1903: Police—Anglo-Indians—Vaccination—South Africa—Lord Curzon.

May 30, 1903: Municipalities—Railways—Police—Condition of Ryots—Court of Wards—British Rule.

June 6, 1903: Royal Visit—Police—Railways—Marriage Laws—Anglo-Indians.

June 13, 1903: Police—Currency—Education—Railways—Juries—British Rule—Missionaries.

June 20, 1903: Police—Ryots—Taxation—Official Corruption.

June 27, 1903: Ryots—Natives in Civil Service—Indian Political Privileges.

July 4, 1903: Courts—Native States—Somaliland.

July 11, 1903: Police—Nepotism—Revenue Policy—Grievances.

July 16, 1903: Kashmir—Courts—Education—Lord Curzon.

July 25, 1903: Courts—Anglo-Indians—Military Budget—Government Expenses.

Aug. 1, 1903: Police—Education—Land Assessment—Railways—Coolies—Anglo-Indians—Lord Curzon—Military Budget—South Africa.

Aug. 8, 1903: Native States—Railways—Police—Budget—Lord Curzon—Coolies in South Africa.

Aug. 15, 1903: Revenue Department—South Africa—Local Self-Government.

Aug. 22, 1903: Balkan Affairs—Police—Revenue—Lord Ampthill—South African Garrison—Lord Curzon.

Aug. 29, 1903: Police—Agricultural Banks—Native Rulers—Madras City Municipal Bill—Lord Curzon—South Africa.

Sept. 5, 1903: Police—Agricultural Education—Municipal Bill—Sanitation.

Sept. 12, 1903: Municipal Bill—Native Rulers—Budget—Lord George Hamilton—South African Garrison.

Sept. 19, 1903: Education—British Rule—Municipal Bill—Lord Curzon.

Sept. 26, 1903: Courts—Income Tax.

Oct. 3, 1903: Courts—Railways—Congress.

Oct. 10, 1903: Balkans—Industrial Education—Irrigation—Civil Service.

Oct. 17, 1903: Crops—Juries.

Oct. 24, 1903: Balkans—Education—Sanitation—Ryots.

Oct. 31, 1903: Juries—Balkans—Prostitution.

Nov. 7, 1903: Balkans—Abkari Officials—Prostitution.

Nov. 14, 1903: Afghanistan—Anglo-Indians—Poverty—Municipal Bill—Cow Killing.

Nov. 21, 1903: Salt Tax—Higher Education—Municipal Bill—Universities Bill.

Nov. 28, 1903: Tibet—Village Officials.

Dec. 5, 1903: Tibet—Cholera—Congress.

Dec. 12, 1903: Native Rulers—Tibet—Official Secrets Bill—Poverty.

Dec. 19, 1903: Police—Tibet—Village Courts—Official Secrets Bill—Poverty.

Dec. 26, 1903: Native States—Ganjam Transfer.

Jan. 2, 1904: Russia and Japan—Plague—Legislative Council—Congress.

Jan. 9, 1904: Police—Land Assessment—Railways—Ganjam Transfer—Congress.

Jan. 16, 1904: Plague—Uriya Conference—Income Tax—Japan and Russia—Police—Congress.

Jan. 23, 1904: Roads—Ganjam Transfer—Japan and Russia—Official Secrets Bill—Education.

Jan. 30, 1904: Ganjam Transfer—Land Settlement—Tenancy Act—Education.

Feb. 6, 1904: Ganjam Transfer—Tibet—Persian Gulf—Civil Service—Official Secrets Bill.

Feb. 13, 1904: Official Corruption—Ganjam Transfer—Official Secrets Bill.

Feb. 20, 1904: Ganjam Transfer—Tibet—Railways—School Fees—Civil Service.

Feb. 27, 1904: Ganjam Transfer—Tibet—Executive Council—Textbooks—Lord Curzon.

March 5, 1904: Tinnevely Case—Education—Official Secrets Bill—Railways.

March 12, 1904: Courts—Land Assessment—Lord Curzon—Village Organization—Legislative Councils—Official Secrets Act.

March 19, 1904: Courts—Legislative Councils—Village Organization—Universities Bill—Official Secrets Act.

March 26, 1904: Primary Education—Agriculture—Official Secrets Act—Lord Curzon.

April 2, 1904: Russo-Japanese War—Civil Service—Muhammadans.

April 9, 1904: Russo-Japanese War—Primary Education—Budget.

April 16, 1904: Tibet—Civil Service.

- April 23, 1904: Village Police—Courts—English Education—Ryots—Lord Curzon.
- April 30, 1904: Russo-Japanese War—Higher Education—Lord Curzon.
- May 7, 1904: Turks—Tibet—Police—Anglo-Indians—Lord Curzon—Victoria Memorial.
- May 14, 1904: Turks—Courts—English Education—British Rule—Lord Curzon.
- May 21, 1904: Tibet—Balkans—Abkari Officials—Poverty—Lord Curzon.
- May 28, 1904: Tibet—Turks—Condition of People.
- June 4, 1904: Education—Crops.
- June 11, 1904: Ryots—Education—Land Assessment—Civil Service—Lord Curzon.
- June 18, 1904: Tibet—Muhammadans—Police—Education—Native Rulers—Marriage.
- June 25, 1904: Russo-Japanese War—Aden—Police—Plague—Civil Service—Viceroy.
- July 2, 1904: Turkey—Courts—Village Administration—British Rule—Christianity.
- July 9, 1904: Egypt—Tibet—Railways.
- July 16, 1904: Christianity—Education—Indian Loyalty—Grievances.
- July 23, 1904: Tibet—South Africa—Education—Land Assessment—Village Officials.
- July 30, 1904: Police—Railways—Primary Education—Indian Parliament.
- Aug. 6, 1904: Tibet—Primary Education—Post Office.
- Aug. 13, 1904: Courts—Muhammadans—Congress.
- Aug. 20, 1904: Indians in South Africa—Tibet—Police.
- Aug. 27, 1904: Lord Curzon—Education.
- Sept. 3, 1904: Tibet—Education—Anglo-Indians.
- Sept. 10, 1904: Tibet—Local Officials—Indians in South Africa—Lord Curzon.
- Sept. 17, 1904: Tibet—Industrial Education—Local Administration.
- Sept. 24, 1904: Tibet—Land Assessment—Education—Representative Assembly.
- Oct. 1, 1904: Tibet—Courts—Court of Wards—Indians in South Africa—Higher Offices for Indians.
- Oct. 8, 1904: Courts—National Congress—Cooperative Credit Societies.
- Oct. 15, 1904: Tibet—Competitive Examination—Firewood—British Rule.
- Oct. 22, 1904: Lord Curzon—Anglo-Indians—British Commerce.
- Oct. 29, 1904: Mappillas—Department of Agriculture—British Rule and the Press.
- Nov. 5, 1904: Planters Labour Bill—Afghanistan—Higher Education—Courts—British Soldiers.
- Nov. 12, 1904: Railways—Post Office—British Soldiers—Education—British Rule.
- Nov. 19, 1904: Village Courts Act—Education of Native Princes—Legislative Councils.
- Nov. 26, 1904: Public Education—Land Assessment—Railways—Police.
- Dec. 3, 1904: Village Courts—Temperence—Ryots.

- Dec. 10, 1904: Railway Police—Russian Invasion—Education—Legislative Council—Crops.
- Dec. 17, 1904: Russia—Police—Village Courts—Military Budget—Municipalities—Co-operative Credit Societies—Famine Relief.
- Dec. 24, 1904: District Officers—Income Tax—Crops—Lord Curzon.
- Dec. 31, 1904: Crops—Russian Invasion—Tramway—Lord Curzon—Revenue—Indian Delegates to England.
- Jan. 7, 1905: Plague—Press—Income Tax—Lord Curzon—Congress.
- Jan. 14, 1905: Native Army—Condition of Ryots.
- Jan. 21, 1905: Chuckrum—Tibet—Educational Department—Salt Tax—Industry—Civil Service—Land Encroachments Bill—Crops—Sea Trade.
- Jan. 28, 1905: Police—Municipalities—Land Encroachments Bill—Lord Curzon.
- Feb. 4, 1905: Tibet—Primary Education—Cattle—Land Encroachments Bill—Universities Bill—Ryots.
- Feb. 11, 1905: Russo-Japanese War—Fishing—Police—Budget—Universities Act—Crops—Lord Curzon and Native Rulers—English Rule.
- Feb. 18, 1905: Tibet—Commercial Education—Lord Curzon.
- Feb. 25, 1905: National High School—Plague—Lord Curzon—Representative Assemblies.
- March 4, 1905: Afghanistan—British Ministry—Police—Agricultural Banks—Ryots—Lord Curzon—Tibet—Self-Government.
- March 11, 1905: Impressment of Carts—Police—Female Education—Land Encroachments Bill—Native Industries—Royal Visit.
- March 18, 1905: Tibet—Afghanistan—Police—Primary Education—Lord Curzon.
- March 25, 1905: Police—Courts—Bridges—Land Encroachments Bill—Unrest—Crops.
- April 1, 1905: Japan—Tibet—Police—Primary Education—Municipal Council—Plague—Lord Curzon—Budget.
- April 8, 1905: Technical Education—Agricultural Institute—Famine—Lord Ampthill—British Officials.
- April 15, 1905: Education—Civil Service—Lord Curzon—Budget.
- April 22, 1905: England and Islam—Lord Curzon—Congress.
- April 29, 1905: Bengal Partition—Japan and England—Plague—Office for Indians.
- May 6, 1905: Police—Primary Education—Royal Visit—British Rule—British Army.
- May 13, 1905: Military Budget—Ryots—Lord Curzon—Native States—Crops.
- May 20, 1905: Railways—Turkey and England—Offices for Indians—District Conference—Political Reforms.
- May 27, 1905: Education—Native Industries—Coolies in Ceylon.
- June 3, 1905: Police—Higher Education—Crops.
- June 10, 1905: Afghanistan—Police—Race Prejudice—Indian Lack of Business Experience.
- June 17, 1905: Russia and Japan—Plague—Forests—Lord Curzon—Crops.

June 24, 1905: Railways—Poverty and Crime—
Plague—Industries—Native States.

July 1, 1905: Village Schools—Municipalities—
Military Department.

July 8, 1905: District Conference—Agricultural
Associations—Plague—Forests—Public Works
Department—Russia.

July 15, 1905: Examinations—Forest Regula-
tions—Land Assessment—Military Budget—
Railways—Native States—British Rule.

July 22, 1905: Agricultural Associations—
Courts—Municipalities—Arrack—Crops—
Anglo-Indians—Native Army—Partition of
Bengal.

July 29, 1905: Plague—Land Assessment—
Railways—Offices for Indians—Native Rulers.

Aug. 5, 1905: Railways—Grievances—Russia
and Japan—Courts—Cholera—Ryots—Fa-
mine Relief—Army.

Aug. 12, 1905: Village Courts—New Viceroy—
Boycott—Famine Relief—Lord Ampthill—
Prince of Wales—Plague.

Aug. 19, 1905: Education—Land Assessment—
Famine Relief—Representative Assembly.

Aug. 26, 1905: Boycott—Partition of Bengal—
Technical Education—Lord Curzon—Lord
Minto.

Sept. 2, 1905: Russia and Japan—Municipal
Council—Irrigation—Salt Tax—Boycott—
Lord Curzon—Crops.

Sept. 9, 1905: Courts—Partition of Bengal—
Boycott—Famine Relief—Income Tax—
Lord Curzon.

Sept. 16, 1905: Japan—Railways—Excise Com-
mission—Agriculture—Missionaries—Ryots
—Industries.

Sept. 23, 1905: Russo-Japanese War—Courts—
Education—Indian Economy—Political Re-
forms—Prince of Wales—Partition of Bengal.

Sept. 30, 1905: Courts—Revenue Code Bill—
Swadeshi Movement.

Oct. 7, 1905: Police—Courts—Education—
Matriculation—Abkari Administration—Bri-
tish Soldiers—Viceroy—Lord Curzon—Prince
of Wales—Indian Loyalty.

Oct. 14, 1905: Courts—Technical Education—
Prince of Wales—Partition of Bengal—
Swadeshi Movement.

Oct. 21, 1905: University Examinations—
Swadeshi Movement—Lord Curzon.

Oct. 28, 1905: Matriculation Examination—
Lord Ampthill—Swadeshi Movement—Press.

Nov. 4, 1905: Anglo-Japanese Alliance—Land
Assessment—Excise Commission—Working
Hours.

Nov. 11, 1905: Railways—Swadeshi—Congress
—Lord Curzon.

Nov. 18, 1905: Education.

THE DIARY OF HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

August 1, Saturday, 1891

... To-day I attended a meeting held in the
Presidency College, the meeting of the Presi-
dency College Union. Mr. Charles H. Tawney,
who said us a class of monumental liars, pre-
sided. The following noted gentlemen were
present. Mr. C. H. Tawney, Mr. Percival³³,
Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, Mr. K. S. Macdonald,³⁴
Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, M.A.B.L., Maha-
mohopadhyay Mohes Chandra Nairatna³⁵ and
many others. The Assembly was a great one,
Many gentlemen were present to express the
deep sense of sorrow for the lamented deceased.
The following resolutions were passed:

I. The meeting expresses its deep sorrow
for venerable Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.
II. A letter of condolence should be
sent to the family of the lamented deceased.
III. Subscriptions would be raised to place a
memorial of the Pandit to be placed in the
Presidency College. IV. A Committee should
be formed for the management of the affairs of
Resolution III with the Professors of Presidency
College, Headmasters of the Hindoo and
Hare Schools and 4 students of the college.
The students of Metropolitan Institution have
left their shoes for 10 days as the relatives
of a Brahmin do.

August 2, Sunday, 1891

Babu Kali Krishna Mitter has breathed his
last this morning at 10 minutes past 5 A.M.

August 3, Monday, 1891

I went in the afternoon to the building of
the Metropolitan Institution where a meeting
was held to do honour to the memory of the late
Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the Pro-

prietor of the Institution. The meeting was a
vast one, an assembly of some 300 or 400 men.
There was no seat not even for single man.
Justice Gurudas Banerjee adorned the chair.
He spoke in English. But Babu Protap Chandra
Majumdar³⁶ spoke in Bengali. He said,
আজ শোকের সময়, বিজাতীয় ভাষায় কথা বলা উচিত
নহে। বাবা মলে কি কেউ ইংরাজীতে কানে ?

Then Babus Kali Charan Banerjee, N.
Ghose,³⁷ Siv Nath Sastri³⁸ and others spoke.
I have bought a copy of the photo of the
Pandit's dead body, cabinet size, Price /8/- ...

August 5, Wednesday, 1891

Meetings are held almost in all schools and
colleges. Yesterday meetings were held in the
City College where Mr. Ananda Mohan
Bosu,³⁹ Barrister-at-Law took the chair, and
in the Sanskrit College under the shed where
the statue of late Mr. David Hare was placed....
The boys of the Presidency College shall raise
a memorial, probably shall place an oil painting
of the Pandit in their College. The Metropolitan
Institution requires no other memorial than
itself. The Pandit has erected 3 great memorials
(i) The Metropolitan Institution, (ii) His
books, (iii) His Reforms (Social).

The boys of the Metropolitan Institution
have left their shoes. To-morrow a meeting
will be held in the Ripon College premises.
Probably Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee will
take the chair.

August 6, Thursday, 1891

A vast assembly gathered this afternoon in
the Ripon College premises, more correctly
yard. Raja Peari Mohan Mukherjee, M.A.B.L.,
took the chair. Honourable Justice Gurudas

Banerjee, Babu Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya B.A., Babu Debendra Nath Ray⁴⁰ L.M.S., Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, Babu Jitendra Nath Banerjee⁴¹ Barrister-at-Law and many other gentlemen were present. Babu Benode Behari Mitter (I think) son of Babu Romesh Ch. Mitter, Babu Gan Chandra Ray and other students too addressed the meeting. Mr. Jitendra N. Banerjee too spoke a few words in seconding a resolution. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee spoke last of all. He said he would call himself a Hindoo up to his last breath though his claims may not be fulfilled. At last it was moved and resolved that an oil painting likeness of the Late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar would be placed in the Ripon College. Of course it would be made by the subscription of the students.

August 7, Friday, 1891

This afternoon I went to the Albert Hall, College Square, where a meeting of the Students Association was held this afternoon at 5½ P.M. The meeting commenced some 10 minutes too late. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee took the chair. The subject of debate was "Representative Government not suited to India". First of all the meeting expressed its deep sorrow for the death of Raja Rajendra Lal Mitter and venerable Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. The subject was put by Babu Nando Lal Mukherjee and after a long discussion of some 2 hours the President delivered a lecture. He abused the Government directly saying that we were blood-hounds to the Government. The Native Press was a thing of horror to the Government. Babu Nando Lal was outvoted by a majority of some 70 votes. The meeting dissolved at about 8 P.M.

That wretched Paper *Bangabasi* has been arrested by the Government for inciting the public against the English Government.⁴²

August 8, Saturday, 1891

Summons were issued from the Police

Court. The manager and others of the staff fled and one Oramodi was prosecuted. He was the printer and publisher of the wretched Paper. All other members of the staff have surrendered themselves.

... To-day this evening I went to the Sadharan Brammo Samaj where Babu Siv Nath Sastri delivered a lecture on "Kings of Men, a lesson from the life of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar". Babu Siv Nath speaks with feeling and as his words were of the heart and not of the head, the lecture was a very good one. At about 5½ P.M. the meeting dissolved.

Ambica Charan Bosu has been hanged. He murdered Girija Sundari the Brammo Lady.⁴³ At his last moment he said that he did not murder her but his men murdered her.

August 13, Thursday, 1891

The sentence of death of the Senapati (Tikendrajit) and Thangal (Jungal) General of Monipur has been confirmed. Probably they have been hanged to-day. The Editor, Manager, Proprietor and Printer of the *Bangabasi* have been released on bail, each giving a bail of Rs. 10,000/-. Mr. Hill and Lal Mohan Ghose have been engaged on the side of *Bangabasi* and Sir G. C. Paul,⁴⁴ Advocate General, Mr. Pue (Pugh)⁴⁵ Standing Counsel, Mr. Woodroffe⁴⁶ and Hon'ble Mr. G. H. P. Evans⁴⁷ have been engaged on the side of the Government. The case will be tried in the court of the Chief Justice S. Comer Pethram⁴⁸ on Wednesday. The Government has run mad. To-day Babu Narendra Nath Sen, Editor 'The Indian Mirror' was called to the court. He was accused for contempt of the Court in an article published in the Paper of Saturday last. Mr. Monmohan Ghosh appeared for the accused. Mr. Sen was released with an warning that he would not publish any article or opinion on the 'Bangabasi Case' till the judgment is pronounced and Mr. Ghose "we undertake not to publish any opinion with a protest". Mr.

Lansdowne has been a monumental failure in governing India.

August 14, Friday, 1891

Mr. Sen of *The Indian Mirror* still writes that he would not be 'bullied into silence.' He would express his sentiment as fearlessly as ever and the readers can know it for certain that he "shall critic (sic) the blunders of the Government either civil or military as fearlessly and conscientiously as ever." And really the great man is of indomitable spirit. It is imprudence on the part of the Government to think that it would be as easy to stop his mouth as to do the same with *Bangabasi*....

August 18, Wednesday, 1891

The *Bangabasi* Case rose to-day. ... Messrs Paul, Present Advocate General, Pue [Pugh], present Standing Counsel ... Honourable Evans and Woodroffe are on the side of the prosecution, and Mr. Jackson⁴⁹ and Mr. S. P. Sing.⁵⁰ appeared for the defence. Mr. Jackson's learned speech has freed the defence from the charge of defamation of Section 500 of the Indian Penal Code. The name of the Government was not expressed and it was not known whether the defence intended the French Government or any other Government. Mr. Pue (Pugh) delivered a long speech and before the end of his speech the clock striking the hour 4½ P.M. Court over for to-day. Fortunately for the *Bangabasi* the kind hearted Chief Justice Sir Comer Pethram is on the chair. Had it been any other convicting Judge of the High Court of Justice the *Bangabasi* would have been doomed. Mr. Jackson is a great Council. The case has made sensation in the city and the Bar. Mr. Jackson wanted postponement but Mr. Pue [Pugh] said that by a hand letter circulated by the *Bangabasi* officers he was certain that the defence knew the date well.

August 20, Tuesday, 1891

I went to the High Court of Justice. Mr. Pue's

[Pugh] opening speech ended to-day... of the postponement of the case upto the next sessions. Mr. Jackson was over ruled by Mr. Pue (Pugh) ... To-day the following witnesses were examined; Babu Sanat Kumar Ray late a clerk *Bangabasi* office, Babu Durgadas Lahiri of a certain paper named *बहुमान*. The 1st witness was unable to stand before the fiery ordeal of cross examination of Mr. Jackson.

August 21, Friday, 1891

Mr. Evans addressed the Court and Jury on behalf of the Government. His address came to an end at the time of the rising of the Court. Then rose Mr. Jackson, the man with long moustache, his stern face, his white head with the looks of an old man, his bright and intelligent eyes. His face declared that he was absorbed in the deep thought as to the law points of the case. No doubt it is boldness to its extreme degree to stand in opposition to the 4 best heads of the bar. ...

August 22, Saturday, 1891

I went to the High Court. Mr. Jackson addressed the Court and Jury to-day. He lost his temper in discussing a law point with the Chief Justice and delivered his address too loudly. The Court was overcrowded in spite of the foul weather. ... Babu Chandra Nath, M.A.B.L. & other soon cross-examined yesterday. Mr. Jackson said that had he been a Hindoo he would have shed his best drop of blood to prevent the passing of the Age of Consent Bill. The Chief Justice asked him when he was going to conclude his speech to which he answered 'sometime on Monday'.

August 24, Monday, 1891

The *Bangabasi* case is come to an end for a few months, the Jury was 7 to 2, 7 against *Bangabasi* that is for conviction and 2 for *Bangabasi* that is for acquittal. As the Juries had no chance to be one opinion the Chief Justice discharged the Jury and the case shall

be tried in the next criminal session in December with a new Jury. The Chief Justice has shown much kindness in this case in not punishing the wretched Paper though 7 were for conviction 2 against. People (spectators) thought that *Bangabasi* was discharged when they heard discharged though in reality the Jury was discharged and not *Bangabasi*. It is no doubt impudence on the part of the Paper to write that the dirge of the English Govt. may now be sung, with all my patriotic feelings I am for conviction. ...

August 26, Wednesday, 1891

... To-morrow we have a meeting, a grand meeting to be held at the Town Hall. His Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal will take the chair. The sheriff (... Muhammad Furruck Shah) has called the meeting. Sir Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore, Durga Charan, Lord Chief Justice of Bengal Sri C. Pethram and almost all other eminent men of the time have taken part in the meeting.

August 27, Thursday, 1891 & August 28, Friday, 1891

I reached the Town Hall at 4 P.M. but the hall was (as) full as it could hold. The historical hall resounded with the mourning for many of our illustrious sons and two other names were added to their member, two household names of India, the names of Raja Rajendra Lal Mitter and venerable Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.... After the speech of his Honourable Governor the following resolutions were placed:

²³ Percival, H. M. Professor of English at Presidency College, Calcutta, 1880-1911; Shakespearean scholar, enjoyed high reputation as a teacher of English literature. On his last working day his pupils "unyoked the horses of his carriage and drew it themselves from the College to his residence at Park Street. He tried to dissuade them, but just for once, they disobeyed their great teacher."
²⁴ Macdonald, Kenneth Somerled (1832-1903) joined the United Free Church Mission in Calcutta in 1861; edited *Indian Evangelical Review*; Fellow of the University of Calcutta.

"This meeting desires to place on record its sense of profound grief at the irreparable loss which the country has sustained by the death of 2 such distinguished men as Raja Rajendra Lal Mitter and Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar". ...

II

That with a view to commemorate in an adequate manner the eminent service which these 2 illustrious men have rendered to the country, the meeting resolves that suitable memorial be raised in their honour. Public subscriptions be invited for the purpose. ...

III

That two separate committees with powers to add to their number to give effect to the above resolution. ...

August 29, Saturday, 1891

I have printed 500 copies of my poem written on the death of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. It has cost me about Rs. 2/8 including the price of the paper.

August 30, Sunday, 1891

I have enlisted myself in the roll of the members of the Society for the Higher Training of Youngmen. Babu Protap Chandra Mozumder (Rev.) is its Secretary and Babu Baroda Prosad Ghose Assistant. Sir Charles A. Elliot, the Lieutenant-Governor is its patron.

NOTES

²⁵ Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna (1836-1906) Mahamahopadhyay; Principal, Sanskrit College; helped to found Sanskrit Association in, 1881; member of the Board of Management when the Indian Association for Cultivation of Science was founded (1876); edited several Sanskrit works for the Asiatic Society.
²⁶ (1840-1905) A friend and associate of Keshab Chandra Sen; became a Brahmo; travelled in Europe, Japan and U.S.A. and lectured on religious subjects; works include *Oriental Christ*, *Spirit of God and the Life and Teachings of Keshab Chandra Sen*.

²⁷ Nagendra Nath Ghose (1854-1909) Barrister-at-law; later on Professor of English literature and History in Metropolitan College, Calcutta; edited the *Indian Nation* and the *Indian Echo*.

²⁸ (1847-1919) Influenced by Keshab Chandra Sen in his early life, and became a Brahmo; after the Coochbihar marriage there was breach with Keshab Chandra; Headmaster of Harinabhi School, South Suburban School and Hare School; edited two journals, *Somprakash* and *Samadarshi*; wrote several popular novels, *Mejabou*, *Nayantara* etc. and also books of verse, but is best known as author of *Ramtanu Lahiri O tatkalin Bangasamaj*; founded a Hall of Worship in Bhowanipur, visited England in 1888.

²⁹ (1847-1906) Wrangler, Barrister-at-law; founded City College in 1879; one of the founders of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj; Secretary, Indian Association; associated with the Indian National Congress, laid the foundation of Federation Hall in north Calcutta. Surendra Nath Banerjee writes, "The speech he prepared on his sickbed ... is striking evidence of the triumph of mind and spirit over matter. I regard it as the greatest of his oratorical performances, and one of the noblest orations to which it has been one's privilege to listen." *A Nation in Making* p. 199.

³⁰ (1848-1909) Well-known medical practitioner in Calcutta, also served in Burma as Civil Surgeon; Fellow of the University of Calcutta (1884); member of the Syndicate for several years; first Indian Dean of the Faculty of Medicine.

³¹ Brother of Surendra Nath Banerjee.
³² Jogendra Chandra Bose and others were committed for trial at the Calcutta sessions by the officiating Chief Presidency Magistrate. They were "charged under S 124 A and 500 of the Penal Code with attempting to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India and with defaming the Government of India by publishing certain articles on the 28th of

March, the 16th of May and the 6th of June 1891". The Jury were not agreed and the Foreman stated that "there was no chance of their returning an unanimous verdict." Upon which His Lordship said that he would not take any verdict that was not unanimous in this case.

The Jury was then discharged, the case being ordered to remain as a remnant for the next session, the accused being enlarged on bail." *The Indian Decisions, New Series, Calcutta, VLLX*

³³ The story of the murder has been narrated in the previous issue.

³⁴ Gregory Charles Paul, officiated as Puisne Judge (1870-71); Advocate-General (1872-1899).

³⁵ L.P. Pugh, Officiated as Standing Council in 1882; officiated as Advocate General on several occasions between 1888 and 1894 and again 1903.

³⁶ J. T. Woodroffe, Officiating Advocate-General, not to be identified with Sir John Gregory Woodroffe, author of *Mahanirvana Tantra, Is India Civilised?* and other works.

³⁷ Griffith, H. P. Evans, officiated as Advocate-General in 1895. The names of lawyers does not tally with the report of the case in the *Indian Decisions*.

³⁸ Sir William Comer Pethram, Chief Justice of North Western Province (1884); Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court (1886-96); Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta (1887).

³⁹ Popularly known as 'tiger Jackson'.

⁴⁰ Satyendra Prasanno Sinha (1864-1928), First Baron Sinha of Raipur; Standing Counsel 1903, Advocate-General in 1905—confirmed 1908; legal member, Governor General's Council 1909; Knighted 1914; President, Indian National Congress 1915; member, Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, London 1917; Governor of Bihar and Orissa 1920-21; member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council 1926.

EDITED BY: DR. P. C. GUPTA, MR. A. DE AND MR. P. BHATTACHARYYA.

AUDIO TAPE

Audio tape is now manufactured in India, scholars and archivists will be pleased to know. Tarzian (India) Ltd. is manufacturing Sarkes Tarzian tape at Bombay. Government tests show that it is of advertised quality. Tape is available in Acetate Base 1.5 Mil at Rs. 40/- per 1200 feet, and Mylar Base 1.0 Mil at Rs. 65/- per 1800 feet.

The following dealers in Delhi stock the tape:

1. The Photo Studios
12-N, Connaught Circus
New Delhi-1

2. The Eastern Radio & General Supply Co.
5E, Connaught Place
Post Box No. 15
New Delhi-1

Detailed information can be had from the manufacturer, Tarzian (India) Ltd., 109-D, Sion Matunga Industrial Estate, Road No. 29, Sion East, Bombay-22.

Photographic Film

Many foreign scholars and researchers are keen to know about photographic film avail-

ability in India before they visit. Here is a summary of present information.

Pack and roll film. Colour film is still tight. Kodak is available only at high prices. OR-WO is readily available and is a useful film, though it is not yet accepted by the professional photographers. Furthermore, it must be processed in India or in Eastern Europe (USA and Japanese processors shy away from handling it). While not available for sale, Ektachrome 35 mm can be processed in Delhi at a quality comparable to American standards. Visitors are urged to bring with them what they need of colour film. Tourists may bring in 25 rolls each, others 5 rolls each.

Black and white film of good quality is readily available. Speeds equivalent to Kodak Tri-X, Plus X and Verichrome are available in Polish, Yugoslav or GDR manufacture at prices which compare with US prices.

Cine film. Cine film in 8 mm and 16 mm is available in Kodachrome, but being highly priced it is still best imported. The Kodak processing laboratory will undertake processing.

Ektachrome in 16 and 8 mm cannot be processed in India.

Imports beyond the limits noted here require import licence. Import without licence is liable to duty plus 100% fine.

Microfilm is only occasionally available on the market and scholars who expect to do or contract to have done considerable amounts of microfilming are advised to secure an import

licence well in advance and to bring their raw stock with them. Even commercial filming concerns have little true microfilm, and may use 35 mm cine film (which is adequate for some purposes but will not yield library-quality results).

South Asia Microfilm Project

A consortium of 20 American libraries has been formed to create a central repository of 19th and 20th century Indian serial publications on film. The project is under the direction of the Centre for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois.

Each member contributes \$500 annually for borrowing privileges. The member library may have positive copies made at a concessional rate. Provisions have been made for smaller libraries to participate.

The project will first concentrate on newspapers of importance and those which are in danger of being lost due to sale, infestation or other cause. Much filming will be done in USA and UK, but some in South Asia.

Educational Resources Centre is helping with the Indian phase of the project. Mr. Gordon Collier, Assistant Director of the Centre for Research Libraries, is coordinating the entire project. Inquiries should be addressed to him at the Centre for Research Libraries, 5721 Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

HENRY FERGOUSON
Educational Resources Centre,
New Delhi.

R.R. No: 387/55/7

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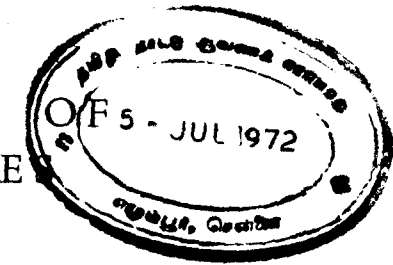
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EDITORIAL

Convocation Season:

The three winter months, December, January and February, constitute the Convocation Season for Indian Universities. The traditional forms and ceremonies are still retained with scrupulous exactitude, but nobody asks what significant purpose is served by these costly annual shows in a setting which is so different. At a time when Universities were few in number, and the number of graduates passing out of the Universities every year was extremely limited in proportion to the total population, the passing out ceremony might have had a special significance. There might have been some sense in injecting an air of solemnity in the graduation ceremony. It encouraged the young intellectuals and also served as a reminder of their responsibility in the society of the élite. The solemnity of the occasion was readily accepted by the young graduates; they knew that the ceremony signified a material gain as the doors to better employment opened out before them. In view of the small number each graduate could feel his personal participation in the ceremony.

Things have changed entirely in recent years. The number of Universities and other degree-giving institutions has multiplied four times since independence. The expansion is proportionately more marked in the number

of graduates and recipients of other degrees and honours. A University degree does no longer mean admission to the charmed circle of the social élite. To an average graduate the occasion of passing out is only a sad reminder of the worries and troubles ahead, with little prospect of cashing their paper certificates in terms of gainful employment. This is so not only for Arts graduates but also for those who have chosen professional careers like Engineering, Medicine, Law etc. No wonder that these young men and women are in revolt against the existing state of things and demand not 'degrees' but 'jobs'. In recent times this rowdy protest has marred many a solemn Convocation ceremony. University administrators, academic elders and leaders of society may feel shocked at this irreverent attitude of the young men and women, but their condemnation is certainly not going to stop the expression of resentment born out of economic frustration of the young.

What then is the purpose of holding these costly and melodramatic annual shows? To the University administrators it may be an occasion just to show to the world that the University exists. While the University may have neglected teaching and research throughout the year, the Convocation ceremony is supposed to be an academic balance sheet for the year. For a few University officials, it may

also be an occasion to don colourful academic gowns and look so solemnly important. The annual convocation may also be a very satisfying pastime for those amiable elderly gentlemen who love to give ponderous speeches showering pearls of wisdom on the young and the 'immature'. Their long speeches may only induce slumber in the majority of the audience, but they still have their satisfaction of having done some public good by reading from A to Z of their prepared text of sermons, which unfortunately have no relevance to the major practical problems of life of those for whom the sermons are meant.

Except for these two classes of people, the University officials and the Convocation-Address-Wallas, the ceremony has not the least significance whatsoever. In larger Universities there is no sense of personal participation in the ceremony among the graduates for whom it is meant; and in all the Universities the primary concern of the young men and women is, 'what next'? But curiously enough, the Universities still cling to these outmoded melodramatic annual shows. On any modest calculation the annual show costs about Rs. 20,000 per University. The total thus wasted every year in the name of higher education in this country will easily be Rs. 20,00,000. This not inconsiderable amount can be better utilised in other ways.

The bane of our educational system is that we love pomp and show too much and even when we are aware that conditions have changed wholly, we would still cling to old rituals and ceremonies which have lost all meaning, and try to justify the waste as a necessary and legitimate part of the cost of higher education. It is high time, however, that we change our archaic ideas and fashion them in tune with the ideas of the young. If we cannot make the Convocation ceremony meaningful to the young graduates, we better stop the show, or else they will, sure enough, stop it by ridicule and protest demonstrations.

Discussion Meetings:

Since our last issue three Discussion Meetings were held. Dr. Joseph E. Schwartzberg (University of Minnesota) spoke on *The South Asia Historical Atlas Project*. He illustrated his talk with more than fifty maps of various periods of Indian History, covering not only political evolution but also a very wide variety of subjects, like population growth and changes, development of urban life, expansion of communications and industries, development of the educational system, religious reform movements, social reforms etc. The Project has been planned on a very comprehensive, almost encyclopaedic scale. We wish the Project all success and we look forward to the publication of the Atlas, which will be of great value to all students of Indian history.

The second talk was given by Dr. Ashin Das Gupta (Presidency College, Calcutta) and the subject was *The Decline of Surat (1700-1750)*. Drawing upon all available English and Dutch sources, Dr. Das Gupta gave a masterly analysis of the various factors that led to the decline of Surat, which till the opening of the 18th century was the principal port of the Mughal Empire.

The third talk was by Dr. Miloslav Krasa (Oriental Institute, Prague) who spoke on *Studies in Indian History in Czechoslovakia*. Not much is known in India about the origin and development of studies in Indian history in Czechoslovakia, and it was most interesting to know from Dr. Krasa that the beginning of the study of Indian history in Czechoslovakia may be traced back to the middle of the 17th century. Dr. Krasa dealt with the works of the principal scholars in Indian history in different periods, particularly emphasising the post-independence period in Czechoslovakia. In the Universities the study of Indian history became more popular only in recent years. Dr. Krasa gave a most interesting account of the contributions made by the members of the

Oriental Institute in Prague, in developing the study of Indian history.

DNB Project:

The Dictionary of National Biography Project is maintaining its steady progress. As reported earlier, material files prepared by our Research Fellows had been sent to the Contributors to help them in writing the actual biographical entries. We are glad that most Contributors have kept to the time schedule, thus helping us to maintain the planned rate of progress. We have already received nearly 300 biographical entries. If this rate of progress is maintained, we may expect to have all the entries in our hands before the end of 1969.

Each biographical entry will conform to the following pattern:

Section (i) *Personal and Family Details:*

Date and place of birth—parents, relatives—family background, social status, religion, caste etc., economic status—marriage, date, name of wife, family background of wife.

Section (ii) *Early Life:*

Education—travels—influences on mind and character (men, books, associations, etc.).

Section (iii) *Career History:*

History of the entire career from the time of reaching adulthood till death (or till 1969 for persons still alive), to be given in a narrative and chronological form, including positions held and honours received.

In the case of a writer or a poet, an account of his principal works will be given as in a standard history of literature.

Section (iv) *Personality:*

Ideas and attitudes towards different issues—

social reforms, religion, education, nationalism, economic problems, regionalism, etc.

Appearance, dress, manners and mode of life (austere, ostentatious, quiet, heroic, bohemian, etc.).

Section (v) *General Estimate.*

An assessment of his position, views and contribution to society, with particular reference to the promotion of national consciousness.

The entry will be in a narrative form, with full connected sentences and attention to literary style. A select bibliography will be given at the end of each entry. All possible indications will be given for cross references.

While the Project is progressing according to schedule, we are still worried over the present deficit of nearly Rs. 1,00,000. The financial problem is really most disturbing and will inevitably slow down the rate of progress unless we can raise the necessary funds in the next couple of months. We have appealed again to the Government of India and the State Governments and we are yet hopeful that we shall get a part of the money needed from these sources. For the rest, we shall invite donations from the general public. From our experience, however, it may not be very fruitful. It is unfortunate but true that non-political institutions and Projects do not have much appeal in the current state of public opinion dominated by political considerations.

An Appeal:

We are publishing in the present number the Annual Report of the Institute for 1967-68. The Report will clearly show the alarming state of the Institute's finances. The discontinuance of the Foundation grant has also hit the organisation very hard. We take this opportunity to appeal to our members again to do something to save the organisation which

has served them so well. We must increase our financial resources to wipe off the accumulated deficit of a little over Rs. 6,000 and also to offset the loss of Foundation grant for current expenses. There are two ways of doing it: (i) by enrolling new members, and (ii) by promot-

ing the sale of the Institute's publications. We appeal to our members again to take a personal interest in enrolling new members and also to order copies of the Institute's publications for themselves and on behalf of the Institutions with which they are connected.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

ANNUAL REPORT (1967-68)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I present the Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for the year 1967-68. The Institute has completed its seventh year and has stepped into its eighth. It maintained its steady record of progress during the year under review.

Membership :

During the year under review the membership increased only slightly. Although some new members were enrolled, the addition was offset by nearly the same number dropping out. A large-scale membership drive among University and College history teachers all over the country failed to produce the desired result. We are still far behind our target of total membership, namely, 600. I take this opportunity to appeal to our existing members to approach their colleagues personally and make more vigorous efforts to enrol new members. We are happy to note that in the enrolment of new members during the year under review all the States and Universities are fairly represented. The Institute thus maintains its character as an all-India organisation of historians.

Constitutional Amendment :

With a view to checking floating membership and also to ensure the maintenance of the all-India character of the organisation some Constitutional amendments have been proposed. They have been approved by the Executive Committee and have been circulated among members for approval under Article 10, clause (ii), of the Constitution. It is to be

hoped that the amendments will be approved by the members to facilitate the working of the organisation.

New Fellows :

Eight new Fellows have been elected by the College of Fellows under Article 5, clause (ii), of the Constitution. Their names will be announced at the Annual General Meeting.

Meetings :

During the year under review fewer Discussion Meetings could be arranged than in previous years on account of prolonged disturbed conditions in the city. There were only four meetings. Dr. L. B. Alayev (Institute of the Peoples of Asia, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Moscow) spoke on *Fifty Years of Soviet Studies on Indian History (Medieval and Modern Periods)*; Dr. (Mrs.) Indrani Roy (Jadavpur University) on *The French Traders in Bengal (1686-1757)*; Dr. Binod Sankar Das (Midnapore College) on *British Economic Relations with the South-Western Bengal Presidency (1803-33)*; and Dr. (Mrs.) Hena Mukherjee (Lady Brabourne College) on *The Early History of the East Indian Railway (1845-79)*. The meetings were well attended and the discussions lively. The talks will be published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* in due course.

In November, 1967, the Institute arranged a reception to the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. It was a pleasant function and very well attended. Many of our members from outside Calcutta had their first opportunity to visit the Institute.

On the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the foundation of the Institute a public lecture was arranged. Dr. Biman Behari Majumdar spoke on the *Political Thought of India in the 19th Century*. The meeting was presided over by the Most Reverend H.L.J. De Mel, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan.

Annual Conference :

The Fifth Annual Conference of the Institute was held at Patiala on 29th December, 1967, under the auspices of the Panjabi University. Sardar Kirpal Singh Narang, Vice-Chancellor, Panjabi University, inaugurated the Conference, and Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar (formerly Vice-Chancellor, Poona University) presided. The Conference was very well-attended. In the first session, twelve papers on *Regional History* were presented by the following:

Dr. Fauja Singh, (Panjabi University, Patiala)	Panjab
Dr. D. K. Ghosh, (Burdwan University)	North-West Frontier
Dr. R. Rahul, (School of International Studies, New Delhi)	Himalayan Region
Dr. G. N. Sharma (University of Rajasthan)	Rajasthan
Dr. V. D. Rao (Shivaji University, Kolhapur)	Maharashtra
Dr. S. C. Misra (Baroda University)	Gujarat
Dr. Sarojini Regani (Osmania University, Hyderabad)	Andhra Pradesh
Dr. G. S. Dikshit (Karnatak University, Dharwar)	Mysore
Dr. H. S. Srivastava (Gorakhpur University)	Uttar Pradesh
Dr. P. Mishra (Bhagalpur University)	Bihar

Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee
(Visva-Bharati
University) Bengal
Dr. H. K. Barpujari
(Gauhati University) Assam

In the second session, four papers were presented on the *Sino-Indian Border Question* by the following:

Mr. T. S. Murty,
(Deputy Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, New Delhi) General Review
Dr. P. L. Mehra,
(Panjab University, Chandigarh) Eastern Sector
Mr. S. C. Bajpai
(School of International Studies, New Delhi) Western Sector
Dr. R. Rahul,
(School of International Studies, New Delhi) The Role of Tibet in Indo-Chinese Relations.

The papers will be published shortly in two separate volumes.

Journal :

The *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* maintained its steady progress during the year under review. There was no arrear in publication and all the four numbers of Volume VII were brought out. The journal maintained its regular feature of giving research news at different Universities (Jammu & Kashmir University, Srinagar; Shivaji University, Kolhapur; Panjabi University, Patiala; Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth, Anand, Gujarat; Nagpur University and Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan) and also published a number of research papers.

From Volume VII (1967-68) a new section was added to the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* as a regular feature under the heading, *South Asian Library and Research Notes*. It started with two major series—Newspaper Collection in the National Library and the Diary of Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, preserved at Jadav-

pur University Library. We take this opportunity to offer our thanks to Mr. Nakul Chatterjee for compiling the report on Newspaper Collection in the National Library; and to Dr. P. C. Gupta, Mr. Amalendu De and Mr. Pranjal Bhattacharyya for editing the extracts from the Diary of Hemendra Prasad Ghosh.

It is gratifying to note that the number of subscribers to the *Quarterly Review* increased markedly during the year under review. The *Quarterly Review* has the largest circulation among Indian historical journals.

Library :

The Institute's Library specialises in historical journals and has most of the well-known historical journals of the world. Some additions had been made to the collection of journals during the year under review.

Some additions had also been made to the collections of books, pamphlets, reports, etc. in our library. For lack of funds, however, we could not build up a good general library on history. I take this opportunity to appeal to the Government and the generous public for funds to enlarge the scope of our library and to equip it with important reference books on history for the benefit of Research students.

Research Service Bureau :

The Research Service Bureau maintained its activity during the year under review. The main task of the Bureau is to help scholars, both Indian and foreign, with the services of research assistants for the collection of material for their Projects. During the year under review the Bureau undertook assistance to the Oriental Institute, Prague (Czechoslovakia) to collect biographical data on a number of Indian leaders. The Bureau also answered numerous research queries. To make the Research Service Bureau more active and useful, we need additional funds and we hope that the

Government or the U.G.C. will come to our assistance.

Publication :

One major publication was brought out during 1967-68, *The Indian Press* (a collection of papers presented at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Institute, held at Mysore in December, 1966). It has been very well reviewed in the press.

The Proceedings Volumes of the Fifth Annual Conference held at Patiala in December 1967, under the titles, *Studies in Modern Indian History: A Regional Survey* and *The Sino-Indian Border Question: A Historical Review*, had been sent to the press during the year under review and are likely to be published by September 1968.

Members are allowed a discount of 20% on these publications. I take this opportunity to appeal to members to help our publication scheme by purchasing a copy of each publication and also by ordering copies on behalf of their respective institutions. At least 500 copies of each publication must be sold if the publication scheme is to be continued.

