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CALCUTTA

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EDITORIAL

ICSSR & History:

To encourage studies and research in Social Science, the Government of India set up last year a body known as the Indian Council of Social Science Research, on the pattern of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. As a gesture of its seriousness of purpose, the Government also provided the ICSSR adequate funds for the purpose. This naturally was welcomed by all whose field of interest came under the broad category of Social Science. It was also accepted by all as a measure indicating the Government's equal concern for promoting studies and research in both Science and Humanities. Curiously, however, and this is not known to most historians in the country, the ICSSR does not include History among the disciplines grouped as Social Science. The ICSSR confines its activities only to such fields as Economics, Commerce, Political Science, Public Administration, Business Management, Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, Geography etc.

It is really difficult to explain the unfortunate exclusion of History from the assorted disciplines categorised as Social Science, and thus from the scope of activities of the ICSSR. Everywhere else in the world is History treated as a branch of Social Science, and in several University organisations in India too, History is grouped as such. There is no logical reason to depart from the generally accepted convention. In fact, the importance of History is more fundamental than that of many of the other disciplines classed under Social Science, since a knowledge of History is essential for an Economist, or a Political Scientist, an Anthropologist or a Geographer. To exclude the fundamental subject, which is the basis of most other disciplines grouped as Social Science, is as inexplicable as illogical.

Perhaps, it came from an impression that historical studies even to-day are only concerned with kings and queens, battles and peace-treaties. If the ICSSR had a historian

moment, was not altogether unanticipated. In fact, in a large all-India Project like this, where we have to depend on the kind co-operation of more than 350 Contributors, drawn from all the States, it was only expected that just a few among the Contributors would plead inability to write at the last moment and the work would have to be entrusted to new men. Anyway, the position now is quite encouraging. We have received more than 80% of the total number of biographical entries and we are making strenuous efforts, perhaps much to the annoyance of busy Contributors, to get the remaining entries by October or November.

It is proposed to set up an all-India body of experts to advise on some of the knotty problems relating to proper spelling of names, different versions of names under which cross references are to be given, the alphabetical order in which the names are to be arranged, controversies regarding dates and facts etc. In view of the past response, we are quite hopeful of getting the kind co-operation of scholars in all the States in this matter.

It is rather unfortunate that while the Project is progressing so well and completion is very much in sight now, just a few months more, our financial worries still persist and work as a drag on our scheduled progress. Although we received grants from some State Governments, we have yet to receive suitable financial assistance from several others. As we took all these grants into calculation in framing the Project budget, until all the anticipated grants come in, there is always the haunting fear that we may be left without financial resources, just about the time when the Project is nearing completion. In fact, if we had adequate financial resources, we could have planned more effectively and could have set about the execution with whole-hearted attention, free from financial worries. Unfortunately, the political situation in several States is so unstable that it is difficult to draw the attention of these State Governments to the national importance of the DNB Project and the urgency of our financial needs. We still hope, however, that we shall be able to get the additional funds needed from State Governments during the current financial year.

THE AGE OF CONSENT BILL (1891) AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

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In the post-1857 period, the agitation against the Age of Consent Bill¹ is a landmark in India's freedom struggle. Its affinity with the 'mutiny' is obvious, since the involvement of the masses on either occasion was secured by an appeal to people's religious susceptibilities. In spite of the desire on the part of the British to keep away from interfering in the religion of their Indian subjects, the introduction of this Bill by the Government exposed the predicament of the administration, which on one side was assuming a paternal posture and on the other was trying to separate religion from the Indian way of life. Coming within a few years of the Ilbert Bill controversy, this agitation revived, confirmed and widened people's prejudices against the whites. Similarly, the Indian National Congress, which only a few years back had struggled hard to separate social reform from the scope of its activities,² witnessed its leadership split and the agitation taking an independent course. Its proposition of relying on British sense of justice received a rude setback and its failure to carry conviction with the general public grew evident. The harnessing of people's religious prejudices into political channels yielded such rich dividends to the agitators that from the following year Cow Protection Societies and then the Ganapati festivals began to be utilised for creating further distrust and disloyalty to the British rule.³ The Plague regulations similarly were interpreted in a religious context and freedom struggle thus acquired a

popular base on which secret societies could thrive and Extremism emerge as an inalienable factor of Indian politics. This religious colouring of the national struggle, however, was not an unmixed blessing in a country of diverse creeds and from this time separatism and communalism were also seeded in the fight against British imperialism.

To appreciate the nature and importance of this agitation, a review of the social background and forces that went into operation both before and after the introduction of the Age of Consent Bill may be called for. It might be interesting to study how the ingenuity of the agitators could easily turn every lapse and even routine incidents of administration in the direction of disloyalty with the help of the press which had emerged as the fourth estate after Ripon's repeal of the Vernacular Press Act.

Nineteenth century religious movements in India generated a strong feeling of national pride and a desire to resurrect the country's glory in the comity of nations. To attain this ideal, there existed two distinct and diverse approaches. On the one hand were those that had drunk deep at European literature and political thought. Forces of liberalism and democracy which were shaping the political map of Europe were making a powerful appeal to them, and, with a view to make for progress and prepare the country for parliamentary institutions, they wanted to clear

the social fabric of all accretions and superstitions. To this category belonged most of the founders of the Indian National Congress. On the other hand, there were people among whom contact with the West had generated a repulsion for European civilisation and had made them passionately Indian even to the point of being retrograde. They adored and eulogised all the traditions, manners and customs of their country. According to them, caste and purdah systems were wholesome features of Indian society, which were worthy of emulation even by the West. In their view, social reform was the craze of the anglicised Indians who had debased themselves by a slavish imitation of Europe and were unwittingly playing into the hands of their white masters.

The initiation for the bill to raise the marriageable age of girls came from the modernised section of Indian nationalists, who were taking a leading role in the Indian National Congress. As far as the Government was concerned it was inclined to keep aloof from social legislation which might prove the hornet's nest. The Queen's Proclamation had also expressly guaranteed non-interference in people's religion. But in order to provide a moral basis to their rule, the administrators had been repeatedly declaring that the welfare of the subject races was the aim and justification of the British empire. The enlightened section of the Indian community, therefore, was emboldened to ask the government for stopping child-marriage, which ran against the accepted canons of health and morality. This practice, it was pleaded, constituted a slur on British rule since not only the health of child-wives was ruined but the progeny of such mothers was adversely affected and in course of time Indians as a race were likely to look as physical wrecks. In the beginning the Government could afford to ignore these voices and as an indication of its cold attitudes, the Government of India passed a resolution in October 1886, declar-

ing it inexpedient for the Government to interfere with the existing marriage laws.¹ But the same year a momentum to the public discussion of this subject was provided by two incidents, one of which happened in Bombay and the other in Bengal. Incidentally these were the regions which were also very articulate. In the first incident — the Rukmabai case — an educated Parsee lady refused conjugal rights to the man with whom she had been married in her infancy. The Bombay High Court decided that under the existing law, Rukmabai would have to suffer imprisonment for her refusal and consequently the lady preferred to go to jail. This unusually severe sentence created considerable stir both in India and in England.² In Britain, Professor Maxmuller and the *Times* argued strongly for a change in law so that the infancy of a girl may not be misused by her guardians and she may not suffer for the faults of others. In India, eminent persons who were closely associated with the administration like Sir Lepel Griffin and Diwan Raghunath Rao of Baroda urged for the appointment of a commission to report on the redraft of the Hindu Law.³ This suggestion was not acted upon but the Government of India issued a circular asking for the opinion of Local Governments on the subject.⁴

The sensation caused by the Rukmabai case had hardly subsided when in Bengal Phulmoni, a child-wife, died as a result of sexual intercourse by her husband Hari Maiti — a youth of 24 years. The progressives interpreted this incident as one of the numerous that were happening day in and day out. Some of the newspapers published incidents of a similar nature to bring home the inadequacy of the existing law under which no legal redress to a girl of 11 was available if she died as a result of cohabitation with her grown up husband.⁵ To allay the fears of the Government, the reformers contended that child marriage was a social custom and not a religious injunction.

These two incidents bestirred the progressives. B. M. Malabari, whose zeal for social reform was unbounded, devoted himself to the task of persuading the Government. In England, he could create considerable public support for his cause. Members of the royal family shared his anxiety in the matter and such an influential newspaper as the *Times* also lent its weight.⁶ A committee consisting of such celebrities as Lord Northbrooke, Lord Ripon, Lord Reay, Lord and Lady Dufferin, Cardinal Manning, Sir Monier Williams, Sir William Hunter and Dada Bhai Naoroji was formed to put pressure on the Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross.⁷ In India, the Viceroy was impressed by the earnestness of Mr. Malabari, whose journal the *Indian Spectator* was also leading a crusade against the evil. Another eminent Indian, Sir T. Madhava Rao, was also feeling very strongly in the matter and the book *Political Opinions Of Sir Madhava Rao* made a profound impression on the reader about the need to raise the marriageable age of girls.⁸

In deference to the demand for social reform, a social conference was also being held from 1887 as an adjunct to the political session of the Congress, and child marriage formed the most debated topic there. The social conference of 1890 at Calcutta was presided over by Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar and the gathering of 1,000 overshadowed that of the political session, since a number of Government servants who could not be present at the political session (on account of a ban to that effect by the Government) attended the social conference.⁹ Since Government servants and lawyers formed the bulk of the educated people and Calcutta contained a sizeable number of both, the social conference of 1890 appeared impressive. R. N. Mudholkar, the well known leader of Berar, proposed that the marriageable age of girls be raised to 12 years and that the consummation be postponed till the girl was 14.¹⁰ B. G. Tilak, however,

moved an amendment that 10 years be adhered to and the amendment was passed.¹¹ Other Congress leaders who explicitly voiced the need for changing the law of marriage included Dr Rash Behari Ghosh, K. T. Telang, Man Mohan Ghosh, and Lala Jaishi Ram. In keeping with the Congress *modus operandi* several meetings were held at various places about the evil effects of child marriage and the Government was asked to listen to popular voice. At Ahmedabad, the ladies resolved to send a memorial to the Viceroy for immediate legislation.¹² A Woman of India Age of Consent Memorial Committee was also formed to pursue the matter.¹³

In the English-language press of the country, the cause of reform was vigorously advocated. In spite of smaller clientele the English-language newspapers were ably conducted and some of them like the *Pioneer*, the *Civil And Military Gazette*, the *Times Of India*, the *Statesman* and the *Englishman* influenced the counsels of the Government since many of their contributors were also associated with the British press which exercised considerable pressure on the 'Home' government. The advocacy of the Anglo-Indian press for the Age of Consent Bill was also in line with its policy of encouraging the Indian intelligentsia to the path of social reform rather than to political agitation. As far as the Indian-edited newspapers of English language were concerned, many were pleading for a change, though some appeared to favour the method of persuasion.

In the vernacular press too, the voice of the reformers was articulated at many points. Popular Gujarati dailies like the *Bombay Samachar* and the *Jam-i-Jamshed*, Anglo-Gujarati weeklies like the *Kaiser-I-Hind* and the *Rast Goftar* vigorously pleaded for raising the age of marriage. So was the case with

some important Anglo-Marathi journals which included M. G. Ranade's the *Indu Prakash*, the *Sudharak* and the *Din Bandhu*. In Bengal, the Brahmo organ the *Sanjivani*, and another paper the *Samay*, and in Madras, the most important Tamil bi-weekly of C. Subramaniam Aiyer the *Swadesmitram* were on the side of reformers. In Punjab, the *Muklawā* (consummation) was usually performed after the girl was 12 and so newspapers there were inclined to support the Bill. The *Akhbar-i-Am* and the *Paisa Akhbar*, the most widely circulated Urdu daily and weekly respectively, welcomed the Bill. In U.P. (then N.W.P.), Raja Ram Pal Singh's the *Hindusthan* of Kalakankar extended its support to the reformers.

At a time when representative legislatures did not exist, all these voices led Lord Lansdowne to infer that the demand for abolition of child marriage was based on public opinion. As was its wont, the illiterate mass had remained unconcerned with the controversy on the subject, but the Viceroy did not fail to visualise their reactions. He noted: "We shall, I believe, do no violence to native prejudices, exercise no interference with any custom or observance upheld or honoured by fail to visualise their reactions. He noted: Viceroy was eager to win over the educated class which in spite of small numbers was "remarkably intelligent and pertinacious" and could not be ignored.¹⁸ It became embarrassing for him to listen passively to such appeals as: "We beseech the Government to turn its attention on the subject, we beseech it not to ignore the wrong of those who cannot complain, we beseech it to save the thousands and hundreds of thousands from temptation by enacting a deterrent law. We beseech it in the name of Christianity, in the name of humanity, in the name of common sense and justice to redress a great abuse and put an end to a shocking scandal. We cannot do more than beseech. It rests with the legislature to grant that

prayer. But we do hope that a response will come unless the rulers' hearts are petrified to stone or frozen to snow."¹⁹ Personally also, Lord Lansdowne felt inclined to do some good to children and found it difficult to stick to the accepted policy of non interference in social and religious matters. He asked the sanction of the Secretary of State for India to amend the marriage law, noting "I am glad to say, a general readiness (exists) to accept the proposal to raise the age of consent to 12 years. As long as we are protecting the persons of these children from ill treatment, we are on unassailable grounds."²⁰ The sanction of the Secretary of State was readily given and the Age of Consent Bill was introduced by the Law Member Sir Andrew Scoble who declared that the measure was humanitarian as well as educative, since it aimed at protecting female children from "premature cohabitation and at preventing immature prostitution".²¹ To allay the possible misgivings of the orthodox, the Law Member cited the opinion of Pt. Sasadhar Tarkachuramani, an eminent authority on Hindu law, to the effect that the Shastras expressly disapproved of cohabitation before the wife attained puberty.²² Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, congratulated the Viceroy for initiating the Bill and thought that the reform would entitle the Viceroy to the gratitude of posterity and would put him among the Governors-General who, prompted by noble ends, initiated social legislation of great utility.²³

Advocates of the Bill had, however, woefully failed in reckoning the powers of their adversaries and in fathoming the depths of prejudices that existed in the social, religious and political life of the country. In their enthusiasm, they had tended to be impracticable as well as impractical.²⁴ Their energies had been directed mostly to convince the Government and the British electorate rather than creating a sound public opinion within the country. They had fondly hoped that

Government support for the measure would so much tilt the balance that forces of conservatism would beat a retreat. Lala Jaishi Ram, a prominent figure of Punjab, who had also been to Europe, summarising the situation wrote, "The educated community feels the existing law defective on this point and will receive it (Age of Consent Bill) with great pleasure, while the uneducated people will be willing to obey it in the same quiet, contented and satisfactory manner as they do the existing criminal law of India — the more I think on the subject, the more just, humane, prudent and advisable I find the proposed legislation."²⁵ The *Rast Goftar*, which had been founded by Dada Bhai Naoroji, also concluded that "by being compelled to do right, people will gradually be reconciled to right and will eventually love right."²⁶ The orthodox section on its part had also miscalculated. It had believed that the English-educated class was given to clamour, convening meetings, making speeches and passing resolutions. A Government which was repeatedly repudiating their claim to represent their countrymen was not expected to listen to their demands any more than was the case with their pleas for a reduction in military expenditure and enlargement of the Councils. As such even the articulate section of the orthodox did not raise its objections seriously enough to warn the Government.²⁷

The introduction of the Bill by a Christian as well as alien Government hurt and shocked many. It posed serious political and social challenges. The alliance of an influential section of Indian intelligentsia with the ruling race portended ill for India's freedom. Following the lead of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, historical articles about Sirajuddaulah, Mir Jafar and Mir Qasim had been appearing in the vernacular press of Bengal.²⁸ Beneath all these narratives lay the moral that British conquest and consolidation had been possible only when a few Indians allied with the foreigners to oppose the rest of their

countrymen. For the reliance on the British, the reformers had already invited censure and even B. M. Malabari had been charged with playing into the hands of the British who intended to sidetrack Indians from the path of political agitation.²⁹ The introduction of the Age of Consent Bill also coincided with the country-wide tour of Vivekananda who was thrilling Indian audiences with his brilliant exposition of the entire gamut of Hinduism. It, therefore, hurt an Indian's pride to be guided by a European Government in the matter of his daughter's marriage. The *Alahratta* whose clientele consisted of English-educated persons bitterly resented the Bill in spite of its support for raising the age of marriage.³⁰ "The ultimate dictum", it observed, "whether a certain community shall have a certain social or any other change introduced among them must rest with the community itself if its vital vigour is not to be crippled and its sentiments are not to be demoralised."³¹ The solicitations of the Anglo-Indian press to protect Indian child-wives and its spiteful observations on the condition of Indian women, added fuel to the fire.³² The *Tribune*, a prominent bi-weekly of nationalist views, was prompted to ask 'Are Hindu wives tortured?'³³ Another replied by citing cases where Indian women had suffered molestation by the 'civilised' whites.³⁴ Incidents involving sexual laxity in England were quoted by Indian newspapers to show that the Government intended to plant British morals on Indian society. In a sarcastic tone, the *Bangabasi* a Bengali weekly wrote, "Yes, we are a nation of savages and the Government is making laws to educate us. Yes, we are strangers to domestic virtue, we gave up only the other day our dwelling in the woods; yes, we are a savage people and do not know how a husband should behave to his wife and a wife to her husband. Yes, we tattooed our bodies till yesterday, and we had not the marriage tie among us till recently."³⁵ Against this background, the remarks of the Law Member appeared provocative

when he offered the Bill as one "to strengthen the hands of the fathers of families. . . so as to diminish the opportunities and incentives that are now offered for indulgence in this pernicious practice."³⁶ Coming as it did from the spokesman of the Government, it could only invoke such determination as, "You can indeed by the strength of your arms pulverise, so to say, this gross material body of ours, but that will be nothing to us. To use your own civilised language—Break me if you will, bend me you can not. . . Will you claim to be a poet because you are an athlete or a wrestler? Will you claim authority to introduce widow remarriage and prohibit early marriage because you gained the battle of Plassey and Assaye?"³⁷

Some arguments of the orthodox contained sufficient logic as to beat the reformers hollow and to cool down the initial warmth of several erstwhile supporters of the Bill. In their zeal to modernise institutions, the reformers had failed to take a comprehensive view of society which was wedded to purdah and joint family systems. A girl who entered her husband's house at an early and impressionable age, was more likely to adapt herself to the new environment and mix with the members of her new family.³⁸ Indian concept of an ideal son, wife, husband or cousin could be understood in the context of joint Hindu family which was venerated at all rungs of society including the educated class. The fear that the Bill would disrupt joint family was likely to cause concern to Indians. After the heat of Hari Maiti case subsided, it was realised that the tragedy of Phulmoni was stray and accidental and the incident had been used as a red herring for ulterior purposes.³⁹ Dr. Lal Madhab Mookerjee, a physician of long experience at Calcutta, testified from personal experience that he never came across a single case of Hari Maitism.⁴⁰ The *Pioneer* of Allahabad which held a reputation for scholarly articles could only discover

one other case from the records of the Calcutta High Court, but the *Indian Nation* of Calcutta disputed the *Pioneer's* contention of similarity between the two cases.⁴¹

The implementation of the Bill also bristled with difficulties, which the sponsors had either overlooked or underrated. Sir M. Melvill in a letter to Malabari had wisely observed that, "it will be impossible to enforce the law except by means of an inquisitorial investigation of the most private affairs of domestic life. . . in most cases it is almost impossible to prove conclusively whether a girl is 10, or 11, or 12 years old."⁴² After the Bill was introduced, these shortcomings added grist to the opposition. In the caste and purdah ridden society, ladies of respectable families would give up the ghost rather than go to a hospital or travel in trains,⁴³ but the Bill stipulated their medical examination for age verification and their appearing in a court of law against their own husband with whom the wife was considered bound by the most sacred ties.⁴⁴ The subject matter under the Bill was going to be such a delicate one as premature cohabitation by the wife's husband and the wife was to face the cold logic of cross examination from a lawyer or a magistrate. The police, as the arm of the law, also came into the picture and this raised hypochondriac fears. On account of encouraging local feuds, sheltering mischief-mongers, harbouring touts and fabricating cases, there was no love lost between the public and the police. Already life in a joint family or rustic village was replete with scandals, mutual bickerings, conflicts and even armed clashes, which the police dexterously exploited to fill its coffers.⁴⁵ The Age of Consent Act, it was feared, would make life unbearable by bringing the police to the bedroom. Government assurances to the effect that offences under the Act would be non-cognisable failed to carry conviction because the police had earned a notoriety for evading all curbs on its powers.⁴⁶ As far as genuine

cases under the Act were concerned, the outraged wife or her parents could not be expected to go to a court of law for the simple reason that the girl's matrimonial life and the family's reputation would suffer irreparable damage. But for the vast majority of marriages of permissible age, the provisions of the Act appeared as engines of oppression on account of malignant perjury which was rampant and which a greedy and unscrupulous police always found handy. The horrified *Sudbakar*, therefore, exclaimed, "What, if the enemy brings a false charge! This would lead to a medical examination which even the prostitutes do not like."⁴⁷

It was, however, the religious element which added a new dimension to the agitation and brought about the involvement of the masses against alien rulers. The orthodox section not only exercised a strong hold on society, but in the vernacular press it possessed a great instrument of influencing public opinion. After Ripon's repeal of the Vernacular Press Act in 1882, there had been a phenomenal increase in the number of newspapers and people's curiosity had been whetted on account of the rapid transformation which was going on in industry, education, transport and society. The 'failed' matriculates or B.As⁴⁸ who ran these newspapers on the manually-operated printing machines of those days, were in greater emotional harmony with the common run of men than was the case with the 'elite' journalists. The *Reuter* and the special correspondents, who supplied early and authentic news were too costly for the one-pice vernacular paper. This deficiency was, therefore, covered by giving greater prominence and space to social topics.⁴⁹ The Age of Consent Bill, therefore, answered to the type of news that the vernacular press looked for. The best-selling newspaper of the period was also a vernacular weekly, the *Bangabasi* of Calcutta, which so much outstripped all other newspapers in circulation that the period 1882-1900 may be termed as the *Bangabasi* age in the history of

Indian journalism.⁵⁰ An uncompromising nationalist and an unrelenting critic of foreign domination, the *Bangabasi* was a staunch supporter of all that was associated with Hinduism of those days—the caste, purdah, child marriage, abhorrence of sea voyage etc. Western educated Indians, in its opinion, were renegades with 'black skin and a white heart'; and, the Congress was an organisation of the loquacious Baboos who were aping the free people of Europe. Hence, any reform of the marriage law ran counter to the declared principles of the *Bangabasi*, as it did to a host of other vernacular newspapers in all the provinces. Through their columns, the voices of Pundits and priests of all denominations were broadcast. Those, whom the Government had earlier honoured with the title of *Mahamahopadhyaya* un-animously expressed their disapproval of the Bill.⁵¹ Pandit Sasadhar Tarkachuramani, whom Sir Scoble had expressly named to justify his stand, came out to oppose the provisions of the Bill by stating that the Shastras' injunction to perform *Garbhadhan* on the appearance of the first menstruation was as obligatory as was the prohibition to cohabit before menstruation, and, that the measure was an interference with the religious rites of the Hindus.⁵² In Madras, a meeting of the Kottiyur Vidyananda Sabha passed a resolution protesting against the Bill.⁵³ Even progressive Bombay, which had been in the vanguard of social reform, witnessed a meeting of Brahmins resolving to hold a public meeting against the measure.⁵⁴ The *Dainik O Samachar Chandrika* was echoing the popularly held view as had been testified by the Pundits that "the son of a woman in whose case *Garbhadhan* was not performed has no right to offer *Pindas* to his ancestors, and, every one knows that hundreds of girls menstruate before 12 or so. . . the *Garbhas* of hundreds of girls will be tainted as impious. A girl in her 8th year is *Gauri* herself, in her 9th she is *Robini*, in her 10th she is said to be *Kanya* and after

that she is in her menses. It is because there is no probability of menses occurring in the 8th year, that the 8th-year-marriage is the most approved marriage. . . Then again there is the difference in approach to sexual relations (between the east and the west) — a Hindu not allowing even mentally unchaste wives, as they marry early."⁵⁵

Muslims, being more conservative than the Hindus, felt equally concerned about raising the marriageable age of girls. Though Nawab Ahsanullah Khan Bahadur of Dacca from his seat in the Council declared that the greater portion of the Muslim community regarded the Bill with favour, and that the contemplated legislation in no way interfered with either Muslim religion or custom, the Nawab was severely censured by the Muslims.⁵⁶ It was pointed that the Prophet married his only daughter at the age of nine and she died in her eighteenth year, leaving five children behind her.⁵⁷ The *Ahmadi*, "a well written Muslim paper"⁵⁸ of Calcutta declared that the Bill went against the precepts of Islam because the Prophet had married Ayesha in her sixth year and cohabited with her in the ninth year.⁵⁹ At several places especially in Bengal, Muslims generally belonged to the poorer strata of society and their indigence also impelled them to marry their daughters early so as to be spared of the burden of feeding them and guarding them in youthful years.⁶⁰ *Sudhakar* the most widely circulated Muslim newspaper of Bengal, opposed the Bill and published the names of leading Muslims who too were opposing.⁶¹ The Central National Mohamadan Association, 'one of the most influential public bodies representing the Mohamadians of Bengal,'⁶² strongly protested against the Bill.⁶³ In Punjab, the *Paisa Akhbar* had initially welcomed this reforming measure, but gradually its support appears to have dwindled out as was the case with the *Akhbar-i-Am*.⁶⁴ Several other Muslim newspapers of the Punjab like the

Wazir-i-Hind, the *Aftab-i-Punjab*, the *Kaiser-ul-Akhbar*, the *Fate Khan* vigorously opposed the Bill. The *Anjuman-i-Islam*, Lahore, at a meeting presided over by Sheikh Khuda Bux, a judge of small cause court, extended its full sympathy with the Muhammadans of Madras, who were also protesting against the Bill.⁶⁵ The *Shams-ul-Akhbar* and the *Casim-ul-Akhbar*, two leading Muslim newspapers of the south, expressed their strong disapproval of the Bill.⁶⁶

Assailable as the Bill was on religious, social and administrative grounds, its advocacy by a Government, which held the highest repute for enacting good legislation, raised serious doubts about the bonafides of the Government. Several of these hypotheses contained great potentialities of provoking the people. Nearly all the critics opined that the Proclamation of 1858 wherein the Queen had promised not to interfere with the religions of India had been violated. This was also the main contention of Tilak, who held that the Vedic texts as well as the injunctions of Manu enjoined the conqueror to respect local customs and these precepts had been honoured in the Proclamation which the Bill was violating.⁶⁷ Contemporary events in Manipur, where British highhandedness had brought about that small state's annexation, were taken to corroborate the belief that Englishmen would not let the Proclamation stand in the way of their imperial designs.⁶⁸ Some outspoken military officers' utterances that force constituted the basis of their rule were picked up to demonstrate that the three decades of peaceful rule after 1857 had made the rulers feel strong and confident of their power to go back on their pledge which they had diplomatically made to pacify the enraged people in 1858.⁶⁹ It was widely apprehended that the Age of Consent Bill would be followed by other pieces of social legislation to end purdah or polygamy both of which were distasteful to the British people and stood in the way of the lustful white soldier

or plantation owner.⁷⁰ Several factors lent credulity to the accusation that the Government was a privy to the immorality of the white culprits. Unmindful of strong public feeling, army authorities, on the one hand, kept on procuring prostitutes for the white soldiers, and, on the other, the European magistrate, medical doctor and a servile police acted in collusion as and when a white offender was brought to book for a racial outrage. Government solicitude for delaying marriage was, therefore, taken as a deliberate step to tempt girls for an unchaste life and thus prepare the ground for further legislation to usher in Western pattern of sexual morals so that the whites might feel more comfortable in India.⁷¹ The humanitarian pretensions of the Government to protect child wives were also scoffed at in the press because that very Government was turning a deaf ear to the public outcry for stopping drain of grain to ward off avoidable famines, which were taking a heavy toll of human lives. Some English politicians like Digby had advanced formidable data to prove the indifference of the British Government towards India's growing misery.⁷² Their arguments were used by the critics of the Bill to convey that such a shamelessly callous administration could not be suddenly motivated by philanthropy as a result of an isolated death (Phulmoni's).

The Age of Consent Bill also coincided with the census operations requiring the enumeration of females and of *Choolhas* (units of people who cook their food at one place) in every family. The value of census operations was not realised by most people, and, according to prevailing norms, interrogation by the enumerator on such domestic matters was tantamount to interference in the most private affairs. The Government was, therefore, suspected of prying into the domestic life of people and then play one householder against the other in the same manner as it had done in politics and had engineered the servitude of Indian Princes by delving

into their internal matters.⁷³ Similarly, the questioning of parents about the number of their children was attributed to the rulers' anxiety about the population of the enslaved Indians, whose birth rate was likely to be affected by the Bill. It was alleged that the Government intended to reduce India's millions to such proportions as could be effectively controlled by the available white element.⁷⁴

The accusations and suspicions imputed to the British Government began to yield rich dividends as far as arousing the slumbering masses was concerned. Marriage being the most important social and religious event, the raising of marriageable age affected the largest number of people among whom child marriage had been the general rule. Provisions of the Age of Consent Bill could be better understood and discussed by the man on the street than had been the case with Congress demands like — legislative reforms, simultaneous holding of I.C.S. examinations etc. As a social measure too, this Bill was affecting a greater bulk of the country's population than had been the case with earlier legislation to prohibit Satee or infanticide, practices which were confined to some people in certain parts only. As the timing of a marriage was governed by a number of factors — social, personal, economic, astrological — the age restriction under the Bill further narrowed down the parents' discretion. The unrest brought about by the agitation, thus, became soon widespread, and, in the same proportion it grew politically portentous. Public resentment began to be expressed through mass meetings which in their turn generated a common will against foreign domination in various parts of the country.

Bengal being in the vanguard of agitation, the Maidan meeting at Calcutta held on February 25, 1891 was unprecedented in the memory of living people.⁷⁵ Nearly, 200,000 Indians — "Hindus, Mussalmans, Bengalis,

North-western men, Marwaris, Marathas, Punjabees assembled at two day's notice"⁷⁶ (the permission to hold the meeting being delayed by the authorities). "The whole space from the Esplanade to the Race Course was one sea of heads. At dusk, the assembly moved towards Government House—and surrounded with cries of appeal to Her Majesty for the withdrawal of the Bill. The terraces of the buildings on the Esplanade were thronged with European ladies and gentlemen to witness the spectacle."⁷⁷ The animation of the people was surprising.⁷⁸ In Lahore, heated controversies took place daily outside the Lahori gate and a Bengali newspaper even sent a correspondent to cover such assemblies.⁷⁹ On February 1, 1891, there was a mammoth meeting at Lahore, the like of which had never been seen by people up to that time. It was resolved that the Age of Consent Bill materially interfered with the social and religious life of the country.⁸⁰ In Bombay, the Madhav Bagh meeting on February 8, 1891 was so thickly attended that even the reformers conceded its huge gathering.⁸¹ At Poona also there was large public meetings addressed among others by Tilak also.⁸² Towns in the mofussil emulated the metropolitan cities in organising protest meetings.

The general upsurge and awakening as a result of agitation was so evident that it surprised even the orthodox *Bangabasi*. This Calcutta weekly observed, "Whoever thought that a dead body would rise up again. Whoever thought that a dead body will not only stand on its legs, but move about quickly. Whoever thought that millions of corpses would again become instinct with life! Whence could the potent charm that recalled them to life have come?"⁸³ At the other end, the editor of the *Tribune* (Lahore) in a leader article noted that a new wave of excitement was sweeping all over the country. Adding a personal touch he wrote, "We say so from observing that people here who have

never taken any part before in public meetings, whom nobody could have imagined that they could ever shake off their indifferentism, have come out of their retirement and are organising public meetings. The Punjabee has taken off his coat and tucked up his sleeves and is 'at it.' Some friends of the Bill say that the opposition is solely confined to Bengal. We cannot see how they have the hardihood to say so. The British Indian Association of Lucknow has passed a resolution condemning the Bill. Is this an association of the Bengalis? Mass meetings have been held at places so far apart as Ajmer, Nagpur and Bombay. What is remarkable is the spontaneity of the movement. There is no wire-pulling, no arrangement beforehand, still there is no hitch."⁸⁴ From Madras, the *Swadeshmitram*, an organ of reformers, also confessed that the convulsion was widespread throughout the country.⁸⁵ The *Morning Post* of Allahabad which was among the few Anglo-Indian newspapers that were comparatively sympathetic to Indians, wrote an article entitled, 'Is another Mutiny Imminent?'⁸⁶

In bringing about this state of unrest, the press had played a leading role. For the first time in India, the potentiality of the fourth estate challenging the fundamentals of British rule was evident to the discerning administrators. For the Englishmen, liberty of the press was an article of faith but it had defied the ingenuity of their statesmen to evolve a pattern which might reconcile an autocratic rule with a free press. It was painfully realised in the ruling circles that the press had made serious inroads into people's loyalty in the wake of the agitation. The situation had changed for the worse even in the N.W.P. (now U.P.) which was regarded as politically contented, and, where such enthusiastic admirers of British rule as Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Oudh Taluqdars held their seats. The Lieut-Governor of N.W.P., Sir Auckland Colvin, invited the

attention of the "Government of India to the tone of the native press in his provinces and observed that "scarcely any issue of any newspaper appeared in which the acts of the Government, be it the Government of India or the Local Government, were not misrepresented and held up to contempt and hatred."⁸⁷ These newspapers were addressing the most bitter invective and insult to authorities of every grade and were "holding up the British administration in India as detestable and its agents as contemptible."⁸⁸ The Lieut-Governor was prepared to put up with their hostility as long as they carried out the functions of the 'safety valve' but that stage had been over-reached. Most of the newspapers did not "by any means give an outlet for venom and ill will, so much as instill venom and ill will (and that diligently) into those large masses of the community who were hitherto on the whole contented."⁸⁹ The inadequacy of the law to effectively check seditious writings was pointed out in several quarters and the Government closely examined the case for a new press law.⁹⁰ However, for a number of reasons it was decided to meet the situation with the help of the existing law as contained in the Indian Penal Code, and to select for prosecution the *Bangabasi* so as to teach a lesson to the entire vernacular press.⁹¹ The articles to which exception was taken were: 1. The Revealed Form of the English Raj. 2. Our Condition. 3. The Chief and the Firm Conviction of an Uncivilised Hindu; all of which had appeared in the *Bangabasi*.⁹² But, contrary to the expectations of the Government, the prosecution only added to the prevailing excitement and fanned the flames of disaffection to British rule. As warrants of arrest were issued against the proprietor, editor, printer and manager of the *Bangabasi*, the news spread at the 'ghat and haat'⁹³ in Bengal. The trial was attributed to Government's desire of muzzling people's voice which the vernacular press was articulating. A Native Press Defence Association

was formed and funds were raised to help the *Bangabasi*.⁹⁴ Several newspapers which differed with the *Bangabasi* on many political issues made common cause with it at the time of its prosecution.⁹⁵ Since such a serious charge as sedition was being levelled against a newspaper for the first time, the trial was invested with an additional importance, and, even the *Pioneer*, the 'watch dog of British Imperialism', gave extensive coverage to the prosecution.

• Public discussion of the *Bangabasi* prosecution also led to a spate of conjectures and inferences about the British rule. At a time when Russophobia was afflicting the English, the usual form of expressing loyalty by the Indians was to contrast Russian oppression with the liberty prevailing under the British rule. Leaders of the Congress were never chary of priding themselves for their country's association with a democratic nation like England. The *Bangabasi* trial, however, demonstrated that the much vaunted freedom of expression remained a delusion. Even though Ripon had repealed the Vernacular Press Act, Indians could speak only as much and as long as it suited the rulers.⁹⁶ In some quarters, the prosecution of the Bengali Baboos at a printing press made people wonder as to how the British empire, unless it was revengeful or intolerant, could feel shaken by the quill drivers, and, prefer such charges as sedition which could only become a prince or a soldier.⁹⁷

In the history of Indian journalism, the *Bangabasi* trial carries considerable significance; for it prepared the ground for fearless writings which were heralded by Tilak whose trial lay only six years ahead. The prosecution against the *Bangabasi* was dropped on an application by the accused pleading contrition, promising to conduct the newspaper in a spirit of loyalty to Her Majesty and throwing themselves unreservedly on the mercy of the Lieutenant-Governor.

nor (of Bengal).⁹⁸ But the explanation of the apology as given in the columns of the *Bangabasi* clarified that expediency alone rather than penitence or a change of heart had determined its course of action. As the *Bangabasi* put it, "the court is of the Government and the law too is of the Government."⁹⁹ Thus it would not have been prudent for a newspaper to fight out the case in a situation which was of the making of the accuser and where only defeat lay in store for the subject race. Replying to the charge of the *Indian Mirror* that the settlement was a humiliation for the whole body of the vernacular press, the *Bangabasi* wrote, "It is no humiliation to a Bengali to have to express humility before a Government on the ground that he is unable to quarrel with it... how can there be fresh humiliation before a Government to which the people already live in extreme subjection.... The native newspapers are like so many beggar's wallets into which are thrown all sorts of rice that charity may dole out. We possess no right to conduct newspapers or to discuss and criticise the actions of the Government. We can only speak if the Government does us the favour to permit us to speak, and we can speak only so much as we are permitted to speak... we think newspapers in this country have no head, and, there can, therefore, be no lowering of their head."¹⁰⁰ Apology, in its opinion, was necessitated not because the articles contained some untruth or perversion of facts but because the newspaper unwittingly overstepped the limits as framed, understood and implemented by the alien and autocratic rulers. This stand was also in consonance with the *Bangabasi's* oft-declared view that "all talk of morality, law and reason by Indians was meaningless as long as they were weak, disunited and dependent on British favours. Who are we that we should talk of politics? We should bear in mind that it is by the favour of Englishmen that we are allowed to live here and not because it is the land of our forefathers."¹⁰¹ The apology,

therefore, highlighted the inherent humiliation which subjection to alien rule implied. The will to fight was there but it had to be a game of wait till an organisational base and effective leadership could take up the gauntlet. In his trials Tilak carried the *Bangabasi* tradition to its logical conclusion. At the first trial in 1897-98, Tilak pleaded not guilty; but he did not make any statement and leaving the defence entirely in the hands of his lawyers, watched the proceedings silently. It was at his 1908 trial, that Tilak handled the case himself and his statements reverberated throughout the country. The era of patriot journalists, who put picric acid into their ink, owes much to the *Bangabasi*. C. S. Bayley, who had a long experience of India as Superintendent of the Thagi and Dakaiti Departments, rightly observed from his seat in the India Office that the *Bangabasi* prosecution was "unfortunate and productive of ill result."¹⁰²

The agitation, in which various and diverse forces joined, ran independently of the political organisations. It, therefore, created serious dents in the existing political alignments, especially in the ranks of the Congress. The isolation of the reformers from the general public exposed their pretensions of leadership. Many of the earlier advocates of the Bill either suffered silence or accepted defeat. Tilak's newspaper, the *Mahratta* indicting the reformers wrote, "The wounds that the *Sudharaks* have inflicted cannot be healed. Let them form themselves into a separate nationality."¹⁰³ Their solicitude about protecting the health of Nation by raising the marriageable age earned them the rebuff that their outlook was grossly materialistic and unacceptable to the average Indian who would risk his health and comfort to undertake fasts and penances in deference to his religious duties.¹⁰⁴ Advocates of the Bill were declared *Kulangars* or the curse of the family.¹⁰⁵ The very expression *Sudharak* came under a cloud and began to be used in

a derogatory sense. The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, most widely circulated Anglo-Gujarati weekly, which had all along supported the Bill, lamented that "men of great intelligence and learning, of position and influence, even of philanthropy should be so hopelessly led away by the questionable authority of the Shashtras and refuse to be guided by the dictates of reason."¹⁰⁶ B. M. Malabari's the *Indian Spectator* and M. G. Ranade's the *Indu Prakash* regretted that their efforts to modernise India had been of little avail and that "the agitation will stultify us in the eyes of our political friends in England."¹⁰⁷ Imperial interests felt glad at this rift in the camp of nationalists and the Viceroy in a confidential communication to the Political Secretary of the India Office was delighted to observe that "Hume and his tent stood isolated from the ultra-Hindu section in the Congress" and that "W. C. Bonnerjea and Monomohan Ghosh would have none of Hume and his circular"¹⁰⁸ (to support the Age of Consent Bill).

At this stretch of time, the whole agitation against such an innocuous measure as to raise the age of girl's marriage from 10 to 12 years, appears ridiculous. In spite of prevailing conservatism and orthodoxy, the Age of Consent Bill was only a logical sequence to the earlier act of 1860 which without much ado had prohibited the marriages of girls under 10 years. The agitation of 1891 demonstrated that much water had flown down Indian rivers during the three decades following the 'Mutiny'. The revivalist movements had kindled a new sense of pride. The growth of education and press together with the development of communication had provided new artifacts to a resurgent nation. As a result of agitation the future course of both the ruler and the ruled acquired a new direction. The Government divested itself of the social reform and consequently got detached from the main stream of Indian life. It was so much frightened of initiating marriage legis-

lation that in spite of yeomen's service rendered by social conferences and caste organisations in creating public opinion against child marriage, the Government never introduced any other such bill. It was a private member, Mr Sharda, who sponsored in 1927 another bill which to this day is known after him.¹⁰⁹ The Government on its part played for the postponement of the measure and even earned the reprobation of having "made a deal with orthodoxy."¹¹⁰ As far as people were concerned, the agitation carried discontent to the grass roots of Indian society and brought about the involvement of the people in ousting alien rulers. Conditions were created for a new leadership which placed its moorings in religion not only to win popular support but also to provide a moral pedestal to freedom struggle. It is significant that most of the secret societies were avowedly non-secular; the motto of the most important of its class — the Calcutta Secret Society being "Liberation of the motherland through religion."¹¹¹ It is not a mere co-incidence that the two top most revolutionaries — Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Bhupendra Nath Dutta — were brothers of Aurobindo and Vivekananda respectively; similarly, the new pillars of the Congress — Lal, Bal, Pal, were as distinguished in political as in social and religious spheres. Under their leadership, the Congress headed for a larger association of people, a bolder reiteration of national aspirations and a greater toll of toil and tears. The press as a powerful instrument of propaganda kept pace with the increased tempo of national struggle and underwent the tribulations which were in store for the fighters of freedom.

Nevertheless, the infusion of religious prejudices into political struggle was not without baneful effects. Based on opportunism rather than on any deliberate policy, it tended to sanctify those very practices which were also drawing the dividing lines between different religions. No doubt this involvement of the

people made matters hot for the British, but at the same time people learnt to look at issues from a parochial and narrower angle of their religion or community; and thereby the evolution of a harmonious Indian nationhood was hindered. This was also utilised by the colonial authorities in the advancement of their age-old policy of 'Divide and Rule' which they were able to pursue with greater success. The patriot's cry for unity and amity

often fell on deaf ears during periods of communal tension. It is significant that Hindu-Muslim riots occasioned by 'music before the mosque' and cow slaughter, increased in frequency and extent in the period following the Age of Consent Bill. The Bombay riots of 1892 served as a prelude for many others in different parts of the country, and in Bengal cow killing quarrels first reared their head in 1896.¹¹²

REFERENCES

1. The Bill sought to raise the marriageable age of girls from 10 to 12 years.
2. The controversy about the inclusion of social reform in the Congress programme was so keen during the first two years of the Congress, that Dadabhai Naoroji in his Presidential speech at the 1886 Congress session had to explain it at length, saying, 'Certainly no member of the Indian National Congress is more alive to the necessity of social reform than I am; but, gentlemen, for everything there are proper circumstances, proper parties and proper places. We are met together as a political body to represent to our rulers our political aspirations and not to discuss social reform; and, if you blame us for ignoring these you should blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of Mathematics or Metaphysics'. (*Report of the Second Indian National Congress* page 52).
3. Lord Lansdowne in a minute dated December 28, 1893 expressed grave concern over the Cow Protection Movement and observed, "I doubt whether since the mutiny any movement containing in it a greater amount of potential mischief has engaged the attention of the Government of India. The magnitude of the danger arises from this that the agitation has supplied the whole of the disloyal elements to be found in the Indian community with a popular backing which they could not have obtained from any other source—In India, the unrest and discontent which have found expression in the Congress movement and in other political combinations, I am afraid, will become infinitely more dangerous now that a common ground upon which the educated Hindus and the ignorant masses can combine their forces". (*Lansdowne Papers* Microfilm at the National Archives of India hereafter called Lansdowne Papers)
4. *Pioneer* (Allahabad) Jan. 2, 1888.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. *Phoenix* (Karachi) June 25, 1890 reported such an incident and observed, "If the girl was really 11 years old, the husband could not be accused of rape. Will it then be held that the husband had the right to kill his child-wife in the attempt to consummate the marriage? For the sake of humanity some protection ought to be extended to Indian girls and the age raised as has been repeatedly suggested." (*Reports on Native Newspapers* available at the National Archives of India—hereafter called the R.N.N. Bombay 1890)
9. Letter dated July 4, 1890 from Lord Reay to Lord Lansdowne; Lansdowne Papers.
10. Ibid. also *Rast Goftar* (Bombay) Aug. 24, 1890 R.N.N. Bombay, 1890).
11. Letter dated July 11, 1890 and dated Aug. 25, 1890 to Lord Reay from Lord Lansdowne and A. Scoble respectively. (Lansdowne Papers)
12. *Tribune* (Lahore) Jan. 14, 1891.
13. Ibid.
14. *Tribune* Jan. 17, 1891.
15. R.N.N. Bombay 1890, week ending October 24.
16. *Tribune* Jan. 21, 1891. One Mrs. Costling was the Hony. Secretary of the Committee and in her published letter pleaded for the age being asked to 14 years.
17. Minutes dated Sept. 15, 1890 (Lansdowne Papers).
18. Letter dated May 3, 1890 to Lord Salisbury (Lansdowne Papers).
19. *Indian Spectator* (Bombay) July 13, 1890 (R.N.N. Bombay 1890).
20. Letter date missing (Lansdowne papers).
21. *Tribune* Jan. 21, 1891.
22. Ibid.
23. Letter dated Feb. 29, 1891 to Lord Lansdowne (Lansdowne Papers).
24. Letter dated Jan. 15, 1891 from Sir Courtenay Ilbert to Lord Lansdowne. The observation was made about B. M. Malabari. Sir Courtenay Ilbert was at the time Parliamentary Counsel in U.K. (Lansdowne Papers)
25. *Tribune* Jan. 17, 1891.
26. *Rast Goftar* (Bombay) Aug. 24, 1890 (R.N.N. Bombay 1890).
27. *Bangabasi* (Calcutta) May 16, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
28. A. R. Mullick: Historical writings in Bengali. Article in the *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* London 1962, p. 449.
29. *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) Feb. 14, 1887 (R.N.N. Bengal 1887).
30. *Mabratta* (Poona) Nov. 30, 1890 (R.N.N. Bombay 1890).
31. *Mabratta* Jan. 11, 1891 (R.N.N. Bombay 1891).
32. e.g. the article of Mr. Lionel Ashburner of Bengal Civil Service aroused bitter comments, since Indian

- widows were described as 'chartered libertine' who 'declined to be reformed by philanthropic legislation and thus relinquish the Bohemian freedom of an amateur member of the 'DEMI MODE' (R.N.N. Punjab, Bengal, Bombay. Dec. 1890)
33. *Tribune* Feb. 4, 1891.
 34. *Durbin* (Lahore) Sept. 20, 1891 (R.N.N. Punjab 1891).
 35. *Bangabasi* (Calcutta) Feb. 6, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 36. Ibid.
 37. *Bangabasi* May 16, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 38. *Bangabasi* March 28, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 39. *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore) Feb. 6, 1891 (R.N.N. Punjab 1891).
 40. *Tribune* Feb. 4, 1891.
 41. Ibid.
 42. *Dnan Prakash* (Bombay) Dec. 6, 1890 (R.N.N. Bombay 1890).
 43. Ladies abhorred at the idea that any part of their body—even for feeling the pulse—should be touched by the physician. Travelling on trains was considered sinful since it involved contact with some untouchable. The demand for earmarking separate compartments for sweepers was generally voiced. (e.g. *Akhbar-i-Am* March 25, 1891; *Aftab-i-Punjab* March 11, 1891 (R.N.N. Punjab 1891).
 44. *Fate Khan* (Lahore) April 29, 1891 (R.N.N. Punjab 1891).
 45. Even the *Pioneer* which was regarded as an unofficial spokesman of the Government published a leader article on March 3, 1888 castigating the lower rungs of the police for corruption, third degree methods and unscrupulousness.
 46. Ibid.
 47. *Sudhakar* (Calcutta) Feb. 13, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 48. *Dnan Prakash* (Bombay) Dec. 27, 1891 (R.N.N. Bombay 1891).
 49. For a detailed discussion see Prem Narain: *Press and Politics in India* Delhi 1970 Chapter VII.
 50. Prem Narain: *The Bangabasi and India's Freedom Struggle* [The *Vishwa Bharati* (Hindi) July-Sept. 1968].
 51. *Bangabasi* Jan. 17, 1891 published the views of no less than 11 Mahamahopadhyayas. (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 52. *Tribune* Jan. 21, 1891.
 53. *Swadeshmitram* (Madras) March 13, 1891 (R.N.N. Madras 1891).
 54. *Gujarati Durpan* (Surat) Jan. 24, 1891 (R.N.N. Bombay 1891).
 55. *Dainik O Samachar Chandrika* (Calcutta) Jan. 11, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 56. Letter from a Muslim Correspondent of the *Indian Mirror* (Calcutta). Referred to by *Tribune* Feb. 14, 1891.
 57. Ibid.
 58. The remark was made by the Translator of the Vernacular Press (Home Public, October 1891 No. J-D; June 13, 1891).
 59. *Abmadi* Feb. 12, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 60. Ibid.
 61. *Sudhakar* Feb. 13, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 62. The observation was made in the *Bengalee* (Calcutta) in its issue of Dec. 25, 1886. The *Bengalee* was edited by Surendra Nath Banerjee. (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 63. *Sudhakar* Feb. 13, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 64. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) was the most widely-circulated Urdu daily of the country. It was edited by a Hindu.
 65. *Tribune* Feb. 14, 1891.
 66. *Shams-ul-Akhbar* (Madras) May 18, 1891; *Casim-ul-Akhbar* (Bangalore) March 9, 1891 (R.N.N. Madras 1891).
 67. Tilak's letter published in the *Native Opinion* (Bombay) reproduced in the *Tribune* Jan. 29, 1891.
 68. The King and the Senapati of Manipur were deposed, tried and exiled. The Indian press was bitterly critical of British dealing in Manipur.
 69. *Dainik O Samachar Chandrika*. March 30, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 70. Molestation of female coolies on indigo and tea plantations was very frequent. Similarly, Indians suffered insults and indignities at the hands of arrogant white soldiers.
 71. *Dacca Prakash* (Dacca) Jan. 6, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 72. Dieby was a liberal M.P. whose books and speeches on Indian matters contained a mine of information which was extensively used in the Indian press.
 73. *Fate Khan* Feb. 18, 1891 (R.N.N. Punjab 1891).
 74. *Casim-ul-Akhbar* Feb. 26, 1891 (R.N.N. Madras 1891).
 75. R.N.N. Bengal 1891; Week ending March 6, 1891.
 76. *Sudhakar* Feb. 27, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 77. Ibid.
 78. R.N.N. Bengal 1891; Week ending March 6, 1891.
 79. *Khair Khawab-i-Kashmir* March 1, 1891 (R.N.N. Bengal 1891).
 80. *Tribune* Feb. 4, 1891.
 81. R.N.N. Bombay 1891; Week ending Feb. 21.
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GANDHI AND JINNAH

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Gandhi and Jinnah dominated the Indian political scene during the first half of the twentieth century. Both provided a turning point in the history of India's national movement. Gone were the days when their predecessors used to talk in terms of Lord Morley and Montagu, and had developed the habit of looking up to the British rulers for either increasing association with the government or for grant of provincial autonomy or for attainment of dominion status. Gandhi and Jinnah suffered such a complete disillusionment at the hands of the British that they recognised that India's freedom, in whatever shape, must come by the efforts of Indians themselves, and that power should have to be wrested from alien hands. In their mental make up the two leaders were fundamentally different, but both were equally shrewd. Gandhiji's non-violent approach to everything had made him realise that a union of heart cannot be achieved by force. Mr Jinnah knew that religious sentiments or communal emotions do not by themselves provide a permanent foundation for a sound social structure and that 'negativity' cannot be a permanent attitude in politics. That gradual realisation had made Jinnah more considerate to Gandhiji's conception of India that "no limb of the body politic can be ignored; if the finger is cut the whole body will react to it". At the same time he made Gandhiji realise that "the Indian states are part of the Indian polity". Both leaders owed responsibility to the country as a whole. As pilgrims in the quest of Indian freedom, Gandhiji offered to meet Jinnah in 1944 and

Jinnah said, in turn, "bury the past" and "if we part without reaching an agreement, we shall proclaim bankruptcy of wisdom on our part".

The force of circumstances had, no doubt, led both Gandhi and Jinnah to come to some understanding but there was no room for co-existence between them as their temperament and ideologies were poles apart. Gandhiji had learnt by experience that the masses are the ultimate source of power. To appeal to the passions and emotions of the masses he secured for himself the status of a religious-political leader. The Indian National Congress was founded on Western ideology and British liberalism was the Bible of the previous Congress politicians. Naturally the Indian masses were out of touch with Indian politics or with the Indian National Congress. Gandhiji was determined to Indianise the Indian politics. For this he fully deserves the admiration of every Indian. He associated whole-heartedly with the masses, their lives, problems, sentiments and aspirations. In this respect his mode of living and his loin-cloth had a definite purpose. In talking to the people he scrupulously avoided any reference to Western ideas or ideology but talked on the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Upanishad and on Rama Rajya. He deliberately merged his personality with the common people. With the result that the common people felt that here was a leader who was of the same clay and who spoke to them in their own language. It had strengthened his

position and at the same time created a mass consciousness as had never been witnessed before.

But Jinnah was a man of different temperament. He was nurtured in and imbued with the progressive and liberal ideas of British politics. Naturally, by temperament, he did not fit in at all with the new Congress which had become more a mass organisation. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "he felt completely out of his element in the khadi clad crowd demanding speeches in Hindustani. The enthusiasm of the people outside struck him as mob-hysteria"¹. He had no sympathy with the Gandhian ideology which, in his opinion, "struck the imagination mostly of the inexperienced youth and the ignorant and illiterate"². He considered it a catastrophe for India that Congress should adopt Gandhian programme in preference to those of the old masters of the Congress. True to his temperament he, in his letter to Gandhiji on January 21, 1940, suggested: "Events are moving fast, a campaign of polemics or your weekly discourse in the Harijan on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics or your peculiar doctrine regarding Khaddar, Ahimsa and spinning are not going to win *India's Freedom*. Actions and statesmanship alone will help us in our forward march"³.

It was not only the difference of temperament but the ideological clash in the main that had kept Gandhi and Jinnah uncompromising. The basic point of difference between them was the "Two-Nation Theory". It was the basic conviction of Jinnah: "India is not a nation nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations"⁴. He considered Muslims as a nation with their "distinctive culture and civilisation, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and tradition, aptitude

and ambition... outlook on life and of life"⁵.

Gandhiji regarded the two-nation theory as both "alarming" and "dangerous". He was not ready to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. He did not find any "parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock". He believed that "if India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children". He denied that Muslims are a separate nation only by reason of acceptance of Islam. And if it is so, he argued, "Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Mahashtrians, Gujratis etc. (who possess as distinct characteristics of their own as Jinnah pointed out for Muslims), cease to have their special characteristics if all of them become converts"⁶. He expressed grave fear: "Once the principle is admitted, there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions, which would spell India's ruin"⁷. How prophetic was Gandhi's suspicion.

This conflict of ideology led both Gandhi and Jinnah to differ on almost every issue, be it the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement, or the right of self-determination or the nature of independence. On Hindu-Muslim question, Gandhiji proceeded with the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more but as one family and therefore this settlement may be postponed unless independence is achieved by "joint action of all the parties and groups composing India"⁸. To Jinnah it was 'to put the cart before the horse'. "In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the people of India", he believed, "it is essential, in the first instance that there should be a Hindu-Muslim settlement"⁹.

So is the case with the right of self-determination. Gandhiji, as the champion of one nation theory, regarded this right as a territorial unit and therefore emphasised that the wishes of all the inhabitants of the area demarcated should be ascertained. Whereas Jinnah as an advocate of the two-nation theory claimed the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit and insisted that Muslims as a nation were alone entitled to exercise such right¹⁰.

The same conflict manifests itself in determining the nature of independence. Gandhiji proposed that the areas such as Baluchistan, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and some parts of Punjab, Bengal and Assam where Muslims were in absolute majority should be allowed to constitute a separate state after ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated through the vote of the adult population. But this sovereignty for the predominantly Muslim area must be accompanied by a common policy on foreign affairs, defence, communications, etc. as they were vital for the welfare of both parts of India¹¹.

Quite contrary to some sort of federal structure which Gandhiji proposed, Jinnah declared: "Ours is the case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing nation which is *non est* in India"¹². The position taken by Jinnah was that the Muslims of India must be granted the status of a separate nation and they will not in their existence as a separate nation have any administrative relations with their neighbours.

Jinnah refused to accept the terms of either Rajaji's formula or Gandhiji's own scheme of independence on the following grounds. First, the interim government, to which finally full powers and responsibility for the

government of India would be transferred, would consist of an overwhelming majority of Hindus in the legislature which would not be less than 75 per cent. Second, Gandhiji, by absolute majority, meant where the Muslim population was 75 per cent such as in Sind, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier, whereas majority generally should mean simple majority of the members of a body including those voting and those not voting. Third, even if these terms were accepted the separation was subject to further conditions: the matter could only be considered after the termination of the war and the transfer of full power and responsibility for government of India to a National Government and it would be then that this National Government would set up a commission for demarcating contiguous districts. Fourth, it clearly shows that Gandhiji did not accept that Pakistan should be composed of two zones, North West and North East but instead proposed demarcation district-wise. Fifth, if these areas desired separation, they must submit to go through a promiscuous plebiscite and if the verdict was in favour of Muslims, even then all matters of vital importance which were the life blood of a state such as foreign affairs, defence, internal communication, customs, commerce and the like would remain vested and continue to be administered by a central authority. Thus Jinnah rejected the scheme of independence because Gandhiji's terms were in vital conflict with and opposed to the fundamental basis and principles of the Lahore resolution¹³.