Publicity :

During the year under review two Press Conferences were held, one in Calcutta and another in Delhi, to give wide publicity to the *Dictionary of National Biography Project*. Both the Press Conferences were highly successful and all the papers of Calcutta and Delhi gave full publicity to the *Dictionary Project* and strongly urged the Government to help meet the current deficit.

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY PROJECT

(i) Collection of Biographical Material :

During the period under review the Project

made considerable progress, and but for some unavoidable circumstances holding up work in a few areas, the collection of biographical material would have been completed. As it was, material had been collected on 176 leaders during the period under review. Only 91 leaders from the old list remain to be covered. Since 23 new names have been added, the total number of leaders to be covered in the year 1968-69 is 114. The break-up of the number is given below:

Bengal (14); Orissa (3); Bombay-Gujarat (21); Sind (15); Punjab (23); Mysore (14); New Additions (23).

The total number of leaders on whom biographical material had been collected till March, 1968 is 1166. The break-up of the number is:

Bengal (211); Bihar (60); Assam (35); Orissa (51); Gujarat (95); Maharashtra (127); Sind (3); Goa (15); U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan (199); Punjab-Kashmir & N.W.F. Province (114); Madras (107); Pondicherry (7); Mysore (16); Andhra Pradesh (64); Kerala (52) and Foreigners (10). The collection of biographical material is quite impressive and will prove to be of immense value to future research workers.

(ii) Advisory Board Meeting :

At the last Annual Meeting of the Advisory Board held in New Delhi on June 29-30, 1967, the list of leaders was further scrutinised. Some names were dropped and a few new names added, making the total number 1280. The Board also decided on the proper alphabetical order of the names, including all the different ways in which a name should be entered in the *Dictionary* for cross-reference. This was done in agreement with the opinions of experts to whom the matter had been referred. The Advisory Board also decided on the selection of Contributors, allotment of names among the Contributors and fixing the length of each biographical entry. Finally, the Board drew up instructions for Contributors with a general

pattern of biographical entry indicating the Project requirement.

(iii) Contributors :

In January-February, 1968 letters were written to the Contributors. Favourable replies were received from more than 200 Contributors who very kindly agreed to write biographical entries for the *Dictionary*. Among the Contributors are about 100 highly distinguished public figures, including Union and State Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament belonging to all political parties, High Court Judges, Ambassadors, Civil Servants, eminent journalists, top-ranking literary figures, Vice-Chancellors and Industrialists. The remaining Contributors are professional historians, very eminent scholars from different Universities all over the country. Such wide national support to the Project is most gratifying and we are grateful to the Contributors for their kind co-operation. Material collected by Research Fellows has been sent to Contributors to help them in writing the actual biographical entries. The work is expected to be completed by March 1969 and the three volumes of the *Dictionary* (800-850 pages each) will be ready for the press by the end of 1969. If work progresses according to schedule the volumes will be published by the end of 1970.

Finances :

(i) General :

So far as the general finances of the Institute are concerned, the position is getting worse every year with mounting deficits. The following figures will show how the total deficit increased from year to year:

1962-63	111.27
1963-64	586.98
1964-65	1,405.10
1965-66	2,584.67
1966-67	2,127.63
1967-68	6,247.63

I draw the attention of the members to this rather alarming situation and seek their kind help in devising means not only to wipe off the accumulated deficit, but also to maintain a balanced budget in future. I appeal to them to be more energetic in enrolling new members and particularly a number of life members. I would specially urge our members to help the finances of the Institute by purchasing copies of our Publications and ordering for copies on behalf of their respective institutions.

The financial position will be further affected very gravely by the discontinuance of Foundation grant. We have to raise additional funds of Rs. 10,000/- a year to fill this gap in income if we are to maintain the existing activities. In view of the good constructive work being done by the Institute for the benefit of history scholars all over the country, it will be most unfortunate if the Institute is forced to stop some of its activities for lack of financial support. We hope, the Government of India and State Governments will come to our assistance and enable us with suitable recurring grants not only to maintain our existing activities but even to undertake new ones. No academic society with extensive activities can continue merely on membership fees without any external financial assistance.

(ii) Dictionary Project:

The total Project Budget from 1963-64 to 1970-71 has been revised and finally estimated at Rs. 5,78,184.00 (including the cost of publication of the three volumes of the *Dictionary* of 2,500 pages). Of this amount we have received so far from all sources Rs. 3,68,184.00. Our deficit for the year 1968-69 has been estimated at Rs. 60,000/-. We have applied to

the Government of India again for this amount. For the following two years, 1969-70 and 1970-71, the total estimated expenditure is Rs. 1,50,000 including the cost of publication. Part of this may be raised from pre-publication sale of the *Dictionary* and part we hope to get from State Governments. If 15 State Governments grant Rs. 5,000/- each, it will meet half of the estimated deficit and the balance may be met from pre-publication sale. In view of the national importance of the Project and of the wide public support we have received so far, we may reasonably hope that the Government of India will grant us an additional sum of Rs. 60,000/- and State Governments will contribute Rs. 75,000/-.

Conclusion :

Before concluding the Annual Report, on behalf of the Institute of Historical Studies, I offer our sincerest thanks to the Asia Foundation, the Government of India, the Governments of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Maharashtra and Himachal Pradesh and the Deccan Herald, Bangalore, for their kind financial assistance and to the Universities, learned societies and scholars who had offered us their helpful co-operation in the *Dictionary of National Biography Project*. I am also thankful to the press and the All-India Radio for their kind co-operation in giving full publicity to our work. I also take this opportunity to offer our thanks to the members of the Executive Committee, the Advisory Board and the Editorial Board, and to all the members and well-wishers of the Institute for their kind and active interest.

August 8, 1968
Calcutta-12

S. P. SEN,
Director.

LANSDOWNE AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DR. J. P. MISRA

(Birla Institute of Technology, Pilani)

A few weeks before Lansdowne took over as the Viceroy of India in December 1888, his predecessor, Dufferin, had taken upon himself the responsibility of "clearing the air" by openly denouncing the activities of the Congress at St. Andrew's Dinner.¹ Dufferin strongly refuted the impression that he was sympathetic to the Congress demands. On the other hand, he was convinced that "if the Congress agitation was allowed to go on unchecked while that idiot Hume and his press were spreading abroad the report in all directions that it had my cordial approval and support some considerable mischief would be done."² The retiring Viceroy had all along worked to "get rid of the Congress" and stifle the movement.³

It has often been made out that the official attitude of opposition was noticeable from the year 1888 and the tone set by Dufferin was repeated by the successive Viceroys faithfully.⁴ Contrary to what has been generally accepted, a reappraisal of Lansdowne's policy towards the Congress would show that he was no believer in a policy of repression. Anticipating the growth, rather than the diminution of the national movement, he encouraged measures to make the Congress a fully innocuous body.

Immediately after assuming the reigns of office, Lansdowne expressed his resolve to "strengthen the hands of the moderate party, and to discourage those whose views are extreme."⁵ He hoped that the Congress "will content itself with academic discussion of questions". The coming Congress sessions were

soon to provide proof of the correctness of the Viceroy. He was, however, watchful about the activities of "the more violent members of the Congress"⁶ who had disseminated "seditious matters" in "Tamil Catechism," and a few other pamphlets. These pamphlets had criticised the British officials working in India for their arrogance and lack of knowledge about the real problems of the people. The Government was deeply resentful of the circulation of these pamphlets. This dampened the spirits of the Congressmen and they did not make any further attempts to carry on the propaganda among the masses. Thus one source of irritation between the Government and the Congress was removed during Lansdowne's Viceroyalty.

Since the emergence of national consciousness in India the Government, working upon the theory of counterpoising one section of community against another, did everything in its power to encourage the Muslims, the aristocracy and the landlords to play an independent role. Raja Pratap Singh of Bhinga wrote a pamphlet entitled, 'Democracy not suited to India' in which he criticised the Congress for demanding representative institutions. The Maharaja of Banaras condemned the activities and writings of the Congress; and supported the demand that it should be put down. This speech was later published at Government cost by the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay and distributed in schools.⁷

A far more serious problem emerged for the Congress as a result of the opposition of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He issued a warning to

the Muslims that the Congress demand of representative government "meant 'majority rule' with the Hindus in the greater part of India always in power and the Muslims never."⁸ Badruddin Tyabji, therefore, suggested in October 1888, the prorogation of the Congress session for five years. His argument was that if the Muslim community was unprepared to support the Congress, its national character could not be maintained.

Tyabji had also secured the consent of two other Bombay leaders, Mehta and Telang.⁹ Though the Congress refused to act upon this suggestion, it is definitely indicative of the sense of frustration of early Congressmen at the opposition of the Government, the Muslim leadership and the aristocratic class.

The Congress was now in a defensive mood which gave good breathing time to Lansdowne to plan out his course of action. He recognised clearly that the Allahabad session was a "moderate minded assembly" and its proceedings were "very mild and temperate."¹⁰ George Yule, a non-controversial European merchant, who had seldom been associated with the Congress, was selected President of the annual Congress session for the year 1888. The Viceroy considered that his address was "quite unobjectionable both in manner and matter."¹¹ Official information regarding the next Congress session was that it had "on the whole been tame." The session was dismissed as "an annual political demonstration."¹²

The Congress leaders took the first opportunity to open dialogue with the new Viceroy. The Allahabad Congress authorized a deputation to wait upon him, and acquaint him with the resolutions. The proposed meeting did not come off as the Viceroy was not prepared to meet any such deputation. He explained: "Were I to do immediately after Lord Dufferin's speech, my action would probably be construed as indicating a marked divergence from his policy and perhaps an implied rebuke to Sir A. Colvin."¹³ However, he was pre-

disposed to treat the Congress with "good humoured indifference" on two conditions; that it should content itself with the academic questions only, and avoid the dissemination of seditious matters.¹⁴ The Viceroy adopted a conciliatory policy towards the 'moderates' within the Congress, and issued a warning to the 'extreme' section of the Congress. Such invidious distinctions in the Congress were made as a part of strategy to control the movement.

For some time the ruling Indian princes were contributing handsomely to the funds of the Congress. It is scarcely surprising that the Foreign Office did not take kindly to their involvement in the movement. It proposed to convey the displeasure of the Government of India to the princes. When the matter came up for the consideration of the Viceroy he wrote: "I would far sooner allow the Chiefs to contribute than create the impression that we were putting the screw on in order to stifle the Congress movement."¹⁵ These were the comments of an astute diplomat who refused to be agitated by such developments.

The issue of a circular by the Bengal Government asking the officials not to take part in the annual Congress session at Calcutta, sparked off a controversy which has often been quoted to explain that the official view took an unsympathetic turn in 1890, and "the Congress was losing caste with the Government of India."¹⁶ Now that we have full facts before us it would be uncharitable to Lansdowne if we held him responsible for this incident.

The Government of India issued an order in January 1890 asking the officials to abstain from active participation in political movements. Lansdowne maintained that the orders "had no reference to meetings of the Congress". They were issued to prevent officials from "associating themselves with popular movements of different complexions like anti-cow killing movement." The Bengal Government, giving a different interpretation to the above

circular, returned the few tickets of admission which had been issued to the Lt. Governor and other officials by the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee. The latter was further informed that the orders of the Government of India "definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings."¹⁷ The Congress was indignant; it authorised the President of the session, Pherozeshah Mehta, to seek clarification from the Viceroy. Lansdowne immediately pointed out that there was inconsistency in the stand of the Bengal Government, as the original circular did not prohibit the presence of officials at Congress meetings. They had merely been precluded to take active part in the event of their presence. The Viceroy further explained that the Bengal Government had "carelessly" drafted the letter "going entirely beyond these orders upon the subject." He also felt that there was no need to return the tickets of admission which led to the controversy.¹⁸

The Viceroy did his best to assuage the Congress leaders. Clarifying the position of the Government of India, he informed A.O. Hume that the Congress was a "perfectly legitimate movement" representing in India what in Europe would be called a more advanced liberal party. This was the first occasion when the Government recognised the Congress openly. A.O. Hume welcomed the stand of the Viceroy, and the substance of the letter was given wide publicity among the members of the organisation.

Now that Lansdowne had been at the helm for two years, he was in a better position to take stock of the situation, and set out the official policy. He was "strongly of the opinion that it is in our interest not to show any animus against the Congress" which was unlikely to "assume a more innocuous shape than that which it now takes." He did feel that it was "useless either to ignore its existence or to endeavour to procure its suppression by indirect methods." With a sense of reality he further argued that with a free press and the right of

public meetings, the Government would have to deal with some such organisation.¹⁹ When we remember that Dufferin never recognised the need of this body and was always looking for its suppression the stand of Lansdowne was a step forward in the direction of amicable relations between the Government and the Congress. Similarly, Lansdowne did not consider that the Congress was a mischievous organisation, as was thought by his predecessor. To an enquiry made by the Master of Balliol whether he found the Congress troublesome or dangerous, the Viceroy's answer was "no." He further conceded that most of the resolutions of the Congress had reference to proposals which the Government had discussed as open questions.²⁰

As long as caution and watchfulness were the two guiding principles of the Viceroy, it was too much to expect from him to rise above the prejudices of his predecessor and civil servants in his dealings with A.O. Hume. In a meeting with the Governor of Bombay, Hume had explained his conviction that there was widespread discontent in the country and a feeling that it was hopeless to look to Government for justice.²¹ These criticisms were not liked by the civil servants; and the result was, as Lansdowne conceded, that Hume was "distrusted and perhaps not without reason in official circles." The Viceroy added: "All he says and writes is to some extent tainted by his strange metaphysical belief, he has occult means, uncomprehended by Western civilization of finding out what people think and are doing."²² He was prepared to encourage all those who were leading the movement "to shake themselves clear of Mr Hume and all his works."²³ The Viceroy kept Hume at arm's length. If he agreed to meet him in Jan. 1891 it was because the Viceroy "could not well have denied him an interview" in the wake of the controversy at the recent Calcutta session.²⁴

Hume was suddenly in high spirits. Even with the slightest encouragement given by the

Viceroy, he entreatingly wrote several long letters asking him "to try somewhat to realize the strength of the feelings which pervade the educated classes." He demanded that the Government should respect the "opinion of the most advanced Indians" and those "most devoted to the Union." He pleaded that the "most pro-English" Indians should be associated with the administration. Hume advocated his favourite theory that there were two powers in India, the popular and the bureaucratic, whose efforts combined in harmonious and sympathetic actions might change the whole face of the country. He pinned his faith on the Viceroy "the only purely independent statesman that we have in the Government of India" and asked him "to put his foot down, strike 'a new line of action.'" Hume implored him to devise some golden bridge—some scheme to reconcile the educated classes and the bureaucracy.²⁵ No one can question the correctness of Hume's analysis, and it would have been a really remarkable spectacle to watch the civil servants working hand in hand with the leaders of the educated community in India.

The Viceroy was, however, playing safe. He completely ignored these suggestions of Hume and paid scant regard to his warnings. Avoiding any further dialogue with him, the Viceroy did not enter into any controversy. He maintained equanimity, avoided saying any harsh words, and while replying to Hume's letter, used cautious, polite, and non-committal terminology. Lansdowne's inaction made Hume desperate; and he wrote in December 1891 that being a member of the aristocracy, and because of his own temperament the Viceroy was "incapable of conceiving such things without a practical acquaintance with them."²⁶

Hume's despair was further reflected in the private circular he wrote in March 1892 to the Congressmen raising the spectre of an impending revolution within the country. Comparing India with pre-revolutionary France, Hume pointed out: "All history shows that

however peaceful a population, a time comes when starvation, injustice and despair instil into them a new nature and drive them into violence and crime." His contention was that the administration was ill-adapted to the needs of the country and lamented: "But here in India, we pray, we argue, we protest, to men who cannot, or will not hear, cannot or will not see." The alternative course which he suggested was to awaken the British public—to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and magazine articles.²⁷ This letter of Hume was characterised as "dangerous and discreditable" by the Lt. Governor of Bengal;²⁸ and Lansdowne was disposed to take legal action against him in a fit of anger.²⁹ Hume's statement was not only assailed in official circles, it was repudiated even by his close associates. Pherozeshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha and Pandit Bishambharnath openly dissociated themselves from the letter, and refused to circulate it among the members of the organisation. It is obvious that a large section of the Congress was more cautious than Hume, and did not wish to incur the Government's displeasure.

Lansdowne was eager to enlist the support of the educated middle class which, he recognised, was "remarkably intelligent and pertinacious."³⁰ He admitted that it would be "a grave blunder to ignore the aspirations of the sensible, moderate section"³¹; and proposed that the educated Indians should be "utilised" by providing them with ample scope in the legislative councils. The Congress had repeatedly demanded the introduction of the elective principle and the enlargement of these bodies. A prominent nationalist newspaper, *The Bengalee*, supporting the demand of the liberalization of the legislative councils, commented that this was "the most important question of domestic reform we can think of and it is intimately connected with the future political progress of the country." The paper argued that this was the best instrument for all other reforms.³²

A scheme of the reforms of the legislative

councils had already been submitted by Dufferin at the time of his departure from India. But these proposals were tentative, as he had neither consulted his council nor the Governors of the provinces. The Secretary of State was up in arms both at the procedure adopted by the retiring Viceroy and his proposals. He advised Lansdowne to keep the proposals secret so that attention could be given to them leisurely.³³ But the confidential document leaked out, and it was published in *The Bengalee* in March 1889. It was now common knowledge that Dufferin who was called a "conservative" by Lansdowne³⁴ had forwarded proposals of reforms, and any delay in their acceptance was likely to be misconstrued in the Press as a sign of the opposition of the new Viceroy. Lansdowne felt the pinch of unpopularity, more so, because he had lent his weight in favour of reforms and was interested in carrying through more liberal proposals than those submitted earlier.

From the beginning of his viceroyalty, Lansdowne favoured the introduction of the principle of election. In April 1889 the Viceroy wrote: "I am myself strongly in favour of election." He insisted again: "My impression about the elective principle is that it will have to come sooner or later and I should like to take power to introduce it."³⁵ But there was no smooth sailing for the Viceroy. The initial hurdle was the cool response of the Governors and the members of the Executive Council who were not in favour of the proposal without certain reservations. Far more serious was the opposition of the India Office where the word election worked as a red rag.³⁶ The British Prime Minister, Salisbury, hesitated to introduce the reform bill in Parliament due to unaccountable fear of the effect on India of any speech of Gladstone. Lansdowne had to make several representations to the Prime Minister to expedite the measure³⁷ which was finally rushed through the Parliament in May 1892.

The Indian Councils Act was a "slow res-

ponse to the nationalists' most important demand" and it represents "a chance missed for a large and enlightened scheme of reform"³⁸ largely due to the halting response of the Tory cabinet led by Salisbury. Lansdowne conceded that the changes proposed by the Act were "moderate and will disappoint many people in this country".³⁹ Still he hoped that the councils would prove "useful." He was inclined to think that "it is a distinct advantage that politicians of the type of S. N. Banerjee should find their way into the reconstituted councils." The Act would further "give people a chance of airing their grievances."⁴⁰ The Civil Servants were, however, apprehensive. C. H. T. Crosthwaite, the Lt. Governor of N. W. Provinces voicing their demand remarked: "And soon the people will see the Congress members of the Council heckling the Viceroy and his Lieutenants at the Council Boards, and their respect for the authority of the Government will be still more diminished."⁴¹ It should be remembered that the Viceroy had to work with officials holding such views—officials who wanted to administer India with the sword and frowned upon attempts to meet even the moderate demands of the Congress.

Since its first session the Congress pressed for increased employment of Indians on the higher rungs of the administration. The appointment of the Aitchison Commission in 1886 with the avowed objective of doing full justice to the claims of Indians was the first sign that the Government was scrutinizing the scheme. Further action on its report was taken during Lansdowne's viceroyalty. Except for proposing the maximum age limit of admission to the Indian Civil Service from 19 years to 23 years the Commission did not propose any far-reaching changes. The Commission rejected the demand of simultaneous examination for the Indian Civil Service both in India and England. Its proposal to set apart one-sixth of the posts for Indians was further circumscribed by the Government and only one-eighth of the posts in the I.C.S. were left open. This led to resentment; and the Congress in its 1892 session

expressed "deep regret" at the resolution of the Government of India and "the sense of disappointment which is everywhere felt."⁴² *The Bengalee* rejected it as a "lame, halting and half-hearted scheme";⁴³ the *Patrika* described the proposals as "outrageous."⁴⁴ *The Statesman* called the scheme "violently reactionary instead of progressive."⁴⁵ Thus the expectations raised by the appointment of the Commission were frustrated and the Indians were supposed to be fit only for work in lower ranks.

Even the support voiced in the House of Commons to the demand of simultaneous examinations in the I.C.S. in a resolution adopted in June 1893, did not bring any significant results. But it was no doubt a clear sign that Bradlaugh had not worked in vain; and that Dadabhai Naoroji, H. T. Paul and others had shown that there was "formidable pressure for equality of treatment for Indian and European candidates."⁴⁶ For some time there was expectation in the air in India. A public meeting organised in Calcutta Town Hall under the chairmanship of Jotindra Nath Tagore expressed its gratitude to the members of Parliament.

The comment of *The Times* that the resolution of the House of Commons was a "barren triumph",⁴⁷ however, indicated that the India Office was not prepared to give way. While despatching the resolution to the Governor General, the Secretary of State reminded him that "our supremacy in India rests upon the Europeans who control the administration."⁴⁸ Lansdowne had already expressed his firm opposition to the resolution which he called "preposterous" and "foolish." He was afraid that the result of the proposal would be to create an influx of 'natives' in higher posts. Fully dittoing the views of his official chief, Lansdowne stressed that "the question of throwing open the small number of appointments for the Civil Service is really one of life and death to the country."⁴⁹ He should in fact have said that this was vital for the maintenance of British domination in India. The

Viceroy called upon the provincial heads to provide a magazine of arguments against the simultaneous examinations which they offered most enthusiastically. Thus the whole official machinery in India was set in motion to defeat the resolution of the House of Commons. The resolution fell through. This bred a spirit of disappointment among members of the Congress.

In July 1893 Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in N. W. Provinces and Bombay over the question of killing of cows. The attempts of the Muslims were resisted by the Hindus who established Cow-Protection Societies in various provinces. As the movement gained popularity, the Viceroy was alarmed; and suspected that the extremist wing of the Congress was widening the base of its activities. The Viceroy, however, did not resort to repression in a huff in spite of the suggestion of the Governor of N. W. Provinces. The Secretary of State, Kimberley, taking a realistic view of the situation, explained that the movement "cuts at the very root of the Congress for the formation of a united people" and it would make the combination of the two communities impossible.⁵⁰

The comment of Dadabhai Naoroji, who visited India again in December 1893 to preside over the Congress session, that the Viceroy "shows no hostility nor opposition to the Congress,"⁵¹ explains the sense of relief in the deliberations of this body. The Viceroy himself wrote in the closing year of his administration: "I have always been scrupulously civil to the Congress and have probably gone further than any of my predecessors in recognising it as a political factor."⁵² Lansdowne clearly recognised the need of such an organization in the country and appreciated the strength of the feelings amongst the educated middle class. The indecisiveness displayed by the Salisbury ministry in carrying through the Indian Councils Act was but one instance of the lack of response of the British Government. This inhibiting factor combined with the solid opposition of

the officials to the national movement had its influence on the Viceroy who was after all only a temporary head of a permanent machine.

In formulating his policy towards the Congress the Viceroy was, therefore, cool, cautious and watchful.

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THE PROBLEM OF MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN BENGAL

A HISTORICAL SURVEY (1835-1966) *

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Introduction

The controversy over the medium of instruction in Bengal is a very interesting and at the same time intricate problem not only for the educationists but also for the historians and sociologists. In a sense, it reflected the high and low watermarks of British contact with India. The changing pattern of the controversy during the British period shows the triumph and retreat of imperialism reflected in the cultural life of the country. It is also a study in the changing response of the people to the British ideas and thinking. The controversy indicates the changing pattern of Indian mind as well. From cooperation with English imperialism through the acceptance of English as a medium of instruction it slowly proceeded through an era of rethinking to a nationalistic opposition to it in the period following the partition of Bengal. The problem assumed a new meaning in Free India necessitating fresh thinking. It must, however, be made clear that we are more interested in analysing the trends and not the summation of what may be loosely called the public opinion.

Ever since the beginning of the English connection with India language was a vexed problem. The early English settlers somehow managed to carry on their business aided by Indians who picked up some broken English

in the process. On the contrary, we find a few Englishmen gaining proficiency in native languages and Persian. Even at the end of the 18th century the study of the English language in Bengal was mostly confined to clerks and interpreters. But the perspective changed quickly as the English gained political supremacy. English became the language of the rulers rather than that of the merchants. Thus the idea of paramountcy was a great factor in moulding the attitude of the subjects. Meanwhile, the gradual permeation of English liberalism captured the imagination of the educated people and created a new taste for English. Matters took a turn with the establishment of the Hindu College in 1817. It became the centre of challenge to the orthodox attitude and the old order. It is a fashion to say that English was imposed on an unwilling people only to create a class loyal to the English. But it must be pointed out that no ruler, however powerful it may be, can impose a language on a hostile subject race. What I want to emphasize is that a precondition or rather a favourable atmosphere was created in Bengal for the imposition of English. To many English became an instrument of emancipation. The disciples of Derozio and an enlightened section of the Bengalees headed by Raja Rammohun Roy championed the cause of English. To them English was the vehicle of new ideas which were so necessary for the reformation of an orthodox society. The contribution of the Raja is too well known to be discussed again. There is an element of truth when Mr. J. Ghosh writes, "Moreover,

* Paper read in the Seminar on the Problem of Medium of Instruction in India organised by the National Institute of Education, New Delhi, and held at Visva-Bharati between 4 March and 9 March, 1968.

this equipment was often sought by members of families in affluent circumstances and highly prized by some of the leaders of Hindu society as a powerful lever for collective as well as individual uplift....alongside of it there was the more laudable ambition of getting into the society of the rulers....¹ The orthodox section did not accept it and hence began a controversy between English or mother tongue. The controversy was precipitated when the General Committee of Public Instruction set up in 1823 was split up into two sections—one supporting the cause of English which came to be known as Anglicists and the other upholding the cause of the country languages which came to be known as Orientalists. The Anglicists were supported by a section of the Bengalees under the leadership of Raja Ram-mohun Roy. But it is really surprising that some of the Englishmen fought for the cause of the oriental languages. The educational policy of the Orientalists found an expression in the note of Holt Mackenzie, dated 17th July, 1823 in which he firmly expressed that "Government should apply itself chiefly to the instruction of those who will themselves be teachers (including of course in the term many, who never appear as professed masters and also translators from the European into the native language) and to the translation, compilation and publication of useful works". Holt Mackenzie, however, advocated the downward filtration theory and was interested only in a microscopic minority. Men like Raja Radhakanta Dev who had great hold on the orthodox section, thought that "a compromise was possible between Indian tradition and Western knowledge by which each would retain its proper province without encroaching on the limits of the other"². But no such compromise was ultimately possible as it was actually a tussle between *tradition* and *change*. An air of uncertainty and tension was created resulting in an utter confusion in the educational life. It was in this state of things that Macaulay came to Bengal.

Imposition of English: From Macaulay to Wood.

Macaulay at once found that the controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists was raging in full fury. The two sections were so evenly balanced that no decision could be taken. He realised that a decision was urgently needed and became the leader of the Anglicists within no time. Very soon he crossed swords with Mr. H. T. Prinsep who championed the cause of the oriental languages. But with Macaulay's support the balance tilted in favour of English. Prinsep wrote in his diary, "When T. B. Macaulay arrived to be the new legislative member of the Council of India, his high literary reputation induced the Government to appoint him President of the Council of Education, and the English party, as it was called, entertained high hope that his influence and authority would turn the scale against me and my supporters".³ Prinsep tried to convince Macaulay by saying that a prejudice against European knowledge did exist especially amongst the Muslims. But Macaulay proceeded with conviction and countered the arguments of his critics in his historical Minute placed before the Executive Council on 2nd February, 1835.

It has been rightly remarked that "Macaulay's presence in the Council of the Governor General at this critical time was one of the creative accidents of history".⁴ The Minute immensely helped the formulation of the educational policy of the East India Company's Government. It is rather unfortunate that he brushed aside the native store-houses of learning. He started with a fundamental supposition that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". He asserted, "it seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them." He came to the conclusion that only English could serve the

need of the time. But his advocacy of English betrayed a superiority complex and an imperialistic tone. "The claims of our own language", he wrote in his Minute, "it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West....In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East". He even talked of "the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their health, and not what was palatable to their taste".⁵

Macaulay's Minute greatly impressed Governor-General Lord William Bentinck who gave his verdict in favour of the Anglicists in his Resolution of the 7th March, 1835. The Resolution stated that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone". The Governor-General in Council also directed that "all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language". Hence English became the medium of instruction in spite of the opposition of a great majority of the people. It may be said that Macaulay was thoroughly prejudiced against oriental languages and had very little knowledge of them. Moreover, as Lord Acton said, "He knew nothing respectable before the 17th century, nothing of foreign history, religion, philosophy, science or art".⁶ It is too much of stretching of imagination to say that he tried to "cut off Indians from their past heritage through the substitution of a new language and culture for their own".⁷ There may be a difference of opinion whether his Minute indicated "a pattern of constructive statesmanship", but it is true that Macaulay has often been misread. It was no fault of his if a

section of the Bengalees desired English. He did not create that desire. The craving for English was already there, and he only capitalised that. It must, however, be admitted that he tried to solve a live problem in an artificial manner, that is, to prescribe a solution from the conference table.

Notwithstanding the imposition of English, Macaulay did not want the destruction of the Indian languages. It is rather interesting to find Macaulay as the President of the Committee of Public Instruction, emphasizing the importance of the study of modern Indian languages: "We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages....We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed". Nurullah and Naik rightly remarked that "it was no fault of Macaulay if subsequent administrators lost sight of this view to which he was a party".⁸

The Anglicists scored a victory no doubt, but the controversy over the medium of instruction did not end once for all. Rev. William Adam was meanwhile appointed by Bentinck to make a survey of vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar. In his reports Adam pleaded for the development of indigenous institutions. "To what extent", he wrote, "such institutions may exist and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established". He firmly expressed his opinion that English could never become the medium of instruction in India. He pointed out that in a national system of education the medium should be the country language. It is apparent that Adam looked at the problem from the point of view of the masses and hence opposed the downward Indian filtration theory.

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It is rather unfortunate that the recommendations of Adam were thrown into the

rejected heaps of history. Macaulay became hostile in his attitude to the reports. To fill the cup of disappointment Lord Auckland adopted a stiff attitude. The Orientalists had raised their voice again when Auckland came, but the Governor-General dashed all their hopes to the ground by ventilating his opinions in his Minute of November 24, 1839. Though he shrank from giving any definite opinion with regard to the problem of medium of instruction, he favoured the experiment with English in Bengal. It is rather strange that the Court of Directors also did not give their final verdict in their despatch of January 20, 1841 in which they approved the Minute of Auckland. All attempts of the Orientalists, however, failed to influence the Government's education policy. They found they were fighting for a lost cause and henceforward directed their energy to the preservation of the existing institutions. No attempt to supersede the study of English was tolerated and as Mr. Kerr informed us, little attention was paid to the object of imparting education through the medium of vernacular. Herbert Alick Stark rightly observed that English tended to eclipse vernaculars since 1835.⁹ Even some of the protagonists of Western education like Rev. K. M. Banerji pleaded in vain that education should be imparted through the mother tongue. The Anglicisation of education was now a reality though, generally speaking, the problem of language remained unsolved. The liberalising attempts of Lord Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie failed to bring about any fundamental change.

Era of rethinking: From Wood to Curzon.

When the Anglicists appeared to be in the full grip over the problem, there came a change in the wind. Clear signs of rethinking were visible in the deliberations of the Select Committee who made an enquiry into the activities of the Company prior to the passage of the Charter Act of 1853. There was a strange apprehension that Indians may become disloyal as a result of the educational policy. At the

same time it was felt that a wider extension of education was needed in India and that it will not jeopardise British interests in the country. This led to the emanation of the historic Despatch of Charles Wood on 19 July, 1854, which has been rightly regarded as the "Magna Carta" of English education in India. Wood first tried to explain the reasons which necessitated the adoption of English as a medium of instruction. He admitted that it resulted in a neglect of vernacular languages. But he vigorously pleaded that English was not used to suppress Indian languages. The Despatch said: "It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population". About the future medium of instruction the Despatch concluded: "We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge.....". This view was reiterated in the first Secretary of State Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859. Thus the vernacular was lifted from the bog of neglect though it could not take its rightful place and supersede English.

It must be borne in mind that the Indian perspective had begun to change. English education had done a great thing—the awakening of Indian mind. In the first half of the 19th century, Bengal witnessed what may be called a renaissance. It released new energy in the society which effected a gradual change in the pattern of thinking. Under the influence of Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society the superiority of European culture was questioned. The nascent nationalism in Bengal gave a further impetus to the rethinking about education that had already started. The politically minded nationalists began to think to remould education in the interests of the country. Even the English educated literary figures began to scoff at English. Hence we find a disillusioned Madhusudan Dutt pining

for the treasures in Bengali language and literature. Men like Vidyasagar stood for all that was best in orientalism. The satirical pen of Bankim Chandra deprecated the attitude of ridiculing Bengali by English educated 'Babus'. All this was not due to any hostility to English but a renewed love for the mother tongue. National consciousness had stirred up the mind of the Bengalees who strove for enriching their language.

The urge for improving the conditions of education led to the appointment of the Indian Education Commission headed by Sir W. W. Hunter of 1882. In its monumental report the Commission recommended "that primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular". Thus, so far as the primary education was concerned, the Commission acknowledged the claim of the vernacular only. Unfortunately this was not extended to all the stages of education. Though there was a great advance in the field of education in Bengal after 1882, the problem of medium of instruction remained in the background. But it came back to life again when Curzon came to India. It is interesting to find in an imperialist Curzon a great champion of vernacular. Lord Curzon had none of the ignorant prejudice which blinded Macaulay towards the Indian languages and literature. He was constrained to say, "Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined".¹⁰ He was rather pained to find that the craving for English has caused an utter neglect of vernaculars. He formulated his education policy in the Resolution of March 11, 1904. The Resolution stated, "if the educated classes neglected cultivation of their own languages, these will assuredly sink to mere colloquial dialects possessing no literature worthy of name". Taking the cue from Lord Curzon, the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 made a striking recommendation that the M.A. course in English should be combined with a

course in a vernacular language. Curzon appreciated the problem very well but his *modus operandi* was objectionable to the Bengalee intelligentsia. There is no denying the fact that he "left education a battle field". By 1905, the position regarding the medium of instruction was that English should continue as a medium even at the high school stage. English was not dislodged from its position at various levels excepting the primary education.

In the period of National Education: From Partition of Bengal to Independence.

The onslaught against the solidly entrenched position of English coincided with a new phase in the national movement. Public indignation burst forth into an intense agitation when the partition of Bengal was effected in 1905. This was not only important from the political point of view, it marked a turning point in Indian thinking. Constructive nationalistic thinking found an expression in the scheme of National Education. The problem of medium of instruction then gained a new significance. Politicians, educationists, scientists, and literary men all took an active interest in the enrichment and elevation of the mother tongue and virtually waged a war against the Anglicisation of education. In his Madras speech of 1907 on 'National Education', Bipin Chandra Pal made a scathing criticism against the Anglicisation. He emphatically declared that English education had to be imparted to "Create a class of men, whose interests would be indissolubly bound up with the interest of the Government.....and more than that, if these people were trained in European history, in English literature, not only their temporal interests, their intellectual ideal, their moral and ethical ideal, nay even their civic ideal too might be bound up with the perpetuation of the foreign authority in this country". In his speech as President of the Bengal Provincial Conference delivered on 23 April 1917 at Bhowanipur, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan spoke in the same vein. "Western education," he said, "has given rise to a kind of

soulless culture in our midst—a culture that is powerless for good but is ambitious of much”.¹² He also observed, “Mimic Anglicism has become an obsession with us; we find its black footprint in every walk and endeavour of our life”.¹³ Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy went a step further and advocated the cause of mother-tongue. He said, “The enormous waste of time in the education of a Bengali youth is simply staggering....Education should always be imparted through the mother-tongue of the learner—the language of his nursery.”¹⁴ He refuted the argument that science and technical subjects cannot be taught through the medium of vernaculars. “History, Geography, Geometry, Algebra, Arithmetic, Hygiene and the elementary principles of science and political economy”, he declared, “can easily be taught through the medium of Bengali. English should be relegated to the position of a second language”.¹⁵ The most vigorous expression of the new trend of thinking was evident in the writings of Rabindranath Tagore. He objected to “the artificial arrangement by which foreign education tends to occupy all the space of our national mind”.¹⁶ Tagore was convinced that English cannot serve the real purpose of education in our country. In his essay on ‘medium of instruction’ (শিক্ষার বাহন), he said:

বিদ্যা বিস্তারের কথাটা যখন ঠিকমত মন দিয়া দেখি তখন তার সর্বপ্রধান বাধাটা এই দেখিতে পাই যে তার বাহনটা ইংরেজী। বিদেশী মাল জাহাজে করিয়া শহরের ঘাট পর্যন্ত আসিয়া পৌঁছিতে পারে, কিন্তু সেই জাহাজটাতে করিয়াই দেশের হাটে হাটে আমদানি রফতানি করাইবার তুরাশা মিথ্যা।

From his own experience he said that all teaching must be done through one's own language. “It was because,” he observed, “we were taught in our own language that our mind quickened, learning should as far as possible follow the process of eating. When the taste begins from the first bite the stomach is awakened to its function before it is loaded, so that its digestive juices get full play. Nothing like this happens, however, when the Bengali

boy is taught in English”¹⁷. It must be made clear that Tagore was not hostile to English. All that he wanted was the restoration of Bengali to its rightful place. Hence we find him saying:

এমনি করিয়া, বাংলায় বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে ইংরেজী এবং বাংলা ভাষার ধারা যদি গঙ্গাযমুনার মত মিলিয়া যায় তবে বাঙালি শিক্ষার্থীর পক্ষে এটা একটা তীর্থস্থান হইবে। দুই স্রোতের সাদা এবং কালো রেখার বিভাগ থাকিবে বটে, কিন্তু তারা একসঙ্গে বহিয়া চলিবে। ইহাতেই দেশের শিক্ষা যথার্থ বিস্তীর্ণ হইবে, গভীর হইবে, সত্য হইয়া উঠিবে।

This nationalistic thinking had a great impact on the official approach to the problem. Hence we find the Sadler Commission recommending vernacular as a medium of education. The Commission observed, “the use of mother-tongue in India as an instrument of mental training has long been neglected in the school system”.¹⁸ It further remarked, “it is thus beyond controversy that a more systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and universities.”¹⁹ The administrative *Juggernaut* was, however, slow to move and less responsive to the nationalist demand. So far as the secondary education of Bengal was concerned, it was decided that modern Indian languages should be used as the media of instruction from the beginning of the year 1930. Still, in 1937 it was reported that “the medium of instruction in high-schools is nominally English but in practice, except in a few schools, instruction is usually given in a mixture of English and the mother-tongue of the pupils.”²⁰ Meanwhile in the All India Educational Conference at Wardha, one of the resolutions passed was “that the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue”²¹. The same emphasis was put on the development of the mother-tongue in the report of the Zakir Hussain Committee following the Wardha Conference. Before the past wrongs could be rectified and the confusion in the educational

field could be removed, the British left India and the country attained independence.

Renewal of the Problem in Free India:

With the end of the British Raj, the problem of the medium of instruction acquired a new significance. The adoption of Hindi as the official language introduced a new element of complication in the sphere of education. The problem in Bengal since 1947 should be studied in the general background of the Government of India's attempts to come to a decision by means of different Commissions' reports. The Central Advisory Board of Education in its fifteenth meeting in 1949 recommended “regional language as medium of instruction in the secondary stage” with sufficient guarantees for the linguistic minority in a particular state.²² The Secondary Education Commission also recommended in its report of 1953: “Mother-tongue or the regional language should generally be the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school stage subject to the provision that for linguistic minorities special facilities should be made available on the lines suggested by the Central Advisory Board of Education.”²³ At the same time, the Commission prescribed a three language formula to be generally followed in schools.

The question of the medium of instruction has now become more delicate with its intimate connection with the problem of national and emotional integration. The Committee on Emotional Integration in its report of 1962 observed, “The importance of having Indian languages as media of instruction from the lowest to the highest stage of education is a matter of profound importance for national integration. There is urgent need to remove the gulf that has existed between the masses of the people and the intellectual elite.”²⁴ The Committee held the view that “the medium of instruction at the university level should be in the regional language and that the switch-over should be carried out in a phased and orderly manner, taking care to ensure that standards

are safeguarded at every step.”²⁵ At the same time, the Committee spoke of “a common medium of instruction in our universities”. The Kothari Commission has also recommended in the same vein. It has been remarked in the Commission's report that “Mother-tongue has a pre-eminent claim as the medium of education at the school and college stages. Moreover, the medium of education in school and higher education should generally be the same. The regional languages should, therefore, be adopted as the media of education in higher education.”²⁶ The Commission, like the Committee on National Integration, has expressed the opinion that “English will serve as a link language in higher education for academic work and intellectual inter-communication”²⁷.

The general background thus being stated, we must say that the position with regard to the medium of instruction at the college and university level in Bengal is still indefinite. About the secondary stage there is unanimity. But the problem in the higher education is yet to be solved, though a marked inclination to the acceptance of the regional language can be seen. It must be stated here that there is no general hostility to English, the continuance of which as a secondary language will be welcomed by the majority.

Conclusion:

Before giving a final verdict with regard to this problem, we have to be cautious and objective. This has become all the more difficult because it is no longer a purely academic problem. Unfortunately, it has degenerated into a political tug-of-war in which there is always a chance of the real need being overlooked. Emotionalism must be shunned before we come to a happy conclusion. The language controversy has triggered off a linguistic rivalry affecting the integrity of the country. Dr. K. L. Shrimali is right when he says, “Much of the linguistic rivalry which exists in our country is due to this psychological factor—the fear and anxiety of losing the linguistic sense

of honour. The greater the fear of invasion of one's mother-tongue, the stronger is the tendency to cling to one's own language."²⁸

Secondly, the question of standard text books should be kept in mind while recommending a medium of instruction. In the absence of standard books in regional languages, a sudden switch-over from English is likely to have a damaging effect on the standard. This difficulty may be overcome by Government enterprise to translate standard English books at the initial stage. At the same time encouragement should be given to the production of original

works in regional languages which alone can ultimately fill in the void.

Lastly, we must bear in mind that the question of medium of instruction is a live question which should not be solved at a conference table at once. Any hasty step may dislocate the whole programme and create more confusion, thereby damaging the cause of education itself. The element of dictation should be removed if we have to do something tangible. Are we going to commit the same mistake as Macaulay did in 1835? Hence ultra-nationalistic approach and unhealthy overenthusiasm must be properly tempered by a rational outlook.

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THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

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The victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war was one of the most important events in the 20th century world history. It awakened Asia from its slumber of ages. The outcome of the war had a great impact on the Indian politics. It stimulated the national awakening among the people who were groaning under the misrule and exploitation of the British Government. As the war was fought between a giant and a dwarf, it shattered the superiority of the west. It opened a window to the subject peoples who found in it a new source of inspiration and a new gospel of emancipation.

The Russo-Japanese war was a great turning point in the history of the freedom movement in India. Its outcome infused the ideas of self-determination and self-reliance and Indians began to realise for the first time that if Japan, a dot on the map, could defeat a mighty European power, Russia, why could not the Indians drive away the Britishers from their motherland. The Indians felt that the mills, factories, railroads and the like, opened by the Britishers were for the exploitation of the Indian masses and the salvation of the country lay in the attainment of Swaraj. While comparing their lot with the Japanese they concluded that the industrial, social and political progress of Japan made in a short span of time was due to the fact that they were an independent nation and freedom was the backbone of all developments—social, economic and political. Thus the Indians began to think in terms of economic development, in terms of independence and in terms of getting rid of the exploitation by the Britishers.

Japan's encounter with Russia was watched in India with a rare interest as if India itself had become involved in that deadly struggle.¹ The news of the day to day Japanese success was hailed in India with joy. *The Bengalee* of April 10, 1904 published a poem "Dawn in the East" by Bertrand Shadwell which expressed clearly the enthusiasm of the Indian people. It runs,

"Wake Asia, wake, the red sun rises fast,
Arm China, arm thy millions at the wall,
The sleep of silent centuries at last
Is broken by a sudden trumpet call.

Stand Asia, stand to guard thy continent,
Gird on thy sword thy citadels to save;
Forth to thy frontiers now or be content
Now and for ever to be Europe's slave.
Dawn in the East ! The red sun flashes law.
Strike for thy own, the right against the wrong,

Now while the robber reels, the blow
Dealt by an Eastern sword so deft and
strong."²

The progress of the war was displayed by the Indian newspapers in detail and it was discussed in Indian societies with sympathetic attitude towards Japan.³ An Indian student in Tokyo wrote in a Japanese journal, "You (Japanese) perhaps cannot imagine how much our countrymen are grateful to Japan and to what extent they loved her (Japan). During the war so great was the interest of our people in Japan that our weekly papers

his predecessor¹⁰ who, in his turn, had obtained it from Biddulph.¹¹ But Lytton was reluctant to do anything before he had tried Shere Ali, and the Punjab authorities were accordingly asked not to dabble in the Chitral question.¹² In fact, Lytton was even prepared to consider the absorption of Chitral by Afghanistan on certain conditions, if only Shere Ali could be thoroughly secured on behalf of the Indian Government. If not, Chitral would be the trump card in his hand to be played against the Afghan chief.¹³

Lytton's overtures to the Amir for a satisfactory settlement of the Afghan question did not meet with any immediate result, and this led him to reconsider his Kashmir policy. Fortunately for Lytton, the ruler of Chitral, being threatened by Shere Ali, had in the meantime offered his allegiance to the Maharaja,¹⁴ and Lytton availed himself of this opportunity for a resettlement of British relations with Kashmir.¹⁵ He was prepared to allow the Maharaja to take possession of Chitral and Yasin, as a part of a general arrangement involving the permanent appointment of a British Resident in Kashmir, and an agent at Gilgit.¹⁶ Such an arrangement would secure to the Indian Government an effective control over the Iskoman and Baroghil passes and thus serve as a check upon Russian (or even Afghan) encroachment upon the northern frontier of India.¹⁷ With a firm control over Chitral and Yasin on the one hand, and a satisfactory re-settlement of British relations with Khelat on the other, Lord Lytton hoped to secure the two wings of the north-west frontier of India against any invading army.