Gandhiji insisted that he had already accepted the substance of the Lahore resolution but could not accept the Lahore resolution itself on the following grounds. First, it contained the two-nation theory and recognised Muslim majority provinces as completely independent and wanted a complete secession from the rest of India even without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants by a plebiscite¹⁴. Second, Jinnah demanded the whole

of Punjab, Bengal and Assam besides Baluchistan, Sind and the North West Frontier Provinces, notwithstanding the fact that no less than twelve districts of Punjab and fifteen in Bengal had a majority of non-Muslims and in Assam, out of fourteen districts only one, Sylhet, had a Muslim majority. But Jinnah insisted including all the six provinces as they stood, in spite of the fact that even the Lahore resolution did not want areas holding non-Muslim majorities to be made part of the contemplated new state¹⁵. Third, Jinnah emphasised that only Muslims were concerned in this question of separation and that no plebiscite was necessary because the Muslim League had made the demand. "How can I agree in a personal or any other capacity", said Gandhiji, "to decide the future of millions of people without their having anything to say about their destiny?"¹⁶ Naturally Gandhiji made it clear to Jinnah: "I cannot accept the Lahore Resolution as you want me to, specially when you seek to introduce into its interpretation theories and claims which I cannot accept and which I can never hope to induce India to accept"¹⁷.

The whole tenor of correspondence shows that Jinnah had confined the scope of discussion to the Lahore Resolution alone. Naturally Gandhiji wanted to seek clarification which he deemed necessary but which Jinnah dismissed with the laconic formula "this does not arise". For example, Gandhiji wanted to know whether the independent states making up Pakistan will be "materially or otherwise benefited by being split up into fragments" or whether they would "not be a collection of poor states, a menace to themselves and to the rest of India?" What is to happen to the Muslims in the Indian states? Whether the people in the regions falling under the plan were to have any voice in the matter of separation and if so, how was it to be obtained? What provisions were to be made for defence or other matters of common concern? How the independence of India as a

whole could be brought about by the acceptance of the Lahore Resolution? These points might or might not arise from the clarification of the Lahore Resolution, but they were vital to the welfare of the people in the regions to be separated as well as to the rest. To all such questions Jinnah evaded any straight reply by saying: "This does not arise by way of clarification".

This evasion shows that Jinnah's claim for separation of Muslim majority areas served only as a basis of controversy and a slogan for propaganda, otherwise he had himself realised that it might or might not be really for the good of the inhabitants of those regions. His final letter to Gandhiji almost suggested that he was aware of the fact that he could not find much support for his attitude even in his own organisation.¹⁸ That is why on the one hand he was unwilling to submit to the test of an appeal to the people inhabiting the area and on the other, making an impossible claim that other areas with their predominantly non-Muslim population should also be added thereto.

Thus, Gandhi and Jinnah though accepting partition differed on the nature of separation. Gandhiji wanted partition according to the wishes of the inhabitants of the area and within the common framework of the Indian Union, whereas Jinnah wanted partition with the right of self-determination of Muslims alone and by carving India into two separate independent states. Any scheme of partition apart from the implication of the two-nation theory was acceptable to Gandhiji. And any such scheme with an assurance to safeguard Muslims against Hindu domination was acceptable to Jinnah. But Jinnah insisted on the two-nation theory which Gandhiji rejected. And Gandhiji presented the Rajaji formula and his own scheme of independence in which Jinnah suspected Hindu domination, real or imaginary, and therefore refused to agree. Gandhiji failed to get

Jinnah free from the dead weight of Hindu domination. Jinnah failed to convince Gandhiji that Hindu-Muslim settlement was possible only by accepting two separate, sovereign, independent states. Jinnah believed that if the Gandhian terms were given effect to, "the present boundaries of those provinces would be 'maimed' and 'mutilated' beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk"¹⁹. While Gandhiji considered that if Jinnah's theory was accepted, it would mean destroying the very conception of Indian nation. It was this difference of opinion to which Gandhiji had referred: "an ocean separates me and Mr. Jinnah in outlook".

The difference of temperament, attitude, approach and ideology had led Gandhiji and Jinnah to adopt the political style of their own. One appeared on the Indian political scene as a social reformer, while the other as a politician. Gandhiji was, no doubt, a political leader but soon realised the inter-connection of different aspects of life—social, political, economic, legal and ethical. As life is one and absolute, he thought that for making people ready for a political struggle, it was essential to remove social evils which had crept into the Indian social fibre and had degraded it from its ideal form. His untiring crusade against untouchability, inferiority of Harijans, Sati-pratha, child marriage, institution of Dev-Dasis etc. was for the restoration of the Indian society to its old elasticity and glory. The South-African and the British governments, the Indian mill-owners, the Hindu priests and the Indian princes were the objects of Gandhi's attack. The underlying spirit behind such criticism was to safeguard the interests of millions who were victims of poverty not due to pitiless vagaries of nature but to the inhuman system which he was determined to destroy at any cost. That is why so long as there remained a class of down-trodden, Harijans and untouchables, Gandhi belonged to it. He asserted that freedom can be obtained

neither by an earnest request nor by revolutionary violence but through self-purification, non-violence, simplicity, truth and purity of means. He took hold of ordinary men and women and organised an unarmed revolt against British rule. And in doing so, he saved the country from anarchy and terrorism. Today an awakening of a new spirit, a preparedness for a new kind of national corporate life, a new social attitude in dealing with the depressed, largely owe their existence to the spiritual energy, social conviction and dynamics of Gandhi's movement.

But Jinnah was a different political stylist. He belonged to that category of national leaders who, unlike Gandhi, failed to undertake a reappraisal of his own society, but had achieved a mastery of the ideas and the tools, the institutions and the outlooks of the British government which was ruling over India. Keeping this difference of political style in mind, it is understandable that whereas Gandhi was concerned with the "purpose" of politics, Jinnah was concerned with the "mechanics" of politics; whereas Gandhi was interested in "what should be", which is the quality of a reformer, Jinnah was interested in "what would be", which is the quality of a diplomat.

Both these qualities are required in the life of a nation, struggling for independence. Its leader must be a mass leader, on the one hand, and a diplomat, on the other. One quality is required to rouse the national sentiments, the other is necessary to enter into delicate negotiations. It was the ill-fate of this country that both these qualities were mutually lacking in Gandhi and Jinnah. Jinnah was certainly not a mass leader of that stature as Gandhi was. But he succeeded at the diplomatic level. The Simla Conference of 1945, for example, was definitely a diplomatic victory for Jinnah.

Gandhi had, no doubt, identified himself with the masses and had become the cause

of mass movement, but he was a man of fixed notions which is not the quality of a diplomat. The successive incidents in his political career such as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, the Second Round Table Conference shortly after, the Poona Pact with Dr. Ambedkar, and the protracted dialogues with Jinnah in 1944 proved that he was a poor negotiator. This weakness of Gandhiji was noticed by Gokhale in his short contact with him after his return from South Africa. Gokhale said to Jayakar a few days before his death: "There is something in him (Gandhi) which at once enchains the attention of the poor man and he establishes with a rapidity which is his own, an affinity with the lowly and the distressed... But be careful that India does not trust him on occasions where delicate negotiations have to be carried on with care and caution and where restriction and tact will make for success, acting on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread"²⁰. How prophetic were Gokhale's words!

Strange were the views of Gandhi and Jinnah. On the one hand we find Gandhi constantly preaching Ahimsa and non-violence but at the same time busy in recruiting soldiers during the First World War. He kept himself aloof from the activities of Jinnah in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together but actively sponsored the Khilafat Movement with which neither he nor India had any direct concern. On the one hand he proclaimed that "where there is an obvious Muslim majority, they should have the fullest right to constitute themselves into a separate state" and on the other hand, he pointed out that "if it means utterly independent sovereignty so that there is nothing in common between the two, I hold that it is an impossible proposition". The legal mind of Jinnah failed to understand what type of separate state Gandhiji then conceded to the obvious Muslim majority and how a state devoid of sovereignty could be a "separate

state" in the true sense of the term. On the one hand Gandhiji wanted League-Congress agreement but on the other hand he never failed to mention that there were other Muslim organisations which did not see eye to eye with the League, thereby denying the League's sole representative character and authority to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India.

Jinnah was also full of inconsistencies and contradictions. He, on the one hand, complained that Rajaji formula was almost a dictation as we were not expected to change or amend anything. But, on the other hand, he wanted Gandhiji to accept the Lahore Resolution without any reservation or even clarifications. Did it not amount to dictation? Moreover, on the one hand he preached for Hindu-Muslim unity and on the other hand suggested partition as the real solution. On the one hand he concerned himself with Hindu-Muslim settlement but, on the other hand, he never failed to spell out the special safeguards for Muslims even in the most conciliatory speeches notwithstanding the fact that such emphasis would render the entire sincerity for Hindu-Muslim unity doubtful. Even if he wanted special safeguards against what he called "Hindu domination", why was it for Muslims alone; why not for the Sikhs, Parsis and Christians or on regional basis for Bengalis or Tamilians?

It was, in fact, Jinnah's narrow-mindedness that though he was all for a completely independent "homeland of the Indian Muslims", he did not have a soft corner in his heart for others who demanded wholesale separation. E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, the "Periyar" of Madras, had requested Jinnah to plead and support the cause of Dravistan but he summarily declined the offer. He wrote to "Periyar": "if the people of your province really desire 'Dravistan' then it is for them to assert themselves. Certainly I cannot speak on your behalf. I can speak of Muslim

India"²¹. Had he not declined the offer and preferred to represent all religious and linguistic and regional factions of the country, he would have become a true national leader, though in a different sense. In such a situation, had Gandhiji asserted that "India is a nation", Jinnah would have emphasised that "India is a nation of so many nationalities". Had Gandhi argued that "India contains an inherent 'unity'", Jinnah would have insisted that India is a "union" of various factions. Had Gandhi spoken on behalf of whole India, Jinnah would have pleaded the cause of all the factional groups and would have become a unifying force between them. Then it would have been a controversy not between "one" or "two" nations but between "unity" and "union" of India. But instead of adopting this broad attitude he confined himself to plead the cause of Muslims alone. It is a fact that if the religio-political character of Gandhiji destroyed the conciliatory spirit of the Lucknow Pact and brought religious fanaticism into political questions, Jinnah's narrow outlook, as is evident in claiming and justifying special safeguards for Muslims alone, encouraged sectarian outlook and prepared the way for future Hindu-Muslim antagonism.

It is a hard fact of history that Jinnah succeeded in getting India partitioned in spite of Gandhiji's opposition. But all the assurance of Jinnah that partition was the only solution of Hindu-Muslim settlement, proved wrong and all the consequences prophesied

by Gandhiji came true. The subsequent events in the Indian sub-continent proved that Gandhiji rightly visualised the consequences of partition on the basis of the two-nation theory. It encouraged separatist tendencies within the country and Indo-Pak relations got worsened amounting to physical clash and a chain reaction of communal violence threatening to disturb the peace of the sub-continent.

Jinnah got Pakistan but failed to get a Muslim nation, not only because the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent could not be constituted into a nation and remained divided between India and Pakistan but also because the Muslim community of Pakistan is definitely revealing a tendency of getting itself divided between East and West zones. Jinnah kept on emphasising, rather unnecessarily, the religious basis of Muslim nation but failed to visualise this pressure of regionalism. With the division of the Muslim community into India and Pakistan, the two-nation theory of Jinnah, for which he pleaded so vehemently, was shattered into pieces. History proved him completely wrong.

No doubt, Jinnah got a country but failed to get a nation and Gandhi got a nation but failed to get a country of his dream—Akhand Bharat. The victorious Jinnah met the failure of his own principle and the defeated Gandhi secured the victory of his own ideals.

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here it was provided for them in extraordinary perfection."²

Accordingly the Commissioners separately interrogated five persons — Ghulam Ali Khan, Ali Raza Khan, Dewan Poornea, Ghulam Ali Mir Sadr and Habibullah. The result of the enquiry appeared discouraging. It was made clear that the correspondence was intended to settle a matrimonial alliance and the expressions "the writing known of" and "the affair known of" referred to the proposed marriage.³ The key to the cypher established that "well-wisher of Mankind" designed Mohammad Ali, "Nothingness" the Nizam, "Despicable" the Marathas and "New Comers" the English. The Commissioners in consequence failed to establish any criminal purpose in the correspondence, despite the allegations made by the translator.

Still the Madras Council did not hesitate. Edward Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras (1798-1803), boldly asserted that the Nawab cherished hostile designs. To prove the validity of his assertions, he cited his own reasons: the secret nature of the correspondence with the inveterate enemy of the English, the proposed matrimonial alliance as nothing but an explanation devised for the purpose of satisfying suspicion if the correspondence were discovered, the composition of the cypher, the spirit in which the English and their allies were designated, the known ambition of Mohammad Ali to emancipate himself from British influence, the project of independence cherished by Umdut ul Umara, his 'determined obstinacy' which prevented the Madras Council from carrying out the reorganisation of his administration, his "repeated violations" of the existing treaties and the "obstacles placed upon the progress of British arms during the Fourth Mysore War". Upon these grounds, he suggested the assumption of the administration of the Carnatic by the Company.⁴

In defence of the Nawab the following facts are to be noted. The oral examination conducted by the Commissioners made it clear that Mohammad Ali entered into correspondence at Lord Cornwallis's suggestion to cultivate the friendship of the Sultan for the preservation of peace in South India. The Company's representatives made no attempt to ascertain whether Lord Cornwallis had suggested this, but it cannot be denied that it was in consonance with the Governor-General's policy of preserving peace in India and that the correspondence contained nothing but expressions of civility and compliment from a fellow Mussalman. The extracts: "May God long preserve Tipu Sultan who is the Pillar of the Religion of Mohammad. Night and day I used to be absorbed in this contemplation and pray for His Highness's prosperity" in the letter dated 10th June 1792, and "In consideration of the complexion of the times, the state of which is manifest, and that the support of the Religion of Mohammad in this country entirely depends upon the Sultan, my nightly and daily prayer is offered up for His good..." in the letter dated 4th August 1792⁵ testify to Mohammad Ali's anxiety for the preservation of another Muslim power. Further, the Nawab advised the Sultan of the imprudence of his attachment to the declining cause of the French and warned him that his intrigues at the court of Poona had alarmed the vigilance of Lord Cornwallis.⁶ This was clearly an attempt to dissuade the Sultan from his intrigues with other powers and to avert a clash with the English. However, it is not possible to know the exact motive for using the vague expressions and cyphers. As this does not establish that the Nawab had any hostile design, it must be conceded that the Nawab intended to keep the proposed matrimonial alliance as a guarded secret, or the benefit of doubt should be given to the defendant, the Nawab. Besides, the correspondence was not direct. The Sultan's deputies who were stationed at Madras as aids to his sons, sent as hostages

for the fulfilment of the Treaty of Srirangapatnam (1792), reported what they attributed as the views of the Nawab. The authenticity of these second-hand reports is open to doubt; for there was an instance when the deputies fabricated a statement made by Colonel Doveton in a conference, when they reported it to the Sultan. Further there is no evidence to prove that the Nawab had any correspondence with the Sultan after the Company decided on a fourth war against Mysore. It is not true that the Nawab obstructed the Company's preparations for the war. In fact he contributed 16,000 pagodas⁷ and placed his camels, horses and elephants at the service of the Company without aspiring for any compensation.⁸ In addition it cannot be denied that the Company's representatives in their zeal for levelling one sided charges, ignored the sovereign rights of the Nawab. They were not entitled to ask the surrender of the country by the Nawab in the name of improving the administration. If the Nawab violated the treaty, it was within his sovereign right to do so and a violation of the treaty would at the most restore status quo ante. Nevertheless, the Company decided to proceed ahead with its scheme.

As a preliminary to the execution of the design, Lord Mornington directed Lord Clive to open negotiations with the Nawab and to announce the Company's decision for the annexation of the country. But Umdut-ul-Umara fell seriously ill and Lord Clive postponed the announcement for fear of disturbing the peace of a dying ruler. On the 15th of July 1801 the Nawab passed away, escaping providentially from degradation. Before his death he had nominated his son Ali Hussain, a young prince of eighteen, as his successor and appointed Mohammad Najib Khan Salar Jang and Tuckia Ali Khan as deputies to the prince. Thus the Nawab settled the question of succession.

Soon after the death of Umdut-ul-Umara,

Edward Lord Clive deputed J. Webbe and B. Close to finalise a fresh political settlement with the new ruler. The Commissioners met the deputies of the Nawab in a conference, informed them of the nature of the correspondence which the Nawabs had with Srirangapatnam and the determination of the Company to assume the administration of the Carnatic. The deputies on their part requested for an opportunity of defence against the charges, but received a strange reply: "The British Government, being satisfied of the sufficiency of its proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally".⁹ The Commissioners next informed Ali Hussain too of the Company's decision, but the latter refused his acquiescence. Suspecting that the deputies exerted their influence upon the prince for the refusal of his consent to the implementation of the Company's decision, Lord Clive held separate conferences with Ali Hussain to ascertain the latter's genuine views. The Governor explained to the prince in the most serious but formal manner of the 'violation' of the terms of the prevalent treaty of 1792, which regulated British-Arcot relations, by his father and the 'right' of the Company to annex the country. Lord Clive warned Ali Hussain that if he refused his consent to effect the change of authority, the result would be disastrous for him. In spite of this the prince categorically refused his assent.

Now two alternatives engaged the attention of the Madras Council: to annex the territory by a proclamation or to do it by regulating the order of succession. As the first choice was considered as a wanton humiliation of the house of Mohammad Ali and as inconsistent with the British sentiment of national magnanimity, the second one gained acceptance. Accordingly the Commissioners consulted Azim-ul-Doula, the son of Amir-ul-Umara, the second son of Mohammad Ali. Azim-ul-Doula agreed to give his consent to the desired political settlement in return for

the British recognition of him as the Nawab; for he had nothing to lose but everything to gain. In consequence the Company set aside the hereditary rights of Ali Hussain and recognised in his place Azim-ul-Doula as the Nawab of the Carnatic, but without territory. On the 31st July 1801 Azim-ul-Doula ascended the throne with all pomp and splendour but with no power to exercise. Within a few days Ali Hussain died, but not without suspicion of being poisoned.¹⁰ The new Nawab was denied power and territory but was permitted to retain a few appendages of sovereignty and to receive one-fifth of the net revenue of the Carnatic, but not falling below 1,44,000 star pagodas and not exceeding 5,00,000 a year.¹¹

The Carnatic Treaty of 1801 terminated the Wallajah administration of the Carnatic

and started the British rule. The Company already had garrisoned all the forts in the Nawab's territory with its own troops and held Tanjore, Ramnad, Chingleput and numerous pollams under its direct rule. It waited for an opportunity to gain possession of the entire coast and this was furnished by the discovery of the Seringapatam Papers. It cannot be denied that the method adopted by the British administration was quite unfair. The English not only violated the sovereign rights of the Nawab, which they themselves had recognised, but ignored even moral maxims by their blatant refusal of the right of self-defence to the Nawab against the charges of his alleged intrigues with Tipu Sultan. The settlement that was carried into effect replaced the dual government of the Nawab and the Company in the Carnatic by a uniform but alien administration.

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FAILURE OF RAJPUT DIPLOMACY--HURDA CONFERENCE (1734): A CASE STUDY

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Soon after the death of Aurangzeb the mighty Mughal empire lost its former vigour. Repeated wars of succession adversely affected the financial, political and economic conditions of the empire. Weak successors of Aurangzeb became puppets in the hands of the powerful nobles, which gave rise to court intrigues and ceaseless strifes and "established hereditary rule of public officers". Governors of distant Mughal provinces became de facto sovereigns, though outwardly they continued to make show of allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi. Weakness of the rulers and court intrigues resulted in chaos and anarchy in the empire. This deterioration of the empire afforded exceedingly favourable chances for the Maratha advance towards the north. In 1711 a Maratha Sardar named Ganga crossed the Narbada, exacted twenty-five thousand rupees from the people on the way, and reached as far as Ujjain.²

Early Maratha Raids into Mewar

The Marathas had become a menace to Mewar as early as 1724 A.D. This we learn from a 'Kharita' dated the 24th November, 1724, by Maharana Sangram Singh of Udaipur to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur. The Maharana wrote that the Deccanics always created disturbances in his territory and that he was of opinion that they were thieves and they would not give up their habits unless they were properly chastised.³ In the same year the Maharana also asked Pancholi Kanha, an official of Mewar, to return to Udaipur from Marwar, because of the grow-

ing Maratha trouble. He (Pancholi Kanha) sent an 'arzi' to Sawai Jai Singh on 27 March, 1725, stating that he had to hurry back in obedience to Maharana's order as the Marathas were creating trouble in Mewar.⁴ The Pancholi had gone there on a mission as advised by Sawai Jai Singh.

Defensive Alliance with Jaipur and Kota

A year elapsed but the Marathas showed no signs of relaxation. The Maharana, thereupon, sent another 'Kharita' dated the 14th March, 1726 to Sawai Jai Singh informing him of the Maratha ravages. He wrote, "Deccanics came this side and created great trouble, details of which will be given personally by Maya Ram. The trouble has been particularly severe, the account of which was sent to you in my previous letter".⁵ The Maharana warned Jai Singh against the Marathas and wrote in his own hand in the same 'Kharita' that "The Maratha trouble is so (severe) that if they were not checked, in a year or six months, it would spread far and wide".⁶ It appears that Sawai Jai Singh not only gave an assurance of help to Mewar, but also persuaded Durjan Sal of Kota to join the alliance against the Marathas. The ruler of Kota replied to Sawai Jai Singh: "You have written that the Deccanics have entered into the Maharana's territory and a war between them (Maharana and Deccanics) is imminent. You have also mentioned that I should despatch best army to Udaipur as soon as the Maharana asks for it. I have already informed you that we have not re-

ceived any such communication from the Maharana so far. Here, I have ordered mobilization of army and we shall despatch troops as soon as the Maharana writes to us."⁷ But these communications did not result in anything concrete. As soon as the danger temporarily disappeared the chiefs relapsed into lethargy.

In the meanwhile the Marathas continued their efforts to increase their hold over the Imperial province of Malwa. After the defeat of Sawai Jai Singh in the battle of Mandasur (Feb. 1733) the entire province was lost to the Mughals. The Mughal officers at Ujjain were only in name. This created a very serious situation for the States of Rajasthan, so they decided upon immediate action. The Rajputs resorted to what is known as the policy of 'Dam and Sam' (money and conciliation). So first money was used as a means to oust the Marathas. It was used to persuade them to evacuate the occupied territory in Malwa. A promise of five lacs was made by Dhabhai Nagraj of Mewar on Feb. 27, 1733. A sum of three lacs of rupees was paid on 17 March, 1733, as the price of evacuation of the Maratha forces from Malwa.⁸ The remaining two lacs of rupees were to be paid after one month. It was also stipulated that if any sort of loss or damage was hereafter caused in Malwa that amount would be deducted from the remaining sum of two lacs of rupees. This remaining sum was also paid on May 4, 1733.

Even though the Marathas had received the full amount of the agreed sum, they were reluctant either to evacuate fully or not to disturb Malwa. Thus this attempt of the Rajput rulers misfired and money could not secure the desired result. Not only this, the Bundi affair brought the Marathas even into Rajasthan.

Bundi Affair

Sawai Jai Singh was keen to enhance his position in Rajasthan. The first victim of his

ambition and aggrandisement was Budh Singh of Bundi, whom he expelled and placed his own son-in-law Dalal Singh on the throne. This meddling with the internal affairs of a princely state gave rise to a complicated situation and the dethroned house tried to seek the support of an external power stronger than Jai Singh. Pratap Singh Hada, the elder brother of Dalal Singh, was sent to Poona to meet the Peshwa and other prominent Maratha Sardars to enlist military support for Budh Singh.¹⁰ The assistance was promised and on the 22nd April, 1734, Holkar restored the authority of Budh Singh in Bundi.¹¹ But weak and imbecile Budh Singh could not retain his throne for long after the Maratha forces had departed. Jai Singh again removed him, and obtained also the approval of the Mughal court for this action.

However, the Maratha interference in Bundi was an event of great political significance, because the Rajput princes were then at least apparently within the fold of the Mughal empire. This was a prelude to future interventions at frequent intervals.

It was for the first time that the Marathas took sides in the domestic affairs of a state in Rajputana.¹² It greatly alarmed the Rajputs and created a feeling of terror amongst them. Their weakness was exposed. Thinking minds in Rajasthan began to apprehend danger from the Marathas, and the Rajput princes saw in the Maratha move not only an obstacle in their way to profit from the weakness of the empire but a threat to the safety of their own dominions. Malwa had already been for all practical purposes a Maratha province and its proximity menaced the safety of Mewar. Maharana Jagat Singh of Mewar was, therefore, naturally very anxious to safeguard the territorial integrity of his kingdom. Similarly, Jai Singh's plan of forming a large state in Malwa for his younger son, Madho Singh, with Rampura as nucleus was severely hampered. He wished to carve out a separate state

so as to save Jaipur from a future conflict. Maharaja Abhay Singh of Jodhpur was also keenly desirous of expanding his state.¹³

Hurda Conference

By now the Rajput rulers had realized that the weak and tottering Mughal power was incapable of resisting the Maratha expansion, and felt the imperative necessity of organising self defence. They planned to unite against the Marathas to oust them even from Malwa. Some form of collective action was the need of the hour. They could not survive with honour without pooling their efforts against a common danger. This was the beginning of an era of Rajput unity in the face of a common foe.

Now the Rajput rulers decided to meet in a conference at Hurda. This was a significant event, as it afforded an opportunity for the meeting of all the important rulers of Rajasthan, who held even antagonistic opinions on several other vital matters. It was attended by Maharana Jagat Singh of Mewar, Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, Abhay Singh of Jodhpur, Durjan Sal of Kota, Jorawar Singh of Bikaner, Dalal Singh of Bundi, Gopal Singh of Karauli, Bakhat Singh of Nagaur and Raj Singh of Kishangarh.¹⁶ This summit conference, though initiated by Sawai Jai Singh, was presided over by the Maharana of Mewar. Maharana Jagat Singh was neither a very shrewd diplomat nor an able general but in social hierarchy of the Rajput princes he occupied the top place and hence this honour was given to him. Abhay Singh and Sawai Jai Singh, the two Rajput luminaries of the Mughal Court, sat on the right and left of the Maharana.

After long deliberations an agreement was signed on Shrawan Budi 13, 1791 V. S. (17 July, 1734). Its terms were as follows :

1. "All are united in good and in evil and none will withdraw therefrom,

on which oaths have been made and faiths pledged, which will be lost by whoever acts contrary thereto. The honour and shame of one is that of all, and in this everything is contained.

2. No one shall countenance the traitor of another.
3. After the rains, the affairs shall commence and the chiefs of each party assemble at Hurda. If from any cause the head cannot come, he will send his Kumar (heir) or some personage of weight.
4. Should from inexperience such Kunwar commit error, the Rana alone shall interfere to correct it.
5. In every enterprise all should exert."¹⁴

All the rulers returned to their respective states to take the field after the rains.

Thus for the first time since the battle of Khanua in 1527, a Rajput confederacy was formed under the leadership of Jagat Singh, the Maharana of Mewar. Once again Mewar was leading the united Rajputs against the Marathas. But how different was Jagat Singh from Sanga ! The unity was achieved only on paper, not in practice. It proved to be only a fiasco and did not produce the desired effect, because every Rajput ruler had his own ambitions which were usually at variance with the common good. A scheme of collective action requires a spirit of sacrifice and mutual adjustment for which none was willing. The Maharana was a man of luxurious habits, incapable of assuming the command of the united forces. Moreover, internal dissensions did not allow him to concentrate his attention on resistance, and the Rajput rulers would not accept any other ruler as their leader. So they neither re-assembled at Rampura as was decided nor

took the field after the rains. The Rajputs thus lost a splendid opportunity of resisting the Maratha incursions.

The special significance of this conference lies in the fact that the Maharana who had so far posed as a friend of the Marathas came out in the open and headed a conference which contemplated united military action against them. It was the beginning of the end of the good relations between Mewar and the Marathas and the former suffered disastrously in future.

However, it is regrettably evident that the

Rajput princes did not possess the acumen for a united front against the common enemy. They were too much engrossed in their petty quarrels and lacked the capacity of rising above them. They had all the prerequisites of unity such as common race, language, customs, traditions and in fact even common interest, but they could not appreciate the reality. This was really due to a lamentable lack of statesmanship in them. Perhaps the Rajputs could not understand that chivalry or bravery, unaided by diplomacy, cannot be effective. Hurda is an example of a venture which failed because of this innate and stubborn individualism.

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(ii) M. L. Sharma, Kota Rajya Ka Itihas, Vol. 1, P. 345.
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12. Sir J. N. Sarkar has termed it as "this first Maratha penetration into Rajputana" (Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 140). But the Maratha penetration into Rajputana had begun long before it. As early as in 1724, Mewar became their victim and in 1728-29, Dungarpur and Banswara were ravaged. The true significance of this penetration lies in the fact that the Marathas had begun to interfere in the domestic affairs of Rajasthan for the first time.
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EPONYM OF BHARAT AND HIS DYNASTY

S. C. RAI

King Bharata, who gave his name to his dynasty, to his people, to his territory and, later, to the whole of India that is Bharat, was the first king in India of the tribe which came in a late wave of the Arya immigrants about the beginning of the first millennium BC. The Bharatas found Panjab in the hands of the Aryas of the earlier waves, who had been infiltrating into India, in parties of varying sizes, since about the middle of the second millennium BC, and had been mixing with, or driving southward into Rajasthan or eastward beyond the Yamuna, the Dravidians and the Nisadas. Among the Aryas of the earlier waves, the most powerful to resist the advance of the Bharatas, were the Nahusas, whose ancestor Pururavas has been described in Rigveda (10.95.18), as Aila or a child of Ila : Ila being the region lying in the north of the Hindukush Mountain.

Victories in battles and other achievements of the Bharatas were preserved in memory, in gathas or hymns, by Rishis of the Visvamisra family who were called Gathins. But hymns from which could be known the names of kings who reigned after King Bharata and before King Devavata, the battles they won and the stages by which they seized the territory stretching to the right bank of the river Beas, have not been preserved in Rigveda. The earliest account, found in a hymn (no. 33 of Mandala 3 of Rigveda), depicts the army of the Bharatas and the Rishi who is the author of the hymn, as standing on the right bank of the Beas near its confluence with the Sutlej and praying to the two rivers to allow the Bharatas to cross them and not to allow their water level to rise above the axles of the

war chariots. The hymn further says that the Bharatas crossed the two rivers.

Having crossed the rivers the Bharatas landed on the left bank of the Sutlej, from which stretched the territory of the Purus to the right bank of the Yamuna. The Sarasvati, now a small river, was the biggest river of the region in those days, and was known by that name even below its confluence with the Ghaggar (then called Drisadvati). Puru, the eponymous ancestor of the Purus, who dwelt on the grassy banks of the Sarasvati (Rigveda 7.96-2), was, according to Puranas, a son of Yayati who according to Rigveda (10.63-1) was son of Nahus the eponymous ancestor of the Nahusas. The territory of the Purus had been a part of the territory of the Nahusas before they divided themselves into five branches; and, the Sarasvati had been supplying milk and butter to them (Rigveda 7.95-2). The Purus were one of the five branches.

The Bharatas could enter upon the territory of the Purus, a branch of their traditional enemies the Nahusas, only after defeating the Purus in a battle; and, Rigveda (7.8-4) says that the Bharatas had defeated the Purus in a battle.

The Bharatas celebrated the victory over the Purus by performing a yajna which has been described in a hymn of which the authors are King Devavata and his brother or cousin Devasravas (Rigveda 3.23). The authors have said in that hymn that they were descendants of King Bharata and that Devavata was the King of men (jananam sad

vasi). The subsequent history shows that the Bharatas did not or could not remain in possession of the territory of the Purus.

Devavata's son Srinjaya (Rigveda 4.15-4) succeeded him and attacked the Turvasas, another branch of the Nahusas. The eponymous ancestor of the Turvasas also was a son of Yayati. Besides the Purus and the Turvasas, the three branches of the Nahusas, whose eponymous ancestors were sons of Yayati, according to Puranas, were the Yadus, the Druhyus and the Anus. In one hymn of Rigveda (1.108-8), its author Kutsa who became the high priest and war leader of all the five branches during the reign of Srinjaya's successor, has expressed gratitude to the gods Indra and Agni for showing favours to them.

The territory of the Turvasas was to the south of the town of Hariyupiya (the modern Harappa) where the battle was fought. The Turvasas received no aid from the other branches of the Nahusas; but the Vricivans, who were Nisadas and were the western neighbours of the Turvasas, fought for them against Srinjaya. The Turvasas and the Vricivans were defeated and heavy casualties were inflicted on the Vricivans (Rigveda 6.27) who have disappeared from history. But the Turvasas maintained possession over their territory as before.¹

King Srinjaya was succeeded on his death, by his grandson Divodasa (also known as Atithigva) whose father Vadhryasva (Rigveda 6.61-1) was the predeceased eldest son of Srinjaya. Pursuing the policy of his predecessors, Divodasa attacked the Turvasas who by that time had formed a union with the Yadus; and, Divodasa had to fight against the Turvasas and the Yadus; but, he defeated them both (Rigveda 9.61-2; 7.19-8).

After the reverses suffered by the Purus, the Turvasas and the Yadus in their encoun-

ters with the Bharatas, all the branches of the Nahusas, realizing the danger in remaining disunited, formed a confederation with the priest Kutsa as its head. Kutsa demonstrated his capability as a general by a successful campaign in the west (Rigveda 10.49-4), against two Nisada tribal chieftains, Tugra² and Vetasu; but before he could show his skill against the Bharatas, he was compelled to make common cause with them, as the Paktha King Susrava Turvayana invaded the kingdom of the Bharatas, the territories of the confederation and the scattered states of the Ayus.

The Ayus were Aryas of earlier waves and had settled in the region stretching from the valley of river Swat along the foothills of the Himalayas to the headwaters of the Sarasvati and the Yamuna.

The Paktha King was opposed by Divodasa, by Kutsa as head of the confederation and by the states of the Ayus. The number of states who opposed him is given as 20, and the strength of the army as 60099 (Rigveda 1.53-9 and 10). But these figures, as in most other cases in Rigveda, must be construed, not as giving an accurate description, but as giving only a vague idea of the magnitude of the opposing forces.

The Paktha King defeated his opponents and obtained from them an acknowledgment that they became subject to the Paktha King. But the acknowledgment was not observed probably because King Susrava died and was not succeeded by a strong ruler.

Victory of the Pakthas was a blow to the prestige of the Bharatas who had never suffered a defeat before; but, the Bharatas recovered their lost prestige by their victory over a powerful enemy Sambara and his ally Varcin. They were Dravidian kings and had their territories on the Suleman Mountain (Rigveda 1.130-7). Sambara owned 99 or 100

castles (Rigveda 6.47-2), claimed divinity and has been described as Devakam Manyamanam (Rigveda 7.18-20). He made many onslaughts on the kingdom of the Bharatas (Rigveda 6.47-2). King Divodasa, in a battle at some place on the Sindhu (where the waters gather) (Rigveda 6.47-21), defeated and killed Sambara and Varcin. Out of the wealth of Sambara, seized by the Bharatas, presents given to priests, included coffer, treasure chests, garments, gold, chariots, horses and cows.

Victory of King Divodasa over Sambara was considered the greatest achievement of the Aryas in India. After a long reign King Divodasa died and was succeeded by his grandson Sudas whose father Pijavana must have been the eldest and the predeceased son of Divodasa.³

After the defeat and death of Sambara, the kingdom of the Bharatas during the reign of Divodasa was at the zenith of its prosperity and power. Though Sudas was young when he ascended the throne, the administration did not suffer on that account; because Rishis of the Visvamitra family continued as before to advise and guide the King. They accompanied the sacrificial horse which wandered and received homage from states in the east, north and west (Rigveda 3.53-11) though not in the south. In the south and south-east, on the left bank of the Sutlej, were the states of the Nahusas.

The confederation of the Nahusas had suspended hostilities against the Bharatas at the time of the invasion of the Pakthas, and had not revived them when King Divodasa was dealing with the onslaughts of Sambara because they were a threat to the security of the Nahusas also; but the Nahusas had not buried the hatchet and were waiting for an opportunity to revive the hostilities and to contain the warlike activities of the Bharatas whose sacrificial horse had completed journey

in all directions except the south. The five branches of the Nahusas obtained the support of the Pakthas and of four Nisada tribes viz. the Sivas, the Bhalanas, the Alinas and the Visanins settled to the west of the Turvasas, and the Nisada tribe of the Simyus settled to the south of the Turvasas; and thus armies of eleven states led by the priest Kutsa proceeded to make a concerted attack on the Bharatas (Rigveda 7.25-5; 7.33-3). Though the states were eleven, the battle against them is called the Dasarajna or the battle of ten kings, because in Rigveda numerals have often been used in a vague sense.

The experienced advice of the devoted Rishis of the Visvamitra family was available to Sudas; but, he dismissed them; and, they meekly relinquished their office. In their place, Sudas appointed, as the "Chief and leader" (Rigveda 7.33-6) of the Bharatas, Maitra-Varuni Vasistha, the priestly governor (Rigveda 7.83-4) of the Tritsus, a warlike people who had their settlement to the south of the Bharatas, west of the Anus and north-east of the Turvasas. In the parting message (Rigveda 3.53-17 to 20) the Visvamitras wished good luck to the Bharatas, advised Sudas to see that the axles, poles and yokes of the chariots were sound, to use particular kinds of timber for the parts of the chariots, and to maintain strong pairs of oxen. And, Sudas was told that the person (Maitra Varuni) was greedy (lodham) and not harmless as had been supposed (Rigveda 3.53-23).

The Prithus (Parthavas of Iran) and the Parsus (Persians) offered help to the Bharatas (Rigveda 7.83-1); but from the details found in Rigveda it appears that their help was not substantial.

The battle was fought at some place on the Ravi. It began (Rigveda 7.25-5 and 8) with a prayer by the Vasisthas for the success of the Bharatas and a prayer by priests of the Kutsa family for success of the confeder-

tion and its allies. The army of Sudas could cross the river and reach the place of the hand-to-hand fight; but the attempt of the Simyus to cross it was not successful. The Pakthas and the Nisadas lost many of their soldiers in digging channels to make the river fordable by diverting its water. Kavi, a priest of the Yadus and the Turvasas was drowned. The territory and goods of the Anus (also called the Bhrigus) were seized and appropriated by the Tritsus. The number of men of the armies of the Anus (Bhrigus) and the Druhyus killed in the battle is stated vaguely in sexagesimal figures as 6660. The battle ended in a victory for the Bharatas.

The Tritsus, who appropriated the territory and goods of the Anus, were the real gainers in the battle. The Anus ceased to exist and disappeared from history. The Anavas of the east in later times were a different people.

The loss of the Anus was followed by disintegration of the confederation. The Druhyus and the Purus formed one government under a king who assumed the title Purukutsa because he was king of the Purus and his chief priest was Kutsa. The name of the king was Giriksita and he was son of a nobleman named Durgaha (Rigveda 4-42; 5-33-8; 8-54-12). His successor, who also was a contemporary of Sudas, was Trasadasyu; and the last king of the line was Triksi (Rigveda 6-46-8).

The union of the Turvasas and Yadus which existed before the formation of the confederation continued, as before, after the disintegration of the confederation. Its head in the Dasarajna battle was Kavi who was killed. After the battle the head of the union, Usana Kavya, was a descendant of Kavi.

The Bharatas also must have suffered heavy casualties though they are not men-

tioned in the hymns that are available. After the battle the society of the Bharatas was dominated by priests of the Vasistha family. At the time of the battle, the Vasisthas described the Purus as *mridhravac* or speakers of an impure tongue; but after the battle the Vasisthas prayed for the success of the Purus also in a joint campaign undertaken by the Bharatas and the Purus. (Rigveda 7-18-13; 7.19.3)

The Puru King Purukutsa and King Sudas in a joint campaign crossed the river Yamuna on the eastern bank of which was the large territory of the Dravidian King Dasa Bheda who had castles and vassals within his kingdom. In a battle Dasa Bheda was defeated and slain, his goods were seized and his territory was occupied by the Puru King Purukutsa; and thus the Purus acquired territory on the eastern side of the Yamuna. The Ajas, the Sigrus and the Yaksus who were vassals of Bheda, acknowledged the Puru King as their overlord, paid tribute and gave horses to the Puru King. (Rigveda 7-18-19; 7.33-5; 1.63.7). As the Yamuna was the common boundary of the territories of Bheda and Purukutsa, and the territory of Sudas was not contiguous to the territory of Bheda, no part of the territory of Bheda could be annexed to the kingdom of Sudas. (Rigveda 1-63-7)

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The invasion of Mandhata led to a fall of the governments of the Purus and the Druhyus. The name of the Druhyus does not occur in history after that date; and, it appears that they coalesced with the Purus, who were known by their new name, the Kurus. Their priest Kavasa was made the chief priest of the new government formed with Kurusravana as King. He might have been a scion of the old royal family of the Puru government as he has been described as a descendant of Trasadasyu (Rigveda 10-33-4).

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The south-eastern boundary of the territory of the Bharatas was the river Sutlej; and, on the other side of the river, up to the bank of the Yamuna, was the territory of the Purus. There were no Arya settlements to the east of the Yamuna. The Purus and the Bharatas for the first time crossed the Yamuna, after the Dasarajna battle when they invaded the kingdom of Dasa Bheda. In the further east also, were settlements of the Dasas who grew plentiful food enjoyed by the Asvins in their journey from the east to the land of the Aryas. (Rigveda 8-5-31).

On the Ganga, to the east of the Yamuna, at a place called Karamila Kshetra (Mahabharata 3-135-12) or Saciguna (Aitareya Brahmana VIII-23) was consecrated by the priest Dirghatamas, a king who assumed the title Bharata and whose name, given in Aitareya Brahmana (VIII-23), was Masnara and in the Puranas, Damana or Sarvadamana, distinguished by his patronymic Dausyanti. The priest Dirghatamas, also known as Bharadvaja, and founder of the school of Bharadvajas was a contemporary of King Divodasa who had paid a visit to his residence (Rigveda 1-116-18; 6-16-4; 6-16-19).¹

The Bharatas did not found towns. If they had a central place for the administration of their kingdom it cannot be located. Kurusravana, the founder of the Kuru dynasty, had his headquarters at the place known after him as Kurukshetra. Vriddhadyumna, a king of his dynasty, shifted (Sankhayana Srauta Sutra XVI-11-1; XV-16-10) his headquarters to Hastinapur to the east of the Yamuna, within the territory that had been conquered from Dasa Bheda. The Kurus assumed the title Bharata; and their extensive territory also came to be known as Bharata (or Bharat) in addition to the region lying on the right bank of the Sutlej.

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tion and its allies. The army of Sudas could cross the river and reach the place of the hand-to-hand fight; but the attempt of the Simyus to cross it was not successful. The Pakthas and the Nisadas lost many of their soldiers in digging channels to make the river fordable by diverting its water. Kavi, a priest of Bhrigu family, who was head of the union of the Yadus and the Turvasas was drowned. The territory and goods of the Anus (also called the Bhrigus) were seized and appropriated by the Tritsus. The number of men of the armies of the Anus (Bhrigus) and the Druhyus killed in the battle is stated vaguely in sexagesimal figures as 6660. The battle ended in a victory for the Bharatas.

The Tritsus, who appropriated the territory and goods of the Anus, were the real gainers in the battle. The Anus ceased to exist and disappeared from history. The Anavas of the east in later times were a different people.

The loss of the Anus was followed by disintegration of the confederation. The Druhyus and the Purus formed one government under a king who assumed the title Purukutsa because he was king of the Purus and his chief priest was Kutsa. The name of the king was Giriksita and he was son of a nobleman named Durgaha (Rigveda 4-42; 5-33-8; 8-54-12). His successor, who also was a contemporary of Sudas, was Trasadasyu; and the last king of the line was Triksi (Rigveda 6-46-8).

The union of the Turvasas and Yadus which existed before the formation of the confederation continued, as before, after the disintegration of the confederation. Its head in the Dasarajna battle was Kavi who was killed. After the battle the head of the union, Usana Kavya, was a descendant of Kavi.

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tioned in the hymns that are available. After the battle the society of the Bharatas was dominated by priests of the Vasistha family. At the time of the battle, the Vasisthas described the Purus as mudhavya or speakers of an impure tongue; but after the battle the Vasisthas prayed for the success of the Purus also in a joint campaign undertaken by the Bharatas and the Purus. (Rigveda 7-18-13; 7-19-3)

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connoted piety also, because its derivative term Bharati has been used as the name of the goddess of prayer, or to mean prayer (Rigveda 3-62-3; 2-1-11; 1-22-10). An increasing number of kings took fancy for the name Bharata which meant a pious warrior. Dighanikaya Mahagovinda sutta (2-6-4) says

that kings of Sindhu were known as Bharatas: and, among the descendants of Kartavirya Arjuna of Mahismati, was a dynasty of kings called Bharatas. The name became popular and spread throughout the country which became Bharata (or Bharat), being the land of the Bharatas.

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1. Srinjaya, King of the Bharatas in the battle of Hariyupiya against the Turvasas, was assisted by Abhyavartin described as Cayamana (Rigveda 6-27-5 and 8). In the Dasarajna battle the leader of the armies of the Turvasas and Yadus against the Bharatas also was described as Cayamana (Rigveda 7-18-8). The meaning of the word Cayamana at both the places must be the same: and Abhyavartin has been described as Cayamana because he was the chief of the army of Srinjaya. The Srinjayas of Taittiriya Samhita VI-62 and Satapatha Brahmana XII-9-3-1 & 2 had their kingdom in a later period near the territory of the Kurus to the east of the Yamuna. They were a different people.
2. The battle against Tugra was fought at some place on a river which must have been the Ravi. Tugra has been described as treacherous for having fled leaving his son Bhujya overwhelmed by the waters of the river. Bhujya was rescued by the soldiers of Kutsa with the aid of swift horses belonging to Savitra, and he became a devotee of Angira priests (Rigveda 1-116-3; 1-119-8; 1-35-15).
3. Divodasa was also the name of a king of Kasi whose history is given in Harivamsa Parva of the Mahabharata 29-30 to 77. The Divodasa of Kasi was not of the Bharata dynasty, but was descended from Kasa who founded the town; and he belonged to a later age.
4. The priest Dirghatamas Mamateya assumed the title Bharadvaja after he was of 36 years (nine Vedic Yugas). He was father of the priest Kaksivan who has mentioned King Divodasa in his hymns (Rigveda 1-119-4; 1-116-16). The priest Dirghatamas Mamateya as Bharadvaja has described King Bharata, the ancestor of King Divodasa, as an ancient patriarch. (Rigveda 6-16-4).

TIRUVENGADAKOTTAM

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I

Southern Kalinga, Sagara tira, Telingana and Rayalasima constitute the main territorial divisions in Andhradesa i.e., Andhra Pradesh. The border areas of these divisions bear the stamp of the culture beyond their frontiers, eg., Samvavisaya¹ in southern Kalinga attests Oriyan influence; Mustafanagar,² Murtajanagar³ and Sultanpur⁴ are reminiscent of Muslim rule in coastal area and Telingana; and Vadugavali⁵ and Tiruvengadakottam speak of Tamil penetration into Rayalasima. In comparison with Jiharidesa⁶ in southern Kalinga and Srigirimandala⁷ in Rayalasima, Tiruvengadakottam owes its name to the holy shrine of Srivenkatesvara on the eminence Vengadam i.e., Venkatadri. Tiruvengadakottam was one of the earliest and southernmost divisions in Andhradesa and formed the north-western border of Tondamandalam in Tamilaham i.e., the Tamil land.

II

Tondamandalam alias Tondainadu is bounded by the northern Pennar in the north and the south, the Vellar in the north and the hills bordering the plateau of Mysore in the west. It had two divisions⁸ — Aruvanadu i.e., Tondamandalam proper and Aruvavadalai i.e., northern Aruva which lay beyond Aruvanadu but was dependent on it. Tondamandalam had its people Tondaiyar and ruler Tondaman Chakravarti. Traditionally it was divided into twenty four Kottams i.e., divisions, each dominated by a fortress and under the rule of a chieftain. The central authority of Tondamandalam was located at Pulal on

the border land of Red Hills Tank (i.e. Pulareri)⁹ but subsequently shifted to Kanchi. For a time, it was under the Cholas, but thereafter it relapsed into its old tribal condition. Its political importance had greatly increased under the Pallavas. Tondamandalam received the significant names Jayamkondacolamandalam and Rajendracolamandalam and Virudarajabhayamkaramandala in the early days of Chalukya-Chola rule, of emperor Kulottunga I. Subsequently the region was part of Carnatic Payinghat i.e., Carnatic below the ghats under the Muslims and Carnatic in British regime.

Tiruvengadakottam was one of the twenty four divisions of Tondamandalam. Regarding its physical aspects, the Mahendracholas i.e., Eastern ghats, after passing the Krishna turn into the interior and break up into several parallel ranges of hills. Among these, in the region to the south of the Krishna and extending southwards to the latitude of Madras, are three parallel ranges of which Nallamalai range, the middle one, from Krishna below Kurnool, runs into Cuddapah District in a semi circle; a cluster of these hills called Seshachalam hills meet the eastern range about a group of hills at Tirupati, Kalahasti etc. These hills are a prominent feature on the frontier from Mysore eastwards up to Ponneri which marked the northern extremity and northern boundary of the Tamil country. Puranas liken the Nallamalai range and its continuation to Adisesha lying at ease in the sun. Venkatachalamahatmya¹⁰ gives its dimensions — width ten yojanas and length thirty yojanas. In its tail is Srisailam, Ahobilam is

at the beginning of its trunk, Tirupati on the back of the hood and Kalahasti at the opening of its mouth.

Vengadam in Tamil secular literature is the northern borderland of Tamilaham and is referred to as northern Vengadam i.e., Vada-vengadam i.e., the north Venkata hill and beyond it, the language changes. The people beyond Vengadam were referred to as Vadukar. Vadukarmani¹¹ were the frontier posts of Vaduka land i.e., outposts of Tamil land and Vadukavali was the road leading to Vaduka land. Vengadam was situated on Vaduka boundary and on the highway from the north to the south. Poet Mamulanar refers to Vengadam in several of his poems, calls it Pallikunram and mentions the passage i.e., tunnel in the hill through which the Mauryas came to the south. He speaks of the land of Vadukar as Verkadunadu¹² which was the latter part of the name Palaverkkadu i.e., Pulicat, the territory forming part of the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, and Nellore. It constituted the hilly country dominated by Vengadam and contained the cities Pavittiri (i.e., Reddipalam in Gudur Taluk, Nellore District) and Verkadu i.e., Pulicat.

IV

The proximity of the hill Vengadam gave the tract about it the name Vengadam, the nucleus of Tiruvengadakottam. The extension of the division southwards is implied by the inclusion of Ambattur¹³ in the division. Records at Tirumala describe the division as Venkatakottam, Tiruvenkatakottam, and Sri-venkatakottam and specify its location in Perumbanagoppudi, Jayankonda cholamandalam or Rajendra-cholamandalam. Tiruvengadakottam comprised of four main divisions namely Kuduvurnadu, Vaikunthavalanadu, Tuyyanadu and Arrurnadu.

Of these, Kuduvurnadu alias Tirukkuduvurnadu possibly extended from the southern

limit of Vaikunthavalanadu to the northern limit of Arrurnadu i.e., from about Chandragiri to Kalahasti. Possibly it is the same as Godagarunadu of Krishnaraya's records¹⁴ at Tirumalakuduvnadu and had within its limits Tirumala, Tirupati, Tiruchanur, and Yogimallavaram, the holiest spots in the entire region of Tiruvengadakottam. The villages—Kunrapakkam and Avilala (both in Chandragiri Taluk), Pandayavada and Kapilatirtham were in Kuduvurnadu as attested by records; Satravada, Tururu and Karikambadu were in Godagarunadu i.e., Kuduvurnadu. In the 17th century, Kuduvurnadu was part of Ulmandalam¹⁵ i.e., inner division of temple villages.

The division Vaikunthavalanadu lay a few miles to the west in Tiruvengadakottam. It is heard of from the days of the Rayas. A record¹⁶ at Tirumala gives the location of the village Alipuram in Vaikunthavalanadu in Chandragirirajya. Two records (AD. 1433)¹⁷ mention Siddhakkuttai i.e., Srinivasapuram in Vaikunthavalanadu. Possibly, the Rayas, devotees of Srivenkatesvara, named a portion of Tiruvengadakottam by its Sanskrit equivalent Vaikunthavalanadu, as part of the lower division Chandragirirajya with the capital at Chandragiri i.e., Tarakasaila of Vasucharitra by Ramarajabhusana.

The third division Tuyyanadu lay further west to Vaikunthavalanadu, the areas dependent upon Chittoor. Tuyyanadu figures in records e.g., a record¹⁸ (A.D. 1527) at Alipiri at the foot of the Tirupati hill gives the location of the village Pattalaipattu in Tuyyanadu-Mukapparru in Tiruvenkatakottam.

The division Arrurnadu extended to the east of Tirupati and round about Kalahasti. It owes its name to Tondamanarrur or Tondamanperarrur, close to Kalahasti on the Svarnamukhi. Kalahasti i.e., Tirukkalatti i.e., Mummadicholapuram, 20 miles to the east of Tirupati in Tiruvengadakottam in Jayankon-

dacholamandalam or Rajendracholamandalam or Virudarajabhayankaramandalam figures in records¹⁹ at Kalahasti dated in the 14th, 27th and 42nd regnal years of Kulottunga I. A record²⁰ of Rajendra's 9th year mentions Tirukkalatti as Mummadicholapura in Arrurnadu in Perumbadi in Tiruvengadakottam.

V

As for the political history of the division as a whole, in early days, its ruler was king Pulli, the Ilaiyanar Perumakan i.e., Peruman i.e., the headman among hunters. Another ruler was Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan ruling from Vengadam, while Tiraiyan, the elder, exercised sway from Pavattiri, a little further north and thereafter from Kanchi. Sangam literature (e.g., Kannan) mentions Vengadam of Tiraiyan.²¹ Thus the region fell into the Chola hands, changed into the Pallava hands and afterwards came under the Chalukyas and subsequently the Chalukya-Cholas. Kulottunga I had the title²² Venkatanathapurandara i.e., ruler of the region of Venkatanathapura i.e., Tirupati. The Yadavarajas ruled over the region as feudatories of the Chalukya Cholas i.e., Chatti deva with capital at Narayanavanam patronised by Ramanuja who built Ramanujapura agrahara round the temple of Govindarajasvami in Tirupati.

The Rayas considered the possession of their kingdom to the mercy of Tiruvengadanatha to whom their devotion was rapt. Krishnaraya's favourite deity was lord Venkatesvara. Tirupati was intimately connected with the Vijayanagar Empire, and was even regarded as one of its capitals. Chandragiri and Chandragirirajya and Tiruvengadakottam and Sri Venkatesvara captured the attention of the Rayas since the Saluva rule and even earlier. After the decline of the Aravidu dynasty, the region came under the Kuth Shahi rule of Golkonda.

By A.D. 1753, the region fell to the British and by AD 1755 it came under the possession of the three western poligars²³—Venkatagiri in the north, Kalahasti in the middle and Karvetinagar i.e., Bommarajuvaripalem in the south. Tirupati was the headquarters of a province under the Kuth Shahis; and Ncknam Khan and Chinnapalli Mirja were the governors. Afterwards, Tirupati was under Brahmin Amaldars i.e., renters. Since 1801, the area remained under the Company and in 1843 the Company entrusted it to the Mahants. In 1933 the Government of Madras took over the management of Tirupati temples,²⁴ and transferred it to Andhra Pradesh Government, once the latter was formed.

VI

The religious sanctity of the shrines and tirthas in Tiruvenkatakottam attracts millions of pilgrims from the nooks and corners of India. Tradition has it that Tondamanchakravarti built the temple on Tirumala in the 1st century B.C. or AD.²⁵ Poet Mamulanar refers to the celebration of festivals on the hill apparently to the deity. Though Vengadam also mentioned as Srisaila (i.e., Tirumala) is so ancient, Tirupati dates back only to the 12th century A.D. Yogimallavaram and Tiruchanur are very close to each other and owe their names to sage Parasara and his grandson Suka respectively. The former bore earlier the names Tirupparasesvaram i.e., Tiruppaladisvaram, Sanskrit for Telegu Jogimallavaram. As for the latter, the former Tiruchchoninur²⁶ is anterior to Tiruchchukanur and the later form is derived from its connection with sage Suka and his one hundred and eight pupils regarded as his sons residing there and thus the Padmatirtha Taluk there becomes sanctified.²⁷ Tiruchanur is also known as Vadirajapuram after the Madhava pontiff Vadiraja and also as Varadarajapuram.²⁸ Kapilatirtham²⁹ and Kalahasti are the

Saivaite centres of pilgrimage in the region.

Tiruvengadakottam had two divisions — Ulmandalam and Puramandalam figuring in records³⁰ since the days of Krishnaraya. They mean the inner and outer division of villages belonging to Srivenkatesvara. Some of the villages in inner division were Kadaikattanpudi, Alipuram and Kottalam and in the

outer division were included Tallapakkam, Piradam, Mudiur, Satrapadi and Turaiyur. Probably this division was necessitated by the vast areas of lands, besides gifts in other forms, to Sri Venkatesvara, reaching high watermark in Krishnaraya's reign. Thus the deity and the division thereby gained all-round importance.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edmund Burke on Indian Economy. Edited with an introduction by DR. SUNIL KUMAR SEN (Socio-Economic Research Institute) (Calcutta : Progressive Publishers. 1969, pp. XVIII + 220. Rs. 20.00).

it would be an exaggeration to suggest that he understood India according to Indian concepts. His view of what he called the Indian constitution represented the same kind of principles he found everywhere.

Edmund Burke began his public career in 1759 when he became editor of *The Annual Register*. He fought for the freedom of the House of Commons against the subsidized interests of the "King's friends", and the freedom of the American colonies against the claims of the British government to tax them directly. With the end of the American war, Ireland and India became Burke's chief concern. He gave much time to a study of Indian affairs.

The actions and utterances of Burke were always conditioned by his inclination to take a philosophical view of political conditions. Burke turned to Indian affairs after other critics had unmasked the political disorders existing in the Company's dominions. With great energy he took up the task of mastering the facts about India, grasping the underlying principles and prescribing a course of political action based on this understanding. Burke was, however, primarily concerned with making political action square with what he called principles of human order or, in other words, the natural law.

As a rule, Burke was a champion of the constitution, laws, and traditions of a people wherever he found them. In India's case also he was actually more anxious to expound and justify conservative principles than to defend the laws, customs and civilization of India. He had after all no first-hand knowledge of the literature and philosophy of India, and

In presenting India's case, Burke was particularly moved by apprehensions that the corruption and mismanagement in India might have a harmful effect upon the health and life of the British constitution. Nevertheless he felt strongly that India should be governed for the good of Indians, and not for the profit of the East India Company and its servants. Warren Hastings was to him the type of misrule and the target against which he directed all his imagery and the sonorousness of his stately periods. Even though Hastings was finally acquitted, Burke had performed his service to Britain and to India. His speeches and writings presented an accurate description of the Indian polity and came as a corrective to contemporary British notions of India.

The Socio-Economic Research Institute of Calcutta deserves praise for bringing out a new edition of the celebrated Ninth Report in which Burke presented a penetrating analysis of the working of the Company's Government in India. The importance of this work as a document on eighteenth century economic history of India can hardly be exaggerated. Many economic historians of modern India have drawn on this brilliant exposition of the Indian affairs during a crucial period of British rule in India. Besides giving a treatment of the history of England's connection with India, it reveals the character of the Company's investment policy and the disastrous effect it had on India's economy.

The pernicious consequences of the 'drain' in the form of investment out of revenue and the China investment are vividly described. The mechanism of the Bengal trade and the decline of Indian merchant capital are also discussed at great length. The evils resulting from the salt monopoly and other related practices receive adequate treatment. Altogether the Ninth Report presents a graphic account of the Indian economic scene in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Dr. Sunil Kumar Sen has contributed a valuable introduction to this edition of the Ninth Report. He has shown why this document is important reading for those who seek to understand the meaning of the part played by the East India Company in India in the days of Clive and Hastings. In his view the Ninth Report indicates why the chances of India's capitalist development were ruined during that period. The beginnings of the colonial economy in its familiar outlines also can be traced in this work. A capsule biographical sketch of Edmund Burke together with a note explaining (more fully than does the opening paragraph of the Report itself) the immediate occasion of the Ninth Report would have enhanced the usefulness of that publication for the general reader.

NILMANI MUKHERJEE

The National Problem In India Today.
By A. M. DYAKOV. (Central Department of Oriental Literature, Moscow).

Mr. Dyakov's volume, based on the rich experience of a multi-national state like the Soviet Union, throws a good deal of new light on India's national problem which continues to be of crucial importance today in view of the growth of national chauvinism in various forms in large areas of this country. It covers the entire period of the

formation of India's nationalities and the establishment of linguistic states in the post-independence period.

Mr. Dyakov traces the emergence of India's nationalities with the growth of capitalism. In fact, India's nationalities and national languages developed mainly in the nineteenth century; the aspirations of the emerging nationalities found expression in the demand for linguistic states. Mr. Dyakov, however, rejects the thesis propounded in 1942 by Dr Adhikari, a prominent Communist leader, that "the struggle for self-determination waged by the Sindhis, Pakhtoons, Baluchis and other Muslim people finds its expression in the movement for Pakistan". Mr. Dyakov asserts that the British imperialists encouraged "the separatist aspirations of the Muslim League".

It was after independence that the demand for linguistic states developed into a powerful popular movement which led to the establishment of several linguistic states. Yet the issue of the backward nationalities remains, and is likely to become increasingly important with the rise of the cultural level of these communities. Mr. Dyakov could have added that the problem of the backward nationalities is basically an agrarian problem.

Mr. Dyakov rightly poses the importance of the language problems and strongly recommends that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction from the primary schools to the universities, although English should be studied in the same way as any other foreign language, for instance, Russian, German, and French. On the question of the official language, Mr. Dyakov is in favour of a flexible policy and writes: "Since there are many large nationalities and linguistic groups in India, the adoption of any language as the official language will inevitably encounter strong opposition, unless it is carried

through in such a way that the majority of the population realises the necessity of this measure".

Indeed this volume has great contemporary interest and deserves wide welcome.

SUNIL SEN.

Jallianwala Bagh. By V. N. DATTA, Lyall Book Depot, Ludhiana, 1969, pp. 178, price Rs. 15.50.

To write a strictly historical account of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy which still provokes emotions of horror and grief is no easy task, but the author has performed it with remarkable success. His assets are, complete mastery over the sources and capacity to form balanced conclusions. Apart from published documents, contemporary newspapers and secondary works, he has made full use of three important groups of unpublished papers: (1) volumes VI and VII of the report of the Hunter Committee; (2) the Jayakar papers; (3) confidential Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home (Political) Department as also in the Foreign and Political Department. It is for the first time that an attempt has been made to reconstruct the events that occurred at Amritsar in March-April 1919 on the basis of exhaustive materials. Few critical readers will be able to detect gaps in the author's narrative; fewer still will disagree with his general conclusions.

The author views the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy as 'the consequence of a clash between British policies and Indian opinion'. This 'clash' was not an accident; it had its roots in the basic features of British imperialism in India. Even then, in the opinion of the author, personal factors were involved. The principal figures — Dyer, O' Dwyer, Irving and Kitchin on the one hand, and

Kitchlew, Satyapal and Gandhi on the other — were not merely 'representatives of opposing systems'; each of them (says the author) 'made his own significant and unique contribution to the events of the period.'

The first 46 pages of the book provide a background 'examining British policy in the preceding period and its effect on Indian opinion'. After a critical analysis of the causes of growing discontent in the Punjab during the First World War — the impact of the Ghadr movement, the oppressive methods used systematically by the O' Dwyer Administration for recruiting soldiers for Britain's imperial struggle, the economic distress caused by high prices and heavy taxation — the author considers the political effects of the Rowlatt Act and the 'emergence of Gandhi'. The disturbances at Amritsar were a direct protest against the imposition of the Rowlatt Act and the prevention of Gandhi's entry into the Punjab.

A detailed account of the disturbances (including the massacre) is given in two chapters covering 60 pages. One map and 6 illustrations help the reader in following the narrative. There is a casual reference to 'certain features of the Martial Law administration, particularly punishments like crawling, confiscation, public flogging and salaming' (p. 119), but no details are given.

Three chapters deal with the Hunter Committee. Dyer's punishment and the Dyer Debate in the British Parliament. Here the author is at his best: he holds the scales even between Dyer and his accusers. He gives us two interesting facts. The Indian members of the Hunter Committee took exception to Lord Hunter's angry remark, 'you people want to drive the British out of the country', and ceased to talk to him. After Dyer had restored order in and around Amritsar, the Sikh rural population honoured him by accepting him into the Sikh community.

In conclusion, the author raises two interesting questions. Why did Dyer shoot? was he unbalanced, suffering from *arterio sclerosis*? The author's reply is in the negative. But no definite conclusion is possible in regard to the role of Hans Raj who was a leading organiser of the Jallianwala Bagh meeting but subsequently became an approver. There are reasons to suspect that he organised the meeting as a secret ally of the police. It is a problem which demands further investigation, for it hints at an ugly feature of nationalist movement.

A. C. BANERJEE.

Amritsar Past and Present. By V. N. DATTA. The Municipal Committee, Amritsar, 1967, P. 207, Price Rs. 8.

The author has broken new ground so far as studies in medieval and modern history are concerned. Local history, he rightly says, is a 'Cinderella among historical studies in India'. He has, however, boldly explored this virgin field, and his success in this enterprise will, it is hoped, inspire other scholars to pursue this interesting track.

Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs, saw history taking shape within its borders during the 17th and 18th centuries. Founded in the days of the fourth Guru, Ramdas (1574-1581) as a result of Akbar's gift of 500 bighas of land to his wife, Amritsar gradually became the principal centre of Sikh religious and political activities; but even during the period of the *Misls* it was no more than a large village, and Rennell did not consider it important enough to be mentioned in his list of the principal cities of the Punjab. Ranjit Singh made himself master of Amritsar at the beginning of the 19th century and took personal interest in the development and beautification of his precious acquisition. Under him, says the author, Amritsar became 'a great and opulent city'; here 'the Sikh and

Hindu aristocracy lived, and here the Maharaja received distinguished visitors like Jaswant Rao Holkar, Charles Metcalfe and Lord Auckland'.

A vivid description of Amritsar's multi-coloured lines with the vicissitudes of Sikh history is followed by a clear account of the city's fortunes during the British regime. The annexation of the Punjab by the East India Company cut off the city from its political traditions, but its religious importance remained unimpaired. Moreover, its location and other factors made it a great commercial centre and added to its prosperity. The beginnings of municipal administration have been traced to 1858 and the role played by British officers in modernising Amritsar has been given due recognition.

'At the end of the First World War Amritsar came to political prominence in connection with the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, to which the author has devoted more than 30 pages. He has made a special study of the tragedy, and his facts and conclusions are explained in great detail in his book entitled *Jallianwala Bagh*. The story of Amritsar is carried down to the partition of Punjab in independent India. The author—himself a son of Amritsar—raises the question whether, in view of the city's proximity to the Indo-Pakistan border, it can retain its commercial importance. The people of Amritsar, he hopes, will not be found wanting in accepting this new challenge to their resourcefulness.

The Chapters on 'people', 'trade and industry' and 'education and culture' contain much interesting and valuable information on socio-economic history; but limitations of space seem to have prevented the author from giving us a comprehensive and analytical survey.

The bibliography is very useful.

A. C. BANERJEE

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EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Eighth Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies will be held at Jodhpur (Rajasthan) from 20th to 23rd October, under the auspices of the University of Jodhpur. The first three days will be taken up for academic work. The fourth day is meant for excursions to places of historical importance.

The themes for the Conference are
(i) History in Modern Indian Literature; and
(ii) Sources of the History of Rajasthan (ancient, medieval and modern). About 32 selected papers will be presented and discussed.

Arrangements for accommodation and meals will be made by the Local Secretary,

Professor Dasharath Sharma, Department of History, University of Jodhpur, Rajasthan. The railway authorities have granted 'single-fare return journey' concession to members of the Institute attending the Conference. Membership Certificates will be issued from the Institute office from the first week of September on payment of membership fee for 1970-71.

About 250 members and delegates representing different States, Universities, learned institutions and Governments are expected to attend. Enquiries about local arrangements at Jodhpur are to be addressed to the Local Secretary; and other enquiries are to be addressed to the Registrar, Institute of Historical Studies, 21, Kenderdine Lane, Calcutta-12.

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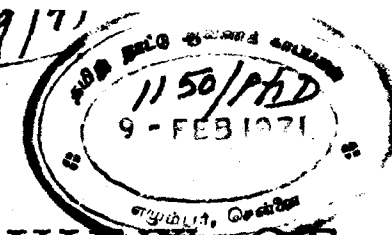
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EDITORIAL

Annual General Meeting

The Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Institute of Historical Studies was held on 27th September 1970. The Annual Report for 1969-70 presented by the Director gave an encouraging account of the various activities of the Institute during the year. Members and well-wishers of the Institute should feel happy over the steady pace of progress maintained. It is all the more encouraging because of the numerous difficulties, not the least of which was the disturbed condition in the city, which stood in the way of a normal functioning of an academic institute.

The membership of the Institute had marked a slight increase but what is more noteworthy is its steadily increasing all-India and representative character. From the point of view of the composition of membership, representing all the States in the country, the Institute of Historical Studies can now easily claim to be the most representative national professional organisation of historians.

While the Annual Report was very encouraging from the point of view of the Institute's activities, it was rather depressing from the point of view of the financial position of the organisation. As was pointed out in the Report, the financial position was getting worse every year and the accumulated

deficit was steadily mounting. This was due to various reasons — termination of Foundation grant; rising costs of paper, printing, postage etc.; increase in the activities of the Institute; and the necessary expansion of the office-staff. The Director made an appeal to the members to come to the rescue of the Institute and save it from the grave financial crisis. The steps suggested were : (i) raising the annual membership fee from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/- and Life Membership fee from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/-; (ii) increasing the annual Journal subscription (Indian) from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/-; (iii) launching a vigorous drive to enrol new members; (iv) pushing the sale of the Institute's publications; and (v) seeking a recurring grant from the Government of India.

Raising the membership fees with effect from 1971-72, which required amending a few clauses of the Constitution, was approved by the members at the last Annual General Meeting. But this slight increase in the membership fees will not be of substantial help in filling up the gap between necessary expenditure and available resources. It is only by steadily increasing the membership that any tangible relief may be expected. For that, it is necessary that the existing members should take a personal responsibility to enrol at least one new member every year. No external help for any academic institution

can be expected unless the members and those primarily interested do all that it is possible for them to do.

The Director also appealed to the members to help the publication programme of the Institute not only by purchasing copies for themselves but also by persuading the libraries of the institutions with which they are connected to order for copies. The present publication programme cannot be implemented according to schedule unless there is a better and quicker sale of the publications. Two of our publications are in the press and four more will be ready for the press by the summer of 1971. The Institute's publications, which are already out, have earned high appreciation in scholarly circles and have been very well reviewed in reputed journals, both Indian and foreign. It would, therefore, be in the interest of the historical profession that the Institute should be in a position to bring out its future publications according to programme.

No academic institution, however, can function properly merely with membership fees, journal subscriptions and sale proceeds of publications and without any external financial assistance. We had approached the Ministry of Education, Government of India, for a suitable recurring grant to meet the general expenses of the Institute. The Ministry appreciated the useful work done by the Institute and agreed to sanction a recurring grant. But the amount sanctioned in 1970-71 is hardly adequate to meet even half the deficit. We, however, hope to get a more adequate grant from next year.

New Fellows

The following new Fellows of the Institute were elected in 1970. Fellowship of the Institute is an academic distinction, well recognised in India and abroad. Under Article V of the Constitution new Fellows are elected only by the existing body of Fellows.

1. Dr. P. M. Joshi,
Professor of Medieval History,
Deccan College and Post Graduate
Institute,
Poona.
2. Dr. A. R. Kulkarni,
Professor and Head of the
Department of History,
University of Poona.
3. Dr. V. G. Dighe,
History of Freedom Movement Unit,
National Archives of India,
New Delhi.
4. Dr. G. N. Sharma,
Professor of History,
University of Rajasthan,
Jaipur.
5. Dr. B. K. Apte,
Head of the Department of History,
Nagpur University.
6. Dr. D. K. Ghosh,
Professor and Head of the
Department of History,
University of Burdwan.
7. Dr. N. Subramanian,
Professor of Ancient Indian History,
Madurai University.
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Head of the Department of History,
S. V. University,
Tirupati.

11. Dr. V. N. Dutt,
Head of the Department of History,
Kurukshetra University.
12. Dr. Shibnarayan Ray,
Head of the Department of
Indian Studies,
University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Victoria, Australia.

Annual Conference

The Eighth Annual Conference of the Institute was held at Jodhpur (Rajasthan), under the auspices of the University of Jodhpur, from 20th to 23rd October. The inaugural session was held on the 20th morning. Mr. V. V. John, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jodhpur, welcomed the members and delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Mr. Justice Bery of the Rajasthan High Court inaugurated the Conference. The Director of the Institute gave a brief account of the history and activities of the organisation. The Conference was presided over by the most distinguished historical scholar in Rajasthan, Dr. M. L. Sharma. Dr. Dasharath Sharma, as Local Secretary, thanked the members and guests at the end of the inaugural session.

From the morning of 20th to the morning of 22nd October the Conference Programme was presentation and discussion of papers. Two broad themes were adopted for the Papers: (i) Sources of the History of Rajasthan (Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods) and (ii) History in Modern Indian Literature. On the first theme 10 papers were scheduled to be presented and on the second 17. Some of those who were to have presented papers could not actually attend the Conference, but their papers will be included in the Proceedings Volumes. The 20 papers actually presented on the two themes were of a high standard and the discussions on them were most lively. The attendance at all the sessions was very good and most of those present

evinced an active interest and took part in the discussions. This seriousness of purpose offered a pleasing contrast to what has now become very common at many of the all-India Conferences of this kind. Another striking feature of the attendance was that while the total number was not very large (in fact the Institute's Annual Conference is deliberately kept confined to only those who are serious about the subject), the members attending came from all parts of the country and the gathering was most representative and all-India in character.

For detailed reporting of the discussions four Rapporteurs were appointed and their reports will be included in the Proceedings Volumes.

On the whole the Eighth Annual Conference was a great success, in keeping with the tradition set at earlier Conferences. Most of the Universities had co-operated with us by sending delegates to the Conference and the Railway authorities had also granted fare concession to participants in the Conference. We take this opportunity to offer our thanks to Mr. V. V. John, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jodhpur, Mr. Justice Bery of the Rajasthan High Court, Dr. M. L. Sharma, Dr. Dasarath Sharma and all his colleagues in the History Department, specially Dr. R. P. Vyas, and the most friendly and helpful band of student volunteers, whose ungrudging labour contributed so much to the success of the Conference. We are also thankful to the writers of papers, to the rapporteurs and to all those who had taken part in the discussions.

Programme of Papers

THEME : SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF
RAJASTHAN
Papers by :
(Ancient Period)

Dr. M. L. Sharma (Rajasthan Institute
of Historical Research, Jaipur).

- Dr. Dasharath Sharma (University of Jodhpur).
(*Medieval Period*)
Dr. G. N. Sharma (University of Rajasthan, Jaipur).
Dr. V. S. Bhargava (Government College, Ajmer).
Dr. R. P. Vyas (University of Jodhpur).
(*Modern Period*)
Dr. M. S. Jain (University of Rajasthan, Jaipur).
Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya (Jogamaya College, Calcutta).
Dr. V. K. Vashishtha (University of Rajasthan, Jaipur).
Dr. M. S. Ahluwalia, (Punjabi University, Patiala).
Shri Goverdhan Singh Chowdhary, (Chairman, Board of Revenue).

THEME: History in Modern Indian Literature.
Papers by :

Bengali Literature :

- Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee (Visva-Bharati University).
Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta (Calcutta University).

Hindi Literature :

- Dr. H. S. Srivastava (Gorakhpur University).
Dr. R. R. Bhatnagar (University of Saugor).

Punjabi Literature :

- Dr. Ganda Singh (Patiala).

Urdu Literature :

- Mrs. Zubaida Yaseen Ali Khan (Osmania University, Hyderabad).

Assamese Literature :

- Dr. S. N. Sarma (Gauhati University).

Oriya Literature :

- Principal S. N. Choudhury (Kendrapara College).

Marathi Literature :

- Mrs. M. P. Karkerkar (University of Bombay).

- Dr. L. B. Keny (University of Bombay).
Mr. N. H. Kulkarnee (National Archives, New Delhi).
Mr. N. G. Bhaware (Marathwada University, Aurangabad).

Gujarati Literature :

- Dr. V. K. Chavda (Baroda University).

Tamil Literature :

- Dr. N. Subramanian (Madurai University).

Telegu Literature :

- Dr. V. Yashoda Devi (S. V. University, Tirupati).

Kannada Literature :

- Dr. K. R. Basavaraja (Karnatak University, Dharwar).

Malayalam Literature :

- Mr. M. G. Sankara Narayanan (University of Calicut).

RAPORTEURS

- Dr. (Mrs.) Uma Das Gupta (Jadavpur University).
Mr. Chittabrata Palit (Jadavpur University).
Dr. M. S. Ahluwalia (Panjabi University, Patiala).
Dr. V. K. Vashishtha (University of Rajasthan, Jaipur).

D.N.B. Project

The Dictionary of National Biography Project is making very satisfactory progress. In spite of all difficulties, financial and otherwise, and last-minute set-backs caused by the return of files by many contributors regretting their inability to write entries, we have been able to cover nine-tenth of the work. The remaining work will not take us beyond March 1971. There is no reason to feel depressed over the slight delay in the programme. Such slight delays are inevitable in an all-India Project like this where we have to depend on the kind co-operation of 350 Contributors all over the country. We have

done all that was possible under the circumstances, giving constant (and perhaps very annoying) reminders to those who had not sent in entries in time, reallocating names to new Contributors from those who had declined at the last moment, processing the entries as they come in and arranging them in alphabetical order on an all-India basis. It seems now that we shall be able to send all the four volumes of the DNB to the Press before the end of March 1971. According to our present calculation, Vol. I will cover from A to D, Vol. II from F to L, Vol. III from M to R, and Vol. IV from S to Z.

Apart from arranging the entries, another major task is to make a complete list of cross-references for the convenience of those who will consult the Dictionary. The diversity of names and practices in different re-

gions and among different communities makes the task quite a difficult and time-consuming one.

The addition of 100 new names and the consequent prolongation of the Project by nearly a year have considerably raised the cost of the Project. The final revised estimate is Rs. 7.40 lakhs for the whole period from 1963-64 to 1971-72. For nine years this is a very modest figure compared to the cost of enterprises of this kind sponsored by the Government. We are still faced with a deficit of nearly Rs. 2 lakhs. In December 1970 several leading Members of Parliament, belonging to different Political Parties, had written to the Education and Finance Ministers, Government of India, for immediately meeting half the deficit. In the present political situation, however, we do not know how far this will have effect.

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF MALWA (1818—1858)

DR. K. L. SRIVASTAVA

(Principal, Govt. Post-Graduate College,
Sehore, M.P.)

For a study of the history of Malwa, in the first half of the 19th century there are three main sources of information: Government Records; State Records; and Records in Private Possession.

I. Government Records

Prior to 1947 Government Records were to be found in (a) The Central India Agency Records Office, Indore, (b) The Malwa Agency Records Office, Indore, (c) The Gwalior Residency Records, Gwalior. All these records have now been shifted to the National Archives, New Delhi.

The records of the old Agencies as the Bhil Agency, the Deputy-Bhil Agency, the Bhopal Agency and the Western Malwa Agency, were all to be found in the Central India Agency Records Office, Indore.

The Government records formerly stored in Central India — Malwa began from 1818 when the Province of Malwa first came under the jurisdiction of the Resident at Indore. The Central India Agency records are mostly in English. There are also vernacular records in Persian, Urdu, Modi and Hindi. The records are found in the files; in the Outward and Inward Registers; in the Fragmentary Books; in loose bundles and packets. In his Report on the records Balm rightly remarked that upto 1884 the papers were not quite systematically arranged excepting those re-

quired for administrative purposes or letters from and to the Government of India. Very often one comes across important historical papers at places where one expects them the least. As for example, the Reports on the Bombay-Agra Road very often deal with the political, military and economic causes as justification for the opening of the new off-shoots from the Bombay-Agra Road passing through Malwa.

The Central India Agency records deal with various subjects covering social, economic, judicial, educational, military, administrative and political topics. Copies of those papers which were sent by the Resident or A.G.G. for Central India for securing the orders of the Government of India are to be found in the National Archives, New Delhi. In the National Archives there are valuable letters from and to the Court of Directors; from and to the Secretary of State; letters sent to the Secret Committee at London; letters from and to the military generals who led expeditions in Central India and submitted their reports direct to the Chief of the Staff of the Military Department; and reports sent by the Provincial heads about affairs in Central India to the Governor-General. These papers with the various narratives of events in Central India are very important and they are all to be found at Delhi.

II. State Records

The various States and Estates of Central

India — Malwa prior to 1947, maintained their own record offices.

In some of the petty States and Estates of Central India — Malwa there were very few records dating prior to the 18th or even the 19th century. Those that are to be found possibly deal with the internal administrative details. In the bigger States like Gwalior and Indore, there were valuable records. Some of the Indore State records of the time of its various rulers have been surveyed and brought out in four volumes. But these four volumes contain only a selection of records and they are not exhaustive. The Indore State records are to be found in the Old Palace, Indore city, in the State Gopal Mandir, and in the old Foreign Office, Motibungalow, Indore. A very valuable light can be thrown on the history of the Holkar dynasty by a survey of these records.

Records in the Central India States are to be found in Persian and Modi scripts. The State records like those of Dhar were valuable. Dhar being one of the oldest States of Malwa possessed very old records. These records were preserved in the Records office, Dhar, the Dhar Rajwada, the History Office and Museum, Dhar. They are mostly in Modi, and very old records are in Sanskrit. There are heaps of papers possibly of great historical importance that still await examination. For the British period the "Bahis" or the diaries of the various Agency Vakils (representatives of the Indian States) are most important. They give us an account of the whole of Malwa and of important matters transacted between the Residency, the Political Agency and the Dhar Darbar. In the State records we find that the Outward letters were all copied and fully noticed before being despatched but the letters received were not systematically recorded. As no Inward Registers were kept, one has to face great difficulty in finding out the necessary papers to which the Dhar Darbar sent a reply.

The Dhar State Records provide ample opportunity for research on such topics as Anand Rao III, the opium trade at Dhar and Malwa, the economic and social condition of Malwa in the 18th and 19th centuries and on many other subjects.

The records in such former States as Dewas, Barwani, Jobat, Jhabua, Saillana, etc., were scanty. In the former States like Sitamau the old records were not kept very regularly and a few that were "were kept generally at the house of the Chief-Minister" or "Karbari". With the change of the Ministers some of the records also remained with them. This seems to have been the prevailing custom with Malwa States and even in as big a State as Indore some of the important papers concerning the Revolt of 1857 in Malwa were found, not in Indore State Records, but in the house of the descendants of Bhao Sahib Reshimwale, the first officiating Prime Minister of Indore during the Revolt. At his house one would find some of the most important letters received from Dickinson and the members of the Indian Reforms Society (12, Haymarket, Calcutta). Letters not only from Calcutta and other parts of India but from England and the Continent are to be found at his place. The daily diaries or "Rojnamchas", the Inward and Outward registers of letters, all most important for the Revolt of 1857, are to be found in Bhao Sahib Reshimwale's family records. In fact, for the mutiny in Malwa, Bhao Sahib's "Havali" or house is a valuable store house of records. This old system of keeping records at the house of the Chief Minister is responsible for the discovery of Indore State Papers in some of the families in Maharashtra, as their ancestors at one time or the other were responsible officers at Indore.

The Bhopal State records are in Persian but in many cases the reports submitted to the Government deal with problems relating to other parts of Malwa. Questions of terri-

torial readjustments are also referred to even at the time of the Revolt of 1857. The Land Settlement of Bhopal and the survey made there, was beneficial to the cultivators. Due to the effects of the Government of India and the cooperation of the Madhya Pradesh Government, there is a branch of the National Archives at Bhopal which contains valuable material, mostly in Persian and English. The Records generally deal with old Bhopal State. The Mutiny papers of 1857 in this Archives have been indexed and printed for the benefit of research scholars.

There is need for such Record offices to be established at Indore and Gwalior.

III. Records in Private Possession

There are many old families in Malwa, who have valuable records concerning their illustrious ancestors. These family records can be best collected with the help of Revenue Officers of the place, or of other influential persons in whom, the persons having the records, have confidence. There are many such families who have important family papers. We take only a few examples from our period. The descendants of Bhao Sahib Reshimwale, first officiating Prime Minister of Indore during the Revolt of 1857, have very valuable records dealing with the period of the Revolt. The whole defence of the Dhar Restoration Case was prepared through this important channel and then the whole case was referred to Dickinson by Captain Fenwick. In fact, the Bhao Sahib was "the great locomotive". Golvekar (better known as Ganesh Shastri), the Indore Darbar's Vakil at the Residency at the time of the Revolt of 1857, rendered valuable services. His papers lying with his descendants and the manuscript of his biography are valuable. In spite of some exaggerations and natural adorations in the biography, it is an important work. Bukshi Khuman Singh's manuscript diary or "Rojnamcha" is a good defence plea for the Indore State's part in the Revolt. It gives us the other side of the medal.

Pandit Waman Islampurkar's Marathi Draft in manuscript is also useful, though it contains many controversial things. Similarly, the manuscript "History of the Holkar" by Pandit Dharam Narain—the editor of Malwa Akhbar from 1849 to 1857, gives us very valuable information about the inner circle of the time and throws a flood of light on the history (civil, political and military) of the Holkar dynasty, particularly of the 19th century. It gives us a very good background for the Revolt in Malwa. The Mandloi Daftar with the Jamindar of Indore has nothing important for the Revolt of 1857 but it is said that they have records of the Mughal-Maratha times.

Family records and collection of historical papers with the Lele family of Dhar are very important. The late Mr. Lele—the reputed history officer of the Dhar State, has left a very noble and inspiring work, mostly in manuscript, about the dynasties of the rulers of Dhar, Dewas and Indore. Besides these he has left a number of papers on various historical topics concerning Malwa. But most of his works have yet to be published and hence the common public has no access to the papers. Records with the Wakenkar family, and the Mule family, those with the Mahant of Mandu and such other numerous families in Malwa are very important sources for the study of Central Indian History. The State Museums in Central India as the old Nar-Ratan Mandir, Indore, the Gwalior Museum, the Dhar Museum, the Scindhia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, and such others also provide us some documents of ancient times. But a concerted effort for collection of scattered family records in Central India-Malwa may further enrich these museums and also our sources of information.

There was a custom with the trading firms of Malwa that with the "Hundis" they used to send a letter of information or as they termed "Raji-Khushi Samachar". The Commander

and Agent to the Lieutenant Governor, Saugor Division, first came to know of the Revolt at Indore through these letters of information sent with the "Hundis" to the trading firms within his jurisdiction from Indore. The important business firms in Malwa in the 19th century were many, such as: "Subkaran Pralhadas", Ujjain, established in Samvat 1887, i.e., 1830 A.D.; "Sadashiv Martand", Indore, established in 1854 and many such other firms. A careful search in the records of the old business firms in Malwa may give us many important historical details. From these records a good sidelight can be thrown on the social and economic condition of Malwa.

The biographies of the various rulers and important leaders of Malwa can be written on the information to be collected from the Court historians of the States. The "Bhats" and "Charans" in Malwa narrate very interesting accounts of the Malwa rulers. The songs and ballads of "Naths" are very amusing. But for historical accuracy they must be taken with a great deal of salt. They are very often exaggerated, either for praise or blame.

The genealogical tables with brief career and accounts with some of the Kayastha families of Malwa, especially of Kushalgarh and Alote, give us interesting and valuable information. Kayasthas belonged to the learned class in Malwa, usually employed in the courts and offices of the various rulers, and they being in the know of all affairs, their diaries and accounts are very often useful. Some Naremdav Brahmin families at Barwani have also old records. The very old manuscript of the astrological book, "Baragu Samhita", is with one of these old families. The manuscript is worshipped but very rarely allowed to be read by any one.

Much of the local history of Malwa, and most of the social and religious customs prevailing in Malwa, can well be judged from the evolution of customs followed by the people of Malwa. Even political conclusions

can be drawn from them. The "Hanuman" they worshipped in times of peace was "Maruti" bowing low before Rama; and in times of war they worshipped the "Bajranj" with the "Davalgiri" mountain on his palm rushing towards the battlefield of "Lanka". The circulation of "Chuppatis" from village to village and ultimately taken to be thrown into the Narbada or the Ganges meant plague, famine, or some other natural calamity in many parts of Malwa. In peaceful ceremonial functions they shouted "Bhole Shambu Bhole Nath" and their "Har Har Mahadev" meant the battle cry. In short, the history of Central India-Malwa can be read in all that lies bountifully around us. It is not the material which is lacking but a band of energetic and devoted workers with proper guidance that is wanting.

IV. Old and rare publications in Central India—Malwa

A research student working on subjects relating to Central India gets the first best help from "A Bibliography of the Literature dealing with the Central India Agency", compiled by Captain C. E. Luard. It deals with all books including old and rare ones concerning Central India under the following heads: General, Bibliographies and Catalogues, Journals of Asiatic Societies, Government Publications, Encyclopaedias and Dictionaries, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern history, Religion, Ethnology, Archaeology, Numismatics, Epigraphy, Language, Literature, Arts, Notes on Eras used in Central India, Dynastic Lists and Chronology of Central India. We are much indebted to Captain Luard for the immense labour he took to compile the Bibliography of Central India. But it serves a good purpose only in the beginning. After advanced study one finds that there are a good many books in other Indian languages such as Marathi, Urdu etc., which are not included in Luard's Bibliography. For example, on the Revolt of 1857 we find that Luard's Bibliography does not

give us names of various books in Indian languages which are of great importance to the subject. Similarly, books published on Central India after 1908, are naturally not found in the Bibliography, as it had no revised editions. Luzac's Catalogues, Nicholas Trubner's List of Books, Bernard Quaritch's List No. 207, Bibliography in the "Cambridge History of India", Catalogues of Royal Asiatic Societies and the National Library, Calcutta, help us to prepare a bibliography dealing with a subject on Central India.

Besides the books many important papers on Central India are to be found in the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Societies of London and Bengal, and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Indian Antiquary*, the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Arts and the *Asiatic Annual Registers*. To take an example, in the *Asiatic Annual Registers*, in Vols. III and IV there are three articles such as "On Europeans in Native State Service"; and in Vols. V and VI, "On Scindia's and Holkar's Army" and on Ujjain. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1888, appeared, "The Progress and Prospects of the Native States of Central India". Similarly, in *Wood's Magazine*, *Calcutta Review* and *International Quarterly*, important articles on Central India have appeared. Interesting accounts of Central India can also be gathered from old newspapers. Captain Luard collected some of them in his book "Contemporary Newspaper-account of the Mutiny in Central India". It is a good short collection which inspires us to go into further details not only about the contemporary newspaper-account of the Revolt of 1857 in Central India, but also on a comprehensive history of Central India.

Central India is rich in collections of old and rare journals, magazines, newspapers

and books. Some of the old and rare publications on Central India are to be found in the old Residency Library, Indore; District Military Library, Mhow; Daly College Library, Indore; Hamidia Library, Bhopal; Jiwaji Library, Gwalior; Holkar College Library, Indore; General Library, Indore; Raghunath Library, Sitamau; Public Library, Dhar; Ahilya Library, Indore; Madhav Library, Ujjain; Indore University Library, Indore; and Vikram University Library, Ujjain. Most of the books dealing with Central India are also to be found in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, and the National Library, Calcutta.

Old and rare publications in Central India-Malwa are numerous. In the light of the new material in the Government Archives both in London and in India and the commendable research work undertaken by the Institute of Historical Studies, Indian Historical Congress and Indian Historical Records Commission there is great scope for a new history of Central India, now part of Madhya Pradesh to be rewritten. In fact, it is a great necessity to have a comprehensive history of Madhya Pradesh on the lines of Provincial histories like the "Bihar through the Ages". Madhya Pradesh is proud to have seven Universities in which teaching and research work in History is being undertaken. It is in the fitness of things that early steps should be taken by the Government of Madhya Pradesh and the University authorities for writing Comprehensive History of Madhya Pradesh from the earliest times to the present day.

India is proud to have at present a number of eminent historians who are doing valuable researches. I hope and pray that Madhya Pradesh may also contribute its full quota to the advancement of historical research.

MAUSOLEUM OF MARIAM ZAMANI AT SIKANDARA (AGRA)

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In the compound of the Church Missionary Society, near Akbar's tomb at Sikandara, a suburb of Agra, stands the beautiful mausoleum of Mariam-uz-Zamani. She was the eldest daughter of Raja Bhar Mal, the ruler of Ambar who, hard-pressed by political odds, gave her to Akbar in marriage in 1562.¹ This is how the significant event is popularly explained. Her name, however, is not known to the historians, though all sources unanimously confirm that she was officially entitled as Mariam-uz-Zamani (who is kind on the world) and she gave birth to Salim (later called Jehangir) in A.D. 1569 at Fatehpur Sikri.² This title was probably conferred upon her on the birth of Salim.³

Her Hindu name has not yet come to light and this historical secret — almost a mystery — has created widespread misunderstandings. She was definitely not Jodhbai or Jodhabai as she is popularly understood.⁴ There was only one Jodhbai in the history of the Great Mughals of India and she was the daughter of Mota Raja Udaya Singh of Jodhpur and was married to Salim in A.D. 1585 (994 A.H.). Jodhbai's Rajput name was Manbai or Banmati and Jehangir gave her the title of 'Jagat Gosain' in view of the fact that he styled himself as 'Jagat-guru'. Being princess of Jodhpur, she has been designated in the chronicles as Jodhbai. She later became mother of Khurram (later called Shah Jehan). Jodhbai died at Agra in A.D. 1619 (1028 A.H.).⁵ She should not, therefore, be

misunderstood for Mariam Zamani, who was married to Akbar.

Historians are silent as to why the contemporary chroniclers, both Persian and Rajput (i.e. Muslim and Hindu), did not mention Mariam Zamani's original name. One simply wonders if it was a normal lapse on their part or it was a deliberate act to suppress the vital information for substantive reasons. If she was in fact the eldest daughter of Raja Bhar Mal and not a counterfeit, there seems to be no justification for them to avoid mentioning her name in the chronicles. The facts remain, and puzzle a student of History —

- (1) that Rajput sense of honour and dignity could not have allowed him to offer his daughter to a Musalman at his own initiative;
- (2) that Akbar returned post-haste from Ajmer and swiftly finalised the marriage ceremony; and
- (3) that the name of the lady was not and was never disclosed.

Added to these important grounds of a major doubt is the factor that Salim (Jehangir) was not a brilliant offspring of this union.⁶ As a prince, he associated himself with revolts against his father and the murder of Abul Fazl and earned such a wide disrepute that a supersession by his own son Khurro was proposed. As a ruler, he had surrendered him-

self to his lovely consort Nur-Jehan and wine; he behaved more like a painter and a gardener than the worthy son of such an illustrious Emperor as Akbar the Great. The Mughal Government practically went on unhampered simply because he did not tamper with the institutions — political, social, religious and economic — which had so laboriously and ingeniously been founded by his august father. Does it not seem probable then, that the lady was a slave-girl and the marriage was a Rajput conspiracy to which Akbar, on tactical ground, was a wilful partner and which ultimately bore the desired fruits? Unless some fresh material as to this particular aspect of Mughal History comes to light and positively counters the guess, the mysterious circumstances may lead to many a grave doubt.

Mariam-uz-Zamani seems to have led a very peaceful, and practically uneventful, life. Abul Fazl and other contemporary historians do not mention her specifically. Curiously, her references in the memoirs of her own son are lamentably casual. He records his 'Tula-dan' twice at the house of Maryam Zamani.⁷ Once he alludes to the garden and the baoli which was constructed by his mother near Barah in the pargana of Jusat, a few miles from Biana.⁸ It was constructed in A.D. 1613 (1022 A.H.) at the cost of rupees twenty-thousand. Jehangir remarked, "certainly the baoli was a grand building and had been built exceedingly well."⁹

She died at Agra in 1623 and the news of her death was delivered to Jehangir, who was pitched at Ajmer, on May 9, 1623 (19th Rajab 1032 A.H.).¹⁰ Jehangir's 'Tuzuk' or any other source does not mention whether she was cremated or buried. Total absence of any contemporary record as to this important aspect of the Rajput-Mughal alliance leaves the student of history to rely, as far as it is practicable, on the circumstantial evidence. All contemporary sources, including the archi-

tectural evidence, confirm that Akbar greatly revered the religion of his Hindu consorts. The principle of religious toleration within the precincts of the harem was followed in essence by his son and was not much altered by his grandson. We know for certain that the Mughals had accommodated themselves fully in the Indian environment and even in their court-etiquette and ceremonial behaviour they had adopted Hindu manners and customs. They wore Indian dresses, and ate Indian dishes. They observed Jharokha-darshan and Tula-dan; they celebrated Diwali, Holi, Rakshabandhan and Dashera. They performed Tilak. They heartily patronised and gave tremendous impetus to Indian music, painting, literature and architecture. They cared a fig for the fiction of Khalifa; Agra was their Darul-Khilafat. At least prior to the accession of Aurangzib, the Hindu manners and customs were conveniently tolerated by the Imperial Mughals.

The Hindu queen could have died as perfect a Hindu as she was when she entered the Mughal harem. The last rites, without any State interference, could have been performed in the Hindu way. While the erection of a sepulchre over the remains of a Royal personage was a Mughal custom which had so firmly been established that this ceremonial recognition of the immanence of Death had almost become a normal feature of the Mughal life, it did not require the person to die in a particular way. The erection of a mausoleum to perpetuate the memory of the departed soul did not necessarily overlap the performances of the last rites. The tomb could be raised over the ashes of the person as magnificently as it could be built over the dead body. As there is no proof whatsoever that it was the body itself which was interred, it seems probable that instead of the dead body, only the ashes of the mortal remains of Mariam-uz-Zamani were buried in the mortuary-chamber of her mausoleum.

The popularly known Mariam's tomb, in the compound of the Christian Missionary Society, is the Mausoleum of Mariam-uz-Zamani.¹¹ The 'Barahdari' was originally built by Sikandar Lodi (1486-1517). Niama-tulla explicitly mentions the revolt of Haibat Khan Jalwani who was Governor of Agra in 1492 (897 A.H.) which was ultimately suppressed.¹² Sikandar Lodi shifted his military head-quarters at Agra to be ready within striking distance of turbulent areas like, Gwalior, Itawa and Hatkant. The central situation of Agra rendered it as easy a gateway into Rajputana and Malwa as into the East. Sultan Sikandar generally resided here.¹³ He spent the rainy season of the year 1505 at Agra and it was from this place that he started on his various punitive or subjugatory expeditions.¹⁴ Agra which was a pargana (dependency) of Biana, virtually became the seat of the Government after 1505.¹⁵ Sultan Sikandar built several palaces and pavilions at Agra and while he stayed here during rainy season or after a tortuous journey, "he passed his time in pleasure and amusement."¹⁶ It was the residence of the Sultan for a considerable period every year and must have had beautiful buildings and gardens to accommodate him and his vast retinue.

Sikandara probably received its name from Sikandar Lodi.¹⁷ Many buildings in the suburb of Sikandara and in its vicinity have been traced which owe their origin indisputably to the Lodis. Their architecture — broad four-centred Pathan (technically Tudor) arches, shallow massive domes crowned by lotus-petals and kalasa-finials, excessive use of plaster even on stone surface — is the best testimony of their origin. In the vast mass of medieval buildings in the area, they bear a distinct individuality.

The Barahdari which was constructed by Sikandar Lodi¹⁸ was adopted by the Mughals and converted into the mausoleum of Mariam Zamani. Interior construction was not much

disturbed. The numerous compartments and the corridors, having arcuate ceilings supported on vaults, barrel-vaults, corbelled or stalactite squinches were allowed to remain. Thick layers of stucco on the walls, vaults and ceilings, ornamented sometimes with beautiful designs, were also not disturbed. The interior architecture is thus formed of brick and mortar construction with stucco and the associated form of decoration.

The purpose of the building had, however, changed from that of a pleasure-pavilion to a sepulchre. A crypt was consequently dug below the central chamber and was made approachable by a broad flight of red sandstone stairs. Remains of Mariam-uz-Zamani were deposited in the mortuary chamber which was thus built. For ample provision of light and air into this crypt, two light-ducts were provided on the east and west corridors of the central chamber. Light and air had been allowed in the Tomb-hall at Akbar's mausoleum by large flying ventilators near the ceiling in a similar way. The additions at the Mausoleum of Mariam Zamani, however, substantially disturbed the original fabric of the Barahdari so much so that the relative corridors were blocked by the light-ducts. This feature is another strong evidence of the fact that the building was converted by the Mughals for the specific purpose.

The Mughals did not approve the grimly plastered appearance of the Monument. They reconstructed the four facades of the building with exquisitely carved red sandstone panels and provided a chhajja supported on beautifully carved and moulded brackets, which rotated on all sides. Mughal plan of a building was incomplete without the superseding chhatris and their harmonious disposal on the superstructure. It was the skyline which he aspired to present most impressively. Hence, four rectangular chhatris, one in the centre of each facade and four octagonal, one at each angle of the building, were constructed.

This refined red sandstone work in the mausoleum bears indisputable proof that it was adopted and suitably remodelled and renovated by the Mughals.

The building was made over to the Orphan Society in 1839 by the Government of North-West Provinces.¹⁹ For about 70 years it formed part of the orphanage and was restored in 1910-11. Subsequent additions and white-wash were removed, walls and ceilings were replastered, decayed stones were replaced. More than that, the external carved work wherever it had disappeared was substituted by masonry in small country bricks (kakai) laid without mortar.²⁰ The enclosure was acquired from the orphanage authorities and a boundary was provided. A sum of Rs. 10812/- was incurred on the cost of the conservation in 1910-11.²¹

The building (Plate-I) is a square construction with 146' side. It stands majestically on a high plinth, approachable by simple stairs on northern and southern sides, in the centre of a well-maintained garden. The central archway on each side of the square building is flanked on each side by three smaller archways and fourthly by double, still smaller arches, one over the other. Thus an upper storey chamber has been provided above the corner compartment at each angle and each such upper-chamber is made approachable by a flight of steps as indicated in the Plan (Plate-II). Through corridors divided into several compartments each having solid and massive arches and vaults run from every third archway intersecting each other. Thus the interior consists of series of compartments and through corridors. Except for the four corner lower compartments which have beamed ceiling, each compartment in the building has extra-ordinarily massive piers supporting broad Pathan arches, corner vaults and vaulted ceilings—all in brick-and-mortar and finished with fine stucco. Some arches have adequately been pointed

and represent the true Saracenic type. Vaults at the angles have conventional Islamic designs, chiefly stalactite. Ceilings are spherical as well as barrel-vaulted. Original painting is still discernible.

Each side has beautifully carved red sandstone facade. Spandrels of the arches have platform of brick and mortar in the centre, others are typically Mughal, formed with lotus, chakra or wine-vase as the chief motif. These conventionalized patterns help to establish with considerable certainty the period of their construction.

Two stair-ways provided on the southern side lead above to the terrace which has a platform of brick and mortar in the centre, with an uninscribed though slightly carved white-marble cenotaph in its middle. At each angle of the terrace a beautiful octagonal chhatra stands majestically on a square platform—all of red sandstone. Columns rest on irregularly hexagonal bases which have beautifully been designed and carved. Capitals are equally well-moulded. The entire pillar bears some resemblance with the pillars of eastern portico of the Jehangiri-Mahal in the Agra Fort and it provides another link to its Mughal conversion. Railings were provided on three sides but the slabs have dwindled. The brackets which support the beams and the chhajja have most exquisitely been moulded and carved.

The upper brackets supporting the caves are horse-shaped. Legs and other physical features of the animal, except the mouth, can distinctly be seen (Plate-III). It shows the change of spirit which had set in after Akbar. Considerable restrictions seem to have been imposed upon the Hindu artisans and the mouth of the animal had to be eliminated. This again detains us within Jehangir's reign. The animal could not have been carved during Sikandar Lodi's orthodox regime. On the other hand, the carver of Akbar's liber-

age would have presented it in full with perfected details. Shah Jehan did not permit architectural animation. We see the horse-shape adopted in an altogether inanimate form in the brackets of the minars of the Taj-Mahal. This confirms that the red stone-work of which this bracket forms an integral part was done under Jehangir.

The broad chhajja has a carved frieze and cornice above it. The base (drum) of the cupola provides another frieze of octagonal conformation which is more prominent than the lower one. It has been carved and inlaid with white marble. The grand cupolas have beautiful lotus-petals (padma-kosa), the finials of which have disappeared. They are at present plastered but, as it seems, they originally bore a brilliant glazed-tile decoration.

In the centre of each side, just above the central archway, a rectangular pavilion has been built on a high platform approachable by steps on both sides. Its eight pillars are equally impressive; the capitals have distinct Hindu mouldings, though carving work on

each capital resembles that which is done on the capitals of the eastern portico of the Jehangiri Mahal. The pavilion has a pyramidal roof. The frieze has exquisitely carved design, which has beautifully been inlaid with white marble. Here the inlay work is more imposing. By far, the corner chhatris and the rectangular pavilions form the most important ornament of the entire composition.

As a Mughal tomb, this square building has a different and unconventional interior arrangement consisting of square compartments and through corridors, obviously because it was originally a Lodi Barahdari. Stucco vaults of the interior present a variety of methods of the arcuate construction. Exquisite carving work on red sandstone panels in various pleasing designs on each facade and on the chhatris and pavilions is representative of the artistic age which began with Akbar and found its culmination in the Taj-Mahal. Harmonious disposal of the chhatris on the skyline has led to an overwhelmingly beautiful and a definitely battered presentation of the building. The sepulchre occupies a unique position in the history of the tomb-architecture in India.

REFERENCES

1. Abul Fazl—'Akbar-Nama' (H. Beveridge) Vol. II (Calcutta 1912) pp. 242-44. He confirms that Raja Bihari Mal was introduced to Akbar at Sanganir, he at his own accord proposed his eldest daughter in marriage, the offer was accepted and marriage took place at Sambhar when Akbar returned from Ajmer. Bihari Mal's son Bhagwandas and grandson Mansingh were admitted in the Imperial service.
A. L. Srivastava—'Akbar, the Great' Vol. I (Agra 1962) p. 62 states that Bharmal had suffered hard at the hands of Sharfuddin, the Mughal governor of Mewat, who was assisted by Suja, son of Bharmal's brother Pooranmal who wanted the tiny state of Ambar for himself. The proposal was voluntary.
Wolsley Haig—Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV p. 81 and V. A. Smith—'Akbar the Great Mogul' (Delhi 1962) p. 42 maintain the same opinion.
R. P. Tripathi—'Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire' (Allahabad 1956) p. 185 also confirms that Bhai Mal was hard-pressed and had come to Akbar not only to pay homage but also to seek his protection. Tripathi very wisely concludes that 'Self-interest, gratitude and probably some pressure from the side of the Emperor brought about this marriage.'
2. Haig, p. 81; Tripathi, p. 207—'Salim was born at Sikri on August 30, 1569 of Maryam-uz-Zamani, the Kachwaha princess.'
Beniprasad—'History of Jahangir' (1922) p. 5—'Early in 1569 the Rajput princess, Maryam-uz-Zamani as she was officially styled, showed signs of pregnancy.'
Abul Fazl—'Ain-i-Akbari' Vol. I (Blochmann) p. 309 confirms that she was the daughter of Bihari Mal whom Akbar married in 968 A.H. at 'Sambhar'. Blochmann on p. 309 as read with p. 619 corrects that she was not Jodhbai and clearly stipulates that she was mother of Jahangir and her official title was Maryam-uz-Zamani.
Jehangir—'Tuzuk' (Memoirs—Rogers & Beveridge) (London 1909) always refers to her as Maryam Zamani (Vol. I, pp. 76, 78, 81, 145, 230; Vol. II, pp. 64, 66, 68 and 261).

3. Gordon Sanderson — *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1910-11*, p. 95. He finally rejects the theory that Maryam was Akbar's Christian wife. Smith, op. cit. (p. 42, footnote-3) rejects the view that she was Christian and holds that she was Hindu Rajput.
4. Blochmann, Abul Fazl's able translator (Cf. 'Ain-i-Akbari' Vol. I p. 309 as read with p. 619) concluded that the name of Mariam-uz-Zamani, mother of Jehangir, was not Jodhbai.
Beniprasad (op. cit. p. 6, f-9) admits that "no chronicler mentions the Rajput name of Jehangir's mother. Sujan Rai (Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 374) only mentions her official designation." Beniprasad rejects that she was Jodhbai, or some Muslim lady or else.
T. W. Beale — 'The Oriental Biographical Dictionary' (Calcutta 1881) p. 135, confirms that Jodhbai was the princess of Jodhpur and the mother of Shah Jehan; Mariam Zamani was on the other hand (Cf. his p. 172) the Kachhwaha princess and mother of Jehangir. Thus the relation between the two was that of 'Sas-Bahu'.
5. Her magnificent tomb once stood in the Agra Cantt area. It was built by her son Shah Jehan. Originally it was square and could possibly have risen to a total height of 80'. It stood on a large plinth. It seems to have had a central archway on each side, flanked on either side by two arches one over the other. Probably it had attached towers and a series of beautiful kiosks on the parapet. A dome magnificently crowned the whole structure. The construction was in red sandstone with a sparse, yet effective, use of white marble. The site was occupied by British military authorities in the early 19th century. They converted the neighbourhood into artillery barracks and practice-ground. It was on this very account that the sepulchre was blown up by gunpowder in 1832. It was a deliberate act of vandalism and rightly earned condemnation later at the hands of Thornton, Fergusson, Cunningham, Curzon and other enlightened Britishers who were genuinely interested in the preservation of our cultural heritage. The tomb was consequently reduced to a mere heap of debris. Whatever remained was further demolished by villagers for stone and bricks. The crypt was dug up several times in search of treasures.
6. With apologies to the historians of Akbar and Jehangir. This has been said simply in the present context and I do not mean to generalise the statement.
7. Tuzuk (Rogers & Beveridge) op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 78, 230.
8. Tuzuk, Vol. II, p. 64.
9. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 64.
10. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 261; Blochmann, p. 309; Sanderson, p. 95; Beale, p. 172.
11. H. R. Nevill — 'Agra: A Gazetteer' (Allahabad 1905) p. 326, Barahdari which was constructed by Sikandar Lodi, "was afterwards adopted as the tomb of Akbar's wife known as Mariam Zamani. She died in 1623 and was buried here by her son Jahangir." Smith, op. cit. p. 42 — "The dust of Akbar's first Hindu consort lies in a fine mausoleum situated near Akbar's tomb at Sikandra." Beale, op. cit. p. 172, "the mausoleum at Agra in Sikandra which was erected by her son over her grave is called by the people of Agra, Rauza Mariam." Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII (Oxford 1908), "Jahangir's mother who died at Agra in 1623 is buried here" (in the orphanage at Sikandra). Cf. Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, pp. 92-93.
12. Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, Vol. IV (Elliot & Dowson) p. 450.
13. Ibid. pp. 466-68.
14. Niamatulla, p. 99.
15. Ibid. pp. 100-102.
16. Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. XXII, p. 363; Nevill, p. 325; A.C.L. Carlisle, Archaeological Survey of India, Report for 1871-72, Vol. IV (Calcutta, 1874) p. 99.
17. Nevill, p. 326. He gives 1495 as the date of its construction. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII accepts the date 1495. It now forms a part of the orphanage. Nevill (p. 325) observes that the Church Missionary Society established an orphanage during the famine of 1837-38. Barahdari stands within the compound of this orphanage. 1495 as the date of its construction was first introduced by Carlisle (Cf. op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 99) in 1871-72. But he does not quote his source of information. Carlisle, however, committed some historical blunders e.g., he called it the mausoleum of Begam Mariam and identified her to be Akbar's Christian wife, Portuguese Queen Mary. The view is wholly erroneous and has been rejected by others, including Nevill (p. 326).
18. Sanderson, p. 96.
19. Ibid. p. 96. Sanderson adds, "These have weathered to pleasing tints, with the result that although modern work, they do not rob the building of its expression as conjectural imitative work might have done."
20. Ibid. p. 96.

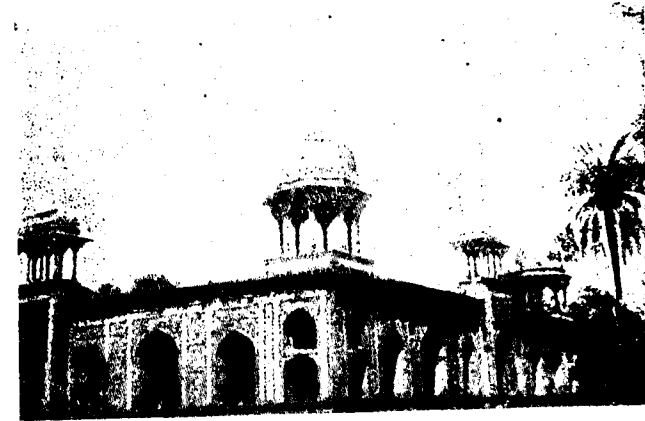


Plate — I

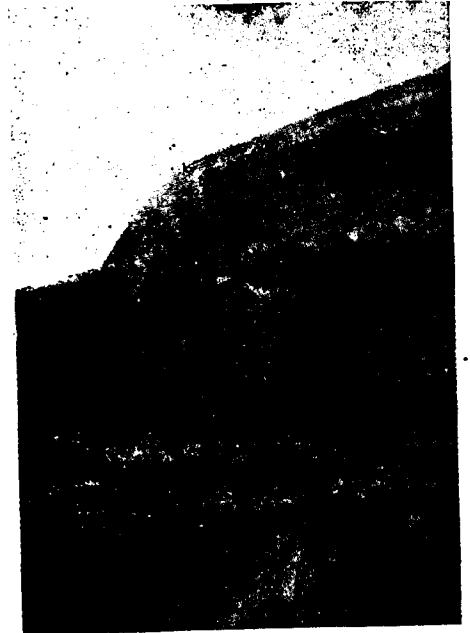


Plate — II

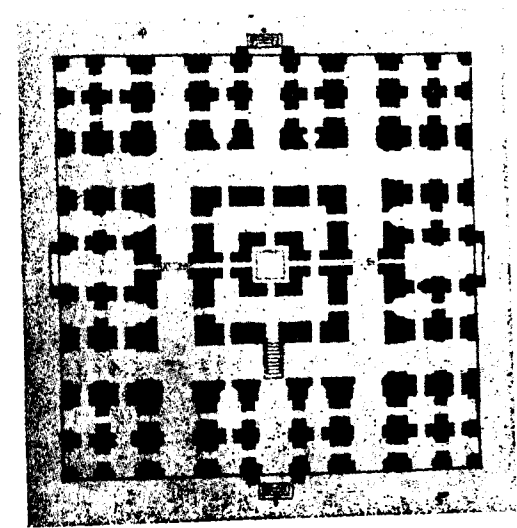


Plate — III

THE CUSTOM AND THE CUSTOM HOUSE AT SURAT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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I. Surat Port

The port of Surat rose into prominence at the beginning of the 17th century. It is mentioned but rarely by foreign travellers who visited India before the 16th century.¹ According to one opinion, its rise as a big commercial centre could be traced from 1530 A.D., when Render, a neighbouring port, was sacked by the Portuguese.² More important than this was perhaps its geographical situation which contributed to its rise at the cost of Cambay, a port of universal renown in the 15th and 16th centuries. The port of Cambay presented a number of navigational hazards for vessels coming to it, which necessitated the use of an out port, Goga on the Kathiawar Coast, where the big ships unloaded their cargo to be carried upon smaller vessels to Cambay.³ Finally the establishment of European sea-borne trade, especially with the coming of the English and the Dutch during the first decades of the 17th century on the one hand, and the rise of the Mughal empire on the other, made the Agra trade very important, and for this the best route to the Gulf of Cambay lay via Burhanpur to Surat.⁴

According to Fryer, Surat was the only port of commercial importance, which the Mughals held on the Western Coast.⁵ Apparently the income from the customs was considerable at this port, and perhaps, larger than at other ports on the Western Coast under the Mughals.⁶ Though the bulk of the State income was derived from land revenue, it would be interesting to know the propor-

tion of income from Port dues. Therefore, a study of the organization of the custom house and the customs levied at Surat, assumes some significance.