The Viceroy's Council, however, was at first opposed to the idea of Kashmiri occupation of Chitral and Yasin, but with Salisbury's approval, Lytton found it no difficult task to persuade them to accept his scheme of frontier re-arrangement.¹⁸ It was discussed by him with Ranbir Singh at Madhopore on 17 and 18 November, 1876. The Maharaja was but too willing to extend his political influence over

Chitral and Yasin, if necessary, with British aid, but he "kicked long and strenuously" against the appointment of a British Agent at Gilgit. But Lytton made it a *sine qua non* of the proposed arrangement, and at one stage it seemed as if the negotiation would fall through. The matter, however, was settled when Lytton gave assurances to Ranbir Singh that the Gilgit Agent would not interfere in his domestic affairs, but would only be concerned with obtaining information as to the progress of events beyond the Kashmir frontier.

With the establishment of the Gilgit Agency a provision was made to secure a vicarious control over the tribal chiefs beyond the Kashmir frontier,¹⁹ but Lytton did not rest contented with that. He proceeded to establish a more direct contact with the Kashmir Darbar as, in his opinion, a special importance now attached to Kashmir—a state with which the relations of the Indian Government were imperial rather than local, and whose interests were identical with those of the Indian Empire.²⁰ He, therefore, informed both the Punjab Government and the Maharaja that henceforth the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir would directly correspond with the Government of India which would take into its own hands the direct conduct of all its political relations with Kashmir. On matters of local or provincial interest, the British agent was to correspond, as heretofore, directly with the Punjab Government. In lieu of this change, Lytton was prepared to accept an accredited *Vakil* of the Maharaja who would reside at the Viceregal Court for the special representation of the interests of the Kashmir Darbar.²¹

At the same time Lytton prevailed upon Aman-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Chitral, to come to a definitive agreement with the Kashmir Darbar. Though at first inclined to accept the suzerainty of the Maharaja, Aman was reluctant to commit himself to any definite arrangement. Lytton, of course, invited Chitral agents to attend the Delhi Darbar in order to impress them with the splendour of the

the history of Japan in order to discover what enabled her to wound so deeply one of the greatest military powers of Europe. The answer, they found in Japanese patriotism, self-sacrifice and national unity."¹³

The outcome of the war filled the people with determination and self-confidence. They began to realise that if the rice-eating Jap was capable of beating the Russian soldiers, the rice-eating Indians could do the same if properly trained, as Indians were inferior to none.¹⁴ They began to realise that they could do what Japan had done as they were clever in brain, more versatile in the application of science, braver at heart and more efficient in the organisation than the European.¹⁵ A Bengali paper *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya O Anand Bazar Patrika* of June 8, 1905 advised the English rulers to make "no more attempt to trodden down (the Indians) like flies in the dust, and assured the countrymen, the East (India) is sure to triumph over the West (Britain) if studied and emulated Japan."¹⁶

The repercussions of the Japanese victory in India were also observed by discerning Europeans. Even Henry Cotton supported the fact that the Japanese example was not lost on India. He wrote, "The fact which has made Japan what she is, is an absorbing patriotism derived from and dependent on her national existence. It is based on collective action, which independence alone can give. An alien government, however well-intentioned, cannot accomplish during many generations what national government has done in the space of less than forty years. The tendency of an alien government is too often in the direction, not of progress, but of disruption and reaction. The conditions in India do not point to any early renaissance such as we have witnessed in Japan. But the changes taking place there are no less due to the rising patriotism of the people. India is bereft of its independence. But the people of India have caught fire from the patriotic instincts which are associating the world around them, and a nascent nationalism

is the magnet which holds together the solvent influences hitherto never felt."¹⁶

The Russo-Japanese war stimulated the mind of the Indian people. Even the orthodox people of India had no objection to sending their children to Japan for studies. It has been supported by an Indian student when he wrote in a Japanese journal, "The place of Japan in the heart of India will be indicated by the fact that those of our orthodox people, now their number is rapidly decreasing, who do not like to send their sons to Europe and America because of caste prejudices, raise no objection in the case of Japan."¹⁷ As a result a large number of Indian students began to prosecute their studies in Japanese schools and universities. Indian *jujetsu clubs* were founded in the university centres and an emphasis was given to the study of the Japanese language.¹⁸

By the end of October 1905 there were 31 Indian students prosecuting their studies in Japan. Out of these 16 came from Bengal, 2 from Bihar, 2 from A.W.P., 1 from Panjab, 4 from Bombay and 6 from Nepal. Among the subjects chosen by them were applied chemistry, pharmacy, mining, porcelain, glass, mining and technology, lacquer works, pencil, soap, matches, weaving and dyeing, agriculture, silk and sericulture and technology of arms and explosives and cotton spinning.¹⁹ To quote Theodore Morrison, "The principal motive in visiting Japan has been an economic one. Indian students wished to learn how the Japanese had adopted European science to the development of their country; some of them realised that there was considerable analogy between the conditions of Japan and India and that India could more easily adapt the industrial teaching of Japan to her own needs than imitate the highly developed manufacturing process of England and America."²⁰ Even Fuller wrote that "Indian students flocked to this star of the East, and then in the years 1907, 1908 and 1909 they returned halloed

actions, in your ideals and aspiration... All Asia is astir with the pulsation of a new life. The sun has risen in the East. Japan has saluted the rising sun. That sun in its meridian splendour will pass through our country."⁴⁴

The Swadeshi and boycott movement was so responsive that a five years old granddaughter of Surendranath Banerjee refused to accept a foreign made presentation from a relative and a six years old girl refused to take foreign medicine even in delirium.⁴⁵

In Maharashtra a stirring campaign was carried out by Tilak and his associates in favour of Swadeshi movement. The newspapers *Mahratta* and *Kesari* published by Tilak advocated the cause of Swadeshi and boycott. New organisations came into existence for spreading the ideas of Swadeshi. Pledges were taken from people by the organisation —Swadeshi Bastu Pracharini Sabha, to use hand-made goods as far as practicable.⁴⁶ Theatrical workers also joined the movement. An appeal was made in a theatrical conference held in Maharashtra only to purchase Indian goods for their stage needs.⁴⁷

For the advancement of industrial and agricultural education additional importance was given to Paish-Fund which had been started by Tilak in 1903. The people were told now that if everyone contributed a pice per annum, between six and seven lakhs of rupees per year would be collected which could be utilised for starting new industries and sending students to Europe, America and Japan for industrial training.⁴⁸ At Poona a new feature was added to Ganapati festival. At the festival songs were recited in praise of Japan and that of Swadeshi movement.⁴⁹

The formation of Swadeshi undertakings began to be reported in the press at the end of 1905. With the aid of Japanese machineries many mills and factories were started. The Maharaja of Kolhapur started a weaving and spinning mill. At Sholapur also a new mill was started.

The Marwaries of Hathras decided to set up a Swadeshi spinning and weaving concern.⁵⁰ It has been supported by Government Report which runs, "...Considerable additions have been made to weaving plants both in Calcutta and Bombay within the last year in response to the Swadeshi movement, and it is natural that the Indian mills should be deeply interested in keeping the agitation alive." It was further reported that the Indian mills were carrying tests of the spindles manufactured in Japan.⁵¹ To take care of these industries experts were supplied by Japan.⁵²

It was a surprise to the British government that Japanese goods were not boycotted by Indians and a large quantity of Japanese cotton hosiery were sold openly.⁵³ Tilak was of the opinion that preference should be given to native and next to Japanese manufactures.⁵⁴ Principal Sakunoshi Motado of the Formosan college, Tokyo, in the course of his lecture which he delivered at Benares on March 20, 1906 said that both the Japanese and the Indians being eastern people, they had some affinity between them, so that what Japan had done, India could do. The speaker urged the people to improve the condition of women and concluded with the remark that "Pride of India is pride of Japan. Shame of India is the shame of Japan."⁵⁵ *The Bengalee* wrote, "We can come to know from Japanese papers that India by boycotting the foreign goods is now looking upon Japan's trade. What not can Japan supply? Silk, glassware, porcelain engines, buttons, cigarettes, paints, colour, scientific apparatus and everything that can be expected from other civilised nations of the world."⁵⁶ A correspondent wrote from Tokyo in the *Bengalee* that a meeting of the Indian students was held in Tokyo in the previous week, when it was resolved to give all possible help and information to Indian shopkeepers and merchants regarding Japan's industries and exports.⁵⁷

The Swadeshi and boycott movement thus was influenced by the Japanese success. In

Japanese progress and efficiency patriotic Indians saw a lesson and tried to emulate and practise it. A number of students were granted scholarships by Indian patriots and hurried to Japan for technical and industrial training. During the years 1907 and 1909 many students returned to India to take part in Swadeshi movement and a number of small factories of matches, hosiery, pencils, cutlery and the like were set up by their efforts.⁵⁸

The victory of Japan over Russia also influenced the violent revolutionary activities in India. The revolutionaries realised that the secret of Japanese victory lay in that a Japanese knew how to lay down his life for the service of his country. They began to think that so long the Indians did not learn how to die, the path of our progress would not be broadened.⁵⁹

Aurobindo while advocating the cult of strength made a reference to Japan and said "...there is no instance in history of a more marvellous and sudden uprising of strength in a nation than modern Japan," and prophesied that "India cannot perish, our race cannot become extinct because among all the divisions of mankind it is to India that is reserved the highest and the most splendid destiny, the most essential to the future of human race."⁶⁰ The Indian revolutionaries began to dream of Japan's military renaissance and of a similar ideological transformation of the Indian people and they realised that "a war of victory could one day be waged to a successful end."⁶¹ Hence the leaders of the sedition movement considered Japan as the champion of the Asian nations.⁶²

The revolutionaries were fired with a patriotic zeal and a wave of revolutionary movement spread throughout India. The question was, as Chirol pointed out, "not whether Bengal should be one un-partitioned province or two-partitioned provinces under British rule, but whether the British rule itself was to endure in Bengal, or for the matter of that anywhere

in India."⁶³ All these plots were directed towards a single object "the overthrow by force of the British rule in India"⁶⁴ which was the direct impact of Japan's victory over Russia.

The Japanese too were taking much interest in Indian politics. The victory did not blind them to the fate of their brothers groaning under British Imperialism. They inspired Indians to overcome the Imperialism that was eating into the vitals of the nation. An article under the heading, "The Decline and Fall of the British Empire," appeared in a Japanese paper which asked England to have a lesson from the event of 1905 and prophesied the downfall of British Empire in India.⁶⁵

Japan had become one of the main centres where Indian revolutionaries took lesson in the manufacture of arms and ammunition. According to a despatch published in a London journal it was known that many young people went abroad to study the manufacture of arms. Most of them hurried to Japan. It was also reported that an extraordinary organisation for sending young Indians to Japan to learn to make arms was discovered and suppressed. Youths belonging to noble families were induced to commit dacoities by the organisation and when it was considered to be enough for their maintenance, they were sent to Japan.⁶⁶ Even Chirol admitted that "The emergence of Japan has created so powerful an impression in India that one is not surprised to find the Indian revolutionaries...looking in that quarter (Japan) for guidance and even, perhaps, for assistance."⁶⁷

The outcome of the war aroused the patriotism of Indian revolutionaries so much that for the first time bomb made its appearance in Indian politics.⁶⁸ Various sabhas, samitis and akharas were set up to impart lessons in fencing and games to youngmen.⁶⁹ It was influenced by the success of Japan which is evident from Government records. The records pointed out that the establishment of physical force (National Volunteer Movement) among the Bengalis

appeared to have been inspired by the result of the Russo-Japanese war.⁷⁰

To preach the gospel of revolution the leaders of Bengal published many books and periodicals, such as Bhawani Mandir, Jugantar, Mukti Kon Pathe, and the like, and a revolutionary propaganda was carried on by all of them. Advocating the method of Japan, Bhawani Mandir wrote "Indians must acquire mental, physical and spiritual strength. They must copy the method of Japan."⁷¹

Under the Japanese influence a campaign of secret assassination was inaugurated. Several attempts were made on the lives of many eminent Englishmen which culminated in the sensational bomb throwing at Muzaffarpur in Bihar by Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki. Harnam Singh is of the opinion that the bomb-throwing at Muzaffarpur was influenced by the outcome of the Russo-Japanese war of 1905. He thus wrote, "The young Indian was thrilled at the victory of Japan over Russia in the Russo-Japanese war of 1905. The defeat of a white race by a colonial race was a source of inspiration. The suppressed streams of nationalism began to run freely and in 1908 the first act of terrorism was noticed."⁷²

In 1909 at the Alipore Bomb Trial the police confessed that they found in the possession of the prisoners a series of manuscripts on the Russo-Japanese war. It was also revealed that a work entitled, "The awakening of Japan" was much to the liking of the revolutionaries.⁷³ Eardley Norton was of the opinion that, "The evidence was undoubtedly true and convincing. The police had done their share of detection with skill, with daring and with honesty. The indiscriminatory character of the document was irrefutable, of the weapons and other things found, incontestable."⁷⁴

The success of Japan also gave a new momentum to India that she could also maintain representative institutions like Japan if she had the opportunity. The people realised that

national prosperity and greatness all depended on self-government. To quote the *Bengalee*, "The land of the Rising Sun is also the land of constitutional liberty. Without a trial but wholly trusting the people and relying upon their loyalty and public spirit, the Mikado has given them a constitution, and it has produced splendid results. Japan is now one of the great powers of the world; and she owes her position as much to the courage and patriotism of her people as to the constitutional liberties which have fostered and stimulated those high qualities. Self-government is a noble instructress, and while the administration is benefited by the cordial cooperation of the people, the people in their turn are benefited by the strengthening of those qualities which contribute to national prosperity and greatness."⁷⁵

The Mussalman, a Calcutta newspaper, also held the same opinion. It commented thus, "The example of Japan should be an object-lesson to the Occidentals. As soon as the Japanese realised that representative system of Government was necessary, the Mikado lost no time in granting it. No monarch in the world so voluntarily granted the boon as the Mikado of Japan."⁷⁶

The Indian National Congress till 1905 had been dominated by the moderate leaders who believed in good government and a modified type of self-government. But the war gave birth to extremist leaders whose goal became the attainment of absolute swaraj in India. However, both the wings were influenced by the outcome of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05.

In 1905, the moderate congressmen defined their goal as to obtain self-government within the Empire. At Benares in his presidential address Gokhale pointed out the difference between a subject nation and an independent nation and said, "Japan within 40 years of western influence was, in the matter of education, in line with the most advanced nation. But in India, after hundred years of English

rule four out of five villages were without a school house, seven out of eight children grow in ignorance and in darkness."⁷⁷ This was the difference between a subject nation and an independent nation, he explained. He then asked the people to follow Japan for similar achievement.⁷⁸

The Congress Session of 1906 was really a triumph for extremism where Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential address clearly spelled out the goal of the Congress as self-government. While condemning the barbarous system of despotism under which India was groaning, he quoted Gladstone that, "Freedom is the breath of our life, we stand for liberty, our policy is the policy of freedom,"⁷⁹ and he declared that the people of India were fit for self-government, a constitutional representative system, and that the process of transformation might begin immediately.

The Congress resolution of 1906 was a justified demand which was influenced by the Japanese example. In the *Kesari* of May 12, 1908 Tilak wrote, "A knowledge of (Japanese) history has kindled in their (Indian) minds a strong desire for swaraj..."⁸⁰

The outcome of the Russo-Japanese war thus goaded Indians to demand more and

more political privilege. It was realised by Henry Cotton, a Britisher, who advised the British Government to grant adequate share to Indians in the government. He said, "People often spoke of the unchanging East, but I do not suppose that any country had changed more during the thirty years than India. There was a new spirit, a new feeling there. It was absolutely impossible for us to go on refusing to give them an adequate share of the government of their own country...A new feeling had arisen over the whole of the East, a feeling which had attained its most extraordinary development in Japan which would make the government of our dependency of India a very anxious matter for years to come... But we had to recognise the new spirit, and if we did not the circumstances would be such as we should hardly like to think of..."⁸¹

These agitations did not go in vain. They resulted in the promulgation of Morley-Minto Reforms and the annulment of the Partition of Bengal. Though the votaries of the Morley-Minto Reforms were not in favour of setting up absolute self-government in India, yet by increasing the numbers in the Council, conceding them the right to ask supplementary questions, they indirectly gave a new momentum to the struggle of the Indians for complete swaraj.

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AKBAR AND PUSHTI-MARG VAISHNAVISM

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It has become more or less traditional for the historians and scholars of medieval Indian History to trace Akbar's religious views and his religious policy from, "Contemporary atmosphere", from his ancestors or from the influence of Abdul Latif or as a result of his marriages with Hindu princesses or from his association with Shaikh Mubarak, Faizi and Abul Fazl, who were well known for their liberal ideas.¹ Unfortunately, however, contemporary religious movements prevailing in this country have been little touched upon to provide logical basis for explaining the evolution of Akbar's liberal and tolerant policy. Muslim historians, contemporary and later, dealing with this period do not refer to the presence of Hindu poets at the Mughal court between 1556 and 1562 A.D. or about their personal religious predilections and the extent of their influence on Akbar or about latter's association with Pushti-Marg Vaishnavism and its followers. This important aspect finds adequate expression in the works of the contemporary Hindu poets and the Vaishnavite literature. Copious evidence is forthcoming to show that Akbar came in touch with the followers of Pushti-Marg earlier than with the followers of any other Hindu religion or sect of Northern India and that from the very beginning of his reign the Pushti Marg Vaishnavites influenced his mind, shaped his ideas and inspired him to be liberal and tolerant towards other sects and religions.

The Pushti Marg Vaishnavism, with which we are concerned saw its birth at the close of the fifteenth century. It was established by Shri Vallabhacharya.² His Radha Krishna worship

became very popular during his own life time, because of the indifference of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, and Emperors Babur and Humayun to religious matters and also because of their pre-occupation with politics. Moreover, it was easy to follow this *marga* as the common man could not see much difference between the various Krishnaite schools. It was beyond his knowledge to distinguish between the systems of Nimbarka, Vishnu Swami and Vallabhacharya. In fact, Vallabhacharya's Pushti Marg had absorbed the principles and practices of similar systems. A Pushti Marg Vaishnav was pre-eminently a Vaishnav, whether he was a worshipper of Radha Krishna or Vishnu. This explains the main reason for the survival and the popularity of the sect. With the financial assistance of Puran Mal Khatri of Ambala, Vallabhacharya constructed a temple at Govardhan and installed in it the idol of Shrinathji (Lord Krishna).³ From here the light spread in different directions. Mira and Dadu in the western region, Vallabha's eightyfour disciples in the regions round Mathura and his own tours to the east brought many thousands within the orbit of this school. Through the medium of songs in the regional dialects, poetical compositions, *Ras Liles*, *Bhajans*, and *Kirtan Mandalis*, the Krishna cult was carried far and wide. The Pushti Marg Vaishnavism created religious ferment in Mathura, Vrindaban, Rajasthan, Malwa, Gujarat, Kuch and Kathiawar⁴ and made Radha Krishna worship popular everywhere. The stories of the pastoral life of Lord Krishna, his childhood, Radha's love for him and the love of Gopis, became popular themes for the poets and singers, musicians and dancers.

The movement was carried further by Vallabha's eldest son Gopinath, who became the head of the *Sampradaya* in 1531 A.D. Gopinath took the message of his father to Gujarat, Kathiawar, and to the eastern regions, and made disciples in large numbers. He died in 1542 A.D. After a gap of a few months and after the death of his nephew Purushottam, Vithalnath, the brother of Gopinath, was recognised as the head of the *Vallabha Sampradaya*.

Akbar's contemporary was Shri Vithalnathji, under whose leadership this school made much progress. Being persuaded by Damodar Dass he studied the Vedas, Shastras, and Puranas and adopted the *marg* of his father, by dedicating himself to Krishna Bhakti. In 1542 A.D. after becoming the head of this school, he introduced changes in the organisation of the temple of Shrinathji and in the mode of worship of the deity. Thereafter, he visited many parts of the country carrying on his proselytising activities. He visited Gujarat in 1556, 1562, 1566-1574 and 1581 A.D., bringing the people of Ahmadabad and Cambay into his fold. In Godhara he initiated into Vaishnavism, Baila Kothari and Nagaji Bahatta, a state officer, and with their assistance carried on the work of propagation. Men and women of various castes and sub-castes, persons of varied positions in life embraced this cult of Vaishnavism. In 1559 A.D. Vithalnathji visited Jagannath Puri, where he witnessed *Rath Yatra*, which he later introduced at Vrindaban. After a stay of six months there, on his return journey, he paid a visit to Ram Chandra, the Baghela ruler of Bandogarh. Here he met Tansen, on whose mind he left a permanent impress of Vaishnavite ideas. He also went to Garha, where he was welcomed by Rani Durgawati, the Regent of her son Vir Narayan. The Rani was so much impressed by the saintly character of Vithalnathji and his devotion to Lord Krishna that she used to visit him very frequently. She requested him to settle down in Garha but Vithalnath declined to do it. He, however, stayed there for three years. At her request he married Padmavati, the daughter of Krishna

Raya Bhatta in 1563 A.D. On this occasion Rani gave him in gift one hundred and eight villages, which he distributed to the people of his caste.⁵ The danger of imminent Mughal invasion on the dominions of Raja Vir Narayan,⁶ compelled him to leave that place and to return to Mathura, where he spent the rest of his life.⁷ For the service of Lord Krishna, Vithalnathji selected some of his father's disciples, Kumbhandas, Sur Dass, Permanand Dass, Chit Swami and Chaturbhuj Dass. All these persons were saturated with passion of intense love. They were full of emotion and originality and were very well versed in Shastras. They were poets and singers of fame. They composed verses on Radha and Krishna and the same they used to sing at prescribed hours in different Ragas and modes (*Bhavas*) and according to different seasons. In short, by the time Akbar ascended the throne, the Pushti Marg Vaishnavites had made much headway. The movement had become quite popular in the regions from Orissa to Gujarat. A large section of Hindu society was under its impulse and influence.

It is in this background that we should study the stages through which Akbar's liberalism passed. In 1556 A.D. when he ascended the throne there were a large number of Hindu poets at the Mughal court. They subscribed to the Vaishnav faith. As they enjoyed consideration at the hands of the Emperor and were in contact with him, they found a chance to persuade him to develop a sympathetic and liberal outlook towards the other religious and spiritual movements. Amongst these, the most famous and important was Narhari (1505-1610 A.D.), whom Badaoni calls "Bad Farosh".⁸

Narhari was born in 1505 A.D. in the village of Pakhrauli in the Rai Bareilly district.⁹ He spent his childhood there and later settled down at Asni. He learnt both Sanskrit and Persian and composed verses in both the languages.¹⁰ He is said to have been patronised by Humayun, Vir Bhan, the ruler of Rewa,

Sher Shah and Salim Shah Sur, whom he mentions in his verses.¹¹ It seems that these rulers allowed him to enjoy his family title, "Mahapatra". For some time he also lived at Jagannath Puri and then in Gujarat. In 1556 A.D. he returned to the Mughal court to be patronised by the new sovereign. Narhari's poems decisively show that he was a Vaishnavite and a follower of Pushti Marg school. Early in the reign of Akbar he advised the latter to amend the coercive laws and to be just and free from anger.¹² Later on when Akbar heard his verse on the slaughter of cows, he was so much touched that he forbade the practice in his empire. Akbar also heard from him about the rite of *Tuladan*, which was observed by Mukund Gajapati, the ruler of Orissa, and therefore, at the poet's suggestion he introduced it at his court.¹³ As a mark of favour, Akbar granted him the villages of Pakhrauli, Mirzapur, Kalyanpur, Narharipur, Dharampur, Tarapur, Surajpur, Jannipur, Chandpur, and the pargana of Dalmau. In addition, the Emperor conferred the title of "Mahapatra" and gave him four *Chobdars* i.e. palanquin bearers and a palanquin for use.¹⁴ Along with Hasan Khan Khazanchi, Narhari was sent to Orissa to establish better friendly relations with its ruler Mukund Gajapati.¹⁵ This shows that Narhari enjoyed the confidence of his benefactor, whose mind he had been influencing in favour of Hindus and Hinduism.

Another important person who was very close to Akbar in this early period of his life was Brahm Das, well known in history as Birbal. A little before his departure from Tinkawapur, in the *Sarkar* of Kalpi, for the Mughal court to enter the imperial service, he was initiated into Pushti Marg by Shri Vithalnath.¹⁶ From Agra it was not difficult for him and his daughter to visit Mathura. Here he frequently listened to the discourses of the Vaishnavite saints and had the *darshan* of Lord Krishna in the temple of Shrinathji. It was Birbal who helped Shri Vithalnathji to take over the administration of the shrine

from the hands of the Bengali worshippers. Birbal and the members of his family were ardent followers of Pushti Marg. And again it was Birbal, who introduced Akbar to Vithalnathji, and thus very often Akbar used to go in disguise to Mathura in the company of his close friend and admirer.¹⁷

Another person at the Mughal court, who was a follower of this school, was Raja Todar Mal. Though it is difficult to say when he came into contact with Pushti Marg or when he was initiated into it, it must have been very early in his life. He had been much impressed by the saintly character and the supernatural powers of Vithalnathji. In 1572 A.D. before going to Bihar to open the campaign against the Afghans, he went to Mathura to seek the blessings of Shri Vithalnathji. On this occasion Swami Vithalnathji gave him a *Pitambar*. He tied it round his head, went to conduct the expedition and he achieved success in the campaign. It is surprising to note that even the Muslim poet Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan could not escape the influence of this school, to which Birbal and Todar Mal belonged. It was this influence which provided him the love themes of Radha Krishna and inspired him to take an interest in Hindu religion and philosophy. His verses bear eloquent testimony to this contention.

The above discussion makes it clear that before 1562 A.D., the year from which Akbar's religious policy is traced, there were liberal elements around him. They weaned him from the path of narrow-mindedness and bigotry. Ultimately in the foresaid year, when he was not yet twenty, there occurred a complete change in his mental and spiritual outlook.¹⁸ In this very year political exigencies compelled Raja Bihar Mal, the Kachwha chief, to enter into matrimonial alliance with the emperor. According to Dr. R. P. Tripathi, "history has left us in dark as to how and from whom this idea originated. It may be safely surmised that self-interest, gratitude and probably some pressure from the side of the Emperor

brought this marriage."¹⁹ The question arises, why Akbar became so keen for a matrimonial alliance with Raja Bihar Mal? Even a political alliance with Suja, the son of Raja Bihar Mal's elder brother Puran Mal, who had coveted the state for himself and had joined Shara-fuddin, the Mughal governor of Mewat, would have given him a footing to push the schemes of territorial aggrandisement in Rajasthan. In these circumstances it stands to reason to presume that Pushti Marg Vaishnavites at the Mughal court, i.e. Narhari, Birbal and Raja Todar Mal, seeing a brother Vaishnavite, Raja Bihar Mal, in distress prevailed upon the Mughal Emperor to accord to him a friendly treatment. Or otherwise the Raja himself, who a little earlier had rendered useful service to the Mughals, might have solicited the help of his coreligionists at the Mughal court, to persuade the Emperor to save him and his family. Then these persons succeeded in convincing Akbar of the gains which he would have from this alliance. Consequently, the Emperor yielded and married the daughter of Raja Bihar Mal. Thus, it may be emphatically stated that Akbar's better relations with Pushti Marg Vaishnavites, their influence on him and his own faith in Pushti Marg Vaishnavism, were the factors which strengthened the ties of relationship and friendship between the two houses.

The historical matrimonial alliance was followed by the entrance of a large number of Pushti Marg Vaishnavites in the Mughal court. According to Muhot Nainsi, Raja Bihar Mal's father, Prithviraj, was a famous Vaishnav of his times and Maharana Sanga was so much impressed by his devotion to Vaishnavism that he gave his daughter in marriage to him.²⁰ Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, besides other members of the Kachwha house, were the worshippers of Radha Krishna.²¹ The entrance of the Amber princess in the Mughal harem, the presence of Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh at the Mughal court, the short distance between Agra and Mathura, the regular visits of Raja Birbal and his daughter

and also the visits of Vithalnath to Agra and Akbar's own visits in the company of Birbal, especially in the night of Janmashtami to the temple of Shrinathji, the high ideals of Pushti Marg Vaishnavism and its influence, intensified Akbar's desire to understand its basic principles and lean more and more towards it.

His hunting excursions to the neighbourhood of Mathura were in the past quests for knowing the truth and now such excursions became frequent. Though Muslim historians do not mention about his meetings with the Pushti Marg saints during the course of such hunting excursions, the possibilities of such meetings cannot be altogether ruled out. Abul Fazl writing about the events of the year 1562 A. D. says, "in the same hunt Akbar joined worship with pleasure and became distributor of justice. It was brought to his notice that for a long time it was the custom in India for the rulers to take sums from the people who came to sacred spots to worship, proportionate to their rank and wealth. This worship was called *Karma*. The Shahinshah in his wisdom and tolerance remitted all these taxes which amounted to crores.....He issued orders forbidding the levy thereof throughout his dominions.....to de-stumbling blocks in the way of what they had made a means to approach to the sublime threshold of unity and considered as the worshipping of the Creator was disapproved by dis-criminating intellect and was a mark of not doing the will of God."²² On this occasion Akbar must have seen thousands taking dips in the holy river and their devotion to God. Once more he succumbed to the influence of these nobles, who were the followers of this school. To come nearer to Vaishnavite saints, he took this step and thereafter he covered a journey of thirty miles from Mathura to Agra on foot in the company of selected attendants. The idea behind it was to meet the saints, who dotted the road from Mathura to Agra.

At Agra, the Emperor came to know about the reputation of Govind Swami as a musician

and true devotee. He decided to go and listen to his songs. Soon after, he went in disguise to Gokul and at Jasoda Ghat he found Govind Swami singing Bhairav Raag. Even before the latter could finish the piece, the Emperor approached him uttering the words, "Wonderful, Wonderful." Upon this Govind Swami stopped singing. When Akbar asked him to continue, he said, "Since my Raag has been interrupted I will not continue" now. Akbar told him that he was a Badshah, upon which the Swami retorted and said, "then go and govern". The Emperor convinced of the fact that he could have no control over a person who had renounced this world, returned to Agra disappointed.²³ But the sweet and melodious voice of the Swami continued to haunt him. It made him restless. The thirst for knowledge compelled him to enquire from the Hindu Pandits about the truth which lies in all religions and how to attain God. No one amongst them could satisfy him, therefore he put the same question to his intimate courtier Birbal, who too could not give any satisfactory answer. At the suggestion of his daughter, Birbal arranged a meeting between Akbar and Vithalnath. The following extract from *Do Sau Bavan Vaishnavon ki Varta* confirms Akbar's desire to know the truth and his faith in the Pushti Marg Vaishnavism:

"One day the Emperor asked Birbal as to how he can meet God (*Sahib*), think over it and let me know about it. Upon this Birbal enquired of Pandits and the heads of other religious sects, but none could satisfy him. Failing to arrive at any conclusion, his anxiety increased and he began to apprehend that the Emperor will now not spare him. In the last resort he put the same question to his daughter, who readily said that his reply could only be given by Goswamiji. Subsequently, Birbal came to Gokul, requested Gosainji to give a suitable answer to the question put by the Emperor. Shri Gosainji told him that he would give the reply to the emperor in a secluded place. Consequently, Gosainji accompanied Birbal to Agra. The latter took him to Emperor's

palace (*Dera*) and when the Emperor once again put the same question to Gosainji the latter told him in a simple way that as I have met you, in a similar way God can also be met. The emperor being not able to catch the point asked him to explain it. Upon this he said, "If I desire thousand times to see you it is very difficult and if you express the will to see me, it will not take a second and it is like the same as I have met you. Like this, even if a human being continues to try several thousand methods he can never find God and if the latter wishes, then He in a moment's time calls him nearer to himself. Nothing is in the hands of *Jiv*. It entirely depends upon His grace. The Emperor was pleased to listen these words, bowed before him and requested him to accept anything from him as gift...."²⁴

The author of this work has not mentioned the date when this meeting took place but it seems that it must have taken place before the construction of *Ibadat Khana* and the beginning of religious discussions. This passage reflects the working of Akbar's mind. He was deeply impressed by the way in which Swami Vithalnath had explained to him Pushti Marg Vaishnavism. Consequently, from this time onwards, he started taking much interest in this school and in the other religions as well. In 1577 A.D. Vithalnath visited Agra and decided the case of the daughter-in-law of a merchant in such a nice manner that Akbar conferred on him the title of Goswamiji and gave him the powers of a Qazi. In September 1577, Akbar made a free grant of the town of Gokul and granted him full protection and freedom from molestation so that he could worship his own God in his own way.²⁵ During the next three years Akbar remained busy in listening to the conversations and discussions of the Hindu Pandits, Jain scholars, Zoroastrians and the Christian Fathers. In 1580-1 A.D. after the storm was over or a little before Emperor Akbar invited Vithalnath to participate in the religious discussions held in the *Ibadat Khana*.²⁶ Akbar was so impressed by him that by another *Firman* dated March 3rd,

1581 A.D. he permitted his cows to graze without any hindrance in the Khalsa and Jagir lands.²⁷ In 1583 A.D. the village of Jaitpura was conferred upon him as free grant.²⁸ Even after Vithalnath's death in 1585 A.D. imperial *Firmans* continued to be issued in his name, giving many privileges to his successors.^{28a} Certainly it was the presence of Vaishnavite influence inside the Mughal harem in the shape of Rajput wives, at the Mughal court at Agra, in the eastern and western regions of the empire, his contact with Sur Das and Kumbhan Dass²⁹ and the presence of the disciples of Vithalnath and his successors, his liking for certain ideals of this school, especially its faith in an integrated and co-ordinated society, irrespective of colour and status and the desire to control the three communities in which this religion was most popular i.e. Brahmans, Baniyas and Rajputs, through their spiritual leader by giving him concessions from time to time, brought him closer to Pushti Marg Vaishnavism. He was not only the man who was so much under the influence of this school, even his mother Hamida Bano Begum developed a liking for it and issued a *Firman* in the name of Vithalnath.³⁰

Incidentally it may be remarked here that by the middle of the sixteenth century the Nirguna school had lost its hold on the minds of the people. The Saguna school of Pushti Marg Vaishnavism took its place and became popular because of the greater political stability, the presence of some followers of this school at the Mughal court and their hold on Akbar's mind. Pushti Marg Vaishnavism also influenced the contemporary concepts of polity and religion. The theory that God has a shape and form; that he has certain attributes and the concept of *Avatara* and the idea of spiritual guide with the halo of divinity round him were then in existence. Such were present in the Pushti Marg Vaishnavism and the same are to be found in the ideas of Abul Fazl on the position of the king. Raja Birbal noticed no difference between Goswami Vithalnath and

the Mughal Emperor Akbar and the same he tried to explain to Dadu in these words. "The Emperor is a bodily manifestation of Divine Being (*Avatara*). It is fitting that you should also acknowledge his authority. Men of religious persuasions do him homage, he is an object of worship to the Hindus and Muslims alike."³¹ The three qualities which Abul Fazl associated with the king i.e. a large heart, daily increasing trust in God and prayer in devotion, seem to have been borrowed from this school. Likewise Akbar's *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* and the principles on which it was based and the purpose for which it was established, find resemblance with the Pushti-Marg Vaishnavism. Both believed in the existence of one God, communal harmony and *Suleh Kul*. The followers of both had to banish evil thoughts, conceit and selfishness from the mind and surrender themselves, their lives and property etc. to the service of God before God took them into His fold. The only difference between them was that for the followers of one the idol of Lord Krishna was the symbol of God and for those of the other Akbar the Great. Again, taking a cue from Pushti Marg Vaishnavism, Akbar is said to have remarked, "to make disciple is to instruct him in the service of God, not to make him a personal attendant." The disciples of Vallabhacharya and Vithalnath were not their attendants but the attendants of God, in His service and nearer to Him. Those who were far away from Pushti Marg Vaishnavism, Akbar tried to bring them into the folds of *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, the socio-religious organisation. Like Vallabhacharya, Gopinath and Vithalnath, Akbar neither used force nor money to enlist disciples. Mostly the members of *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* were Muslims. Birbal was the only Hindu member, an ardent devotee of Pushti Marg Vaishnavism and an obedient servant of his master, who respected the spiritual and the temporal power both. Raja Bhagwan Das, Todar Mal and Man Singh did not realise the necessity of joining such an organisation because they were already the members of a similar one.

REFERENCES

- ¹Prof. S. R. Sharma, "Religious Policy of Mughal Emperors", (Oxford University Press, 1940) p. 15-20; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, "Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire", (Central Book Depot, Alld) p. 246-7; Dr. A. L. Srivastava rightly mentions that "it is noteworthy that Akbar forbade the enslavement of prisoners of war (1562), abolished the Hindu pilgrim tax (1563) and Jazia (March, 1562), and threw open the state services to Hindus (1562) long before he came into contact with Abul Fazl, Abul Faiz Faizi and their father Shaikh Mubarak, who are sometimes erroneously supposed to have influenced Akbar's religious views and public policy", See, "Akbar the Great" (Shiv Lal Agrawala & Sons, Agra, 1962) p. 83.
- ²For his parentage and career see, Hari Das Bhattacharya, "Cultural heritage of India (Ram Krishna Mission, Institute of Culture, Cal, 1953), III, p. 347; Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life in India", (London, 1883), p. 134-5; Prabhu Dayal Mittal's "Ashtachap Parichaya", (Aggrawal Press, Mathura) p. 3-17.
- ³Prabhu Dayal Mittal, "Ashtachap Parichaya", p. 8.
- ⁴Nar Singh Mehta in Kathiawar, Mira Bai in Merta composed Radha Krishna lyrics. Chaitanya in Bengal fell under the influence of Nimbarka and Vishnu Swami, propagated the Radha-Krishna cult in the eastern regions. According to J. N. Farquhar, the Pushti Marg Vaishnavism completely absorbed the philosophy of the followers of Nimbarka and Vishnu Swami, See, "Religious Quest of India", p. 304-5; Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life in India", p. 135.
- ⁵See Krishna Mohan Lal Jhaveri "Imperial Firmans".
- ⁶Ibid.
- ⁷Abul Fazl "Akbar Nama", II, 323-33;
- ⁸*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 77.
- ⁹Dr. Saryu Prasad Aggrawal "Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi", (Lucknow) p. 55.
- ¹⁰"*Insaf tua goyad khalak kavi Narhari guftan chuni, Babur na barabar Badshah man digar na didam dar duni*".
- ¹¹Ibid, p. 60.
- ¹²*Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 60.
- ¹³Ibid, p. 75.
- ¹⁴Ibid, p. 75-6.
- ¹⁵Abul Fazl, "Akbar Nama", III, p. 381-83; Badaoni writes, "In those days the Emperor sent Hasan Khan Khazanchi and Mahapattar, *bad Farosh*, (who had been of the favoured courtiers of Sher Shah and Islam Shah and was without a rival in the science of music and Hindi poetry) on an embassy to the Raja of Orissa". *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, 77.
- ¹⁶See Krishna Mohan Lal Jhaveri, "Imperial firmans".
- ¹⁷The following extracts from *Do Sau Bawan ki Varta* lends support to the contention that Birbal and the members of his family were Vaishnavites.
- (i) "One day Shri Gosainji came to Agra. Birbal's daughter saw in him the image of Lord Krishna and she became his disciple. Daily she used to go to listen his discourses and whatever she would hear she kept her in mind."
- (ii) Once Gosainji went to Gujarat. While on the way Birbal met Chapa Bhai and asked him as "to why Gosainji has come here during the winter." Upon this Chapa Bhai replied, "he has much work at hand." Hearing this, Birbal told him that he was prepared to give him as much as possible but kindly take him back to Gokul.
- ¹⁸Dr. A. L. Srivastava, "Akbar the Great", p. 61.
- ¹⁹Dr. R.P. Tripathi, "Rise and Fall of Mughal Empire", p. 186; Dr. A. L. Srivastava, though mentions that Akbar "entertained grand schemes of conquest and administrative reforms and sought the company of Yogis, Sanyasis, Qalandars and other religious recluses," yet neither has

given the name of these Yogis or Sanyasis or Qalandars, whom Akbar used to meet nor clarified the influence at work at the Mughal court." See, Akbar the Great p. 61.

²⁰Mohot Nainsi ki Khyat, II, p. 8.

²¹Dr. H. Vedant Shastri, in his article, "Man Singh—From Bengal's point of view," has tried to prove that Man Singh did not belong to Vallabha Sampradaya, the cult of Krishna, but was influenced by Neo-Vaishnavism of Bengal, a school which was founded by Shri Madhavendra Puri in the mid-fifteenth century, which progressed under Chaitanya, whose spiritual heirs were Goswamis of Vrindaban. See Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1955, p. 183-5; but the fact is that the entire Kachwaha house followed Pushti Marg Vaishnavism of Vallabha. Deeply influenced by the religious trends of the period if Man Singh promoted Neo-Vaishnavism in Bengal, this does not mean that he became the follower of that school. Raja Man Singh built a temple at Vrindaban, and another at Benaras. See S. R. Sharma, "Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors", p. 24; for Man Singh's relations with Kumbhandas. See Dr. Din Dayal Gupta, "Ashtachap and Vallabha Sampradaya." p. 236-7.

²²Abul Fazl, "Akbar Nama", III, p. 294-5.

²³See *Do Sau Bawan Vaishnavar ki Varta*, p. 11.

²⁴See *Do Sau Bawan Vaishnavar ki Varta*, p. 109.

It was a tradition in medieval times to collect the facts and details of the meetings of the important personages with the head of a sect or latter's discourses from time to time. Like the religious literature of the Sufis, the *Varta Sahitya* also grew. The followers of Vaishnav Sampradaya continued to make additions in it. Popular literature conveys the feelings of the people and the then current traditions vis-a-vis account of some important events or meetings. Thus we shouldn't doubt either the authenticity of such literature or the value of it. It is a pity that only the scholars of Hindi literature have used this literature from a purely literary point of view. It is high time that the historians of medieval India should peep into it and try to utilise it as far as possible.

²⁵The *firman* reads: "As Vithaldass indisputably prayer offerer is a resident of the *kasba* of Gokul.....no one out of the world protecting court and other besides them should molest the above mentioned indisputable prayer offerer.....they must follow him to live in his place and home easy at heart so that he might engage himself in praying for our daily increasing fortunes..... (*firman* dated 14th Sept. 1577 A.D.) See "Imperial Firmans Prabhu Dayal Mittal, "Ashtachap Parichaya", p. 37.

²⁶Prabhu Dayal Mittal, "Ashtachap Parichaya", p. 37.

²⁷"At the time we have ordered that the cows of the indisputable prayer offerer Vithalrai should be allowed to graze in *Khalsa* or Jagir Lands, no one should injure them or obstruct them in the least. They should not be prevented from grazing. His cows should be allowed to graze. The above named be allowed to reside in Gokul with ease. It is incumbent in all to act according to the order and carry according to the order..... (*Firman*, dated, 9th March, 1581 A.D.). See "Imperial firmans".

²⁸"At this time (which is) founded on happiness, the *Firman* of the exalted one received the honour of promulgation that Goswami Vithalrai, a resident of Gokul has purchased on paying its price land from the owners thereof in the *mauzah* of Jaipura, situated in the *pargana* adjoining Govardhan and had caused to be built thereon buildings, gardens, cowsheds and *Karkhanas* for the temple of Govardhan Nath and is residing and staying there. Therefore, the order which should be obeyed by the world finds the honour of issue that the above mentioned *mauzah*

have been given tax free possession of the above named Goswami from the descendant to descendant. Therefore, all the collectors, civil officers, Karoris, Jagirdars, land holders, present and future.....leave in the possession of the above named person the above *mauzah* with the land purchased.....and should not molest him with the demands forbidden imposts or civil, levies or imperial taxes or land tax imposed on manufacture etc.....and they should not demand a renewed *parwana* or *Firman* to this effect.....(*Firman* dated 20th May, 1593 A.D.). See "Imperial firmans".

²⁸The above mentioned *Firman* was also applicable to the successors of Vithalnath and the privileges accorded by Akbar were also to be enjoyed by them. On 5th June, 1593 A.D. Akbar issued another *Firman* by which he gave Guzar Ghat in the pargana of Mahaban to Goswami Vithaldas for the expenses of the temple known as Thakur-

dwara. See "Imperial firmans."

²⁹Dr. Din Dayal Gupta, "Ashtachap and Vallabha Sampradaya", p. 207-8; 235-36.

³⁰"May it be known to the Karoris and diligent officers and others of the Pargana of Mahaban in the sarkar of great Seat of the empire, cows belonging to the indisputable prayer offerer Vithaleshwarrai wearer of the sacred thread may graze wherever they are and not a single individual out of the Khalsa or jagir (land holders) should molest them or prevent them. They must permit his cows to graze. The above mentioned Vithalrai should therefore remain easy at heart...(dated, 8th Oct. 1581 A.D.) See "Imperial firmans".