Surat is situated on the left bank of the river Tapti.⁷ The bar of Surat, where the ships anchored, was not its true port; at best it could be called a road.⁸ It was known as the bar because of the sand banks which hindered the great ships from entering the river before they were unloaded.⁹ The town of Surat was 7 kos from here and all goods were carried and landed ashore near the custom house by boats.¹⁰ The reason was that there was so little water there that the ordinary tides were not sufficient to bring the ships up the river; they were obliged to wait for a spring tide which helped them to come to Surat, whenever they needed repairs.¹¹ The English found a more convenient anchorage at Swally,¹² situated about four (French) leagues (about 7 kos) from Surat by land route¹³ and about 3 kos¹⁴ further eastwards from the mouth of the river Tapti. At Swally there was a sand bank which was exposed at low waters, and gave shelter to the ships at high tide, so that it was a desirable place for loading and unloading cargo. From here the goods were carried or brought to Surat overland on carts.¹⁵ Although this was more expensive than sending the goods direct from the Surat bar by boats, the latter course was exceedingly dangerous, because of the Malabari pirates lying hidden off the river's mouth.¹⁶

II. Custom house

On the right hand side of the city, facing the river, stood the old Surat¹⁷ fort. Near this place was situated the Surat Custom house, having one of its two gates, with a broad court in front, towards the river Tapti.¹⁸ When a boat approached the custom house it was stopped, by the signals given out by the custom officials just in knee-deep water and from there passengers and goods were carried ashore upon men's backs, who came up even to the middle of the river. The passengers were then led to the large court of the custom house.¹⁹

From the court the passengers along with their goods were taken into the hall of the custom house, where the chief customer used to sit in his diwan (court) with his clerks.²⁰ The passengers entered that place one after another, one at a time. The clerks at the instance of the customer (Shahbandar) wrote down the particulars of the passenger as well as of his goods etc, in a register (the custom house book); then he was thoroughly searched. The passenger had to take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes and stockings; even the rest of the dress had to be taken off if the custom officials thought it fit. In certain cases a more vigorous search was carried out by looking into every part of the body, handling even the trifle possessions, and ripping up every thing. This search was long and it took above a quarter of an hour for searching the person of each passenger.²¹ After this strict search and having paid customs for gold and silver (or money), the passenger was let go. But he could not carry his goods and luggage, if any, along with him at that time. Before getting out of the custom house, he had to pass through the wicket-gate which opened into the street (or bazar) where the guards would not let him go out unless so ordered by the Chief Customer.²² Next day, all who had left their goods or luggage behind, had to come to the same gate.²³ All goods brought into the custom house could

not be despatched until the customer had placed the king's seal on them.²⁴

The custom house usually never opened before ten in the morning and work was done there till noon.²⁵ The customer (Shahbandar) and other officials punctually came at 10 A.M. and first inspected the seals put the previous day, upon the two great pad-locks, that held the great gate and the wicket-gate shut. If the seals were found intact, both the gates were opened. No sooner had the customer and his men got into the custom house than the so-called great gate (towards the sea) was shut again, while the wicket-gate was kept open.²⁶ And hence, all newly arrived passengers waited in the courtyard outside till they were called in.²⁷ When the custom house was opened and the passengers allowed to come ashore, a strict vigilance was enforced and the number of waiters (guards) was increased.²⁸

The Shahbandar (customer) was the chief officer of the port and had control over all matters relating to it including the customs.²⁹ In the bureaucratic hierarchy he was put immediately under the Governor (or Mutasaddi) of Surat.³⁰ His main business was to mark goods outward-bound, and clear those received for import.³¹ He had to be vigilant that whatsoever had been admitted into the custom house did not evade the custom.³² Only the goods marked by the Governor of Surat as 'Present or gift to the king or the princes of the royal blood were exempt.³³ The customer put the valuation of the goods received in the custom house both for import or export.³⁴ Sometimes the Governor of Surat along with his diwan, the customer, and some big merchants of Surat used to form a jury to decide upon the valuation.³⁵

The customer in his work was assisted by a host of clerks, waiters, porters and others (whom Thevenot calls the peons of the custom house).³⁶

The clerks maintained the custom house books³⁷, helped the customer in the business of strict search,³⁸ the valuation of goods and the assessment and collection of customs. The custom house books were maintained both in Persian, the official language, and also in Banian (Gujarati).³⁹ The waiters (guards) were to keep watch and look after every thing in the custom house.⁴⁰ The porters were employed to bring the men and their goods on their backs from boats up to the court and thence to the big hall of the custom house.⁴¹

Immediately a ship approached the Surat bar, the master of the ship was obliged to come ashore in his own boat to acquaint the custom authorities with the ship's arrival, and to give a statement of the cargo.⁴² The master of the ship was thoroughly searched, and a waiter was immediately sent aboard the vessel in order to prevent the passengers from breaking the bulk, carrying away anything ashore or moving aboard another ship, that had already been searched.⁴³ In the meantime, if enough time was left before the closing of the custom house, several boats were sent to bring the men and goods ashore to the court.⁴⁴ The waiter received his fee from every passenger, amounting to about 18 pence⁴⁵ (a little more than half a rupee), and the bark had half a rupee (about 15 pence) for the passage.⁴⁶

If the custom house had not yet closed, the passengers, could come ashore up to the court; otherwise they had to spend the rest of the day and the night till 10 a.m. the next day, in the bark, heavily guarded and watched by waiters.⁴⁷ Strict watch was maintained and the number of waiters was increased when the bark advanced to land the passengers one by one at quay just against the custom house. There was a covered pavilion, where sentinels kept watch over all who went in and came out of the barks.⁴⁸ When the custom house was opened a large number

of peons were seen on the river side, in front of the great-gate, for any kind of service, but only during day time.⁴⁹ These peons had in their hands great cane-rods to keep off the people from those who had just come ashore, lest, they might convey message of any kind to any body. They kept standing on both sides of the passage, making a sort of lane for the passengers who came in. If despite this strictness, any body tried to approach the new-comers, he was liable to be flogged and also fined.⁵⁰

III. Customer

The sole responsibility for the routine management of customs lay with the customer (Shahbandar). In matters of higher policies he could not act at his own discretion without the sanction of the central government or the instructions from the Governor (Mutasaddi) of Surat. He was only to carry out the orders of the Governor. For instance, he could not permit any merchant from a foreign country to land without the Governor's permission. When Hawkins arrived at Surat (1608), Muqarrab Khan was Governor (Mutasaddi) of both Surat and Cambay, and was at that time at the latter station. When Hawkins asked the customer of Surat for permission to unload his cargo and to open a factory at Surat to buy and sell merchandise, the latter told him that it was not within his authority to deal with his case. And, therefore, the customer sought the permission from the Governor on behalf of the English.⁵¹ Furthermore, if the port of Surat was held by some one under a farming arrangement then his authority was still further limited and he was only concerned with the customs.

IV. Mutasaddi

The Mutasaddi (or Governor) was thus the Shahbandar's (customer) superior⁵² and had powers over general, fiscal as well as the port administration including the custom house and the customs. According to the

Mirat-i-Ahmadi (Supplement) "the diwani of the Sarkar Surat was under Mutasaddi stationed there".⁵³ He used to have a military contingent also at his disposal for emergency purposes.⁵⁴ It appears that he combined the powers both of Faujdar and Amil in the area in addition to his special duties regarding the port administration. In one instance, the Government of Surat had been combined with that of Cambay. Muqarrab Khan held for long the post of Mutasaddi of both these ports.⁵⁵ There were certain other important officials at the port of Surat, namely, *Darogah-i-langar* and *Amin-i-langar*. The *Mushraf-i-Farza* mentioned in *Mirat* was the Shahbandar himself.⁵⁶ They were all under Mutasaddi.⁵⁷

V. Abuses in the Custom House

The assessment of the customs after valuation on all goods, received in or outward-bound, was one of the important aspects of the daily business at the custom-house. As already mentioned, the function of the Shahbandar, together with his subordinates, was mainly to value the goods, but very often the Governor of Surat together with the big merchants of Surat formed a 'jury' to help the customer to dispose off this business. In the reports of the English factors and the accounts of European travellers and also in a *dastak* (belonging to Aurangzeb's reign), the Surat custom house officials are accused of the practice of over-valuation of the goods and hence inflating the rates of customs on goods passing through the custom house.⁵⁸ The schedules were ad valorem, but, while the rates were fixed by superior authority, the valuation of goods was left to the discretion of the officers on the spot, who could, if they chose, double their demands by doubling the values placed on the consignment passed through the customs. This practice was very common at Surat. The English factors complain thus: "for here the governor's will is a law; so that he setts what prices he pleasath on commodities, that

thereby it cometh to pass that while you think you pay but 3½ per cent, your custom stands you in twice as much, for the goods are often rated at double the prices they cost, as was that indico he bought in Agra, which costing 61 rupees per maund was here rated by Muzel Mulk at 110 rupees, because (he said) it was worth so much in Persia. But at Bandar Laree (Lahoribandar) it is not so; for there the prices are known and sett downe in a rate book, not to be innovated or altered at every covetous or unjust governor's will".⁵⁹

The *dastak* of Dayanat Khan Alamgiri,⁶⁰ issued in the name of the agents of Mutasaddis of the custom house of the auspicious Port of Surat (dated the 4th Ramazan 46th regnal year of Aurangzeb) also corroborates the practice of over-rating the goods passing through the custom house at Surat. The whole document is divided into three sections. In the first section, Muhammad Fazil, son of Jaji Hamid, requests the king that as in the case of Mullah Abdul Ghaffar merchant, the custom charges for Rs. 1,00,000 should be condoned. This concession is granted but for cargo up to the value of Rs. 50,000 only. In the second section, the petitioner (Muhammad Fazil) represents that certain abuses in the custom house at the port of Surat be checked. He complains that the officials of the custom house estimate the value of Ibrahim and then take the custom in rupees, while they value the other goods above the prices current. He further pleads that, as in the case of Abdul Ghafur merchant, customs should be taken as share in kind of each specie of coins, and the other goods not be valued above the prices that are current. The customer or the Governor (or both), if the custom was formed, could hasten or delay clearance, and raise or lower the valuation and this put them in a position not merely to extort bribes, but also to make a profit by forced dealing in goods which came into the custom house. In the year 1615 we find English Factors from Surat complaining as

follows; "The governor and customer do (detain) goods into the custom house, lay aside the choicest and principal wares so brought and send them to their houses without making price with the merchants and offer long (if ever payment be made) it shall be very under rates and less than they cost, or in the best fashion, the opinion of the Sabindour shall be taken. If he appraise them at far under rates it must not be denied or else he should be forced to take what be doth offer them".⁶¹

Again in 1620, we hear another English Factor of the same place accusing the custom officers of the forced detention of their coral in the custom house, irrespective of the repeated orders from Prince Khurram for its release. The same factor further alleges that "he (the customer) intended (being the superintendent of the custom house) to rate it at one half of its value, which would occasion a loss of more than 30001".⁶²

The above statements and various others in the same strain show that these instances were very common in the custom house, and merchants could obtain their claims only by bribes. In 1620, the English obtained release of coral imported by them (to the great resentment of local merchants) by the same means. Reporting this the factors write, "It has been agreed that for 1000 royals of eyght (rial of eight) to the governor, 100 ditto royals to the broker, and the saile of 2000 maunds leads into the prince warehowse" and so, now "We should have our currall released, lubertye to buy and sell with whom wee pleased, lycence to transporte our goods of any quallety, and bee restored to our former dwellinge house, and that the prince, his officers should for ever hereafter desist from all pretence of marchandizeing in our commodities".⁶³

Having in view all these reports the only inference that can be drawn is that the money

had to be paid, over and above the scheduled customs, in one way or other, and if we take into account the cases of bribes, forced sale, over-valuation and unnecessary detentions, we shall see that the actual schedules of customs might be much less in comparison with demands which might have to be met in practice. In fact, bribe was an universally accustomed practice in the Mughal administrative set up and it was irremediable. So much so that goods could not be delivered out of the custom house, says Fryer, "till a right understanding be created betwixt the Shahbandar and them (the merchants) which commonly follows when the first is molified."⁶⁴ Sometimes for speedier despatch almost double custom had to be paid and the merchants had to suffer it patiently.⁶⁵

VI. Custom charges at Surat

The regular custom charges at Surat remained two and half per cent on all goods except bullion throughout the 17th century, although in practice the merchants had to pay more. According to Abul Fazl, under Akbar the duties did not exceed two and half per cent.⁶⁶ Jahangir when on a visit to Cambay in the 10th regnal year ordered that the customs were not to exceed one in forty.⁶⁷ William Finch, who visited India in 1608-1611, reports "the custom being two and half for goods, three for victuals, and two for money".⁶⁸ But subsequent statements suggest a higher actual rate. Thomas Best, who came to Surat in 1612 says that an agreement was made and according to that, "all English commodities shall pay custome, according to the value or price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the custom house, after the rate of three and an halfe the hundred".⁶⁹ Pelsaert visiting India during the later years of Jahangir says "custom duties are here three and an half per cent on all imports and exports and two per cent on money either gold or silver".⁷⁰ Mandelslo, too, refers to the duty being three and a half on goods and two per cent on bullion.⁷¹

The early English Factors' letters also confirm that custom charges at Surat were three and half per cent on all goods both exported or imported.⁷² But those included one per cent for customer's brokerage. Reporting this the English Factors from Surat (1616) wrote as follows: "In this examination we had in question our customer and find that the inhabitants pay 2½% custom and no other duty; the Portugals and all other strangers, besides the said custom, do pay one per cent extorted, which they call the customer's brokage".⁷³

After the first loot of Surat by Shivaji (Jan. 1664) a reduction in the customs was granted to the Dutch and the English. On March 14, the same year Aurangzeb, at the request of Surat merchants, both indigenous and foreign, issued an order also for a general remission in the custom to the effect that henceforth all the merchants would be granted a reduction in their customs of ½% and instead of paying 2½%, they would pay only 2%.⁷⁴ But a little later the English Factors reported that the reduction applied only to imports, the duty paid on exports by the English continuing to be 3% until 1667.⁷⁵ The Factors went on observing, "The king being informed how our customs were paid at Surratt, demanded the ½ again, both of the English and the Dutch, that was taken off for service done at Seragees first plundering that towne, and turned out all the writers for letting it pass free soelong."⁷⁶

In the 8th regnal year Aurangzeb issued an order fixing custom duty on all commodities at 2½% ad valorem in the case of Muslims and 5% in that of Hindus.⁷⁷

The Dutch again approached the Emperor and he favoured them with a royal farman dated 25th June 1667, addressed to Governor and other officers at Surat. According to this farman the custom duties in the case of the Dutch were lowered from 3½% to 2%.⁷⁸ A little later the English too secured the same

reduction.⁷⁹ But when again pressed by the heavy demands for customs by the port officials, Aungier, the English President at Surat (1675), decided, in consultation with his council and on the advice of the principal merchants, that the general rate should be fixed at 3½% including 1% voluntary contribution towards the fortification of the port, otherwise, they would represent the case to the Emperor.⁸⁰ Both Tavernier and Thevenot, who visited India about the middle of the 17th century, tell us that the customs at Surat ranged between four and five per cent,⁸¹ excepting bullion which paid only two per cent.⁸² Ovington, who visited Surat in 1689, says that "all strange Coyn, whether imported or exported pay to the Mughal officers two and a half per cent and other goods pay more."⁸³ Captain Alexander Hamilton, who came to Surat around 1690, informs: "the custom on Mahometan goods are two in the hundred, on Christians three and three quarters; but the Christians are exempt from paying poll money, but the Mahometans are not, nor Gentows who pay 5 per cent customs on their goods".⁸⁴ For Muslims, however, the formal rate of 2½% appears to have continued after Aurangzeb's farmans of Ushr. Aurangzeb also restored duty at this rate on Muslim merchants by a later order.

The *Parwana-i Tasdiq* muafi of Qamaruddin Khan Muhammad Shahi, dated 14th Rajab 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah (19 March 1726) with the royal seal of Muhammad Shah Ghazi, affirms that the custom charges at the port of Surat from the time of Hazrat Khuld manzil (Aurangzeb) and Hazrat Khuld makan (Bahadur Shah) and also in the reign of Muhammad Shah at schedule were two and a half per cent.⁸⁵

If the above-cited reports of the Factors, accounts of travellers, and the information contained in the *Surat Document* (No. 5m) are put together and studied, the only inference that can be drawn is that throughout the

17th century and also up to the first quarter of the 18th century the official custom rates seldom exceeded two and a half per cent on all goods excepting bullion, which only paid two per cent. But the officers on the spot could charge more than the scheduled customs under one pretext or other. Sometimes they charged one per cent more in the name of the customer's brokerage, on other occasions they demanded one per cent on all goods for the fortification of the port etc. The third means of over-charging the customs was the practice of over-valuation of the goods. The Emperor could hardly check this abuse. However, as compared with the custom charges either at Arabian Coast or Persian Gulf, the custom here was quite attractive during the period under review. At Mokha and Aden the custom duty was 4% i.e. 3% custom⁸⁶ and 1% more which they called 'enterage charges' half being paid by the seller and half by the buyer.⁸⁷ At Basra and Gombroon the customs stretched between 6½% and 8%. On poised goods the duty was 8%; whereof 7½% was to the king and Shahbandar and ½% to the weigher.⁸⁸

VII. Fraud in Customs

Evasion of custom by fraud was a very common practice at Surat.⁸⁹ Reporting this Thevenot writes, "and, indeed, they who have a mind to cancel anything, and defraud the custom house, order their affairs more truly (much earlier), they stay not (do not wait) till they came to Surat, there to beg the assistance of their friends. I have known some bring in a great many precious stones, and other jewels, which the officers of the custom house never saw, nor got one farthing by".⁹⁰ This practice was most objectionable and those who indulged in it were severely punished.⁹¹ For officers, if any of them was found party to it, death was the usual punishment.⁹² Fryer mentions the "punishment being corporal, not confiscation of goods".⁹³ However, this practice could hardly be rooted out once for ever. Reporting this, the English Factors

from Surat wrote as follows. "Scarce a year passes but some of these merchants are loosers by these practices (frauds) and yet they will not suffer their gold to go into the custom house if they can help it, although they bring many hundred thousand pounds from Bussora, Persia and the Red Sea yearly. And this the governor and all know, yet they are not molested for it".⁹⁴

VIII. Annual Value of Trade

Certain data are available indicating the volume of goods that annually passed through the custom house. The annual volume of trade between Surat and Gombroon, for example, was quite large. It was an important trade-route between the western coast of India and the Persian Gulf. Yearly a large number of cargo ships used to frequent both the ports.⁹⁵ In 1651 Indian goods worth 1780,000 mahmudis passed through the customs at Gombroon. In 1656 the total value of such goods amounted to 6640,000 mahmudis, and in the following year those were valued at 2250,000 mahmudis.⁹⁶ On the other hand in 1650, goods shipped from Gombroon to Surat were valued at the former port at 2777,825 shahis, i.e. about 868,070.32 mahmudis.⁹⁷

The figures for the annual value of imports and exports between Surat and Western Europe (particularly England) can be gleaned from the books of the English and Dutch Companies. The English used to import to Surat yearly a vast amount of treasure in gold and silver and a few rarities. There is only one instance when in 1668 most of the English imported stock, worth £ 72,386, consisted of broad cloth and fine cloth, but half of the stock remained unsold despite the best efforts of the Company's officials.⁹⁸

The Indian goods exported to England by the East India Company mainly consisted of cotton goods, cotton yarn, indigo, saltpetre pepper, sugar and ginger etc.

The value of Indian exports from Surat to Gombroon was greater than that to England. Only in two instances the exports to England show higher figures. In 1649 the East India Company exported goods worth 10000,000 mahmudis⁹⁹ and in 1677 worth 18351,640 mahmudis,¹⁰⁰ otherwise throughout the 17th century, the annual value of Surat exports to England never exceeded the average of figures available for exports to Gombroon.¹⁰¹

IX. Farming

Before closing this paper a few words about the practice of farming the customs are essential. Often we hear of the customs at Surat being given in farming.¹⁰² Two things necessitated the farming system i.e., the obstacles in the way of detailed control over the local officers and the emphasis on the punctual payment of the fixed amount. Owing to the absence of quick means of communication and transportation in medieval times effective supervision was not possible and therefore, so long as a subordinate officer remained isolated at a distance, detailed control over him could be little effective, and in practice there was something to be said for a system which concentrated on the punctual payment of fixed revenue. The central government did not seem bothered about how a particular territory or port, given on farming, was administered, its only concern being to bind the highest bidder (the farmer) to pay the fixed promised sum whatever happened. It left the farmer a large measure of freedom so long as the essential stipulation could be fulfilled. When William Finch arrived at Surat, he found the port of Surat under the Viceroy of the Deccan and the land under the Viceroy of Gujarat. The Custom duties both on imports and exports were fixed by the Emperor; but the privilege of collecting them was farmed out,¹⁰³ or occasionally given in assignment either to the Governor or to some other authority. In 1639 the English Factors from Surat reported that the Governor "is just now ousted of

his government by Mazer Mulcke (better known as Mir Musa) whom he also wrought out and succeeded by farming Surratt at a greater rent."¹⁰⁴ Three years later another English Factor reported that "towards the finish of Sept. Masel Mulkes covenanted time of governing this country and farming this custom house and mint expiring, because he obliged to pay the king three years 72 lacks of Muhamudis for provenue of this adjacent country, mint, and custom house, not any of the kings ministers intermeddled. But he, it seems, promised more than he could performe by 31 lacks or 3,100,000 mahmudis which he yet owes to the kings and is therefore called to court to clear accounts which it is known he cannot do".¹⁰⁵ Mir Musa during his term as farmer tried his best to amass money by all means. Reporting this the English Factors wrote to the Company that "in your customs you are exceedingly injured, and not you only, but the Dutch, yea, all other merchants, whose goods this governor, Masal Mulck, makes no scruple to rate at double their cost, thinking by this means to raise the same he covenanted to pay the king, which more than doubly exceeds what his predecessor agreed for. Besides which force exercised in the matter of customes, he practizeth another more prejudicial than the former". The factors add that "he taketh on each maund of goods sometimes two, three yea, four rupees, according as they are in value".¹⁰⁶

When Mir Musa failed to pay the sum he had bidden for "the king, write the English Factors, think on some more provident course, and so he appointed certain officers to the government, and a certain exhibition allowed all of them yearly from the king, unto whose account whatever this country, mint and custom house produceth is brought. So that though some what more troubles and retardance then accustomed, in respect of procury of their mutuall dependent assents to the dispatch of business, by which only

all affaires are agitated, yet in what concerns the custom house dispatches wee and all other merchants rejoice exceedingly in Mazal

Mulks displacing".¹⁰⁷ This shows that the farming system was less favoured by the merchants than direct administration.

REFERENCES

1. Duarte Barbosa visited Surat in the early 16th century. See the *Book of Barbosa*, tr. Dames, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I p. 149, Surat "though inferior to Rander", was, according to Barbosa, "one of the major seaport of Gujrat, and its custom house brought in nearly a great sum of money to the king of Cambay". *Ibid.*, pp. 146-148.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 148; Surat was also attacked at the same time, but it recovered soon.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139, also N.(9); *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Sir Syed, p. 206. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, ed. H. G. Rawlinson, Oxford (1929), p. 131, Hawkin's *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619), ed. W. Foster (1927) pp. 62-63; Ali Mohammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supplement), Baroda, p. 194.
4. *The English Factories in India*, ed. W. Foster, Oxford, (1910), Vol. I, pp. 24-30; *Letters Received by the East India Company*, ed. W. Foster, London (1900), Vol. IV, p. 151; *The English Factories*, Vol. I, pp. 29-30; *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-153; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Bombay (1877) Vol. II, p. 82; *The English Factories*, Vol. I, p. 13. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East India*, (1688 to 1723), Digested by John Pinkerton London, (1811), p. 313. Port Goga (on the Kathiawar side of the Gulf of Cambay) used to serve Cambay—a three days' journey from the latter station. Thomas Roe once favoured Goga over Surat. But the English council in general had the following objections to Roe's proposal as early as July 1616.
 - (1) "It may be said, it will displease the prince and that he will seek to revenge it".
 - (2) "It may be said, Goga is a poor town, unfrequented and in danger of the Portuguese nation, having been sacked by them (in 1614)".
 - (3) "That it is not so fit for the vest of three of our main commodities, which are coral (sold to Decan), lead and teeth".
 - (4) "It may be said, it is not so well seated for provision of cloth to be sent for England and Southward".
 The land route from Goga to Agra via Marwar territory, Merta and Ajmer, was more dangerous and expensive for extra transit duties to autonomous Rajas than the land route from Surat to Agra via Burhanpur where the duty was charged only once. To Surat land caravans came and went by the Tapti valley south east of Golconda, east of Burhanpur and from there on to Agra; and in the north through Ahmedabad to Agra. For these reasons, therefore, Surat was most suitable. Reporting this an English Factor from Surat wrote as follows: "The Gulf of Cambay has been searched, but can fynd new place fit for your head residence but Surat".
5. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia being nine years travels* ed. W. Crooke, London, Vol. I, p. 225.
6. The annual income from the Port of Surat amounted to one crore dams, that is 2 lacs and 50,000 rupees. See Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 102; Ali Mohammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Baroda, Vol. I, p. 219; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri*, ed. S. N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 38. Thevenot says, "the customs which yield the king yearly twelve lacks of roupies". But this does not appear correct. See *The English Factories*, Vol. VI, p. 207. The English Factors mention that Meir Mozaes (Mir Musa), the for-customer house alone 8,00,000 mahmudi's a year. As early as 1616 Sir Thomas Roe offered an annual composition of Rs. 12,000 for Surat customs on behalf of the English alone. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (1615-19) ed. W. Foster, London, 1926, pp. 210, 470.
7. Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 62.
8. Thevenot, p. 37; Hawkins, *Early Travels*, pp. 62-63.
9. Tavernier, *Travels in India* (1640-67), tr. V. Ball 2nd edition ed. & revised by W. Crooke, London, 1927, Vol. I, p. 6, Thevenot, p. 1 Pelsaert, *Jehangir's India*, tr. Moreland and Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, p. 38.
10. Thevenot, p. 37.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Pelsaert, op. cit.
13. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 6; Thevenot, pp. 37-38.
14. Pelsaert, p. 38.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Pietra Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietra Della Valle in India* tr. Edward Grey, London, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 23-24; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 8.
18. Thevenot, p. 3. Pietra Della Valle, op. cit. Hawkins—*Early Travels*, p. 63.
19. Thevenot, pp. 1-3.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
21. Thevenot, op. cit.; Sir Thomas Roe refers to the "custom of the kings officers to search everie thing that come ashore, even the pocketts of mens cloathes on their backs for custom." See *The Embassy*, Tavernier observes, "the officers are very strict and search person with great care," Vol. I, p. 7. Thevenot himself underwent this rigorous search at the customs house of Surat in the year 1665. See for his narratives, p. 4. Hamilton, 321.
22. Thevenot, p. 3; Pietra Della Valle, pp. 126-127.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Pieter Van Den Brooke, *Surat Diary*, tr. Moreland, JIH, Vol. XI, part I (1932), p. 5. and also p. 210.
25. Thevenot, p. 3; Pietra Della Valle, p. 23.
26. Thevenot, p. 3.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
29. Hawkins, *Early Travels* p. 71; also footnote No. 1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement, p. 223.
30. Thevenot, p. 38, Fryer, Vol. I, p. 247.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 11; *Letters Received* Vol. IV, p. 78. The English Factors at Surat complained against the custom house officials upon their having been vexed: "That men be not so basely search as they be at the custom-house (at Surat), and if they bring out five or six dollars for their expense (they) are forced to payment for the same". See also Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 163.
33. *The English Factories*, Vol. I, pp. 40-41; *Ibid.*, p. 282.
34. *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, pp. 78-81. *The English Factories*, Vol. I pp. 187-188. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 307.
35. Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 127.
36. Thevenot, p. 38; about clerks Thevenot writes: "The clerks are Banians". *Ibid.*, p. 3; *The English Factories*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. XIV. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
37. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 116.
38. Thevenot p. 3.
39. *The English Factories*, Vol. IV, pp. 153-54.
40. Thevenot, p. 2.
41. *Ibid.* pp. 1-2.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
43. See *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, revised & ed. C.T. Onions Vol. II, p. 2378. The meanings of the word Waiter are given as: A. "One who watches or is on the look out". B. "Watchman at the city gates". C. "An officer in the employ of the customs". Evidently the Waiter was the guard of the customhouse.
44. Thevenot, op. cit.
45. *Ibid.*; Thevenot calls it 'Abassy'—a Persian coin worth about 1s. 6d, named after the Shah of Persia; Fryer calls it 'a sixteen penny piece of silver', Vol. I, p. 143.
46. Thevenot, p. 2.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
48. Thevenot, op. cit.
49. *Ibid.* pp. 2-3.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 71.
52. Fryer, Vol. I, p. 270.
53. *Mirat*, Supplement, p. 222.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Tuzuk*, p. 125.
56. *Mirat*, Supplement, p. 223.
57. *Ibid.*
58. See *Letters Received*, Vol. III, p. 5; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 78-81; *The English Factories*, Vol. I, p. 101; *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188; Finch, *Early Travels in India*, p. 127; *The Surat Document*, *Dastak of Dayanat Khan Alamgiri*, now in History Deptt. Aligarh Muslim University, bearing the Library Record No. 6M; was recently purchased from Bombay. This *Dastak* written on 14th Ramazan, 46th regnal year of Aurangzeb was meant for the use of the clerks of the custom house of the port of Surat to work in accordance with the dictates written herein.
59. *The English Factories*, Vol. II, p. 244.
60. *The dastak of Dayanat Khan Alamgiri*, 6 M, op. cit.
61. *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p. 79.
62. *The English Factories*, Vol. I, p. 187.
63. *The English Factories*, Vol. I, p. 187.
64. Fryer, Vol. I pp. 247-248; *The English Factories*, Vol. II pp. 317-18; *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p. 80; *The English Factories*, Vol. IV, p. 326; *Ibid.*, Vol. I p. 232. The English Factors report from Surat (1621) "it is evident that the goods for England, cannot be cleared from the custom-house without bribe, it is resolved that the value of mahmudis 600 in cloth should be given to the customer, mahmudis 300 in licke commodities to the Cheefa Serivan (writer), Muhmudis 200 in money amongst writers and other officers". The Factor goes on "it is also determined that a thousand mahmudis, a vest of cloth and a Pamre shall be given to their broken Midas (Mahidas), as his Profits have been very small".
65. Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 127; *The English Factories*, Vol. I, p. 101; *Letters Received*, Vol. III, p. 270; *The English Factories*, Vol. IV, p. 326. *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p. 80; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 5.
66. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. H. Blockmann, Vol. I, p. 204.
67. *Tuzuk*, pp. 206-207.
68. Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 134; see also *Hukluyus posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, S. Purchas, Vol. IV, p. 28.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
70. Pelsaert, p. 42.
71. Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels into the East India*, ed., J. Davies, p. 18.
72. *Letters Received*, Vol. II, p. 5. *The English Factories*, Vol. III, p. 92.
73. *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p. 331; *The English Factories*, Vol. III, p. 92.
74. *The English Factories*, Vol. II, pp. 314-15. The text of the farman, as translated into contemporary English, is as following:—
"The king, out of his own favour to the merchants Mahomitans, Hindoes, Armenians, Hollanders, English, Portugez, French and Mallabars, for jewels, gold, silver, horses, and all other goods that come from other ports to Surratt, and for all other goods that are carried out from Happy Hindustan to other places, the whole customes hereof which are taken in the custom house for the king accompt he hath given free for one year. And moreover, having regard to the welfare and good condition of the Dutch and English, in the custom which are paid by other merchants and them hath freely regarded you; for of the 2½% which you pay to the kings custom house he hath given you ½% free, and hath wrote a phyrmaund to the officers of the bunder that they alwaies take 2% custom upon all your goods".
75. *The English Factories*, Vol. XI, p. 315.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Mirat*, Vol. I, pp. 258-59. On 9th May, 1667, the Emperor abolished the custom duty altogether in the case of Muslim merchants while that on the Hindus was retained at the rate of 5% (see *Mirat*, Vol. I, pp. 265-266).
78. *The English Factories*, Vol. XII, pp. 273-74.
79. *Ibid.*; Vol. XIII, pp. 35, 166; 228 & C.
80. *The English Factories in India* (New Series), 1670-1677 (the Western Presidency) by S. C. Fawcett, Oxford, 1936, Vol. I, p. 119.
81. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 7. Thevenot, p. 4.
82. Tavernier, Vol. I p. 7.
83. Ovington, p. 132.
84. Hamilton, pp. 321; 316.
85. *The Parwana-i-Tasdiq muafi Qamaruddin Khan Muhammad Shahi*, now in History Deptt., Aligarh

- Muslim University, bearing Library Record No. 5m. The front portion of this Parwanah is irrelevant for the present purpose. The portion overleaf is also in the form of petition (iltimas) for the exemption of the custom for Rs. 50,000. The petitioner is Muhammad Siddiqi, son of Muhammad Fazil merchant. He requests that custom for Rs. 50,000, as in case of Mullah Abdul Ghafur, due against his father be condoned. He then quotes the truth of the official papers as follows. "The record reveals that from the reign Hazrat the custom on Rs. 50,000 amounting to Rs. 1250 for the whole year is condoned in the name of Muhammad Fazil son of Haji Hamid merchant. In the reign of Hazrat Khuld Manzil (Aurangzeb) too, the Parwana of remission was issued."
86. *The English Factories*, Vol. VI, p. 103; *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 47.
 87. *Ibid*, p. 147.
 88. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 247-251.
 89. *The English Factories*, Vol. IV, pp. 153-4, 186-187.
 90. Thevenot, p. 3.
 91. *The English Factories*, Vol. III, p. 163.
 92. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 9.
 93. Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 247-48.
 94. *The English Factories*, Vol. XII, p. 9.
 95. *The English Factories. Introduction*, Vol. IX, p. VI.
 96. *Ibid*, Vol. X, p. 172.
 97. *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 310.
 98. *Ibid*, p. 13.
 99. *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 13.
 100. *Ibid*, *Introduction*, p. xx.
 101. *The English Factories*, Vol. I (New Series) pp. 274-275; *The English Factories*, Vol. X, p. 172.
 102. *Early Travels in India*, p. 171; *Roc's Embassy*, pp. 124, 239; Roc refers to "the new Farmer, rather than the governor," *The English Factories*, Vol. VI, pp. 100, 276; *Ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 23-24.
 103. Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 71.
 104. *The English Factories*, Vol. VI, p. 100.
 105. *The English Factories*, Vol. VII, pp. 23-24.
 106. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 279.
 107. *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 24.

THE ESCAPE OF CHHATRAPATI RAJARAM FROM PANHALA TO JINJI

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The escape of Chhatrapati Rajaram from Panhala (Maharashtra) to Jinji (Karnatak), a distance of nearly five hundred miles¹, full of dangers, is regarded as a memorable episode in the Maratha history.² J. N. Sarkar, G. S. Sardesai, V. S. Bendre, Setu Madhavrao Pagdi and others have given many details in their valuable works. But as yet no effort has been made to present a proper picture of the qualities of Chhatrapati Rajaram as seen from his actions in this episode.

The sources for a study of the actions and qualities of Chhatrapati Rajaram in this episode give scanty information. But when read critically, they throw a new light on his personal qualities.

For such a study of Chhatrapati Rajaram, we have available a Sanskrit work, *Rajaram Charitam*, written by Keshav Pandit, who was the Danadhyaksha under Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram³. Keshav Pandit had accompanied Rajaram during the time of his escape from Panhala to Jinji. After reaching Jinji, Keshav Pandit wrote the *Rajaram Charitam*, and had narrated in it different events and happenings of the escape. The date of this work corresponds to January 4, 1690 A.D.⁴ As Keshav Pandit was an eye-witness to many of the happenings in the episode of the escape of Rajaram, his poetic work, *Rajaram Charitam*, has a high degree of credibility, barring its poetic expressions and imagination. But the limitations of the *Rajaram Charitam* can be overcome by taking

into account the details of the other contemporary sources, Persian, Kannada, English and Portuguese.

We have, for example, the Persian sources like the *Tarikhe Dilkusha* of Bhimsen, who acted in different capacities in the military service of Aurangzeb in the Deccan from 1667 to 1709 A.D.⁵; the *Futuhate Alamgiri* of Ishwardas Nagar, who was associated with the armies of Aurangzeb in the Deccan from 1682 to 1700 A.D., and who was given a Mansab by Aurangzeb⁶; and the *Masire Alamgiri* of Saki Mustaid Khan, who was in the personal service of Emperor Aurangzeb in Maharashtra from 1685 to 1707 A.D.⁷

Together with these sources, the Kannada work *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* by poet Linganna gives us some valuable details about Rajaram. Even though the period of composition of this work is approximately 1770 A.D., it gives us accurate dates and other details which satisfy the tests of historical scrutiny. This is due to the fact that instead of resorting more to poetic imagination, Linganna has paid more attention to narrate properly the historical events of the life of the kings of the Keladi kingdom of South India.⁸ Though Dr. P. B. Desai points out that "(some) information of this source is based on hearsay accounts and therefore has less reliability in it"⁹, its data about Rajaram becomes trustworthy when it is corroborated by facts from other sources.

The contemporary English and Portuguese records also help us to some extent in a study of the actions of Chhatrapati Rajaram in this episode.

The correspondence between the Portuguese Governor, D. Rodrigo da Costa, and Bahadurkhan, the Mughal Governor of Belgaum, reveals the fact that in April, 1689 A.D., while escaping from fort Raigad, which was besieged by Zulfikarkhan, Rajaram had spread the rumour that "he has gone to Jinji".¹⁰

His motive in spreading this rumour must have been certainly to deceive the Mughals and thereby cause the diversion of a part of the Mughal army to the area of Jinji, as the Mughal army was pressing its full strength on Maharashtra during this time. We also come to know about the motive of Rajaram, to divert the Mughal army to Karnatak, from the Madras English Factory Records.¹¹

But the Mughals did not seem to have been deceived by this rumour. Instead of diverting their army to Jinji, the Mughal officers like Bahadurkhan, the Governor of Belgaum, made their watch strict at different places on way to Jinji and requested the Portuguese Governor, D. Rodrigo da Costa, to help the Mughals to arrest Rajaram, dead or alive, if he happened to try to escape to Jinji from the Portuguese territory, by keeping necessary watch, both on land and on sea.¹² The letter of the Portuguese Governor tells us that he had alerted and strengthened his watch in the Portuguese territory to serve the purpose of the Mughals.¹³

This shows that if Rajaram was to go to Jinji after April, 1689 A.D., he was to experience tremendous dangers on his way. In fact, it was in the face of this dangerous situation that Chhatrapati Rajaram set out for Jinji by escaping from fort Panhala on the night¹⁴ of September 26, 1689 A.D.,¹⁵

when the armies of Aurangzeb were busy in plundering, when armed bandits had spread out everywhere, and when the rivers were in high flood,¹⁶ in order to be beyond the reach of the Mughals.¹⁷ This in itself shows the bold nature of Rajaram.

We learn from Keshav Pandit that while escaping from Panhala to go to Karnatak, Rajaram had put on a dress suitable for travelling.¹⁸ He came out of the fortress of Panhala along with his ministers and followers (soldiers). Ahead of them was Rajaram's Senapati, behind him were Man Sinha, Pralhad Pant (Pralhad Niraji), Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, Nilkantha Moreshwar and his brother Bahiro Pant,¹⁹ Nilakantha Krishna, Khando Ballal, Baji Kadam, Khandoji,²⁰ Shankaraji Narayan²¹ and others. Rajaram and his accompanying men rode on horses.²² The patrols of the Mughal army did not recognize them.²³ Rajaram and his men found their way out through many difficulties.²⁴

After escaping from fort Panhala, Rajaram and his followers crossed different flooded rivers and even though their way lay through sticky mud and was infested with tigers and serpents, they reached the banks of the river Krishna by sunrise.²⁵ They took bath in the river Krishna and Rajaram offered religious oblations to the gods and his forefathers. After that, Rajaram and his men prepared themselves to proceed on their way to Karnatak by fording the river Krishna.²⁶ When his accompanying soldiers and generals failed to detect a ford, Rajaram himself detected one.²⁷ The soldiers of Rajaram followed him when he asked them to do so and they all crossed the river Krishna.²⁸ This action of Rajaram clearly proves that he possessed military skill²⁹ and discerning judgment.

After crossing the river Krishna, Rajaram and his followers traversed the way which was well guarded by the Mughal army and reached another big river.³⁰ Meanwhile the

men of Aurangzeb got the news about the escape of Rajaram from Panhala and about his going to Karnatak. They sent a detachment in pursuit.³¹ From his spies, Rajaram learnt the movements of the Mughal general who was conducting the pursuit. But he did not feel alarmed about it.³² The Maratha generals of Rajaram, Bahirji and Maloji Ghorpade, and their troops showed readiness to serve Rajaram in that critical circumstance. Bahirji Ghorpade told Rajaram that he himself and the Sachiv would face successfully all the dangers in their way. He requested Rajaram to proceed on their way to Karnatak.³³ After this, Rajaram, who was surrounded by the Brahmins, crossed the river with his army and Bahirji Ghorpade and proceeded towards Karnatak.³⁴

But their way was blocked by Mughal soldiers who wanted to capture Rajaram. Though the Marathas were far outnumbered, they fought stubbornly against the Mughals. When the Maratha soldiers were feeling exhausted, two Maratha generals, Santaji Jagtap and Rupsinh Bhosle, who were in the Maratha army since the time of Shivaji, reached the spot.³⁵ As they had worked before in the area of Karnatak, they were well acquainted with the territory.³⁶ After saluting Rajaram, they told him that the Mughal army was coming from all directions to capture him and that he being the sovereign and the very life of the Maratha kingdom, he should go away from that spot before the Mughals detected him there.³⁷ But Rajaram who was surrounded by the Mughal troops, did not leave and along with others watched the fighting of Santaji Jagtap and Rupsinh Bhosle with the Mughals.³⁸

It appears from this, that the generals of Rajaram did not want to risk his life in fighting in which victory was uncertain. It was due to this, and due to the fact that Rajaram was the only major member of the house of Shivaji to resist Aurangzeb in

Maharashtra after the death of Sambhaji, that even though we find him undertaking personally an expedition on Trichinapalli in February-March, 1692³⁹ and fighting against Yachappa Nayak near Vellore in May-June, 1693 A.D.,⁴⁰ Rajaram largely seems to have paid more attention to organize military resistance to Aurangzeb than to engage himself in fighting against the Mughal armies.

When Rajaram was watching the fight, he realized that the Mughal army was superior in number to his own troops. He, therefore, decided that he should go to Karnatak quickly and then employ greater measures against the Mughals.⁴¹ Leaving Santaji Jagtap to fight against the Mughals and taking Rupsinh Bhosle in his company, Rajaram then proceeded on his way to Karnatak.⁴²

After passing several towns, forts, and villages in the hilly tracts, Rajaram reached the bank of the river Tungabhadra.⁴³ The Mughals pursued him there also. Finding that Rupsinh was alone to fight against the larger Mughal force, Rajaram asked Rupsinh to come along with him to Karnatak⁴⁴ and not to risk an engagement with the Mughals at that place. But Rupsinh requested Rajaram that he should proceed to Karnatak, as planned, so as to be able to protect and rule over the people by regaining Swarajya.⁴⁵ He further told Rajaram that since his soldiers were surrounded by the Mughals, they would all perish, if he accompanied Rajaram to Karnatak.⁴⁶ When this course of action was being decided by Rajaram and Rupsinh, the Mughal troops, who had completely encircled the Marathas, attacked.

During the engagement Rajaram told Bahirji Ghorpade that even though his soldiers were surrounded by the Mughal army and there seemed no way open to get out of the encirclement, he had decided to escape and asked Bahirji to help him.⁴⁷ Bahirji

Ghorpade prepared himself to risk an escape from the encirclement along with Rajaram.⁴⁸ He took with him the royal paraphernalia and carrying Rajaram on his shoulders, escaped from the encirclement. The Mughal soldiers did not detect the party.⁴⁹

This incident, which has been described by Keshav Pandit in a poetic vein in the *Rajaram Charitam*, has been accepted as it is by historians like G. S. Sardesai⁵⁰ and V. S. Bendre,⁵¹ without any scrutiny.

This has naturally led Bendre⁵² and Sardesai⁵³ to think that Rajaram basically was a weak and sickly person. With this inference, combined with the "period of life spent by Rajaram (1680-1689 A.D.) in the prison of Sambhaji", Sardesai has drawn the conclusion that "Rajaram did not have experience or training in military matters. He did not get much opportunity to even ride a horse. And due to all these, Rajaram could not display valour and vigour in his actions like Shivaji and Sambhaji. Rajaram somehow reached Jinji on the basis of what the persons around him taught him to do."⁵⁴

The inferences of Sardesai from the life spent by Rajaram in the prison of Sambhaji (1680-1689 A.D.) and from his not having any military training and experience have been disproved in my article *The Early Life of Chhatrapati Rajaram (1670-1689 A.D.)*.⁵⁵ The inference of Sardesai and Bendre, that Rajaram was carried on his shoulders by Bahirji Ghorpade from the fierce skirmish which took place on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, also does not stand to historical scrutiny and analysis when we take into account the details about this incident from the *Masire Alamgiri*, *Futuhate Alamgiri* and *Tarikhe Dilkusha*.

From the *Masire Alamgiri* of Saki Mustaid Khan, we learn that "Abdulla Khan (the Mughal Subhedar of Bijapur at this time)

sent his son, Hassan Ali (later Sayyad Abdulla, the Prime Minister of Bahadur Shah, the Mughal Emperor after Aurangzeb) towards Bednur when he received the news about the reaching of Rajaram to the territory of the Rani of Bednur.⁵⁶ Abdulla Khan himself set out for the pursuit of Rajaram and after conducting rapid marches continuously for three days and three nights, he reached the boundaries of the kingdom of Bednur. In the waters of river Tungabhadra, there was an island. On this island, Rajaram and his men had taken shelter. Abdulla Khan attacked them in the night.⁵⁷ In this fierce fighting, many Maratha soldiers died and the Mughals captured several Maratha generals like Hindurao, Yekoji (brother of Santaji Ghorpade), Bahirji and Manaji Ghorpade.⁵⁸ In this confusion (when others were carrying on the fight), Rajaram left his weapons, clothes, turban and shoes and escaped in such a way that no one could find his trace".⁵⁹

Along with this data from the *Masire Alamgiri* about the engagement of Abdulla Khan with the men of Rajaram on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, we get additional facts from the *Tarikhe Dilkusha* of Bhimsen.

Even though Bhimsen has not given a complete account of this engagement, that he is writing about the same engagement gets proved by the fact that, like the *Masire Alamgiri*,⁶⁰ he also tells us that the Maratha soldiers who were captured by Abdulla Khan were kept by him in the fort of Bijapur.⁶¹

While telling us about the battle, Bhimsen states, "at this time the river (Tungabhadra) was in flood. Rajaram took two men (soldiers) with him and crossing (swimming) the river he went ahead."⁶²

The statement of Bhimsen that river (Tungabhadra) was in flood at the time of that conflict (October, 1689 A.D.) appears to be correct, as in South Kanara (Karnatak) the rainfall during the months of October-

November is the heaviest in the year.⁶³ River Tungabhadra, which has "heavy freshes throughout the year"⁶⁴ appears to be in flood at this time.

The statement of Bhimsen that "crossing (swimming) the river (Tungabhadra) Rajaram went ahead" is also supported by Keshav Pandit. For, he tells us that "along with Bahirji (Ghorpade) Rajaram crossed (swam) the river Tungabhadra".⁶⁵

Much credibility to the statement of Bhimsen and Keshav Pandit that "Rajaram swam the river Tungabhadra" can be ascribed when we note the fact Rajaram withstood successfully the life of hardships and wandering in Maharashtra from the time of his Manchakarahana to the time of his departure from Panhala for Jinji, i.e., during the period from 12th February, 1689 to 26th September, 1689 A.D.

During the course of this journey after escaping from Raigad on 5th April, 1689,⁶⁶ Rajaram went to Javali⁶⁷ which was in the hills and to which the way was difficult.⁶⁸ From Javali, he seems to have gone to Pratapgad,⁶⁹ Vasota,⁷⁰ Satara, Parali,⁷¹ Rajgad,⁷² Panhala,⁷³ and moved to Rangana and Vishalgad at times,⁷⁴ during the months of the rainy season⁷⁵ in Maharashtra. If Rajaram would have been "very weak in body" as is presumed by Bendre and Sardesai, he would not have been able to wander tirelessly in the difficult forests, hills and tracts in Maharashtra in the rainy season when the Mughal armies were continuously pursuing him and trying to capture him.

The crossing (swimming) of the vast river Tungabhadra when it was in flood by Rajaram clearly establishes the fact that he must have been a good swimmer, having a robust physique and daring spirit.

Taking into account that Rajaram was an

able-bodied person and the engagement of Abdulla Khan with the men of Rajaram on the banks of the river Tungabhadra was fierce, it seems unlikely that "Bahirji (Ghorpade) took with him the Paraphernalia suitable for the King" (which must have been very large) "and Rajaram on his shoulders and managed to escape from the Mughal encirclement without experiencing any obstacle." That, this must have been more unlikely becomes clear to us when we take into account some of the details about this event from the *Futuhate Alamgiri* and the *Rajaram Charitam*.

In the *Futuhate Alamgiri*, Ishwardas Nagar has given an account of the pursuit and attack of Abdulla Khan on Rajaram. That, this account is of the place and time when Rajaram in his escape had reached the banks of the river Tungabhadra becomes clear to us when we note that like Keshav Pandit, who has given the information about this incident,⁷⁶ Ishwardas Nagar, in *Futuhate Alamgiri*, has also described the attack of Abdulla Khan on Rupaji (Rupsinh) Bhosle, the general of Rajaram.⁷⁷ Together with this, like Bhimsen and Keshav Pandit, Ishwardas Nagar also tells us about the crossing of the river Tungabhadra by Rajaram.⁷⁸

This account of Ishwardas Nagar is of a confused and haphazard type. Due to this, it becomes necessary to conduct its scrutiny and after weeding out the improbable things, accept its proper facts which are corroborated by other evidence.

Ishwardas Nagar tells us that "after when Abdulla Khan conducted the pursuit of Rajaram, Rajaram crossed river Tungabhadra and went in the territory of the kingdom of Bednur. Abdulla Khan wrote about this to Emperor Aurangzeb. Then Aurangzeb ordered Abdulla Khan to cross river Tungabhadra. After that, Abdulla Khan crossed Tungabhadra and entered in the kingdom of

Bednur. Abdulla Khan came to know there, that Rajaram, who had requested help for reaching Jinji, was not given that help by the Rani of Bednur. Then Rajaram went to his uncle, Vyankoji (should be Shahaji II)⁷⁰ at Tanjore for refuge. Thereupon, Abdulla Khan went to the territory of Vyankoji (Shahaji II) and sending him a message, asked Vyankoji (Shahaji II) to arrest and hand over Rajaram to the Mughals. Due to this, Vyankoji (Shahaji II) asked Rajaram to go back to the Rani of Bednur for shelter. Hearing this, Rajaram, with his men, started coming back to the Rani of Bednur. When Abdulla Khan got this news, he again conducted the pursuit of Rajaram. By the time of sunrise, Rajaram had travelled a distance of twenty Kos. On his way (to the Rani of Bednur), Rajaram saw a sacred place. Halting there, Rajaram got engaged in performing religious rites. At that time Abdulla Khan reached that spot with his army. Seeing this, Rupaji and Ambaji Bhosle (the generals of Rajaram) with their five hundred soldiers attacked Abdulla Khan. In that confusion (when others were carrying on the fight) Rajaram escaped along with his selected men".⁸⁰

This account given by Ishwardas Nagar about the pursuit of Rajaram conducted by Abdulla Khan and his attack on Rajaram appears to be of a disorderly and confused nature due to different reasons.

First, when we take into account that after escaping from Panhala on the night of 26th September, 1689 A.D., Rajaram reached Jinji on 2nd November, 1689 A.D.,⁸¹ i.e. in a short period of 37-38 days he covered a distance of about five hundred miles with great difficulties, it appears improbable that under the critical circumstances of his pursuit by Abdulla Khan, he might have got time to go to a distant place like Tanjore to Vyankoji (Shahaji II) from the Rani of Bednur and

again return from Tanjore to seek help from the Rani of Bednur.

Due to this, though the account of Ishwardas Nagar about the pursuit by Abdulla Khan of Rajaram up to the Tungabhadra⁸² and Abdulla Khan's attack on the men of Rajaram like Rupaji Bhosle⁸³ appears to be correct, his other account, which he has given in between these details, about the pursuit of Rajaram by Abdulla Khan in the territory of the Rani of Bednur and in the kingdom of Tanjore (of Shahaji II) appears to be inaccurate and fictitious.

Secondly, whereas Ishwardas Nagar tells us that the Rani of Bednur did not give any help to Rajaram, we learn from the *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* of Linganna Kavi that the Rani of Bednur, Chennamma gave the required help to Rajaram and due to it, he reached Jinji safely.⁸⁴ It was due to this help which she gave to Rajaram that Aurangzeb asked his generals to attack her kingdom of Bednur.⁸⁵ In this matter, the *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* is not only supported by the *Masire Alamgiri*,⁸⁶ but also by the Portuguese sources.⁸⁷

But barring these facts, the account of Ishwardas Nagar is useful to us as it gives important information about the time of the attack of Abdulla Khan on Rajaram.

From the *Masire Alamgiri* we learn that the attack of Abdulla Khan on the men of Rajaram on the banks of the Tungabhadra had taken place in the night⁸⁸ and different historians have accepted it as correct.⁸⁹ But the *Futubate Alamgiri* of Ishwardas Nagar tells us that this attack took place at the time of sunrise (as Rajaram had reached that spot by sunrise) and when he was engaged in performing religious rites.⁹⁰ This fact of the *Futubate Alamgiri* that Rajaram was attacked at the time of sunrise is corroborated by the

evidence of Keshav Pandit when he says that "after crossing the Mughal troops and the river Tungabhadra along with Bahirji (Ghorpade), Rajaram (on the other bank) took bath in that river and offered religious oblations to the Gods and fore-fathers."⁹¹ The approximate time of the offering of the religious oblations by Rajaram can be decided with the help of religious texts which lay down specific rules and time for such offerings.⁹²

It can fairly be deducted that Rajaram escaped from the Mughal encirclement in the early morning and after crossing (swimming) river Tungabhadra, he was on its other bank by noon. This leads us to rule out the data of the "attack in the night" of the *Masire Alamgiri* and come to the conclusion that Rajaram and his men were attacked by Abdulla Khan in the early hours of the morning.

When this surprise and fierce attack took place in the early hours of the morning, it appears improbable from strategical point of view that "Bahirji (Ghorpade) carried Rajaram on his shoulders". For, if Bahirji was to place Rajaram on his shoulders, it would have become very easy for the Mughal soldiers to detect and spot out Rajaram, as in that case Rajaram would have been above the average height of the other soldiers. The soldiers of Abdulla Khan, who had conducted rapid marches for continuously three days and three nights⁹³ would never have left an opportunity to do their best to capture Rajaram, if they could spot him out. On the contrary, we are told by the *Masire Alamgiri* that Rajaram "escaped in such a manner that no one detected him (while he was escaping)."⁹⁴ This is confirmed by the *Rajaram Charitam* when it says that "no one created any obstacle in the attempt of Rajaram and Bahirji when they escaped from the Mughal encirclement".⁹⁵

It becomes clear from the above discussion that Bahirji Ghorpade might have led the way of the escape from the Mughal encirclement, carrying with him the 'Paraphernalia of the King'.⁹⁶ But it is not correct to contend that Bahirji Ghorpade carried Rajaram on his shoulders to escape from the encirclement.

Keshav Pandit describes the escape of Rajaram thus, "Rajaram, with utmost reverence prayed (when he and his soldiers were encircled by the Mughals), the goddess Bhawani and Lord Shiv; then, before him, he saw a Dvija (Brahmin), a Vaishya, who were mysterious in appearance and dress and a Bull sent by them (the Bhawani and the Shiv);⁹⁷ as Rajaram touched the Bull with his hands, he (Rajaram) became invisible to the Mughal soldiers;⁹⁸ he told Bahirji (Ghorpade) that 'Lord Shiv had sent it (the Bull) to show him a way out from the critical situation; since he (Rajaram) wanted to go out from the encirclement of the Mughals, he (Bahirji) should help him in this difficult situation just as Hanuman had helped Lord Rama in his different tasks; if Bahirji helped him (Rajaram), his (Bahirji's) present life (Avatara) would become famous in the world';⁹⁹ when Bahirji heard this account of the mysterious incident, he carried Rajaram on his shoulders alongwith the Paraphernalia suitable for the King and escaped from the Mughal encirclement; due to the glory (Tej) of Lord Rama, he (Bahirji) did not experience any obstacle (from the Mughal soldiers) in his attempt to escape".¹⁰⁰ The description appears to be poetic, imaginary and fictitious and does not stand the test of historical analysis. The *Rajaram Charitam* is a work in which facts are mixed up with fiction. Keshav Pandit, being a priest by profession, has laid more emphasis upon the God's blessings to rescue a devotee from calamitous circumstances.¹⁰¹

After crossing (swimming) the river Tungabhadra with Bahirji, Rajaram took

bath on the other bank, and after offering oblations to the gods and the fore-fathers¹⁰² he went to the Rani of Bednur (Chennamma) for shelter.¹⁰³ We are told by the *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* that when requested by Rajaram, Queen Chennamma gave the necessary help to him to reach Jinji safely. With her help, and in disguise, Rajaram, who had "proved himself to be a brave and ambitious King"¹⁰⁴ and "who had managed the (Maratha) State affairs courageously after the death of Sambhaji,"¹⁰⁵ crossed the river Gajnur near Shimoga and travelling via Bore, Nede-halle, Aduvalli, Kalas, Khandya and Vasudhare reached the fortress of Jinji.¹⁰⁶

This information, which is given in the *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* has not been given by Keshav Pandit in his *Rajaram Charitam*. But from his work, we get the information about the stay of Rajaram in the temple at Amur (Ambur), which is not found in any other source.

Keshav Pandit tells us that after his escape from the encirclement of the Mughals on the bank of the river Tungabhadra, Rajaram and Bahirji Ghorpade travelled through forests and fields¹⁰⁷ till they reached the outskirts of the military encampment of the Mughal Officer, Kasim Khan.¹⁰⁸ At times, Rajaram along with Bahirji Ghorpade, went about among the troops of Kasim Khan. But the spies of Kasim Khan did not detect Rajaram even when he moved freely in the streets, and the bazaar and purchased beautiful gems

and horses.¹⁰⁹ After travelling through different villages and towns, Rajaram reached the city of Amur (Ambur) which was on the border of his Kingdom (Jinji)¹¹⁰ in South India.

Rajaram stayed at Amur (Ambur) in a temple and sent Bahirji Ghorpade in disguise to Bajirao Kakde, the Maratha Subhedar of Karnatak, who was camping nearby.¹¹¹ Bahirji went to Bajirao Kakde and to ascertain his fidelity towards Rajaram, told him a detailed account of the escape of Rajaram from Panhala. When Bahirji Ghorpade felt assured about the fidelity of Bajirao Kakde he went back to Rajaram in the temple and reported to him the entire talk. Rajaram asked Bahirji to bring Bajirao Kakde to him.¹¹² Bahirji went back to Bajirao Kakde and brought him along with his soldiers to the temple in which Rajaram was staying at Amur (Ambur). They paid their obeisance to Rajaram and celebrated the occasion of their meeting with their King (Rajaram).¹¹³ Rajaram, with Bajirao Kakde and his army, reached Vellore on 28th October, 1689 A.D.;¹¹⁴ and from Vellore, he reached Jinji on 2nd November, 1689 A.D.

The facts discussed above prove that Chhatrapati Rajaram was a man of daring and discernment. It goes against the contention of Sardesai, that "He (Rajaram) possessed no dash or initiative, nor did he ever evince any personal valour".¹¹⁵

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104. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* — Ibid., p. 160; The contention of this source that Rajaram was "brave" is justified by the data presented about his actions in this article.
105. Desai, P. B. — op. cit., p. 65.
106. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* — op. cit., pp. 160-161; Desai, P. B., Ibid., pp. 65-66.
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DARSHAN SINGH—A REFRACTORY TALUKDAR OF AWADH

DR. SAFI AHMAD

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Darshan Singh was the son of Purandar Ram, a Pathak Brahman.¹ Bakhtawar Singh, his (Darshan's) elder brother, was a trooper in the Bengal cavalry, and being stationed at Lucknow, his fine physique attracted the attention of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, who took him in his own service as a *Risaldar*. Since the days of Ghazi-ud-din Haydar he came to prominence as a farmer of revenue. Later Muhammad Ali Shah conferred on him the title of Maharaja and gave him the Madhona state of forty-two villages.² Through his influence at court, his younger brother Darshan Singh was appointed Chakladar of Salon and Baiswara in 1822, and then the Nazim of Sultanpur in 1827. In 1836 he got the contract of Gonda-Bahraich which he held for a short time. But in 1842 he was again given charge of the districts with orders to punish the contumacious landholders and defaulters of public revenue.

For a considerable time Raja Darshan Singh's conduct as a farmer of public revenue had been marked by an uncommon avarice, cruelty and vindictiveness. He practised every sort of exaction and where he failed to extort money even by violence he got lands of the zamindars transferred to his own name.³ Thus he perfected his scheme of family aggrandizement and ultimately became the most powerful Amil and one of the most powerful zamindars in the kingdom of Awadh during the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah (1839). He erected a fort on the bank of Ghagra which was at a short distance from

the British territory with a view to make good his escape. In a case he was expelled from his own. His stronghold was equipped with 40 pieces of ordnance and garrisoned by 4,000 trusty followers. In addition to this he had under his personal command a force of about 15,000 paid by the state. His position was further strengthened by the support and advocacy of his friends in the durbar, among whom the most important and active was Raja Balkrishna, the Finance Minister.⁴

Being strong both in troops and court favour he kept the great landholders under his thumb but protected the cultivators and small land proprietors because their estates could not be conveniently added to his own.

In 1843, Darshan Singh marched to Balrampur (now in district Gonda) with a strong detachment. The young raja of Balrampur, Dirghibai Singh who was a revenue defaulter,⁵ had gone to visit his friend, Mahpal Singh, the raja of Basee (then in Gorakhpur district). In the absence of their chief the garrison of the small stronghold was soon induced to surrender on a promise of security of life and property. They moved out to a small island in a nearby river and Darshan Singh, contrary to his promise, opened fire on them killing about 200 persons and took possession of all their property, amounting to about two hundred thousand rupees.⁶ The raja of Balrampur found himself in great distress but his personal friend Matabur Singh, the minister of Nepal gov-

ernment, helped him with money and gave him refuge in the Nepal territory which was about fifty-four miles from Balrampur, where Darshan Singh encamped with a large force.

The raja (Dirgbijai Singh) had erected small huts in the garden for accommodating his family and followers during the rainy season and as a precautionary measure surrounded it with a deep ditch. In September 1843, Darshan Singh marched from Balrampur with his compact body of armed men, entered the Nepal territory,⁷ and reached the raja's position at day-break the next morning. The place was taken by a rush. The raja escaped though thirty of his followers were killed and wounded. Darshan Singh laid hands on the property the raja and his followers had left behind and plundered the small village of Maharajganj (then in the Nepal territory).

The Nepal Government took a serious view of this raid and demanded reparation. The Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, asked the Awadh government to make prompt and ample atonement to Nepal. The Nepal Durbar demanded that Darshan Singh should be seized and be sent there to make an apology in person to the ruler of that state, should be deprived of all his offices, with an assurance from the Awadh government that he should never be employed in any office; and that the amount of injury sustained by the subjects of Nepal should be settled by arbitrators sent to the place from both the states.⁸ The Governor-General, however, did not insist on the Awadh government to comply with the first of these requirements but Darshan Singh was dismissed from all employments,⁹ arbitrators were sent to the place and the Awadh government immediately paid the full compensation claimed by the Nepal state.¹⁰

At first Darshan Singh fled in alarm into British territory as the Nepal government

threatened Awadh with invasion and had assembled a large force on its border. The Governor-General also, as a precautionary measure, kept in readiness a large British force to oppose them. But on the advice of his brother, Bakhtawar Singh, Darshan Singh came in person to apologise and surrendered himself to the king. He admitted that he was 'over-zealous' but pleaded that the young raja of Balrampur owed a large sum to the exchequer which he had been ordered to recover and declared that he was ready to suffer any punishment that the king might think proper. The British and the Nepal governments were now satisfied but the parties at the court had become interested in the case.

The king (Amjad Ali Shah) who was parsimonious thought it a fit opportunity to extract money from such a wealthy family. Three of his wives, namely Husaini Khanum, Musahib Khanum and Sakeena Khanum,¹¹ who exercised great influence over the king wished to take advantage of the occasion. They not only wanted to screw out a large sum for the king and themselves but to confiscate Darshan Singh's estates and distribute them among their male relations.

The minister, Munawar-ud-daulah, thought differently. He rightly realised that Darshan Singh was more valuable to the state as a revenue farmer than his confiscated wealth, and he, therefore, recommended to the king to take from the two brothers a sum of 25 lakhs of rupees, leaving them their estates and to reinstate Darshan Singh as soon as it could be possible.¹²

The king was inclined to accept the minister's proposals but his mistresses disagreed and said that he ought to be made to pay not less than fifty lakhs. The king, sorely pressed by the females, resolved to banish Darshan Singh and confiscate all his large estates; but the Resident interposed, and urged that

which three eminent Governors-General — Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844), Lord Hardinge (1844-1848) and Lord Dalhousie (1846-1856) — were at the helm of affairs in India. It was also a decade very close to the uprising of 1857.

Thomason who had to steer clear of the multitudinous administrative problems and explosive political situations did not act as an unquestioning servant of the imperialist colonisers, nor did he obey their behests without evaluating their flaws and intrinsic merits vis-a-vis the conditions then obtaining in the North-Western Provinces.

With patience, moderation of thought, considerate deliberation, resolution and persistency, Thomason inaugurated an era of beneficent reforms conceived in an enlightened and humane spirit. The way in which he continued Bird's Scheme to reform land revenue administration in accordance with Regulation IX of 1833, and brought it to its completion in 1849, was a magnificent achievement. His most valuable contribution in this field was the famous 'Directions for Settlement Officers' drawn up in 1844. These 'Directions' constituted the first complete land revenue code compiled in India during the British period. A similar work entitled 'Directions to Collectors' was also compiled by him which proved to be of great use in the revenue administration of the North-Western Provinces.

Among the many delicate problems Thomason had to tackle, the one which aroused considerable controversy and later had a bearing on the revolt of 1857 related to the large land-owners or *taluqdars*. He decided "that existing facts should be recognised where the *taluqdars* had securely established themselves as landlords; but, where doubt existed, the original proprietors were to be supported and in such a case the settlement was to be made with them; the original proprietors were to

pay the land tax direct to Government, while the *taluqdars* concerned were to be allowed a certain percentage of the land tenure in lieu of the profits they formerly got from the assignments of the revenue after the defrayal of all their charges." This policy, while depriving many *taluqdars* of their positions and gains and while leading partly to the revolt of 1857, incidentally made Thomason the precursor of the great Indian patriots, who, a century later completely abolished *zemin-daries* and *taluqdaries* in the interest of the peasant's economic well-being.

In the field of education too Thomason won lasting popularity. Throughout his regime he felt concerned about educating the people on right lines and inculcating in them sound values and healthy attitudes. His stress on the necessity of imparting education through the vernacular languages to the Indian masses, not only in the study of humanities, but also of technical sciences, has a lesson to many a sceptical mind in our midst at present, who doubt the wisdom of making regional languages the medium of education.

Another notable innovation of Thomason was to levy a cess for the support of primary schools. Even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870, but as early as 1851, Thomason began to levy a rate for the support of primary schools.

Thomason's administrative skill is also reflected in the fact that he made systematic efforts for the first time to evolve and organise a regular Education Department. His plan for the inspection and improvement of indigenous schools which in the first instance was introduced in eight districts in 1850, met with general approbation and subsequently, in recognition of its intrinsic merits the pattern of education conceived by Thomason gained a nationwide importance when the historic Despatch of Sir Charles Wood was issued in 1854.

UNIVERSITY NOTES

University of Lucknow

Abstract of Thesis Approved for D.Litt.

Sir James Thomason's Administration in the North Western Provinces (1843-1853)

D. AWASTHI, D.LITT.

In his great Charter speech of 1833, Macaulay observed; "It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good Government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age, demand 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. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

The ideal outlined by Macaulay in his great speech was given a practical shape by one of his schoolmates at Aspenden Hall in Hertfordshire, James Thomason, who was Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces

from 1843 to 1853. Hunter has quoted him as having observed :

"We examined the existing systems and retained whatever of them were found to be right and just, and then engrafted on this basis new maxims derived from our own institutions."

The period of Thomason's administration, which is the subject of a critical study in the present work has been divided for the sake of clarity and convenience under the following heads :

Chapters :

- I. Heredity, Training and Parentage.
- II. The North-Western Provinces Before Thomason.
- III. The Land Revenue Settlements.
- IV. Growth of Education and Learning.
- V. Link-Lines and Communications.
- VI. Law and Order.
- VII. Development of Irrigation and Forestry.
- VIII. Conclusion.

The tenure of Thomason is of vital interest in more ways than one. It was a period of germination and growth of important ideas and institutions in the sphere of administration. It was a decade which saw the rise of the British Empire. It was a decade during

which three eminent Governors-General — Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844), Lord Hardinge (1844-1848) and Lord Dalhousie (1846-1856) — were at the helm of affairs in India. It was also a decade very close to the uprising of 1857.

Thomason who had to steer clear of the multitudinous administrative problems and explosive political situations did not act as an unquestioning servant of the imperialist colonisers, nor did he obey their behests without evaluating their flaws and intrinsic merits vis-a-vis the conditions then obtaining in the North-Western Provinces.

With patience, moderation of thought, considerate deliberation, resolution and persistency, Thomason inaugurated an era of beneficent reforms conceived in an enlightened and humane spirit. The way in which he continued Bird's Scheme to reform land revenue administration in accordance with Regulation IX of 1833, and brought it to its completion in 1849, was a magnificent achievement. His most valuable contribution in this field was the famous 'Directions for Settlement Officers' drawn up in 1844. These 'Directions' constituted the first complete land revenue code compiled in India during the British period. A similar work entitled 'Directions to Collectors' was also compiled by him which proved to be of great use in the revenue administration of the North-Western Provinces.

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Another notable innovation of Thomason was to levy a cess for the support of primary schools. Even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870, but as early as 1851, Thomason began to levy a rate for the support of primary schools.

Thomason's administrative skill is also reflected in the fact that he made systematic efforts for the first time to evolve and organise a regular Education Department. His plan for the inspection and improvement of indigenous schools which in the first instance was introduced in eight districts in 1850, met with general approbation and subsequently, in recognition of its intrinsic merits the pattern of education conceived by Thomason gained a nationwide importance when the historic Despatch of Sir Charles Wood was issued in 1854.

In addition to being a great champion of mass education, Thomason took the lead in the promotion of technical education. He established a College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee (now the Roorkee University) which was the first step taken towards providing technical education in Northern India. Similar colleges on Roorkee pattern were later set up at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

Again the first effective step to improve the condition and discipline of the Indian prison houses was taken by Thomason. He appointed an Inspector of Prisons whose office was found so beneficial that a similar office was created in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Punjab and Oudh.

The foremost among the works of public utility which received Thomason's attention was the road transport system. Extensive renovations and repairs were carried out on the roads that were in miserable condition. Several new highways were struck out through regions which were hitherto unchartered. Thomason's example was sedulously emulated by his successor, Mr. John Colvin, and in the Punjab by the Lawrences. The extensive repairing of the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the North-West Frontier Provinces whose strategic, military and commercial importance could not be over-assessed, may be singled out as an instance of Thomason's foresight and vision with which he planned his administration. The road was metalled on a system which was much later introduced in England by Mr. McAdam.

Like the expansive and undulating roads that rolled across the province and welded the far-flung places into a compact whole, canals and their complex system of distribu-

taries also received energetic encouragement in Thomason's administration. The vigorous prosecution of the Ganga Canal, which in itself is considered a feat of hydraulic engineering, and the remodelling of the Eastern Jumna (Yamuna) Canal were two other outstanding achievements of Thomason.

Briefly stated, Thomason thus contrived to brace up and strengthen the administration part by part. He took a lively interest in the training of subordinate personnel. The galaxy of European officers — John and Henry Lawrence, William Muir, John Strachey, Robert Montgomery and John Walter Sherer — received training in his unlegislated academy. The impeccable administrative acumen of these officers was recognised by Dalhousie who in 1849, when the Punjab was made a separate province, insisted that the organisation of the new administration should be entrusted to those trained by Thomason.

To size up the personality of Thomason some desultory efforts have been made. A few treatises such as those of William Muir, Richard Temple and William W. Hunter are at best biographical sketches. Official evidence and many primary sources of information, however, do not corroborate the views and conclusions drawn by them.

In the present work, based on the contemporary records, the picture that emerges is very different from that delineated by Muir, Temple and Hunter. The need for the effort lay not so much in a correct appraisal of an able provincial administrator's personality as in his lasting contributions to the administrative system of the whole Indian sub-continent.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The History of Medieval Assam (1228-1603 A.D.) by DR N. N. ACHARYYA, Gauhati University : Dutta Barua & Co., Gauhati, Assam, First Edition, 1966.

The statement of the author in the preface that he has thrown new light on the history of Assam from the 13th to the 17th century naturally attracts a student of the subject. For a correct appraisal and understanding of Assam History I place below some of the discrepancies detected in the book.

At page 1 the author has stated, "we have shown in this treatise how the different parts of the Brahmaputra Valley and the various tribes of the extreme North Eastern Frontier and the Surma Valley were conquered one after another by a new House of Shan invaders." His book ends in 1603 A.D. At that time the Ahoms could not have brought the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley under their subjugation. The conquest of Cachar, a part of the Surma Valley took place in 1708 A.D. Similarly, the conquest of the various tribes of the extreme North Eastern Frontier were also not complete by the year 1603 A.D.

At page 5 the author has stated, "The Kacharis were driven to the further south to Maibong from the Subansiri Valley". In the 13th century the Kachari kingdom extended along the south bank of the Brahmaputra from the Dikhow to the Kallang or beyond, and included the valley of the Dhansiri and the North Cachar sub-division (Ref : Gait's History of Assam, 2nd Edition, page 248). The river Subansiri lies on the north bank of the Brahmaputra in the North Lakhimpur sub-division of Lakhimpur district.

We come across a similar statement again at pages 41-42. "In their (i.e. of the Ahoms) palmy days, the boundary of their realm embraced the whole of the North East of the Indian sub-continent from the sources of the Brahmaputra to the river Karatoya and from the bottom of the Himalayas to the hills of Surma and Subansiri Valley." During the time of Turbak's invasion of Assam in 1532-33 A.D. the Ahom army followed hard on the fugitive Muhammadan army as far as the Karatoya river, where the Ahom commander is said to have erected a temple and excavated a tank in commemoration of their victory and claimed the river Karatoya as their western boundary. But this extension of the Ahom kingdom was of a purely temporary nature. They did not maintain a military garrison there. (Ref : S. K. Bhuyan's Anglo-Assamese Relations, page 24). For we find the Koches establishing the Koch kingdom on the ruins of the old Kamata kingdom in the western part of Assam in the early part of the 16th century. (Ref : Gait's History of Assam, 2nd Edition, pages 98 onward; Ahom-Tribal Relations by Dr. L. Devi, Ch. XI). The Ahoms had to enter into mortal conflict with the Koches in the 16th century resulting in the sack of Garhgaon by the latter in 1662-63 A.D.

At page 69 it is stated that Sukapha sent a series of campaigns to the neighbouring countries of the Chutiyas, Morans, Borahis, Nagas, Kacharis and the kingdom of Kamata, conquered them but allowed them to remain as they were in the past on condition of offering tribute." Except an isolated statement of the Ahom Buranji by G. C. Barua (P. 38), no other Buranji published or unpublished supports the statement that Sukapha sent

expeditions against all these neighbouring territories. On the contrary, most of these Buranjis state that Sukapha dared not attack the Kacharis (Deodhai Assam Buranji, 2nd Edition, Pages 100-101, Ahom-Tribal relations, P. 78; Satsari Assam Buranji, 2nd Edition, pages 4-5). He did not fight even with the Morans and the Borahis at first. He won over them by diplomacy and cordial reception. He fought only against those Moran and Borahi families who refused to accept his suzerainty. (Ahom-Tribal relations, PP. 50-51). During Sukapha's time the Ahom kingdom was confined to a small area. Dr. P. Gogoi also holds the same view (Ref: The Tai and the Tai Kingdoms, Dr. P. Gogoi, PP. 256-269). As Dr. Gogoi says "It appears that at the initial stage the Ahom monarchs and their ministers devoted more attention to putting their small state on a firm footing than to war and expansion and for that purpose, avoided major conflicts with their powerful neighbours, such as the Chutiyas and the Kacharis" (P. 271).

Against this background we can hardly accept the statement at page 151 to be true — viz. that, "The Ahoms, under their powerful leader Sukapha, by that time (i.e. middle of the 13th century) occupied a vast tract of the Brahmaputra Valley and were maintaining a policy of annexation and integration. The Kacharis themselves were in a too circumscribed a position to maintain their hold in the Dhansiri region against the regular and deliberate inroads of the Shan invaders." There is no proof to show that in the 13th century the Ahom kingdom extended up to the Dhansiri Valley. It was in the 16th century in the reign of Suhungmung that the Ahoms attempted seriously to extend their kingdom in the west at the cost of the Kacharis. The first engagement between the Ahoms and the Kacharis took place in the Dhansiri Valley in 1526 A.D. in which the Kacharis came out victorious. This rather proves that the Kacha-

ris were sufficiently strong even in the 16th century.

At pages 88, 238 and 269 the author has stated Dhirnarayan (or Chandranarayan) to be the last king of the Chutiyas. The last Chutiya king was Nitipal, whose another name was Chandranarayan (Ref. Deodhai Assam Buranji, 2nd edition, PP. 19 & 200; Assam Buranji, Tr. No. IV. D.H.A.S. P. 252). Dhirnarayan was not Chandranarayan as stated by Dr. Acharyya and he was not the last Chutiya king (Ref. W. B. Brown, Deori — Chutiya Grammar).

At pages 88, 99, 251-52 the writer has stated that a Naga Chief Senglung Kancheng by name was appointed as Barpatragohain (third minister). But Kancheng was not a Naga Chief — he was an Ahom prince, the son of Supimpha, born and brought up in the Naga village (Assam Buranji by H. K. Barua, PP. 22, 25-26; Satsari Assam Buranji 2nd edition, PP. 12-13, 67). Gait has also accepted him to be the son of Supimpha (History of Assam, 2nd edition, P. 89). Dr. S. K. Bhuyan also in his thesis "The Anglo-Assamese Relations" (P. 16) has stated Kancheng to be a prince of the royal blood, which resulted in the absorption of his family in the family of the king. Unfortunately, however, in another book (Studies in the History of Assam, P. 49) Dr. Bhuyan has contradicted himself by stating Kancheng to be the son of a Naga. The statement of Purani Assam Buranji (also found in D.A.B. P. 212) quoted by the author that in the absence of the descendants of the king the succession would take place from the Naga Barpatra family further goes to prove that Kancheng was a prince of the blood royal. As observed by Gait and Dr. P. Gogoi, only a prince of the blood royal could become king and none from outside (History of Assam, 2nd edition, P. 234; The Tai and the Tai kingdoms, P. 544.) Otherwise this provision would not have been made. In this connec-

tion it should be noted that one should be very cautious in collecting genuine historical materials from the Buranjis written in the Assamese language as discrepancy of dates, incorporation of unhistorical and irrelevant facts, non-maintenance of the chronological order and various other defects are to be found in many Buranjis (Ref. Ahom-Tribal Relations by Dr. L. Devi, PP. 13-14).

At page 116 the author has stated that a regular standing army was maintained by the Ahoms from the early times which was enhanced later on by means of forced capture and new recruitment. But we know from the Buranjis that the early Ahom kings did not maintain any regular standing army. (Studies in the History of Assam by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, PP. 144-45). A standing army on the model of the East India Company was first created in the reign of king Gaurinath Singha (1780-95 A.D.).

At page 118 the Paiks were stated to be the lowest military unit. But this is a wrong explanation of the term 'Paik'. A 'Paik' was an adult male whose name was registered for state service. So, besides military service he had to render other services as well (S. K. Bhuyan—Anglo-Assamese Relations, PP. 19-20).

The remark made on Sudangpha alias Bamuni Konwar at page 77 that the circumstances leading to his accession to the throne is not worthy of credence and that he was not a boy of fifteen years old, but a grown up man and that he was probably not related to the older royal family, but to one already influenced by Brahminical faith is completely baseless. There is nothing to disbelieve the story that Sudangpha was born and brought up in a Brahmin family. The Buranjis confirm the story. Secondly, his age is proved by the fact that his pregnant mother was sent adrift the Brahmaputra probably towards the close of the year 1380. Sudangpha was probably

born in 1381. His father Tyao-Khamthi ruled from 1380 to 1389. There was an interregnum for eight years (1389-1397). So at the time of his accession in 1397 Sudangpha could not be more than fifteen or sixteen years old.

The statement given at page 199 that Chilarai conquered Cachar, Jayantia, Manipur, Tripura, Khairam and Dimarua between 1547 and 1562 and not after 1563 i.e. his Assam campaign, can hardly be accepted to be true. The Buranjis, *Koch Beharer Itihas* by Amanatullah Ahmed, *Kacharer Itibritta* by Upendra Chandra Guha, all mention that these territories were conquered by Chilarai after his Assam campaign of 1562-63. Moreover, it is specifically mentioned in these sources that when Chilarai attacked these territories he had already earned great fame by defeating the Ahom king and it was because of this that the rulers of most of these territories (Cachar, Manipur, Khairam and Dimarua) voluntarily submitted to him out of fear without any fight. It was only with the kings of Jayantia and Tripura that Chilarai had to fight. Therefore, it is quite clear that when the rulers of four out of six territories voluntarily submitted to Chilarai the expedition did not take much time as anticipated by Dr. Acharyya.

Regarding the Chapter on the Nagas (Ch. XII) the writer has claimed that he has added a completely new Chapter after critically examining all the available sources. The Chapter would have been really valuable if the writer would have been able to mention clearly the Naga tribes with whom the Ahoms came into contact during the period under review (1228-1603). There are so many Naga tribes that it is meaningless to refer to them merely by the term 'Naga' without trying to identify them. Because of this we find the writer wrongly identifying (P. 248) the Hatikhokia Nagas with the Ao Nagas with whom Sukapha is stated to have come into

conflict. As a matter of fact the Ahoms did never come into conflict with the Ao Nagas (J. P. Mills, *Ao Nagas*; P. 5; *Ahom-Tribal Relations* by Dr. L. Devi, Ch. II).

Lastly, at page 262 it is stated that "At the time of the advent of Sankardev the whole of Assam was divided among the Bhuyans, Ahoms, Koches, Kacharis, Chutiyas and the Nagas." Here the meaning of the "whole of Assam" is not clear. The boundaries should have been demarcated clearly. Because the mention of the Nagas along with the Bhuyans, Ahoms, Kacharis, Koches and Chutiyas who were ruling in the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley would mean that in the 15th and 16th centuries the Nagas were also ruling in the plains of Assam!

(Mrs.) LAKSHMI DEVI

Shivaji the Pragmatist by K. L. MAHALEY. 171 + XIV pp., Nagpur: Vishwa Bharati Prakashan, 1969. Rs. 20.00.

Shivaji has always been a centre of attraction for historians, popular writers and politicians in Maharashtra. His career has been viewed by historians from various angles — as a nationalist, a patriot, a reformer, a revolutionary, etc. Mr. K. L. Mahaley finds trends of pragmatism in Shivaji. In the note of dedication the author indirectly mentions the purpose of his study, i.e., to inspire the descendants of Shivaji's Mawales to bring about a socio-economic revolution, perhaps in Maharashtra.

The interpreters of Maratha history have woven a number of controversies round historical personalities and events. The author of this book is not free from the legacies of his predecessors. The issues that he has raised in the course of discussion have little bearing on the main theme of the book, i.e., the pragmatism of Shivaji which he has not defined

anywhere in his book. After repeating all the well-known arguments about Shivaji-Ramdas relationship, he opines "the image of Ramdas possessing political sagacity is highly presumptuous" (p. 116 and p. 121). However, he feels that Tukaram, a mystic poet, was intimately closer in social aspirations with Shivaji (p. 116).

The rise of Shivaji to power is a riddle to the author, and he thinks that "the means of scientific thinking in Shivaji's history do not appear within sight to lay hands on." (p. XI). Since the days of Rajwade, a huge amount of source material has been made available to scholars and historians. But the author has overlooked it as unnecessary. His Bibliography does not mention a single source book in Marathi. A careful study of this plethora of material would not have made Shivaji a riddle in history to him or to anybody.

The British administrators, since the days of Elphinstone, started making a distinction between the Maratha rule and the Peshwa rule to justify their entry into the political scene of India. The argument put forth by them was that the Peshwas usurped the Chatrapati's power, and after the territories were conquered by the British from the Peshwas, the Maratha rule was restored in Satara by installing Raja Pratap Sinha on the throne. The contemporary powers did not make such a distinction between Maratha and Brahmin. The author of this book has, however, accepted this dichotomy of Maratha power, and has stated more than once that the splendid work of Shivaji was ruined by the Peshwas and he makes a categorical statement without giving any evidence in its support that "the condition of the masses and the tribals during the days of the Peshwas need no description. Peshwas had given up all the noble and decent ideas of Shivaji." (p. 36). This statement has been made in a chapter devoted to the relations of Shivaji with the downcasts.

But instead of narrating what Shivaji did for ameliorating the condition of the downcasts, the author lapses into a description of the tribes like the Ramoshis, the Kolis, the Bhils, the Mangs and the Mahars. He gives a detailed account of the origin of the Mahars from the days of the Indus Civilization. It must be remembered here that Shivaji did not aim at any social revolution. He did not disturb the village communities, and the working of local government through the Vatandars and Deshaks. He reformed the system to suit the new circumstances. His work was mainly in the political field. The time was not yet ripe for a social revolution in India. He had therefore to respect the traditional social organization and the customs.

Mr. Mahaley not only finds fault with the Peshwas, who, according to him, 'withdrew all the benefits afforded to masses by Shivaji and subjected them again to conditions of abject slavery' (p. 49) but also holds the entire Brahmin community in India responsible for many social evils. The author feels sorry that Shivaji who would wield his whip against the Maratha Vatandars proved to be weak against 'the casteist hierarchy', and accuses him as being devoid of guts as he did not challenge them who denied him Kshatriya rites (p. 118). The entire discussion shows utter lack of historiocity. Shivaji was a strict disciplinarian in political matters, and he did not spare Brahmins for their misbehaviour though he respected them for their accomplishments in matters religious. Again it is historically not correct to say that an attempt was made to establish the Peshwa rule in 1680-81 immediately after the death of Shivaji (p. 119). The author has a contempt for those historians who consider Shivaji as a protector of Hinduism, because he thinks that Shivaji's position has been elevated by them for their self-glorification.

A full chapter is devoted to consider the

charge of brigandage often levelled against Shivaji by many foreigners and also non-Marathi historians. But the author has not taken pains to critically examine this problem. Instead, one finds unnecessary details of the international politics of modern times, Marxism, materialistic interpretation of history, Napoleon, English constitutional history etc.

It is difficult for the reader to understand the significance of such remarks by the author as: "In his army organisation, Shivaji brought about a social change, unprecedented in Indian history. It amounted to social revolution."

The author holds the view that 'army was the instrument of Shivaji's State', 'the state was a monarchical autocracy, and it was essentially a military state.' (p. 65). That Shivaji's kingdom was not purely a 'Krieg-Staat' as Jadunath Sarkar holds it, can be proved beyond doubt with the help of many available published sources. Had the author probed into the original sources, he would have found enough material to prove that Shivaji did not rule his people as a military despot, but gave a sound system of administration, and strengthened the economy of the state by encouraging agriculture, industry and trade and became a supporter of the multitudes of people by creating avenues of employment. An analytical study of these documents would have equipped him with enough material to state and justify the pragmatism of Shivaji.

In a chapter entitled "War-chest" the sources of income of Shivaji's State have been stated as tapping the hoards hidden in forts, sacking important commercial centres (without ruining the trade, he says) and Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, 'the ingenious instruments of Shivaji's war policy'. (He considers Sardeshmukhi as vatan of Shivaji, which is absurd). But he has completely ignored other

enlightened activities of Shivaji which fetched more revenue due to increased economic activity and promotion of agriculture. He considers Shivaji as the precursor of the Subsidiary Alliance System of Wellesley, as he finds something common between the Chauth and the British system. Of course, Shivaji himself did not originate the Chauth.

While describing Shivaji's revenue administration, the author duly acknowledges the services of Malik Ambar and how Shivaji derived inspiration from him in managing the revenue administration of his new state. But he hardly explains the system and the modifications made by Shivaji therein to suit his requirements.

There are five appendices to this book which do not shed any light on the main theme of the book. A horrid picture of the ghastly famine of 1630 can be gleaned from the writings of Tukaram, Ramdas, Parmanand and a number of contemporary family papers. However, the author seems to be content with a few foreign accounts and English translations of non-English sources, perhaps quoted elsewhere, while writing this Appendix on the famine.

He has written a long note on the popu-

lation of Shivaji's Maharashtra in the 17th century, and considers his approach as scientific and novel. It is difficult to trace the population of the 17th century Maharashtra on the basis of 1961 census reports, and by adopting the 'work-back' method, as he calls it. First the picture of Maharashtra in the 17th century was entirely different from what we get today. The region was not yet fully colonized. The famines, the inroads of enemies and the constant warfare arrested the growth of population in the 17th century. While estimating the population of a region, one has to take into account a number of other factors, like the size of the family, the longevity, the mobility of people, the size of villages, places of pilgrimage, commercial centres, ports, etc. The village records giving houstax, thalzas, dakshina received by Brahmins are useful tools for making guess-work in this respect. Moreland has used the strength of the army as a tool for determining the population of Mughal India. We can use that method, with some modifications, by consulting Sabhasad, the chronicler of Shivaji, and a few English records giving the strength of Shivaji's army. But the author has thoroughly relied on the 'work back' method and arrived at a figure without any support from the records.

A. R. KULKARNI

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES ANNUAL REPORT 1969-70

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I present the Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for the year 1969-70. The year was one of steady progress as before. With its close the Institute completed its ninth year and stepped into its tenth. It is a compliment to the members, friends and well-wishers of the Institute that it has been able, in such a short time, to establish itself as one of the leading all-India academic organisations.

Membership :

During the year under review the number of members remained almost static. Although many new members were enrolled, the addition was offset by the dropping out of an almost equal number. The fluctuating membership, about 50 or 60 a year, is one of the principal worries of the organisation. It seems that in spite of our best efforts to stop it, we have to accept it as a regular feature. I would, however, request our members to redouble their efforts in enrolling new members so that in spite of the normal annual drop-out there would be a steady increase in the total membership. One happy thing is that the membership is becoming more and more all-India in character.

Meetings :

It is a matter of regret that Discussion Meetings could not be arranged during the year under review as regularly as before. It was mainly due to disturbed conditions in the city. Altogether five Discussion Meetings were held. Mr. Alexander Pleshkov (Leningrad University, U.S.S.R.) spoke on *Writings on the History of Indian National Movement Since Independence*; Professor David Kopf

(Senior Research Fellow, American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta) spoke on *British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance*; Dr. Prashanta Kumar Chatterjee (Burdwan University) on the *Education Despatch of 1854*; Mrs. Geraldine Forbes (American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta) on *Positivism in Bengal*; and Dr. Nilmani Mukherjee (University of Calcutta) on the *History of the Calcutta Port*. The meetings were well-attended and the discussions lively. The talks will be published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* in due course.

Annual Conference :

The Seventh Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies was held at Bangalore from 4th to 7th November, 1969, under the auspices of the University of Bangalore. It was inaugurated by Shri Dharma Vira, Governor of Mysore. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar presided over the Conference.

The principal theme for discussion at the Conference was *Historical Writings on the Indian Nationalist Movement*. Fifteen papers were presented and discussed, one on historical writings in each State. The aim was to review critically historical writings on the nationalist movement produced so far, to examine the principal trends in such writings and to indicate the fields or aspects which yet remain to be covered. The papers were of a high standard, presented by eminent historians belonging to different Universities, and the discussions were most lively.

The second theme for discussion at the Conference was *Sources of the History of*

Mysore (Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods). Nine papers were presented and discussed, three relating to each period of history. The papers, written mostly by well-known Mysorean scholars, brought out very ably the nature, extent and location of different types of source material, which are available to reconstruct the history of Mysore.

The Conference was attended by about 200 scholars from all over India. Most of the Universities and research institutions sent delegates. By all accounts the Conference was a great success, and its deliberations made a most useful contribution to historical studies. The local scholars who attended in large number expressed their appreciation of the value of the Conference in giving an incentive to serious historical studies and research in the State.

The papers presented at the Conference will be published in two separate volumes.

Journal:

The *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* maintained its record of progress during the year under review. All the four numbers of Vol. IX were brought out in time and there was no arrear in publication. This is particularly flattering when we note how difficult it is for any research journal to maintain regularity of publication. There was also some increase in the number of subscribers, both Indian and foreign, and the *Quarterly Review* could maintain its claim of having 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. For lack of funds, however, it was not possible to make any substantial addition to our collection of books. The only additions made were those books, pamphlets, reports etc., not inconsiderable in number, which were recei-

ved for review or as gifts. Unless we get a suitable grant from the Government of India, it would not be possible to develop our Library in a planned manner. Our Library services are open to members all over the country and not confined to members in Calcutta only.

Research Service Bureau:

The Research Service Bureau, whose main task is to help scholars, both Indian and foreign, with the services of research assistants for the collection of material in India, maintained its activity during the year under review, although on a very small scale. To make the Research Service Bureau more active and useful, additional funds are needed and unless the Government or the U.G.C. comes to our assistance, the Bureau cannot be activated in the way we would like.

Publications:

It is flattering to note that our two publications, *The Indian Press* and *Studies in Modern Indian History: A Regional Survey* were well received in the academic world. It would be pertinent to quote below a few lines from a review in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (U.S.A.). "The volume on the press, like the volume on Studies in Modern Indian History, will be of genuine value to scholars and graduate students interested in serious research. The two volumes complement each other nicely, despite some duplication of effort, and both provide the interested student with valuable leads into sources, archives, research topics, and current historiographical issues. Dr. S. P. Sen and the Institute of Historical Studies are to be congratulated for having sponsored the conferences which led to these useful publications. Indian scholarship has for too long suffered from a paucity of opportunity for academicians to meet and exchange views. The Institute plays an important role in the Indian academic scene by providing such opportunities and by publish-

ing the results so that a much larger audience may benefit from its efforts."

Our third volume, on the *Sino-Indian Border Question*, was sent to the press towards the end of the year under review and is expected to be out by September. Our fourth volume, on *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, should also have been sent to the press during the year under review. But it was delayed as we needed papers on a few more historians to make the volume a comprehensive study.

In spite of the high quality of our publications, it is a matter of regret that the sales were not as good as we could have expected. The publication programme cannot be maintained unless the publication cost of each volume is promptly realised to enable us to undertake the next volume. Because of the high cost of paper, printing etc. it takes more than a year to realise the full cost. This naturally slows down our publication programme. I take this opportunity to appeal to our members to help our publication scheme by purchasing a copy of each publication (at 20% discount) and also by ordering copies on behalf of their respective institutions.

Dictionary of National Biography

Project:

The Dictionary of National Biography Project made very good progress during the year under review. Biographical entries from the Contributors were received fairly regularly, and at the end of the year under review we had received nearly 70% of the biographical entries to be included in the DNB. This is, of course, not as much progress as we had hoped for, but then in a Project like this one must not expect strict adherence to schedule. When we have to depend on 350 Contributors from all parts of the country, some delay or upsetting of the programme is inevitable. On the whole, however, the Contributors have been very considerate and helpful. Just

in a few cases the Contributors regretted their inability to write and new allotments had to be made. This was also not altogether unanticipated, although it necessarily slowed down the progress of work. Anyway, the position at the end of the year 1969-70 was quite encouraging and we may confidently look forward to getting all the four volumes of the DNB ready for the press during the year 1970-71.

While making a final review of the names to be included in the DNB, the Editorial Advisory Board came to the conclusion, after elucidating opinions from various sections all over the country, that nearly 100 more names should be included to make the Dictionary of National Biography complete, representative and worthy of its name as the first pioneer venture of its kind in India. This substantial addition to the number naturally affected our time schedule. But we have been trying our best to cover these additional names in the shortest possible time.

Press Conference:

A Press Conference was held at Bangalore on 3rd November 1969 to explain the aims and objects and activities of the Institute of Historical Studies and particularly the details of the Dictionary of National Biography Project. The Press Conference was very well attended and all the well-known newspapers in the country gave a good coverage. I take this opportunity to thank the press representatives for their kind co-operation.

Finances:

(i) General

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

1962-63	111.27	1966-67	2,127.63
1963-64	586.98	1967-68	6,247.63
1964-65	1,405.10	1968-69	10,155.10
1965-66	2,584.67	1969-70	13,566.42

The financial position was gravely affected by the termination of Foundation grants from 1968-69, amounting to Rs. 9,500/- a year. We had appealed to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, to give us a recurring grant to offset this loss. But unfortunately, there was no satisfactory response. We shall no doubt renew our appeal but in the meanwhile we have to do something on our own to meet the present situation. Even cutting down our expenditure to the minimum in the context of our present activities, we would still be faced with a deficit of Rs. 5,000/- a year. Costs of paper, printing, postage etc. have gone up considerably and it is not possible to think of any reduction in expenditure unless some of our present activities are given up altogether. To save the desperate situation facing us there is no alternative but to raise the membership fee. If the membership fee be raised from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/-, we may hope to get an additional income of Rs. 2,000/- per year. The balance of the deficit has to be met from sale of publications. I make an appeal to the members to come to the rescue of the organisation, which has served them so well, by agreeing to a slight rise in the annual membership fee, by using their personal influence to enrol new members, by helping the sale of our publications and finally by trying to secure donations to wipe off the accumulated deficit. We can expect the Government of India and State Governments to come to our assistance when we can show them that we have done our very best to save the institution from a collapse.

(ii) Dictionary Project

It is rather unfortunate that while the Dictionary of National Biography Project made a remarkable progress, we failed to

secure financial assistance from the State Governments to the extent we had expected and to the extent that we would need to complete the Project. If we had adequate financial resources, we could have planned more effectively and could have taken up the execution with whole hearted attention, free from financial worries. The Government of India had given us so far Rs. 1,69,000/- and we have applied for an additional grant of Rs. 30,000/- for the year 1970-71. From the State Governments we were able to secure till March 1970 only Rs. 56,000/-. We have to raise at least 1,50,000/- more from State Governments to enable us to complete the Project. We are, no doubt, making strenuous efforts to get the additional funds needed and we have been able to secure the active support of many Members of Parliament, belonging to all Political Parties in the country. But as long as the anticipated grants from the State Governments do not come in, our financial worries will persist and work as a drag on our scheduled progress.

Conclusion:

Before concluding the Annual Report, on behalf of the Institute of Historical Studies, I offer our thanks to the Government of India and the Governments of Mysore, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, West-Bengal, Tamilnadu, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat for their kind financial assistance and also to the Contributors who had offered us their helpful co-operation in the Dictionary of National Biography Project. I am also thankful to the press for giving publicity to our work. I also take this opportunity to thank the members of the Executive Committee and Editorial Advisory Committee and all the members and well-wishers of the Institute for their kind and active interest.

August 17, 1970
Calcutta.

S. P. SEN
Director

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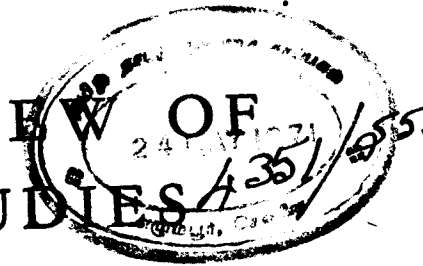
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EDITORIAL

Case for a Probe :

About three years ago when a particular foreign Foundation's operations in India were closed down, the Prime Minister made a statement in Parliament that the Government intended to set up an Indian Foundation to help those institutions which had been receiving aid from the foreign Foundation. It was obviously realised by the Government that merely closing down a foreign Foundation in India without making alternative arrangement for the numerous institutions affected by such a measure would be most unfair. These institutions had been rendering useful service to the cause of education and research. They had little financial resources of their own and had undertaken long-term programmes relying on Foundation assistance. They did not deserve penalisation, specially, as the Home Minister admitted in Parliament, when the aid received by these institutions from the foreign Foundation had the prior approval of the Government of India.

The Prime Minister's declaration in Parliament was naturally welcomed by all. Particularly those small institutions suddenly left high and dry by the closing down of the foreign Foundation saw a ray of hope in the Prime Minister's policy declaration. They knew of course that it would take some time to set up the new Indian Foundation and

were prepared to wait. They were not, however, prepared for the back-stage manoeuvrings in the Government departments concerned which completely changed the policy objective and the character of the new body.

Few people know how and under what circumstances the Indian Council of Social Science Research came into existence within a year of the Prime Minister's declaration in Parliament. Funds which had been originally intended to help institutions, as per the Prime Minister's declaration, were mysteriously diverted to a different channel with a narrower field of interest. While a Foundation's *modus operandi* is to finance projects submitted by different institutions and not to undertake any project on its own, the thinking in Government circles is that whenever Government funds are to be spent, it must be through an agency dominated by Government officials and largely on projects and schemes directly sponsored by that agency. It becomes, in effect, not a fund-distributing agency but just another Research Institute, holding seminars and symposiums, appointing research fellows and undertaking schemes under its direct management.

This trend of thinking is fatal to the numerous smaller research institutions which are denied sustenance just because the Government is more interested in having a gigan-

tic institute of its own. In the academic field public sector undertakings are not as justified as in the economic field. It is not only a denial of the claims of private research institutions on State funds, it is also wasteful in terms of cost and output.

Unfortunately, in this country the trend of thinking among Government officials is just the reverse. That is why instead of setting up a Foundation or a mere fund-distributing agency, as the Prime Minister's policy declaration had envisaged, there came to be set up a gigantic State-sponsored and State-managed institute, the I.C.S.S.R. Then again by a mysterious process the new body came to be a close preserve of a few disciplines which were considered by its policy-framing body as deserving to be included in the category of Social Science. An average citizen may ask why it was deemed necessary at that particular juncture to give an added incentive to studies in Economics, Politics, Sociology, Psychology and a few other assorted disciplines. There is hardly any reason to claim that studies in these fields were neglected by the existing fund-granting agencies than studies in other disciplines in humanities.

What is particularly surprising is the exclusion of History from the scope of Social Science. Whatever the views of the I.C.S.S.R. Governing Body may be, no knowledgeable person will deny that History is as much a branch of Social Science as Economics, Politics, Psychology or Sociology. In most Indian Universities, including the University of Delhi, History is included in the Faculty of Social Science. It is no doubt open to the persons who constitute the Governing Body of the I.C.S.S.R. to decide that whatever may be the character and scope of historical studies, the I.C.S.S.R. will not spend its funds to encourage them. But in that case they certainly owe an explanation to the tax-paying public why studies in Economics or Politics or Socio-

logy deserve additional encouragement but not studies in History.

The decision to exclude History must have been taken right at the beginning and that explains why in the Governing Body of 24 members it was not deemed worthwhile to take in a single historian. Apart from 10 Government officials, there are 5 Economists, 2 Sociologists, 2 Psychologists, one Political Scientist and one Anthropologist. It is no wonder, from such a composition, that the body would formulate a policy of monopolising all the available Government funds for only these half a dozen assorted disciplines.

We wish somebody in Parliament would want to know :

(1) When and how the decision to set up the I.C.S.S.R. was taken and how huge funds have been found for such a new venture when the budgetary position of the Education Ministry is not that comfortable?

(2) What happened to the Prime Minister's declaration in Parliament about setting up an Indian Foundation with an annual allocation of fifty lakhs? Was the plan abandoned for lack of funds?

(3) Why was it found necessary to give special encouragement to some branches of Social Science and exclude others from its benefits altogether?

(4) How have the funds been utilised for the last 2 years, with break-ups under (a) administration; (b) meetings, seminars, etc.; (c) travelling expenses; and (d) aid to institutions and research projects?

(5) Has the money been put to better use by the I.C.S.S.R. from the point of view of academic results than if it had been entrusted to a Foundation for helping numerous smaller research institutions?

(6) How many of the research projects financed by the I.C.S.S.R. are of vital importance in India's academic life and how many of them involve just a useless wastage of public money?

These questions are most embarrassing, but we feel that in the interest of academic life in this country it is necessary to ask them. Those who are "sitting pretty", monopolising Government funds and distributing patronage, should not be left under the illusion that they owe no explanation to anybody outside their closed circle.

Dictionary of National Biography Project :

We are very happy to report that the Dictionary of National Biography Project is now in its final stage. We have received nearly all the 1300 biographical entries, except just a very few. These also are expected to come in shortly, to fill in the stray gaps in the 4 volumes of the DNB now being prepared for the Press. Press work will start soon and all the 4 volumes, of 600-650 pages each, will be published by March, 1972. Printing has been entrusted to one of the best Presses in India, and every care will be taken to ensure the quality of production one would expect for a publication of this kind by the best international standard.

There is a sense of relief and pleasure when one comes to the end of a long journey, specially when there were many hurdles and the going was not that easy. The Project was undertaken eight years ago, in 1963-64. The first year was taken up by planning, setting up the necessary organisational machinery on an all-India basis, appointing and training Research Fellows in different States, drawing up tentative lists of names from different States to be included in the DNB, preparing guide-lines for collection of material and enlisting support and co-operation from Uni-

versities, newspapers, political parties, non-political associations and the Central and State Governments.

The next five years were taken up by collecting biographical material on the basis of an elaborate standard format. It was done by 16 Research Fellows in all the States and regions working under the supervision of the local University Professors. The Research Fellows evinced keen interest in their work, with a sense of dedication of which we are really proud. We are also grateful to the University Professors who gave the necessary advice and guidance to the Research Fellows and also checked their work.

The last two years were taken up by writing actual biographical entries on the basis of the material collected by the Research Fellows. The task was entrusted to nearly 400 Contributors all over the country. In order to ensure uniformity of treatment, elaborate instructions were issued to the Contributors indicating length, style, arrangement of material, bibliography, etc. We are happy to note that the Contributors took their work with all seriousness and in many cases they undertook additional labour to collect supplementary material and to check up the material supplied. Of the 400 Contributors, nearly 300 are professional historians, drawn from all the major Universities in the country. It is most gratifying that we could secure the kind co-operation of all historians who have any professional standing. There is hardly any well-known historian who is not associated with the DNB Project. The remaining 100 Contributors are non-professionals. Most of them are men of eminence in public life, Union and State Cabinet Ministers, Governors, High Court Judges, Ambassadors, leading figures of all the Political Parties in the country, Vice-Chancellors, Journalists, Lawyers, Industrialists, Social reformers, Litterateurs, Scientists, etc. We are happy to note that these Contributors have fully justified

their inclusion by bringing a freshness of approach and treatment which will enhance the value of the DNB.

From the detailed account given above it will be clear that the DNB Project has been completed in as short a time as one could expect for a Project of this magnitude. We do not want to appear boastful of our performance. But our love for modesty need not prevent us from feeling a legitimate sense of gratification and pride that we have been able to complete such a gigantic Project within a much shorter time and at a much lesser cost than any other similar Project undertaken anywhere in India. The comparison of our record with that of the Projects undertaken by the Government of India is not inappropriate at this place, specially the record of the Gazetteers Unit and the History of Freedom Movement Unit of the Ministry of Education.

Conferences and Seminars :

In pre-Independence days there were few occasions for historians to meet and exchange ideas. The Indian Historical Records Commission, the Indian History Congress and the Oriental Conference provided the only forums for such meeting. Scholars were then more interested in getting their papers published straightway, rather than presenting their papers before a gathering and facing questions and comments. The trend slowly changed after Independence but it was not till the middle of the sixties that the change became quite noticeable. Since then the trend set in to have as frequent gatherings at Conference and Seminar as funds permitted or as organisers could manage. Some people would complain that the pendulum has swung to the other extreme and that scholars now are more interested in issuing a volley of words (in-

cluding all the trite commonplace jargons and clichés) than in solid written work. Thanks to the generosity of the U.G.C., Universities are encouraged to call frequent seminars, inviting almost the same set of persons on every occasion. Sometimes the Proceedings are published, but not usually before 3 to 5 years, and sometimes they are not published at all. Then there are many non-University agencies (curiously enough, a good number in New Delhi itself which possibly aims in this way to attract attention as a rising cultural centre) who follow the current fashion. Finally, there are the regional historical associations which hold annual Conferences. They render a most useful service in focusing attention on regional history and on a critical examination of its different aspects. They usually bring out their Proceedings more promptly. There may be some amount of wastage and duplication about these Seminars and Conferences, but on the whole the trend is most welcome as enabling scholars to gather together and exchange ideas.

The plethora of Seminars and Conferences, however, has made the need for a clearing-house of information about them more imperative than ever before. The non-participants, however interested they may otherwise be in the subjects discussed, have little source of information about these meetings. It would be most useful to historical scholarship if the organisers of these Seminars and Conferences decide to have a common national information agency to publicise their programmes, papers and discussions to a wider circle in the country and also abroad. For our part, we shall be happy to offer our services, if wanted, and publish in the columns of the *Quarterly Review* brief accounts of these Seminars and Conferences.

HISTORIOGRAPHY IN MODERN INDIA : SOME RELEVANT ISSUES

DR. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

(IIT, Kharagpur)

The understanding of history becomes comparatively easy and comprehensive if the theme is unfolded in its different aspects and if it is related to the contemporary world and peoples. Otherwise, the historical vision is likely to be fragmented and clouded. It is also a part of the historiographer's mission to help the reader understand the age he is reading about, lead his mind from confusion to clarity, and suggest some guidelines to enable him to form his opinions. In the course of an intellectual process of this kind the historian may also raise new questions and develop new curiosities which add to the variety and richness of historiography. All this presupposes intensive research in local and apparently transitory themes and trivial topics—restricted in scope from the point of time or general appeal. They are, nonetheless, parts of a bigger theme with a more universal appeal. Attempts are being made, it is needless to say, to fit the findings of such investigations in the larger context of Indian history. But the historian who edits and supervises the publication of several volumes of the history of India (or is concerned with a stated period) or deals with a specific problem, may find the collation of materials a baffling task, and is, sometimes, persuaded to publish two divergent views of two experts on the same topic in the same book without his own comments. This leaves the confusion as it was. It may be considered whether the cause of Indian historiography would not be better served if such points were kept in view while producing scholarly and ambitious

volumes on the history of India. For, even the professional historian is not a specialist in every item and field of Indian history. He too may need guidance for arriving at some reasonable conclusion. The needs of the general reader are more pressing and specific.

The ordered co-relation of facts and their analyses regarding the history of India have become more imperative today than ever before. The Indian historian of India in his treatment of history has an added responsibility : he has to find out the theme of Indian history and culture and explain that theme objectively. Historicism in its complete sense is difficult of attainment. But, it may be worthwhile to inculcate the basic virtues laid down by the historian of Kashmir. A good historian, according to him, should be above bias and prejudices, and his narrative should show no signs of love and hatred. He is to be an impartial judge of events and men. An eminent living historian of India compliments him unreservedly. "Kalhana", he says, "had the supreme merit of possessing a critical mind and that spirit of scepticism which is the first virtue of a historian."¹ True, his professions and practice did not always harmonise, but his idea of historicism still holds good.

A lot of British historiography on India has been propagandist. People who wanted to prove that in India the civilization of the West was on the march, presented and interpreted Indian history accordingly. Even in the

days of a mature and sober Indian nationalism European scholars maintained that Britain was to give India "the best form of government that it was capable of giving and India was capable of receiving."² The refrain of the music of civilizing mission still persists.

The nationalists interpreted Indian history from an opposite angle. The results have been unfortunate and at some points disastrous for historiography. The situation has been, not a little complicated by the growing emphasis on the modern technique of writing 'history in depth'. This constitutes a significant shift and calls for more of economic and sociological analysis. Such analyses are good aids to an adequate appreciation of the forces that shape history. But, as some historians maintain, they should not be allowed to mar the 'traditional techniques of historical narrative'. There is some truth in the observations made by a Professor of modern History on the specialists. "There is, I think, no great harm done if they go on talking their latest professional jargon to each other in private: if economic historians prattle of liquidity, variables or backward sloping curves, or sociologists of motivations, elites and social roles. Provided always that we return to some common plain language which recovers this specialised shorthand for purposes of civilised intercourse and ultimate history."³ These observations have a bearing on the intellectual pursuits of the historians of modern India.

Reference has been made to the propaganda element in Indian historiography. It is a pity that the post-Independence phase of history-writing in India has sparked off a controversy. This could not be helped since the champions of the cause of historiography could not but react sharply to the not very laudable attempt to get the modern phase of India's history written according to order. This vitiates the spirit of an independent science of history and amounts to a negation of the freedom

of treatment and analysis which a historian with a mission cannot surrender. An independent treatment of history is not necessarily inimicable to the views or policies of a government. It only seeks "to prevent the cause of historical truth as distinct from the things which might be promulgated from motives of *raison d'état* or for the sake of a public advantage or in order to cover the imprudences of politicians and government servants."⁴ It is worthwhile to keep in mind that the ideals, interests and objects of academic history and those of official history are usually not the same and the cause of historiography everywhere is likely to be better served by keeping up their differences and inherent conflicts. Official history in modern India, as elsewhere, will tend to grow in volume, for governments will have a point of view to develop and defend. But academic history has to assume the onerous responsibility and discharge the grave duty of watching its many facets with caution and vigilance. "It may be necessary that official history should be produced. It is equally necessary that it should be subjected to unrelenting scrutiny."⁵

It is in the context of these observations and the call for an awareness that even a very mediocre student of history like the present writer feels that the entire field of Indian history generally, and the story of the genesis of the Freedom Movement and its development as well as that of the post-Independence phase, in particular, should be brought under the lurid light of investigation, scrutiny and objectivity. Our assessment of men and events has to be reviewed and re-analysed without fear or favour. Legends and myths, where necessary, have to be demolished, for, sometimes debunking and historical deflation does help and makes historiography meaningful and purposeful. Very rightly has it been said that there can be no absolute historical truth. History is and will always be "an argument without end." (Pieter Geyl).

Indian historiography is yet to attain maturity with respect to a deliberate probe and an adequate analysis "of the complex source and nature of power as it is reflected in the policies of governments over the centuries."⁶ Even with respect to comparatively advanced schools of historiography this is a rather new branch of study. The traditionalism of India's culture and society and its reactions to the foreign ways and ideas through the centuries are likely to be explained more fully and scientifically by a growing emphasis on this kind of a probe. A more detailed and comprehensive study of this theme and problem may also explain the growth of some symptoms in the complex pattern of Indian society — symptoms that could not be anticipated by us even in the concluding phase of the Freedom Movement. It may also be worthwhile to analyse the effects of dictated policies, if any, in regard to changes in the socio-economic pattern of Indian life on the shape of India's contemporary history. These are some of the problems that have bothered students of modern Indian history. Besides, many keep on asking — how deeply basic was the fundamental unity of India? Did it sustain itself only up to the coming of Islam, or even beyond that point? Was it a reality in the life of the various Indian communities through the centuries? Or, was an image of this unity deliberately created by our nationalist historians? If that unity was really effective and no make-believe, why is this traditional and commendable concept under such an enormous pressure of pulls and strains?