³¹See, Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi's paper, "Impact of the theory of *Insan-i-Kamil* on the Sixteenth Century Northern India". This paper was read in the Seminar on Ideas, Medieval India, November 1965 at Delhi University.

FRIEDRICH MAX MUELLER: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS*

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Friedrich Max Mueller (December 6, 1823—October 28, 1900) was the famous Anglo-German orientalist and comparative philologist and indeed one of the most versatile scholars of the nineteenth century whose works stimulated world-wide interest in the study of the diverse fields of Comparative Languages (or Linguistics), Comparative Mythology and Comparative Religion. For the last three decades of the nineteenth century in particular, he ranked among the most famous of his contemporaries. His fame rested on his literary gifts, wide range of his writings, and his ability and industry, and it was heightened by the favourable opportunities then present, of which he made a good use. His writings are generally classified under the following heads: (i) Sanskrit; (ii) Pali; (iii) Science of Religion; (iv) Comparative Mythology; (v) Comparative Philology; (vi) Philosophy; (vii) Biography; (viii) German. But we now know from the present work under review that he had to his credit many (ix) political writings also.

A detailed idea of the life and life-work of Max Mueller can be had from his own fragmentary Autobiography (1901) and his 'Life and Letters', edited by his wife (1902). The main phases of his career and achievement have been outlined with remarkable lucidity by A. Kaegi (1901) and in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (by A. A. Macdonnell), *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (by Koppel S. Pinson) and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Besides these, there are

only a few obituary notices scattered in different papers in 1900-1901, and a few articles by R.K. Das Gupta (1962) and J. H. Voigt (1965) in the Year Books, Max Mueller Bhavan Publications, New Delhi and elsewhere.

But, curiously enough, there is no adequate literature on Max Mueller available in English to explain his thought structure and the *raison d'être* of his numerous writings. This gap in our knowledge is now filled up for the first time by Dr. Johannes H. Voigt's recent publication, 'Max Mueller: The Man and His Ideas'.¹ The author is to be congratulated on striking an entirely new approach. It is not a narrative biographical study. No doubt it contains some details of his personal life and academic career. But these have been reduced to a minimum. Again, the book does not seek to review Max Mueller's numerous contributions to the different fields of knowledge. The author has modestly described his work as a 'preliminary sketch' of Max Mueller's ideas,—a collection in a comprehensive form of his occasional studies on that scholar during 1965-66. But though small in size, covering barely 116 pages, it is a highly critical, reflective and analytical study of Max Mueller's academic and political ideas. It is essentially a study in intellectual history.

Drawing on different primary sources, available in Germany and England, the Max Mueller papers (in Bodleian library), the

* Review Article on *Max Mueller: The Man and His Ideas* by Dr. Johannes H. Voigt; Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1967; pp. 101; Rs. 10/-.

¹ Max Muller: The Man and His Ideas by Johannes H. Voigt. Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Banchiharam Akur Lane, Calcutta 12. First Edition, April, 1967, pp. 101, Price Rs. 10.

Gladstone papers (in British Museum), the Klaus Groth papers (at the Kiel Landesbibliothek), the Queen Victoria papers and the Salisbury papers, besides Max Mueller's Autobiography and his 'Life and Letters' (edited by his wife) and the Auld Lang Syne (1898-99) and numerous references in different papers, Dr. Voigt has produced a work which will stand as an authoritative presentation of the formative influences on Max Mueller's mind, the periods of his intellectual development, the basic ideas motivating his studies and writings,—philological, Vedic and comparative religion,—and the impact of his works and ideas on the intellectual and political circles in Germany, England, America and India.

We in India usually associate the name of Max Mueller with ancient Indian culture, religion and philosophy. We now learn that he was the most ardent supporter, if not promoter, on European soil, of India's cultural renaissance during the 19th century. But what is more significant is that Dr. Voigt has unfolded in this book the as yet untold story of Max Mueller's deep sympathy for India's political aspirations, his intimate contact and extensive correspondence with some prominent Indian intellectuals and his great influence on their minds. It is indeed a revelation to know that "except Raja Rammohan's tomb no other place was as dear to Indians" as his Oxford home, which was a neutral forum of discussion for Englishmen as well as Indians. As Dr. Voigt says: "With regard to India, Max Mueller became a solid friend of all Indian nationalists, who struggled for a greater Indian share in the government of their country and ultimately for self-government. Max Mueller believed that the British system was flexible enough as to allow a gradual development from an absolutely governed dependency to a self-ruling community within the frame-work of the British Empire. There is no point of blaming him: his was the view of the majority of the politically conscious Indians in the latter decades of the 19th century" (p. viii). Thus the Indian reader will find

here ample materials to assess Max Mueller's ideas as regards and contributions to the growth of nationalist movement in India in the nineteenth century. In the words of our author Max Mueller captured "the spirit and soul" of India and described it "in such a striking way as few foreigners have ever done before or after him" (p. xi).

A proper understanding of the ideas contained in the book under review demands a knowledge of the broad phases of the life of Max Mueller which may be lacking among the vast majority of Indian readers. It is easy to discern the formative influences on his career. To his maternal grand-father he owed his attachment to royalties and courtly surroundings. From his father, Wilhelm Mueller (1794-1827) or the 'Greek Mueller', ducal librarian at Dessau, Max Mueller imbibed a love of romance, poetry and music. Again like his father, who never visited Greece, but whose love for that country is reflected in his phil-Hellenic poems and songs, Max Mueller also cherished a deep love for India which he never visited. Swami Vivekananda once testified to it by saying: "I wish I had a hundredth part of that love for my own motherland". Felix Mendelssohn, a distinguished composer of his day and his god father, dissuaded him from studying music. So Max Mueller turned to academic life as his second best choice. In the Universities of Leipzig (where he matriculated in 1841 and got a Ph.D. in 1843), Berlin (1844) and Paris (1845), where he was successively educated, several persons influenced his academic pursuits and activities. He took up Sanskrit at the instance of Hermann Brockhaus, the classical scholar at Leipzig, and translated the *Hitopadesa* (1844), when he was barely 20. But at Berlin the Sanskrit scholar was transformed into a comparative philologist by Franz Bopp, the distinguished founder of Comparative Philology, while Friedrich Von Schelling, the celebrated romanticist philosopher, instilled in him a love for metaphysical speculation. Philology was to Max Mueller, as our author explains, secondary to or a maid-

servant of philosophy or even of history (p. 4). At Paris, however, Eugene Burnouf, the Sanskritist as well as the foremost Zend scholar of his day, induced the young Max Mueller to take up the study of Comparative Religion. Rudolf Roth, the famous German orientalist and founder of Vedic philology, and Dr. Theodore Goldsticker, the reputed classical scholar, were his fellow-students. Dr. Voigt has shown how the study and the publication of the Rigveda over 25 years was undertaken to prove that Schopenhauer was wrong in his view that the Upanishadas were the only important part of the Veda.

So he went to England (1846) to edit the Rigveda. The scholar was also a man of the world and had good many friends and supporters in political circles in Germany and England. Baron Von Bunsen, the Prussian minister in London, introduced him to Queen Victoria and Prince Consort, while H. H. Wilson persuaded the East India Company to undertake the expense of the publication of the Rigveda at the Oxford University Press.

Oxford now became the centre of his academic and literary work from 1848 till his death in 1900, though for some time he was a visiting lecturer in Strassburg University (1872). Deputy Taylorian Professor of modern European languages in 1850 and Taylorian Professor in 1854, Curator of Bodleian Library (1856-63, 1881-94) at Oxford, Max Mueller received 'the one great disappointment in his life', when he failed to secure election as Boden Professor of Sanskrit on the death of H. H. Wilson in 1860 in spite of his strong claims, on account of the opposition of (Sir) Monier Williams and of the (orthodox) convocation, because of his political and religious opinions and of his foreign origin. Professor Macdonnell thinks that this had 'a very decided influence on the subsequent career' of Max Mueller. It deflected his wonderful industry from Sanskrit to other channels, viz., Comparative Philology (in which subject he was appointed to the newly created Professorship, 1868-1900). But

Max Mueller was a pioneer in England not only of Comparative Philology but also of Comparative Mythology (founded by Adalbert Kuhn, 1840), and comparative study of religions. Yet he never forgot his old love for Sanskrit and began the *Sacred Books of the East* (51 volumes) after his retirement from active duties, from 1875. The series is significant not only from the point of view of historical and comparative study of religions, but also of comparative study of law and custom and hence of science of anthropology.

The book under review consists of a Preface and an introduction, two chapters, conclusion, Appendix and references. The first chapter which deals with Max Mueller's Ideas on Science, Religion and History, is divided into five sections: the "Aryan" problem, the study of languages, the study of religion and mythology, the structure of his work, and lastly on Christianity and Hinduism. He aimed at closing the gap between religion and science.

(a) Max Mueller is said to have initiated the theory of Aryanism, substituting the term Aryan for Indo-Germanic. Though he denied the identification of language and race, he believed in the racial superiority of the Aryans as opposed to the Semites and the Turks. He also believed that the study of Sanskrit, the oldest known of Indo-European languages, would widen man's knowledge of Indo-European ancestors. The author has, however, conclusively proved that Max Mueller cannot be dubbed as "a spiritual grandfather of the Nazi concept of the Aryan race."

(b) Max Mueller identified thought and language: 'the growth of the human mind must be studied in the history of language'. For understanding and explaining linguistic problems, Max Mueller recognised the utility of the ideas of Darwin, Spencer and Haeckel in natural sciences and philosophy. He held that linguistics belonged to physical sciences and its growth is beyond human control.

(c) Study of Religion & Mythology: For the comparative study of religions he employed the philological method. One important precondition for such a study was complete admission of parity of all religions. He also employed the evolutionary theory in studying Indian religions. (pp 15-17).

In India Max Mueller's ideas found a ready response and appreciation in R. G. Bhandarkar and Keshab Chandra Sen. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, however, rejected his Rigveda interpretation (especially the term 'henotheism', i.e., actual belief in one God combined with a worship of different forms). Max Mueller, we are told, wanted to discover an interdependence between the Buddhist and Christian religions but he could not explain it. When we remember that Buddhism had permeated West Asia for nearly 250 years before the rise of Christianity we can appreciate Max Mueller's insight.

(d) Our author has shown that all the works of Max Mueller on linguistics, philosophy and religions possess a unity in aim and structure, and that the idea of evolution permeated all his concepts on the history of human intellect and spirit. Max Mueller wrote significantly: "The bridge of thoughts and sighs that spans the whole history of the Aryan world has its first arch in the *Veda*, its last in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.... While in the *Veda* we may study the childhood, we may study in Kant's *Critique* the perfect manhood of the Aryan mind" (*Last Essays*). Equally interesting is Max Mueller's explanation (*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*) that the unusual richness of intellectual life of India was due to the absence of politics and material strife.

(e) About Max Mueller's religious faith, two diametrically opposed views have been held. On the one hand, he has been accused for supporting the Christianization of India and trying to destroy Hindu dharma and Sanskrit. On the other hand, he has been praised for embracing Hinduism by profession though not

by conversion. Our author has shown that neither of these views is correct. Characterising the first view as mischievous, he has sounded a note of caution that Max Mueller's attitude was evolutionary and dynamic and that no simple formula can explain it. Believing in Christian God and supporting the activity of Christian missionaries at first, Max Mueller held in his letter to the Duke of Argyll that "the ancient religion of India" i.e., Brahmanism was "doomed", and that Christianity must step in (i.e. to save it). But Max Mueller was never orthodox but essentially a 'liberal'. He considered the Brahmo Samaj to have drawn largely from the spirit of Christianity. Later on, however, he clarified or changed his opinion, saying that Brahmanism was not really dead as the Brahmo Samaj grew within it. In fact his eclecticism grew with years, and finally (towards the end of his life) his appreciation of Indian religious and philosophical thought reached its apogee and he became as ardent in his enthusiasm for the Vedanta Philosophy as Schopenhauer, calling it 'a system in which human speculation seems to have reached its very acme'. This transition from an unshakable belief in the maintenance of Christian faith to adoption of Vedanta Philosophy grew, according to our author, out of his academic work on Indian philosophy and the comparative study of oriental religions.

Max Mueller, as we learn from the second chapter of the book ('Contemporary Politics'), was not 'an academic recluse' or 'an academician isolated in an ivory tower'. Not only did he take a constant and lively interest in current politics, he even interfered in actual politics, and his influence on public opinion in Germany and England and India was deep. Yet he was never a professional politician but only a 'politically minded scholar'.

His approach to all political matters, European or Indian, was alike. He ardently favoured a united but liberal Germany despite his predilections for smaller German states for their cultural contributions. He was disappoint-

ed at the failure of the Revolution of 1848. Sympathetic to the Schleswig-Holsteiners, he tried to change pro-Danish British policy.

For the Dano-German war (1864), Max Mueller blamed Denmark in violating the London Treaty of 1852, and suggested an alliance of the three North European nations, the English, the Germans and the Scandinavians against the ambitious powers, France and Russia. Though he desired Schleswig-Holstein to be a separate state in Germany, he did not oppose its annexation to Prussia. He roused British sympathies in favour of Germany in the Franco-German War. To him Bismarck was "more than the Cavour of Germany". Despairing of an eventual Anglo-German alliance against Russia and France as being the only remedy against a European war, he recommended an Anglo-American alliance instead. Mommsen refuted the view that Max Mueller had English leanings during the Boer War.

Max Mueller, yearning for a more liberal policy in his own fatherland, also pleaded for a better government in India. In fact what Dr. Voigt writes in this chapter about Max Mueller's ideas regarding Indian politics, will be read with great interest and profit by all serious students of Indian history, Indian nationalism and Indian constitutional development during late nineteenth century. Max Mueller, we are told, endeavoured to draw Europe and India nearer through mutual understanding and sympathy, interpreting not only the East to the West, but the East to the East as well. From this point of view the publication of the Rigveda constituted, in the words of Dr. Voigt, 'an epoch-making event in India's intellectual history'.

'Admiration, awe and fear' characterized Max Mueller's attitude to the British Indian empire. He considered British rule to be beneficial to India, and yet he criticized certain aspects of it and had little faith in its ultimate stability. Like many Indians of his day, he was a follower

of Ripon-Gladstone school. Rejecting all ideas of a strong government in India (e.g. Ilbert Bill), emphasizing that all was not well in Indian Empire and holding that India had been denied 'full justice', he criticised the government of Lytton but praised that of Ripon. He had means to influence statesmen like Lansdowne and Gladstone. Believing firmly in India's inherent powers for a cultural, religious and social regeneration, he also took a very great interest in India's political movement. A Gladstonian though he was, he did not like Home Rule for India. The Indian Council Bill was, according to him, a step in the right direction. He expected the Indian Parliament to be "as loyal as the Parliament in Westminster, more loyal than a Parliament at Dublin". He even favoured representation of Indians in the British Parliament. He did not agree with Macaulay's view that English was destined to become the sole language of India. His plea for introducing Oriental Studies for ICS candidates was not accepted but he promoted the foundation of the School of Modern Oriental Studies in London in 1890. He emphasized moral and humanitarian ideas more than utilitarianism and considered the attitude of British administrators in India, trained at Haileybury, where James Mill's *History of British India* (with its unfair denunciation of Hindu character) was taught, to be a great stumbling block in the way of improving Anglo-Indian relationship. He wrote 'India, what can it teach us' (1882) to refute James Mill's history. He presented 'The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy' (1899) to Curzon. But Max Mueller's criticisms and admonitions were 'all but music' in the ears of the British administrators, we are told. In fact his books on ancient India were considered in some government quarters to have influenced rebel Young India. In this background the facsimile of his sarcastic letter to Lord Curzon dated 27th June, 1899, is very interesting. The information that Max Mueller petitioned (also with R. C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji, W. W. Hunter and others) for the release of B. G. Tilak from prison for his alleged involvement

with the Rand-murder case is wholly new.

Closely linked up with Max Mueller's political ideas was his concept of universal history (p. 71). He believed in evolution, guided by eternal or divine laws, in divine justice, in a divine purpose of history, in the "eternal goodness" of all historical developments. Here his ideas are comparable to those of Hegel and Sri Aurobindo. History, to Hegel, represented the march of God on earth. Max Mueller saw the hand of God at work in contemporary events like unification of Germany. Sri Aurobindo believed that the movement of India's freedom was guided by an unseen power. "Nationalism is a religion that has come from God...it is God who is working in Bengal" (*Speeches*, p. 7).

Max Mueller considered himself as an instrument of "the divine will in human history" in his tireless efforts at international friendship (especially between the peoples of India and Europe).

The impact of Max Mueller's personality and writings on the literary and political circles of the world, was different in the West and in India, as we learn from the 'Conclusion' where the author has referred to numerous laudatory obituary notices. According to the *Times*, "he was unsurpassed as a scientific expositor, possessing...a rare mixture of the talents of the poet and the savant", and with his death Oxford is said to have lost "one of her chief ornaments". The American A. V. Williams Jackson in a very sympathetic article spoke of him as a 'worthy pioneer' and significantly observed: "As his striking presence departs from our midst, a new light seems to be ushered in from the Orient". Kielhorn voiced the sense of loss felt by the Sanskrit philologists of the world.

Curiously enough the image of Max Mueller, which shone on the crest of fame for the last three decades of the 19th century, faded away quickly into oblivion in the first decade of the

twentieth century in Europe, except before a small group of linguists and scholars of Sanskrit. This, Dr. Voigt explains, was due to political developments in a new age in Europe after 1900 and progressive changes in academic field. Max Mueller's ideals of humanism and international understanding (e.g. Anglo-German alliance) vanished before the nationalistic power politics of the 20th century, while his religious and idealistic evolutionism did not exert an effective appeal to the public. Orthodox Max Muellerism, implying exploration of the past by means of comparative languages, comparative religion and mythology, became obsolete before Darwinism and growth of new sciences like archaeology and anthropology and influence of Andrew Lang. As Pinson remarks: "His investigations into religion and mythology were thus of a more metaphysical character and showed little trace of the influence of the newer anthropological and ethnographic currents. Most of his theories, such as those of the origin of myth in 'diseased language' and of the origin of religion in the recognition by man of the 'infinite cause', have since been successfully disproved."

In India, however, his impact was different and so the memory of this 'genuine friend of India' was held in high esteem. We Indians remember him with deep gratitude for his imperishable contribution to India's cultural renaissance. B. G. Tilak spoke of him as a 'general benefactor of the world' who had 'claimed India specially as his own' and bewailed: "In him India has lost the warmest friend, the wisest lover, and the most enthusiastic admirer, whose place, alas! will be filled we know not when!!" R. C. Dutt recognised the influence of Max Mueller's numerous contributions to the "elucidation of the literature, religion and philosophy of ancient India" in furthering India's cultural renaissance and stimulating the growth of national spirit, and considered him to be not only the best interpreter of ancient Indian literature, but also the truest friend of modern India. His 'Sacred Books of the East' and the Rigveda edition

constitute a common spiritual heritage for the East and the West alike,—written in the East, rediscovered in the West. This rediscovery of the ancient treasures of ancient Indian literature and philosophy was for him "a far greater discovery than that of Vasco da Gamas". Its republication in 1962 and 1965 respectively as well as the renaming of the New Delhi branch of the German Goethe Institute as Max Mueller Bhavan is a fitting tribute to the

scholarship and humanism of Max Mueller who saw in science and education a means of international amity.

The Appendix contains five letters, from Max Mueller to Gladstone (13 July, 1883, 28 December, 1870) and to Sir Henry Ponsonby (18 July, 1887), from Gladstone to Max Mueller (30 January 1871) and from K. T. Telang to Max Mueller (22 April, 1885).

BOOK REVIEWS

Lost Sarasvati by Indras: *Sardar Patel University; Vallabh Vidyanagar* (India) pp. 278 + Appendix and Index. Price Rs. 30/- \$7.00

In the book under review the learned author makes a very bold yet admirably sensible attempt to present before the world of scholars a new protohistoric personality of early India on the basis of the recent evidence gleaned from Oecological, literary, linguistic, ethnological and archaeological data. Really speaking, it is an interesting study in the context of a functional historical integration.

The Sarasvati (identified with the Ghaggar-Nali—Hakda—Whinda—Purana Channel and mentioned in India's ancient legend and literature, Vedic, Puranic and Epic), the prehistoric Indian river lost in the deserts of Rajputana (Thar), has, as the author holds, influenced man biologically, his culture and his vicissitudes in India.

The basin of the Sarasvati (i.e. the wide area lying between the Sindhu and the Yamuna) has two distinct roles to play,—one in the domain of World history and the other in that of Indian history. First, it served as the place of synthesis and meeting-ground of the ancient peoples of two realms, viz, the Indo-Pacific realm extending from the Gangetic Valley to the Americas and the Indo-Atlantic realm stretching from the basin of the Indus to the Atlantic Coast of Africa and Europe, representing respectively man's food-gathering and food-producing economy. Secondly, the Sarasvati basin has deeply influenced the sub-continent of India.

Before and during the 4th millennium B.C. the equestrian Aryans of the Ranaghundai-I-Qilli Gulnuhammad II Culture were present

in the Indus drainage in Northern Baluchistan. The Indo-Pacific people seem to have crossed the Northern India on their way to reach the Middle East. In the 3rd millennium B.C. the changed conditions in the Sarasvati basin permitted the cultivation of wheat in place of rice and the earlier fauna elephant, buffalo etc, gave way to the cattle. The Pre-Vedic Aryans belonging to the Atlantic community were the earliest of Indo-Europeans to have crossed the Gangetic Valley. With further climatic changes in the 2nd millennium B.C. the Pre-Vedic Aryans of the Puranic lore were the people who brought about the Urban Revolution in India which branched off into the Indus Civilisation (Harappa Culture C.2300-1700 B.C.) that spread from the Indus basin to the Gangetic Doab and the West Coast.

The writer of the volume broadly defines the early Indian civilisation as 'a natural synthesis of the native American, the Pacific, the South-East Asian, the Middle Eastern, the Mediterranean, and the African institutions into an Aryan matrix.' The civilisation of India, if the thesis of the author is to be relied on, is not merely a sub-continental development but 'the first international synthesis in history'.

The incorporation and interpretation of the new data bearing on the role of the Sarasvati where many decisive battles of Indian history, from the Bharata War to that of the Marathas, have been fought is commendable. The map facing page 1 shows the Sarasvati and the ancient coast line of Gujarat. The map facing page 208 of the Sarasvati basin as the meeting-ground of the Indo-Pacific and the Indo-Atlantic Communities is self-explanatory. The author's concluding remarks

deserve mention: 'The data', he writes, 'that have gathered in the course of over a century are enough at least to give a general outline of the proto-historic personality of the Indian Sub-continent on functional—historical lines'. Illustrative charts, chronological tables and diagrams are very helpful. We congratulate the author heartily for his taking infinite pains and for his profound scholarship.

B. K. MAJUMDAR

A Marvel of Cultural Fellowship by Sisir Kumar Mitra. *Lalvani Publishing House*, 1967; pp. 135; Rs. 22/- only.

Divided into two parts, the book attempts to trace the interfusion of cultures in India, especially in Bengal, from the ancient times to the present century. Chapter I of Part One spells out the reminiscences of the author of Tagore and Santiniketan. The second chapter traces the evolution of the Bengali language and the development of Bengal's literature which are well known to scholars. Read in the context of Part Two which contains the main theme of the book, Part One appears to be rather superfluous to a serious reader.

In the 'Introduction' to Part Two the author has rightly pointed out that "a comprehensive account of the cultural achievements of Bengal through the ages is yet a missing link in Indian historical literature". To discover this "missing link" seems to be the main task of Mr. Mitra. With Bengal as the starting point of his search, he tries to discover the links that transcended the barriers of a province and matured into an all-India pattern; because, he believes that "in a deeper sense the cultural fellowship of Bengal is an ever-growing process of her cultural evolution" (p. 48). Chapter I of this part depicts the emergence of different cults in Bengal which he describes to be "the basis of her fellowship". But the variety of Bengal's religious adventures "should not be taken to mean that Bengal had no fixed end or ideal to pursue" (p. 54). That ideal is to

discover their "secret significance" and to hold aloft "the great unifying force". In his quest to analyse the "cultural fellowship", the author finds that Bengal was not growing in isolation. He is happy to see that Bengal was "greater than herself" even in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries (Ch. 2). Well-known historical events have been cited to "explode the myth of isolation imputed to Bengal" (p. 67). "Fellowship through interfusion of cults" (Chap-3) started during the early mediaeval period when new forces appeared in the society. But to say that there was "an awakening of Bengal to a sense of her nationhood" (p. 71) in the period of Gopala is hardly tenable. There is an attempt to oversimplify certain debatable points. "Bengal's contribution", he writes, "is unique in the movement that led to the absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism—" (p. 72). True, Buddha was transformed into Bhagwan; but the central theme of Buddhism was never reconciled to Hinduism which, of course, accepted some of the ethical principles of the former. A similar oversimplification is evident when he says, "In the core of its teachings there is nothing in Islam which Hinduism cannot accept" (Chap. 4, p. 79). When we talk of religion, we do not simply mean its metaphysical sense, otherwise there is only one religion in the world. It is true that there had been minglings of the two beliefs in certain cases without hindering the development of the cultural fellowship. But a fundamental question may be asked,—whether the ripples on the surface can be interpreted as an indication of a real synthesis at the bottom of the society. The writer has referred to inter-communal marriages, liberalism of Muslim and Hindu rulers and various popular historical anecdotes. But do they prove anything beyond legitimate doubt? Inter-communal marriages might have been dictated by simple love or self-interest; generosity of rulers might have been a mark of statesmanship. However, the fact remains that in mediaeval Bengal the cultural affinity was a growing process and not a "chance phenomenon". This is evident

in the realm of art and literature and even in the social and political life of the period. With the coming of the modern age the culture of Bengal became mature as a result of contributions of many a stalwart of the 19th century. At the same time, it began to cross the borders of the province to forge "a larger fellowship". In this process it gave the people "a needed shake-up and energised their mind into new and fresh forms of activities..." (Chap. 5, p. 94).

Mr. Sisirkumar Mitra's book is essentially a record of how Bengal's culture was forged, with occasional references to an all-India pattern. It also reflects certain convictions of the author—often generalised in a very subjective manner—which are, however, definitely fringed with an optimistic note. The book is easy reading and may cater to the needs of general readers or foreigners who want to have a glimpse of our cultural evolution in a nutshell.

TARASANKAR BANERJEE

An Indian In Germany by K. P. Biswas: *Das Gupta & Co. Pvt. Ltd.*, Calcutta, pp. 212, Index. Price Rs. 12/- only.

Mr. K. P. Biswas, a noted journalist of Calcutta, has presented us an informative book on West Germany, which he visited in 1959. He has primarily kept an interpretative record of his impression about men and events of that area in a broad canvas of the past heritage of Germany as a whole. The author gives an illuminating account of the 19th century German liberation movement and tradition built by her best sons which continued to flow as an under-current even in those days when Germany was groaning under the brutal repression of Hitler.

In order to provide a key to understand the problem of reunification the author has thoroughly studied all sorts of pressure exerted on the German mind and tried to find out the

origin of German problem in its own background particularly since 1815.

This book also traces in a most absorbing and lucid way the reasons for the growth and expansion of industry and the actual position of agriculture in to-day's economy.

Finally, the author has thoroughly analysed the main features of Indo-German contact right from the beginning of the 19th century. He is not at all happy to note that the Indo-German friendship which was previously based on an exchange of ideas had now degenerated into a mere commercial transaction. That does not mean that the author has completely ignored the necessity of commercial exchanges. But he is convinced that the scope of the future expansion of trade and commerce between the two countries is rather limited and for the interplay of economic laws it would flow in one direction. So he poses a question for his readers to ponder: Will India remain satisfied only with some machines, technicians and loans from Germany—the land of great scholars?

This book would be useful to those who are engaged in studying the history of Germany.

AMALENDU DE

Reform And Regeneration In Bengal 1774-1823 by Dr. Amitabha Mukherjee: *Rabindra Bharati University*, Calcutta, pp. 392. Price Rs. 16.50. Foreword by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

This book is an interesting addition to the growing number of works on the Renaissance in Bengal and is useful for scholars as well as students. With much care the author has utilised all the available source materials—both published and unpublished—and has discussed in detail, of course from a purely objective point of view, the intellectual, religious and social movements of the period 1774-1823, which saw the beginning of many forces and activities that led to the great awaken-

ing in Bengal in the later years of the 19th century.

The first chapter deals with the introduction and progress of Western education and the beginning of new intellectual pursuits in response to it. The author has given a good account of the old system of education which had serious drawbacks. It could not serve the purpose of practical life and promote the intellectual advancement of the people. In the light of it he has described the main features of Western education. He could not agree with those who believe that "the British Government introduced English education in this country in order to prepare a set of clerks". Long before the Government initiative, private individuals or non-official institutions took an active part in introducing English education in Bengal. The urge for English education had arisen in the mind of the newly rising middle class along with the growing activities of the English trading companies and the business of the Supreme Court in Calcutta since 1774. In this connection the author has discussed the establishment of early educational institutions, especially the Hindu College (January 1817), Calcutta School Book Society (July 1817) and Calcutta School Society (September 1818). It may be mentioned here that the Christian missionaries tried to raise the standard of mass education by imparting Western learning through the people's own tongue. For this, they introduced improved methods of instruction suited to local conditions and created a trained body of Bengalee teachers. Besides the missionaries, the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society, also came forward to promote the cause of Vernacular education, with which a section of the elite of Bengal was associated. But as the craze for English education greatly increased among the Bengalee middle class and the policy for supporting the English education adopted by the Government, the cause for a new type of Vernacular education was frustrated. Among various other socio-economic factors, this was one important cause for which the

educated middle class was alienated from the ordinary masses. The author has rightly pointed out the narrow limits within which Western education was confined and the narrow character of the Bengal Renaissance in the nineteenth century.

In the second chapter the author has explained the official effort for spreading Western education, which in comparison with non-official effort, was really of little significance in this period. At the end of the eighteenth century the Government took no special interest in education. But there was a definite shift in the Government policy since the enactment of the Charter Act of 1813. For a proper understanding of the official enterprise in new education the author has thoroughly analysed the role of the Calcutta Madrasa (1780), the Asiatic Society (1784), the Benares Sanskrit College (1792), the Fort William College (1800), the importance of the Charter Act of 1813, the Agricultural and Horticultural Society (1820), the Calcutta Medical and Physical Society (1823), the Hindu Library Society (1823) and the causes of the poor response of the Muslim community to English education.

The third chapter of the book is devoted to religious reform movement and Raja Rammohun Roy's part in it. It is to be noted that long before Rammohun, several heterodox religious groups and sects like the 'Karta Bhajas', the 'Spashtadayakas', the 'Balaramis', the 'Khusi Biswas', the 'Ramvallabhis' and others had abjured polytheism and idol-worship, and even renounced caste distinctions. But, as the leaders of these sects belonged mostly to non-Brahmanical castes and lacked scriptural learning, they completely failed to create any great commotion in the Hindu society. Moreover, the conservative body of the Hindus was not least disturbed by them. Because these heterodox religious sects never claimed like Rammohun that their particular type of faith constituted the true and original form of Hinduism. In fact, the social origin of Rammohun's move-

ment was much more respectable and its attitude to orthodox Hindu society more aggressive than those of the previous sects. These were the reasons for which the Brahma Samaj had to face a stubborn opposition from the orthodox Hindus. Nevertheless, Rammohun could not capture the imagination of the masses because of his appeal to intellect and not to emotion. He could mobilise a small section of those enlightened people who had already lost their faith in orthodox Hinduism. Naturally, Rammohun's movement could not affect deeply the life of the people. Though quite conscious of the positive service rendered by Rammohun to the Hindu society, yet the author has pointed out the major limitations of Rammohun, for which, as a religious reformer he met with limited success. But he gives more credit to Rammohun as a social reformer, because in course of time his social reforms had borne fruit. According to him, "Rammohun was not out and out a rationalist, and he believed in the reconciliation of reason with religious tradition since none of them was an unfailing guide in man's search for truth". The author disagrees with Miss Collet who wrote that Rammohun was "above all and beneath all a religious personality". The author is of opinion that Rammohun "was essentially a liberal intellectual with a strong social consciousness and an urge for all-round progress". He subscribes to the observation of a noted 19th century scholar, Kishori Chand Mitra who characterised Rammohun as "a religious Benthamite".

The fourth chapter deals with the early social reforms. The author has thrown much light on the practices of 'Kulin polygamy', slavery, infanticide, Sati and the miserable condition of women in society. In this connection he has discussed the role of the Govern-

ment and the missionaries in the field of social reform.

In the concluding chapter the author makes a brief survey of the preceding chapters and describes the growth of Bengali prose literature and journalism, and expresses his opinion on the dawn of political consciousness among the educated classes of Bengal.

In a balanced way the author has analysed the pro-Government stand of the Hindu upper classes and intelligentsia, the attitude of the Muslims towards the British rule and the relationship between these two major communities. As the benefits of new education were reaped by a section of the Hindus, and as the early religious and social reform movement remained exclusively confined to the Hindus, the author has emphatically stated, that the Bengal Renaissance was largely "a Hindu awakening". He could not agree with those who called this period (1774-1823) 'a dark age'. To him, it was really "a seed time of the great awakening in Bengal which characterised the later years of the nineteenth century". He is in complete agreement with Sir J. N. Sarkar who characterised the period extending from Cornwallis to Bentinck as "the seed time of New India".

The main value of the book is that it challenges some previously held views about Rammohun to the extent that one has to reconsider these questions again.

The bibliography fills 12 pages and the index is good. The publishers are to be congratulated on the book's get-up which is delightful.

AMALENDU DE

SOUTH ASIAN LIBRARY AND RESEARCH NOTES

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(Compiled by: N. Chatterjee)

THE DIARY OF HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

September 3, Thursday, 1891

We have got another meeting—a meeting of Literary Culture Section to be held at the Sanskrit College Theatre, on Sunday at 5 p.m. Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the Sir Walter Scott of Bengal, as he is called, is to deliver a lecture on the works of the section of which he is the President.

September 4, Friday, 1891

The meeting of the Athletic Sports Section of the Society for the Higher Training of Youngmen was held in the Presidency College. A soldier has been appointed to teach us the sports once every week.

September 6, Sunday, 1891

A meeting of the Literary Culture Section of the Society for the Higher Training of Youngmen was held in the Sanskrit College at 3 p.m. Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee on account of his ill-health was not able to take the Chair.... Then Babu Pratap Chandra Mazumder gave a short speech, not speech in its true sense, but conversational speech.

September 7, Monday, 1891

A meeting of Purity of Character Section of the Society for the Higher Training of Youngmen was held in the Peace Cottage, No. 73, Upper Chitpur Road. The house belongs to Babu Pratap Chandra Mazumder, who is the President of the Section. At about 5 p.m. the meeting commenced. Babu Pratap Chandra Mazumder spoke...It was resolved that a petition be made to the syndicate to omit the obscene passage both in English and Sanskrit texts.

September 9, Wednesday, 1891

The Sensation of the day is the Jacob Diamond Case. The Nizam of Hyderabad wanted to buy a diamond from Messrs. Jacob & Co., the great jewellery establishment in India. The value was to be Rs. 46,000,00. But as the English firm wanted not deliver the jewel up to the firm in India without proofs and the sum was deposited in the Bank of Bengal in the name of Jacob. When the jewel was sent to the Nizam he refused it as it was not the same showed in the model. But people say that he was cheated by the Resident for spending so large a sum when the state of finances was not very good. The Nizam refused it and wanted back the money. As Jacob had spent a portion of the money, warrant was issued and he has come here and surrendered to-day.

September 11, Friday, 1891

... The counsel of Mr. Jacob asked the court to release the prisoner on bail but the appeal was not granted. Babu Ananda Charan Roy has been charged of bribing the jurors. He was the first man of the Dacca bar. One of the jurors who did not accept the bribe made it known to the authorities. He was so popular. He was I think the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality and leading member of the local Board, a leading member of the society. If the charge is true it is no doubt a matter of regret and no doubt [we!] would be ashamed that our educated men are not ashamed to do acts by which their honesty may be suspected. But where there is good there is evil.

September 14, Monday, 1891

I went to Chandni where I gave order for a

suit for me (Pant, Coat and waist Coat). It will cost about Rs. 7/4/-.

September 21, Monday, 1891

I went to Chandni...I have got the suit ready. It is a pretty fair one....The Coat, the waist Coat and the pant all being of English Fashion and cut.

September 23, Wednesday, 1891

A meeting of the Purity of Character Section of the Society for the Higher Training of youngmen was held in the General Assembly's Institution, Cornwallis Square. The speaker was Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, M.A., B.L., ... 3 European ladies sang sweet songs and Mr. Banerjee spoke. The lecture was a splendid one. The number of audience was very small on account of the foul weather and rains.

September 24, Thursday, 1891

That wretched paper 'Bangabasy' has been excused by the Government. It said that there was no doubt that the articles which it published were exciting. The people might have been excited against the Govt. and the 4 accused have promised never to publish such articles again...The Govt. showed generosity in excusing it.

Monipore

Charo Chand a boy of 5 years has been placed on the throne of Monipore.

September 27, Sunday, 1891

At 3 P.M. Rammohun Roy anniversary meeting was held in the City College. Dr. Mohendra Lall Sircar took the Chair....Then rose Babu Chandra Nath Bose, the translator to the Government. Then Babu Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L. and then Babu Khitindra Nath Tagore of the famous Tagore family

spoke. Babu Ramtanu Lahiry was present. The meeting was a grand one.

September 30, Wednesday, 1891

This afternoon I went to the Kalpataru Tailor Shop (Messrs P. K. Biswas & Co.) to pay Rs. 20/- the price of 2 Gorad (গরাদ) Coats.

October 7, Wednesday, 1891

The idols of our house are ready. They will be adorned with ornaments to-morrow as tomorrow the 'বৈশাখ' day which means the beginning of the ceremony of the worship of the idols. I do not like the barbarous and superstitious customs of the worships of Idols. I am a Hindoo but I believe in One God only and what I dislike more is the cutting of the poor helpless animals in the name of Gods made by them.

October 8, Thursday, 1891

To-day is the ' ' day. The Worship of the Idol was done outside the Puja hall. To-day I am much disgusted with the tumult of the Indian drums and other things such as sounds of the gongs, *Kansar*, *Kassy* etc....Mr. Jacob of the Jacob diamond case is not going to Hyderabad as he is afraid of personal injury, though the Nizam himself and the English Government are agreed to stand security and he relies on the Nizam.

October 11, Sunday, 1891

The thing I dislike most in the ceremony of the worship of idols is the killing of innocent beasts such as goats and sheeps before the Idol Gods.

October 12, Monday, 1891

To-day is the last day of the Puja. The people will throw the idols in the water to-morrow. The people of our *samaj* were invited

to-day. They came and took their meals here at noon. Yesterday the Brahmanas were invited and to-day the Kaiastha. The total number was about 100 and of the poor class some 300. They were well pleased with the food and went home much pleased. I served upto about 9 P.M.

November 16, Monday, 1891

The meeting of the Purity Section of the Society for the higher training of youngmen was held in the Peace Cottage of Babu P. C. Mazoomder. The subject of conversation was 'Bevevolence'. Among those present I marked Dr. Justice Goroodas Banerjee, Babu Protap Chandra Mazoomder, Babu Umesh Chandra Dutta of City College, Babu Barindrados Ghose M.A., B.L. etc. etc. The number of members present was about 30.

November 18, Wednesday, 1891

The poor princes of Monipore have been sent to the Andamans to-day. Poor fellows. They were destined to suffer so much. If Quinton and Grimwood were accused of any scene they have washed it with their own blood and the poor Princes with their tears. Lord Northbrook has left his post of Viceroy but the tears of Laksmi Rani are not dry and Lord Lansdowne too shall have it but the tears of these unfortunate princes would flowtill they would die.

November 20, Friday, 1891

I have written a poem in English on the helpless state of the Jews after they have been driven out from Russia.

November 22, Sunday, 1891

The Viceroy is returning from Simla. He visited the capital of the Holcar the other day. The Holcar boy of 15 made a good speech and the Viceroy praised him for speaking so correctly and fluently in his own mother tongue.

November 26, Thursday, 1891

A meeting of the Purity of Character Section was held in the Albert Hall to-day at 4.30 P.M. Babu Pratap Chandra Mazoomder delivered a lecture on the Rise and Fall of Parnell.

November 27, Friday, 1891

I went to the Albert Hall to attend the meeting of Mr. B. B. Nagarcar from Bombay. He is a member of the Bombay Brammo Samaj. Babu Pratap Chandra Mazoomder took the chair. The subject was "Social Force". Babu Protap Chandra delivered a short speech at the close of the meeting wishing our friend (Mr. B. B. Nagarcar) a good journey home as he is starting to-day from Calcutta to Bombay. Babu Bipin Chandra Paul proposed a thank to him and the chair. Mr. Nagarcar spoke good English.

November 28, Saturday, 1891

I joined the meeting of the Athletic Section of the society for the higher training of youngmen. Sir Moharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore wishes to invite us in his garden outside the town. There we shall have to show our performances.

NOTES

¹The following extract from the letter of the Hyderabad Correspondent of the Hindu (Madras) will be of interest: "The one thing that is being universally talked about at the present moment is what is known as the "Diamond Case". Sometimes ago an English firm offered through

a merchant, by name Mr. Jacob, to see to His Highness the Nizam a diamond for the modest sum of 46 lakhs of rupees. And the diamond itself was sent through the merchant to the Nizam for inspection, His Highness lodging in some bank or other, 23 lakhs of rupees in the name of

Mr. Jacob as security for its safe delivery back to owners in case it should not meet with His Highness approval. It was duly inspected, but though approved of, it was not purchased by the Nizam, owing to the good counsel, if I am correctly informed of our Resident, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick. The diamond has consequently to be returned, the refund of the 23 lakhs of rupees demanded of Mr. Jacob. But Mr. Jacob, the successful speculator that he is, does not mean to return the 23 lakhs entire in accordance with the demand. He says that the bringing down of the diamond from England cost him 5 lakhs and so deducting the sum from that placed in his name, he will let His Highness have 18 lakhs of rupees. His Highness did not agree with the merchant—and so there is a likelihood of a case cropping up at no distant date."

²Hyderabad in 1890 and 1891, p. 141.
The case instituted by the Nizam claiming 23 lakhs from Jacob the Simla jeweller was heard by the Calcutta High Court in September 1891.
³Chandra Nath Bose (1844-1910); President of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in 1896; author of *Sakuntalataiva* (1881), *Tridhara* (1891), *Hindutva* (1892) and other works. Some of

his articles were published in *Bangadarshan*.

⁴Kshitindra Nath Tagore wrote a large number of books and pamphlets on various subjects, mostly in Bengali. His works include *Asibyaktabad* (B.S. 1309), *Adisura O Bhattanarajan* (B.S. 1340), *Art O Sahitya* (B.S. 1329), *Kalikataya Chalaphera* (B.S. 1337), *Brahmodharmer Prakriti* (1924) and *Brahmodharmer Bibriti* (B.S. 1318). His books of poems include *Ankhiyal* (B.S. 1317) and *Santi* (B.S. 1330). There is also an unpublished manuscript on the life of Dwarkanath Tagore.

⁵Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore (1831—1908); well known public figure; son of Darpanarayan Tagore; student of Hindu College; pupil of Captain D. L. Richardson, patron of Bengali theatres and Indian music, the title Raja Bahadur was conferred on him in 1871; in the same year nominated member of Bengal Legislative Council; Companion of the order of the Star of India (1879); Fellow of the University of Calcutta; closely associated with the management of the Mayo Hospital, member of the Asiatic Society, member of the Education Commission (1881), had a priceless collection of European paintings and sculptures.

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

MICROFILM HOLDINGS OF REPORTS ON INDIAN NATIVE NEWSPAPERS IN THE U.S.A. (MADRAS : NOV. 1905—JUNE 1908)

Reel No. 7	
Nov.-Dec., 1905; Jan.-Dec., 1906; Jan.-Dec., 1907; Jan.-June, 1908.	Dec. 23, 1905: Land Assessment—Fisheries—Indian Loyalty.
Nov. 18, 1905: Swadeshi Movement—Income Tax.	Dec. 30, 1905: Education—Ryots.
Nov. 25, 1905: Police—Swadeshi Movement—Taxation.	Jan. 6, 1906: Ryots—Prince of Wales.
Dec. 2, 1905: Sultan—Swadeshi Movement—University Examinations.	Jan. 13, 1906: Land Assessment—Swadeshi Movement—Ryots.
Dec. 9, 1905: Macedonia—Swadeshi Movement—Prince of Wales.	Jan. 20, 1906: Lord Curzon—Native States—Famine—Swadeshi Movement.
Dec. 16, 1905: Liberal Ministry—Swadeshi Movement—Lord Ampthill.	Jan. 27, 1906: Prince of Wales—Estates Land Bill—Courts—Indians in South Africa.
	Feb. 3, 1906: Land Assessment—Corruption of Officials—Irrigation.

Feb. 10, 1906: Newspapers—Prince of Wales—Famine—Land Estates Bill—Lord Ampthill—Swadeshi Movement.

Feb. 17, 1906: Education—Agricultural Loans Act—Famine—Lord Ampthill—Swadeshi Movement.

Feb. 24, 1906: Temperance—Lord Ampthill—Famine—Police.

March 3, 1906: Education—Plague—Temperance—Native Industries—Taxation—Swadeshi Movement.

March 10, 1906: Estates Land Bill—Civil Service—Swadeshi Movement—Indians in South Africa.

March 17, 1906: Municipalities—Irrigation—Famine—Military Budget—British Government—Native States.