Of late, a searching probe is being made into the nature and content of the 19th century Renaissance in India. For years now the general explanation about the origin of the 19th century educational, intellectual and reformist activity has held ground. This widening of the intellectual horizon, the urge for creativity and the new attempts to rationalize religion and society — have very largely been attributed to the general contact with

the European, and to be more precise, the British culture, and particularly to the introduction of the Western education in the mid-thirties of the last century. There is certainly a lot of sense and truth in this interpretation. It is also, by implication, a justification of British rule in India. For, it was the magic touch of Western culture that brought the Indian Leviathan back to activity and a new creativity — a process through which India rediscovered her soul and became conscious of her potentialities. I have often asked myself — how deep and pervasive has this Renaissance been? If the recent developments in the Indian scene are any indication — then our love and admiration for many of the Renaissance tenets and values appear to be superficial and skin-deep. Moreover, if in the context of the Anglicist-Orientalist 'battle' for determining the pattern and quality of India's intellectual growth the champions of the West claim vision and foresight, does it mean that the Orientalists — some of whom were equally fine representatives of the Occidental culture — had a clouded vision? Or, was it just possible that they could vaguely anticipate the drift of the educated classes from the psychological life of their country? In any case, the time has perhaps come to ascertain whether Indian culture was, in the beginning of the 19th century, really as stagnant as we have been persuaded to believe. Can a stagnant society really show such signs of commendable activity as India did — within half-a-century of an organised contact with Western culture? In effect, the history of modern India "cannot be understood solely in terms of the Western impact, as this fails to explain the immense dynamism of Indian society." How otherwise can one rationalize the fact that progressive reformers from Rammohan to Gandhi took their stand primarily on India's past culture?⁷

Even if the prevalent view about this Indian Renaissance is accepted without reservations a related problem baffles many. How would

the modern historians explain the queer phenomenon that the new intellectuals of Bengal who had their baptism in the fountain of European culture and sought to consciously create a new environment, were so oblivious of the economic impact of the alien culture? The question may justifiably be mooted: why was there no economic regeneration? Why did the Bengalees — who had such a good start and manned the government and the mercantile establishments, and produced lawyers and teachers and doctors in thousands to cater for the needs of different parts of the country — feel so shy in the matter of building up industry and dominating the economic life? The only man of consequence who became alive to the new need and opportunities was Prince Dwarkanath Tagore. But his business enterprises were not crowned with success.

These and several other related questions may suggest themselves to the new band of historians whose approach to the history of India is different from the traditional. Some analysis of the logic of the situation, the establishment of a relationship between events and their causes — are parts of the historian's job. Writing on history for the Encyclopedia, Voltaire said, "If you have nothing to tell us except that one barbarian succeeded another on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes, what is that to us?"⁸ It is no longer possible for the historian to evade the responsibility of answering questions which crop up in the context of the new advances in the periphery of or within historical studies. The questions keep on multiplying and the range and the number of the answers also grow accordingly.

The deft handling and interpretations of the causes are of profound significance for the development of the science of history. The causes, it has been said, "determine his interpretation of the historical process, and his interpretation determines his selection and marshalling of the causes." This interpretation may be unconvincing unless the historian

is in a position to suggest which causes or sets of causes are more important than the rest. Interpretation, value judgments and causality are closely interlinked. Historiography really succeeds when due respect is shown to all these aspects. Where the value judgment is warped the interpretation is weak. Where the relative significance of the causes is not borne out, both interpretation and value judgment suffer. History without these tends to be a chronicle. It is the historian's job to select the facts at his disposal, clothe them with 'relevance and significance' and make 'historical facts' of them.⁹ As Carl Becker said rather provocatively about sixty years ago, "the facts of history do not exist for any historian till he creates them."¹⁰

Historiography, in India, has certainly made rapid strides in recent years, and the output of research has been considerable. New facts have been brought to light, old clichés are being re-examined and analyzed and new interpretations of men and events made. But in two respects a drastic change in our outlook is called for. Historiography, to be mature and scientific, has to discard emotionalism and sentimentalism and should be made to lean less heavily on sensationalism. Otherwise, it loses credence and acceptability after some time. A case in point is K. P. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*. That it "was an enormous success . . . and played a very real part in the movement for India's independence" is perhaps true. But whether it can pass the test of accuracy and objectivity as applied to historical writing, is doubtful.¹¹

In the second place, it is time that Indian historians set themselves, in a more dedicated manner, to the task of explaining the 'eccentricities' of the current Indian scene, for many of these have their roots in the past. Very significantly has Morris-Jones recently described contemporary Indian politics as a tale of three political idioms, modern, traditional, and saintly.¹² The lack of an adequate

response on the part of the average Indian to the concept of a secular state, or the entanglement of caste with politics — to name only two — form a part of these idioms and eccentricities. Other features that stem out of the country's past and vitiate contemporary Indian politics are the communal tensions, the linguistic divisions, and the various reli-

gious beliefs that hinder our progress. "Their elimination, which may not be possible without grave commotions, will perhaps be the main theme of Indian history later in the country."¹³ The study of this exciting theme poses a challenge to historiography in India. The historian of modern India must face it with objectivity, courage and vision.

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS : 1906-1907

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"On all great subjects, much remains to be said." Macaulay's dictum is comforting to one who seeks to make a fresh survey of the events of the fateful year from the Calcutta session of 1906 to the Surat session of 1907 on which so much has already been said so well. However, hitherto scholars have written almost exclusively on the Surat fiasco and very little attention has been paid to the events preceding it. Therefore, a critical analysis of the events preceding the Surat session is being made in this paper to show that the Calcutta session, at which the outstanding disputes between the Moderates and the Extremists were apparently settled, ultimately released forces that led to the historic Surat split. Apparently the Calcutta session was a great success. Four important resolutions, on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education, were adopted and Dadabhai Naoroji gave the call for Swaraj. An exultant Moderate declared that "differences of opinion and sentiment have been reconciled in a practical unanimity of action and policy and thus the Congress stands as united as ever."¹ But it was not indicative of the real attitude of the Moderate stalwarts towards their Extremist counterparts. The adoption of the four radical resolutions left a bitter taste in the mouths of the Moderate stalwarts. They could never forget the acrimonious debates in the Subjects Committee and the walk-out of the Extremist leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Khanade, Aswini Dutt and Tilak. The proceedings of the Calcutta session reflected a fundamental difference between the two schools of opinion. While Tilak and his friends hoped that with these 'potent

weapons' given into their hands by the Congress, they would soon secure Swaraj, the Moderates under the leadership of the Bombay triumvirate (Mehta-Wacha-Gokhale) made subtle attempts at whittling the radical Calcutta resolutions. Thus "immediately after the Congress session in 1906 both the Nationalists and the Constitutionalists began to make preparations for the impending contest for power at the next Congress."²

The newspapers of both wings of the Congress gave vivid accounts of the Calcutta session. While many described the Presidential address as sober, some Extremists described it as "true diagnosis but false remedy", and bluntly commented, "This is not the redoubtable Naoroji that India has known and looked up to these decades."³ The Extremists attacked the Moderates with two objectives: to popularise their ideas on the one hand and to extend the scope of the radical Calcutta resolutions on the other. Shortly after the conclusion of the Calcutta session, Bal Gangadhar Tilak explained the real meaning of boycott in the following words: "This is boycott, we shall not have their goods, we shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and to keep the peace."⁴ Other Extremist leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose also set out to canvas support for the new creed. They also felt the necessity of establishing new associations in the Districts. The urge to establish new associations and rejuvenate old ones, coupled with the vigorous enunciation

of the philosophy slowly transformed vague extremism into a political party.

At this juncture of affairs Dadabhai Naoroji hastily left India without meeting the Viceroy. Lord Minto noted that "his (Naoroji's) not doing so was out of regard to extremist susceptibilities".⁵ Moreover, shrewd attempts were made by the Moderates at isolating the Extremists. A clear distinction was also made between the Bombay Extremists and their more fiery Bengalee brethren. "As we had expected, Mr. Tilak being a man of ripe judgment gave no trouble while Mr. B. C. Pal was determined that the Congress as a body should commit itself to his extreme views."⁶ Some other Moderates even went one step further and asked Surendranath Banerjee to devote sometime at least to seeing that Bengalee youths behave better.⁷ Even loyal men came to help the Moderates in segregating the Bengalee extremists. Thus we find the *Hindoo Patriot* expressing the view that "in his address on boycott and autonomy Mr. Tilak was the language of moderation."⁸

Both the groups opened nationwide campaigns to win popular favour. The Bombay Moderates took the lead in openly denouncing the four radical Calcutta resolutions. Bhalchandra Krishna in an article in January 1907, referring to "Swadeshi plus boycott or the national industrial movements and arbitration courts", bluntly asserted that the "subjects named are (moreover) outside the function and capacity of the Congress. National education, national industry and arbitration can hardly be classed as political or administrative reforms, except in a very distant way."⁹ The open denunciation of the Calcutta resolutions which had become almost sacrosanct naturally provoked the Extremists. It also demonstrated the real attitude of the Moderates towards the four radical resolutions.

The cat came out of the bag when Bhalchandra Krishna asserted that implementation of the Calcutta resolutions would threaten the security of the Congress because if it undergoes such a transformation it will cease to be the National Congress."¹⁰

Bipin Chandra Pal undertook an extensive tour in February to mobilise public opinion. The Moderates promptly entrusted leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to "neutralise the effect of the irresponsible utterances of the proprietor of 'New India'."¹¹ Gokhale in a speech entitled "The work before us" reminded the citizens of Allahabad that "politics was the art of the possible not the theoretically perfect and described boycott of offices and schools as ludicrous."¹² He also took care to emphasize Swadeshi because the word "boycott had a sinister meaning".¹³ Moderate newspapers took the hint from Gokhale and found fault with Pal. It was said that Bipin Pal was "a logician rather than a student of human nature like Gokhale."¹⁴ In spite of malicious propaganda against the Extremist party, not many persons are said to have attended the Moderate meeting while there were not less than 2500 people in the Extremist meeting.¹⁵ The growth of Pal's popularity irritated the Moderates and in order to create dissension in the Extremist camp some Moderates gave them gratis advice: "It is not perhaps an encouraging omen for the Extremist party that its advocacy should be left in the hands of men like Mr. Pal, while its most able and astute exponent is quiet at home."¹⁶

The battle royal created a great consternation. In a bid to contain extremism on the one hand and to infuse new faith in constitutionalism, Sir William Wedderburn in a letter to Morley observed, "one of the schemes of the Extremists was to capture or wreck the machinery of the Congress at

the Calcutta session. This was frustrated by the tremendous efforts of Mr. Gokhale and his friends. . . . surely these men are entitled to some recognition and support."¹⁷ In India Gokhale was no less active. He urged upon Lord Minto to take prompt action because, "if nothing was done, the whole younger generation of India is going over to the extremists' side."¹⁸ Not only that. Gokhale went to Calcutta to meet Lord Minto to convince him that the "glamour of the British Raj which in the old days fascinated the people has departed and that the only way to recover our moral control is to do something that will appeal to the National imagination."¹⁹

At the local level the Moderates made subtle attempts at whittling down the four Calcutta resolutions in the various Provincial Conferences in a desperate bid to elbow out the Extremists from the Indian National Congress. But the Extremists were determined to ratify the Calcutta resolutions. It was clear that these Provincial Conferences would determine the future course of events.

In Bengal the Moderates made preparations for the Provincial Conference which was scheduled to be held on 29th March 1907. Baikuntha Nath Sen, a close friend of Surendranath, invited the Conference at his home town, Berhampore. Moreover, the presidential chair was offered to Dip Narayan Sinha, a Beharee, in order to enlist the sympathy of the Moderate Biharees. But the "Beharee" pointed out that these "two races are as a matter of fact united but on certain questions; principally the separation of Bihar." Thus Bihar was ready to have her pound of flesh. The Bengalee Extremists demanded not only ratification of the Calcutta resolutions but also their extension. Aurobindo Ghose demanded the organisers of the Conference "besides arranging for the execution of the National programme as laid down by the Congress, they

have to devise means of supporting three new necessities in Bengal; i.e.; National arbitration courts, organised self protection and prevention of famine by self-help."²⁰ Brahmabandhav went one step further. He demanded that "we should train up our own paiks and establish our own thanas in the villages and towns for the protection of our lives and of our own honour."²¹ Above all, the Extremists advised the organisers of the Conference to "have a central Committee for the purpose of inaugurating, directing, suspending and controlling political agitation in Bengal."²² Such radical demands were placed by the Bengalee Extremists because they knew that their Moderate counterparts, unlike Bombay and Madras Moderates, were committed to Swadeshi and boycott on account of the anti-partition agitation.

The Conference assembled on 29th March 1907 at Berhampore. Keeping in mind Dadabhai's theory of un-British rule for which the Extremists had no special love, Baikunthanath Sen referred to the "various blessings conferred by British rule on this country and pointed out that the objects of the Congress and Conferences were to point out the errors, defects and abuses of the British rule and co-operate with the Government in the administration of the country."²³ The President went one step further. He demanded the separation of Bihar and curtly reminded the Bengalee Moderates that if "my compatriots in Bihar object to this word, it is my opinion that this conference should not insist on the boycott being taken up."²⁴ However, he conceded that he had no objection "if as a political weapon of passive resistance Bengal has adopted the boycott of English goods to force the attention of the British public."²⁵

The Moderates also took care to hold the Extremists at bay. All the key posts were retained by the Moderates and the revolt of the Extremists could not assume a really

serious character because "there were only two or three members of the Subjects Committee among the dissenters."²⁶ "Bentwood chairs which had been provided were removed from the pandal at the instance of the East Bengal delegates";²⁷ and the Moderates alerted the police and "a band of military police waited outside and was instructed not to interfere unless requisitioned by the Conference authorities."²⁸

However the Extremists could claim that there was no shouting, like monkeys, of "Hip, hip, hurrah this time at the mention of the name of the Feringhi Emperors";²⁹ and a paper affixed to the wall of the Conference Hall bearing the words "God save the Emperor" was torn down.³⁰ They were also pleased to note that "petitioning and sending representations have ceased; not one resolution has any reference to appealing to the Feringhi for assistance."³¹

But the Extremists of other Provinces were not as lucky as their Bengalee brethren. No anti-partition movement disturbed the mental equanimity of the Moderates of those Provinces. Hence the Moderates were in a comfortable position to tackle "the Extremist menace." Moreover, a strong desire on the part of the Moderates to subvert the radical Calcutta resolutions made the situation difficult for the Extremists. A detailed analysis of the proceedings of the Provincial Conferences of Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces would make this point clear.

The fourteenth Bombay Provincial Conference was held at Surat, a sleepy hollow which had once given Sir Pherozeshah wealth and eminence, on the 29th of March, 1907 under the presidentship of Sir Bhalchandra Bhatavdekar. Sir Pherozeshah expected to keep the Extremists under control. Tilak was ailing at far-off Singhdad and his absence encouraged the Moderates. The Ex-

tremists got an inkling of the things to come with the publication of the programme of the Conference. It contained no reference to the boycott resolution.³² Moreover, the volunteers were asked to wear costumes made of foreign cloth. It exasperated the Extremists. A meeting was held "to protect against the immoderate use of foreign articles in the construction of the exhibition and conference mandap."³³ Ultimately the President declared his "readiness to bear the cost of the Swadeshi uniforms of volunteers."³⁴

But the Conference itself was a great victory for the Moderates. Resolutions on boycott and national education were excluded and the President declared that Swadeshi pertained "more to the Industrial Conference than the Congress."³⁵ Prof. Vijapurkar and Mr. C. V. Vaidya, two Extremist leaders, read out the Calcutta resolutions and pleaded that resolutions on boycott and national education should not be dropped. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Tilak's right hand man, suggested the appointment of a committee to consider the question. It was passed by the Subjects Committee but the President declared that it was not carried. Kelkar demanded poll but was refused and Pherozeshah succeeded in browbeating Kelkar. It was agreed that a private committee to define what national education was, would be appointed and Sir Pherozeshah would look into it. So, a resolution was not moved in the open conference and a resolution on boycott was not allowed to be moved at all.³⁶ Thus Sir Pherozeshah gave proof, if proof were necessary, of his diplomatic ability and the proceedings of the Conference reflected the real attitude of the Bombay Moderates towards the radical Calcutta resolutions. Moreover, the Moderates invited Mr. Muir Mackenzie to open the Surat Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition in the face of the "general disapproval of the policy of inviting Government officials to take part in such movements."³⁷

The news of the Extremist discomfiture gave a rude shock to Tilak who in a letter to Kelkar "expressed displeasure with the proceedings."³⁵

A bolder step to whittle down the Calcutta resolutions and to elbow out the Extremists from the arena of the Congress was taken at the first United Provinces Conference under the guidance of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the party boss of the province. The popularity of the Extremist leaders had already alienated the Moderates. C. Y. Chintamani, a promising moderate leader, informed Gokhale on the eve of the Provincial Conference that the "ringleaders among them are busy as ever inviting people from outside, preaching boycott, insulting the local leader and so on."³⁶ The leading Moderates of the "Working Committee were afraid that their delegates would be outvoted on the boycott question;"³⁷ and therefore at an emergent meeting of the Working Committee held on the 26th March it was decided that delegates who had been elected at a mass meeting were not entitled to membership. The Extremists protested sharply through Dr. S. B. Roy, chairman of the mass meeting. As a mark of protest against the high-handedness of the Moderates the leading Extremists of Allahabad along with their mofussil friends "declined to attend the Conference."³⁸ Thus, the pro-boycott Extremists were excluded. Justifying the decision of the Working Committee some Moderates bluntly admitted that the "Committee solved the difficulty by taking full advantage of some defects in the meeting held by pro-boycott people to elect delegates and keeping out those delegates altogether. Whether it was technically correct in so acting perhaps admits of a doubt. That the decision was responsible for the smooth conduct of business is certain."³⁹ In order to strike a deadly blow at the Extremist party it was decided that the future sessions of the Conference

would be held under the auspices of the United Provinces Association, which had again been started, in such a manner as it might deem fit and one might therefore expect that similar technical questions would not create difficulties in the future.⁴⁰ The decision of the Working Committee reduced the Conference to such an extent that "delegates who attended were less than sixty and most of them belonged to Allahabad."⁴¹ Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President, claimed for this Conference both success and enthusiasm, neither of which was in evidence. But even this effete affair could not be managed without the help of police. "Twelve constables, two Jemadars and one Sub-Inspector were supplied on a requisition from the Moderates section of the organisers of the conference to keep the peace."⁴² The Provincial Conference made no reference to the boycott resolution. Thus the U.P. Moderates outwitted their Bombay counterparts in sabotaging the Calcutta resolutions.

The Central Provinces Conference was opened on the 29th March 1907. The key offices were in the hands of the Moderates. Dr. Gour, Chairman of the Reception Committee, preached the virtue of moderation. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar presided. He carefully preached swadeshi without making any reference to boycott. Extremist leaders like Khaparde were sorry to see that Bandemataram was not written on the entrance arch. In its place was put the motto: "Moderation is our watchword".⁴³ The Moderates exultingly witnessed the "triumph of Moderates".⁴⁴ The resolutions supported the prayer and petition policy. Even the resolution on swadeshi was cautiously worded. No reference was made to boycott.⁴⁵ In sheer disgust the Extremists kept aloof. But it is to be noted that thousands of people attended public meetings organised by Extremist leaders like Khaparde.⁴⁶

These victories of the Moderates over their political rivals were of tremendous significance. Preparations were made for a showdown in the annual session of the Congress. Influential Moderate leaders openly denounced boycott and the radical Calcutta resolutions.⁴⁷ These were ominous warnings. Extremist leaders attempted to mobilise public opinion. Aurobindo's 'The doctrine of Passive Resistance' (first published in *Bande Mataram* : 9-23 April 1907) made a tremendous impact on the intelligentsia. Bipin Chandra Pal's hurricane tour of Madras caused a consternation. The younger generation lionized Mr. Pal, and Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyar gravely reported: "Mr. Pal is doing incalculable mischief here. Students are being led" by him.⁴⁸ The popularity of the concept of Extremism hardened the attitude of the Moderate stalwarts. It also widened the gulf between the two parties.

In the meantime tension was mounting in the Punjab. Ultimately it culminated in the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh. It was a great shock. Gokhale became anxious. Two reasons were there. "First the principle of deportation was wrong on principle. Secondly, if the Government persisted in the policy there was the risk of the Extremists becoming more powerful and thus endangering the Moderate cause and the Government's contemplated reform policies."⁴⁹ Therefore, Gokhale promptly met Col. Dunlop Smith, the Private Secretary to Viceroy, "The gist of this talk was that Gokhale virtually begged for the early release of Lajpat Rai — as for Ajit Singh he might rot in *Jahannum* (hell)".⁵⁰ It clearly reflected the real attitude of the Moderate leaders towards their 'political enemies'.

Under the lengthening shadow of repression the Madras Provincial Conference was opened on 5 June, 1907. Mr. Subba Rao, a Moderate leader of the province, presided.

The local Extremists urged upon the Conference to "stimulate the spirit of Swadeshim, strengthen the national power by establishing national colleges...and the necessity of boycotting foreign goods."⁵¹ But Mr. Subba Rao turned a deaf ear. The Extremists were constrained to admit that at "a time when it is useless to beseech the Government most imploringly to kindly see our desires realised, it is ridiculous that the President should have omitted to dwell upon Swaraj, Boycott and Swadeshi."⁵² Local Extremists demanded the ratification of the Calcutta resolutions. These were subjects of prolonged discussion in the Subjects Committee and were thrown out.⁵³ On the 8th June the two parties clashed over the boycott resolution. Ultimately it was put to the vote and lost.⁵⁴ The disappointed Extremists left the hall.⁵⁵ Mr. Subba Rao asked "youngmen to adopt in their new policy, not a policy of hate but a policy of sympathy with the British Government."⁵⁶

In the meantime relations between the Moderates and the Extremists of the Reception Committee of Nagpur had become strained. Mr. Chitnavis, an important Moderate leader, was the President of the Reception Committee. He was firmly opposed to the Extremists' policy of having an Extremist President. But the Extremists were very powerful at Nagpur. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in a letter to Chitnavis observed that "on our side the organisation is very defective."⁵⁷ The situation became so critical that Mr. Chitnavis informed Sir Pherozeshah that "Mr. Khaparde has been trying to advise the people to undo all the efforts of our party."⁵⁸ Young moderates began to join the extremists. The moderates wanted to teach the extremists a good lesson. The moderates decided to have Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh as President. Gokhale knew something about the dilemma of the Bengalee Moderates who had supported the Swadeshi-boycott resolution. Hence, in an attempt

to carry at least a part of the Bengalee delegates he favoured Dr. Ghose's election.⁶² But the shrewd moderates knew it perfectly well that it would be impossible to deny the strength of the Extremists at Nagpur. Krishnaswamy Aiyar of Madras observed that a three-fourth majority of the Extremists in the Reception Committee of Nagpur was an intolerable position.⁶³ We are bound to prevent it if the Congress is not to be wrecked",⁶⁴ he also added. The situation became worse with the resignation of Mr. Chitnavis. No one could effect a compromise. Regarding the Extremists, H. A. Wadia grimly observed that "union of these men with the Congress is the union of a diseased limb with a healthy body, and the only remedy is a surgical operation."⁶⁵ Moreover, Gokhale made it explicitly clear that the Reception Committee could exclude certain subjects, obviously those which were not acceptable to the Moderates, from the list either of its own accord or at the instance of the Central Committee.⁶⁶ However, he made it clear that members of the Subjects Committee who held different views could bring those matters before discussion.⁶⁷ Thus Gokhale blessed suitable modifications of the Calcutta resolutions by the Reception Committee and no stone was left unturned to tilt the balance in favour of the Moderates. Everything depended on the manner in which the constitutional party in India rallied round the next Congress.

Attempts were made to patch up the differences between two parties in vain. Ultimately, at an emergent meeting of the A.I.C.C., where a few members were present, the venue of the Congress was changed from Nagpur to Surat—a sleepy hollow where Sir Pherozeshah had a large number of followers. It convinced the Extremists that the Calcutta resolutions would be modified at the next Congress. It also meant "a definite and final split in the Congress camp".⁶⁸ Firebrands of the Extremist party

began to advocate the necessity of holding a separate Congress. But Tilak brushed aside the suggestion because "that would be dealing a blow at the Congress itself."⁶⁹ At best, he said, the Extremists should hold "a meeting of their own a few days before the Congress at Surat and make up their minds to pursue a fixed policy. In all the resolutions that will be submitted to the Congress, the Extremists should try to have their own way."⁷⁰

The situation was charged with electricity. The successive defeats suffered by the Extremists at the hands of their political adversaries hardened the attitude of the younger generation. In this atmosphere of fear and distrust the Midnapur District Conference was held in December. Mr. K. B. Dutt, an Anglicised Moderate, was to preside over it. Leaders of the Extremist party in Bengal endeavoured to get the Calcutta resolutions passed. They made plans at the house of Troilakya Nath Pal, who happened to be the Vice-Chairman of the Reception Committee. Mr. K. B. Dutt in a letter to the local Magistrate complained that volunteers and their leaders had assembled at Mr. Pal's house to commit violence. The District Magistrate asked Mr. Pal to "see Babu K. B. Dutt's letter, which was with the Joint-Magistrate, expressing his opinion at the same time that Babu Dutt's charges against Troilakyanath and the volunteers were rather absurd."⁷¹ In the open Conference angry demonstrations were held against an Anglicised President and even Surendranath was booed. The President consulted the Deputy Superintendent of Police and decided to coerce the Extremists. Ultimately, Aurobindo Ghose and others decided to hold a separate Nationalist Conference. The Nationalist Conference was "twice as great as that of the old",⁷² and was presided over by Moulvi Huq. The Conference passed the Calcutta resolutions and demanded unqualified Swaraj.

The news of a separate Nationalist Conference spread like wild fire and sent a thrill of horror in the Moderate camp. Even the *Times* admonished the moderates because it was they who were "largely themselves to blame for their present plight owing to lack of moral courage and to the silent countenancing of the dissemination of sedition. . . . As now existing it is, apart from the question of Extremists, a mockery of its own aspirations."⁷³ Some non-Bengalee moderates even asked the Extremists to "strike new lines of action and build up other institutions if the class to which it belongs are capable of doing so."⁷⁴

Feelings ran high. In this context the drafting of the resolutions became important. The Moderates who had successfully sabotaged the 'Calcutta resolutions' at the Provincial Conferences took care to draft them and therefore Gokhale who had blessed modifications was entrusted with this duty.⁷⁵ Such activities naturally irritated the Extremists. Younger Extremists of Bombay exerted pressure upon Tilak to establish a separate Nationalists' Congress.⁷⁶ But Tilak turned a deaf ear. At an emergent meeting of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha Tilak warned the Moderates that "resolutions regarding Swadeshi, boycott and National education being passed, it was not now possible for the Congress to recede from these points."⁷⁷ Moreover, a resolution congratulating Lala Lajpat Rai on his release and requesting Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to retire in his favour was passed. It was also decided

to hold a Nationalist Conference at Surat before the Congress session. But the Moderates published the Congress programme on December 17 and it contained no reference to boycott.⁷⁸ "Considering that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was authorised to draw up this list the Nationalists here consider this omission as deliberate," reported the special correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. This deliberate omission provoked even Tilak. He warned the Moderates that if the 'Calcutta resolutions' were dropped or modified "the scenes recently enacted at Midnapur were to be repeated at Surat and the blame shall lie solely with Moderates."⁸⁰ The disgruntled Extremists decided to oppose the election of the President. In consternation Surendranath advised Gokhale to request Lajpat to stand down.⁸¹ Embarrassed by the request of a man who had fought for his release as well as by his own unenviable position between the two camps now ready for battle, Lajpat declared that he was "the last person to allow himself to be made the reason or the occasion of any split in the National camp."⁸²

It was a bolt from the blue. However, the Extremists agreed to fight for the Calcutta resolutions at Surat. The air was thick with rumours. The firebrands who had suffered reverses at the Provincial Conferences at the hands of the Moderates mustered strong at Surat for the final showdown. But the Surat imbroglio is a thrice told story and we need not repeat it.

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A NOTE ON THE BLACK HOLE TRAGEDY

(PART I)

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Fall of Calcutta :

Siraj-ud-daula objected to the unauthorised fortifications at Calcutta by the English. Besides that he had personal grievances against the English. So, he decided to punish the English and accordingly on 5th June 1756 he started for the attack on Calcutta. After covering 160 miles in eleven days the Nawab arrived outside Calcutta on 16th June. Confusion and terror prevailed in the English ranks. On the night of 18th June European women in the Fort were sent down to the ships. Governor Drake and many prominent Englishmen abandoned the Fort in the early morning of 19th June and sailed for a safe place (they anchored at Falta). The situation now was desperate. After the desertion of Drake and others there were only 170 white men, excluding the unreliable Armenians and Eurasians, who were capable of conducting the defence of the Fort.¹ They appointed J. Z. Holwell as Governor and Military Commander in the afternoon of 19th June. The Fort was fiercely defended. Holwell wrote that out of 170, 25 had been killed and 70 wounded by noon of 20th June. But Grant wrote that on that day more than "50 Europeans were killed on the bastion".² Grant was then staying at Falta. On the basis of the news received there he made this statement. W. Lindsay also stated that "above forty men were killed on one bastion alone".³ Even Drake himself observed that "a great many of our people" lost their lives.⁴ William Tooke, who left the Fort on 19th June, wrote that "about four O'clock

in the afternoon (of 20th) the factory was taken, when many lost their lives".⁵

It was reported that after this loss only 14 men were left to serve the guns. Moreover, all were exhausted and "many of the lower ranks were under the influence of arrack".⁶ Thus Holwell was compelled to hoist "a flag of truce". The Nawab's forces arrived in the Fort. It led to a skirmish in which some of the defenders lost their lives.⁷ At about 4 o'clock in the evening (of 20th June) Holwell and Buchanan surrendered. At five the Nawab entered the Fort. Mir Jafar was also with him. Holwell met the Nawab thrice and received an assurance of safety.⁸ The victorious troops did not ill-treat the British. In fact the Portuguese and the Armenians were allowed to leave the Fort. Several Europeans also took this opportunity and at least 15 Europeans left the Fort at that time. All those left in the fort were under the protection of the Nawab's guard. Then, just about sunset, some of the European soldiers had achieved a state of drunkenness and assaulted the natives. They complained of it to the Nawab. Siraj enquired whether there was any place in the Fort in which the Europeans were accustomed to confine soldiers who had misbehaved in any way. He was told that a part of the barracks had been converted into a cell which was called the "Black Hole". The Nawab ordered that they should be confined in this cell for the night.¹⁰ All the prisoners were placed in this cell. It was the hottest season of the year

and in the morning of 21st June "many were found to have perished of suffocation or their wounds."¹¹ This incident is known in history as the "Black Hole Tragedy".

According to Sir J. N. Sarkar "upto this point the evidence is clear". But Holwell's *Narrative* gave a new colour to the incident.¹² He claimed that from his personal experience he had written an account of those who were suffocated in the Black Hole. Naturally his *Narrative* created a great sensation both in India and in Europe. So, at first, we shall refer to the *Narrative* itself.

Holwell's Narrative :

Holwell wrote that he was the first man to enter the room through the narrow doorway at 8 P.M. He was followed by others at the same moment. It had two small windows secured by iron bars which were obstructed by the verandah. The door of the Hole opened inwards. Holwell wrote that the room was "a cube of about eighteen feet".¹³ (But Cooke, one of the survivors, observed that this cell "was about 18 feet long and 14 feet wide".¹⁴ But the exact dimensions were given by Dr. C. R. Wilson, who mentioned that this room was 18 feet long by 14 feet 10 inches wide.¹⁵ Sir Jadunath Sarkar accepted Wilson's measurement.¹⁶ After placing the prisoners in the room the guard immediately closed and locked the door. Holwell had placed himself in one of the windows. The prisoners made an attempt to open the door, but they failed. Holwell wrote : "Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door, but having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitless." On three sides there was no provision for the admission of air or light. On the fourth side there were two small windows. As these were not to the windward it could admit little air.

So the cell was ill-ventilated.¹⁷ One hundred and fortysix people (a vast majority being Europeans) were crammed into such a small room in a hot night of June. Several of them suffered from the effects of recent wounds. They fought and struggled to keep a foothold and to stand upright. It was very much difficult to breathe. They vomitted uncontrollably over their neighbours. It was a relentless struggle, for every man who collapsed on the floor made space for those who remained alive. They lost comradesly feelings and discipline in this fight for survival. Animal instincts came nakedly uppermost. Holwell wrote : "I saw every-one giving way to the violence of passions, which I saw must be fatal to them." At first he could do nothing for fear of losing his hold on the iron bar of the window. He had to face tremendous pressure from other prisoners who tried to supplant him from the side of the window. He felt that he would be swept away from the only source of air. He made an appeal for help to Lushington and Cooke who were near him. Keeping his hand on the iron bar Holwell tried to silence the prisoners. His body was twisted and he bore the physical agony. Holwell not only fought for his own life, he also struggled hard to save his fellow men. He wrote : "I begged and entreated, that as they had paid ready obedience to me in the day, they would now for their own sakes, and the sakes of those who were dear to them and were interested in the preservation of their lives, regard the advice I had to give them." He promised them that on the next morning they would get free air and liberty. He also warned them that the only hope of survival lay in remaining absolutely calm. There was still a chance of life if they restrained their passions. Because each outburst of anger would hasten their destruction. Then the prisoners perceived the horrors of their situation. For a time there was comparative quiet, broken only by the cries and groans of the wounded.

Thus Holwell offered them a fragment of hope though he knew that death was "our inevitable destiny".

Nevertheless, Holwell did not give up the struggle. Through the window he appealed to an old guard to separate the prisoners into two chambers. He "offered the man a thousand rupees, to be paid next morning, if he would go and find a responsible officer and explain their terrible plight." After some hesitation the man agreed and went to try. Very soon he returned and whispered through the window that nothing could be done. Holwell was so much disturbed by the sound of panic which became loud and louder that he desperately asked the guard to try again and even offered to double the bribe. The man again disappeared. But he returned only to disappoint the hope of relief, by declaring that nothing could be done without the orders from the Nawab himself. As the Nawab was asleep nobody dared to wake him. Thus all hopes were dashed to the ground.

Every minute had increased their sufferings. Someone cried out that there would be more space and much relief to the sweat-drenched bodies if everyone took off his clothes. Everyone except Holwell stripped off his clothes. But now there was more space for those standing because many dead bodies were then lying on the floor. Holwell wrote that "every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air". It exhausted their energy and "made the men sweat more than ever".

Attempts were again made to force the door, but they failed. Some of them wanted to put an end to their miseries by provoking the guards to open fire on them. The guards ignored them. The heat and thirst soon became intolerable and they cried for water. The old guard took pity on them and ordered some skins of water to be brought to the windows. But his benevolence be-

came a more dreadful cause of destruction. Holwell could realise that water would "only accentuate the danger and lead to fighting." He shouted to the guard to desist, but the old man did not hear. The water appeared. Then every man fought to reach the window. Holwell tried to control the fighting by distributing the precious liquid with the help of hats, the only containers suitable for this purpose. Holwell and Lushington pushed hats through the bars so that the guards could fill them from the skins. It proved no relief to their thirst or sufferings. Holwell wrote : "Though we brought full hats between the bars, there ensued such violent struggles and frequent contests to get at it that, before it reached the lips of anyone, there would scarcely be a small tea-cup full left in them. These supplies, like sprinkling water on fire, only served to feed and raise the flame." It was also stated that "time after time whole hatfuls of water were spilled. Men fought like maniacs, dipped their hands into the empty felts, then licked them." This scene did not produce any compassion in the guards, only excited their mirth. "They held up lights to the bars, in order to have the diabolical satisfaction of viewing the deplorable conditions of the sufferers within." The situation rapidly grew worse. In these dreadful contests a good number of prisoners were beaten down and trampled to death. Some were in a state of delirium. Holwell also lost his consciousness. At last the morning came. An order was issued to bring out the prisoners. The piles of dead bodies blocked the doorway. It required some time to remove them and open the door. Out of 146 only 23 came out alive.¹⁸ All the dead bodies were thrown into a ditch on the outside of the Fort.¹⁹ This was in short the 'Black Hole Tragedy' as described by Holwell.

Immediately after his release from the Black Hole (on 21st June) Holwell was

carried to the Nawab, who showed no sympathy for Holwell's condition. Nor did the Nawab show any remorse for the death of other prisoners.²⁰ He only talked of the treasures which the English had buried in a secret place. The Nawab got no information from Holwell, Court and Walcot. He was irritated and sent them as prisoners to Murshidabad. The rest of the survivors were, of course, released by him.²¹

Besides Holwell, Cooke, another survivor, also left evidence of the incident. Cooke in his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1772 said that only twentytwo came out alive on 21st June from that Hole. These are our primary sources of information. We also get information of the incident from the following contemporary sources: (i) An unknown Frenchman at Chandernagore wrote a letter, dated July 3, 1756, to an unknown person; (ii) on the basis of a letter from Holwell a letter was written by Francis Sykes on July 8, 1756, to the Council at Falta; (iii) on July 13, 1756, Captain Grant wrote an account at Falta; (iv) George Grey wrote an account which was transmitted to the Court of Directors along with their letters by Watts and Collet on July 16, 1756; (v) On July 17, 1756, Holwell addressed a letter to the Fort St. George Council from Murshidabad; (vi) on July 18, 1756, John Young, a Prussian agent, from Hotel de Prusses, wrote a letter to Roger Drake; (vii) Roger Drake himself wrote an account at Falta on July 19, 1756; (viii) From Falta William Lindsay sent a letter, dated July 1756, to Robert Orme; (ix) From Hughli Holwell wrote a letter, dated August 3, 1756, to the Fort St. George Council; (x) William Tooke at Falta wrote an account, dated November 10, 1756; (xi) Captain Mills also left an account in Pocket Book; (xii) London Chronicle of June 7-11, 1757 and the Universal Magazine of June 1757, published two accounts of the incident which were

composed at Falta. It may be mentioned here that all other accounts—Dutch, French or any other—are based on the accounts mentioned above.

Black Hole Account challenged :

(1) The authenticity of Black Hole account was challenged by Bholanath Chunder, who published an article in the Calcutta University Magazine.²² He wrote that it was mathematically impossible to keep 146 men into a room of that dimension. Bholanath Chunder fenced round an area 18 feet by 15 with bamboo stakes and placed his Bengali tenants into it. But he failed to keep 146 Bengali peasants. He also pointed out that "a Bengali villager's body occupies much less space than a British gentleman's."²³ In 1897 Akshoy Kumar Maitra in his book (in Bengali) *Sirajuddaula* quoted this statement of Bholanath Chunder and challenged the authenticity of Holwell's account.²⁴ Again, in 1916, Akshoy Kumar Maitra threw more light on the subject and rejected the story.²⁵

(2) But the entire account of the incident was thoroughly analysed for the first time by J. H. Little, Headmaster of the English High School in Murshidabad, in August 1915. In that year he published an article entitled "The Black Hole—the Question of Holwell's Veracity" in the *Bengal: Past & Present*. On March 24, 1916, a special discussion meeting on the Black Hole was held in the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. W. K. Firminger was in the Chair. J. H. Little opened the discussion. The full proceedings of the debate were published in the *Bengal: Past & Present* in 1916. From these issues of the *Bengal: Past & Present* we are referring to the main arguments of J. H. Little: (a) The account of the Black Hole incident was written by a man whose veracity is questionable. Little substantiated this point by producing facts.²⁶ Little wrote: (i) "Holwell fabricated a speech and

fathered it on the Nawab Alivardi Khan; (ii) he brought false charges against the Nawab Mir Jafar; (iii) he fabricated a whole book and called it a translation from the ancient sacred writings of the Hindus."²⁷

(b) Then, Little pointed out numerous inconsistencies in the *Narrative*: (i) Holwell in the *Narrative* described the extraordinary nature of the sufferings endured by him. He also wrote that throughout that night of horrors he always tried to help his companions and sustain their courage. The reader of this *Narrative* would get an idea about Holwell's nobility of character. At two o'clock Holwell lost all sensation and fell down on the floor. He remained insensible till nearly six in the morning in an atmosphere which had caused the death of 123 men. But it had the most temporary effects on Holwell. "The fresh air at the window", Holwell wrote, "soon brought me to life." His sight and senses became normal and "he gazed round the room and his soul was stricken with suffering at the dreadful destruction which met his view". He found himself down with "high putrid fever" and it was not possible for him to stand on his own feet. So he threw himself on the wet grass outside the Verandah of the prison. He was then taken to the Nawab who charged him for concealing the Company's treasure and ordered him to hand over the treasure to the Nawab. The high fever could not destroy his faculties and Holwell vigorously refuted the charge: "I urged everything I could to convince him there was no truth in the information; or that if any such thing had been done, it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated assurance to me the day before; but he resumed the subject of the treasure, and all I could say seemed to gain no credit with him." After this interview Holwell and his three companions were sent to the camp of Mir Madan, which was over three miles off from that place. Holwell wrote that

here all of them were "loaded with fetters and stowed all four in a sepoy's tent, about four feet long, three wide, and about three high; so that we were half in, half out: all night it rained severely." Naturally, Holwell was drenched. But a reader of the *Narrative* will be astounded to know that he was cured of his fever. How was it possible? Holwell wrote: "I became covered from head to foot with large painful boils, the first symptom of my recovery; for until these appeared my fever did not leave me." In spite of twenty four hours high fever Holwell could keep intact his strength! He wrote: "On the morning of the 22nd they marched us to town in our fetters under the scorching beams of an intense hot sun, and lodged us at the Dockhead in the open small veranda fronting the river." Little observed: "Here for all we learn from the narrative Holwell was in a tolerable state of health and was quite ready on the 24th (the 23rd is a blank day in the narrative) to embark for Murshidabad. The curious reader may pursue the story of Holwell's sufferings on the journey by boat to Murshidabad but probably enough has been related to cause him to exclaim that, Holwell was no mere mortal man."²⁸ (ii) Holwell wrote: "The Suba and his troops were in possession of the Fort before six in the evening. I had in all three interviews with him; the last in Durbar before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us; and indeed I believed his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured; and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower jemmatdars, to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege." Little exposed the limitations of Holwell's argument and wrote: "Knowing how Indian subordinate officers are ready to reflect the smiles and frowns of their master, is it credible that

these men would dare to disobey the orders of the Nawab given in Durbar in this flagrant manner? How can this be reconciled with the fact that when Holwell requested that the prisoners might be separated into two parties, one of these same subordinate officers went to inquire and returned with the reply, it could not be done but by the Suba's orders and that no one dared awake him."²⁹ (iii) How did the prisoners enter the room? How could Holwell place himself in one of the windows? Little carefully analysed these questions. Holwell gave the following account: "We were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall; and with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southernmost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black Hole prison, there was no resisting it; but like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces." After quoting this passage Little observed: "Yet under such circumstances as these, Holwell who was 'amongst the first that entered' and who had never seen the room before, was able, as soon as he passed the door, to turn sharply to the right and secure possession of one of the windows. Not only did Holwell do this but two wounded men also. Surely when Holwell thought of the matter afterwards he must have wondered how he found himself at the window instead of being flattened against the dead wall oppo-

site the door and blessed his good fortune. But in his narrative he passes the matter by without notice."³⁰

(iv) Wilson stated that the Black Hole was 18 feet by 14 feet 10 inches. Referring to it Little observed: "The last dimension! give somewhat less than two square feet of floor space to each man, and this seems to be quite enough if the men were care-fully packed. But what a job the guard must have had to get the last of the prisoners in the room; And when they were all inside, the door had to be shut and the door opened inward! What shouting and cursing on the part of the guards there must have been to get free space to close that door! What expostulations on the part of those roughly pushed about! How Holwell must have been squeezed in his window! Yet this is passed by unnoticed by Holwell. The men who, according to Holwell, would have rushed upon the guard and been, as the lesser evil, cut to pieces, when they had the chance of doing so, preferred tamely to allow that door to be closed without an attempt to prevent it, without even so much as a protest."³¹ (v) Little drew our attention to another fact. Holwell wrote that before keeping the prisoners into that room the Nawab's officers examined all the apartments under the easterly curtain of the Fort with lighted torches and then they decided upon the room. Holwell and other prisoners were then sitting quietly "under the arched varanda or piazza, to the west of the Black Hole prison". The officers came and ordered them "all to rise and go into the barracks". The prisoners followed the instruction and congratulated themselves on "the prospect of passing a comfortable night." Then, there they were "hustled" into the Black Hole as reported by Holwell. All these took place exactly half an hour. From Holwell's account we know that the officers examined the apartments "about half an hour past seven" and at about eight

o'clock he took his position in one of the windows. But Cooke said: "A little before eight we were all of us directed to withdraw and remain in a place contiguous to the Black Hole. . . . While we were wondering what this should mean and laughing at the oddity of it, a part of fellows came and ordered us to walk into the place before mentioned called the Black Hole. . . . Into this hole we were forcibly crammed about eight o'clock in the evening and the door immediately locked upon us." After analysing the facts, stated above, Little humourously commented: "Who will dare to say after this smart performance that Indians cannot hustle?"³² (vi) Little dealt with the incident of passing water in hats through the bars of a window. How was it possible to pass water through the bars of a window which was blocked up by men? Holwell stated that the windows were blocked up by four men sitting in it. According to Holwell the Black Hole was "shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, only open to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron." A reader should keep in mind that the windows were of a recognised prison and these windows were opened not into the outer air but into a low verandah. At the same time it should be noted that it was night and the room was dark. Possibly the rays of light entered into the room from the light of the verandah. Torches were the only kind of light mentioned in the *Narrative*. So a reader can presume that the guards possessed torches. Holwell did not describe the queer "effect of the light falling on the mass of men and of the dark shadows in the remoter parts of the room." As the windows were blocked up with men and others standing over them (as described by Holwell) possibly much light could not enter the room. In spite of that Holwell could see everything and describe all the events! After securing his posi-

tion in the window he remarked: "what must ensue appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours the instant I cast my eyes round and saw the size and situation of the room." He also "travelled over the dead" and calculated the number of the dead. Holwell wrote that "when the guards wanted to see they held up lights to the bars." Little wrote that "this is the only reference that Holwell makes to a light during the time he was in the Black Hole."³³

(c) Little wrote that Holwell's account was only corroborated by those persons who borrowed the story from him or fabricated it in close collaboration with him. Little wrote: "Holwell's Narrative is essentially different from the original story he told. He has omitted, he has altered, he has added."³⁴ The main outline of the story was concocted in Calcutta before the prisoners were dispersed. Francis Sykes confessed that his letter of 8th July, 1756, was based on a letter of Holwell in which Holwell made the following statement: "All the night our poor gentlemen were in the Black Hole, the Nabab's people kept firing at them through the door."³⁵ This story was current at Falta. In August Holwell amended his statement still further and there he stated the guards "ceased not insulting us the whole night." But in his 'Narrative' it was mentioned that the prisoners insulted the guards to provoke them to fire upon them so that they can put an end to their miseries. On 3rd August, 1756, Holwell prepared a list of victims and survivors. It did not contain the names of Leech or Mrs. Carey. But in the Narrative we find a story about Leech and Mrs. Carey. On 17th July, 1756, Holwell wrote that 165 or 170 persons were confined in the Black Hole. On 3rd August he reduced the number to 146. Cooke gave his evidence in 1772. By that time Holwell's story had established itself. Cooke stated that "nearly 150 souls were thrust into the Dungeon among whom were one woman and twelve of the wounded offi-

cers."³⁶ From various accounts of the tragedy we know that the prisoners in the Black Hole consisted of British, Dutch, Armenians and Portuguese. But Cooke and Hill stated that "the Portuguese and Armenians were allowed to go free and disappeared." Naturally they were not put into the Black Hole.³⁷ Besides, a party of Dutch deserted to the enemy and another party broke out of the Fort on the 20th. So the number of Dutch who remained to go into the Black Hole was negligible.³⁸ Cooke said that "a prodigious number of the garrison was killed and wounded." According to Little a fair portion of them were British and observed that a "very small band of men" walked "quietly" into the Black Hole.³⁹ Little also pointed out that there were persons who were supposed to have died in the Black Hole but were actually killed in the fighting.⁴⁰

Captain Mills's name was mentioned by Holwell as one of the survivors of the Black Hole. Captain Mills wrote that "144 men, women and children were shut up in the prison". Little explained the reason for the addition of women and children to the list of prisoners by Mills, and observed: Mills "made the statement deliberately, knowing full well that it was impossible to find such a number of men and that those were the only possible conditions under which the tragedy could have occurred."⁴¹

Then, Little dealt with the secondary authorities of the story. He referred to the accounts of those who took part in the defence of Calcutta or who were in Bengal at that time. Most of the accounts were written in the month of July (1756) and were very short. Captain Grant referred to the story on 13th July, and Watts and Collet on 14th July. On 19th July Governor Drake mentioned it. Lindsay's letter carried the month July only (no date given). William Tooke mentioned the incident in November (1756). All these accounts con-

tained the true story side by side with the false one. So a reader shall have to select what portion he will accept. It may be mentioned here that by September 1756 Governor Drake, Watts and Collet rejected the Black Hole story.⁴²

What did admiral Watson and Clive say on the subject? In December (1756) they arrived in Bengal. Watson in a letter dated 17th December 1756 addressed to the Nawab explained that he had arrived here with a great fleet "to protect the East India Company's trade, rights and privileges". But he did not refer to the Black Hole tragedy. Thereafter he wrote several letters to the Nawab, but nowhere did he mention the incident. Watson only referred to those men who were killed at the time of the capture of the Fort.⁴³

Before Clive left Madras he wrote a letter to the Directors. Then he wrote to Mabbot. After assuming responsibility in Bengal Clive wrote a letter to Roger Drake, a gentleman then high in the Court of Directors. He also wrote letters to his father and to the Select Committee. In these letters Clive did not mention the Black Hole story. All these letters are found in the family papers of the Earl of Powis. These papers were examined by Sir John Malcolm whose 'Life of Clive' was published in 1836 and by Hill.⁴⁴

But several letters written by Clive are found among the Orme Mss. from which we know that in December 1756 Clive referred to the Nawab about the "great numbers of the Company's servants and other inhabitants inhumanly killed." At the same time Clive mentioned that "if the Nawab would make proper satisfaction for the losses sustained by the Company he would make Clive his sincere friend and get eternal honour for himself." Clive, in a letter dated 21st January 1757 to Jagat Seth,

clearly referred to the Black Hole incident. After the defeat of Siraj at Plassey (1757) Clive said: "The English, who as merchants were destitute of all implements of war, were easily defeated and Surajah Dowlat took and plundered Calcutta the 20th June 1756 and all the great men and other Englishmen that fell into his hands were by his orders suffocated in one night." Little thoroughly analysed these facts and observed: "Comment is needless. It must be remembered, however, that the standard of honour in the 18th century was not very high where politics were concerned. . . Clive would have scorned to do for his own private benefit what he thought he was justified in doing for the good of the Company."⁴⁵

Little referred to the Dutch and French accounts on the fall of Calcutta. Hill collected the Dutch papers from the Archives at the Hague. On 5th July, 1756, the Dutch Council at Hugli wrote to the Supreme Council at Batavia: "The whole world thought and expected that the Nawab would have knocked his head against such a strong place, but time has shown that the English defended themselves for three days only. A part of them fled in their ships down the river, and the rest, who did not perish by the sword, have fallen into the Nawab's hands, and are bound in irons." After referring to this letter Little observed: "We know that only four men were bound in irons. Therefore, according to this account the rest perished by the sword. It may be that this account is absolutely accurate. In any case the error is a very trifling one. There were probably one or two prisoners who were not put in irons."⁴⁶ On 7th July, 1756, the chief of the Dutch factory at Cossimbazar wrote: "The Nawab in accordance with our letter of the 10th ultimo having left for Calcutta and arrived there on the evening of the 15th, has met with

the same success as here; for after a five days' investment he took the same, but, according to the testimony of everyone not by his tactful management or bravery, but rather owing to the ill-behaviour of the Governor, who taking a good 200 picked soldiers with him left the fort, on pretext of attacking the enemy, but far from doing so, he embarked with those men, accompanied by the Commandants Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, after putting considerable treasure and all the women on board a few days before and dropped down the river leaving to the fury of the Nawab a number of brave men, among whom, when the fort was taken, a great carnage was wrought, but soon after put a stop to by the Prince."⁴⁷ On 24th November, 1756, the Dutch Council at Hughli wrote to the Supreme Council at Batavia: "The rest who were taken prisoners at Calcutta, have had, in the first fury, a dreadful time of it, about 160 prisoners being sent into the so-called Black Hole or Donkerghat (Dark or Black Hole) in which there was not room for 40 prisoners, and there shut up. Thus they were trampled underfoot or suffocated, all but 15 or 16 who were brought out half dead next morning and being fettered were led by the Nawab in his suite in triumph to Muxadavad." In January, 1757, the same Council wrote that "the Nawab treated the British who had fallen into his hands with great cruelty." From the above statements we know that in July the Dutch Council gave one account, but in November a contradictory account. Why? Little answered: "I think there is a simple explanation of this. Holwell was at Hughli in August. It was there that he compiled his first list of victims. He probably stayed with the Governor and must certainly have talked about the tragedy to him and the members of his Council. The result was that the Dutch changed their story. The numbers given in the Dutch account are not correct, but they approximate very closely to the figures

which Holwell gave in his first account and subsequently corrected."⁴⁸

The French accounts were greater in number than the Dutch and at the same time more varied in character. Hill gave nine accounts of the year 1756 and one of 1757. Five accounts, including one written by the Governor of Chandernagore, did not mention the incident. In one account, dated 3rd July, 1756, the Black Hole incident was mentioned. The writer was under the impression that the affair lasted two days and referred to "an Englishman who survived this Hell." Little pointed out that Captain Mills was that Englishman, because Mills had arrived at Chandernagore a day or two before the account was written. Again, after a few months gap, on 8th October a letter from Chandernagore contained the following account: "They put in prison more than 120 persons, men and women, and forgot them there for seven days at the end of which time when it was opened, only 14 came out alive, the rest were dead." On 16th December 1756, the French Council at Chandernagore wrote: "The prisoners to the number of 200 having been hurriedly shut up in a warehouse were almost all suffocated in one night." Did the French Council refer to the tragedy described by Holwell or to a fire mentioned in one French document? It should be noted that from June to August, 1756, Renault, the chief of Chandernagore, was quite ignorant of the Black Hole incident. In fact he wrote that "the Nawab did no harm to those who were in the factory when he took possession of it." On 16th September, 1756, Renault referred to the 'Black Hole incident'.⁴⁹ A French manuscript entitled 'Revolutions in Bengal' (written two years after the capture of Calcutta by a Frenchman of Chandernagore) contained the following account of the Black Hole incident: "Night was approaching and the Moors wishing to make sure of their prisoners, shut them up hur-

riedly in a warehouse which caught fire. There were nearly 150 suffocated." Similarly M. Law wrote: "The Moors looked with pleasure on the scene of horror which was passing in the dungeon, for them it was a tamasha. To increase their pleasure the idea suggested itself to them of placing below, outside the window, a heap of damp straw to which they set fire. The outer air drove the smoke into the dungeon but the hopes of the Moors were deceived, they could see nothing more."⁵⁰

(d) Little stood for rejecting contemporary evidence in favour of the Black Hole story. He explained the following reasons: (i) For a long time the Black Hole story was unknown to the people of Bengal. Ghulam Husain, the author of the 'Siyar-ul-mutakherin' (completed in 1782) did not mention the Black Hole incident though he recorded a detailed account of the affairs in the Bengal Subah from 1738 to 1780.⁵¹ In 1786-87 Ghulam Husain Salim of Maldah wrote a book entitled 'Riaz-us-Salatin', at the request of George Udni, who had employed him as his Munshi. He was also unaware of the subject.⁵² (ii) The Bengal Council by their conduct ignored the Black Hole story and by their words contradicted it. The Council admitted that before the capture of the Fort the enemy destroyed a great many of their officers and private men. They also stated that most of their covenanted servants died in June 1756 while they were engaged in defending the Fort. But the author of the Black Hole story wrote that "12 officers and 23 of the covenanted servants of the Company died in the Black Hole." On 17th September 1756, the Council stated that "the fort surrendered upon promise of civil treatment of the prisoners" and they did not refer to the fact that the Nawab had broken promise by killing their men in the Black Hole. Thus they ignored the incident. In July (1756) the Council sent an appeal to the principal

ministers of the Nawab to plead to the Nawab for them. In August Major Kilpatrick tried to establish friendly relation with the Nawab. It was clear that they did not accuse the Nawab for this crime. Nor did the Council express "their sorrow at the miserable deaths of the victims of the Black Hole tragedy."⁵³ In fact no official account of the Black Hole tragedy was sent by the Bengal Council to the Court of Directors. Moreover, there was no official list of victims and survivors. This was compiled by Holwell purely on a private basis. Little wrote: "Further when we read the terms of the treaty made with Siraj-ud-daula on the 9th February, 1757, and the terms of the treaty made with Mir Jafar a few months later, we are struck with the fact that there is not a word about compensation to the widows and children of the men said to have been put to death in the Black Hole, nor a demand for justice on the murderers."⁵⁴ (iii) It was proved from the mass of evidence (English, Dutch and French) that the men died fighting. The Persian historians described that the defenders of the Fort lost their lives and only a few became prisoners. There was no doubt that "Holwell suppresses all reference to the men who were killed at the capture of the fort but he states, in four separate letters, that 25 men were killed and 70 wounded by noon of the 20th and those were among his best men."⁵⁵ It would be clear from the fact that on 12th July, 1756, the Dacca Council wrote thus to the Court of Directors: "The accounts we have vary much and are difficult to reconcile. All agree in this that many brave men died miserably whose lives might have been saved by the smallest degree of good conduct and resolution in their leaders."⁵⁶ Little pointed out that if we "accept this evidence the Black Hole story disappears at once." Of course, Stewart and Orme wrote that "in this scene of confusion no resistance was made." Similarly Macaulay observed: "The fort was taken after a feeble resist-

ance."⁵⁷ Little refuted these statements by referring to contemporary evidence.

(e) Dr. Busteed reproduced in his book a note discovered in a copy of Holwell's 'Tracts'. Busteed wrote that "the gentleman who chronicles his visit to Mrs. Carey was, I think, an attorney in the Supreme Court, as one of that name was practising in Calcutta from 1780, and died there early in this century."⁵⁸ The note was signed by Thomas Boileau and it ran thus: "August 13th, 1799 — This forenoon, between the hours of ten and eleven O'clock, visited by appointment, in company with Mr. Charles Child, at her house in Calcutta, situate in an angle at the head of the Portuguese church street, and east of the church, Mrs. Carey, the last survivor of those unfortunate persons who were imprisoned in the Black Hole at Calcutta on the capture of that place in 1756 by Suraj ud Dowla. This lady, now fifty eight (58) years of age, as she herself told me, is of a size rather above the common stature, and very well proportioned; of a fair Mesticia colour, with correct regular features, which gave evident marks of beauty which must once have attracted admiration. She confirmed all which Mr. Holwell has said on the subject of the Black Hole in the foregoing letter, and added that, besides her husband, her mother, Mrs. Eleanor Weston (her name by second marriage), and her sister, aged about ten years, had also perished therein, and that other women, the wives of soldiers, and children, had shared a like fate there."⁵⁹ Little attached no importance to this note.

(f) After analysing all aspects of Holwell's account, Little observed that "true facts" were "placed in a false environment."⁶⁰ Little wrote: "The Nawab entered the Fort before six in the evening and Holwell had three interviews with him as he states. It was not Holwell who desired

the three interviews or he would have said so and the reason why he wished to see the Nawab so many times. It was the Nawab who wished to see Holwell and the reason is clear. The Nawab was anxious to secure the Company's treasure of which he had heard exaggerated accounts. He believed that this had been hidden, that Holwell knew the hiding place and could be forced to disclose it. Three attempts to obtain the information failed and then the Nawab desisted with the intention of trying again in the morning as we know he did. Meanwhile he gave orders that Holwell and all the Company's servants in his hands and nobody else were to be secured for the night. These surviving servants of the Company were Holwell, Court, Cooke, Walcot, Lushington, Burdett, the Rev. Gervas Bellamy and probably the two wounded men, Coales and Scott. Of these Walcot and Scott belonged to the military. These men, then, were placed in the Black Hole prison precisely in the manner related by Holwell in his narrative and there they remained in semi-darkness throughout the night, though Holwell made an attempt to get them removed to a more comfortable apartment. The two wounded men, if they were there, died that night, but they died of their wounds and lack of medical aid. It is absolutely certain that the Rev. Mr. Bellamy died in the Black Hole. He was ill at the time and succumbed to his illness in the prison. The rest suffered much as Holwell says they suffered. They were bathed in perspiration. They fanned themselves with their hats, they suffered greatly from thirst and water was passed through the bars to them as stated by Holwell. Finally, at about 2 a.m. Holwell managed to fall asleep and was roused in the morning by one of his companions and told that the guard had come to take him to the Nawab who again interrogated him on the subject of the treasure. That, approximately, is the secret of the Black Hole of Calcutta. To that

genuine experience add the idea that there were 146 men present, throw in a small quantity of what a great man called 'corroborative detail tending to give verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative', and you have the whole secret of the concoction of Holwell's story.

"Observe how all the difficulties advanced in the preceding section vanish. Reduce Holwell's sufferings to the discomforts arising from passing the night in a small room at the hottest time of the year and he dwindles to human proportions. The guards were strictly carrying out orders when they shut up Holwell in the Black Hole prison, and hence there was no inconsistency when one of them refused to remove him to another room without orders from the Nawab. Guards with torches escorted the prisoners into the Black Hole and Holwell had ample leisure to observe the nature of the room and take possession of the window. There was not the slightest difficulty in closing the door although it opened inward. The prisoners could easily have been shut up in the few minutes allowed by Mr. Secretary Cooke for the performance. It was an easy matter to hand water through the bars of the window and this was not blocked up with human bodies, so that the guards were not insane when they held up lights to the bars in order that they might look into the room."⁶¹ In this way Little recorded his observation on the Black Hole incident and announced that the story of the Black Hole was "a gigantic hoax."

3. In February 1948 Sir Jadunath Sarkar wrote that "the number of victims afterwards given out and accepted in Europe is manifestly an exaggeration."⁶² After the death, evacuation and stealthy walking away "146 Europeans could not have been left in the hands of Siraj's soldiers at 7 P.M." of the 20th June. According to

Sir Jadunath "the true number was considerably less, probably only sixty."⁶³ Sarkar observed: "It is a very reasonable supposition that all the former British residents of Calcutta whose manner of death could not be clearly ascertained in that week of confused fighting, administrative breakdown, and loss of home and records, were afterwards set down as perished in the Black Hole."⁶⁴ Sir Jadunath was also of

opinion that "a floor area of 267 square feet cannot contain 146 European adults."⁶⁵

In a recent publication Dr. R. C. Majumder writes that most probably 60 or 65 persons were kept in the Black Hole. It is also difficult to mention the actual number of casualties. But 21 survived. There is no doubt in it.⁶⁶

(To be continued in Vol. X No. 4)

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ITIMAD-UD-DAULAH—A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CAREER

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Mirza Ghiyas Beg, better known as Itimad-ud-daulah, was originally a high born native of western Tartary. His father Khwaja Muhammad Sharif was the chief minister of Tartar Sultan Beglar Begi of Khurasan.¹ He occupied the same position under Qazaq Khan, the son and successor of Beglar Begi. On the death of Qazaq Khan² he got the favour of Shah Tahmasp Safavi and was appointed minister of Yezd, a province of Persia, where he served for seven years. His creditable performance earned him the exalted post of the minister of Isfahan.³ Mutamad Khan, the author of the *Iqbalnama*, however, informs us that Shah Tahmasp made him his own wazir. Khwaja Muhammad Sharif died in 1577, approximately a year after the death of the Persian king. Born of a noble and highly educated family he earned great reputation for his devoted and sincere service. He was quite a good poet and assumed the title of Hijri.⁴

The death of the veteran minister was a stunning blow to his family. The burden now fell upon his son Ghiyas and the condition of his family became extremely miserable owing to want of resources. The fact that Muhammad Sharif's death reduced his family to indigence reveals an aspect of his character. He seems to have been an easy-going, irresponsible man who had not laid up enough for his son. Ghiyas Beg, however, received good education from his father and at this time he was a promising young man of twenty-two years.⁵ He was smitten

with love for a charming young lady Asmat Begam, daughter of Mirza Alaud Dowlah, and married her later. But she was as poor as Ghiyas and though as a devoted wife she shared her husband's sorrows and privations their union only tended to add to their misery. Ghiyas Beg may be said to have willingly subjected himself to the stings of such abject poverty, for he could have easily bettered his financial position by marrying in a rich family, particularly when he did not lack the qualifications of family and education. But he remained true to Asmat Begam and it was the depth and ardour of his love for her which sustained him in these dark and difficult days. He was thrown entirely on his own meagre resources. His friends remained distant and aloof and no favour or patronage could be obtained from Shah Tahmasp's successors. Possibly his father's performance was not enough to secure for him a service in the Persian Empire. Ghiyas's failure to get a foothold can also be attributed partly to the political chaos and confusion that followed the death of Shah Tahmasp Safavi.⁶ As matters stood, there was absolutely no possibility of any opening for him in his native country. Finding himself in this desperate situation he decided to migrate, like many others, to Hindustan in search of fortune. The migration took place soon after the death of Muhammad Sharif. Ghiyas Beg left Persia for India, accompanied by his two sons Muhammad Sharif and Abdul Hasan, his daughter, and his pregnant wife.⁷

The journey from Persia to India through impassable deserts was a perilous one. The fatigue of a long journey was almost unbearable to Ghiyas's wife. She rebuked her husband for the desperate decision of going to India without adequate resources. Ghiyas Beg, a man of strong determination, however, paid no heed to his wife as he dreamt of a better life when he would arrive in India. But the main question at this moment was whether he and his family would survive to reach India which was often painted as a land of unlimited opportunity. The whole route was infested with robbers and wild beasts and there was no security of life and property. They had hardly covered half the distance when they were robbed of their little belongings and all their mules except two.⁸ The latter half of the journey was fraught with graver peril because of shortage of food and mules, and above all, want of shelter. 'No house was there to cover them from the inclemency of weather; no hand to relieve their wants. To return was certain misery; to proceed, apparent destruction.' (Dow, 22) The party had even to starve for long three days. Their misfortune had, however, yet to reach its climax. At this moment of crisis Ghiyas's wife gave birth to a daughter (Mihrunisa) at Qandahar.⁹ The position was now so precarious that no proper arrangements could be made for the baby and the mother. In vain did Ghiyas wait for travellers who might cross the desert and come to his rescue. Undaunted by the approach of the night, Ghiyas continued his journey on foot placing his wife on a horse. He could hardly move because of his extreme exhaustion, while his wife was so weak that she could not hold fast to the horse.

Happily things now turned for the better. While Ghiyas was still within the bounds of Qandahar he met Malik Masud, the leader of a caravan party, and found in him a true friend who relieved him and his family of their miseries.¹⁰ Thus the birth of the

daughter which caused so much distress appeared to be auspicious in more than one sense. The timely assistance he obtained from Malik Masud saved him from an almost hopeless situation and it would not take him long to rise to eminence in Mughal India. What was even more remarkable, his newly born daughter was destined to be the empress of India and an opening would be made for him that was to exceed all his expectations.

Malik Masud who was known to Akbar directed Ghiyas Beg to India and on reaching India introduced him to the Mughal Emperor at Fatehpur Sikri. Thus ended the awful ordeal of Ghiyas and fortune at long last began to smile on him. He was received with attention and friendship by one Asaf Khan who was one of the principal Omrahs in the court and a distant relation of Ghiyas. He was immediately enrolled in the imperial service and from this time onwards he hardly ever looked back. His rise during Akbar's life time was quite steady. In 1595 he celebrated his fortieth birthday with an elevation to the command of three hundred. He was also placed in charge of the important office of Diwan of Kabul in the same year. Thus the year proved to be a very lucky one for him. His diligence and ability attracted the notice of the Emperor and he was promoted to a mansab of 1000 in course of time and appointed Diwan-i-Bayutat.¹¹ Towards the end of Akbar's reign he was made chief treasurer of the empire. Thus a man who had been almost on the verge of destruction in an arid region where danger lurked at every step found himself at the helm of affairs in a vast empire within the space of two decades. Ghiyas Beg achieved this splendid feat by his great ability and good fortune.

It was during the reign of Jahangir that he reached the peak of his power and prestige. Except for a temporary eclipse in the year 1607 caused by his son's involvement in

a conspiracy his career was marked by an unbroken chain of promotions and towards the end of his life he acquired the exalted rank of 7000 mansab (personal) and 7000 suwar (horse). If Jahangir's memoirs are to be believed, then Ghiyas Beg was raised from the rank of one thousand in the reign of Akbar to that of one thousand and five hundred immediately after Jahangir's accession in 1605. Five years later, that is, in 1610, he had two successive promotions — the first to the rank of 1800 and the second to that of 2000 mansab and 500 suwar, and also a generous gift of 5000 rupees from the Emperor. The next year he got yet another lift when his rank was fixed at 4000 mansab and 1000 suwar.¹² The chart prepared by Dr. Beni Prasad in his authoritative work "History of Jahangir", however, shows no promotion prior to the marriage of his daughter, Nur Jahan, with Jahangir in 1611, though it gives an idea of Ghiyas Beg's gradual rise to high office.¹³

Ghiyas Beg was made wazir of half the imperial dominions in place of Wazir Khan and given the exalted title of Itimad-ud-daulah in the beginning of Jahangir's reign.¹⁴ He could hardly imagine at this time that he was destined to become wazir of this vast empire and that the present appointment was just intended to train him for the higher post as an apprentice. It should be noted here that an atmosphere of suspicion pervaded Jahangir's court for the first six years after his accession. He could not place unquestioning faith in those ministers and officials of his father whose loyalty was yet to be tested. He realized that to dislodge them from all posts of trust and responsibility would be imprudent as it was likely to strengthen the opposition party. He therefore followed a policy of moderation and reconciliation and while he confirmed most of the old officers to their previous posts he remained very alert and watchful. He could not fully trust Wazir Khan who had been in charge of the wazirat

at the death of Akbar and he brought in Khan Beg so that the latter might share the wazirat with him. But even this being considered unsafe, Wazir Khan was transferred to Bengal. It is against this political background that the sudden promotion of Ghiyas Beg from the post of the chief treasurer to that of wazir of half the imperial dominions has to be viewed. It clearly indicated the Emperor's great confidence in Ghiyas Beg's loyalty and capacity. During the first six years of Jahangir's reign, that is until the appointment of Itimad-ud-daulah as the chief wazir of the empire, the wazirat was never held by a single man. The motive behind this arrangement may well have been that the two officials sharing the responsibility should keep strict and jealous watch on each other.

In April 1606 some redistribution of official work was necessitated by the rebellion of Prince Khusrau against his father. The Emperor himself started in pursuit of his son who had first escaped from the Agra Fort on the pretence of visiting his grandfather's (Akbar) tomb at Sikandra and who later went to Lahore and disappeared from there. During the Emperor's absence from the capital the government was placed in charge of Itimad-ud-daulah and Mirza Jan Beg, the Wazir-ul-Mulk. The arrangement had to be changed further when Itimad-ud-daulah who was called to the Emperor's side was replaced by Dost Muhammad.¹⁵ The change was, however, a temporary one. With the suppression of Prince Khusrau's rebellion Itimad-ud-daulah again occupied his previous position in the state and continued to serve in the wazirat as a colleague of Mirza Jan Beg until his eldest son Muhammad Sharif's involvement in the conspiracy hatched in 1607.¹⁶ The object of the conspiracy was to assassinate the Emperor, seize the government, release Khusrau from confinement and proclaim him Emperor. The discovery of the plot led to the imprisonment of Itimad-ud-daulah in the house of Diyanat Khan on the suspicion that

though he was fully aware of the plot he did not consider it necessary to convey the information to the Emperor. Strangely enough, *Tuzak* and *Iqbalnama* are absolutely silent regarding the causes of Itimad-ud-daulah's dismissal. Ultimately he was released and restored to his former position on payment of two lakhs of rupees but his eldest son Muhammad Sharif, being one of the ring leaders, was put to death.¹⁷ Apart from the shock Itimad-ud-daulah received from this unfortunate development, he felt humiliated and continued to be under the shadow of misfortune for a little over three years (1608-1611). The Emperor's confidence was shaken and in the wazirat Itimad-ud-daulah was made to play a role subsidiary to that of his colleague Khawja Abul Hasan. If Hawkins is to be believed the important affairs of the state were conducted by Abul Hasan during this period.¹⁸

It was in 1611 that his stars were again in the ascendant. In the intervening years the Emperor's attitude must have changed, for now he was obviously convinced of Itimad-ud-daulah's sincerity and in recognition of his past service and competence appointed him to the wazirship.¹⁹ The celebrated traveller, Hawkins, who was present at the court at the time of Itimad-ud-daulah's appointment in the early summer of 1611 and began to build fresh hopes upon this change records the event thus: "Now one Gainbeig, being the King's chief treasurer (a man that in outward show made much of me and was always willing to pleasure me when I had occasion to use him) was made chief wazir." The transfer of Khawaja Abul Hasan — who has been wrongly described by the same traveller as 'the King's chief wazir' — to the Deccan opened the way for Itimad-ud-daulah's promotion.²⁰ Dow holds a contrary view. According to him Itimad-ud-daulah replaced Murtaza Khan who by a stroke of the pen was declared unfit for the post of wazir even though he had rendered valuable service to

the Empire.²¹ The issue, though controversial, does not, however, alter the fact that Itimad-ud-daulah was promoted to this position of honour. For the first time since Jahangir's accession a single man came to hold the post of the chief wazir of the empire in the real sense of the term.

This change in the status quo shows how greatly Jahangir appreciated Itimad-ud-daulah's extraordinary talent and undoubted efficiency. It may be viewed at the same time as the first direct outcome of Nurjahan's marriage with the Emperor. Indeed Itimad-ud-daulah's advancement in subsequent years cannot be fully explained without reference to this matrimonial alliance. The next few years saw Itimad-ud-daulah's uninterrupted promotion to higher and still higher ranks. In 1614 the rank of 5000 mansab and 2000 suwar was conferred upon him. In 1615 he was raised to the rank of 6000 mansab and 3000 suwar. In the same year he was awarded the insignia of the great drum and standard. He was also permitted to beat his drums at the court. In 1615 the rank of 7000 mansab and 5000 suwar was bestowed on him. He got the rare privilege of beating his drums after those of Prince Khurram, and a Tuman-tagh (horse-tail standard). The series of promotions proves conclusively the contention of Dr. Beni Prasad: "He would have risen to high office in any circumstances but since he became the Emperor's father-in-law his ascent in the hierarchy was extraordinarily rapid."²²

Other favours were showered on him as he came to be looked upon by the Emperor as a dependable adviser and valued friend. Friendly relations grew more intimate as a result of presents and gifts from Itimad-ud-daulah, frequent banquets at his residence in honour of the Emperor and wedlock between the house of the wazir and the royal family. The Emperor often used to spend the evenings at Itimad-ud-daulah's residence and

remain there till late in the night. Obviously this added to his dignity and gave him an unparalleled position in the empire. On several occasions Jahangir directed the ladies of the harem not to veil their faces from Itimad-ud-daulah and this was a unique honour to him. During festivals like Khwaja Khizr and marriage ceremonies which were held in the house of Itimad-ud-daulah Jahangir passed the evenings in enjoyment along with the ladies and principal Amirs. Cups of wine were offered to the Amirs and servants on such festive days. Whenever the Emperor paid a visit to his father-in-law's house the latter placed his offerings before him with all humility. By way of favour all his offerings were examined in detail. The articles in most cases were exceedingly rare. The Emperor took what pleased him and gave back the rest. On one occasion he accepted the jewels and jewelled things and finest cloth stuffs the value of which was estimated at Rs. 100,000. The remainder was given back. On another occasion Itimad-ud-daulah presented to the Emperor two pearls worth 30,000 rupees, one Qutbi ruby worth 22,000 rupees along with other pearls and rubies. The total value of all the articles was Rs. 110,000. The Emperor also accepted cloth etc. of the value of Rs. 15,000. Yet another case can be cited here. The Emperor attended an entertainment arranged by Itimad-ud-daulah and was so much impressed by the valuable offerings that he wrote, "In fact in decorating the assembly and the largeness of his offerings, he had exceeded himself and made many decorations, and illuminated all sides of the lake as far as the eye would reach, and decorated the streets both near and far with all kinds of lights and coloured lanterns."²³ All these instances give us an idea of the vast wealth of Itimad-ud-daulah.

This close connection between Jahangir and Itimad-ud-daulah is to be traced back to Jahangir's marriage in 1611 with Nur Jahan. The negotiations for this marriage were made

by the Emperor's stepmother, under whose charge Nur Jahan was placed as the lady-in-waiting after the murder of her first husband, Sher Afgan, in 1607.²⁴ The ladies of the seraglio were usually expert matchmakers. After four years of association with the Emperor's stepmother Nur Jahan gave her consent to marry Jahangir. The ties between the two families were forged more strongly by the marriage of Khurram (Shah Jahan), the third son of Jahangir, with Arjumand Banu Begam, grand daughter of Itimad-ud-daulah in 1612. In the marriage the initiative was taken by the Emperor himself. He also sought the marriage of Shahriyar, his fourth son, with Ladli Begam the daughter of Nur Jahan by Sher Afgan in 1620 and sent a dowry of one lakh of rupees for the purpose. A grand entertainment with much ceremony was arranged on the eve of the marriage and at the invitation of Itimad-ud-daulah the Emperor attended the great feast given by the former in his house.²⁵

As the pivot of the country (Madar-ul-Mulk) Itimad-ud-daulah often enjoyed special privileges and extraordinary royal favour. His contingent was often reviewed on the plain by the Emperor under the Jharoka Darshan (Salutation Balcony). The bakhshis reckoned his 2000 cavalry, 500 foot armed with bows and guns, and fourteen elephants and reported that the force was fully equipped and according to rule. Once the emperor went so far as to place his own turban, just as it was, on the head of Itimad-ud-daulah. This was an unheard of honour. As Jahangir realised that no elephant had ever been offered to Itimad-ud-daulah 'on account of his government of the Punjab', he gave him one of his private elephants named Jagjot. Itimad-ud-daulah also got an inkstand and a jewelled pen from the Emperor. We come to know from the memoirs of Jahangir that of two copies of *Jahangirnama* which were prepared and laid before the Emperor in the 13th regnal year, one was presented to Itimad-ud-

daulah. It was clearly a recognition of his artistic tastes and power of literary appreciation.²⁶

Any uncharitable comment or any sign of disrespect towards Itimad-ud-daulah was seldom tolerated. Sitab Khan, a prominent noble at the court, often made unbecoming speeches and palpably alluded to Itimad-ud-daulah in unfavourable terms. In spite of repeated warnings by the Emperor the impertinent noble continued to behave in the same way and one night spoke unpleasant words to the old man. Although Itimad-ud-daulah was too reserved a man to make any complaint to the Emperor, signs of vexation, humiliation and annoyance were evident in his face. This was a matter of grave concern to the Emperor as he had already given the status of an uncle to Itimad-ud-daulah and badly required his goodwill towards him. Any humiliating attitude towards the Madar-ul-Mulk was considered by the Emperor as a serious affront and derogatory to his own pride. So the Emperor had to act quickly. He sent order to Asaf Khan, a son of Itimad-ud-daulah, to imprison Sitab Khan in the Gwalior fort or keep him in his own custody. Sitab was not to be released until he would beg pardon of Itimad-ud-daulah for his fault. This timely intervention on the part of the Emperor brought a quick end to this unhappy situation and relieved Itimad-ud-daulah of his constant irritation.²⁷

If Itimad-ud-daulah was favoured so much, it was mainly due to the Emperor's boundless confidence in his administrative ability and not to the matrimonial alliance. He was the man who could be safely entrusted with responsible duties such as the guarding and administration of the strategic province of the Panjab.²⁸ How far Jahangir himself attended to the affairs of the state is a relevant issue and historians are found to differ on this point. Some are of the opinion that the Emperor allowed administrative respon-

sibility to drift from his hands and they ascribe this to the seductive beauty of the queen. Pelsaert, for instance, states, "He (Jahangir) is King in name only while she (Nur Jahan) and her brother Asaf Khan hold the kingdom firmly in their hands. . . . The King does not trouble himself with public affairs, but behaves as if they are no concern of his."²⁹ The disintegration of a state ruled by an indolent and ease-loving monarch like Jahangir was not a rarity in the medieval period but it is argued that in the present case such an eventuality was largely prevented by the vigilance and sagacity of Itimad-ud-daulah.

But what Jahangir has recorded in his memoirs is in conflict with this view. He creates the impression that he took a personal interest in the affairs of the empire and made his dominance felt in every branch of administration. He states explicitly: "In counsels on state affairs and government, it often happens that I act according to my own judgement and prefer my own counsels to that of others."³⁰ Sir Thomas Roe's remarks have relevance to the matter under discussion. When he says that the conqueror of the world (Jahangir) was the slave of a woman — his consort, Nur Jahan — whose father and brother had a large share in the administration, he obviously acknowledges the importance of Itimad-ud-daulah's position but nowhere does he make any mention of the latter's influence over the King.³¹ If it were a fact, it would not have escaped Roe's attention or remained unrecorded in his account, for he was extremely inquisitive and fond of recording all that he observed at the court which, it may be mentioned incidentally, he visited several times during his stay in India from 1615 to 1619 on an embassy. The fact of the matter was that whatever power Itimad-ud-daulah — or for that matter any other wazir or Amir — might wield in the country, he was never allowed to overstep the specific bounds of his

own sphere of activity and interfere with the Emperor's policy or actual administration.

The idea of a Junta conducting the Government is related to the point at issue. The genesis of this powerful body may be found in the matrimonial alliances, mentioned above. As Dr. Beni Prasad has aptly remarked, the marriage of Khurram, the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan) with Arjumand Banu Begam, the daughter of Asaf Khan 'was primarily a political one' and together with the other alliances it resulted in the formation of the Junta headed by Nur Jahan and strengthened by her father, her brother (Asaf Khan) and Khurram. The master mind was of course Itimad-ud-daulah, but as a queen was likely to command more respect and confidence of the people than an official in her employ he tactfully kept himself behind the screen. It would be a travesty of truth to say that it was a complete eclipse of Jahangir's power. The Junta never overreached itself as it was pretty conscious of the possible repercussions in the empire. It merely kept a strong vigilance on the activities and temperament of the Emperor and sought to manage him rather than rule him on the pretext that mostly he was not in the normal state of mind owing to excessive drinking. This was perhaps the wisest step under the circumstances.

Itimad-ud-daulah's positive contribution to the state has to be weighed carefully. To think that he brought about a radical change in the administrative set up will not be proper. This much may, however, be asserted that he contributed a great deal to the smooth working of the administrative machinery. His twofold object was the regulation of the internal affairs of the country and the consolidation of the empire, and that he succeeded in a large measure is evident from the fact that in a very critical period he steered the country out of danger. He could not of course make everyone contented but his unquestionable loyalty to the Emperor and genuine attempt

to set the house in order evoked the admiration even of his enemies.³²

The contemporary chroniclers have not mentioned any thing about the administrative measures adopted by Itimad-ud-daulah. Our only source of information in respect of these is Alexandar Dow. He observes "Agriculture, which had been much neglected, was encouraged. Many provinces desolated by former disturbances and wars, were, by degrees, repopled and cultivated. Security of property was given to the farmer; the industry of the mechanic was protected. The country assumed a new face: the useful arts were revived and flourished in the cities. The Visier even extended his improvements to deserts. Forests, formerly in haunts of wild beasts, were cut down; and villages and towns began to rise in solitudes. Insurrection and rebellion were not heard of because there was no oppression: idleness being discouraged, robberies were things unknown. The revenues of the Empire gradually increased: to prevent extortion in the collection, every Suba was obliged to transmit monthly to court, a state of the improvements and regulations made, in consequence of public instruction from Agra. When the improvements were not adequate to the taxes, the Subas were either severely reprimanded or degraded. No distinctions were made in the administration of justice, between the Mahommedan and Hindoo. Both were worshippers of God, each in his way; both members of the same community, and subjects of the same lord".³³

In the light of information supplied by Pelsaert, who visited India in the reign of Jahangir, and a few others it is difficult to accept Dow's statement in its entirety. It is true that toleration which had been the essence of Akbar's religious policy continued more or less to be the official State policy.³⁴ Dow is also right in stating that justice was made available to all irrespective of religion because the Prophet says "The cry of a victim

of injustice, even if he be a Kafir, is never rejected by God." Thus at least in theory the Muslim and the non-Muslim subjects were equal in the eye of law. In fact, whenever a dispute arose between a Muslim and a non-Muslim the case was decided by the judge in accordance with the principle, "The dhimmi is just like a Muslim in matters concerning this world."³⁵

In religious and social matters the Hindus were governed by their own laws and not by Islamic laws. As regards the conditions of agriculture Dow's version appears to be an exaggerated one. It would be rather improper to assume that agriculture had been neglected in the period of Akbar or in the early years of Jahangir's reign.³⁶ Besides, Itimad-ud-daulah's actual performance was not so as is made out to be in Dow's account. If half of what is claimed on his behalf — that is, cultivation of arid land and rehabilitation of many desolated provinces — had been accomplished through his efforts it would have been a splendid feat. But actually the conditions of the peasants were far from satisfactory. In varying degrees this was characteristic of the medieval period. The picture which the contemporary chroniclers and foreign travellers have drawn of the agricultural conditions of the time is, indeed, a dismal one. The oppression of the peasants was the order of the day and mentally they were so conditioned as to believe that they did not deserve any treatment better than this. In support of this view we may quote from Pelsaert who in his 'Jahangir's India' writes, "So much is wrung from the peasants that even dry bread is scarcely left to them for their food." In another place he states that the peasants were "so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed" that the fields lay "unsown" and grew into "wildernesses". Further "the land would give a plentiful or even an extraordinary yield if the peasants were not so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed."³⁷ According to another observer, the poor labourers desert them (lands and

run away which is the reason why they are poorly peopled."³⁸ Professor Irfan Habib says "the oppression increased with the passage of time", the cultivation fell off and the number of absconding peasants grew."³⁹

If this was the state of affairs, Itimad-ud-daulah can by no stretch of imagination be taken to have 'encouraged' agriculture. His *forte* was politics and all the contemporary writers bear witness to his active participation in the affairs of the empire. The requisite qualifications for this participation were never wanting in him. His long experience in the imperial service, remarkable self-control, undisputed sincerity, quick anticipation, tact, farsight and above all his ripe age made him a first rate politician of the age. As has already been pointed out, it was under his able guidance that Nur Jahan shaped her policies during her period of ascendancy and it is, indeed, doubtful if without his wise counsel, particularly in confidential matters, she could shoulder her responsibility at all.

The factors that contributed to his phenomenal rise to power were his innate qualities and the cooperation he received from his gifted family, particularly from Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan.⁴⁰ the assistance which his wife Asmat Begam rendered him was also of an inestimable value in this respect. She did not directly participate in governmental affairs but it was her loving companionship that may be said to have facilitated his arduous task. Culturally and intellectually she towered above most of the women of the age and what were even more remarkable were her chastity and integrity of character. It may be mentioned here that the idea of *Atar*, which is still one of the few costliest luxury goods, emanated from her inventive brain.⁴¹ Naturally enough, she exerted a powerful influence on Nur Jahan and thereby strengthened the hands of Itimad-ud-daulah. Jahangir regarded her with reverence and went so far as to write in his memoirs, "No Mother of

the Age (Madardahr) was ever born equal to her, and I did not value her less than my own mother."¹²

Her death in 1621 — which has been aptly described by Jahangir as 'attaining to the mercy of God.' — was a grievous blow to all who loved and venerated her and particularly to her husband who could not survive her loss for more than three months and twenty days. Bereft of her company, the grief-stricken old man broke down completely and sincere condolences and words of affectionate admonition from the Emperor failed to heal the inward wound. Outwardly he remained calm and composed but the injured frame of his mind was not to be smoothed and he was taken ill towards the end of the year, while he was accompanying the royal couple in their tour of Kashmir. The Emperor left him in the camp and kept Sadiq Khan, the Chief Bakshi, to look after him and guard the camp. After some time his illness took a serious turn and his life was despaired of. The news was despatched to the Emperor and the Queen, who at this time were paying a visit to the Kangra fort.¹³ They at once cancelled their scheduled programme and hurried back to the camp. On their arrival they found him almost in a state of coma. In order to test whether he was still conscious Nur Jahan asked her father pointing to the Emperor, "Do you recognise him?" Even at this time he replied with the recitation of a verse of Anwari:

"If one who is blind from birth stood here, he would recognise his majesty by his august forehead."¹⁴ He died a few hours later. The last two hours saw the Emperor beside his bed and he recorded his experiences thus, "Whenever he was conscious, whatever he said was intelligent and rational."¹⁵

The whole empire mourned the death of the good old wazir. At the passing away of his great adviser and well-wisher the Emperor

declared: 'He was a wise and perfect wazir and a learned and affectionate companion'. He went to condole with the members of the bereaved family and presenting forty-one of his children and connections and twelve of his dependents with dresses of honour, he made them put off their mourning garments.¹⁶ The Empress was, however, inconsolable. She fervently desired to build a monument of solid silver to perpetuate her father's memory. But she had to drop the idea of a silver tomb as the Imperial architect convinced her that a metal so precious would not last long. Itimad-ud-daulah was buried at Agra on the bank of the Jamuna and a tomb of beautiful stone was erected by Nur Jahan at an enormous cost. It was completed in 1628 and remains a perfect specimen of architectural beauty and excellence.¹⁷

Thus ended the life of Itimad-ud-daulah who had rendered conspicuous service to the Mughal empire during his long tenure of office under two great Emperors, Akbar and Jahangir. Even in the last phase of his career his personal sorrow was not allowed to impair his sense of responsibility and he continued to attend to the business of the state with his usual competence and devotion. It was his intellectual calibre and his unblemished character which raised him from a humble beginning to the highest rank in the empire. The politician or the administrator in him was not in much conflict with the man. Except for his objectionable tendency to exact bribes — which, by the way, was no more than a common offence in the age he lived in — he was eminently fitted for the high offices he held. Noted for his intelligent grasp of the complexities of a situation, Itimad-ud-daulah permitted himself no relaxation of efforts and was in a large measure free from such vices of the age as inordinate fondness for a life of pleasure and luxury.¹⁸

He aimed at imparting strength and cohesion to Jahangir's extensive territory and

the same time felt genuine solicitude for the common people. The wretched often found protection under him and his innate generosity was more than reflected in the way he interceded for such persons. A striking example is provided by the case of repentant Allah-dah who, though charged with the desertion of the army, was, at Itimad-ud-daulah's request, pardoned by Jahangir.¹⁹ Indeed his extraordinary control of passion, perfect combination of severity and moderation, feeling for the distressed, and above all, his charity endeared him to the people. They looked upon him as their father with a mixture of love and awe. He had more friends than enemies and it was the former's whole-hearted moral support which made his career so successful and significant.

A new dimension was added to his political career by his learning and culture which were undoubtedly the culmination of the training he had received from his father. He was a swift writer in a clear *shikasta* hand and Jahangir said of him, "whenever I took my pen my state became bewildered, and I

helplessly ordered Itimad-ud-daulah to write it."²⁰

This estimate of Itimad-ud-daulah's life and personality may well be rounded off with the Emperor's glowing tribute to him which, though not entirely free from personal bias, remains substantially just and valid: "Of Mirza Ghiyas Beg how shall I speak in terms of sufficient praise! In the science of arithmetic, he is in this age without a rival, in composition and elegance of style he stands alone; in critical knowledge, on every species of the poetry of former ages,²¹ and facility with which he quotes from it, he has no competitor and few are diwans or collection of odes, which he has not preserved, and of which he has not transcribed the most beautiful and esteemed. But what is better in the proof than a thousand Muferra Yakouties²² the recitation beaming with smiles. I can only add that in affairs of state the measure which has not the confirmation of his counsels has little chance from the imperfection of its arrangements to remain upon the record."²³ (Major, p. 45)

REFERENCES

1. M.U. 1072; Ain, 572; Dow, 21; Beni Prasad, 157; A.N.I. 432; E & D 403; Khafi Khan and Mutammad Khan have described Begler Begi as Muhammad Khan Taklu.
2. M.U. 1072; Ain 572; Mention of Qazaq Khan is not found in Tuzuk and Iqbalnama.
3. M.U. 1072; His appointment in Yazd is not mentioned in the contemporary chronicles. According to Tuzuk the name of the place was Marv. His appointment in Isfahan is only referred to in *Mauzid-ul-Umra*. For a detailed account of Isfahan which has been described as 'half the world' see Sykes 198; Kharegat 204; Richards 21-22.
4. M.U. 1072; Ain 572.
5. Iqbal 54; Khafi Khan 263; M.U. 1073; Ain 573; The contemporary writers are silent regarding Itimad-ud-daulah's date of birth. The authors of *Mauzid-ul-Umra* and *Ain-i-Akbari*, however, inform us that he celebrated his 40th birthday in 1595. From this it can easily be inferred that he was born some time in 1555 and in 1577 he was twenty-two years of age.
6. Sykes 170; Malcolm 513-21; Iqbal 54; K.K. 263.
7. M.U. 1073; Ain 573; Khafi Khan, however, records that Ghiyas Beg was accompanied by two daughters, one son and his wife. (Khafi Khan Vol. I P. 623).
8. Ain 573; M.U. 1073; Dow, 22; K.K. 263; According to Khafi Khan Ghiyas had 56 men and two camels.
9. A thick fog of myth and legend has gathered round the early life of Mihrunnisa. We are told that the parents, unable to carry the infant, left her under a lovely tree and covered her with leaves. The mother burst into tears and threw herself from the horse exclaiming 'My child, My child! Pierced to the heart', the father turned back but found the child coiled around by a black snake. Only by shouting loudly he drove the snake away and picked up the child. For a detailed account see Dow 22-23.
10. M.U. 1073; Ain 573; Dow only mentions that Ghiyas Beg and his family came to be rescued by a traveller. He does not mention the name of the traveller. Khafi Khan writes that immediately after the birth of the daughter the father left her secretly close to a caravan party after having wrapped her in a cloth. The helpless cry of the infant was heard by the members of the party and they carried her to their leader, Masud, who had no son. He took kindly to her and thought of bringing her up as his own child. As there was no woman in the Iranian

caravan party he sent his men in search of a nurse. It was after a long time that they found a lady who happened to be the mother of the child. (Khafi Khan, 263-64).

11. Iqbalnama 55; M.U. 1073; Ain 573; K.K. 264; See Sarkar's 'Mughal Administration' and R. P. Tripathi's 'Some Aspects of Muslim Administration' for the duties of a Diwan-i-Bayutat (in charge of Factories and Workshops), and a provincial diwan.
 12. Tuzuk I, 197, 199, 217; Major 45.
 13. Beni Prasad 172.
 14. Tuzuk I, 22; Major 45; M.U. 1074.
 15. Tuzuk I, 57 Major.
 16. Itimad-ud-daulah had four sons. His eldest son Muhammad Sharif died a premature death because of his involvement in a conspiracy in 1607. Of his three other sons, the second (Asaf Khan) rose to eminence while the younger ones (Itiqad Khan and Ibrahim Khan) held high offices in the ranks.
 17. Tuzuk I, 123; M.U. 1073; Ain 573; Iqbal 55.
 18. Foster, 90-91 (Hawkins's account); Hawkins during his stay in India (1608-13) did not get good treatment from Abul Hasan who often harassed him in different ways.
 19. Tuzuk, 200; Dow, 35; Ain, 573; Maasir, 1074.
 20. Foster, 94, 66, 68 (Hawkins's account). The wazirat passed into the hands of Abdul Hasan and Asaf Khan when Itimad-ud-daulah was confined in view of his son's involvement in a conspiracy. Asaf Khan was transferred to the Deccan in 1609 and Itimad-ud-daulah was restored to his previous position. The latter's reinstatement escaped Hawkins's attention.
 21. Dow, 36.
 22. Tuzuk I, 280, 320; Beni Prasad 172.
 23. Tuzuk I, 281, 318-19, 351, Tuzuk II, 80, 202.
 24. Ali Quli Istajlu, who migrated from Persia and distinguished himself by his valour and courage, was granted a jagir in Burdwan in Bengal after Jahangir's accession. This adventurous Persian, who got the title of Sher Afgan as he killed a tiger single-handed, was suspected of treason. Qutbuddin, the newly appointed Governor of Bengal, having been instructed by the centre, summoned Sher Afgan to an interview. The latter was slain after he had killed the Governor and some of his companies. His widow and daughter were captured and sent to the court.
- The contemporary writers do not mention anything about Itimad-ud-daulah's reaction to the murder of his son-in-law (Sher Afgan). He was shocked by the event but did not make any protest because the King himself was in mourning at the time on the death of his foster-brother Qutbuddin. He realised that any complaint against the tactless Governor whom the Emperor regarded 'as a dear son, a kind brother and a congenial friend' would be considered as a serious affront. There might be two more reasons for Itimad-ud-daulah's silence. Firstly, he perhaps thought that Sher Afgan was really guilty of treason and that he was the first to attack and kill the Governor. The inevitable consequences followed and he could not escape the swords of the Governor's valiant bodyguard. Secondly, he might foresee his daughter's marriage with the Emperor in the near future and the gradual elevation of his family in the Government. If the second reason really guided him he might well be painted as a shrewd careerist.
25. Tuzuk I, 224-25; Tuzuk II 187-88; K. T. Amal 44, 55-6.
 26. Tuzuk I 374, 218, 378, 384; Tuzuk II 37, 117.
 27. Tuzuk I 278-79.
 28. Tuzuk II 2, 117.
 29. Pelsaert 50.
 30. Tuzuk I, 68.
 31. Roe XXXII.
 32. Tuzuk II, 223.
 33. Dow, 37-38.
 34. Sharma 60.
 35. Husain 194-6; Saran 337; Baillie's *Digest of Muhammadan Law* 174; Wahed Husain 146-157.
 36. See Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 127; Saran 337-38.
 37. Pelsaert 47.
 38. St Xavier's letter from Agra 1609, p. 121 (quoted by Habib).
 39. Habib 324.
 40. Major 106; very few families in the Mughal period ever rose to such eminence so suddenly and deservedly as the family of Itimad-ud-daulah.
 41. "Atr of roses, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The mother of Nur Jahan Begam conceived the idea of collecting the oil which rises to the surface when rose water is heated, and this having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume." (Elliot and Dowson Vol. VI P. 338). See Tuzuk 270-71 for the description of its preparation.
 42. Tuzuk II, 216.
 43. Ibid, 216, 222-23.
 44. Tuzuk II, 222; Maasir 1074; Ain 573.
 45. Tuzuk II, 222.
 46. Ibid 223; Maasir
 47. Fergusson II, 306-7.
 48. Tuzuk II, 223; K.K. I 264; Iqbal 55; Maasir 1074.
 49. Tuzuk II, 120; In a few other cases, which were outside the sphere of Itimad-ud-daulah's department he exerted his influence. See Tuzuk 149, 164 and 185.
 50. Tuzuk I, 326.
 51. Although Itimad-ud-daulah did not compose poetry he was a diligent student of early poets. According to Mutammad Khan Itimad-ud-daulah used to spend his leisure hours in the company of poets.
 52. "As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison. So was the cornelian (Yakout) (garnet) supposed to possess exhilarating properties. Muferra means an ex-hilation". (Alin)
 53. This is a clear recognition of Itimad-ud-daulah's ability to run his department smoothly. Had he been unfit, it would not have remained unrecorded in the detailed account of Jahangir.

ANCIENT TAMIL SOCIETY IN SANGAM LITERATURE

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Introduction

Tamil society is noted for its antiquity. The historical, linguistic, archeological, literary, numismatic and other evidences corroborate it. The very fact that there are 260 references (16% of the total aphorisms) to ancient literatures in Tholkappiam, confirm the existence of great literary treatises on various branches of knowledge. Unfortunately, all these have been lost due to natural calamity. The ancient Tamil literature extant, which is popularly known as the Sangam Literature, consists of Tholkappiam (Grammar), Pathuppattu (ten Idylls), Ettuthogai (eight anthologies), Thirukkural (Ethics), Silappathikaram and Manimekalai (twin epics). On the basis of the various relevant evidences available, the Sangam Literature can be assigned to the period ranging from 500 B.C. to 200 A.D. This period is generally known as the Sangam Age, after the Tamil Sangam (Academy), patronised by the Pandyan kings at Madurai, which had played a very significant role in the literary and cultural fields in Tamilnad. The Sangam Literature, besides throwing a flood of light on different branches of knowledge, reflects every aspect of the Tamil society. An analysis of the Sangam Literature reveals the fact that the ancient Tamil society was in a very advanced state of culture. An attempt is made in this paper to study the different aspects of the Tamil society of the Sangam Age based on literature.

Literature

Tholkappiam is not only a grammar in the ordinary sense of the term but a great treatise

which deals with almost all the aspects of human activity. Tholkappiam has clarified each and every point with logical precision and aphoristic brevity. For instance, he points out that one can legitimately feel proud for four reasons, viz. learning, valour, fame and charity.

Tholkappiam has served as a beacon light throughout the ages of literary history of Tamilnad. The Pathuppattu describes every aspect of the Tamil society in a picturesque language. The eight anthologies (Ettuthogai) were compiled and classified on the basis of metre length and subject matter. Among the eight anthologies Natrinai, Kurunthogai, Ainkurunooru, Kalithogai and Agananooru are amatory poetry. Purananooru mainly deals with warfare, statecraft, charity and ethics. Pathitru Pathu gives an account of the Chera kings and throws much light in fixing the chronological position of the ancient Chera monarchs. Paripadal is a miscellany which deals with love, religion and nature. Thiruvalluvar has given the quintessence of wisdom in his immortal epics, Thirukkural. Silappathikaram, a dramatic epic (tragedy) and Manimekalai, a religious epic, are treated as twin epics. The Sangam Literature is a mirror which reflects all the aspects of the ancient Tamil society. The Sangam poets, who were about 500 in number, touched every branch of knowledge in their pen portraits. Beauty of expression, clarity of thought, brevity in diction, intelligibility of theme, sublimity of idea, nobility of purpose, effectiveness of appeal, catholicity of character and universality of outlook are the special

characteristics of Sangam Literature. It is almost free from Sanskrit words, hybrid style, pedantic phrase and fantastic imagination. The Sangam poets sincerely considered nature as their teacher. They received inspiration from nature and described her beauty in a mellifluous language with aesthetic excellence.

Education

The importance of education was well recognised. The very fact that Thiruvalluvar, who was very brief in his treatment, has allotted many chapters dealing with various aspects of education, corroborates the value attached to education. Thiruvalluvar has divided education into two main divisions, viz. arts and science. Mathematics — the queen of sciences, and letters — the basis of arts, are the two faculties pointed out by Thiruvalluvar.

The learned author has indicated briefly but very clearly the various aims of education. Knowledge aim (Kural 396), social aim (Kural 140), moral aim (Kural 134), philosophical aim (Kural 354), spiritual aim (Kural 2), cultural aim (Kural 997) and living aim (Kural 391) are some of the important aims of education dealt with in Thirukkural. According to Thiruvalluvar, teaching has four stages, viz. feeling the pulse of the students, grasping the subject to be taught, simplifying the subject, and appealing and inspiring presentation (Kural 424, 711). To all intents and purposes an uneducated man is no better than an animal (Kural 410). Tholkappiar mentions general education and technical education in one of his aphorisms in Tholkappiam. (Tholkappiam, Porulathikaram, Kazagam Edition, June 1953, Agathinai iyal — Aphorism No. 44). Pandyan Neduchezian, the King Poet, speaks of the glory of learning (Purananooru 183), that an educated man, however low may be his social position, will be respected even by the ruler of the land. The poets of the

Sangam Age had educated the kings as well as the ordinary people. They gave the rulers sound advice on various matters and played a remarkable role in the educational field in ancient Tamilnad. Teaching was considered as the noblest and the most respectable profession.

Society

In Tamil, the word for 'man' has various shades of meaning. Though generally it refers to the masculine gender among human beings, it specially connotes a person who has the power of control. A man is expected to control his senses. The term for 'woman', apart from its primary meaning, has a special connotation. The word 'penn' which means woman, has been derived from the root 'petpu' signifying 'love', 'desire' etc. The implication is, woman is a possessor of all the amiable qualities, and hence she is lovable. Children are considered to be the wealth of the parents and a source of enjoyment (Kural 61, 65, 66; Purananooru 188).

The ancient Tamil society was classified into many divisions. The divisions were made not to create any disparity or inequality among the people but to direct them to embrace different occupations for the smooth working of the society. The classification was made on the principle of division of labour.

There was perfect social equality between man and woman. In certain respects woman was respected to a greater degree. A chaste woman was not only paid social respects but viewed with a sense of divine veneration. She was placed on a par with God.

The milk of human kindness was considered as a fundamental social quality needed for harmonious co-existence. Man without social culture was placed among the dead (Kural 214). 'Divide and consume' was the social ethics envisaged and actualised by the Tamils of the Sangam Age (Puram 163).

The temple served the purpose of social institutions and people assembled and mixed with one another with perfect equality. The purpose of friendship is to help each other says Thiruvalluvar.

Marriage

Marriage was considered as a sacred rite of the union of two hearts. Matrimonial process had two stages, viz. premarital and post-marital, and sanctity was maintained throughout the process. There was complete identification of husband and wife in life. The purpose of marriage is not only to enjoy sensual pleasure but also to do charity with a deep sense of fellow feeling (Kurunthogai 63, Kural 81). Woman was given the highest place in society in general and at home in particular. The Tamil word 'illal', which ordinarily means wife, has a special connotation. The word can be split conveniently into two distinct units, viz. 'il' and 'al', meaning thereby the ruler of the home. The wife was not only treated as a partner of the man but the ruler of the home. The love experienced by the married couple was not a lust or sensual craving but a tender feeling of a high order. Thiruvalluvar has rightly pointed out that such a love is tenderer than the flower (Kural 1289). Various aspects of harmony between husband and wife were indicated by Tholkappiar.

Monogamy was the only moral code accepted by the society, (Kural 1315, Kurunthogai 49). Though prostitution existed, it was looked upon with contempt by every cultured Tamilian (Purananooru 73). The marriage rites celebrated during the earlier stage of the Sangam Age were practically free from Aryan influences (Agananooru 86, 135).

It will be noticed that in the ancient Tamil rites of marriage there is absolutely nothing Aryan, no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire and no priest to receive dakshina

observes P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar (History of Tamils, P. 30).

Morality

Morality was considered as the foundation stone on which the entire human virtues were based. Though the Sangam Literature (except Kural) are not ethical in character, they have moral views and tend to inculcate moral sense among the readers. Maintaining morality is more important than preserving life (Kural 131). Morality as envisaged by the Sangam poets has a deeper significance than is generally understood. Even the thinking of evil thoughts was considered a serious moral offence. Morality is not only a code of behaviour but a code of life. To cite an example, sense of gratitude was considered as an essential quality that should be possessed by every cultured man. Ingratitude was not only a mere immoral act but an unpardonable sin (Kural 110; Purananooru 34).

Religion

All the literary works of the Sangam Age show that Tamilians had a strong faith in the existence of the Almighty. Though the Almighty was mentioned by different names and attributes the ancient Tamils embraced monotheism. The Almighty was described as an embodiment of all the noble virtues (Kural 9). Though there were many temples of deities, they believed that there is only one ultimate reality, i.e. the all-pervading God. This is corroborated by the fact that the Almighty was always mentioned in the singular. Paripadal tells us about temples. People congregated at temples in order to enjoy peace of mind and spiritual pleasure. They prayed to the Almighty not for their material welfare but for their spiritual uplift (Paripadal 5; 11, 78-81). Among the various religious rites that were in vogue, the practice of virgins taking bath in the early morning during the cold season in the month of Margazhi (December-January) deserves special mention. It was popularly known as

Thāñeeradal and Ambaadal. It was a rigid course of spiritual discipline which enabled the virgins to attain a harmonious development of physical cleanliness, mental purity and spiritual sublimation (Paripadal 11: LL 74-92 — Kalithogai 59). The ancient Tamils believed in the cycle of birth and death and the result of Karma.

Culture

Ancient Tamil literature speaks of four aspects of culture, viz. virtue-ethical, wealth-material, pleasure-emotional, and salvation-spiritual. Though there is difference of opinion regarding the order of the first three, all the Tamil savants are at one regarding the existence and necessity of the four aspects. Some of the ancient poets have mentioned and enumerated only the first three, leaving the readers to understand the fourth, viz. salvation by themselves.

These aspects are all closely connected with each other and train the people to achieve a well-balanced development of their faculties. St. Pavananthi, a renowned grammarian of the 13th century, has clarified that the purpose of learning is to acquire virtue, wealth, pleasure and salvation.

Athletics

A perusal of the Sangam Literature will reveal the importance attached to various athletic activities. Well developed physical personality was one of the basic qualifications of an ambassador (Kural 684). Physical strength coupled with bravery was highly prized in the matrimonial field. The young man of the sylvan land (Mullai) had to face the ferocious and strong bull in an organized combat and bring it under his control in order to win a bride for marriage. The bride would accept only the victor of the contest as her suitable husband. The sportsman who came out with flying colours was appreciated and admired by one and all (Kalithogai 101 to 104). The young man was generally men-

tioned by the name 'bull' implying thereby he should possess sufficient strength and man power (Purananooru 312). There are references about women also distinguishing themselves in various athletic activities. They were experts in the art of playing bull, swinging etc. as evidenced from Silapathikaram (Silapathikaram Canto 29; stanzas 20 to 25). Men and women dived and swam in the fresh waters of the river Vaigai at Madurai and participated in a variety of aquatic activities (Paripadal 10: 71-78).

Army

While enumerating the six state agencies, army was given the first place (Kural 381). Courage coupled with patriotism was the basic qualification of a soldier. Physical strength was considered as an additional qualification. The Sangam Literature tells us that mental aptitude was given a higher priority than physical fitness at the time of recruitment. Every effort was made to maintain the quality of the army. In other words, the army consisting of a few but the best men was preferred to that of a huge mob of useless men. That was the principle recommended by Thiruvalluvar (Kural 763). Battles were fought during daylight only by previous arrangement and mutual consent. The special feature of the military etiquette was that the soldiers of the opposing army who showed a clean pair of heels were not chased. It was considered a dishonour to chase or attack the fleeing soldiers. The soldiers who fought and sacrificed their lives at the battlefield were remembered with gratitude. Statues were installed in their memory (Ainkurunooru 352, Kural 771, Purananooru 232, 260, 306, 329).

Polity

The form of government in the Sangam Age was a benevolent monarchy. Though the ancient Tamilnad was a single nation culturally, there were three political entities, viz. Chera, Chola and Pandya kingdoms. There were also many chieftains who ruled over

small territories under the control of one or other of the three monarchs. The king was mentioned by several names among which 'Kavalan' deserves special notice. It has two semantic units, viz. 'ka' (protect, defend), and 'valan' (able person), meaning thereby 'able protector'. Hence a king was expected to protect his subjects and defend their faith, virtues, culture etc. Though the king had unquestioned authority he often consulted his council of ministers, poets and elder statesmen and took their advice on important issues. The very fact that Thiruvalluvar has devoted 10 Chapters (100 couplets) dealing with various important aspects of ministry, corroborates the vital role of the council of ministers in the government. The ancient Tamil kings ruled the land with a deep sense of moral responsibility as evidenced from the words of Chera Senguttuvan (Silapathikaram 25: 100-104). If a king does not govern properly, the revenue will diminish and the industries will deteriorate (Kural 560).

Economic Life

Wealth was considered as one of the four main objectives of the ancient Tamils. Every man was expected to render service and work hard (Kurunthogai 135). Spending the ancestor's property was considered more shameful than begging (Kurunthogai 283). The Chola, Pandya and Chera kings improved agriculture, pearl fishery and forest wealth respectively and developed the national economy. They levied reasonable taxes. The principal occupation of the people was agriculture (Kural 1032). One should live within one's means (Kural 755), the purpose of earning money is not to hoard but to distribute it for the welfare of the people (Purananooru 189) are some of the main economic principles stressed in Tamil literature. The ancient Tamil cities like Pugar, Madurai, etc. were centres of fabulous wealth. Even poets embraced some occupation or other and maintained the dignity of labour. Idleness was viewed with contempt, and labour, whatever

might be its nature, was looked upon with great respect. Inequality among various occupations was not felt.

Ancient Tamilnad had commercial intercourse with different countries of the world. Kaviripoompattinam was not only a great sea port of the Chola kingdom but also an international emporium with a cosmopolitan atmosphere (Pattinapalai LL 213-218). The Chera country exported pepper to Greece and Rome by ship and in turn received gold. Musiri was a sea port of the Chera land, full of commercial activities (Agananooru 149). Ilayavaramban and Chenguttuvan were also centres of foreign trade. Exchange of articles was a special feature of internal trade. For instance paddy (the produce of the arable land) and salt (of the littoral tract) were exchanged commercially (Agananooru 140). The famous market at Madurai, the Pandyan capital, was planned so perfectly that every row was assigned to a particular category of commodity. There was a flag with a specific emblem indicating the article sold in the shop. There were day markets and evening markets in Madurai where all the articles under the sun were sold. The merchants were given moral encouragement in their commercial enterprise by the kings. The successful merchants were honoured with the title 'Etti'. They enjoyed recognition from every section of the society. A strict code of commercial ethics was observed by the trading class. Perfect justice was maintained in every commercial transaction (Pattinapalai LL 206-212). Thiruvalluvar has indicated precisely the inevitability of righteousness in the field of commerce (Kural 120).

Small scale cottage industries flourished in every village of the land. Various metal works, carpentry, weaving, tailoring, leather works, manufacture of a variety of instruments characterised the industrial field of ancient Tamilnad. Among those industries weaving occupied the most outstanding position. In

fact, weaving was second only to agriculture. The commentary in Silapadhikaram throws a flood of light on 36 varieties of cloth manufactured in the Sangam Age (Silapadhikaram 14 : 106-112 commentary of Adiyarku nallar). A linguistic analysis of all the words referring to cloths will reveal the significant role of textiles. For instance, thuni, thundu, vetti, selai, koadi, pudavai, thugil, koorai, kalingam, vudai, vudukkai, vuduppu, adai, meypapai, chattain, seelai, pavadai, kachai, kachu, angi, iravikkai, kovanam, kandangi, pagai, thirai, mukkadu, thavani, noolakkalingam, poarvai, vattu, methai, sumadu, padam, merkatti, irattu, thuni, kodi, vuri, parivattam, aruvai, seerai, ponnadai, paruthi, pattu, panjadai, venpanjadai, are some of the terms which connote either cloth in general or a particular kind of cloth. Almost all the above words are found in the Sangam Literature. The various similes which are employed in the description of the texture of cloth corroborate the excellence and fineness of quality. Textile industries were not the monopoly of men. Women too took an active part. The women weavers were known as 'Paruthi Pendir' (Purananooru 125, 326). There was a particular colony at Madurai which was occupied by weavers. It was popularly known as 'aruvai veezhi' (Silapadhikaram 14 : 207). A part of Mayavaram (Thanjavur Dist) is to-day known as Koranad, a word derived from Koorai nadu, which means the land of textiles. There is another village near Kumbakonam in the same district by the name 'Thugili', which was derived from the word 'thugil', meaning cloth. Even to-day it is a small textile centre. In the Sangam literature textile industry was placed on a par with agriculture (food) (Purananooru 189). In Malaya Tamilians are called as 'Kileng', a word that was derived from Kalingam (cloth) because of the large quantities of textiles exported to the Eastern countries from ancient Tamilnad.

Fine Arts

The Tamil culture was classified into three parts, viz. literature, music and drama (Muthamizh). The human faculty consists of intellectual, emotional and physical aspects. The intellectual faculty blossoms into literature, the emotional part results in music and the physical aspect leads to drama.

Music and drama come under the category of fine arts. Music, which occupies the central position, serves as a harmonious link between literature and drama. The word 'isai', which implies music, has a significant meaning. It means to make the audience yield. To amplify it, music should have a melodious capacity and harmonious appeal to the very core of the heart of the audience, and create immense pleasure. (Porunaratrupadai LL 21-22). The very fact that all the Sangam literatures are in the form of poetry indicates clearly that the ancient Tamil writers had a musical bent of mind. Their sentiments as well as thoughts were expressed through the metrical medium. The four main metrical forms, viz. venba, agaval, vanji and kalippa are based on perfect music. There were three main categories of musical instruments, viz. wind-instrument, string instrument and percussion instrument, represented by the flute, the lyre and the drum respectively. Tholkappiam and Perasiriyar's commentary throw ample light on the technicalities of drama. The epic *Silapadhikaram* gives a variety of minute details on music, dance, aesthetics and drama. The Canto on Arangetram and the commentaries on it form a book of knowledge in fine arts. Painting was given a place of special importance. Paripadal gives details on paintings. Sculpture, embroidery, beauty culture and various types of workmanship were also in vogue. The various fine arts that flourished proclaim the emotional development and aesthetic advancement of the ancient Tamils.

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BOOK REVIEWS

British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernisation, 1773-1835. By DR. DAVID KOPF, University of California Press, 1969.

Since the days of the celebrated European Renaissance, the term 'Renaissance' has been used almost as a culture pattern in the histories of different peoples of the world. In its wider application, Renaissance not only denoted a re-discovery and revival of interest in the cultural heritage, but also modernisation and objective reconditioning of the traditional values so as to provide vitality to the self-image of a given people.