March 24, 1906: India Budget—Native Rulers—Condition of Ryots—Swadeshi Movement—Cotton Production.

March 31, 1906: Taxation—Corruption of Officials—Indian Loyalty—New Governor.

April 7, 1906: Courts—Municipalities—Native Industries—India Budget—Prince of Wales—Home Rule.

April 14, 1906: Military Budget—Education—Native States.

April 21, 1906: Swadeshi Movement—Barisal Affair—British Injustices.

April 23, 1906: Land Assessment—Native Army—Pilgrims—Barisal Affair—Indian Role in Government.

May 5, 1906: Barisal Affair—Swadeshi Movement—State Treasury.

May 12, 1906: Turkey—Education—Fisheries—Barisal Affair—Swadeshi Movement.

May 19, 1906: Turkey—Municipal Taxation—Barisal Affair—Famines—Misgovernment in Bengal.

May 26, 1906: Turkey—Prince of Wales—British Government.

June 2, 1906: Turkey—Macedonia—Christianity—British Government.

June 9, 1906: Village Courts—Fisheries—Municipal Government.

June 16, 1906: Swadeshi Movement—Misgovernment in Bengal.

June 23, 1906: Turkey—Irrigation—India Budget.

June 30, 1906: Police—Land Assessment—Opium Trade—Civil Service.

July 7, 1906: Education—Barisal Affair—Civil Service.

July 14, 1906: Municipal Taxation—Bengal—Crops.

July 21, 1906: Education—Native Steamer Company—Estates Land Bill.

July 28, 1906: Police—Muhammadian Education—India Budget—Legislative Councils.

Aug. 4, 1906: Courts—Education—Civil Service—Military Budget.

Aug. 11, 1906: Courts—Fisheries—Misgovernment in Bengal.

Aug. 18, 1906: British Rule—Currency Problem—Native Army.

Aug. 25, 1906: Juries—Civil Service—Native Rulers—Sir B. Fuller—Land Assessment—Regulation of Gold Mines.

Sept. 1, 1906: Bengal—Revenue Commissioner.

Sept. 8, 1906: Police—Native Rulers—Legislative Council—Mining Regulations—Anglo-Indians.

Sept. 15, 1906: Popular Assemblies—Mining Regulations.

Sept. 22, 1906: Native Army—Famine—India Council—Governor's Tours.

Sept. 29, 1906: Female Education—Anglo-Indians—Popular Assembly—Muhammadans—Swadeshi Movement—National Congress.

Oct. 6, 1906: Education—Plague—Swadeshi Movement—Muhammadans—Indians in South Africa.

Oct. 13, 1906: Poverty—National Congress—Popular Assembly—Muhammadan-Hindu Relations.

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Oct. 27, 1906: Primary Education—Railways—Agriculture—Textiles—Arbuthnot & Co. Bankruptcy.

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Nov. 17, 1906: Legislative Council—Corruption of Officials—Sir B. Fuller—Arbuthnot.

Nov. 24, 1906: Civil Service—Arbuthnot—Popular Assemblies—Mint.

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Dec. 8, 1906: Railways—Telegraph—Police—Indians in South Africa.

Dec. 15, 1906: Anglo-Indian Officials—British Rule—Mr. Morley—Muhammadans.

Dec. 22, 1906: Customs Service—National Congress—Indian Loyalty—Swadeshi Movement.

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- March 30, 1907: Courts—Education—Land Tenure—Railways—Income Tax—Budget—British Rule—Legislative Council—Burma—Civil Service.
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- April 20, 1907: Punjabee Case—Firewood—British Rule—Civil Service Bribery—Colonial Conference.
- April 27, 1907: Sepoy Strike—Self-Government—Police—Indians in South Africa.
- May 4, 1907: Indians in South Africa—Sanitation—Self-Government—Unrest in India.
- May 11, 1907: Egypt—British Rule—Students and Politics—Self-Government—Anglo-Indians—Unrest in Bengal and Punjab.
- May 18, 1907: Indians in South Africa—Bengal—Self-Government—Unrest in India.
- May 25, 1907: Lord Cromer—Students and Politics—District Conference—Self-Government—Unrest in India—Deportation.
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- June 8, 1907: Indian Press—Provincial Conferences—Unrest—Budget—National Congress.
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- Sept. 7, 1907: Unrest—Swadeshi Steam Naviga-

- tion Company—Plague—British Rule—Political Reform.
- Sept. 14, 1907: Legislative Councils—Bengal—Self-Government—Students—Plague—British Rule and Oppression—Mr. Morley—Indians Abroad.
- Sept. 21, 1907: Courts—Hindu Universities—Plague—Legislative Council—Self-Government—Press—Budget—Native States—Swadeshi Movement—Indians in South Africa—Cocanda Case.
- Sept. 28, 1907: Sir George Arbuthnot—Lord Curzon—Barisal Swadeshi Case—Cocanada Case—Municipalities—Boycott—International Socialist Congress—Poverty—Indians in South Africa.
- Oct. 5, 1907: Sir George Arbuthnot—India Council—National Volunteers—Unrest—Mr. Morley and Prime Minister—Lala Lajpat Rai's Deportation—Turkey—Police—Courts—Forest Laws—British Officials.
- Oct. 12, 1907: National Congress—Lord Curzon—Swadeshi—Mr. Morley—Indians in South Africa—Unrest—Famine—Muhammadans.
- Oct. 19, 1907: Calcutta Repression—Cocanada Case—Seditious Meetings Bill—Courts—Students—Decentralization—British Rule.
- Oct. 26, 1907: Mr. Morley—Seditious Meetings Bill—Swadeshim—Representative Assembly—Civil Service.
- Nov. 2, 1907: Lala Lajpat Rai—Seditious Meetings Act—Viceroy—British Rule—Police—British Cabinet—Self-Government.
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- Nov. 23, 1907: Courts—Lala Lajpat Rai—Railways—Education—British Rule—Anglo-Indians—Sedition—Emigration—Decentralization.
- Nov. 30, 1907: Salt Duty—Factory Commission—Railways—Lala Lajpat Rai—Swadeshim—Juries—Indians in Canada—English Rule—Strikes—Decentralization—Sedition.
- Dec. 7, 1907: Legislative Council—Reform Proposals—Plague—Rawalpindi Case—Press—Anglo-Indians—Sir Harvey Adamson—Decentralization—Swadeshim—Governor's Tours.
- Dec. 14, 1907: Education—Reform Proposals—National Congress—Swadeshim—Unrest—Official Insolence—Seditious Meetings Bill—Viceroy's Tours—Moderates—Lala Lajpat Rai.
- Dec. 21, 1907: National Congress—Japan—Decentralization—Coolies—Sedition.
- Dec. 28, 1907: National Congress—Students—Decentralization—Japan.
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- Jan. 11, 1908: National Education—Municipality—National Congress—Village Officials—Press.
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March 14, 1908: Frontiers—Railways—Sedition—Self-Government—Mr. Morley—Unrest—Military Budget—Education—Boycott—Andrew Carnegie.

March 21, 1908: Unrest in Tinnevely—British Merchants—Village Courts—Educational Reforms—Congress—Press.

March 28, 1908: Frontiers—Unrest in Tinnevely—Customs—Railways—Muhammadian Education—Military Budget—Anglo-Indians.

April 4, 1908: Courts—Unrest—Indian Budget—Mr. Morley—Swadeshis Steam Navigation Company—Public Charities—Anglo-Indians—Decentralization—Tinnevely.

April 11, 1908: Tinnevely—Indian Famine Fund—Sir Arthur Lawley—Swadeshim.

April 13, 1908: Provincial Budget—Tinnevely—Mr. Morley—Police—Famine.

April 25, 1908: Temperance—Military Budget—Tinnevely—Swadeshim—Famine—Hindu—Muhammadian—Relations—Self-Government—Indians in British Colonies.

May 2, 1908: Temperance—Advisory Council—Irrigation Bill—Tinnevely—Civil Service—Conditions of Ryots—Moderates—Indians Abroad—Muhammadian—Education—Frontiers.

May 9, 1908: Frontiers—Courts—Unrest—Police—Temperance—Telegraph—Strike—Self-Government—Anglo-Indians—Indian Emigrants—Boycott.

May 16, 1908: Police—Self-Government—Unrest—King's Duties—Boycott—Indian Emigrants.

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June 13, 1908: Explosives Act—Railways—Anglo-Indians—Police—Courts—Unrest—Mr. Morley.

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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, *Anurita 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 Bengal, 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 Council¹ 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

¹ 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 1858 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 G 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 Maharashtra 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 Consultation. 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 of 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-passages, 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 trollies 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 Cuddapah 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 1800 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 archiver 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

(Agra University)

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.¹ He identified him with Ustad Isa, the popularly accepted architect of the Taj.² 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 Itmad-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.³ 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.⁴ 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."⁵

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."⁶ 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."⁷

(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 'petro-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."⁸ 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.⁹ 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 *petro-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."¹⁰ V. A. Smith closely followed Fergusson and maintained an identical opinion.¹¹ "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."¹²

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.¹³ Almost simultaneously the inlay style had been resorted to in the Chaumukhi Jain Temple at Ranpur in Sadri Pass in the Jodhpur State.¹⁴ 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,¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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."¹⁷ 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 1909.¹⁸

E. B. Havell rejected the theory of a Florentine origin of the Mughal inlay art¹⁹; 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*."²⁰ 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."²¹ 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."²² 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 1612,²³ 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

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.²⁶ Keridge had an even worse opinion about Augustin to whom he casually alludes in a letter dated 20th September 1614.²⁷ 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 Frenchman²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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 Frenchman³⁰

by birth, name.....³¹ who after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe by means of false gems which he fabricated with peculiar skill³² sought refuge in the Great Moghul's court, where he made his fortune."³³ Havell also maintained the view that "Austin was a goldsmith and a jeweller of very doubtful reputation."³⁴ 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."³⁵ 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 died³⁶ 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..."³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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 Houaremand³⁹ (a Persian name which this King has given me and which means 'Inventor of Arts!')".⁴⁰ 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."⁴¹ In continuation Jahangir recorded, "Hunarmand, the European who had made

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

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."⁴³ This has again been confirmed by the East India Company records.⁴⁴

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."⁴⁵ Both Poser and Augustin started for Lahore. Jahangir was at Nurpur where he granted them an interview on 15th January 1622.⁴⁶ 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 1625.⁴⁷

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 Navroz 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."⁴⁸

He married a Hindu woman by whom he had two sons and probably one daughter.⁴⁹ 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 1632.⁵⁰

(e) His mission to Goa and death in 1632

His last letter was written on 9th March 1632 from Chaul (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.).⁵¹ 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.⁵² A *masnavi* 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."⁵³ 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."⁵⁴ 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—"Tane de Hiriart filia de Augustin... gigne (ro)....."⁵⁵ 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

- ¹ Cf. 'Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official', Vol. II (London, 1844) p. 34.
² Ibid., 34. "He was called by the natives Oostan Eesau, 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."
³ "Bamujib aan naksha lateefaye Rauzaye chaubee taiyar shud" Cf. Mughal Beg, 'Taj-Mahal' f. 11, ms under possession of the Department of Archaeology, Agra.
⁴ Nath, R.—'Important Christian Tombs at Agra' INDICA, Vol. IV, Number 1, (March, 1967).
⁵ Cf. A.S.I., Annual Report, 1904-5, p. 2.
⁶ Cf. loc. cit., p. 35.
⁷ Ibid., p. 35 f.
⁸ Cf. 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture' (London, 1876) p. 588.
⁹ It was later acquired and restored at the Diwan-i-Am, Delhi by Marshall in 1906-9.
¹⁰ Cf. loc. cit., p. 588 fn. 1.
¹¹ Cf. History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon (Oxford, 1911) p. 438.
¹² Ibid., p. 438.
¹³ Brown, P.—'Indian Architecture' (Islamic period) p. 66.
¹⁴ 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.
¹⁵ 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.
¹⁶ 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."
¹⁷ Cf. Annual Report 1902-3, p. 27.
¹⁸ Cf. Annual Report 1904-5, p. 3.
¹⁹ 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."
²⁰ Ibid., p. 141.
²¹ Cf. op. cit., p. 105.
²² Ibid., p. 105.
²³ 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."
²⁴ Foster, W.—'Early Travels in India' (Oxford, 1921), pp. 51-52; Nicholas Withington confirmed, Cf. ibid., p. 222 fn: Letter from the English factory 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.
²⁵ Ibid., pp. 299-300.
²⁶ Ibid., p. 98.
²⁷ Ibid., pp. 105-6.
²⁸ Ibid., p. 141.
²⁹ Ibid., p. 142.
³⁰ Who could be no other than Augustin.
³¹ The name has not been mentioned! The reason is unaccounted for.
³² 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).
³³ 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 estoit un merveilleux Ouvrier et qui apres avoir trompe plusieurs Princes d'Europe par ces Doublets ou il fit fortune."
³⁴ Op. cit., p. 141.
³⁵ E.g. in 1603.
³⁶ Actually assassinated in 1610.
³⁷ J.P.H.S., op. cit., p. 9.
³⁸ 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.
³⁹ I.e. Humarmand.
⁴⁰ J.P.H.S., op. cit., p. 7.
⁴¹ Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (Beveridge), Vol. II, (London, 1914) p. 80.
⁴² Ibid., pp. 82-83.
⁴³ J.P.H.S. loc. cit., p. 11.
⁴⁴ Op. cit., p. 141.
⁴⁵ Irvine, W.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October 1910, p. 1343.
⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 1344.
⁴⁷ J.P.H.S. loc. cit., p. 11.
⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 13.
⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 11 fn. 3.
⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 15.
⁵¹ Elliot & Dowson—'History of India as told by its own Historians' Vol. VII, p. 45.
⁵² Ibid., p. 46.
⁵³ J.P.H.S., loc. cit., p. 17.
⁵⁴ Cf. 'Travels in India by J. B. Tavernier' (V. Ball) Vol. I (1925) p. 108.
⁵⁵ J.P.H.S., loc. cit., p. 4.

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."¹

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".² 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. B. Keith wrote: "...by securing admission of India to the League, the British Government bound itself to the task of creating a self-governing India."³ 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.⁴ 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".⁵ 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"⁶ (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",⁷ 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.⁸ 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".⁹ Phiroz Setlwa, 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".¹⁰ 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".¹¹ 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".¹²

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.¹³ 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.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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,¹⁶ and the hands of Geneva never reached the states. This anomaly was criticised by the Indian labour delegates to the International Labour Conference¹⁷ and was adversely referred to by the British Indian labour representatives at the Round Table Conferences at London.¹⁸ 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.⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹

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.²² 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.²³ 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".²⁴

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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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.¹ 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 *stokas* 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*² 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.³ In his war against the demon Ravana, Rama is helped by the Sun-god. Elsewhere he is invoked by Kausalya to protect Rama.⁴ In the *Baudhayana Dharmasastra* sick persons are advised to worship the Sun-god⁵; 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 *Pranadharaka* bestowed upon him by Dhaumya.⁶

Surya is not only the friend of Rama,⁷ 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*.⁸ "His name is a personification of the veiling surrounding the Sun".⁹ According to one story¹⁰, he married Tapati, the daughter of Tapani. 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.¹¹

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).¹² The poet further states that it is he, who introduced these two things for the first time, among mankind.¹³

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."¹⁴ Elsewhere the Sun is expressly identified with the horse,¹⁵ and is described as the Father of the Asvins.¹⁶ 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".¹⁷

Visnu who sometimes appears also as an Aditya is described as *Asvatra Harih*.¹⁸

It is not difficult to explain the Sun's connection with the horse.¹⁹ 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 *Salapatha Brahmana* Varuna is actually identified with the horse. In the *Taittiriya Brahmana* Varuna's connection with the horse is referred to.²⁰ 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*.²¹ He is once alluded to as a white and brilliant steed in the same work²² 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 (*Kv.* 1.50.9)".²³ 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".²⁴ 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.²⁵ Havare the Avestan counterpart of the Indian Sun-god we are told, has swift horses.²⁶

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'.²⁷ She appears as the 'Mother of the initiated regenerate' in the same work.²⁸ It is recorded, more than once, that Surya or Savitri bestowed the Yajus formulas on the famous saint Yajnavalkya.²⁹ 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 *Vedakartta*, *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.³⁰ 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.³¹ The authors of the *Vedic Index* find in this quarrel a possible reference to the obscuration of the Sun by the Thunderstorm.³² 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".³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ He cures Rama and Lakshmana when they were grievously injured by Indrajit.³⁶ In the *Ramayana*, the two brothers Valin and Sugriva (pictured as bitter rivals) are described respectively as the sons of Indra and Surya.³⁷ Here, however, the *Suryaputra* is ultimately vindicated. But Sugriva owed his triumph to Rama, described repeatedly as god Vishnu³⁸ (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.³⁹ His unimpaired strength is also alluded to.⁴⁰ In one place of the *Salapatha Brahmana*, the Sun appears as the divine *Ksatra*.⁴¹ The *Great Epic* rightly calls him 'Ariha' (i.e. the destroyer of enemies).⁴² In the *Ramayana* we find him burning the feathers of the giant-bird Jatayu. An interesting story recorded in the

*Great Epic*⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

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.⁴⁵ Vivasvat, one of the forms of the Sun-god in the Vedic literature, is a truly dreaded figure⁴⁶. "The worshipper prays that the arrow of Vivasvat may not smite him before old age".⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ In one place of the *Great Epic* the cow is described as the daughter of Surya.⁴⁹ 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 mahabahu kambugrivo hasanniva
Angadi baddhamukuto disah prajvalayanniva.*⁵⁰

"Thercupon 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.⁵¹

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.⁵²

Aryaman, another 'Aditya' in the *Rigveda* appears as a wooer of the maidens.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴

The epics disclose the names of at least three wives of the Sun-god, viz. Tvastri,⁵⁵ Suvarcala⁵⁶ and Samjna.⁵⁷ In the *Harivamsa* we have Chaya as the wife of the Sun-god.⁵⁸ 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*⁵⁹ 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*⁶⁰ *Jagatpati*,⁶¹ *Devanameskrtam*⁶² 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*⁶³ but also in the epics and the Puranas.

The hymn addressed by Agastya to Surya in the *Ramayana*⁶⁴ 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.

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² See *Mbh.* 3.3.5-10 trans. P. C. Roy, Vol. II, p. 9.
³ *Mbh.* 4.15.20.
⁴ Cf. *R.* 2.41.3.
⁵ 2.1.1.28 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. 14, p. 215).
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⁸ 8.51.1. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 442; also Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.* (6th ed.), p. 25.
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¹³ 96.16 (*chatropanahametat tu Suryenaitat pravartitam*) See also P. C. Roy's translation, Vol. XI, p. 176.
¹⁴ *Mbh.* 5.99.5; also Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 212.
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¹⁷ 1.60.34: *Tvastri tu Saviturbharya vadavarupadharini Asnyata mahabhaga santarikse asvinacubhou*.
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).
¹⁸ Cf. the epithet *Hayasiras* in *Mbh.* 12.340.59.
¹⁹ Cf. 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.
²⁰ III. 9.16.1.
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²⁵ Cf. *Brahmanda*, II. 35.23-25; *Bhagavata*, XII. 6.66.74.

²⁶ Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²⁷ *Mbh.* 14.44.5.

²⁸ 3.100.34; cf. the *Manusmṛiti*, 2, 19 and 170.

²⁹ *Mbh.* 5.108.11; also P. C. Roy's tr. Vol. IV, p. 225;

³⁰ 6.28.1.

³¹ See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 465ff; *Rv.* I. 175.4; IV.

30.4; X. 43.5. Also *Vedic Mythology*, p. 30.

³² *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 465ff. See also Macdonell,

op. cit., p. 31.

³³ Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³⁴ *Tapanah Suryah* (1.23.9); see also Hopkins, *op. cit.*,

pp. 21f. and Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³⁵ *R.* 7.8.19f.

³⁶ 6.50.33f.

³⁷ *Velin* is *Mahendraputram* (*R.* 4.17.11) and *Sugriva* is

Suryasputra (*R.* 4.14.22).

³⁸ Cf. *R.* 1.15.26-9; 2.1.7; 2.2.45.

³⁹ Cf. *S.B.* 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*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.7.2.7

⁴¹ 12.1.7.3.

⁴² See the list of Suryas 108 names in *Mbh.* 3.3. Cf. also

the adjective *Sarvasatruvinasanam* applied to him (Mac-

donell, *op. cit.* p. 24).

in the *Ramayana*, 6.105.4.

⁴³ 4.58.4.

⁴⁴ 13.95.18f.

⁴⁵ 3.315. 19; also P. C. Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 680.

⁴⁶ See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ *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).

⁴⁸ See Keith, *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI., p. 28.

⁴⁹ See Sorensen, *Index to the names in the Mahabharata*;

p. 312.

⁵⁰ 3.200.128, *Suryasutasca garah*. 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.

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⁵¹ 3.290.7-8.

⁵² 12.343. 16. (see also Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 85).

⁵³ Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 48; *Rv.* 1.92.11; 1.115.2; 1.123.10.

⁵⁴ *Rv.* 5.3.2; see also *Vedic Mythology*, p. 45.

⁵⁵ *Rv.* 6.55.5; 6.55.4-5; also Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵⁶ In the *Rgveda* (10.17.2) Saranyu is Tvastri (i.e., the

daughter of Tvastr.).

⁵⁷ *Mbh.* 13.146.5; *R.* 2.30.30; *R.* 5.24.9.

⁵⁸ *Mbh.* 13.151.14.

⁵⁹ See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁶⁰ Cf. *R.* 6.105.

⁶¹ *R.* 6.105.6.

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⁶⁵ 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."¹

After a long succession of remarkable victories, and the latest that of the conquest of Bengal, when Akbar returned to Fatchpur-Sikri in January 1575, 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."² 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 holy men, 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.³ 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."⁴

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 Bhera⁵ 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 miles⁶ 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 days⁷ 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 fowl 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."⁸ 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."⁹

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."¹⁰

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."¹¹

It is further stated that Akbar cut off his hair. "He shortened his hair which was long and beautiful and entrancing."¹² 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."¹³ As a mark of reverence to his strange experience he ordered the filling of a tank named Anupatalao in the palace of Fatchpur-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,"¹⁴ 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,"¹⁵ 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."¹⁶ 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 Monserrat, the members of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court. Aquaviva sent many despatches¹⁷ to various personages from Fatehpur-Sikri but never once hinted that Akbar suffered from epilepsy. Monserrat in his remarkable Commentary¹⁸ 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."¹⁹ 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 Wolsley 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."²⁰ 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."²¹

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,"²² and that, "The information is tantalising in its meagreness."²³ Haig alleges, "It is difficult to understand precisely what happened to Akbar."²⁴ 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 Epilepsy²⁵ 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."²⁶ 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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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, Muhummedan 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-Heterodoxia', 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)
Slit 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 chili 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, Whittings Eyes, the Turton Fund, Item on IT, My Furlough and many other such articles and comments were all full of 'Hurra, fat-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 8-2-1689¹. Santaji Ghorpade collected the Maratha army and proceeded to rescue Sambhaji from the hands of Mukarrabkhan². Another Maratha general, Dhanaji Jadhav, also marched against the Mughal army³. 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 Mughals⁴.

Taking into account the cordial relations which Rajaram had with Sambhaji and his queen Yesubai⁵ and the respect and affection he held for them and Shahu⁶ 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 15-2-1689⁷, 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 death⁸.

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 genial⁹ and sober temperament¹⁰ having agreeable speech.¹¹ He was of self-sacrificing zeal¹² and was capable of handling tricky politics and fighting as occasion demanded¹³. Rajaram was brave and clever.¹⁴ He possessed military skill and experience¹⁵. "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"¹⁶.

When Rajaram became the Chhatrapati, he started his administration by continuing the persons of the administration of Sambhaji in their respective departments and posts¹⁷. 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 so¹⁸.

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 Mughals¹⁹. 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 guilty²⁰.

From Rajaram's Adnyapatra—a letter of the Chhatrapati himself²¹, dated 23rd April 1689²², we come to know about an administrative measure taken by Rajaram in February 1689²³, 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 Sangameshwar 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"²⁴. Aurangzeb ordered Siddi Yakutkhan to drive the English from Bombay²⁵. Siddi Yakutkhan attacked the island of Bombay during the period of 15-2-1689 to 22-6-1690²⁶. During this period of their conflict with the Siddi, the condition of the English at Bombay had become very critical²⁷. But the English at Bombay got saved from the Siddies, i.e., from the Mughals due to the timely help given to them by Rajaram²⁸. Rajaram allowed the English to recruit troops in the Maratha territory²⁹ and sent for their help his 15 ships with Maratha soldiers on 19-3-1689³⁰. 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 English³¹. Meanwhile, Rajaram sent his assurance of sending his 1500 soldiers for the help of the English at Bombay³². 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 Rajapur³³. 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 Aurangzeb³⁴. It is clear from these actions of Rajaram that he wished to have good relations with the English as were maintained by Shivaji³⁵ and Sambhaji³⁶, 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 India³⁷. 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 Shivaji³⁸ but which was disturbed during the time of Sambhaji³⁹. 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"⁴⁰. 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"⁴¹. "The friendly relations with the Portuguese encouraged many officers of Rajaram to leave their families in the Portuguese territory"⁴².

When Rajaram was busy in doing the above work from Raigad, the Mughal General Itiquat Khan (Later Zulfikhar Khan) besieged that fortress on 25-3-1689⁴³ to capture Rajaram⁴⁴. 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 Raigad⁴⁵.

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, Shahu⁴⁶. As the advice of Yesubai was selfless and practical to meet the exigencies of the time, Rajaram, his ministers, nobles and generals accepted it⁴⁷. 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 Shambhaji⁴⁸. 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 Aurangzeb⁴⁹.

"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"⁵⁰. 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 Pratapgad⁵¹. 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 Javli (Javali) and had spread rumour that "he has gone to Jingee"⁵². 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 Aurangzeb⁵³. 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"⁵⁴.

We learn from the *Jedhe Karina*, that at the time when Rajaram reached Pratapgad, there were conditions of severe famine (in Maharashtra)⁵⁵. 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 armies⁵⁶. The ministers of Rajaram, Ramchandrapant, Pralhad Niraji and Shankaraji Malhar also did the work of raising and organizing the Maratha troops in Maharashtra⁵⁷.

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"⁵⁸.

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 *Adnyapatra*, dated 23-4-1689⁵⁹. 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)⁶⁰. In return for the ink-stand of gold, Rajaram decided to give Naropant a quantity of gold equal to its weight. In the *Adnyapatra*, 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 *Adnyapatra* that Rajaram had written the same type of *Adnyapatra* to his other officer, Rahuji Somnath⁶¹.

We come to know from the letter of Zulfikhar Khan that Rajaram did not stay for long in the fort of Pratapgad⁶², when he saw that the Mughals were going to invest it⁶³. After making proper arrangements for its defence⁶⁴, he went to fort Vasota⁶⁵, which is in the hills of Satara, 5 miles to the west of Tambigaon⁶⁶. When the Mughals were pursuing him⁶⁷. 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 nobles⁶⁸. When Kishor Sing besieged Rajgad, Rajaram conducted with him talks about his surrender to Aurangzeb⁶⁹. Rajaram kept the talks lingering for two-three days and at the proper opportunity one day escaped in the night from Rajgad⁷⁰.

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 Mughals⁷¹. Rajaram showed himself in his different forts⁷². 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 Panhala⁷³. At

times he also moved to the Vishalgad and Rangana forts⁷⁴.

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 trophies⁷⁵. He and his brothers, Bahirji and Maloji Ghorpade and the Maratha general, Vithoji Chavan, attacked Zulfikar Khan and captured five elephants from him⁷⁶. 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 Chavan⁷⁷. 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 post⁷⁸. Dhanaji Jadhav also harassed the Mughal troops greatly and achieved success. At Panhala, he was honoured by the title "Jaisingrao" by Rajaram⁷⁹. 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"⁸⁰.

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, Mukutgaad, Mangalgaad, Chanderi, Khahuda, Manikgaad, Sankia and Dugad in the Konkan area⁸¹. 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 Chakan⁸². In the area around

Raigad, Zulfikar Khan was harassing the Maratha troops and population⁸³. Aurangzeb personally had stationed himself at Koregaon and was reducing the territory around Poona⁸⁴. The Mughals had also become the masters of the forts of Pratapgad, Sinhagad, Purandar, Lohagad, Rajgad, Torna and Rohida⁸⁵. The forts of Fonda, Banda and the territories of Kudal, Sankhali, Dicholi and Maneri had been conquered by the Mughals⁸⁶. 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 posts⁸⁷. 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 Marathas⁸⁸. 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 Raigad⁸⁹. The Mughals also invested the fortresses of Rangana and Vishalgad to check the activities of the Marathas⁹⁰ and the Mughal general Mukarrab Khan invested the fort of Panhala⁹¹.

At this juncture, Chhatrapati Rajaram held consultations at Panhala with his ministers to decide about the course of action they were to follow⁹². 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 Rajaram⁹³.

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 Aurangzeb⁹⁴. But

Rajaram did not approve (accept)⁹⁵, 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 attacks⁹⁶. As the military situation in Maharashtra was very critical for the Marathas, Rajaram approved (accepted) the advice of Pralhad Niraji⁹⁷.

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 ministers⁹⁸. 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 it⁹⁹. 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"¹⁰⁰ 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"¹⁰¹. 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 Karnatak¹⁰². We learn that since 1687 A.D., Aurangzeb was trying to bring the whole of Karnatak under his control¹⁰³. 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"¹⁰⁴. In that, he had serious dissensions with his assistant, Kesho Trimal Pingle¹⁰⁵.

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 Mughals¹⁰⁶. He also had an idea to arrange

for the attack on the Mughal army in Maharashtra from Karnatak¹⁰⁷.

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 14-9-1689¹⁰⁸. After the Dasara Day, i.e. 14-9-1689 A.D., the other Mughal forces begin to converge upon Panhala¹⁰⁹. 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 Mancharohana of Rajaram¹¹⁰. That, Pralhad Niraji acted as the Pratinidhi when Rajaram had not gone to Jinji is proved by his seal on a letter dated 22-9-1689¹¹¹. 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 Ramchandrapant¹¹².

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 Shivaji¹¹³ repeatedly and to the English at Bombay assuring them his help against the Siddis¹¹⁴ 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 him¹¹⁵ and the Diwan was required to explain the contents of the letters written by the Ministers and others to the king¹¹⁶. Support to the continuance of this practice in the Maratha administration is lent by the fact that it was observed by Sambhaji¹¹⁷. It was also continued by Rajaram¹¹⁸ 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 Shivaji¹¹⁹ 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 Panhala¹²⁰. 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 Rajaram¹²¹. 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"¹²² and which is largely supported by Shri Bendre¹²³, Dr. Brij Kishore¹²⁴, Shri Garge¹²⁵ 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 26-9-1689¹²⁶, when the Mughal armies were scattered¹²⁷ in Maharashtra.

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- ⁷⁷ Sardesai, G. S.—*New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, (1957), p. 331; Chitnis, Malhar Ramrao, *Ibid.*, Gujar, M. V., *Op. cit.*, p. 3, in it is stated that this event took place at fort Vishalgad.
- ⁷⁸ Chitnis Malhar Ramrao—*Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ Chitnis, Malhar Ramrao—*Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ Manucci, Niccolao—*Storia Do Mogor*, Vol. II (Trans.), Irvine, William, (London, 1907), p. 313.
- ⁸¹ Pagdi, Setumadhavrao—*Hindavi Swarajya Ani Mogal*, (Marathi), (Poona, 1966), pp. 89-90.
- ⁸² Pagdi, Setumadhavrao—*Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ⁸³ Pagdi, Setumadhavrao—*Mogal-Maratha Sangharsha*, p. 33.
- ⁸⁴ Pagdi, Setumadhavrao—*Hindavi-Swarajya Ani Mogal*, p. 90.
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- ⁸⁶ Pissurlencar, Panduranga—*op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.
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- ⁹¹ Sarkar, J. N.—*Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 32.
- ⁹² Keshav Pandit—*Rajaram Charitam*, Ed. and Trans. Bendre V. S., (B. I. S. M. Poona, 1931), *Sarga I, Verse—36*, p. 54.
- ⁹³ Bendre, V. S.—(Ed. and Trans.), *Rajaram Charitam, A Brief Survey*, p. 2.
- ⁹⁴ Keshav Pandit—*Ibid.*, *Sarga I. Vs. 37-38*, p. 54.
- ⁹⁵ 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.

⁹⁶ Keshav Pandit—*Ibid.*, *Sarga I, Verses-43-45*, p. 55.
⁹⁷ Keshav Pandit—*Ibid.*, *Sarga I, Verses-41; 46-47*, p. 55.
⁹⁸ Sardesai, G. S.—*New History of the Marathas, Vol. I*, p. 280.

⁹⁹ Sarkar, J. N.—*Shivaji and His Times, Marathi Trans.* by Vakaskar, V. S., (Bombay, 1930), pp. 265-266, Nadkarni, R. V., *op. cit.*, p. 83;

¹⁰⁰ 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.

¹⁰¹ Pissurlencar Panduranga—*Loc. cit.*, p. 222.

- ¹⁰² Sarkar, J. N.—*Augangzib, Vol. V*, pp. 56-61.
¹⁰³ Sarkar, J. N.—*Ibid.*, p. 62.
¹⁰⁴ Sarkar, J. N.—*Ibid.*; Bendre, V. S. *Ed. Rajaram Charitam* (1931), pp. 8-9.
¹⁰⁵ Sarkar, J. N.—*Ibid.*, p. 62.
¹⁰⁶ Bendre, V. S.—*Sambhaji*, pp. 640-641; Sarkar, J. N., *Ib.*, p. 63.
¹⁰⁷ Rajwade, V. K.—*Vol. 15, Lekhanka* 282, pp. 288-290.
¹⁰⁸ Keshav Pandit—*op. cit.*, *Sarga III, Verses, 1-40*, pp. 62-65; *Sarga IV, Verses, 1-9*, p. 66.
¹⁰⁹ Sarkar, J. N.—*House of Shivaji*, (1955), p. 233; Keshav Pandit, *Ibid.*, p. 66.
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¹¹¹ Bendre, V. S.—*B.I.A.S. (Quarterly, Bombay), Year 3, No. 11, Oct. 1966, Loc. cit.*, p. 50.
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¹²¹ Duff, James Grant—*Op. cit.*, p. 297; Sardesai, G. S., *Rajaram*, p. 18; Keshav Pandit, *op. cit.*, *Sarga IV, Verses 17-23*, p. 67.
¹²² Bendre, V. S.—*Maharashtra-trethasachi Sadhane, Vol. II, Letter No. 174* p. 204.
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¹²⁴ Bendre, V. S.—*Sambhaji*, p. 632; 633.
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¹²⁶ Garge, S. M.—*Op. cit.*, p. 44.
¹²⁷ Sarkar, J. N.—*House of Shivaji*, p. 233, Tilak, B.G., *Loc., col.*, p. 35.
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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 role 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 role. 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 a 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

SOUTH ASIAN LIBRARY AND RESEARCH NOTES

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162. Dacosta, John. Facts and Fallacies regarding irrigation as prevention of Famine in India. London, 1878.
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171. ——— A general view of the East India Company, written in January 1769. To which are added some observations on the present state of their affairs. London, 1772.

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Notes of a tour made in 1863-64 in the Tributary Mahals under the Commissioner of Chotanagpore, Bonai Gangpore, Odeypore, and Sirgooja. Calcutta, 1864.
175. Datta, Harachandra.
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191. East India And China Association.

- The First Report of the Committee of the London East India and China Association, etc. London, 1837.
192. ———
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The financial condition of India. A paper read before the East India Association by A. K. Connell on . . . July 18th, 1889. London, 1889.
194. East India Company.
Abstracts of minutes in the Supreme Council of Bengal: on the contracts for Draught and Carriage Bullocks, for victualling the European troops and for victualling Fort William...and a remarkable treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Ranah of Gohud. London, 1780.
195. East India Company.
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196. ———
An answer to the charges...against Sir Thomas Rumbold...January 1781, by himself. London, 1781.
197. East India Company.
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in the service of the East India Company.
By A. Brough. London, 1784.

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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. ———

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215. ———

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216. ———

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217. ———

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

218. ———

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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—Swadeshim—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.¹

December 9, Wednesday, 1891

Maharaja Pur Chandra² died some one week before... Charu Chand will soon be placed in the Guddi by the English Government.

December 14, Monday, 1891

Lord Lytton³ (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 Bosu⁴ (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 Phonograph⁵ 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 Lansdowne⁶ 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 Charlu⁷ 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 Booth⁸ 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".⁹

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 India¹⁰. "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 Ajoodhianath¹¹ 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 patriot 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 'Hurras' 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 Victor¹² 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 heterodoxes). I took the heterodox tiffin consisting of tea, loaf, cakes, biscuits lemonades & etc., Both Mr. & Lady Elliot¹³ 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 Yankee 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 buried.

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

¹¹This 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.

¹²The investiture of Raja Chura Chand took place on 29 September, 1892.

¹³Viceroy 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.

¹⁴Solicitor; 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.

¹⁵A 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.

¹⁶Viceroy 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.

⁷Lawyer in Madras; President of the Indian National Congress in 1891.

⁸Born 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.

⁹It 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).

¹⁰Lord Dufferin towards the end of his administration became very critical of the Indian National Congress. Surendra Nath Banerjia 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.

¹¹Eldest son of the Prince of Wales (Edward VII).

¹²Official 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.

¹³Sri Charles Alfred Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1890-95.

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

The entries in the Diary of a boy of 15 have been reproduced verbatim, without correcting mistakes of spelling and grammar.

—Editor

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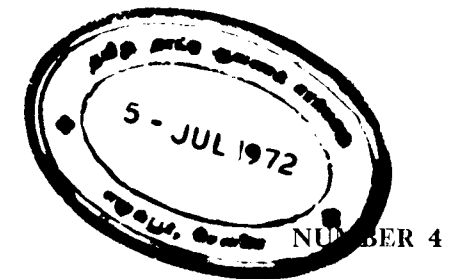
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EDITORIAL

Annual Conference :

The Seventh Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies will be held at Bangalore from 4th to 7th November 1969, under the auspices of the University of Bangalore. Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, Union Minister of Education, will inaugurate the Conference. Two principal themes of discussion have been adopted for this year's Conference—*Historical Writings on the Indian Nationalist Movement* and *Sources of the History of Mysore* (Ancient, Medieval and Modern). Following our usual practice papers have been invited from selected scholars all over the country to serve as the basis of discussion at the Conference.

For the first theme there will be one paper for each State (two in a few cases) reviewing the nature and extent of historical writings on the nationalist movement (interpreted in the broadest sense) in that area. There will also be a few papers dealing with particular aspects but covering the whole country. Each paper, apart from reviewing the historical works produced so far (including major articles in different periodicals), will also indicate the nature and extent of source material available and point out the gaps which remain to be filled in the study of the subject. All the papers will later be put

together and published in one volume to serve as a stock-taking of what has been done in the field and what yet remains to be attempted. In recent years History of Freedom Movement Projects have been undertaken by the Union and the State Governments on a large and ambitious scale. But the objectives have differed widely, some attempting to produce connected history and some aiming at collection and publication of source material only. It is high time an attempt should be made to assess the results achieved and to indicate necessary changes in the direction of further work. The proposed volume of the Institute is intended to serve that purpose and also to help future research students in their search for fruitful fields of work.

For the second theme there will be ten papers dealing with different periods and also different kinds of source material. Each paper, apart from discussing the nature and extent of source material available, will also indicate how much of it has been utilised by historians so far. Last year a similar attempt was made in respect of the history of Kashmir and some excellent and highly informative papers were presented, which will be shortly published. Since this is going to be a regular feature of the programme of the Annual Conference, it is to be hoped that in course of time we shall have useful studies of

source material for the history of all the regions in India.

The Institute's Annual Conference is steadily gaining in academic importance and popularity. Confined to serious students of history, it has avoided being turned into a social get-together as in so many other cases where sheer number makes it unmanageable. We are thankful to the Government of India for recognising the Institute as an all-India body of educational, scientific and cultural importance, and we appreciate the help rendered by the Railway authorities in granting 'single-fare-return-journey' concession to participants in the Conference.

New Publication:

The Institute has recently brought out a new publication, *Studies in the History of Modern India: A Regional Survey*. It is a collection of papers, one on each region or State, presented at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Institute held at Patiala in December 1967. Not all the papers included in the volume were, of course, actually read at the Conference; some of them were written later to fill in the gaps, so as to make the volume a comprehensive study. The primary object of the volume is to survey the progress made in the study of modern Indian history, from the beginning of the 18th century. Other objects are to indicate the gaps that still remain to be filled, to discuss the nature and extent of the source material, and to examine some of the problems facing the historian. The study of history on modern scientific lines started in India about a century ago. The time has come to take stock of the ground covered and the road that still lies ahead and also to analyse the main trends in historical research, so as to correct in future any lopsided development and to bring it in line with historical research in other countries.

The Institute's new volume has been brought out with that object in view. It is the first attempt of its kind in India and will not only

help serious students of Modern Indian History to assess the nature and quality of work done so far, but will also stimulate more detailed examinations of particular branches of historical literature.

The Introduction gives a bird's eye view of the nature and extent of historical writings on modern India. This is followed by 15 detailed studies, one on each region or State. The Contributors are: Dr. Fauja Singh (Panjab University, Patiala), Punjab; Dr. D. K. Ghose (Burdwan University), North West Frontier; Dr. G. N. Sharma (Rajasthan University), Rajasthan; Dr. H. S. Srivastava (Gorakhpur University), Uttar Pradesh; Dr. S. C. Misra (M. S. University, Baroda), Gujarat; Dr. V. D. Rao (Shivaji University, Kolhapur), Maharashtra; Dr. (Miss) Sarojini Regani (Osmania University, Hyderabad), Andhra Pradesh; Dr. S. Krishnaswamy and Dr. M. Arokiaswamy (Madras University), Madras; Dr. G. S. Dikshit (Karnatak University, Dharwar), Mysore; Mr. M. G. S. Narayanan (Calicut University), Kerala; Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee (Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan), Bengal; Dr. Pauchanand Mishra (Bhagalpur University), Bihar; Mr. S. C. De (Orissa State Archives), Orissa; and Dr. H. K. Barpujari (Gauhati University), Assam. The list is sufficiently indicative of the standard and quality of the studies and also of the comprehensive character of the volume. It is to be hoped that the volume will prove useful to all serious students of Modern Indian History who want to know how much has been achieved by their professional comrades and how much yet remains to be attempted.

University Notes :

In the present number we are publishing an account of the state of historical studies at the Gujarat University, Ahmedabad. The courses for B.A. Honours and M.A. are fairly balanced and diversified, with proper attention to Indian History without overlooking the claims of the history of other countries. But it is curious to

notice that all the 15 scholars who have either completed their Ph.D. theses or are still engaged in doctoral research have chosen Ancient Indian History as their field of interest. Not one is working on any topic connected with medieval and modern periods. This is rather unfortunate and we draw the attention of the University authorities and of the members of the History Department in particular to the need for a more balanced programme of research.

One interesting feature of the rules for research degrees at the Gujarat University is the provision for reference to a fourth Examiner in case of a difference of opinion among the original three Examiners. This is different from the usual practice at most Indian Universities, where there is no safeguard against the whim of one Examiner even when the other two Examiners approve of the thesis. As we had commented in some of our earlier numbers, this practice is *not fair* either to the research student whose fate may be decided arbitrarily, or to the other two Examiners whose considered judgment may be set at naught by the objection of one Examiner. In such a case it is always desirable to take the opinion of a fourth Examiner before deciding the fate of the research student.

Another interesting feature of the rules for research degrees at the Gujarat University is the provision that a thesis may be written either in English or in Gujarati. No doubt, a few other Indian Universities have also similar provision about use of regional language for doctoral dissertations; and no doubt there is an increasing clamour for the replacement of English by the regional language up to the highest level of University education. But, we feel, that unilateral decisions by one or a few universities will only lead to chaotic confusion. In the interest of academic standard and inter-University co-operation it is necessary that such vital decisions should be taken only after joint deliberations of all the Universities and other centres of higher studies. India is one and must be preserved as one. Nothing should be done

hastily which would disrupt the links of unity among the intellectuals and prevent a free exchange of ideas among teachers and scholars.

DNB Project :

The Dictionary of National Biography Project has been maintaining its steady progress. We have been fortunate in getting the support and co-operation of scholars belonging to all the Universities and Research Centres in the country. In spite of their heavy pressure of work, they have enthusiastically responded to our invitation and are maintaining the time-schedule in sending in biographical entries. So far we have received more than half of the total number of entries. If we can maintain this rate of progress, we hope to get all the remaining entries by December. Considering the magnitude of the task, the progress must be admitted as very satisfactory.

We have also been fortunate in getting the active co-operation of leading political figures and other men of eminence in public life. Since the publication of our last number, the following have agreed to be associated with our Project as Contributors:

- H. H. Maharaja Yadawindra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala.
- Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, Union Education Minister.
- Mr. K. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister of Tamilnadu.
- Mr. S. Madhavan, Education Minister of Tamilnadu.
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 Mr. Kunjilal Dube, Finance Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

Such wide co-operation is really most heartening and shows how much the Dictionary of National Biography Project has caught the imagination of all sections.

The question of finance is still worrying us. In a long term Project like this it is very difficult, almost impossible, to calculate the cost accurately.

ly several years in advance. There are so many factors to upset all careful calculations. Budget estimates have thus to be revised from time to time. According to the latest estimate, the total cost, including publication of the DNB Volumes, will go up to Rs. 6,58,000/-, but even this estimate is liable to be revised by the time we are ready to send the volumes to the press. In spite of very generous financial assistance from the Government of India, we have yet to raise about Rs. 1,50,000/-. We have appealed to all the State Governments for assistance and we hope to raise at least Rs. 1,00,000/- from the State Governments. The balance we shall try to raise from public donations. Although the prospect is not gloomy, uncertainty still persists. If the position does not clear up by December, it will necessarily have a depressing effect on the progress of the DNB Project.

INDIA'S URBAN PAST

THE CASE FOR URBAN HISTORY IN INDIA.

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I

We may accept that every generation needs, writes and re-writes its own history. Whether or not he consciously acknowledges it, the historian performs the function of interpreting the past for people in the present. In this context, it is immaterial whether the discipline of history is regarded primarily as being a humanistic study or whether it is to be classed as a social science. It is simply that, as has recently been re-stated,¹ history is both the past and the study of the past. It (the past) is something with which we have to reckon at the personal, familial, organisational, societal, national or international level. Whilst the question of *how* we view the past is important, it is equally important to know in what way this "past" is represented to us and why it is so represented.

The choice of what is to be "the past" and what is to be studied and described as such, is, as I believe most historiographers would agree, very much influenced by the present. Though historians may disagree about their various methodologies, their analytical frameworks, their ideological base-lines or their selection of data upon which they reconstruct the past, they would all probably agree that they undertake their task within the intellectual, political and social climate of the present. The historian chooses, first, those themes and secondly, those data, which he believes are important for the

present. He either does this consciously (with a functional belief in history) or unconsciously, as a mind representative of some specific temporal, social, geographical or intellectual situation.

Thus, in the post-Independence era in India, within the strong consciousness of independent nationhood, histories which are both explanations, analyses and revisions of this theme abound, not only in re-explaining the past to non-nationals but contributing to the present as aids to nation-building and national integration. In this way, new national histories, histories of Congress, of the Independence Movement, of the social background to nationalism, appear.

The honeymoon, however, has had to end. Two decades after Independence past achievements demand less attention than present problems. In a militarily and economically highly competitive world the emphasis changes from matters of political to those of economic independence. Whether in their own right or as pre-conditions for economic growth, questions regarding social change, industrialisation, political development, urbanisation, the development of scientific know-how, or social reconstruction are considered of increasing importance. The current intellectual climate is coloured by, to use excessively worn terms, questions of "modernization" and "socio-economic development".

In such a situation, it would be agreed that India's major goal as it moves into the second

¹Paper read at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies, Srinagar, Kashmir, 12 October, 1963.

half of the 20th century, is one of promoting unprecedented economic growth. This, it may be suggested, it is attempting to achieve through:

1. rapid industrialisation (including the application of technology to agriculture)—both to accelerate economic growth and provide employment for the “surplus” rural population.
2. drastic demographic change—to cope with the population explosion.
3. the development and application of science and technology—to provide the base for industrialisation.

The contemporary focus, therefore, may be said to be on economic growth, social change and development. It is in this social and intellectual context that the historian works today.

If these are current issues, how far is the present generation able to judge, assess and explain the nature, and extent, of the changes that are taking place? In so far as the early 19th century belief in “Progress” in Europe was generated by the increased productivity associated with industrialisation and the potentialities of new sources of fuel and power and produced a new history devoted to charting the process,² so too should new forms of history develop in a contemporary Indian situation where the rate of change accelerates each decade: forms of history that will attempt to analyse, explain and interpret the economic, social, industrial, demographic, legal, political or urban processes that have been operating at various levels of intensity in the country, over the last two centuries.

Within this overall frame of a history of social and economic change, this paper argues the case for the study of urban history in India.

II

If, as has been pointed out, the city is second

only to agriculture among the most significant inventions in human history,³ then “the urban revolution” as Childe describes the beginnings of urban society,⁴ marked a radically new departure in the entire history of mankind. Indeed, for Sjöberg, “the city and civilization are inseparable”.⁵ As a completely man-made product, the city is contrasted with the pre-urban existing natural order. It is both a social product and a product of societies.⁶ As societies have developed, adapted themselves to the environment, controlled it, formulated and attained their goals and subsequently maintained their existence through the development of physical and non-physical structures and processes,⁷ they have created towns and cities where the prime social, economic and political institutions, and ideological beliefs on which they were based, concentrated.⁸ A study of cities or towns, therefore, is a study of the societies of which they are not only a part, but often, the nerve centres.

The case for an Indian Urban History is consequently presented at two levels: the first, at the universal, theoretical level; the second, at the national, operational level.

III

Indian Historical Experience and the Development of Urban Theory

The city has sometimes been considered as “the key independent variable for explaining social phenomenon”.⁹ In particular, the urbanism associated with cities has been said to be typified by secularism, voluntary associations, segmented social roles and poorly defined roles.¹⁰ In the most well-known and classic writing on this subject, Louis Wirth has suggested that such key characteristics of modern, secular society, namely, rationality, specialization, differentiation, toleration, competition, complex class structures, superficiality of relationships, among others, result from the size, density, permanence and heterogeneity which are the characteristic

of a city.¹¹ Other writers have considered the role of cities in promoting economic growth and socio-cultural change.¹²

Whether it is the city as such, or the “urbanism” which is said to result from it, which is the key variable in these processes has been subject to question. Whether such variables as the level of industrialisation, demographic change or economic development are more important in explaining certain historical—or even contemporary—phenomena, is an as yet unsolved historical question. To Wirth the effects of urban development are distinct and independent of those stemming from cultural values or from industrialisation. What little evidence on this which exists for contemporary India enables us to draw conclusions neither one way nor the other.¹³

It was precisely to clarify this problem that Sjöberg has investigated, on a cross-cultural basis, in his work of the same name, “the pre-industrial city”, primarily to identify and “to isolate, for pre-industrial cities, structural universals, those elements that transcend cultural boundaries.”¹⁴ In comparing the pre-industrial with the industrial city, Sjöberg aims to “clarify just what is the city’s impact upon social organisation and technology”¹⁵. In attempting to generalise about pre-industrial urban society, Sjöberg has been handicapped by the lack of data on certain major civilizations. In his own words.....

“.....one of these is traditional India. Throughout India’s history, Hindu scholars have shown little interest either in recording events and compiling histories or in describing aspects of their own social order. Many of their writings are of a religious-philosophical nature—to an even greater extent than in most preindustrial civilized societies. Then too, the British who had an excellent opportunity to describe in detail the structure of pre-industrial cities in India chose not to do so; though some writers studied tribal groups or peasant villages, the city received

little scholarly attention. Even Lhasa, the so-called “Forbidden City”, is far more meticulously described than such a city as Benares. We have more data on Seoul than on Benares, or any other preindustrial city in India.” (op. cit. p. 19)

A historical knowledge and understanding of Indian cities, both industrial and pre-industrial, would therefore not only contribute immensely to our understanding of urban processes but, in the process, would segregate the distinguishing cultural attributes of Indian cities and add to our historic understanding of Indian society.

IV

An Operational Need for Indian Urban History

A pragmatic approach to historical scholarship has already been assumed in the early pages of this paper.¹⁶ The study of Urban History in India should be promoted in order to satisfy the following needs.

1. *A Historical Perspective to Contemporary Urbanisation.* Though the Indian census definition of “urban” has varied considerably since 1881, population agglomerations could be identified where centres of 20,000 or more inhabitants have lived for an unbroken historical period. Taking a population of 5000 or more, a density of not less than 1000 persons per square mile and an occupational structure where more than three-quarters of the population are in non-agricultural work as the main criteria for defining “urban”, India’s urban population has increased from approximately 26 million in 1901 to 80 million in 1961 and the number of urban places from 1910 to 2690. Niceties of definition, however, are less worrying for urban historians than they are for census enumerators: the transition from a small, ecologically unified agglomeration of people to a larger, non-agricultural community would be at least one process with which the historian might be concerned.

The problems to which this process of urbanisation has given rise have been the subject of a number of socio-economic studies.¹⁷ Though some of these, in their earlier chapters, pay lip service to a historical setting, it is too often little more than an unselective mixture of literary allusions, isolated economic data, unconnected political narration and an eagerness to arrive at the initial tabulated data of "the socio-economic survey"¹⁸. Phrases such as "shrouded in darkness", "tradition relates", "a legend associates" or "origins lost in antiquity" substitute for viable historical hypotheses. Myth is incorporated along with technological facts, the source for which is not always given. Maps and illustrations are not always regarded as essential items for the understanding of a town's development. Sources are often omitted. One sometimes imagines that socio-economic studies are conducted on contemporary Indian cities which have merely "appeared" or dropped, like Goverdhan, at the removal of Krishna's supporting finger.

What processes have developed these cities? How has land changed hands? What effects has the industrial economy had on the distribution of social power in them? What factors have governed the spatial order of the city? What has governed its growth, the nature of demographic change, the determination of occupational opportunity? What technology has it produced and with what impact on its own functioning? If an accurate appraisal is to be made of the impact of industrialisation either on existing towns or on towns which arise as a consequence of this process, carefully documented studies need to be made of the forces which have created the modern city, forces which were contained "in the society external to them: the development of the centralised national state, the transformation of the economy from a traditional, household, to a rational, capital-using basis, and the technological destruction of distance."¹⁹

Without this earlier knowledge of the "socio-economic structure", as well as other aspects,

of the city we shall be in danger of repeating the historiographical and intellectual errors of 19th century Europe, idealising the pre-industrial city and constructing an ideal rural agricultural state from whose standards the present, regrettable, urban society has fallen.

2. *Urban History, Town-Planning and Urban Preservation.* With its present urban population of over 80 million, rapidly expanding each year, a policy of guided urbanization and radical town-planning is one of India's top priority requirements.²⁰ Yet whether in practice or in theory planners and others are in agreement that planning assumptions developed in alien cultures are unsuitable, wasteful and ill-adapted for contemporary Indian needs. Whilst certain universally applicable planning generalisations can be made, local cultural variables can hardly be ignored. Town planning in a country is primarily a product of history and experience.²¹ Few contemporary Indian planners would take New Delhi, Chandigarh or Bhubaneswar as models for future development, planned as they are on Western assumptions and values.

Whilst planning will naturally take account of present and future technological innovations, of social and economic requirements and fundamental constitutional goals aimed at building towns for a secular, democratic society, quite clearly values, attitudes, institutions and practices embodied in Indian culture will still persist, even though in changed form. How these values and institutions, for example, religious attitudes and beliefs, have affected urban forms both in the past and present, little is known. "...human activities are dissimilarly distributed in space. The same is true of time; just as spatial patterns can be observed, there are distinct temporal patterns on view in the human community. In particular, there is a daily rhythm to community life that lends a high degree of predictability to community affairs. Like spatial patterns, these temporal patterns are not the same from one community to another."²² An understanding of these spatial and temporal patterns can be had only from the study of

Indian cities, both in the present and the past.

It has been suggested that contrary to European experience, India never had a tradition of urban self-government which took in, not only the economic and civic-political needs of the community, but also, its recreational and aesthetic needs. "Ecological planning of the city as a whole is a concept which was first introduced into India with the foundation of New Delhi in 1911".²³

Such an assumption needs examination on a number of grounds, not least, that such a tradition existed in European cities prior to the late nineteenth or twentieth century. In the first place, it is contended that insufficient knowledge is available on Indian cities to support such a generalisation. Secondly, it makes a number of assumptions, one of which is that "recreational and aesthetic needs" are satisfied at the public and collective rather than at the private and individual level.

Far more needs to be known about India's towns, cities, religious centres, and large villages, not only to explain urban arrangements in the past but to assist in making them for the future.

A further dimension of the applied function of urban history in relation to town-planning concerns its obvious connection to policies of urban renewal and urban preservation. Though ample attention and recognition is given by the Department of Archaeology to the preservation of monuments in India,²⁴ in a society with 4000 years of semi-recorded history, less attention, if any, is given to the care of more recent urban cultural property. "Economic factors have frequently led to the progressive demolition of small historic centres which have been incorporated in large cities, under various forms of urban renewal projects. Smaller cities or towns at some distance from major population centres are also being abandoned, or destroyed in "modernization programmes....Rapid 'modernization' or urban renewal programmes

have also resulted in the disappearance of stable social units such as the neighbourhood".²⁵

These comments on the conservation of urban sites apply to a 17th century city, though they may well be quoted in relation to historically significant sites of earlier, or later 18th, 19th or 20th centuries. Building and sites should be protected for aesthetic, historical, technological merit, not only to give a sense of continuity and development to any urban centre but to provide a context for the development of criteria in planning and architecture. In some cities (London is a case in point) not only is a detailed accurate, historical, architectural and visual record kept of all buildings of historic interest, both preserved and demolished, but for some fifty years, plaques have been widely used to the association of a particular address with historically significant figures in all walks of life. Clearly, conservation policies demand an informed understanding of a city's history.

3. *Urban History as an Inter-disciplinary Activity.* So far, nothing has been said about what urban history is. Nevertheless, what has been written has clearly implied certain approaches. As with other sub-divisions of history, there are probably as many definitions of urban history as there are urban historians. One has suggested that it includes at least the following subjects: housing, building, land use, land tenure, transportation, administration, finance, politics, health, sanitation, food supplies, population, family, social class, elites, power-structures, sub-cultures, crime, conflict, protest, philanthropy, welfare, architecture, spatial planning, the demands of terrain, city aesthetics, locational advantages, industrial mix, and the commercial facilities of the central business district.²⁶

What is clearly evident here is the necessity for a combination of academic resources to reconstruct the urban historical past, drawing freely upon economics, political analysis, sociology, social psychology, law studies, engineering, the history of science and technology as well as

such inter-disciplinary activities as architecture and town-planning.

As a theme for promoting cross-disciplinary research, both at the local as well as at the cross-local cultural level, urban history offers many possibilities.

4. *A Broader Context for Historical Scholarship.* The historian's focus determines what he sees. To direct this focus to different phenomena, demanding different research techniques, different sets of data and different styles of analysis should throw light on hitherto undiscovered historical phenomena, important not only for the study of cities but also, for the understanding of economic systems, administrative practices, social relations, intellectual and philosophical assumptions; in short, about the entire complex and interplay of phenomena in a society's history. In the analysis of urban social organisation, intellectual life and levels of material culture, fundamental questions relating to the development of scientific ideas and their application to technology can be examined. Of immediate historiographical interest is the use of new materials and techniques demanded in urban history research.

5. *Urban History and Urban Commitment.* It has been suggested that there has been no tradition of urban self-government in India.²⁷ A historic lack of participation in processes of self-government not only persists but is a major handicap in attempts to re-vitalise urban centres, not least, in the capital city.²⁸ Knowledge about the city of residence, whether historical or contemporary is minimal, commitment to or participation in its political processes, equally so. The educated elite of the cities, including academics and intellectuals, is too frequently alienated from those who are responsible for promoting public amenities and urban facilities.

At the demographic level the "urban turnover" has been estimated at anything from 15 to 40% in some major cities, giving rise

to a situation where the city can hardly expect a large, hard core of committed city residents, interested in political participation, ready to act collectively on any issue affecting the public welfare or to protest against some particular planning outrage or urban nuisance.

Of many suggestions which could promote this urban consciousness certainly one of them is related to knowledge about the city, its growth, development, contemporary situation and future. If it is agreed that urban self-government and better urban facilities are major societal goals, then they should receive the requisite attention in the educational system. As part of courses in social studies, historical or geographical, far more importance could be given to urban studies, including the historical dimension, and pursued with relation to the city of the student. Before such curricular innovations are possible, far more research and writing would need to be done on India's urban past.

Similarly the factors mentioned in the preceding paragraph regarding the preservation and maintenance of the urban environment, could also be used to link the living visual history of the city with a curricular school or college programme aimed at promoting a knowledge of and commitment to it. In large urban centres, a museum might be devoted to the historical development and present situation of the city, and this utilised in educational and recreational programmes, as is common in other major world cities. The research pre-requisite for this suggestion is of course, obvious.

6. *The Historic Functions of Small Towns.* Over the last half century and particularly during the last decade, the pattern of urban growth in India has been such as to enormously increase both the number of, and population in, large cities (particularly of 100,000 or more) at the expense of the smaller ones. Not only has this led to grossly unbalanced urban development but it has raised fundamental problems regarding the

role of small towns in economic development, and indeed regarding their future.²⁹

Again, little if anything is known about the historic function of these towns, of the reasons for their decline, or their lack of growth, of their economic connection with their own hinterland. A better appreciation of these factors would assist contemporary policy-makers in planning programmes to re-vitalise such centres, enabling them to funnel off abnormal and imbalanced migration to the larger cities whose social and environmental infrastructure is already over-burdened.

7. *Urban History and Environmental Consciousness.* It has been suggested elsewhere that there is, in the Indian outlook, a tendency towards "alienation from the objective natural world".³⁰ The Indians "had very little consciousness of the contract between the self and its natural surroundings".³¹ The tendency to abdicate from or ignore the material environment is a characteristic frequently remarked upon by non-Indian observers. How far this characteristic is to be encouraged or modified is, of course, a matter of opinion. Certainly, at the level of creative expression, architecture is an art which more than any other art form, directly impinges upon all populations, urban and rural. Unlike all other creative artistic pursuits in the area of music, dance, painting, sculpture, literature, or poetry, all of which the participant has to seek out and decide to participate in or partake of, architecture is an art which confronts all people on all occasions whether they are willing or unwilling participants in the process of appreciation.

If art forms—and particularly architecture—are to flourish it is contended that they will do so in proportion to the amount of interest expressed in them. As much of urban history can be devoted to the architecture component in the development of cities, the discipline has clearly a role to fulfil in helping to create a visual awareness of architectural phenomena.

Without reference to architecture and at a more basic level, environmental awareness, whether connected to fundamental questions of sanitation and public health, or to the more efficient ordering of space or even to the siting of electricity lines and pylons, can be created through effective urban study programmes where the emphasis is on the visual history of the urban environment.³² Moreover, if one of the characteristics of modern man is the belief in his ability "to dominate his environment in order to advance his own purposes and goals"³³ then it must be assumed that man must first know and recognise what his environment is.

The development of a modern historical consciousness as well as modern science of history are very much nineteenth century phenomena. The philosophical foundations of modern history owe much to a belief in progress associated with the onset of industrialisation and the development of liberal democratic thought.³⁴ In more ways than one, the nature of technological, economic and social change affected the development of history as a discipline and was in turn itself affected by that discipline.

If history has a function of recording change it has an obligation to do it as accurately and as scientifically as the data permit. Urban history with its geographically limited focus, and particularly in its most recent, immediate pre-industrial and post-industrial phases, would seem to offer excellent prospects for scientific research and teaching where more accuracy and precision could be reached than may be possible in other historical areas. In assisting in the development of new historiographical techniques and in the writing of history appropriate to a modernising society, urban history would seem to be eminently suitable as an area for the development of a modern historical consciousness.

8. *Urban History and Source Materials.* The sources and materials for urban history, as suggested

below, are many and varied. In addition to the more obvious such as government or municipal records, census data, private papers, diaries, newspapers, journals, correspondence, autobiographies, travellers' accounts, and other literature, a vast range of other material may fill otherwise unfilled gaps: plans, records of land transactions, company or business accounts, records of religious or social groups, accumulated bills or receipts, family records of varying kinds, postal records—to mention the most obvious. Works of literature also offer rich mines for potential research. In addition, one may add the "hardware" sources: the buildings themselves, street patterns, the comparative distribution of space, techniques of building or machinery, transport artifacts, everything, in fact, which is above—or below—the ground.³⁵ Clearly maps, paintings, book illustrations, photographs are of especial importance.

This is by no means an exhaustive list and obviously cultural situations will very much determine the type and availability of source materials. Research in the area of historical linguistics would, for example, possibly be appropriate in the absence or paucity of material records. However, the point to be made here is twofold: firstly, that urban history brings forward for historical use materials which, as likely or not, have been hitherto neglected. Secondly, it directs attention to the necessity of preserving materials the importance of which is currently grossly under-rated. If, as may be the case in areas of urban renewal, physical structures are being demolished, photographic, descriptive and particularly measured records should be made.³⁶

9. *Urban History : An Academic Service*. There is already evidence that the study of Indian phenomena, both by domestic and foreign scholars, is increasing and will continue to do so. In addition to the world community of scholars, representatives of whom will increasingly cross national boundaries, an increasingly large number of educated, though "histori-

cally amateur" visitors may be expected to stay in Indian cities in the foreseeable future. Many of this community, whether of scholars or laymen, are interested to obtain an intelligent, informed understating of the cities in which they stay, a need which, it need hardly be added, is scarcely met by the host of poorly produced "guidebooks". Would it be a contravention of academic ethics to suggest that studies should be made and publications produced for which there is already a market? At a more substantial level, if these works are not produced by original scholars, they will be written by others, the results of which we may read with reservation.³⁷

V

Some Basic Methodological Problems

For urban history, three major areas of investigation have been suggested: population, technology and environment.³⁸ Some of the sources essential for the pursuit of these investigations have been suggested above. Others include data on prices and incomes, fiscal archives, voting registers, legal archives, marriage contracts, military records,³⁹ verbal or symbolic records, recollections and informal interviews.⁴⁰ More comprehensive suggestions are contained in the three major monographs which have so far appeared on the subject of urban history which themselves contain excellent bibliographies.⁴¹

Quite obviously, as with other areas of historical study in India, many of the sources named above do not exist here. In particular accurate demographic data would be hard to come by; whilst the present Minister of Health is campaigning for at least a legal record of marriages⁴² it would be somewhat presumptuous to base research into the historical dimension of class—or caste—on marriage records. Nonetheless, it would be difficult to believe that there are no indigenous substitutes for some of the sources listed above. At least

for higher castes, I am led to believe that all basic demographic data was recorded for the purpose of predicting horoscopes. Moreover, the problem is less serious for the immediate

pre-and post-industrial era. If the historical task is valid and justified, an alleged absence of materials should not militate against its pursuit.

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A BRIEF SURVEY OF RECENT MARATHI HISTORICAL WRITINGS

N. H. KULKARNEE

(National Archives, New Delhi)

About ten years ago Dr. V. G. Dighe writing on modern Marathi historiography for the London School of Oriental and African Studies (Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon; 1961) had pessimistically stated that historical works in Marathi brought little recognition or reward for want of a sufficiently large reading public. The situation has considerably altered since then. With a Government of their own which conducts its business in the regional language, all things Marathi have received a sudden impetus and Marathi historiography is no exception. The prospects for Marathi historical writings have been further brightened by the setting up of two more universities in the State which offer Marathi as an optional medium. Besides, the progress in mass education, whatever be its standard, has certainly increased the number of the general reading public. This has had its effect on the readership for Marathi historical writings as well. Historical works, particularly on pet themes like Shivaji, are gradually coming on a par with less serious forms of writing so far as chances of reward and recognition are concerned. The possibilities for a facile piece of historical writing becoming commercially successful have certainly increased. Works of merit based on laborious research which do not find commercial publishers easily can now look forward to financial assistance from the Government of Maharashtra, for their publication. That Government has set up a Sahitya and Sanskriti Mandala (Board for Literature and Culture) which can extend substantial subsidies even to the extent of bearing the entire cost of publication of works which find favour with them. The

Mandala has a regular scheme under which such monetary grants-in-aid are made and so far more than 125 works have been published with such assistance, many of them on history. As far as reward is concerned the annual Government awards for works of merit take into consideration historical works in Marathi as well and thus offer an excellent incentive to would-be historians. I propose to deal in this brief survey with the results of such active encouragement directly by the Government and indirectly by the reading public in recent years.

Like most historians in regional languages in India, their own region, Maharashtra, continues to hold primary interest for Marathi historians, and the most popular subject continues to be Shivaji. To the numerous writings on this greatest of Maratha heroes have been added two excellent biographies. One of them is by Shri B. M. Purandare whose success must be regarded as phenomenal in the field of historiography. His two-volume biography has run into four editions in five years and a fifth revised edition is now under preparation. Part of his success may be attributed to Purandare's ability as a speaker on the subject. His talks, brimming with accurate information, tinged with humour and delivered with an appealing earnestness in the best possible oratorical style, have roused such immense enthusiasm in the audience at all places that they automatically created a pressing demand for his written work. Some of the popularity is in-built in the subject itself, as Shivaji has been practically deified in Maharashtra since the

time of his earliest chroniclers. But his success is mostly due to Purandare's skill in remaining entertaining yet accurate. To a serious reader his work may appear like homage to a hero, the style gushing with patriotic sentiment fitted for children's literature. But he never makes a statement that cannot be substantiated and every detail is carefully corroborated. Consequently, what appears in the first reading as anecdotes and legends told in the form of an entertaining tale turns out to be factual history based on well-sifted documentary sources. For one who is not formally trained in history as a discipline, Purandare's grasp of details and understanding of the period is masterly. History comes alive in his pages, a gift which any historian would envy. His narrative is not broken up by elaborate footnotes and his judgement is balanced. He has accomplished the difficult task of endowing documents with flesh and blood but not letting history stray into the field of fiction. Of far different character is late T.S. Shejawalkar's work which has won Government award. He makes no attempt to be entertaining and is full of dry details. But his analysis is deep and sound. His comprehensive biography corrects Sir Jadunath Sarkar's conclusion that Shivaji failed to establish a stable state and gives a broad perspective to Shivaji's achievement in the light of later Maratha history.

The same cannot be said of V.S. Bendre's work on Shivaji's forefathers and Sambhaji, the misunderstood son, of Shivaji. Dull and dreary in style, his writing is further marred by deep-seated prejudices, a fault which has detracted from the merits of many a historical writing in Marathi. Besides, Bendre has no sense of proportion and lacks method. While dealing with Shivaji's forefathers he devotes considerable space to answering critics of his highly controversial work on Sambhaji. Bendre has admirable acquaintance with source materials which, however, is not matched by the ability to utilise them intelligently. Credit is due to him for bringing to light much material which in the hands of a better historian would have yielded

fruitful results. Bendre has also written on Shivaji's relations with Mirza Raja Jaysinh in a separate book.

Among most significant additions to Maratha history in recent years is Prof. Pissurelencar's work on Maratha-Portuguese relations. All along, this erudite scholar's work was done in Portuguese, as a result of which it had remained practically unknown to Marathi scholars, though he had achieved reputation for his scholarship and patient work under the Portuguese rule at Goa. This valuable monograph in Marathi has now brought him to the mainstream of Marathi historiography. Free from either patriotic prejudice or pessimistic predilections his treatise is definitive and ought to be translated into English for a wider public. The University of Poona arranged a series of talks by Shri S. N. Joshi of B.I.S. Mandala on the administrative system and social history of the Marathas. These have now been published in book-form and make another important contribution to Marathi historiography. His essays on Maratha society published in different journals have also been brought together. These two books will necessitate rewriting of the works available on this subject in English: viz. Dr. Surendranath Sen's thesis on Maratha administrative system and S. M. Edward's chapter on it in the Cambridge History. But political history is more attractive to Marathi historians than anything else, though V.S. Bendre has indicated the wealth of source material and the fields for further research in Maratha history in a special book recently. Thus V. G. Khobrekar deals with the Maratha regime in Gujarat, while Setumadhavrao Pagdi has made a rehash of Persian source-material on Maratha-Aurangzeb relations for the consumption of Marathi readers. Much of his material has been already utilized by Sir Jadunath in his monumental biography of Aurangzeb. The local history of Berar and Nagpur region is the main concern of Vidarbha Samshodhak Mandali which has brought out many research articles in book-form by that Institute's venerable chief M.M. V.V. Mirashi

and his indefatigable lieutenant D.G. Landge. Among local histories, S. V. Avalaskar's social and economic survey of a Konkan village in an earlier century must also be mentioned. More interesting is his tale of Raigad—the formidable fortress-capital of Shivaji which went through many vicissitudes of fortune. The Government of Maharashtra has financed its publication. Likewise at the behest of that Government Prof. N. R. Phatak has rendered into Marathi late M. G. Ranade's celebrated "Rise of Maratha Power". The only works published recently on earlier periods of Maratha history are Dr. M. G. Panse's doctoral thesis on Maharashtra under the Yadava rulers and Prof. Bhusari's history of the religious movements in ancient Maharashtra. Though not historiography proper, that veteran journalist S. R. Tikekar has recounted his experience with the twin famous historians Sir Jadunath and Dr. Sardesai and those who knew this duo would be glad to learn more about them in those memoirs.

On the occasion of the bi-centenary of the third battle of Panipat in 1961 Marathi writers were naturally prompted to bring out something more in commemoration of this much-discussed event which marked a turning point in Maratha history. A sober re-assessment of the situation and a calm, dispassionate analysis of the whole campaign would certainly have been in the fitness of things. Instead Marathi writers chose to follow the time-honoured fashion of publishing more source-material on the subject. Thus Dr. B. G. Kunte, essentially a teacher of economics, re-issued Kashiraj's well-known chronicle. This brief account of a courtier of Shujaud-Daulah who was an eye-witness on the battle field ought to have been carefully edited and annotated. Similarly Setumadhavrao Pagdi and Prof. N. R. Phatale brought out the Persian source-materials on the subject in summarised Marathi form. T.S. Shejawalkar revised his earlier monograph in English and brought out a Marathi edition, in which he claimed fresh approach to the subject. But he does not substantially differ from his earlier conclusions. Recently S. N. Joshi unearthed

from the records of the Sangli Chief Nana Phadnis's memoir. He was a survivor from the holocaust at Panipat and part of his experiences were published in his autobiography printed during the early part of this century.

The freedom movement in Maharashtra has not attracted as much attention of the historians as in other regions in recent years. Biographies of most of the eminent leaders of liberation had earlier appeared and historians have not considered it worthwhile to do further research on them. The only exception is Prof. N. R. Phatak's biography of G. K. Gokhale published in the wake of the centenary of Gokhale in 1966. The Kesari Office has published some letters of Tilak to M. D. Vidwans which have not been utilized by his biographers yet. V. G. Khobrekar, Asst. Director of Bombay Archives, has written a brief account of armed rebellions in Maharashtra during the early British period. Balshastri Hardas wrote an account of the terrorist movement which combines research with propaganda. The collected works of V. D. Savarkar have been published and shall prove valuable for getting a more appropriate image of this great revolutionary who was also a rationalist and progressive. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's well-known history of the Indian National Congress has been translated into Marathi and the history of what is described as National Education has been narrated by P. S. Apte, who had dedicated his whole life to this cause. Setumadhavrao Pagdi has told the story of the movement for liberation in Hyderabad, while the integration of Southern Maratha States into Maharashtra is the subject of a book by V. A. Patwardhan. The author was closely connected with the leaders of the movement for merger. Among allied works which deal with freedom movement must be mentioned Nalini Pandit's valuable work on the development of nationalism in Maharashtra, and Prof. D. K. Bedekar's brief for forming a State of the Marathi-speaking people. On the whole a comprehensive work on the subject of freedom struggle in Maharashtra combining ideas and events remains a desideratum.

A special feature of Maharashtrian historiography is the publication of source materials, with or without editing, which commenced in the last century and continues unabated till now. Thus the B.I.S. Mandal have added further volumes of select documents bearing on the period of Shivaji. The Mandal's energetic Secretary, G. H. Khare, has brought forth a fifth volume of Persian sources of Indian history and Y. N. Kelkar, historian son of the eminent N. C. Kelkar, the 11th volume of Miscellaneous Sources of Indian History. Kelkar has also edited the *kaifiyat* of Holkars; while Shejawalkar has edited documents bearing on the diplomacy of Diwakar Pandit, the astute *diwan* of Nagpur Bhonslas. Another record-publication dealing with the Nagpur-Berar region has been jointly edited by that region's venerable historians Dr. Y. K. Deshpande and D. G. Landge. M. V. Gujar has selected and reprinted documents from the Kolhapur record office, while S. V. Avalaskar's collection of stray documents on Maratha administration and social history have been published with the aid of the Maharashtra Government's subsidy. The celebrated *bakhar* relating to Sadashivarao Bhau's campaign in North India culminating in the third battle of Panipat was first brought to light by Sane in the last century. It became very popular on account of its vigorous style and began to be prescribed for students of Marathi literature as the best specimen of forceful historical writing. Consequently it has run into several editions and practically every teacher of history or Marathi has tried his hand at it. Among the recent editions, S. N. Joshi's is worth notice. *Adnapatra* or the book of commands issued by Ramachandrapant Amatya at Shivaji's behest is a most valuable source for studying Shivaji's administration, and an edition of it was brought out last year by R. C. Dhare. The Selections from Peshwa Daftar, comparable to Guizot's *Collections* or the English *Rolls* series, has been revived recently, and a new series bearing on post-Panipat period is being published.

While periods, personalities and places,

mostly Indian, have engaged the Marathi historians' full attention, few of them cared to attain a broader perspective or deal with the fundamentals of their profession. Rajwade did discuss the philosophical aspects of history in some of his prefaces to his *Sources of Maratha History*; and a few articles on such subjects as the relationship between religion and history (Laxmanshastri Joshi), whether history is a science (Prof. Mavalankar) etc. were put together in book-form and published as a commemoration volume for that industrious scholar Dattopant Apte. Dr. S. V. Keshkar in his gigantic encyclopaedia has dealt with philosophy of history. But it remained for Prof. S. N. Athavle to write a separate book on the philosophy of history which has been published this year. He therein summarises the views of historians from St. Augustine to Arnold Toynbee. His work has been honoured by the Government of Maharashtra but raised controversy among teachers of philosophy. Among contributions ancillary but indispensable for a total study of history in Marathi must be noted Dr. S. B. Deo's account of excavations in Maharashtra and Dr. S. G. Tulpule's work on ancient inscriptions in Marathi. The former are really radio-talks published in book-form by the Publications Division. The latter is the result of years of labour by a scholar who is essentially a teacher of Marathi, naturally more interested in the linguistic aspects of the inscriptions than in providing a suitable historical background for them. Dr. M. G. Dikshit, now Director of Bombay Archives, who earlier helped Dr. Tulpule in his project has supplemented this research with a separate volume on inscriptions (on copper as well as stone) during the period of Maratha domination. One may also take note of a booklet on museology by S. M. Ketkar. In this connection must also be mentioned the project of compiling an encyclopaedia of Indian culture in several volumes commenced by one of the great literary figures, Pandit Mahadevshastri Joshi. For a private enterprise the wealth of details given therein is very impressive and the volumes which have been published so far are proving to be a mine

of ready reference based on reliable sources for historians.

Among other aids to research in history, genealogy is a significant aspect and genealogical research is a special *forte* of Marathi writers. Several humble families from the Konkan region came to prominence during the days of the Peshwas. Many of their present-day descendants, as a matter of ancestral pride and duty towards the previous generation, have taken immense pains in tracing their ancestors and the whole family tree. Thus, living members of widely scattered families have come together and shared the expenses of bringing out books containing sketches of eminent members and brief notices of others. Dozens of such family histories, a tribute to the patience and perseverance of a certain category of Marathi workers, have appeared so far. One such recent publication is the account of Sardesai of Mavalanga (a small Konkan village) to which distinguished family belonged the modern historian of the Marathas, late Dr. G. S. Sardesai, and the late first Speaker of Parliament, Dadasaheb Mavalankar. Many more such family accounts are under preparation, which are certain of publication through the combined subscriptions of the members of the family.

I cannot close this survey of recent Marathi historiography without mentioning the role played by recent historical fiction in rousing public interest and creating demand for historical writings in Marathi. A survey of such recent Marathi fiction is outside the scope of this article but Marathi historians would remain grateful to novelists like Ranjit Desai, G. N. Dandekar, and N. S. Inamdar and dramatists like Vasant Kanetkar and Vyankatesh Madgulkar. They are doing for Maratha history what Sir Walter Scott did for the English and Chateaubriand for the French historiography. Researchers have been harsh on them for anachronisms or misinterpretations, forgetting that the frame of reference for a writer of fiction is quite different than what it would be for a

historian. The former is selective in choosing facts for effect while the latter's attempt is to be comprehensive, assuming of course that he is honest. Whatever the faults of Marathi historical fiction, it cannot be gainsaid that it has indirectly furthered the cause of historical research in Maharashtra by its glamorised recreation of the past.

In sum, while the range of Marathi historiography so far remains limited and originality is lacking in many works, in most of them the labour involved is evident. It is hoped that with prospects brightened for historical writings in regional languages, Marathi writers would widen their interests and work upon the incentives provided by the Government of Maharashtra. That Government has embarked upon the project of a five-volume comprehensive history of Maharashtra, each volume comprising 500 pages to be based on documentary sources available up-to-date, and the work has been entrusted to eminent scholars. Though opinion is divided on the standard and quality of Government sponsored histories, let us hope that Maharashtra Government proves an exception.

Lastly, I am aware that in this brief survey which does not claim to be comprehensive I might have overlooked certain recent works owing to their non-availability in a place like Delhi. I apologise for their omission which is not intentional. In passing I must also mention that our most venerable scholar Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, who is yet to give us his promised biography of Shivaji, has been writing for the past many years informative and incisive prefaces and introductions to many historical works. I earnestly wish that some enterprising publisher puts them together in book-form in the cause of Marathi historiography*.

* Paper read at the 6th Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies held at Srinagar in Oct. 1968.

THE ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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Surat was a great centre of trade in the seventeenth century. It was the chief port of the Mughal empire. Its commercial importance was greatly increased by the establishment of the English and Dutch factories in 1612 and 1618 respectively. These Europeans had come to Surat in pursuit of cloth and indigo which were in great demand in Europe. Moreover, Indian cloth was a necessary medium for the purchase of spices in the spice islands. The English East India Company created a market for Indian cloth in Western Europe and throughout the seventeenth century Indian textiles dominated the export trade despite the restrictions on its imports into England.

Cotton Cloth

The chief article of export from Surat was cotton textiles (Calicoes as they were styled in Europe), the ordinary cotton fabrics being known in the country as 'Baftas'. They were obtained bleached, unbleached or dyed in various colours and were produced with special excellence at Broach, Navsari and Baroda. Tavernier says that the river Narbada at Broach was widely renowned for centuries as possessing a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes which were brought here for this purpose from all parts of the Mughal empire. The cities of Ahmedabad and Agra were the famous centres to which calicoes from all parts of India were taken for dyeing by means of indigo which was manufactured at Sarkhej and Biana respectively. The length of the Baftas was about 15 yards and the width was usually 25" or less, but Broad Baftas of 36" or more were also common. There were other varieties of cotton cloth, viz., Chintz, Dungarees,

Guinee cloth etc., exported from Surat. According to Tavernier Chintz was the painted cloth made with a brush. It had different degrees of beauty both on account of painting and fineness of the cloth. Tavernier says:

"All the Chites (Chintz) of which I am about to speak are printed cotton cloth, of which bed covers are made, and also sufras or table cloths. The chites of bright colours are made at Burhanpur. They are made into handkerchiefs, and a sort of veil called ornis which the women throughout Asia use to put on their heads and about their necks."¹

Other travellers have borne witness to the surprising beauty and texture of the muslins and calicoes that the handloom weavers in India produced. Ovington visiting Surat in the year 1689 says:

"In some things the artists of India outdo all the ingenuity of Europe, viz., in painting of chites or calicoes, which in Europe cannot be paralleled, either in the brightness and life of colours or in their continuance upon the cloth."²

Exports to Europe

Before the 17th century the import of Indian goods of cotton in Western Europe was very limited. Small quantities of cotton cloths were carried through over the land route and the cost of transit was high. Europe produced linen for domestic use and tapestry for decoration. Indian calicoes and Chintz could not compete with these goods unless and until they

were cheaper and this was not possible until they were brought all the way to Europe by sea. The Portuguese paid no attention towards it and created no market for Indian cotton goods in Western Europe. Thus the position at the opening of the 17th century was that Western Europe constituted a large but fully undeveloped market for Indian cloth.

It was the English East India Company, which created a market for Indian cotton goods in Western Europe. The Dutch East India Company took little part in the opening of the new market, and they entered it at a later stage.

The main reasons for this were, firstly, that Holland possessed an important linen industry and that imports of Indian cotton goods seemed detrimental to the home linen industry,³ and secondly, the monopoly of the spice islands and the far eastern trade kept Batavia amply supplied with remunerative cargo for Europe.⁴ The exports of Indian cloth to Europe by the Dutch East India Company during the first few decades of the 17th century, right upto about 1670,⁵ was modest and secondary in proportion to the sales in Indonesia. On the other hand, England did not produce linen on a large scale and thus the imports of calicoes into England were not so detrimental to the home industry. Besides, the English East India Company had no monopoly of spice trade. The problem was of filling the homeward ships with suitable cargo as indigo alone was not sufficient for the purpose. Hence it was essential for the English to develop a market in Europe for the Indian textiles. The credit, therefore, goes to the English East India Company for developing markets in Europe for the Indian textiles.

Requirements of Calico from Surat:

The English East India Company found it difficult to get return cargoes and therefore resorted to textiles for want of something better. The trade in calicoes gradually developed in the first half of the 17th century and largely

increased in the second half. The Directors of the English East India Company in 1620 ordered a huge quantity of textiles from Surat but the famine in Gujarat in 1630 gave a death blow to the trade at Surat and the supply of calicoes was considerably decreased. But the economic effects of the famine disappeared in due course and the normal commercial life of the city was restored. With the renewal of the monopoly of the English East India Company's trade in 1657, large quantities of cloth were ordered by it from Surat.

The orders for the supply of cloth from Surat by the English East India Company in 1658 are given below:⁶

Mercoolis	...	10,000	pieces
Narrow Baftas	...	10,000	"
Broad Baftas	...	5,000	"
Sind Calico	...	10,000	"
Dariya bands	...	10,000	"
Dangaree	...	10,000	"
Other Calico	...	8,500	"
Chintz	...	1,000	"
Quilts	...	300	"
		64,800	"

The next year the orders for calico were greatly reduced. The Directors of the English East India Company in their letter dated 13 September, 1658 wrote to the President and Council at Surat thus:

"The great quantity of calico which are returned on the prementioned ships from your part, with the remains of the former shipping, hath so exceedingly debased the commodity in its price that they will not produce the one half of the value which they formerly did.....and do hereby give you order not to exceed $\frac{1}{2}$ part of what we formerly advised for, in the several sorts."⁷

For the succeeding years also the orders

were greatly reduced. The condition at Surat was prejudicial to trade due to the attack of Shivaji on Surat in the year 1664. The purchase of commodities was difficult because of the wars between Aurangzeb and Shivaji. The prospects of a war between England and Holland also led to a reduction of trade at Surat and the Presidency was instructed 'not to vest money in Indian produce, the transit of which to Europe might be perilous, if not ruinous.'⁸ On 4th March, 1665 England declared war against Holland and the war ended on 21 July, 1667 by the treaty of Breda. After the temporary decline due to these obstacles, the cloth trade was very vigorously pursued in the succeeding years.

The Company through their letter dated London 31 August, 1666 to the President and Council at Surat ordered the supply of the following:

"Broad Baftas 6000 pieces and 4000 pieces of broad blue Baftas, well made cloth and if possible let them be full $1\frac{1}{2}$ yard broad, 15000 pieces of narrow Baftas, 10000 pieces of well made Sovaguzees, 20000 pieces of Dungarees and Parcollaes which we desire if possible may be full yard wide and 2 pieces in one, 2000 pieces of Serwunge Chintz and let 40 or 50 pieces in the several sorts be of the same work, we desire you to take care to the goodness and cheapness of each sort of calicoes."⁹

Thus 57,000 pieces of cloth were ordered by the English East India Company from Surat in the year 1666—a year of Anglo-Dutch War. Next year (1667) the orders were largely increased to 152,000 pieces with a subsequent addition of 13,000 pieces making the total 165,000 pieces.¹⁰

The orders for the provision of cloth at Surat by the English East India Company during the period 1660 to 1694 were as follows:

Year	Thousand pieces
1660	72
1661	135
1662	96
1663	145
1664	55
1665	Not known
1666	57
1667-68	165
1669	298
1670	290
1671	376
1672	148
1673	294
1674-75	284
1675-76	254
1676-77	346
1677-78	353
1678-79	344
1679-80	Not known
1680-81	408
1681	536
1682	1436
1683	568
1684-85	285
1686-87	175
1687-88	257
1688	619
1693	305
1694	560

It is seen that the annual average number of cloth pieces ordered from Surat centre by the Company during the eight years from 1660 to 1667-68 was 90,600. After a temporary decline during the Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67) the cloth trade was very vigorously pursued. The annual average for Surat rose from the above figure for eight years to 278,000 pieces during 1669-72, thus trebling the exports of cloth to England from Surat during the four years.

There was considerable increase in the quantity of cloth ordered from Surat in the succeeding years, as is shown below:

Years	Thousand pieces
1673-1678	1875
1680-1683	2948
1684-1688	1336

This was due to a change in European fashion and the adoption of Indian calicoes which will be described later on.

It is clear from the above figures that the total number of cloth pieces ordered from Surat in the six years from 1673 to 1678 was 1875,000 or 312,500 pieces per year, but there was a great rise in the four years from 1680 to 1683. The total pieces ordered was 29,48,000 pieces or 737,000 pieces per year. Again there occurred a fall in the orders. The total pieces ordered for five years from 1684 to 1688 was 13,36,000 or 267,200 pieces per year. This was due to the attack on the English East India Company's policy of importing calico in England by the English producers and merchants of woollens. The Mughal-Maratha Wars, the Maratha raids around Surat and the hostile attitude of the Mughal Governor led to a fall in the orders for cloth. In 1687-88 the Company sent armaments with instructions to levy wars on the Mughals as a revenge for wrongs done to them and the Mughal Governor of Surat, Mukhtar Khan, arrested the English President, Mr. Harris. These conditions naturally had an adverse effect on trade. But in Europe calicoes were in great demand. The Company in a letter dated 26th July 1688 wrote to the President of Surat factory:

"In the meantime before goods rise too much, and since you have stock enough we would have you proceed to buy all the usual sorts of Calicoes, as well white as coloured."¹³

An account of the distribution of the piece goods as ordered from different regions of India by the English East India Company is given below:¹⁴

Year	Surat	Fort	Bay	Total	Annual Average
1673-1678	1875	1479	5491	39031	650
1680-1683	2948	3795	1821	8564	2141
1696-1697	865	844	862	2571	1285

It is seen that Surat was the great centre in providing the maximum requirements out of the three centres of English investment viz., Surat, Coromandel Coast and Bengal. But the Mughal-Maratha Wars in the Deccan, Maratha activities in and around Surat and the hostile relations between the English and the Mughals in the last decades of the 17th Century had the effect of transferring a large part of trade from Surat to the Bay and the Coast. The proportion of cloth ordered by the Company in Surat as compared to the other two centres combined is given below:

Year	Surat	Bay & Coast
1673-78	48%	52% of the total
1680-83	34%	66% of the total
1696-97	33½%	66½% of the total

The Dutch also had three Indian centres of investment—Surat, Coromandel Coast and Bengal, and the second of these was the greatest supplier of cotton cloth to the Dutch East India Company. The specimen of quinquennial export of cotton cloth from 1665 to 1669 as given below will show the magnitude of the Dutch trade:

Year	Surat No. of Parcels	Coromandal No. of Parcels	Bengal No. of Parcels
1665	1734 ⁽¹⁵⁾	4147 ⁽¹⁶⁾	Nil
1666	1084 ⁽¹⁷⁾	5328 ⁽¹⁸⁾	312 ⁽¹⁹⁾
1667	535 ⁽²⁰⁾	5571 ⁽²¹⁾	Nil
1668	266 ⁽²²⁾	4724 ⁽²³⁾	181 ⁽²⁴⁾
1669	118 ⁽²⁵⁾	8110 ⁽²⁶⁾	127 ⁽²⁷⁾
Total	3737	27880	620
	12%	86%	2% = 100%

The total shows that the export of cotton cloth from Coromandel Coast was the highest, being 27880 parcels in comparison with Surat and Bengal's 3737 and 620 parcels of cloth respectively. The Coromandel Coast supplied 86%, Surat 12% and Bengal only 2% of the whole export of cotton cloth during three years.

Changes in European Fashion and demand for Indian Calicoes.

In the late seventeenth century a rapid change took place in the fashion of men's and women's clothing in England. Moreland says, "Up to the year 1660 there was practically no demand for muslin or prints as apparel; such dress goods as were carried westwards were destined almost entirely for Africa or America, where the trade had been established by Portuguese."²⁸ But soon all classes of people began to discard their home manufactured broad cloth and wanted light and elegant clothing. For sometime French silk and linens were imported, but in 1678 the English Parliament prohibited the importation of French stuff. This prohibition gave India the opportunity and the English East India Company considerably increased its investment and imported calicoes.

Besides its fineness, Indian calicoes were very cheap and became very popular. It was adopted by the rich and the poor alike. At first the poor people, who could not afford the costly French linen adopted Indian calicoes, but soon "These gudy Eastern stuffs came to be used by the higher classes as well, from the greatest gallants to the meanest cook maid."²⁹

"On a sudden" a writer says "We saw all our women, rich and poor, clothed in Calico, printed and painted, the gayer and the more tawdry the better."³⁰ The fashion changed the shape not only of the English but also of the Dutch East India Trade and chintz became the "ware of the gentle women in Holland".³¹

According to Carry's pamphlet of 1699, the craze was set in the 1680's and it was

"scarce thought about twenty years since that we should ever see calicoes, the ornaments of our greatest Gallants (for such they are whether we call them muslins shades or anything else) when they were then rarely used..... but now few think themselves well dressed till they are made up in Calicoes, both men and women, calico shirts, Neck-cloths, Cuffs, Pocket handker.—Chiefs for the former, Head dresses, Nightroyles, Hoods, Sleeves, Aprons, Gowns, Petticoats and what not, for the latter, besides India stockings for both sexes."³²

Objections to the import of Indian Calicoes:

The enormous extent and rapid change in the European fashion and the adoption of Indian calicoes by all status of men and women in England, induced many patriotic writers to attack the new fangled fashion. As a result of the criticism of East India Company's import policy, heavier duties were imposed on calicoes in England to satisfy popular demand. In 1685 an additional duty of £10 per £100 value with 10% discount for prompt payment and full drawback on re-exportation was imposed on "all Calicoes and all other Indian linen imported from the East Indies and on all wrought silks or manufactures of India made of mixed with Herbs or Silk and Thread or cotton imported into England from the East Indies after 18th July, 1685 and before 1st July, 1690."³³

In their letter dated 10th March, 1697 the English Company wrote to their President at Surat on the subject of duties on Calicoes thus:

"That by some late Acts of Parliament the custom on all Calicoes promiscuously are full 3 shillings a piece or better accompting such pieces one yard and a quarter wide and ten yards long and if yard and a half with them six yards long is a piece, that under the name of a piece of calico is comprehended all sorts of white, brown or blue, plain cloth made of cotton as also chintz and the coar-

sests Pautkatha or Dungaree, pays as much as the finest Baftas or other species of goods comprhended therein, and the same if but half yard, as if yard and a quarter, or yard six nails wide, there being no consideration for coarsness or want of breadth, but only on account of length, so that you will see abundance of reason, why we now enjoin you to send us no Paut Kaes or Dungarees, and for other Coarse cloth the less the better the custom eating out the profit."

But in spite of all the adverse circumstances, calicoes continued to be popular and in great demand throughout the period.

Indigo

Indigo was an important export commodity from Surat. The two chief centres for the manufacture of indigo were Sarkhej and Biana. Sarkhej was a famous village near Ahmedabad and was the principal centre in the whole province of Gujarat for the manufacture of indigo. Biana, near Agra, was the only other centre in the Mughal empire which could compete with Sarkhej for the excellence of indigo manufactured there.

There were two commercial descriptions of indigo—Sarkhej and Lahori. Sarkhej indigo was a product of the village Sarkhej. It was made up in the form of cakes and is described as flat. The Lahori indigo³⁴ came from the Ganges Doab, but most of it was manufactured at Biana, was much purer than Sarkhej indigo and was often spoken of as 'round' from the fact that it was made up in balls. According to Moreland Sarkhej indigo had 'an admixture of sand and that about three pounds of Sarkhej were equivalent to two of Lahori.'³⁵ But in spite of the inferior quality of Sarkhej indigo, due to admixture of sand, the difference in the price between the two varieties was not very great, as the Biana indigo, owing to its very great distance from the sea coast, cost more to put on the market.

Demand for indigo in Europe

Indigo produced in India and exported from the port of Surat, was in great demand in all the countries of Western Europe for supplying the blue dye required by the staple woollen industry. The commodity was chiefly sought by the English and Dutch merchants on their first arrival at Surat, and throughout the first half of the seventeenth century it held the first place in their exports to Europe, though in the second half of the century calicoes took the first place and indigo occupied the second.

The English and the Dutch were the most important purchasers of indigo. The Dutch factors who reached Surat in 1601 wrote about indigo as the most important local product and their successor Van Deynsen arranged to buy indigo in the year 1607. His sudden death disturbed all his efforts and the indigo trade was started in earnest from the year 1618 with the establishment of the Dutch factory at Surat. Similarly English factors at Surat purchased large quantities of indigo and a single ship, Royal Ann, in the season 1618-19 took to England from Surat a cargo valued at 720243 Mohmudis (Rs. 288097) out of which the value of indigo was 630241 Mohmudis as given below:

	Mohmudis
Indigo Sarkhej	351568
Indigo Biana	278673
	630241
Calico	77000
Fancy goods & Samples	7600
Misc. Articles	5402
	720243 ³⁶

It is seen that the value of indigo was several eighths of the whole. But this importance and primacy of indigo did not last for long because it was quickly discovered by the English

India Company that calicoes could be sold in large quantities in Western Europe.

Attempt in Monopoly and its failure:

The great and continuous demand on the part of both the English and Dutch Companies at Surat for the Sarkhej and Biana indigo for export to Europe, led the Mughal emperor Shahjahan in 1633 to make the trade in indigo a royal monopoly with a view to secure large profits to the government treasury. But the high prices charged by the government authorised trader led the English and Dutch factors, who were the principal buyers at Surat to refuse to purchase the indigo.³⁷ The governor of Surat finding the failure of the monopoly, petitioned the emperor to restore the free sale and purchase of the commodity. Consequently the indigo monopoly was dissolved.³⁸

Export & keen competition for indigo:

Although the English and Dutch merchants had forced the Mughal authorities to break the monopoly in 1635, there was a keen competition among them for the purchase of indigo and they exported large quantities from Surat. A specimen of quinquennial export of indigo by the English and Dutch factors is given below:

English Export of Indigo from Surat during 1666-1670³⁹

Year	Biana (Lahore) Indigo	Sarkhej Indigo
1666	100 Bales at current price, more at Re. 1/- per lb.	50 Bales at current price, more if rupee 1 per lb.
1667	100 Bales at current price, 200 Bales if at Re. 1/- per lb. ...	100 Bales at current price. ... 200 Bales if at 1 Mohmudi per lb.
1668	200 Bales at current price 400 Bales if at Re. 1/- per lb.	None
1669	400 bales at current price	200 bales at 1 Moh. per lb.
1670	600 or 800 bales at 2 Mohmudis.	300 bales at current price.

Dutch Export of Indigo from Surat during 1666-1670

Year	Quantity of Indigo Exported	Reference
1666	68568 lbs.	Dagh Register, XVII, pp. 105, 109.
1667	Nil	—
1668	31211 lbs.	Dagh Register, XVIII, p. 127.
1669	80040 lbs.	Dagh Register, XVIII, p. 374.
1670	80454 lbs.	Dagh Register, XIX, p. 110

The price of indigo

According to Tavernier, Sarkhej indigo was sold from 15 to 20 rupees per maund and the Surat maund was of 42 seers.⁴⁰ The Biana indigo was sold from Rs. 36/- to Rs. 40/- per maund and the maund according to Tavernier in those regions consisted of 60 seers.⁴¹ The Dutch purchased 200 bales of indigo at Khurja in the year 1655 at 33 and 38 rupees per maund.⁴² The prices of Biana and Sarkhej indigo in 1660 as given in the English factory records was 26 d. and 12½ d. per lb. respectively.⁴³ In the following years indigo became very dear and the price of Biana indigo in 1664 had risen to Rs. 67/- per maund.⁴⁴

Total cost of transport of indigo from Surat to London:

In 1675 the total cost of importing indigo into England was estimated to be 1s. per lb. over and above its prime cost (which was 2s. 4d. per lb.) as under:

Freight	4 d.
Custom	4 d.
Waste and charges	4 d.
Total	1 s.

The Sarkhej indigo, whose prices varied from 9 d. to 1s. would not have cost the English

East India Company more than 2s. at its delivery in England. The trade in Indigo was more profitable only when the commodity was purchased at cheap rates in Indian markets and sold at high prices in London market. When the price of indigo increased in India and its price in London market decreased there was less profit. This was the reason why at the close of the seventeenth century the importance of this noble staple commodity began to decline and at the opening of the 18th century indigo lost its importance as a main commodity of export from Surat.

The prices of indigo in the London market are given below, which will give us an idea of the profits drawn by the English East India Company in this trade.

Prices of Indigo per lb. in London Market

Year	Biana s.—d.	Sarkhej s.—d.	Sources
1646	4 — 0	3 — 4	English Factories, 1646-50, p. 32.
1651	4 — 6	3 — 8	Court Minutes, 1650-54, p. 129
1656	4 — 0	3 — 4	E.F., 1655-60, pp. 60, 61
1660	3 — 2	1 — 8	E.F., 1655-60, p. 336
1675	3 — 2	—	C.M., 1674-76, p. 157.

Spices

Surat was a major centre of entrepot trade in spices. They were not the product of Surat or its surrounding areas. Spices came to Surat largely from the Malabar Coast and the spice islands. Pepper, nutmegs, mace, cloves, cardamoms and cinnamon were the chief varieties traded at Surat.

Dutch monopoly of spices

Spices were the most typical group of commodities of the Dutch East India Company. They were monopolized goods which yielded enormous profit. The control and influence of

the Dutch in Malabar and the spice islands made it possible for them to establish a monopoly in these commodities. In order to check the Dutch from establishing a complete monopoly of pepper trade on the Malabar Coast, the Surat Presidency opened an English Factory at Calicut in the year 1659.⁴⁶ The Dutch put up every obstruction in the way of the English and prevented them from purchasing pepper.⁴⁷

But in spite of all these obstructions, the English were able to purchase good quantities of pepper from the Malabar Coast. We have many instances to show from the English records that the Dutch were not able to secure a strict monopoly of pepper trade on the Malabar Coast.

Price of Pepper

The English Presidency at Surat purchased pepper at 3d. per lb., but with freight, custom and other charges it cost them in England at 10 d. per lb.⁴⁸ The Company generally sold the pepper in England at 11 d. per lb.⁵⁰

Saltpetre

Saltpetre being an important ingredient in gunpowder was in great demand in Europe. The increased use of artillery in European warfare had brought about a shortage of this essential commodity and Europe now turned to India for saltpetre. The chief place of the supply was the small town of Malpur in Gujarat. Saltpetre also came from Agra and the English exported the commodity from Surat.

The volume of trade was very small and the English factory at Surat found itself helpless to supply the Company with the required quantity of saltpetre ordered.⁵¹

Royal embargo on export of saltpetre

We find references in the English records to the obstruction put up by the Mughal officials

on the export of saltpetre. The Mughals were shrewd enough to prevent the export of so important an ingredient in the munitions of war and this averted the possibility of its ever being used against them. A letter from Surat to the English Company says "The Governor of Ahmedabad, pretending orders from the king to that effect, refuses to allow any saltpetre to be exported thence, and has further stopped all coming through from Agra."⁵² Saltpetre was forcibly snatched by Murad and the English President informed the Company "What saltpetre was provided by particular seasons at Ahmedabad is all seized on by the prince there who took it from the English by force."⁵³ Saltpetre thus became a royal monopoly.

Tea

The first order received from the English East India Company for tea was in 1667, when the Surat factors were desired to send home by these ships 100 lbs. weight of the best tea that they could get.⁵⁴ In 1680 a hundred and forty three pounds were exported from Surat to England and in 1686 the court sent an order to Surat mentioning that the tea, in future, was to be part of the company's imports, and not be an article of private trade. From this time until the company opened their trade with China, the exportation of tea from Surat to England gradually increased. The quantities exported from Surat to England in the following years are given below:

Year	Total lbs. exported from Surat
1687	4995 lbs.
1688	1666 lbs.
1690	41471 lbs.

Diamonds:

Diamonds were articles of private trade and the Company's servants were allowed to trade in diamonds. For the first time (in 1680) in the history of the English East India Company we find orders for the diamonds as an article of import into England. In a despatch of 16 July, 1680 which reached Surat on 23 March, 1681, the Company wrote that "in future the diamond trade between India and England would be appropriated to the Company's General Stock." The Company ordered to provide diamonds to the value of £20,000. But the diamonds could not be procured to the full amount of £20,000 and part of the investment was made in calicoes.⁵⁷

Thus a variety of commodities were exported from Surat and of these the exports of cloth and indigo were the most significant. In the early decades of the 17th century indigo formed the major part of the exports, but the situation changed in the second half of the 17th century when textiles surpassed indigo in the total exports from Surat. The pattern of textiles too underwent important changes in course of time. Europe turned to finer calicoes and new designs were in great demand. The English East India Company did more than the Dutch Company in creating a market in Europe for the export of Indian cloth. In spite of the restrictions in England on the import of calicoes, the Indian textiles continued to dominate the export trade throughout the second half of the 17th century. The exports of spices etc. were also substantial but came in importance next only to indigo and cloth.

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¹⁷ *Ibid*, XVIII, pp. 105, 109.
¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 57, 67, 166, 181, 182, 186.
¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 6, 36, 106.
²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 327, 358.
²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 271, 280, 295, 304, 339, 343, 354, 386, 387, 388.
²² *Ibid*, XVIII, p. 127. Besides 266 parcels of cloth, 276 pieces of Pattee, 166 pieces of chintz, 10 pieces of linen and 71 pieces of blue bafta were also exported from Surat in 1668 by the Dutch E.I. Company, Dagb Register, XVIII, p. 134.
²³ *Ibid*, XVIII, pp. 144, 154, 160, 188, 199, 200, 202.
²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 8, 80, 125, 187.
²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 374. Besides 188, pieces of cloth, 15170 pieces of chintz were also exported from Surat.
²⁶ Dagb-Register, XVIII, p. 374.
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³⁴ Statutes of the Realm, Vol. VI, pp. 7-9. Quoted in Balkrishna—Commercial Relations, p. 257.
³⁵ Prior to the establishment of Company's trade, this kind was exported to Europe mainly through Lahore overland (via Persia) to Aleppo, and so became known as Lahore indigo.
³⁶ Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 109.
³⁷ English Factories in India, 1618-1621, p. 61.
³⁸ *Ibid*, 1630-1633, pp. 325, 327, 328.
³⁹ *Ibid*, 1634-1636, pp. 141, 173.
⁴⁰ The English Factories in India, India Office, London. Balkrishna, Commercial Relations, p. 303.
⁴¹ Tavernier's Travels, II, p. 9. Surat maund varied between 40 to 42 seers. According to Fryer (Fryer, II, p. 127) and Thevenot (Thevenot, p. 25) the maund of Surat was equal to 40 seers.
⁴² Tavernier's Travels, II, p. 9.
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⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 336.
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AN ESTIMATE OF MALIK AMBAR

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Malik Ambar occupies an eminently distinguished place in the annals of the Deccan in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, prior to the final extinction of the Nizamshahi Kingdom in which he infused a new lease of life.

A Dutchman, named Van den Broecke, who had seen Malik Ambar personally described him as "Habesy from the land of 'Pieter Jan'" and as a tall person "with a terrific Roman appearance" "having black eyes" and "dark complexion".¹ Van Ravesteyn also says that Malik Ambar was "a wellbuilt man of life and suffering, of more than normal height and dark as blackmoor."²

Malik Ambar had been a devout and pious minded Muslim, who regularly distributed alms and grains to the needy and practised exemplary tolerance towards followers of other religions and faiths, without prejudice or favour. The character of Malik Ambar was different from that painted by contemporary Moghul or Adilshahi historians. Asad Beg, envoy extraordinary, deputed to the Bijapur Court by Akbar, in his Wakiat, speaks very highly of the ability and personality of Malik Ambar. "This brave and discreet man, at the time when the Nawab Allami (Abul-Fazl) was the subhedar, in great distraction came to him with a request for service in the army. But Raja Harbans, who was in charge of the affairs of the Deccanis, bore a grudge against him, and did not like him to be enrolled in the imperial service. He misrepresented him to the Shaikh, and Ambar had to go away in sheer disappointment. But the Almighty did not forsake him, and raised him to this noble

rank and position. As this humble self had two or three times been considerate to him, it left a deep impression on him. Hence he also extended to this humble self a reception that surpassed the expectations of the world. Verily, if the virtues of this tree of Universe were to be set down even in part, it would require a chapter, nay, an entire volume (to do it). One of his qualities was that in his camp every night twelve thousand men recited the *Holy Quran*. He offered his prayers with the common people whose number was never less than a thousand. His charities are beyond description."³ According to Asad Beg, the Abbyssinian statesman was, as Dr. Banarsidas observes, a fairly cultured man, loving the society of the learned and the pious. He was also very punctilious in the observance of the routine of religion. Nor was he oblivious of his duty towards his people whose imagination he captured by plain living and high thinking.⁴

Malik Ambar's administration reveals beyond all doubts that he was a man of unusual and exceptional abilities. Unfortunately, "His history appears not to be known in details. But it remains certain that he continued to make himself by far the most unrestrained power in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar."⁵

He was actuated by the noble and lofty objective of maintaining the independence of the tottering Nizamshahi State and of giving peace to the people. He not only revived the Nizamshahi State, recovered much of the lost territory and even Ahmadnagar for some years, but also set up an efficient and benevolent administration in it and introduced a system

of land assessment which has become rather proverbial in the history of the Deccan. Unfortunately, we know little about his encouragement to industries and trade, learning and literature, arts and crafts.

He did not wage war for its own sake. The State of which he made himself the chief minister was placed among three States, the most powerful and all-devouring being the Moghul Empire, with its capital at a safe distance in the Deccan. The southward expansion of the Moghul Empire had been set in motion by Akbar, who having swallowed Gujarat, began dealing blows at the Kingdoms of Khandesh and the Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar. Khandesh was overrun and won by him within no time, but it was not quite easy for Akbar to overrun the Nizamshahi State. Berar was lost during the period of its internal dissensions. But as soon as Malik Ambar assumed the responsibility of the chief minister, after removing his rival, Miya Raju, from the field of self-destructive competition, he began setting the State in order, and when he found himself strong enough after the preliminary consolidation, he began to stem the on-rolling tide of the Moghul conquest in the Deccan. All these he managed in the most statesman-like manner. His strength was not great, and he knew that conquests were not achieved by sheer personal prowess or military strength. That he was brave and an intrepid soldier and commander is undoubtedly true and, whenever necessary, he never shrank from leading the forces personally and fighting in the thick of the battle. But he was not fool-hardy to fight at any time and place or in any circumstances. Generally, he chose his time carefully, made the necessary preparations and dealt blows on the enemy suddenly and struck hard. It was thus that he scored successes more than he suffered defeats, and won back much of what had been lost by those who held the reins of the government before him. He knew when to bend and when to strike and therefore, he succeeded well. We are inclined to think that this aspect of his work was fully and effectively

copied, first by Shahji and later on by his son, Shivaji. There are many striking occasions in the history of these great personalities which seem to bear a close parallel to those of Malik Ambar.

Shahji's agent, Dadaji Kondco, it may be remembered, had been stationed at Poona to look after his jagir and, rather, to bring about the establishment of *Swarajya*, which the former tried to accomplish and achieve between the years 1633 and 1636 A.D. At the same time, Dadaji Kondco introduced a system of revenue settlement which was admittedly borrowed from that of Malik Ambar. Shivaji also adhered to the revenue system of Malik Ambar.

These two Maratha leaders also learned from Malik Ambar the lesson of how to wage a war against a rival powerful State. It was believed that Shivaji was the pioneer in the guerrilla mode of warfare in the Deccan. But Malik Ambar's history shows that he was the predecessor of Shivaji in actively and successfully prosecuting the guerrilla mode of warfare. Under Malik Ambar, the Marathas, known as *Bargirs*, received training and attained skill in this mode of warfare, which was occasionally followed by Shahji and more fully by Shivaji. This is the other lesson which Shahji and Shivaji had learnt from Malik Ambar. Lastly, Malik Ambar seems to have imparted by his example to the Marathas the wisdom of the policy of religious toleration. One can be a zealous devotee of one's own religion, give encouragement to it and the institutions upholding its cause and yet tolerate the pursuit of another religion by others without injuring their feelings, and interfering with their customs and practices in any way.

To Malik Ambar's abilities and achievements many of his contemporaries bear testimony.

Ferishta:

Ferishta writes: "Ambar had leisure to regu-

late his country, levy great armies and even dared to seize some of the imperial districts. When the authority of Jehangir was established, he sent frequent armies to the Deccan; but Ambar was not to be subdued, and, though sometimes defeated, continued to oppose the royal strength. At length he gave up the places taken from the Moghuls to Prince Shah Jehan, to whose interest he became attached and continued loyal. After this he remained unmolested by the Delhi government, and conducted his affairs with much glory, after obliging the Sultans of Golkunda and Beejapore to pay him contributions. He died in the year 1035⁶ in his eightieth year and was buried in Daultabad, under a splendid dome which he had erected." "He was the first general, politician and financier of his age, and his country was best cultivated, and his subjects happiest in the Dekkan. He founded Khadki, five kos from Daulatabad (now called Aurangabad), and ornamented it with magnificent palaces, gardens, and noble supplies of water, lined with stones, which yet remain. His charities and justice are yet celebrated. He is also eminent for his piety."⁸

Jahangir:

The best testimony to Malik Ambar's ability came from the pen of his life-long and avowed enemy, namely, the Moghul Emperor Jahangir. This royal autobiographer writes:

"Intelligence now has arrived of the death of Ambar, the Abbyssinian, in the eightieth year of his age, on the 31st Urdihist⁹. This Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory warfare, which, in the language of the Deccan is called *Bargi-giri* (*Bargiri*). He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abbyssinian slave arriving at such eminence".¹⁰

Fuzuni Astrabadi:

Fuzuni Astrabadi has given a fairly long account of Malik Ambar, though not always in an orderly and edifying fashion and without distortion. He mentions that Malik Ambar dealt even-handed justice to the people and kept his soldiers and farmers well contented.¹¹

The Dutch:

A Dutch merchant named Pieter Gilles Van Ravesteyn,¹² some time in the year 1613 A.D., reached the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He informs us that it was then "governed by Mellick Ambar. He had at that time the supreme command over the three combined armies of Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bijapur, which were then fighting with the great Moghul". From one Mir Abdul Fatij¹³, who was the Mir Jumla of Mellick Ambar, Van Ravesteyn secured a letter of introduction to Mellick Ambar, the General of the Deccan. "The latter had at that time presented himself as protector of the independence of the Deccan States, and was himself an excellent general and organiser. He came from a family of Deccan slaves." "... "The three kings had separate armies, side by side. Mellick Ambar was in the middle, Hadulxa¹⁴ to the right and Cotebxa¹⁵ to the left. The army of Cotebxa was in bad order; that of Mellick Ambar was in a tolerably good order; his court especially nice and orderly".¹⁶

The French:

"In spite of heavy charge of war", observes Pyrard, "his (Malik Ambar's) finances prospered and his country throve and grew rich."¹⁷

Pietro Della Valle:

"The Nizamsciah now reigning is a boy of twelve years old, who therefore doth not govern it, but an Abbyssinian slave of Moors Religion, called Malik Ambar, administers the state

in his stead, and that with such authority, that at this day this territory is more generally known and called by the name of Malik's Country than the Kingdom of Nizamsciah. Nevertheless this Malik Ambar governs not fraudulently and with design to usurp, by keeping the King shut up, as I have some time heard; but, according as I have better understood since from persons informed nearer hand, he administers with great fidelity and submission towards the young king, whom they say, he hath provided or given to wife a daughter of his own, upon security that himself shall be the Governor of the whole State as long as he lives.¹⁹ This Malik Ambar is a man of great parts, and fit for Government, but, they say, very impious, addicted to sorcery; whereby 'tis thought that he keeps himself in favour with his king, and that for works of Inchantments, (as to make prodigious buildings, and

with good luck, that the same may last perpetually and succeed well.), he hath with certain superstitious uses in these countries committed most horrid impieties and cruelties, killing hundreds of his slaves' children and others, and offering them as in sacrifice to the invoked devils, with other abominable stories which I have heard related; but, because not seen by myself, I affirm not for true."²⁰

In conclusion, Malik Ambar may be credited with a rich and valuable legacy left to the subsequent Maratha builders of *Swarajya*, Shivaji and Shivaji, in the form of a sound revenue system, effective guerrilla warfare to keep at bay even a mighty and determined adversary and, lastly an enlightened policy of religious tolerance and freedom in order to enlist the sympathy and support of followers of other religious creeds and sects.

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- ¹⁰ *I.N.* (*E.D.*—VI, 428-9).
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- ¹² *M.A.D.S.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*—XI—1), 8.
- ¹³ This must be Abdul Fateh.
- ¹⁴ Adilshah.
- ¹⁵ Kutubshah.
- ¹⁶ *M.A.D.S.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*—XI—1), 9.
- ¹⁷ Francois Pyard's *Voyages and Travels*, 395.
- ¹⁸ *M.R.*—XII, 71. (Dated the 19th July, 1625).
- ¹⁹ Van Ravesteijn states, in the year 1613, that Malik Ambar was the grand-father of the young king, "Bajiro Nisamxa". "A daughter of Melick Ambar was married to the old king, i.e., the father of Bajiro Nisamxa; and thus although the young king was not a son of Melick Ambar, daughter he was a step child of her and hence the relation. It is rather strange that the Indian chronicles do not mention at all that Malik Ambar had contracted any sort of matrimonial alliance with the royal family. It is difficult to explain how the story was caught up by the contemporary European travellers, but it remains unnoticed completely by the Indian chroniclers.
- ²⁰ *S.N.*—II, 13. Dr. Balkrishna has mentioned that Pietro Della Valle was a Dutch traveller but according to Damodar Vishvanath Gokhale he was an Italian. (See also *P.S.S.*—I, Introduction, p. 9).

DURGA DASS RATHOR AND HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS MASTER AJIT SINGH RATHOR OF MARWAR

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Maharaja Ajit Singh I of Marwar—the most potent Hindu prince of eighteenth century Hindustan¹—has been accused of ungratefulness in his treatment of Durga Dass Rathor by all (contemporary and modern) historians. It is said that because of his (Ajit Singh's) displeasure Durga Dass was forced to seek shelter with the Maharana of Mewar²; he was almost exiled as a result of which he died the death of a banished warrior far off from his home-land in the vicinity of Ujjain³, where a memorial stands on the banks of river Shipra in his perpetual memory. The services of Durga Dass Rather to the posthumous son of his master Jaswant Singh have been eulogised by writers of novels and dramas after the traditional pattern of *Charans & Bhats*. Naturally, therefore, in their works Ajit Singh has been charged with ungratefulness towards one who saved his life in 1679 A.D. No doubt his services to the house of Marwar were in no way less significant than that of Bairam Khan, the vakil of Mughal Emperor Akbar. Yet it is also true that like Bairam Khan, Rathor Durga Dass too met his tragic end because of his over-ambitious nature.

Students of Akbar's history are aware of the fact that Bairam Khan's ambitious actions were mainly responsible for his downfall. It may or may not be worth while to suggest comparison between the two (Bairam Khan and Durga Dass) but the fact is that both of them fell victims to almost like circumstances. Like Akbar, Ajit Singh also realised, when he came of age, that he was a mere puppet in the

hands of Durga Dass; his growing influence over the boy prince naturally made his fellow Sardars jealous of him.⁴

They got the opportunity of creating a gulf between him and the young Maharaja when Durga Dass after a sojourn of about 6½ years in the Deccan with *Shahzada* Akbar came back to Marwar. He did not go to Siwana to wait on the Maharaja and instead took to marauding activities.⁵ Thereafter also he became quite indifferent despite repeated overtures from the Maharaja.⁶ Whether he was aware or not of his unpopularity among his fellow Sardars he on one occasion proposed to run the administration of Marwar for a couple of months in his own way.⁷ No ruler, medieval or modern, could have delegated all his powers. Even then Ajit Singh offered him Chief Ministership of his State which he refused to accept.⁸ Durga Dass's actions in contracting alliance with the Mughal Emperor resulting in the bestowal of the title of Rao, a mansab of 3000 Jat and 2500 Sawar followed by direct exchange of correspondence with the Mughals go to prove that he wanted to gain supreme position in Marwar. He wanted his say in each and every affair and whenever because of his unpopularity he was denied it, though very politely, he bluntly alienated himself. His action in the battle of Sambhar is a case in point.⁹ This was at the cost of the freedom of his homeland. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is quite correct in his observation, "Disagreement, now broke out between Ajit and Durgadass of which the Emperor was not slow to take advantage....

It enabled him to keep Ajit Singh out of his kingdom and capital for 5 years more. With Durga Dass and Ajit working together the recovery of Marwar from the Mughals would have been completed in 1702 instead of 1707¹⁰. After the death of Alamgir, Maharaja Ajit Singh gradually gained power and eminence. So the old Durga Dass realised that it was not possible for him to keep him any more under his tutelage because just then he was nearing 70. So, he decided to go out of Marwar and seek service under the Maharana of Mewar. He first took on lease the Jagir of Sadri and then was entrusted with the affairs of Rampura¹¹, where he died in harness in 1718 A.D.

Even then Ajit Singh has been accused of ill treating the saviour of his life by all writers. But these writers apparently appear to have overlooked the ambitious nature of their hero resulting in his indifferent attitude towards his master. Looking to his unpopularity among his fellow Sardars, Ajit Singh could not have allowed him supreme hand in the affairs of

Marwar. No wise statesman would ever like to do it. His entering into direct negotiations with the Mughal Emperor and the Ruler of Mewar go to substantiate the above proposition. When he found himself helpless in his own State he took shelter with the Maharana of Mewar in his old age. He was never banished from Marwar. On the other hand his sons and descendants were given Jagir etc. by the rulers of Marwar and very recently in modern times, a sum of Rs. 43000¹² was sanctioned for the repair of his memorial.

Conclusion seems irresistible that growing unpopularity of Durga Dass Rathor among his fellow Sardars led to his derangement resulting in the rupture of cordial relations between him and his master despite repeated efforts on the part of the young Maharaja to restore them to normalcy. So, Durga Dass was no less responsible for his alleged ill-treatment at the hands of Maharaja Ajit Singh I of Marwar.

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¹ Maharana Sangram Singh II of Mewar in his letter dated Vaishakh Badi 11, V.S. 1775 addressed to Maharaja Ajit Singh writes—

“कत वांचमां भी घणी खुस्माली हुई सी राज सरीखो
महा पहेली कोई हिंदुवासाहे बुझो ना अफ, हेगौ—”

Letter published in 'Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors' by B. N. Reu.

² Vir Vinod, P. 962.

³ Vide Rathor Durga Dass by Pandit B. N. Reu P. 52. Letters of Durga Dass addressed to Maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar and his minister Biharidas reveal that just a year before his death he was looking after the affairs of Rampur for the Maharana of Mewar (See his letters published in Vir Vinod on PP. 962-63) Rampur being very near Ujjain he might have been cremated on

the bank Shipra even if he should have died at Rampur.

⁴ Vide Ms. Ajit Granth, PP. 354-84.

⁵ Marwar and Mughal Emperors by Dr. V. S. Bhargava, P. 137.

⁶ According to Ajit Granth, verses 1528-32, Maharaja Ajit Singh himself went to Durga Dass and successfully persuaded him to accompany the young Maharaja to the hilly tract of Gugharat in Marwar.

⁷ Rathor Durga Dass by B. N. Reu, P. 31.

⁸ Rathor Durga Dass by B. N. Reu, P. 44.

⁹ In the battle he pitched his tent separately despite Maharaja Ajit Singh's taking exception to it, (vide *Khyat* of Marwar.)

¹⁰ History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V. PP. 286-290.

¹¹ Vir Vinod, PP. 963-64.

¹² Page II of the preface of Pandit Reu's Rathor Durga Dass. Also see P. 54 of his book.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGES IN GUJARAT IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Introduction

The evolution of the educational system in Gujarat under the impact of the British rule started a new phase in the social life of Gujarat. The social reform movement which took place in Gujarat in the nineteenth century was so much influenced by the Western ideas that it would not be inappropriate to explain the changing character of Gujarati society in terms of the educational experiments which took place during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. Most of the social reformers who launched a crusade against the existing social evils were the product of the new educational system evolved by the British rulers after a difficult period of trial and error. The attitudes and opinions of the British administrators such as Mountstuart Elphinstone, Macaulay and Sir Erskine Perry who tried to introduce new patterns in the existing educational institutions differed to a considerable degree. Yet all of them were unanimous in their agreement that the indigenous educational system in Gujarat, as of course in the other parts of India, required a great deal of modification. Even H. H. Wilson, the staunchest protagonist of the so called 'orientalist school' wanted Indians to develop their critical faculty to appreciate their ancient literature and institutions. Though the British officials and Christian missionaries² took interest in the problems of Indian education even before the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, the provisions of that Act as well as the termination of the Maratha power in 1818, strengthened their hands to make innovations in the then

existing educational structure and evolve a uniform educational policy. As a result of the educational experiments during the first half of the previous century, new educational patterns evolved in Gujarat which in turn created a base for the later educational and social reforms by the Indians themselves. It is the objective of this paper to study the nature of this change and its impact on the development of the social norms among the urban elite who first came into contact with the process of educational change. In order to appreciate this change in the nineteenth century it would be useful to study some of the salient features of the educational system that prevailed in Gujarat in the pre-British period.

Education in the Pre-British Era

Before the establishment of the British rule in Gujarat many schools existed in towns and villages which imparted instruction to the pupils at a primary level. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay (1819-1827), was impressed by the indigenous schools which were run by private teachers even in the remote villages of Gujarat. The students were taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. Some teachers were proficient in arithmetic and taught this subject with great zeal to their pupils. The principles of accountancy were also mastered. In the early childhood, the Gujaratis considered it useful to teach numbers first and then alphabets. Great importance was attached to multiplication tables and arithmetical manipulations. It is interesting to note that in contrast to Gujarat,

Maharashtra used to teach alphabets first and then the numbers.³ The children of the trading communities who followed the traditional profession of their forefathers showed great aptitude and skill in this subject. The subjects such as history, geography and biology did not form part of the teaching curriculum and even spelling and reading were not cultivated beyond the primary requirements of reading and writing. Yet it is remarkable to note that most of the villages in Gujarat had teachers and schools. It may be emphasised here that the condition of education in the Gujarat villages was not as deplorable as it is made out to be by some educational historians. We get numerous references about the early British officials being satisfied with the performance of the 'single-teacher schools' even in the remote corners of Gujarat. These schools formed an easy agency for the spread of education, however poor the quality of education may have been from our point of view. Mr. Richy appreciated these indigenous village schools when he noted in 1824:

"...for nothing is more certain than that if education is ultimately to reach more backward and sparsely inhabited tracts, it must be by means of the single-teacher schools. No other type is economically possible."⁴

The surveys conducted by the British Collectors and other officials in the 1820's leave us in no doubt that the villages had their own system of education. In a report of the Broach Collector, for example, we get the following information:

"As, however, the great body of people here (in the villages of the Broach district) is agricultural, further knowledge appears unnecessary although I must state that individuals do acquire even in this body a degree of information which is really surprising and which fits them for many purposes of general use which could not be expected from their education."⁵

These views were confirmed in a general way by G.L. Prendergast, a member of the Bombay Governor's council when he observed:

"I need hardly mention that every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village great or small, throughout these territories, in which there is not at least one school and in larger villages more; many in every town and larger villages and cities in every division, where young natives are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic upon a system so economical from a handful or two of grain to perhaps a rupee per month to the school master."⁶

The observations of the early nineteenth century British officials should not, however, lead us to conclude that the quality of the education was high or that the education reached a large proportion of the village population; the reports of the same officials show that the existing one-teacher school was not only poor in its educational quality but was also restricted to an extremely small proportion of the village population. The point to be emphasised is that at the turn of the eighteenth century when the British began to take interest in the problems of education in Gujarat, the region did possess an 'educational system.'

There were a few higher centres of learning where a student could spend a few years to acquire the knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic literature, philosophy and law. One remarkable Muslim institution for the community of the Vohras existed in Surat. This institution was maintained from the private funds at an annual cost of Rs. 32,000. Scholars from all parts of India came to study Arabic in this school.⁷ But such institutions in Gujarat were quite few in number and were almost exclusively controlled by the high caste Hindus and Muslims. The number of students who took advantage of the institutions of higher learning was extremely small and the bulk of them came exclusively from the Brahmin and the high-caste Muslim communities.⁸ The objective of these

institutions was to train a student for a legal, teaching, or priestly career.

During the Muslim and Maratha rule in Gujarat the State hardly managed any educational institutions. It did not give any financial aid to organise and develop public education. Education in those days was managed by either private teachers or by trade guilds. Sometimes large funds were collected by trade guilds and rich persons to institute the schools of higher learning. We get the description of the "Madressas" and the "Pathasalas" in the Mughal times, but they were managed by non-Governmental agencies. In Maharashtra the Peshwa used to offer charity or gifts (Dakshina) to the Brahmins to encourage learning and teaching. Brahmins from all parts of the country flocked to the Darbar of Peshwa Bajirao II to obtain the charities. But these occasional endowments to the Hindu and Muslim teachers and priests from the royal courts hardly promoted better educational standards. The school teacher was economically in a miserable position. It was difficult for a teacher to make both ends meet without some kind of assistance in the form of food or cash money from the parents of the students. As late as the 30th September 1924 Mr. Henderson, the Judge of Surat, who visited some of the indigenous schools in Gujarat observed:

"School masters have no allowance in money or regular stipend. Presents are made at different times and on different occasions—the average income of the school master from these sources would seem to amount in a school of fifty boys to about sixty rupees per annum—the income is entirely derived from the boys and . . . , in some few instances, being increased by additional presents from the more wealthy parents. There is not in any case any settled provisions as in the case of our charity or foundation schools nor is there any instance of allowance being made by Government."⁹

Education, being a part of the social fabric, suffered from the prejudices of its own age. As compared to the modern educational standards, it was poor in both its content and method. Traditional and authoritarian as it was, it did not help a student in cultivating free and independent spirit of inquiry. While the village schools imparted only a rudimentary knowledge of simple reading, writing and arithmetic, the higher branches of learning being religion-oriented hardly produced any thing more than a learned Hindu Pandit or a Muslim Theologian. Female education did not exist,¹⁰ while the prejudices of the high-caste people kept the 'untouchables' and sometimes the members of the lower professional castes such as the cobblers, barbers, and carpenters at an arms length. "It must not be imagined," writes F.W. Thomas, "that these schools were intended for the lowest or even the lower classes. Though theoretically open to all but the low castes or outcastes, they were resorted to chiefly by the sons of the shopkeeping, trading, merchant and banking castes, the agricultural and inferior classes were completely uninstructed."

So far as the village 'schools' were concerned, the classes were mostly conducted in the teacher's own house or under the shade of a tree or sometimes in the temples. There were no special buildings for teaching purposes. James Forbes who visited many towns and villages of Gujarat in the latter part of the eighteenth century gives a very interesting account of the system of education that prevailed in Gujarat at that time. He observes, "Education in general among the Hindus, is attended with very little trouble. Few boys in the subordinate tribes are taught anything more than to read and write, with the rudiments of trade or profession they are intended for; but many of the Brahmin youths are instructed in astronomy, astrology, and physics, and acquire some knowledge of the civil and religious laws. Nothing can be more simple than a Hindu school, which is usually under a thatched shed open on three sides, with a sanded floor,

on which the boys learn to write, and go through the first lessons of mathematics, in which science some of them make a great progress."¹²

The elementary education suffered from the following drawbacks:

1. Lack of developed language: Gujarati, like the other Indian languages, was in a rudimentary stage; there was almost complete absence of any prose literature in this language.
2. Lack of printed books in the absence of any printing press.
3. Lack of qualified trained teachers.

The institutions of higher learning suffered from the following drawbacks.

1. Instruction was provided through the old classical languages—Sanskrit and Arabic. These languages were not only difficult to learn but also had very little link with the common people.
2. The classical languages were undoubtedly rich in literature, philosophy and theology, but they lacked in scientific and technological knowledge.

Both the primary and advanced educational institutions suffered from the prejudices against female education and the education of the depressed class people.

Such then was the state of education in Gujarat when the British took over the administration of Gujarat from the Marathas.

Changes under the British

Professor Bearce's description of the Indian social and political life at the turn of the eighteenth century is quite appropriate to the Gujarati society at large. He states that the Indian society at that time was politically

disunited, culturally rather unchanging and seemingly unprepared for the impact of the West. The country lacked the leadership, technology, and organizational structure to introduce innovations in her social framework.¹³ The termination of the Maratha power from Western India made an active interaction possible between the British and the people of Gujarat. With this event starts a new and what may be called a modern phase in the history of education in Gujarat. The event meant a change not only in the political power but also in the existing administrative, legal and educational systems. Influenced by the intellectual currents of the European liberal thought, the British officials were full of the reforming zeal. Mountstuart Elphinstone saw in the educational reforms of the Indians a great possibility for a better and prosperous social life for the people. Fundamentally he regarded education as a duty of the Government because it served as a moral influence. In the report which he wrote on leaving the Deccan in 1819, he declared that there was no way to improve the morals of the people, except by improving the education.¹⁴ But the high idealism of the British officials did not prevent them from being cautious in their efforts to introduce reforms in Indian society. They were rather afraid to thrust reforms on the people by means of legislative enactments which would serve neither their own colonial interest nor the interest of social reform in India. For this reason, we find that in the earlier period of the nineteenth century the British rulers scrupulously tried to follow the non-intervention policy so far as the social system of the Indians was concerned. Though the 'educational experiments' of the British imbibed some liberal elements during the first half of the nineteenth century, the British administrators tolerated the Hindu prejudices against the entry of the untouchables in the schools as late as 1838. Mrs. Postans, a British traveller who moved in many parts of Gujarat during the year 1838, while feeling happy at the progress and "the work of improvement" that was taking place in Western India, was

distressed to find that the schools of the Bombay Native Education Society, a semi-official body, tolerated the Brahmanical prejudices against the lower caste people and debarred them from entering their schools. The British principal of the Bombay Native School told her: "Unless such restrictions existed, the wealthy and influential would withdraw their sons from a school which they could only consider as one of the most degrading pollution."¹⁵ In this respect, we have a very interesting incident showing the people's attitude towards an untouchable being admitted in a Christian school. Before the Government school was started in Ahmedabad in 1846, a Christian missionary who ran a school admitted an untouchable boy in his school. But the Hindu children and their parents strongly resented the missionary's action and boycotted the school. Fearing people's reaction, the missionary proposed to keep the untouchable student outside the classroom and make some other arrangements for his studies. But the people were in no mood to grant even this concession to the unfortunate boy and under the leadership of Himabhai, the then Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad, and some other influential and wealthy people like Hathisingh Kesarsingh sent a petition to the Board of Education to start a school in Ahmedabad. Government conceded the people's demand and started a school on 1st January 1846. This incidentally was the first Government school in Ahmedabad.¹⁶ The official British policy thus accepted the customary caste prejudices of the Hindus at least as a temporary measure. Later on, of course, the British officials in their individual capacity became firm in fighting for the right of an untouchable to enter the school. For example, Mr. Seward, the Secretary of the Gujarat Vernacular Society,¹⁷ threatened to dismiss a Brahmin teacher and appoint a Muslim or a Parsi teacher in his place when he (the teacher) stopped the entry of an untouchable in his class. Mr. Seward forced the Brahmin teacher to accept the pupil in his class.¹⁸

The educational controversies and the official educational policies of the nineteenth century are too well known to be repeated here.¹⁹ However, the two major points which strike us are: the nature and character of the educational controversies and, the intellectual climate of the time which partly influenced the attitudes and emotions of the policy makers. It is interesting to note that while the Bengal experiment was concerned with the communication of European knowledge to the Indian people through the medium of English, the Bombay experiment was concerned with the diffusion of education through the vernacular languages, though by no means exclusively through them. But even in Bombay the policies formulated under the Governorship of Elphinstone and Malcolm were later on modified in favour of English medium and downward filtration theory which had far-reaching consequences in the later period. It created a separate class of Western educated, English knowing elite with little or no emotional and intellectual ties with the Indian masses. This problem is still being acutely felt in independent India. Secondly, it should be remembered that the philosophical base that partly shaped the British educational policy in India was influenced by the intellectual currents of the contemporary British society itself. The idealism of the British liberal and rational thoughts was expressed by Mountstuart Elphinstone when he declared that "it will be better for us to lose the country by the effects of our liberality than to keep it like Dutchmen or Spaniards."²⁰ Lord Macaulay, one of the most controversial figures in Indian educational history, also expressed the same feelings when he spoke before the House of Commons on July 10, 1833:

"It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it had outgrown that system, that by good Government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better Government: that having become instructed in European language, they may in some future age dream European institutions. Whether such a day will ever

come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history."²¹

The views represented above were typical of the nineteenth century liberalism mixed with the political requirements of the bureaucratic machine of the newly established British rule in the country. The views were the product of the various contemporary influences, the two most outstanding strands of which were the almost simultaneous growth of the liberalist-humanist thought and, the birth of an imperialist outlook on colonial affairs. These views were best represented in the policies of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Ellenborough respectively in Indian politics.²² These two seemingly contradictory views (which were sometimes expressed in the actions of the same individual) of the Britishers towards their Indian possessions were meant to serve two purposes. On the one hand, the spread of the Western education would enable Indians to appreciate the advantages of the British rule in India. This would ultimately strengthen the British hold on India. On the other hand, the new education would lead the Indian youth to introduce changes in their own society by fighting against the current superstitions and social evils.

Bombay being the centre of the European political and cultural activities in Western India was the first to experience change. This was caused to a considerable extent by the introduction of the new patterns of the British educational system. The Bombay Education Society founded in 1815 received official encouragement to start several schools in Bombay, including schools for girls. The Elphinstone Institution (1834), the Grant Medical College (1845), and the Engineering Institute founded as early as 1824 were the pioneering institutions in inaugurating the new age of science and modern education. Some of the most noted social reformers like poet Narmad, Karsandas Mulji and Durgaram Mehtaji who launched a

ceaseless battle against the social evils in Gujarati society in the latter part of the nineteenth century were directly or indirectly associated with the educational and academic institutions of Bombay in the earlier years. Thus Bombay became the first theatre of the renaissance from which the beams of the new light began to spread in various urban centres of Gujarat such as Surat and Ahmedabad.

The Government had a clear-cut programme for training the teaching personnel in the main urban cities to start with. In order to improve the quality of teaching, it started a training school at Bombay in the middle of the 1820's and soon completed the training of ten Gujarati Brahmins—3 for Surat, 3 for Ahmedabad, 2 for Broach, and 2 for Kaira. Durgaram Mehtaji of Surat and Tuljaram Sukharam of Ahmedabad who pioneered female education in Gujarat were the most famous teachers among the students of the first batch. In 1846, for example, Tuljaram succeeded in having four girls admitted to his school No. 1 at Ahmedabad. Appreciating his efficient handling of the school, Mr. Green, the Collector of Ahmedabad, stated: "The Master has succeeded also in introducing some of his caste people to send their daughters to be taught....The teacher may be appreciated."²³ But the most noteworthy representative of the new educational system among the Gujaratis was Ranchhodlal Girdharlal who strived hard to "find out from Gujarat, men who would fulfil the requirements of the Society (The Bombay Native Education Society) by severing all connections with the old method of training, and abjuring belief in all superstitions such as the earth being flat and stationary."²⁴ He was probably the first Gujarati educationist to write and translate text books on arithmetic, history, geography and science. It is remarkable to find several British officials like Dr. Drummond (who published a book on Gujarati grammar as early as 1804) and George Jervis taking pains to study Gujarati and trying to develop the prose form in Gujarati literature. The origin and the growth of Gujarati literature

both for literary and educational purposes was the most important contribution of the British educational system. It created a sound base for the future development of modern literature and science in Gujarati language. The Government started its programme of educational reforms in the following manner:

1. Preparation of suitable books for use in schools.
2. Improving the quality of teaching in the schools and encouraging the students by distributing prizes and scholarships to the deserving students.
3. Establishing English schools in the towns.
4. Training teachers in the training school at Bombay, and later on at Surat and Ahmedabad.

The Government started several schools in Gujarat with the help of the local leaders. Before 1846 it started schools at the following centres: Surat (nine), Ahmedabad (two), Broach (two), Kaira (one), Dholka (one) and Nadiad (one). These schools, though few in number, were based on the new model, the school masters being well trained in their profession. The teaching curriculum strongly emphasised the knowledge of English, besides mathematics, sciences, history and geography. The beginning was modest and slow. But such activities, honest and sincere as they were, received a healthy response from the local elite, who persuaded the parents to send their children to schools. The students trained in the new system had better prospects for attaining the Governmental positions. But the large masses residing in the rural areas remained almost completely isolated on account of the half-hearted policy of the Government to improve the indigenous system of education and the neglect of the urban elite to spread western knowledge in the villages. Thus the experiment of the downward filtration failed miserably on account of the Governmental policy and the

indifference of the western educated urban intellectuals in the problems of the rural areas. Had it not been for a long established tradition of the indigenous system of education, elementary education in the villages would have starved. However, as it was, the growth in the number of schools in the towns along with the beginning of the female schools in the 1850's accelerated the course of the educational and social progress in Gujarat.

Conclusion

The period between 1813 and 1854 saw the slow and organised growth of the modern educational system in Gujarat. The earliest notable efforts towards this goal was the establishment of the Bombay Native Education Society in 1822. Under the auspices of this society many English high schools and vernacular primary schools were started in Gujarat. It also started female schools in Bombay and Surat. But the real beginning in this field was made by the two notable Gujarati teachers, Durgaram Mehtaji of Surat and Tuljaram Sukharam of Ahmedabad in 1846. Later on, of course, a steady progress was achieved, and the Gujarat Vernacular Society founded in Ahmedabad in 1849 enrolled in its school as many as twenty females. Maganbhai Karamchand started a female school in Ahmedabad in 1851 and many reformers followed his lead. Mr. Graham, a British official associated with the Board of Education, expressed a note of optimism when in 1852 he reported:

"It is a pleasing reflection that the strong prejudices entertained by the people against female education are beginning to give way in the small towns and villages as well as cities—as for example in Jambusar and Dhandhuka schools ten girls are receiving elementary education."²⁵

By the year 1859, there were nine schools for females in Gujarat. Though the current popular opinion was still against female education, a modest beginning in this direction was

consciously made. For the first time we find the reformers fighting against the current prejudices against women's right to education, and gaining some ground. The new educational system was more democratic in character. The Charter Act of 1833, for example, accepted at least theoretically the principle that "no native of India, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour." It theoretically asserted the right of every Indian man and woman to attend educational institutions. The new educational system as a whole not only advocated and inspired female education but also gave access to the so-called untouchables to enter the educational institutions. These members of the depressed class had no place in the old system of education.

In any society ideas play a very important role in social reconstruction. The new educational system with its emphasis on western science and literature generated the ideas which were completely new to the people. The new ideas helped the educated people to cultivate rational and critical outlook on the social problems of the day. Many young people who were influenced by the western ideas realised the shortcomings of some of the features of their own social system. The social reformers began to attack many social evils such as child-marriage, ban on widow-remarriage, ban on foreign travel, dowry system, caste-regimentation, fear of the super-natural elements and a host of such evils which still formed part of the Gujarati social life. The western educated reformers were sure that the emergence of a new democratic social order was not possible without a change in the outlook of the people. Though considerable differences prevailed among the social reformers regarding the methods and pace of change, there was no disagreement among them on the necessity of bringing about a change in their social order. The social reformers in the nineteenth century like Karsandas Mulji, Narmad, Jagannath

Shankarset, Durgaram Mehtaji, Dalpatram, Dr. Bhou Daji, and Nana Abhyankar were all the products of western educational influence. It was no accident that Durgaram Mehtaji and Nana Abhyankar, the two noted social reformers of Gujarat and Maharashtra respectively, were among those who took their training in a teachers' college conducted by the Native Education Society as early as 1826. These reformers were the pioneers of the social reform movement in Western India. By and large, they stood for the principles of liberty and equality and fought against the superstitions and social evils. The reformers used the most powerful instrument of the west—the printing press—to achieve their ends. For example, the newspapers like the *Rast Goftar* (1851), the *Satyaprakash* (1852) and the *Dandio* (1864) founded by Dadabhai Naoroji, Karsandas Mulji, and poet Narmad respectively were the symbols of the modern era of progress and reforms. The *Buddhiprakash* (1854), the monthly journal of the Gujarat Vernacular Society which was founded in Ahmedabad in 1849, served as a vehicle of educational and social progress throughout the urban areas of Gujarat. It strongly advocated ideas in favour of female education.

But the large mass of people living in smaller towns and villages remained isolated on account of the ill-conceived, but sincere, theory of downward filtration. The educational experiments of the first part of the nineteenth century came to mean this: "We shall have English for the elite and the vernaculars for the multitude; we shall propagate the knowledge of English first and leave the growth of the vernaculars to follow popular enlightenment aided by such encouragement as it may be in our power to give."²⁶ But as it came out to be, the educated urban elite remained too aloof to take any interest in the rural progress and gradually the cleavage between the smaller 'class' of the western educated elite and the rest of the people, which was a natural corollary of the educational policies, went on increasing with the passage of time. The result was that

the activities of the social reformers remained largely confined to the larger towns.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a formative period of great significance which influenced and shaped the modern educational and social life of Gujarat. It was formative in the sense that the new patterns of the British educational and administrative system helped evolve an enlightened urban middle class which began to appreciate the new values

based on secularism and the dignity and worth of an individual. This middle class intellectual, a creation of the British rule, was to take a lead in the Indian social and political life and fight for constitutional reforms in the late nineteenth century. The germs of the loyalist tendencies at the initial stages of our national liberation movement lie in the ideas and attitudes generated mainly by the educational experiments in the first part of the nineteenth century.

REFERENCES

- ¹ During the period under our review, the British territory in Gujarat consisted chiefly of the four districts, viz. Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach, and Surat. The remaining areas of Gujarat and Kathiawad consisted of big or small native states. The present study is restricted to the aforementioned four districts.
- ² The Christian missionary societies such as the Irish Presbyterian Mission Church and London Missionary Society were the pioneers in starting schools and encouraging female education in Bombay, Surat, and Broach. But the chief interest of the missionaries being converting their pupils to Christianity, the parents were reluctant to send their children to their schools. A few incidents of conversion, such as the conversion of a Parsi boy, Nassarwanji of Surat in 1848 dealt a blow to the educational activities of the missionaries in Gujarat and they did not achieve any thing substantial in this field. See Edalji B. Patel, *Surat ni Tavarikh*, in Gujarati, (Surat, 1890), 240-41. For the excellent exposition in favour of the Christian missionaries' activities in Western India, see K. Ingham, *An Account of the Work of Christian Missionaries on Behalf of School Reform 1793-1833* (London, 1856).
- ³ R.K. Pathak, *A Critical inquiry into the condition of Education in Gujarat during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Unpublished thesis for the M.Ed. degree), M.S. University of Baroda, 1952, 20.
- ⁴ R.V. Parulekar, *Literacy of India in pre-British Days* (Poona, 1940), 100.
- ⁵ G.D. Vol. 92 of 1825, 167.
- ⁶ Minute dated 1821, See Philip Hartog, *Some Aspects of Indian Education—Past and Present* (Oxford University Press: 1939), 72.
- ⁷ R.V. Parulekar, *Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay, 1820-30* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1945), I.V.
- ⁸ For the 'caste' among the Gujarati Muslims see Misra, S.C., *Muslim Communities in Gujarat* (Bombay, 1964).
- ⁹ Extract from Bombay Secretariat, G.D. Vol. 63 of 1824, 509-12.
- ¹⁰ Commenting on the State of female education in Gujarat, the Judge of Broach wrote in 1825: "The schools strictly speaking are confined to the education of the boys." G.D. Vol. 92 of 1825, 233.
- ¹¹ F. W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge, 1891), 6-7.
- ¹² James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (2 Vols., London, 1854), II, 55.
- ¹³ George D. Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India, 1784-1858* (Oxford University Press, 1961), 5.
- ¹⁴ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-1830* (Oxford University Press, 1957), 250.
- ¹⁵ Mrs. Postans, *Western India in 1838* (2 Vols. London, 1839), I, 55.
- ¹⁶ Maganlal Vakhatchand, *Amdavad no Itihas*, in Gujarati, (Ahmedabad, 1851), 184.
- ¹⁷ This Society was founded on December 26, 1848 in Ahmedabad by the efforts of the British officials like A. K. Forbes, Major Fulljames, Captain R. Wallace, and Dr. Seward. It was a pioneering institution of social reform movement in Ahmedabad. For the details on the history of the Gujarat Vernacular Society see Hiralal T. Parekh, *Gujarat Vernacular Society no Itihas*, in three volumes in Gujarati (Ahmedabad, 1937).
- ¹⁸ *Buddhiprakash* (A monthly Gujarati Journal of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad), October 1865, 11.
- ¹⁹ For a very interesting account of and a penetrating analysis see B. K. Boman-Behram, *Educational Controversies in India* (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1943).
- ²⁰ Ballhatchet, op. cit., 249.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 250.
- ²² For details see George D. Bearce, op. cit.
- ²³ Report of the Board of Education, 1846, p. 50.
- ²⁴ K. M. Zhaveri, *Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature* (Bombay, 1924), p. 5.
- ²⁵ Report of the Board of Education, 1851-52, p. 71.
- ²⁶ B. K. Boman-Behram, op. cit., p. 607.

UNIVERSITY NOTES

Gujarat University

I COURSES OF STUDY

B. A. EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

Part I

- Paper I : Ancient India (325 B. C. to 647 A.D.).
- Paper II : Ancient Greece (From the earliest times to the death of Alexander).

Part II

- Paper III : Modern India (1818 to 1950).
- Paper IV : Modern Europe (1815 to 1950).

- Paper V : History of East Asia (1839 to 1950).

Final

- Paper VI : Indian History (1526 to 1818).
- Paper VII : Constitutional History of India (1858 to 1950).
- Paper VIII : History of Gujarat (1470 to 1573).
- Paper IX : Roman History and Institutions (From earliest times to the death of Marcus Aurelius).
- Paper X : History of the U.S.A. (1861 to 1945).

Or

- History of the U.S.S.R. (1905 to 1953).

Paper XI : Essay.

M.A. EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

Part I

- Paper I : Ancient Indian Political Theories and Institutions (Upto 1000 A.D.).
- Paper II : Landmarks of English Constitutional History (1215 to 1951 A.D.).
- Paper III : International Relations (1901 to 1950 A.D.).

- Paper IV : Historical Method.

Part II

- Papers V & VI : (Any one of the following groups).

Group A

- (V) : Ancient India (319 to 647 A.D.).
- (VI) : Indian Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics.

Group B

- (V) : Medieval India : The Rajput Period (647 to 1206 A.D.).
- (VI) : Political Theories and Institutions during the Sultanate, Moghul and Maratha Periods (1206 to 1818 A.D.).

Group C

- (V) : The British Period in India (1818 to 1905 A.D.).

- (VI) : Political, Social & Religious Institutions in India (1828 to 1947 A.D.).

Papers VII & VIII : (Any one of the following groups)

Group D

- (VII) : History of Gujarat : the Solanki Period (942 to 1304 A.D.).
- (VIII) : Medieval India : The Sultanate Period (1206 to 1526 A.D.).

Group E

- (VII) : History of West Asia (1850 to 1950 A.D.).

- (VIII) : History of South-East Asia (1830 to 1950 A.D.).

Group F

- (VII) : History of Africa (1884 to 1960 A.D.).

- (VIII) : History of Commonwealth of Nations (1870 to 1950 A.D.).

II ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

Name	Subject	Supervisor
*K. F. Sompura	The theory and practice of architecture as found in the temples of Gujarat before 1600 A.D.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
Smt. T. N. Zaveri	Cultural data in the Trisati Sataka Purnsa carita of Hemachandracharya.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
*J. M. Shah	Social and religious condition of India during the reign of Harsha.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
*N. A. Acharya	Cultural history of Gujarat during the Vag-hela period.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
*G. P. Amin	Gujaratma Shaiva Dharmanca Prachin swarup Tatha eno uttar Kalin prachar.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
*Smt. S. P. Jadeja	A critical study of the epical and puranic traditions of Yadavas and their genealogies.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
*P. C. Parikh	Pandarmi sadi sudhiman Nagari Lipino Vikas.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
*R. C. Jamindar	Kshatrap kalin Gujarat—Etahas one Sans-kruti.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.

Asterisk indicates thesis completed.

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Name	Subject	Supervisor
J. M. Joshi	Esvison 1500 Takkoman Rachi-hui our Likhi hui Prakashit our avlokit prashastiya our pushpikacse Upalabdha mahilika adhya- yan.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
C. J. Naik	Cultural data in the Natya Sashtra ascribed to Bharat.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
Smt. M. A. Bhatt	Anuvaitrak Kalnu Gujarat—Etbhas one Sanskrit.	Dr. H. G. Shastri.
S. M. Jani	A critical study of Chedusutra of the Jain Agamas and the cultural data that they yield.	Shri R. C. Parikh.
Smt. M. H. Mehta	Fairs, Festivals & Fasts as existed in Gujarat and Rajasthan.	Shri R. C. Parikh.
Smt. S. S. Shah	Bharat natyas ashtrama a angie abhinayau vividhata.	Shri R. C. Parikh.
P. N. Bhatt	Cultural And Historical Study of Kal- kipurana.	Professor D. R. Mankad.

III RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

(Summarised from Official Regulations)

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.)

I. No student shall be registered for the Ph.D. Degree in any Faculty unless he has passed the Master's Degree Examination in the same Faculty of this University or an examination considered equivalent thereto.

II. A candidate for the Degree of Ph. D. must have worked for at least four terms after qualifying himself for the Master's degree in the Faculty concerned under the guidance of a University teacher duly recognised for guiding research for the Ph.D. Degree.

III. A candidate who is registered for a Master's Degree by research may be per-

mitted on the recommendation of the University Teacher guiding his studies, notwithstanding the fact that the teacher may be a recognised teacher for Master's Degree only, to submit a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree not less than three academic or calendar years from the date of his registration for the Master's Degree.

IV. A candidate will not be permitted to submit as his thesis, a thesis for which a Degree has been conferred on him in this or in any other University, but a candidate shall not be precluded from incorporating work which he has already submitted for a Degree in this or in any other University, in a thesis covering a wider

field, provided that he shall indicate in a written statement accompanying the thesis any work which has been so incorporated.

V. Each candidate for the Degree shall send (through his teacher) four type-written or printed copies of his thesis embodying the results of his research and stating whether the work is based on the discovery of new facts by the candidates or of new relations of facts observed by others, and how the work tends to the general advancement of knowledge. The candidate shall further forward a statement indicating the sources from which his information has been derived and the extent to which he has based his work on the work of others, and shall indicate which portion or portions of his thesis he claims original. The candidate may also forward with his application four copies of any original contribution or contributions, to the advancement of knowledge on the subject selected by him for his thesis or any cognate subject published by him independently or jointly with others upon which he relies in support of his candidature.

VI. The thesis shall be written or printed in English or Gujarati.

VII. Two months before submitting the thesis the candidate shall forward to the Registrar through his guiding teacher, a statement giving title and a synopsis of thesis along with a fee of Rs. 100/-. Thesis may be submitted any time during the year and shall be forwarded by the candidate through his guiding teacher.

VIII. Every thesis shall be examined by three referees to be appointed in the manner indicated herebelow :

The Academic Council having before it the suggestion or suggestions of the appropriate Board of Studies shall recommend to the Syndicate, the names of three Referees, one of whom shall be the University teacher who has guided the candidate's work and the other two must be external. On the Syndicate appointing

the Referees, the Registrar shall forward a copy of the thesis to each of them. The Referees including the Referee for viva-voce shall report to the Syndicate whether the thesis shall be accepted or rejected or resubmitted in a modified form and their report shall be final. In the event of a difference of opinion between any of the Referees, the Syndicate shall appoint a fourth Referee and the Syndicate shall decide, after considering the reports of all the external Referees whether the thesis is of the requisite standard for the Ph.D. Degree.

All reports shall be circulated to the members of the relevant Board of Studies and placed before the Academic Council for information.

IX. There shall be a viva-voce examination of the candidate submitting thesis for the Degree of Ph.D. If the candidate does not satisfy the Examiners at the viva-voce examination only, the candidate shall be re-examined after a period of not less than three months. The candidate shall not be declared eligible for the Degree unless all the Examiners unanimously declare him eligible for the Degree.

X. A work that has been rejected may be re-submitted after revision.

Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.)

I. The Degree of Doctor of Letters may be conferred upon Bachelors of Arts, Masters of Arts and Doctors of Philosophy (Arts) of this University and upon teachers in the Colleges affiliated to this University who hold the Master's or Doctor's Degree in Arts of any other University which is recognised as equivalent to the Master's or Doctor's Degree of this University, and who have previous teaching experience in a College affiliated to this University, extending over a period of at least seven years, for published work which has been undertaken mainly on the candidate's own initiative, which may be deemed by competent judges to be valuable contributions to learning.

II. A candidate for this Degree must have at least two years' standing as a Doctor of Philosophy (Arts) or three years' standing as a Master or seven years' standing as a Bachelor.

III. A candidate for this Degree may apply to the Registrar at any time in the year to be admitted to the Degree. The application shall be accompanied by four copies of the published work on the merits of which the Degree is sought.

IV. The candidate shall also submit a signed statement showing in what particulars his work advances knowledge on the subject of his research and indicating the nature and extent of any guidance or advice that he may have received from anyone during the progress of his research. The candidate may support his application by giving proof, at the same time, of having done other original work.

V. The Registrar shall place all the papers and documents before the relevant Board of

Studies which, after due consideration, shall suggest to the Academic Council the names of three Referees. If in the opinion of the Board of Studies, the work submitted by a candidate is unworthy of being presented for the Degree, the Board shall be at liberty to record their opinion accordingly, while suggesting names of Referees, but in doing so they shall give a detailed statement of the grounds on which they hold this opinion. The Syndicate shall be at liberty to refuse to send to Referees the work of such a candidate.

VI. The Referees shall make a joint report to the Registrar for submission to the Academic Council stating whether they consider the work to be a valuable contribution to learning and deserving of the Degree. The Academic Council shall then send its recommendation thereon to the Syndicate.

VII. A work that has been rejected may be resubmitted after due revision.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Bibliography of the Panjab by DR. GANDA SINGH; Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala.

Compiled by Dr. Ganda Singh, a retired Director of the Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Patiala, this Bibliography is an admirable product of toil and patience applied sedulously over a period of about half a century. Dr. Singh started his work while serving in the Indian Army in the days of the Third Afghan War, and completed it in its present form only a couple of years ago. He is unquestionably one of the leading soldierly writers of this country, and though inspired by the example of Sir Arnold T. Wilson who was then engaged in collecting material for his *Bibliography of Persia*, Dr. Singh's work bears a distinct stamp of his regard for punctilios. The compiler of course "published some of his entries in the Sikh Itihas Number of the *Phulwari*" in 1929-30, but that, as he says, was just to attract the attention of scholars to his great undertaking, "and to seek their suggestions". In the main, however, the work grew with the age and experience of the learned compiler, and it is here for the benefit of the modern generation of research scholars.

The object of this bibliography is to present in one volume the available information on the material for the history of the Punjab. That material lies scattered in this country and abroad in the shape of books and periodicals as well as important manuscripts and other rare collections. The compiler is particularly indebted to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, and Mahamahopadhyay D. V. Potdar for free access to their valuable collections of rare manuscripts and out-of-print books in Persian, French, German and Marathi. Mr. Igor Serebryakov, the Russian scholar of Punjabi language and literature, has also been

of immense help to Dr. Singh, as he provided him with a complete list of Russian books and articles on the subject.

But all this has by no means relieved the compiler of the trouble of undertaking extensive tours in search of books and manuscripts. From Cashmere to Annamalai and from Calcutta to Peshawar is certainly no small distance, and if Dr. Singh travelled widely in Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan, he also visited the libraries in the British Isles and other European countries. The work has been particularly enriched by the inclusion of important papers published in the proceedings and journals of learned societies like the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Panjab Historical Society of Lahore, the Research Society of Pakistan, the Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala of Poona, the Historical Records Commission of the Government of India, and the Indian History Congress. And, no doubt, the Addenda of more than twentyfive pages bears an eloquent testimony to the compiler's sincerity of purpose and capacity for hard work.

In the arrangement of his material, Dr. Singh has not conformed to the tabular form of catalogues which have been recently published. Once again, he has followed in the footsteps of Sir Arnold and given the dates of publication after the names of the publishers and the places of publication. For the transliteration of the oriental names into the Roman script, he has followed the Hunterian system as adopted in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. A comparative table of letters used in transliteration of oriental words has been given on page x. and surely, the readers will find it extremely helpful.

Despite his 'efforts to make the bibliography as exhaustive as possible', the compiler does not

pretend to have produced a thoroughly complete work. He is very much aware that some important publications might well have escaped his notice. Perhaps, as he claims, no bibliography can aspire to be 'absolutely up-to-date, or perfect'. At any rate, the present one suffers from an omission of a few important names, much better known than many included in it. Nevertheless, we are confident that Dr. Singh would spare no pains to fill in the gaps when the time should come for re-editing his work.

D. K. GHOSE

The Port of Calcutta by N. MUKHERJEE.
The Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta,
Rs. 15/-

Dr. Mukherjee's book is a fascinating account of the rise and growth of the Calcutta port, its proliferating activities and expansion since independence. It is diligently written and offers a synoptic view of the port and its sprawling hinterland.

The story begins with the opening of the Suez Canal. Despite *laissez-faire* there was considerable public expenditure on the construction of the port; the pressure of the Bengal Chamber and the Clive Street merchant houses surely influenced Government policy. With the creation of the Port Trust in 1870 the port entered upon a period of growth, and it seems that the work of the Commissioners was facilitated by the rapid growth of trade. The Bengal Chamber memorialised the Government for the construction of docks, and the Government was obliged to advance loans to the Port Trust to meet the heavy expenditure which the construction of the Kidderpore Docks entailed. Today the Kidderpore Dock system consists of two docks, a turning basin, and a lock entrance, and may indeed be regarded as "the most significant achievement of the Commissioners since the constitution of the Port Trust".

In a book sponsored by the Port Commissioners the work of the commissioners and engi-

neers who were mostly British understandably finds prominent mention. In fact, Indianisation was very slow; the first Indian Chairman of the Trust was appointed in 1947. Over the years the dock labour grew to be a formidable force, and the notorious contract system continued; it was in 1948 that two representatives from dock labour were appointed.

In the post-independence period there was considerable public expenditure on the development of the port; it was indeed a period of "planned development". The port received financial assistance from the World Bank, and the construction of a satellite port at Haldia was projected. With the progress of industrialisation the hinterland of the port went on spreading, and covered West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, almost the whole of Uttar Pradesh, part of Madhya Pradesh, and Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Surely the port today is faced with new problems to cope with cargo handling and operations, and to meet the needs of the growing labour force. The book deserves wide welcome.

SUNIL SEN

Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilisation (A First Announcement) by ASOKO PARPOLA, SEppo KOSKENNIEMI, SIMO PARPOLA AND PENTTI AALTO.
Copenhagen, 1969, pp 60, with tables, maps and an index. (The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies—Special Publications No. 1)

The monograph under review is the latest attempt to decipher the Indus script on the basis of an examination of basic signs and ligatures. Previous ventures in the field have been critically surveyed by Mrs. A. R. K. Zodi of Chicago, but these have been dismissed as invalid by Dr. Mortimer Wheeler. Both Mrs. Zodi and the present authors have not only resorted to the computer approach undertaken by a group of Russian scholars under the leadership of Prof. Y. Knorosov.

There are literary, linguistic and anthropological evidences to prove that the bearers of the Indus culture were most probably Dravidian. The Indus script is here considered as Proto-Dravidian in character. There is, however, a contrary view, and according to one scholar, the language of the script is 'archaic Sanskrit prevalent in the country before the reformation of that language by Panini, the grammarian'.

The authors of the present work have assembled and interpreted with meticulous care 1,944 out of 2000 inscriptions so far excavated and 9,147 signs in all. The chief feature of the monograph is the new light it has thrown on the society and religion of the Indus Valley people. The systems of drainage and bath in the Indus cities point to the ideas of precautions against pollution and other taboos and the origin of the caste system. The sign U = 'a picture of a pot' = mata, mati (Ceremonial purity as of one who has bathed) = 'pond, pool, deep place in a river' has revealed the mystery of the baths of the Indus civilisation.

They have also carefully prepared a 'Professions list'—worker, servant, ploughman, scribe, priest, washerman, merchant etc. (vide Table No. 3 pp. 64-65). As in Sumer, the Indus seals were amulets depicting religious scenes. Quite a number of signs denoted gods with equivalent words found in the Dravidian languages.

Many useful tables and two maps,—one showing the distribution of the Indus civilisation sites and the distribution of the Dravidian languages, and the other illustrating the relation between the ancient Near East and India have added to the merit of the work. Within the limits of present knowledge the authors have done excellent work for decipherment and deserve our best congratulations.

Research on the decipherment of the Indus script recently sponsored by the Government

of India and financial assistance to the Coomarswamy Institute of Asian Arts will, it is hoped, throw fresh light to guide us on the subject. The day is not distant when patient labour all over the world will find a key to the puzzle.

B. K. MAJUMDAR.

The Classical Age of the Tamils by Dr. AROKIASWAMI, Published by the University of Madras. 1967 ; Price Rs. 6/-

This work on the Sangam age of the Tamils by the late Professor of Indian History of the University of Madras contains 119 pages plus X pages index, is in seven chapters and has an introduction by the author. The author claims in his preface to the book that he has arrived at conclusions 'which, it is hoped, would appeal to scholars'; it may be admitted that he has preferred conclusions, like a 4th or 3rd century B. C. date for the Tolkappiam in straightforward argument. His presentation of the theme is quite readable and in places, where it is worthwhile introducing the reader to the literary source on which he depends, he gives good English translations of appropriate Tamil texts. By and large, the author seems to have accepted the conservative view in regard to dating and evaluations and it must be said that this view is inevitable till more convincing arguments to the contrary are forthcoming.

The book provides to newcomers to the subject considerable interesting information. It can certainly be recommended to students who wish to know the history of the ancient Tamils in a general way.

The absence of a list of errata does not in this case mean absence of printing errors. Tirukadugam is spelt Tirukadugam on p. 99 and the error is faithfully kept up in the index.

N. SUBRAHMANYAN

28 INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

The 28 International Congress of Orientalists will be held at the Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. from 6th to 12th January, 1971. All scholars of the languages, history, literature and culture of Asia are welcome.

Enquiries should be addressed to :

The Secretary-General,
28, International Congress of Orientalists,
Australian National University Post Office,
Via CANBERRA CITY. A.C.T. 2601,
AUSTRALIA.

INSTITUTE'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Seventh Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies will be held at Bangalore from 4th to 7th November, 1969, under the auspices of the University of Bangalore. Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, Union Education Minister, will inaugurate the Conference.

The principal theme adopted for the Conference is *Historical Writings on the Indian Nationalist Movement*. The second theme is *Sources of the History of Mysore*. About 32 selected papers will be presented and discussed.

Members are cordially invited to attend the Conference and participate in the discussions. They are requested to send intimation to the Institute's Office by September 15, 1969. Railway concession (*Single-fare-return-journey*) will be available on production of Membership Certificate.

For details of accommodation arrangements, enquiries may be addressed to the Local Secretary, Dr. K. Narasiah, Head of the Department of History, University of Bangalore, Central College, Bangalore, Mysore.

SOUTH ASIAN LIBRARY AND RESEARCH NOTES

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCE MATERIALS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

SERIES—II: Tracts and Pamphlets on Indian History in the National Library, Calcutta.

(Continued from Previous Number).

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A letter from a proprietor of East India stock, in Town to a proprietor in the country. London, 1769.</p> <p>220. ———
A letter to John Scott Waring Esq., in refutation of his "observations on the present state of the East India Company"... unjust conduct towards the missionaries in India. London, 1808.</p> <p>221. East India Company.
A letter to... Lord North... on the present proceedings concerning the East India Company. London, 1773.</p> <p>222. ———
A letter to Richard Brinsley Sheridan... on the proposed renewal of the charter of the East India Company. By a friend to the Freedom of the Press, etc. London, 1793.</p> <p>223. ———
A Letter to the proprietors of East India Stock. Containing a reply to some insinuation in an old proprietor's letter to the proprietors of the 13th instant relative to the Ballot of that day. As also... a republication of two letters, on the subject of the Ballot... By a steady proprietor. London, 1769.</p> <p>224. ———
A letter to the proprietors of East India Stock... for granting to Lord Clive three thousand pounds, London, 1767.</p> | <p>225. ———
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A letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas... from the Committee of Buyers of East India piece-goods for Home Consumption, etc. London, 1793.</p> <p>227. ———
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Compiled By N. CHATTERJEE

MICROFILM HOLDINGS OF REPORTS ON INDIAN NATIVE NEWSPAPERS IN THE U.S.A. (PUNJAB, N.W.P., OUDH AND C.P. : JANUARY 1875—DECEMBER 1885)

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- Jan. 14, 1875 Plea for Appointment of Indians to Government Posts of "Rank and Position"—Military Officers in Civil Employ—Criticism of Missionaries—Assaults of Europeans on Indians—Criticisms of British Covenanted Civilians—Dacoity.

- Jan. 21, 1875 Lord Northbrook—Sir John Strachey—Criticisms of Government Educational Policy—Missionary Activities.

- Jan. 30, 1875 False Witnesses in the Courts.

- Feb. 6, 1875 British Rule and Indian Women—Bengal Famine—Criticisms of Settlement Policy—Civil Justice—Excesses of Rulers of Native States—Afghanistan.

- Feb. 13, 1875 Honorary Magistrates—the Native Army—the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Murder of the Resident.

- Feb. 20, 1875 *Budmashes* in Bareilly—Christianity—Baroda Affair.

- Feb. 27, 1875 Problems in the Police Department—Criticism of English Officials—Criticisms of Christian Charity—Baroda Affair.

- Mar. 5, 1875 Crimes and Dacoities—Baroda Affair.

- Mar. 13, 1875 Religious Disturbance in Unao District—Baroda Affair.

- Mar. 20, 1875 Dacoities—Excesses of Indian Princes—Aligarh College—Resignation of Northbrook.

- April 24, 1875 Praise of British Rule (particularly for Religious Liberty)—the Impoverishment of India by the British—Delhi Durbar—Baroda Affair—Attitude of Europeans to Educated Indians—Complaints of Indian Rail Passengers—Criticisms of the English Press in India.

- May 1, 1875 Indians and Judicial Appointments—Criticisms of the *Pioneer*—Baroda Affair—Complaints of Rail Passengers—Visit of the Prince of Wales.

- May 8, 1875 Complaints against Christian Missions—Baroda Affair (Fate of the Gaekwar).

- May 15, 1875 Court Delays—False Witnesses in the Courts—Visit of the Prince of Wales.

- May 22, 1875 Revision of the Oudh Settlement—Maladministration in Oudh—Baroda Affair—Religious Discontent of the Hindus—Mistreatment of Indian Newspaper Editors—Visit of the Prince of Wales.
- May 29, 1875 Baroda Controversy—Visit of Prince of Wales.
- June 5, 1875 Misuse of Charity Funds and Institutions—Settlement in Moradabad—Problems of Municipal Committees—Excesses of Princes—Indian Employees on Railroads.
- June 12, 1875 Defects of English Courts—Road Cess Act—Problems of Municipalities—British Policy towards Native States—Baroda Commission—Lepel Griffin in Kapurthala—Complaints of Indian Rail Passengers—Visit of the Prince of Wales.
- June 19, 1875 Education of Indian Princes—John Inglis as Officiating Chief Commissioner of Oudh—Indian Telegraph Department—Admission of Indians to the Covenanted Civil Service—Indians in Subordinate Public Offices—Municipalities—Baroda Affair—Muslim-Hindu Conflict—Delhi College—Visit of the Prince of Wales.
- June 26, 1875 Benares Municipal Election—British Treatment of Native States—Hindu Complaints in Allahabad—Medicine in India—Exclusion of Indians from the Covenanted Civil Service—Affairs in Tonk—State Aid for Indigenous Schools in Oudh—Visit of the Prince of Wales.
- July 3, 1875 The High Cost of Justice—Indian Medical Practice—Subordinate Judiciary in the Punjab—Disaffection in India—Delhi College—Dispute between Wahabis and Sunnis in Amritsar.
- July 7, 1875 Disaffection in India—Position of Indian Princes.
- July 17, 1875 Wahabis—Baroda—Indians in the Covenanted Civil Service.
- July 24, 1875 Age Limit for the Competitive Civil Service Examination—Baroda Affair and British Policy towards Indian Princes—Shias and Sunnis in Jaunpur.
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- Sept. 18, 1875 Indian Disaffection—Praise for British Rule—Russian Menace—Affairs in Baroda—Visit of the Prince of Wales.
- Sept. 26, 1875 Missionary Schools—English Officials as the Source of Indian Discontent—Russian Menace—Native States—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Parliament's Disinterest in India—Punjab Provincial Tax.
- Oct. 10, 1875 Situation of Indian Muslims—Russian Menace—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Admission of Indians to the Covenanted Civil Service.
- Oct. 17, 1875 Benefits of British Rule—Russian Menace—British Policy towards Native States—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Complaints of Indian Rail Passengers.
- Oct. 27, 1875 Afghanistan and the Russian Menace—Saiad Ahmad Khan on Muslim Governments.
- Nov. 3, 1875 The Russian Menace—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Indians in Subordinate Government Positions—Wahabis at Benares—Defence of Satti—Missionaries in Hoshiarpur.
- Nov. 9, 1875 The Russian Menace—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Economic Condition of India—Industrial Arts College in the Panjab.
- Nov. 15, 1875 Russia and Turkey—Russia and Afghanistan—Visit of the Prince of Wales—the Education of Eurasians.
- Nov. 27, 1875 Russia—Visit of the Prince of Wales—the Administration of Law.
- Dec. 3, 1875 The Russian Menace—British Treatment of Indian Princes—Preservation of Historical Monuments.
- Dec. 9, 1875 Conditions in Central Asia—Indian Princes and the Prince of Wales' Visit—Infanticide—Inoculation Campaign—Muhammadan College at Aligarh—Sayyid Ahmad Khan.
- Dec. 15, 1875 European Political Situation—Resignation of C. B. Saunders as Resident of Hyderabad—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Rail Travel.
- Sept. 26, 1875 Missionary Schools—English Officials as the Source of Indian Discontent—Russian Menace—Native States—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Parliament's Dis-

- interest in India—Punjab Provincial Tax.
- Oct. 10, 1875 Situation of Indian Muslims—Russian Menace—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Admission of Indians to the Covenanted Civil Service.
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- Oct. 27, 1875 Afghanistan and the Russian Menace—Saiad Ahmad Khan on Muslim Governments.
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- Jan. 15, 1880 The Raja of Hatwa—Famine in Kashmir—Lytton's Rules for Admission of Indians to the Civil Service—Indians in the Punjab Settlement Department—Anglo-Vernacular Schools in Oudh.
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- March 18, 1880 Afghan Politics—Kashmir—Sayyad Ahmad Khan—Court Delays—Depressed Condition of Agricultural Classes in the Punjab—Anglicised Muslims—Vaccination Bill.
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- May 20, 1880 Afghan Affairs—the Maharaja of Kashmir—Lord Lytton's Administration.
- May 27, 1880 Afghan Affairs—Maladministration in Kashmir—the New Liberal Government—Lord Lytton's Administration—the Vernacular Press Act.
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- June 10, 1880 The Afghan War—Kashmir and the Anglo-Indian Press—Indians in the Civil Service—Lord Ripon.
- June 17, 1880 Afghan Politics—Lord Lytton's Administration—Infanticide in the Punjab—Lord Ripon in Bombay.
- June 24, 1880 Afghan Affairs—the License Tax and Distress of Agricultural Classes in the Punjab.
- July 1, 1880 Afghan Politics—the Liberal Government—Partiality of English Judges to European Litigants.
- July 8, 1880 Turkey and the Berlin Conference—Afghan Politics—Kashmir—*Satti* in the C. P.—Lord Lytton's Administration—Lord Ripon—Published Attacks on the Muslim Religion in Moradabad.
- July 15, 1880 Afghan Politics—Turkey and the Muslims of India—Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir—Social Relations between Europeans and Indians.
- July 22, 1880 Turkey and the Berlin Conference—Public Service in Berar.
- July 29, 1880 Afghan Affairs—Turkey and the Berlin Conference—Lord Ripon—Treatment of Students at Lahore College.
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- Aug. 19, 1880 Afghan Affairs—Lord Ripon—Hindu-Muslim Tension in Moradabad—Maltreatment of Indians by European Officers.
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- Sept. 2, 1880 Kandahar and Afghan Affairs—Admission of Indians to the Covenanted Civil Service—Munshi Indarman of Moradabad.
- Sept. 9, 1880 Reactions of the Native Press to Afghan Affairs—the Indian Budget—Muslim-Hindu Tension—Discontent with European Judges.
- Sept. 16, 1880 Kandahar—Turkey and Indian Muslims—Munshi Indarman's Attack on the Muslims.
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- Sept. 30, 1880 Kandahar—Turkey and the Muslims of India—Afghan War—Lucknow Census—Munshi Indarman and the Muslims.
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- Judicial Report—the Native Press and the Loyalty of India—Munshi Indarman.
- Oct. 21, 1880 Afghan Affairs—Palace Murder in Chota Odeypur—Land Revenue in Kind—Proposal for Representative Government in India.
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- Nov. 11, 1880 Afghan Affairs—Turkey—the Chota Odeypur Case—Poverty of India—Complaints of Rail Passengers.
- Nov. 18, 1880 Afghan Affairs—Legislation and the Judiciary in India—Census—Heavy Civil Court Fees in the N.W.P.
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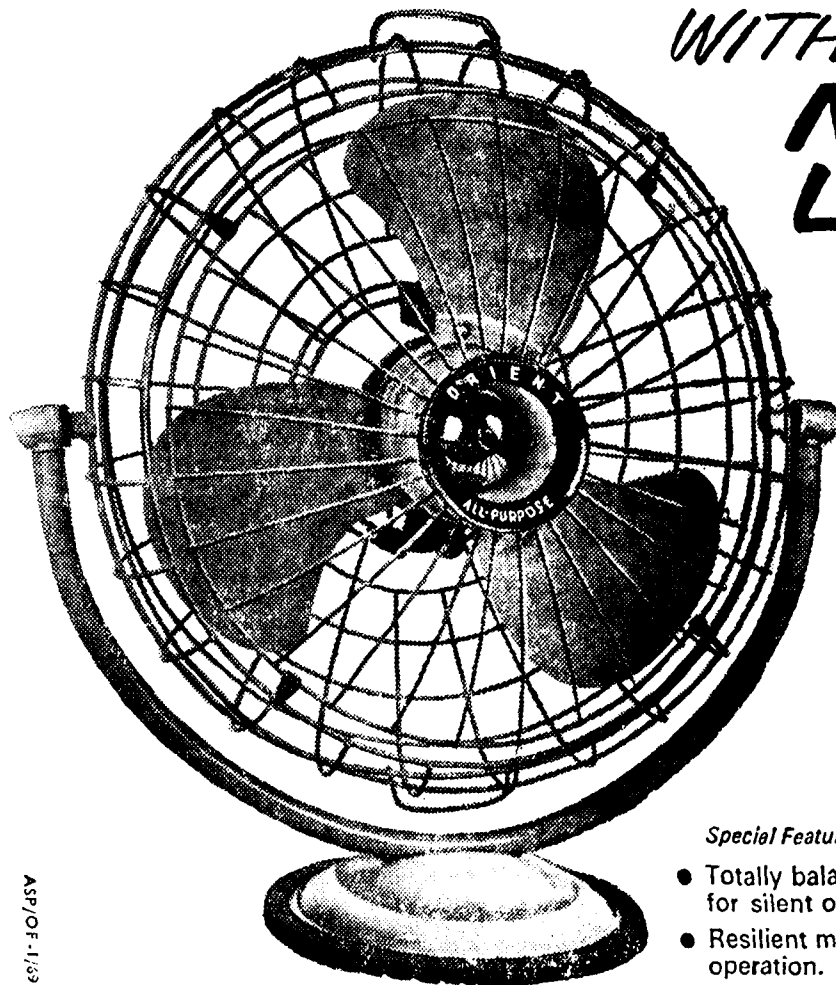
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