In the history of India the 19th century has been specially marked out as the era of Renaissance, that witnessed the transition from medievalism to modernism in the different facets of Indian life. This significant transformation came as a result of its encounter with the western civilisation, oriented with scientific knowledge and rationalism. Bengal, or Calcutta, to be more precise, became the focal point of this cultural contact, as the city was the seat of the East India Company's government in the second half of the 18th century. This Bengali-European contact, its reception and assimilation, produced momentous results, rich in variety and self-propelling in creativity. The phase has, therefore, been generally termed, and rightly so, as Bengal Renaissance. With Bengal as epicentre the intellectual reformation radiated to cover the whole of India during the 19th and 20th centuries.

To analyse this multi-level confrontation and to assess the quantum of interaction of forces is indeed a herculean task for any single scholar, and to present it in a handy

volume is a more difficult proposition. But in Dr. David Kopf we have a scholar who possesses adequate mental equipment for undertaking such a study, and also a power of expression, lucid and absorbing, which carries conviction to the reader.

In the volume under review Dr. Kopf attempts to go to the root of the problem and analyse the factors that prepared the soil for the fostering of acculturation resulting in the flowering of Renaissance. The sub-title — The Dynamics of Indian -Modernisation, 1773-1835, clearly defines the scope of his work.

In elucidation of his theme, Dr. Kopf points out in the Introduction that to the Indian 'intelligentsia' western influence provided not only an impetus to rediscover the glories of ancient Indian thought-current but also a strong momentum to modernise it in tune with 'a newly discovered historical dimension.' The learned scholar has chosen the return to India of Warren Hastings (1772) and the passing of the Regulating Act (1773), that transformed the merchant company to a civil government responsible to Parliament, as the starting point of his theme. Saddled with the new responsibility Hastings wanted to strike a new chord, that of providing language training to his officers, so that they might come 'nearer' to the people they governed. This cultural policy of Hastings followed by the birth of the Asiatic Society in 1784 as a laboratory for linguistic studies, has been examined by the author in Part I of his treatise. The achievements of the officials attached to the Society in its early years practically set the ball of orientalism in motion; and, undoubtedly the source of its inspiration was Warren Hastings. The tabular

statements (1 & 2) admirably demonstrate their efforts in restoring Indian golden age.

The progress of the cultural revolution in Bengal gained further acceleration at the hands of Wellesley, the worthy successor of Hastings. His promotion of Hastings's ideal was marked by the founding of the College of Fort William by the middle of 1800. The contribution of this institution ('the Oxford of the East' of Wellesley's dream) comes in for critical assessment by Kopf in Parts II & III of his book. He has discussed in detail the phenomenal growth of the institution manned by devoted orientalists, recruited not from the official ranks only but also from the Serampore Mission, the Asiatic Society and the Bengali Hindu intellectuals. The college, originally planned for the enlightenment of the officials, developed into an institutional complex, engaged in revival of the ancient culture of the land. The association of the Hindu 'literati' in the faculty of the college and in its academic activity, provided the most essential fire of enthusiasm to the wider circle of the Bengali elite who were set upon re-orienting their outlook on life. Kopf has traced his intellectual development with the detachment of an analytical historian, drawing extensively on documentary materials.

It is well known that the policy of Hastings — Wellesley, of rapprochement with indigenous culture, came to be strongly challenged by a section in England, and what is more, there was a definite anti-orientalist attitude among them. This polarisation of policy and the prolonged controversy between the Evangelicals and the Orientalists till 1813 is the theme for chapter IX (Part IV) of the book. In spite of the fact that the Anglicists scored some initial victories, particularly in curtailing the scope of activities of the Fort William College, a new stimulus was injected into the Renaissance movement during the Governor-Generalship of Marquess Hastings. The College then took up

the work of promotion of vernacular language and literature, specially Bengali, with the active cooperation of Hindu pundits and Baptist missionaries. The far-reaching results of the policy of popular renaissance vis-a-vis the intellectual awakening of the Bengali intelligentsia, have been traced quite diligently by the learned scholar in the subsequent chapters (X-XII). He has also reviewed the roles played by different institutions (Serampore Mission, the Hindoo College, the Sanskrit College, Calcutta School and School Book Societies) and other organs of public instruction, that came up during this period with official patronage or non-official support, as also the contributions of important personalities (Englishmen or Bengali) associated with them. The analysis brings Dr. Kopf to the most cogent conclusion that 'at the end of the first quarter of the 19th century the sophisticated Bengali elite cultivated a syncretic cultural tradition and social consciousness', a tabular description of which is appended in pp. 210-11. Kopf's patient examination of measures adopted by Hastings, and the intellectual ferment they created, highlights the contribution to the current of renaissance movement by the Governor General, who arrived in India with an anti-Hindu bias. It was largely due to him that the socio-cultural revolution reached practically the take-off stage.

Macaulayism that gave a new turn, a turn for westernisation of the education programme and policy during the Bentinck administration, reversing the policy of orientalism and the values it stood for since the days of Warren Hastings, forms the subject matter of Part V of the book. Kopf has evaluated carefully the effect of Bentinck's antipathy for orientalism and the tension it generated among the awakened neo-élite of Bengal. In spite of serious opposition Bentinck's axe came upon the Fort William College, and it was dissolved in 1831. Kopf has traced the raging controversy between the Westernisers

and Orientalists down to the time of the appearance on the scene of Macaulay and the official resolution of Bentinck's Council (March 7, 1835). The brilliant character sketch of Macaulay reveals the clear sense of perspective of the author. The curtain was thus drawn upon the first phase of orientalism. Westernisation was hereafter promoted by the Government as the only true medium for modernisation. It was no doubt a matter of policy with no unmixed blessings, but the of policy with no unmixed blessings, but the manner of its imposition smacking of imperialistic arrogance created a perplexing situation for the Bengali intelligentsia. This Bengali reaction expressed itself in two different channels — there was the radical Young Bengal group who leant strongly in favour of Western culture and its rationalism, cutting adrift from the traditional moorings, and on the other hand there was the section of the cultured elite, the progressive liberals, who had no doubt realised the value of western education as a viable instrument for revitalising Indian mind but were not inclined to submit passively to the aggressive encroachment of the Anglicists. They had by now rediscovered their own personality and were proud of their own cultural heritage which they were willing to modernise and develop in coordination with the western thought-current, but not exclusively with 'borrowed feathers'. The dynamics of Indian modernisation, Kopf claims, was initially provided by the liberal British Orientalists.

In order to substantiate his thesis Kopf has overstepped the limits of his period in the concluding chapters of his treatise and analysed the reaction of the Bengali intelligentsia to Macaulayism. He has proved that 'when the response pattern collapsed, cultural barricades of nationalism were rapidly erected'. Between 1830 and 1845 Renaissance movement acquired a new dimension with the intellectual and social leaders of Bengal, imbued with feelings of national pride at its forefront. One has to agree with Kopf that

'it is doubtful that this rise of nationalism would have been possible without the sense of community, the sense of community without a collective feeling of self-respect, and self-respect without the stimulus of a re-discovered golden age'.

Dr. Kopf has rendered a service of immense value in presenting a complete critical survey of a crucial period in Indian history. He has not only collected all the relevant materials but also arranged them in lucid connection after examining them in a spirit of judicious and constructive historiography, for which he deserves our congratulations.

S. K. MITRA

Government Archives in South Asia : A Guide to National and State Archives in Ceylon, India and Pakistan. Edited by D. A. Low, J. C. ILTIS and M. D. WAINWRIGHT — Cambridge University Press, London, 1969, pp. 355.

Archives management is comparatively a new science and a new development for the people of Asia and Africa. The utility of archives for administrative purposes and for academic research has not been adequately realized in most of the developing regions of the globe. Archives are the temples of truth or at least the ground from which truths can be dug out. It is however unfortunate that a large number of countries in the world do not possess an archival repository in the real sense of the term. In South Asia also, with the exception of India, most of the countries do not possess a scientifically well equipped repository for the preservation and maintenance of archival holdings. The wealth of historical material which is available in these countries has also not received the adequate attention of the people on account of the lack of inventories, guides and other finding aids. Government Archives in South Asia, therefore, can claim to be the first survey

of archival material in Ceylon, Pakistan and India. Had the authors included information about Nepal, Afghanistan, Tibet, and Burma, etc. the work would have served as a marvelous guide to archives material in South Asia.

The Guide is a product of the joint efforts of Dr. D. A. Low of the University of Sussex, J. C. Itlis of the Australian National University, and M. D. Wainwright of the University of London. It provides information about the Government archives in Ceylon, India and Pakistan. Besides scientifically classified information about archival material and their reference media, the work provides a brief historical account of the archival repositories with a mention of the nature, extent and scope of the archival holdings. For example, the Government archives in Ceylon have been classified under Dutch Archives: Summary and Holdings; Chief Secretary's Office Archives: Summary and Holdings; and Departmental Archives. Similarly, the Pakistan archival material has been divided into East Pakistan Secretariat Record Room, Dacca; West Pakistan Government Record Office, Lahore; and Central Record Office, North West Frontier Province, Peshawar Province, Peshawar holdings.

The authors have devoted their maximum attention to archival material in the National Archives of India, and other State Archives in different parts of the country, such as Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. Even Government archival holdings at Goa, Manipur, Pondicherry, Delhi and National Archives of India's Regional Office at Bhopal, have been included in the Guide. By any standard this is a great accomplishment. Although information about archival material in the National Archives of India is available in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Handbook to the Imperial Records Department, Guide to the National Archives of India (Introductory), Introduction to the National Archives of India, and in the various issues of the National Archives of India periodical, 'Indian Archives', yet information about archival holdings in the different States of India is not easily traceable. And for information about the National Archives of India, also, it is not possible to depend on a single work. There is no doubt therefore that the publication under review would serve as a useful guide both to the professional archivists and to the academicians.

It is, however, singularly unfortunate that the authors have neglected the private papers available in the custody of the National Archives of India. The information provided in the Guide is most inadequate. Similarly the Microfilm holdings have been completely omitted. It is well known that the National Archives of India has a large number of private papers of eminent Indians, like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, M. R. Jayakar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahatma Gandhi, Purushottam Das Tandon, Sarojini Naidu, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and Srinivasa Sastri. It would have been a great service to the world of archives and historical research had the authors included a complete list of the Private Collections in the Guide. As regards the microfilms, it should be mentioned to the credit of the National Archives of India that after Independence it has acquired a large number of microfilms of historical material of Indian interest, which was available in foreign archives and other record repositories, such as National Archives, Washington; British Museum, London; Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh; American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Cleveland Public Library, Ohio; and the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. These microfilms include the Private Papers of Viscount Melville, Robert Browne, Lord Dalhousie, William Bentinck, Lord Lansdowne, Lord

Dufferin, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, John Morley, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Canning and other prominent British politicians, statesmen and administrators. Papers throwing fresh light on the activities of the Indian revolutionary and terrorist leaders, such as M. N. Roy, Lala Har Dayal, Jodh Singh, N. L. Gupta, Ram Chandra, Prof. B. K. Sarkar, Taraknath Das, Dr. Chandra Chakravarty, Sarang Das, S. P. Gupta, Mawa Singh, Maulvi Barkatullah and Raja Mahendra Pratap, have also been acquired. About the Dutch East India Company and its activities in India, microfilms have been received from the Netherland State Archives; and the activities of the French in India have been covered by the papers acquired in microfilm from the Archives Nationales, Paris. But all this does not find a mention in the newspapers. The authors have contented themselves with a list of 'the Reports of the Native Newspapers', available in the National Archives Library. Perhaps they do not know that most of the gaps in the series have been filled up through the acquisition of microfilms from abroad. Had the authors taken extra pain they would have definitely added a list of the earliest Indian newspapers available in the National Archives. The Calcutta Gazette, the Bombay Gazette, the Fort St. George Gazette, the Bengal Monthly Journal, the Madras Gazette, the Asiatic Researches, the Calcutta Review, the Journal of the Asiatic Society and many other newspapers and periodicals, besides those in Persian, if elaborately mentioned in the Guide, would have gone a long way in providing an insight into this valuable source of historical research.

B. M. SANKDHER

New Light on Tipu Sultan, Part I, by
A. SUBBARAYA GUPTA (Sri Bharati Vihar

Grandhamala, Salem, 1967. Price Rs. 3.60, pp. 152) hardly throws any new light on the already known facts of the Mysore ruler. A monograph, produced hurriedly, after consulting printed documents and secondary books, can hardly elicit admiration from the scholastic world. It is unfortunate that Mohibbul Hasan Khan's 'History of Tipu Sultan' (1951) still holds the field; despite the present author's claim that much of the material is either new or hitherto unpublished.

Before writing this monograph, the author could have consulted voluminous unpublished records preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. For information's sake, there is a plethora of materials in the British archives — in the Melville Papers of National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, in the Chatham Papers of Public Record office, London, etc. One need not go to Britain to consult all these records; these are available in microfilm in the National Archives of India.

Of the individual chapters, Chapter VIII 'Tipu's Endowments to the Hindus and the Hindu Institutions' and Chapter XIII 'Tipu's Reforms and his work for the good life of his People', give a somewhat clearer and revealing account than I have seen. The facile generalisation that 'Tipu Sultan of Mysore was the First Nationalist Indian Ruler' (Chapter X) cannot stand the scrutiny of historians.

A learned book must be thorough and detailed and conform to the discipline of historical scholarship. There is neither contents in the beginning of the book nor a detailed bibliography at the end.

S. N. SEN

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EDITORIAL

Proposal for an Indian Foundation:

In our earlier issue we had commented on the fate of the Indian Education Foundation, proposed to be set up about three years ago to finance the small research institutions receiving aid from a particular foreign Foundation whose operations in India were abruptly closed down. The sympathy of the Government of India for these institutions suddenly left stranded evaporated quickly, and the money that could have been set apart for an Indian Education Foundation, as proposed, was quietly diverted to start a huge public sector undertaking, the ICSSR, to specially favour certain chosen disciplines in the field of Social Science. Perhaps, it is too late to retrace the steps already taken, to wind up the ICSSR and to go back to the original idea of an Indian Education Foundation, financed by the Government of India. But even without this somersault, we do think that it is quite possible to retrieve the situation in some other way.

One of the ways is to utilise the huge rupee funds held in India by many foreign countries. The total accumulation goes up to a fantastic amount and it is neither possible nor desirable to make the funds liquid and

readily available for commercial or other transactions of the foreign countries concerned. Under agreements with these foreign countries the bulk of the funds has been kept frozen in India and not available for use in full by the countries owning the funds. It would not be possibly unwelcome to these countries if a proposal is made to them by the Government of India to utilise a small fraction of the huge rupee accumulation for the purpose of setting up an Indian Education Foundation. When three-fourths of the accumulated funds are not available in any case for immediate use by the foreign countries concerned, it is reasonable to hope that they will agree to see a part of their frozen funds being utilised for constructive, nation-building, cultural and intellectual activities. If one of the major countries holding such funds can be persuaded to agree to such a use of their frozen accumulation, it may be hoped that all the other foreign countries will also agree in respect of their own rupee accumulations.

It would not be at all difficult to set up a Foundation with fifty crores of rupees, to start with, and out of the interest from this fund to finance annually the numerous smaller research and cultural institutions in

the country which are doing real national service in their own respective fields but do not get any financial assistance from any of the existing fund-granting agencies, like the UGC, the CSIR or the ICSSR. They no doubt get an occasional pittance of a dole from the Ministry of Education, but for the most part they have to struggle along with their own meagre resources and go on begging for more from the Government and the charitably disposed public, with little hope and even less tangible results.

Such a situation is bound to kill the initiative of smaller research and cultural institutions, ending their efforts in frustration and despair. It cannot, however, be denied that if a stock-taking is made on a national level of the results achieved in the field of cultural and intellectual activities, their contributions to the total progress will compare favourably with those of the few giant public sector undertakings. A Government which loves democracy and wants initiative from its citizens in moving the country along the path of progress, must frankly recognise and appreciate the contributions made by these smaller private institutions, and must admit that these institutions deserve financial support in the same way as institutions sponsored and managed by the Government itself. There should not be a feeling in Government circles that some institutions are Government babies and some are just orphans in the street for whom the Government is not responsible.

The Government of India may, without any cost to itself, help these smaller cultural and research institutions by setting up an Indian Education Foundation out of the frozen rupee funds of several foreign countries, with their consent. A few years ago there was a proposal of using a part of the PL-480 Funds for this purpose. The idea fizzled out because of the apprehensions raised in some quarters about the undesirable

effect on scholars and research workers in this country. Without admitting that the apprehensions were justified under the arrangements made at the time, we may state here that no such apprehensions can be raised if an attempt is made to start an Indian Education Foundation out of the rupee funds of several countries. There will not be then any fear of any particular foreign country exerting undesirable influence on our intellectuals.

To make the proposal doubly safe, we suggest that the funds of the Indian Education Foundation be entirely in the hands of the Government of India and the Government of India alone is to be responsible for its management. With a bit of skilful and persuasive negotiations, it will not be difficult to persuade the foreign Governments whose consent is sought to this proposal. Under the new set-up there will not be a repetition of the hue and cry which was raised a few years ago against a similar collaboration with a particular foreign country.

At the same time, to make the funds available really for the purpose for which they are meant, the Government should set up a Consultative Agency including prominent individuals in the cultural and intellectual fields and representatives of all the institutions working in these fields with an all-India composition and operating on an all-India level. Only such a composition of the Consultative Committee will ensure fair and equitable distribution of financial assistance. Under no circumstances should Government officials alone be the dominating and policy-framing authority. Finally, it should also be made categorically clear that those institutions which receive aid from the UGC, the CSIR, the ICSSR and other such large fund-granting agencies, are not entitled to any benefit from the new Indian Education Foundation.

Annual Conference:

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Institute will be held at Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh) from 11th to 14th October 1971, under the auspices of Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati. For the convenience of our members coming from different parts of the country, our practice is to hold the Annual Conference in alternate years in North and South India. This is intended to have close and active co-operation of the members with the Institute's activities. We are happy to note that the practice is appreciated by our members and at every Annual Conference we have a fairly representative gathering. We offer our thanks to Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, for the invitation to hold our Conference there.

The Conference will be presided over by the eminent historian, Dr. R. C. Majumdar. The principal theme for this year's Conference is: *The North and the South in Indian History: Contact and Adjustment*. There will be papers on the theme relating to each of the periods of History — Ancient, Medieval and Modern. For each period the papers will deal with one of the following sub-sections, at least one for each sub-section.

- (i) Religion and Culture;
- (ii) Language and Literature;
- (iii) Society and Economy;
- (iv) Political Relations and Administration.

Relating to the principal theme there will be a symposium on the *Historian's Bias*. The idea is to analyse the writings of a few historians, some belonging to North India and some to the South, and to bring out how much these writings had a special bias for the North or the South. The historian is, it must be admitted, more or less influenced

by geographical and social environment. The object of the symposium will be to show how in approaching any historical theme relating to the interaction between the North and the South an Indian historian betrays a bias for the North or the South.

The second theme for the Conference is: *The Sources of the History of Andhra Pradesh* (Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods). About 30 selected papers on the two themes will be presented and discussed.

Regarding the principal theme of the Conference, we had in previous years concentrated mostly on an analysis and review of historical writings on different aspects, themes or regions. It was mostly a critical examination of the nature of historiography in India. This year we have chosen a new path which is of interest not only to historians but also, in the context of the contemporary political situation, to the country as a whole. It is a vital issue to all those who would like to see national unity preserved and to understand the nature of historical interaction between the North and the South throughout the ages. It is not enough to assert that India is one and will remain one. It is also necessary to probe into the past and understand the forces, trends and events which had influenced the development of relations, political, social and economic, between the two distinct regions, north and south of the Vindhyas. In this effort the help of the historian is of inestimable value, as only he can look back to remote antiquity while modern politicians and administrators have a limited vision confined to the contemporary period. The principal theme has been divided into several divisions and sub-divisions so as to make the individual papers deep and detailed studies and at the same time the combination of papers will give a comprehensive view of the entire past in all its aspects. It is to be hoped that the volume containing all the papers will be welcomed

by all as a positive contribution to the understanding of the problem of the North and the South and a possible help to building up a better and closer relationship in future. In that way, the historian will fulfil his obligation to society.

The Institute's Annual Conference is a small but select gathering, fairly representative of different States, Universities and other learned institutions in the country. This year too we hope to have the same co-operation from all to make the Conference a success. The Institute is recognised by the Railway Board as one of the all-India bodies of educational, scientific and cultural importance, and grants 'single-fare return journey' concession to members attending the Institute's Conference.

Dictionary of National Biography Project:

We are happy to announce that Vol. I of the Dictionary of National Biography is now almost ready for the press and printing work will start soon. This volume will cover all names from 'A' to 'D'. There will be about 350 biographical entries in Vol. I. For the convenience of readers there will be cross references to different versions of the names

wherever necessary. The normal alphabetical order under which the entries will be given will follow the surnames. But in some cases entries will go under names more popularly known. Because of careful cross references it will not be at all difficult to find out any particular entry. At the end of each entry the name of the Contributor will be given as also, in a different type, the name of the Research Fellow who had collected the material. There will also be a select bibliography at the end of each entry. For the convenience of those who may want to know all the names given in each Volume, there will be given a separate alphabetical list of names in the Volume and also a separate alphabetical list of the names of Contributors whose entries are published in that Volume. On the whole, our endeavour will be to help, in every way we can, those who may consult the DNB Volumes.

We shall issue an announcement in October 1971 for pre-publication orders for the DNB. The number of pre-publication orders to be accepted, because of the special rate of discount, will necessarily be strictly limited. Those desirous of taking advantage of the special offer should, therefore, register their orders immediately after the announcement is made in newspapers and through circulars.

A NOTE ON THE BLACK HOLE TRAGEDY

AMALENDU DE

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Part II

Defenders of the Narrative :

(1) Two Armenian merchants — Emin Joseph Emin and Thomas Khojamal — mentioned the Black Hole incident in their books.⁶⁷ Emin wrote that 400 Englishmen were suffocated in the Black Hole. Khojamal stated that 15 Europeans lost their lives in the Black Hole.⁶⁸

(2) Jean Law de Lauriston, Chief of the French Factory of Cossimbazar, wrote a book in French, in 1764, "Memoires sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol". One portion of the book was written in Paris in 1763 and another portion on a second voyage to India in 1764. This book was published by Alfred Martineau in 1913. It may be mentioned here that this book was written under the orders of the French Ministry. The author "accepted the story of Holwell".⁶⁹ Did the author himself collect necessary materials to throw light on the subject? No. He had recorded in his Memoir what he had heard from the English themselves. Naturally, he could not "be certain as to the correctness" of all he had heard.⁷⁰

Grandpré, a French Officer, wrote an account entitled "A voyage to the Indian Ocean and to Bengal, undertaken in 1789-90", in which is mentioned the Black Hole incident. But the author only described the "gossip" which he gathered in Calcutta.⁷¹

(3) Robert Orme in his famous work gave a detailed account of the Black Hole incident. He accepted Holwell's Narrative.⁷² From Falta William Lindsay wrote a letter, dated July, 1756, to Robert Orme.⁷³ Captain Mills recorded the incident in an octavo pocket book of 16 pages. Mills's diary was also sent to Orme, a contemporary historian, who was then in Madras.⁷⁴ Robert Orme had "a well-known hobby" of collecting and preserving all such original documents. So, Orme wrote the incident with the help of these materials which were mainly based on Holwell's version. In writing his account Lindsay depended on Sykes and Holwell. Roger Drake and William Tooke did the same.⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that Cooke and Lushington, two survivors of the Black Hole, had joined Drake and others at Falta on 21st June. But they did not mention the incident until the arrival of Francis Sykes's letter of 8th July. B. Gupta writes: "They probably did not mention the Black Hole tragedy because it was not so catastrophic as Holwell later made it out to be."⁷⁶

Moreover, the accounts of Grey and Mills are very much identical. They lived together from 25th June to 2nd July (1756). Grey in his account of 16th July never mentioned Mills as a captive or survivor of the incident. Grey and Knox were not in the Black Hole. Mills spent a week with them in Calcutta after this incident. It may be men-

tioned here that from 22nd June to 24th June, 1756, Holwell was in Calcutta. Though technically Holwell was under house arrest at the Dockhead (in Calcutta), yet he enjoyed the freedom of movement. Just at that time Mills, Grey and Knox were staying nearer to that place. Most probably they met and discussed the problems arising out of the fall of Calcutta. We have seen that Holwell reduced the figure to 146. Grey in his account stated that 146 persons were in the Black Hole and of them twenty-three survived.⁷⁷ Holwell heard that this account by Grey had already been submitted to the Court of Directors. So, Holwell accepted it and persisted in the figures thereafter. It indicates an association between them.⁷⁸

On 2nd July Mills and Grey came to Chandernagore. Holwell left Calcutta on 24th June. On 30th June he reached Santipur, a place further north of Chandernagore. During this journey Holwell enjoyed freedom of movement. Naturally he utilised this freedom and talked to Europeans enroute.⁷⁹

All the accounts of Black Hole incident mentioned elsewhere in this article, can be traced to Holwell, Grey and Mills. "The French account of 3rd July was written after the arrival of Mills and Grey in Chandernagore, and also after Holwell had passed through that town on his way from Calcutta to Murshidabad." Similarly John Young's source of information was Holwell, and Grant took facts from Sykes.⁸⁰

So, a reader must not forget these facts while he would refer to Robert Orme. There was no doubt that many people tried to honour themselves by stating that they were confined in the Black Hole.⁸¹

(4) Edward Thornton also accepted Holwell's account and referred to Holwell,

Cooke and Orme.⁸² But in discussing "the precise share of the Subahdar in the atrocious transaction" he struck his own point. He could not accept the views of Holwell and Cooke. Holwell believed that the orders given by the Nawab for their confinement were only general. So, he attributed the barbarity to the soldiers entrusted with the execution of the order. Similar was the opinion of Cooke. Thornton observed: "But these apologetic suggestions, however creditable to the generosity of the sufferers, can do little to relieve the character of the man under whose authority this wholesale murder of prisoners took place."⁸³ Thus Thornton made the Nawab mainly responsible for the incident. He also expressed great dissatisfaction for not including a provision in the treaties (9th February, 1757 and 3rd June, 1757) to realise compensation for loss of life in the Black Hole.⁸⁴

(5) Lord Curzon of Kedleston supported Holwell's Narrative.⁸⁵ C. R. Wilson and S. C. Hill also defended Holwell.⁸⁶

(6) Henry Dodwell supported Holwell and criticised J. H. Little's principal arguments.⁸⁷ Dodwell, of course, admitted that "Holwell was not a virtuous man". Yet he could not ignore the "main outlines of the story" as described by Holwell. Dodwell wrote: "The small divergences which distinguish the story of Cooke from that of Holwell, for instance, are such as constantly occur in the independent accounts of contemporary witnesses; and, so far from throwing suspicion on the whole story, suggest that Cooke and Holwell did not combine to foist a false version of events on the public."⁸⁸ Dodwell also observed: "It was natural that the Calcutta Council should avoid mention of the Black Hole which threw such a lurid light over the circumstances of their desertion of the place."⁸⁹ Dodwell stated that Watson referred to the Black Hole incident in his

declaration of war.⁹⁰ He accused Little of being "unaccustomed to the conflicts of evidence which the historian has perpetually to encounter" and remarked that Little's "negative arguments do not seem to me capable of bearing the weight he would lay upon them."⁹¹ Finally, Dodwell pointed out that Little "cheerfully ignored the first principles of evidence. That Holwell touched up his narrative with an eye to picturesque effect is possible enough, but that a large number of people were suffocated in the Black Hole is established by the evidence of too many survivors... of Holwell's general veracity the present writer has as poor an opinion as anyone, but even he at times approximated truth..."⁹²

Let us now discuss the points mentioned by Dodwell. Is it a fact that Watson referred to the incident in the declaration of war? It would be difficult for us to accept this contention of Dodwell. On 3rd January, 1757, Admiral Watson declared war on the Nawab in the following terms: "Whereas the President and Council for the affairs of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in Bengal have represented to me, that in consequence of the many hostilities and acts of violence committed against the servants of the said Company, His Majesty's subjects, by the Subah of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, and his officers to the great detriment of the Company, the ruin of many private people His Majesty's good subjects residing under their protection, many of whom have also been deprived of their lives in the most barbarous and inhuman manner."⁹³ It is proved from this passage that Watson did not clearly mention the Black Hole incident in the declaration of war. Similarly, Dodwell wrote that the Black Hole incident "is established by the evidence of too many survivors." But we have seen that only two persons — Holwell and Cooke — left evidence of the incident.

(7) In 1965 Noel Barber published a book on the Black Hole incident.⁹⁴ In this work he gave a narrative account of that event and defended Holwell. He criticised Dr. Harvey Einbinder, an American author, who in his book "The Myth of the Britannica" launched an "attack on the Britannica's account of the Black Hole."⁹⁵ Noel Barber also opposed those who suggested that it was "a legend perpetrated by the British to excuse the dominion over India which followed as a direct result of the fall of Calcutta" and "the night of the Black Hole never occurred."⁹⁶ He ignored all such suggestions. In writing this book he mainly depended on Holwell, Mills and Hill. He wrote: "It is inconceivable that the standard three-volume reference work on this period of British history (Bengal in 1756-57 by C. R. Hill), which contains over a thousand pages of documentary evidence and verbatim testimony by survivors of the Black Hole, should ignore the fate of these men when the fates of all the others are carefully recorded."⁹⁷ Little and A. K. Maitra had thrown much light on this work and the actual survivors. Recently B. Gupta also referred to the actual survivors. We have seen that Mills was not in the Hole. Noel Barber observed: "I find it impossible to believe that Holwell, a Surgeon and a lawyer, would dare (as some suggest) to invent an episode that never took place and then name twenty-three survivors who were supposed to have passed the night with him."⁹⁸ Thus the author merely described his "strongly-held beliefs" in this work. He ignored the views of Little, A. K. Maitra and Sarkar.

Remarks :

It would be clear from the above analysis that the scholars are divided into two groups. There was no doubt that the Black Hole confinement took place. But the number mentioned by Holwell was not acceptable to several scholars. In a recent work

Brijen K. Gupta has thrown much light on the subject. He writes that at the time of the fall of Calcutta there were 230 to 255 Europeans in the defence forces. Of them, we can trace 22 survivors of the Black Hole incident. This figure is taken from Holwell and Grey. Of them 21 were men and one woman (Mrs. Carey). In addition to 21 we can account for another 138 men (59 escaped to Falta on the 18th and 19th June, 1756, 6 escaped to Chinsurah, 57 deserted after the news of the mishap to the Prince George became known, 1 deserted to the enemy, 15 left the Fort after it was surrendered but before the Black Hole incident.). Thus 159 (21 + 138) persons survived. We can conclude that the rest "died either in the course of fighting or in the Black Hole."⁹⁹ Both Drake and Orme referred to the presence of 230 and 255 Europeans in Calcutta. If we accept these figures the actual number of dead persons would be 71 (230-159=71) and 96 (255-159=96). Of them 53 lost their lives during the fighting. It should be noted that some persons must have lost their lives on 17th or on 19th June, 1756. But the figures mentioned above do not take into account the casualties of those days. So we get the trace of 212 Europeans (159 + 53) and from it we can form an idea about those who lost their lives in the Black Hole. If we take Drake's figures it would be 18 (230-212=18) and if we take Orme's figures the number would be 43 (255-212=43). Brijen K. Gupta observes: "The total number of persons confined in the Black Hole can be obtained by adding twenty-one (21) survivors to the above figures, which give us a range of thirty-nine (39) to sixty-four (64). It has been established both by Little and Hill that all the Indo-Portuguese, the Armenians and other natives had left the fort on the evening of the 20th, prior to the confinement in the Black Hole, and hence only Europeans were confined, though Holwell asserts that non-Europeans were also there.

It is safe to say, therefore, that at the most only sixty-four persons were confined in the Black Hole, of whom twenty-one survived. The area of the room, which was eighteen feet by fourteen feet ten inches, amounted to 267 square feet, giving about 4.2 square feet to each person. This area seems sufficient for a person to stand and sit down, though not without discomfort."¹⁰⁰

It is also difficult to say that Mrs. Carey was in the Black Hole. Holwell did not mention her name in his letters of 17th July and 3rd August, 1756. Holwell included her name in the Narrative in 1757. Even Sykes, Grant, Tooke, Grey and Lindsay did not mention any woman. Both Mills and Grey wrote that European women were sent on board ships on 18th June. In spite of that Mills wrote that "women and children" were confined in the Black Hole.¹⁰¹ Should we attach importance to this statement? Sir J. N. Sarkar wrote that "only one white woman (Mrs. Carey, the wife of a sea-faring man) entered the Black Hole and she came out of it alive."¹⁰²

From the facts stated above, it is difficult for us to accept the account of Holwell. The author himself was the hero of his own story which was considered 'fantastic' by several scholars. Michael Edwardes observes thus: "Holwell had his own reasons for exaggerating the tragedy, among them the desire to make himself out a giant who shrugged off the effects of extraordinary suffering, a Hercules among men. According to his narrative, he not only survived three gruelling days of fighting in the almost intolerable heat of an Indian June, but lived through a night in the Black Hole (buried for most of the time under a mound of dead and dying), and then marched bravely the next day burdened with fetters and 'under the scorching beams of an intense hot sun'. The authorities at the time, however, found it convenient to take Hol-

well's word — though the crime was not felt to be all that serious and was not, in fact, listed as one of the Nawab's misdeeds until long after. But it came to be one of the great imperial myths, designed to horrify later and perhaps more squeamish generations".¹⁰³

Now, we shall refer to Holwell's Monument. It was reported that in 1760 Holwell built a monument at his own cost in memory of those who perished in the Black Hole. It was erected nearer to that place of the Fort where the bodies were thrown in.¹⁰⁴ Holwell inscribed on it that 123 persons had been suffocated to death in the Black Hole prison of Fort William by the "Tyrannic violence of Siraj ud Dowla, Suba of Bengal."¹⁰⁵ To ensure the preservation of his monument, at least as a trophy of victory, he cleverly attached two inscriptions to it — one for the Black Hole tragedy and

another for the revenge "taken by Clive and Watson." But in 1817 this monument was found in a deplorable condition. It had "no railing, nor shrubs." The monument completely failed to draw the attention of the people. The Government unhesitatingly demolished this monument in 1821 to make room for the Customs House. Again, in 1902, a noble donor built a new monument, but he had omitted the word "revenge" and did not refer to "the tyrannic violence of Sirajuddowla." He also revised the list of victims of the Black Hole and included the names of some persons who were, according to Hill, actually killed during the fighting. Rabindranath Tagore looked upon this monument as "a big thumb of stone, raised in the midst of a public thoroughfare to proclaim to the heavens that exaggeration is not a monopoly of any particular race or nation".¹⁰⁶

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BANKIPORE CONGRESS PRESIDENCY

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The Presidentship of the Indian National Congress had always aroused great interest. Almost from its inception this office had a certain glamour about it. Yet, from the very early years, due to the peculiar circumstances under which the Congress had to grow, certain people with paternal outlook and concern sought to protect it from all possible dangers, in order to preserve this young plant from withering before it had acquired enough strength of its own.

Such a solicitous attitude for the health and well-being of the Congress also gave them a position of primacy and influence in the organisation they were rearing and tending. Thus, among the early patriarchs of the Congress, A. O. Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, William Wedderburn, Pherozeshah Mehta, D. E. Wacha and G. K. Gokhale came to acquire such a position. These few top leaders had also the predominant voice in selecting the president of the Congress sessions. In fact, till 1899, there was no prescribed rule or set procedure for the election of the president. The Congress Constitution for the first time laid down in 1899 that the nomination of the president was vested in the Indian Congress Committee consisting of 45 members. But as the Committee never met during the interval between two sessions of the Congress, the power of selection was really exercised by a few important members of the Reception Committee in consultation with a few top-ranking leaders of the Congress. This procedure was evidently not a very satisfactory way of appointing or electing a president.

It is on record that in 1902 the Ahmedabad Reception Committee's action in selecting Surendranath Banerjea as president for the second time without consulting the various provincial Congress Committees or the public opinion at large, was adversely commented upon by several newspapers in the country. The *Kayastha Samachar* wrote: "the conduct of the Bombay leaders in getting the Ahmedabad Committee to re-elect Mr. Surendranath Banerjea without consulting the public opinion is a step of a character which if persisted in, will end in the collapse of the congress movement".¹ It was Pherozeshah Mehta who was accused of acting like a despot in having got Banerjea elected as president by the Ahmedabad Reception Committee.

In 1897, W.C. Bonnerjee had promised at Amraoti that he would see that G. S. Khaparde, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of that year, became the President of the Congress in a year or two.² During these years there was also an attempt on the part of the so-called moderate leaders to see that presidentship of the Congress remained confined to them only. Thus, for a number of years, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of one year became the President of the Congress in the next year.

Persons like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, D. E. Wacha or even G. K. Gokhale had become so used to assertive nature and almost authoritarian attitude of some of the founding members of the Congress that they themselves began to resent any resistance offered to them

by lesser persons in the Congress hierarchy. In 1906, when Tilak and his followers gave stiff resistance to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and others of his following, Khaparde observed: "Sir Pherozeshah was very gushing, put his arms round my neck and did other things which very much surprised me. . . He is said to be an adept in imposing his will on others both by cajoling and threatening."

R. P. Masani, the biographer of Dadabhai Naoroji, wrote that once in 1889, D. E. Wacha complained to Naoroji about the rebuking nature of Hume. Naoroji consoling the younger congressman replied: "trust him as one with whose scolding we must put up as we would do of an elder brother or father. We cannot repay him adequately for what he has done and is doing for us." Similarly, Dadabhai Naoroji used to advise and guide the congressmen in India from England as to what sort of person should be selected as president of the Congress.⁵

Thus much lobbying and canvassing went on behind the scenes before the person finally decided upon was formally elected and installed in this august office. In this paper it is intended to examine and discuss the series of events which preceded the holding of the Congress session in December 1912 at Bankipore, the capital of the newly formed province of Bihar and Orissa, and the interesting manner in which Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, a senior Congress leader from Berar, was finally installed in the high chair of Congress presidentship.

Before we discuss the developments relating to this presidentship, it will be worth while to notice briefly the great change in the Muslims' mind in India brought about at that time by developments in India and the Islamic world and how the Congress tried to take cognizance of this change and make efforts to bring Muslims nearer to the Congress. This change in no less manner contri-

buted towards lessening the friction and estrangement between the Hindus and the Muslims in India. Some of these developments were: (1) the undoing of the partition of Bengal with the viceregal announcement at Delhi Durbar in December 1911; (2) the threat to the integrity of Persia contained in the proposal for revision of the Anglo-Russian Convention; (3) the gradual encroachment by European powers of Muslim lands as witnessed in Sir Edward Grey's acquiescence in all the brutal atrocities committed on helpless Muslims in the Balkans; (4) the Italian raid on Tripoli and the increasing use of force and violence in Morocco and Egypt, with systematic erosion of the power and position enjoyed by the Khalifa as head of the Caliphate; and (5) nearer home the communique of the Secretary of State for India, confining the scope of the proposed Hindu and Muhammadan Universities to Banaras and Aligarh only which came as a bolt from the blue.⁶ A similar announcement in regard to the Dacca University scheme gave rise to a deep sense of disappointment among the Indian Muslims. To add insult to injury came the highly provocative utterance of Mr. Montagu as Under Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons. Speaking in a Parliamentary debate in 1912 on the change in the Muslims' attitude following revocation of the partition of Bengal, he said: "a lot has been said in various places and in various newspapers about the Muhammadan section in India as affected by those changes. It would be a mistake . . . to talk of the Muhammadans of India as though they were a homogenous people of one nationality. The Mahomedans of East Bengal are the descendants of Hindu converts, or are Hindu converts themselves, and have little or no relation except that of religion, with three-fifths of the Mahomedan population of India outside the limits of Bengal, but also belonging to the native races of the north. . ."

Leaders of the Congress willing to narrow

down the gulf which kept majority of the Muslims away from the Congress were encouraged in their efforts by the noticeably conciliatory and sympathetic notes struck in their utterances by a number of important leaders of Muslims including some Muslim Leaguers. Prominent among these were Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Aga Khan. Both had, of course, advocated the exercise of caution and circumspection while extending the hand of friendship to the Congress. Thus, through a letter of a very controversial nature published in the Aligarh Institute Gazette in early January 1912, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk while advising Muslims to support such resolutions of the National Congress as they thought to be of advantage to both Hindus and Muhammedans also warned his co-religionists to beware of Hindus who according to him wanted to supplant British by Hindu Government. He also did not wish Muslims to lose their identity by submerging themselves with the Congress though he regretted that his community could no longer rely on the government for redressal of its grievances.⁷ At the other end of the spectrum, Aga Khan, in a statement on the removal of the partition of Bengal said: "the transfer of the capital to Delhi would be beneficial to the whole country and the Mussalmans in eastern Bengal will also ultimately gain more than they have lost. . . The numerical preponderance of Mahomedans in the rearranged province gives them large opportunities of exerting their influence on a bigger scale."⁸

There was still more evidence available of the change in the mood and temper of a number of Muslim leaders in India at that time. Just on the eve of the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in December 1911, a meeting of influential Muhammadan leaders was held in Calcutta under the presidency of the Nawab Syed Mahomed, at which suggestions for a rapprochement with the Hindus were made by Dr. Suhrawardy and other

speakers. The London Branch of the Muslim League was already advocating such a rapprochement. Besides, a number of young educated Muslims in India with the support of sufficiently vocal Urdu press in Upper India were clamouring for a change in the policy of the Muslim League.⁹

These changes in thinking and efforts at appreciation of the real nature of the problems confronting India on the part of the Muslims began to be favourably commented upon in the Hindu press as well. Yet, no substantial improvement in the situation was achieved. The hopes of the Congress leaders of a sizeable number of Muslims joining the Congress and bringing about a real change in the policy and pronouncements of the Muslim League leaders were not fulfilled. This fact was regretted by Mazharul Haque in his welcome address at the Bankipore session of the Congress. He admitted that Muhammedans as a community had kept themselves aloof from the Congress and those who had joined had done so in their own individual capacity.¹⁰

Looking at the list of delegates who attended the Bankipore Congress session, we find that out of a total number of 207 delegates only 5 were Muslims. The figures for 1910 and 1911 sessions were: 16 Muslim delegates out of a total number of 636 in 1910 at the Allahabad session and 10 out of a total number of 446 at the Calcutta session in 1911. No improvement in Muslim representation was noticeable at subsequent sessions either, as at the Karachi session in 1913, there were only 8 Muslim delegates out of a total number of 349.¹¹

Resuming now our discussion of the main theme, what we find is that these changed circumstances in the country had induced the Congress leaders in Bombay to propose the name of Sir Aga Khan for the Bankipore session presidentship and the same reasons

had impelled the men at the helm of the Congress affairs in the new province of Bihar and Orissa to opt for a more vibrant personality and popular leader like Gandhi or Gokhale for the presidency of the session they were to host for the first time. According to their calculations either of them was capable of stirring the imagination of the Hindus as well as the Muslims in the country and at the same time provide a good start to the Congress work in the newly constituted province.¹⁴

The new province had come as a boon to the people inhabiting it. It infused fresh enthusiasm and hopes in the minds of its people and also gave them a sense of confidence and pride. Using these human factors as a leverage, the Bihar Congress leaders led by Sachchidananda Sinha, Mazharul Haque and Ali Imam had wished to raise the stature of the Congress organisation in their province by inviting the Congress to meet in their capital in the Christmas week of 1912. For that reason alone, they wanted Gandhi or Gokhale to be the president. With the former not being able to come to India just then, their choice fell on Gokhale. Efforts were also made to induce Ramsay Macdonald to accept presidency but he declined.¹⁵

Canvassing for a particular person started in the summer of 1912. As a part of campaigning, it was given out by the interested quarters that Bengal and some other provincial Congress Committees had already approved of the choice of Gokhale. The Bengal Committee immediately repudiated the suggestion.¹⁶

However, Gokhale himself was not prepared to accept the honour, as in the first place he thought it to be a bad precedent to preside over the Congress a second time,¹⁷ and secondly, he was abroad undergoing treatment and had also been appointed a member of the Public Service Commission.

He had also important work awaiting him back at home in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. In a letter addressed to Srinivasa Sastri on 6th September 1912 from Lausanne, he wrote: "it was so far back as June last that I told Sinha plainly and firmly that it was impossible for me to accept this year the responsibility which he and other Behar friends so kindly wished to place on my shoulders." He also added: "I hope they will accept Mudholkar's nomination. But whatever they do, I certainly shall not preside."¹⁸

Earlier, Gokhale had received a letter from S. Sinha, Secretary of the Bihar Congress Reception Committee, in which he was told that success of the Congress was solely dependent upon his being the president. Sinha wrote to him: "every Beharee is agreed that the success of our Congress depends on you and you alone."¹⁹ Amplifying his arguments further as to why the Bihar Committee wanted Gokhale only to preside, Sinha wrote in the same letter: "our local conditions are different from those of both Bengal and U.P. Out of 250 members of the Reception Committee, no less than 50 are Musalmans of high position. No efforts have been so far made to increase the number but the chances are that by the time the Congress is held, we shall have at least 100 Mahommedans of light and leading of the province. We can't afford to ignore their view, and they are one and all for you and you alone." Sinha also explicitly mentioned in that letter that in case Gokhale did not oblige them, then the Bihar Congress Committee would refuse to hold the Congress, leaving the A.I.C.C. full freedom to hold the Congress under the presidency of whomsoever they pleased.

That Sinha and the Bihar Committee were also keen to have a Muhammedan of standing and liberal views as president was borne out by what Sinha wrote to Gokhale on an earlier occasion. Writing to him on

23rd May 1912, he informed Gokhale that he had asked Jinnah to approach His Highness the Aga Khan on their behalf and wanted Gokhale to join Jinnah in England in persuading the Aga Khan to accept presidency. Hinting at the need of forging closer ties with the Muslim League, Sinha added: "failing Mr. Aga Khan whose adhesion to our cause is so expedient and desirable, we shall have no other person but yourself."²¹

Gokhale was, however, firm in his stand and regretted that the Bihar Committee was threatening to reject the nomination of R. N. Mudholkar, a veteran Congress leader from C.P. and Berar. Writing to Srinivasa Sastri on 13th September, 1912, Gokhale had remarked that poor Mr. Mudholkar's pleasure in being elected president must be more than half destroyed by the attitude of Bihar friends.²²

The Bihar leaders, conscious of their newly acquired individuality and independent status, were in no mood to resile from their stand. They wanted to show that they could also disregard the wishes of the Congress bosses as could their big neighbours like Bengal and U.P. do in the last two years. Sinha stressing this point wrote to Gokhale: "...when it comes to the case of Bihar no liberty is to be allowed to her to choose the president she wants but that she must be made the dumping ground for someone whom she does not want." Finally, appealing to Gokhale in the name of the solidarity of moderates who at that time dominated the Congress, Sinha argued that the Bihar Committee's refusal to hold the congress would put them back in the little ground they had gained since the Surat split. He also expressed fear that it may eventuate in much bitterness and acerbity of feeling between the Biharees and others.

The fact that the Bengal Congress in 1911 was allowed²⁴ to choose the president accept-

able to it was admitted by D. E. Wacha, the general secretary of the A.I.C.C., the person who was much maligned for having tried to thrust Mudholkar on the Bihar Congress Reception Committee.

Following this precedent, the Bihar Reception Committee had also written to the general secretaries to refer the matter to the A.I.C.C. members as Mudholkar's nomination was not acceptable to them. They maintained that they were not violating the constitution by pleading for reference to the A.I.C.C. members.

Here, we may see what the Congress constitution of 1908 laid down in regard to the presidential election. According to Article XXIII of the Congress constitution, as adopted by the Congress of 1908, the host provincial Congress Committee was as far as possible to suggest to the Reception Committee by the end of June the names of persons who were in their opinion eligible for the presidency of the Congress, and the Reception Committee was in the first week of July to submit to all the provincial Congress Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendation, provided that such final recommendation was to be of any one but not more of such names, and the Reception Committee at its meeting in August was to consider the recommendations. In case, the Reception Committee was unable to accept the president recommended by the provincial Congress Committees, the matter was forthwith to be referred by it to the A.I.C.C. whose decision was to be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September and, in either case, the election was to be final.²⁵

Thus, the constitution did provide for reference of the question to the A.I.C.C. for final decision. The *Beharee*, the main organ of the Congress in Bihar, defending the action of the Bihar Congress Reception Committee wrote in early October 1912 that the

provincial Congress Committees of Bihar, Burma and Punjab had unequivocally favoured the name of Gokhale, while U.P., inspired by the *Leader*, and Berar recommended only one name viz., Mudholkar, with Bengal primarily nominating some five gentlemen and subsequently nominating only Mudholkar. The vote of the Bombay Committee was initially for His Highness the Aga Khan and later on in favour of Mudholkar and the Committees of C.P. and Madras while nominating Mudholkar also gave the name of Gokhale. On the basis of this analysis, the *Beharee* contended that it was highly improper to insinuate that the Bihar Committee had flouted the majority opinion of the provincial Committees. It opined that the Bihar Committee was perfectly within its right to reject the vote of those Committees which had sent in more than one name and in that case, Gokhale had three solid votes, against two for Mudholkar, and if the second nomination of Bengal Committee was also to be counted, both Gokhale and Mudholkar had three votes each.

Wacha was evidently very sore and angry. He described the decision of the Bihar Committee to refer the question back to the A.I.C.C. as imprudent and indiscreet. Writing to Sir William Wedderburn on 30th August 1912, Wacha expressed his disapproval of the way in which the Reception Committee sought to overthrow the provincial majority nomination. He added: "...they want to set Bankipore on fire by enthusing the people in favour of a Gokhale or a Mehta or some such towering personality..."²⁶ He had also written to Gokhale on similar lines in September 1912. In that letter, Wacha urged upon Gokhale to decline the presidency in favour of their esteemed and sincere worker and friend Mudholkar. He called in question the conduct of Sinha in having acted in a cavalier fashion by writing back to him that it was not possible to give the matter another consideration without show-

ing his letter to other members of the Reception Committee.

Suggesting that the rules in the Constitution may be amended so as to prevent the kind of unseemly wrangle that had already taken place, Wacha wrote to Gokhale: "there is poor Mudholkar, a most esteemable, earnest and sincere worker, pushed out by the stupid Bengalees last time and there are the stupid Beharees going to do likewise... Far better that the Congress itself should announce its own president at the close of the session just as it now announces the place the next congress is to be held."²⁷

Wacha had also requested Wedderburn to use his influence in not only persuading the Bihar Congress leaders to accept Mudholkar but see that Gokhale also declined the offer. Acting on this suggestion, Wedderburn while expressing his genuine concern over the developing crisis in Congress circles in his letter to Gokhale written on 4th September 1912, had remarked: "it was very vexatious that the Bihar people were trying to be so unreasonable..."²⁸

Wedderburn wrote to M. M. Malaviya to help in resolving the crisis as the latter in his reply, while agreeing that the Bihar Committee had not acted properly, assured him: "...I will see that the Bihar Committee adopts the right attitude..."²⁹ Malaviya was, however, in agreement with Sinha and the Bihar Congress Reception Committee that the general secretaries of the A.I.C.C. had acted in contravention of the procedure laid down in the constitution by attempting to decide the question not in a specially invited meeting of the A.I.C.C. members but by obtaining opinion by letters. Malaviya's suggestion to Wacha to hold the A.I.C.C. meeting in Allahabad on October 15, 1912 was evidently not accepted by the general secretaries as the decision was taken by inviting votes

through correspondence with the A.I.C.C. members.

The Bihar Congress was of course not happy with the procedure adopted by the general secretaries for ascertaining the views of the A.I.C.C. members. Its spokesman, the *Beharee*, launched a tirade against the general secretaries of the Congress. Imputing motives to them, it wrote: "...now, we understand why they have gone out of their way to say that failure on the part of any member to communicate his opinion in the matter would be taken by them to be a vote in favour of Mr. Mudholkar..."³⁰ It further said that the secretaries had acted in an arbitrary and autocratic manner and that Wacha's behaviour smacked of the petulance of a spoiled child.

The *Beharee's* sentiments were echoed by other papers like the *Mabratta* of Poona and *The Indian Patriot* of Madras among others.³¹ Defending the stand taken by the *Beharee*, the former went on to say that the Constitution of 1908 adopted by the Congress rump as an emergency measure to suit their immediate needs had outlived its utility, as the danger of the extremists recapturing the Congress or posing a threat to the moderates was no longer there. It, therefore, advised a total change in the provisions of the Congress constitution which could truly reflect the wishes of the people. According to the *Mabratta* the existing constitution and rules etc. were open to the objection that a comparatively small number of people could have everything in their own way disregarding the opinions and wishes of large numbers. It wrote that small numbers of men acting as committees could command the strings of the whole organisation. Both the *Mabratta* and *The Indian Patriot* recommended the reconstitution of the existing Congress Committees for ensuring wider representation and election of delegates to the Congress by public meetings as was the practice before the

Surat split. The *Mabratta's* attack was, of course, understandable as it represented the views of that section which had suffered a temporary eclipse after the Surat split.

The mutual recriminations, however, continued for some months. As we have already noted, the Bihar Committee had written to the Congress general secretaries to refer the matter to the A.I.C.C. members. The general secretaries while disapproving such a course of action had written to the A.I.C.C. members to inform them by wire or letter by 30th September the name of the gentleman whom they would elect as president, adding that if they did not hear from them by the 30th instant, they would assume that they were in favour of the name of Mudholkar. The Bihar Reception Committee took exception to the language of the letter sent to the A.I.C.C. members and also against what they called as grossly unfair method used by the general secretaries for obtaining votes for Mudholkar.

According to the Committee's spokesman, the *Beharee*, the method adopted had neither the sanction of the Congress constitution nor of established practice and precedent.³²

The *Leader* which was from the beginning of the controversy supporting the nomination of Mudholkar came out in defence of the general secretaries' action. In an editorial comment on the Bihar Committee's protest, it wrote that it was nowhere written in the constitution that the views of the A.I.C.C. members should be ascertained in a meeting only and not through correspondence. It further remarked that even in a specially convened meeting the voting by a very small number of members present could not indicate as to whom the A.I.C.C. members really wanted to become the president.³³ It cited the instance of the voting pattern of the last Congress itself where only 33 out of

more than a hundred members had attended the specially called meeting.

The *Leader* also argued that the general secretaries had specifically added the line regarding the non-receipt of replies from A.I.C.C. members by a particular date keeping in view the common experience of most of the public institutions in the country which showed that replies to letters dealing with public questions were hardly received.

It also rebutted¹⁴ the *Beharee's* charge that even for Calcutta Congress session of 1911 Mudholkar was recommended by a majority vote of the provincial committees but the wishes of the Bengal Congress were respected and Mudholkar's election was set aside. It wrote that Pt. Bishan Narain Dar had accepted presidentship of the Calcutta Congress only when he had made sure that Messrs Henry Cotton and Gandhi had secured more votes than Mudholkar and since both were not able to come to India, he had signified his consent.

However, as we noted above, Wacha, the general secretary of the Congress, had himself admitted in a letter he wrote to Sir William Wedderburn and to a certain congressman in Bihar which was published in the *Leader* that Bengal had last year set a bad example and that the Congress ought no longer tolerate a repetition of such dangerous practice. As to the mode of eliciting the vote by post, Wacha had informed the Bihari congressman that last year's experience had fully convinced them that in a matter like that a meagrely attended meeting could not

be said to be quite the body to give a decisive vote. In the letter published in the *Leader*, Wacha had also cautioned the young but inexperienced members of the Bihar Congress against being carried away by mere enthusiasm.

At last, the unsavoury and unedifying spectacle of the Congress organisation being further weakened by petty squabbles and inner dissensions with the provincial Congress Committee playing truant before its more domineering bosses was put a stop to when the Bihar Reception Committee acting with grace bowed to the verdict of the A.I.C.C. members. Equally magnanimous and conciliatory was the decision of Mudholkar who responding to the call for duty accepted presidentship after such an unseemly and highly embarrassing controversy over his presidentship. It would not have come as a surprise to congressmen in the country had he refused to preside after such an unhappy experience. His election was however almost unanimous as an overwhelming majority of the A.I.C.C. members had sent their votes to the general secretaries.¹⁶

The *Beharee* accepted¹⁷ the decision of the Reception Committee with some qualifying statement, as it said that the Bihar Committee must register an emphatic protest at a proper time and before the proper authority against the arbitrary conduct of the Congress general secretaries. It, of course, assured congressmen throughout the country that they were accepting with good grace the decision of the A.I.C.C. and would try their best to make the forthcoming Congress session a complete success.

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THE IMAGE OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AS REFLECTED IN HINDI PRESS IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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Hindi journalism was in its infancy during the last quarter of the 19th century.¹ Most of the papers of the period were either weeklies or monthlies. They did contain news; but much more than that they contained views.² With the passage of time, they reflected more and more the feelings, sentiments and aspirations of the masses they served, about matters which touched their day to day life. Various facets of the image of British administration of justice, as it revealed itself, with changes in situations and circumstances, had been vividly depicted in Hindi press of the period.

Hindi press, during the last quarter of the 19th century, can be divided into three groups, representing the levels of outlook towards British system of administration. The *Hindustan*³ and the *Bharat-Jiwan*⁴ belonged to the first category. They were for the removal of the defects in the working of the system in India and would gladly accept the complete transplanting of British laws in India, but they criticised the truncated adoption of British laws, which to their mind was to benefit the British alone.⁵ The *Hindi Pradeep*,⁶ the *Almora Akbhar*⁷ and the *Mitra Vilas*⁸ represented liberal outlook. They neither attached much importance to, nor found much fault with, the system; but their eyes were set on how it worked. They were concerned more with the motives of the rulers and the qualitative valuation of measures and

laws than with the outward form. The third level of outlook was represented by papers like the *Kari Vachan Sudha*,⁹ which criticised the system itself; but at the same time professed loyalty towards the British Rule.¹⁰ The *Brahman*,¹¹ the *Bharatendu*,¹² the *Sadadar-sha*¹³ etc., were the followers of the tradition of the *Kari Vachan Sudha*.

British system of administering justice came along with the British Rule in this country. The system had its own peculiarities. In certain respects, it differed widely from the systems that went before it.¹⁴ It was asserted by the British administrators that the most important contribution of the British in India was the purification of the judiciary,¹⁵ and the system they established was for the benefit of the masses who suffered under the native judiciary before the British established their rule.¹⁶ How it worked, and how people looked at it is to be found in the Vernacular Press of the time.¹⁷ Besides pointing out the defects of the system, the press brought to light the way in which the new system was worked by those entrusted with the administration of justice.

In the writings of the period under study one comes across different shades of opinion about the new system. On the one hand one meets with views purporting to mean that the system was excellent and that the entire super-structure of justice was

ideal,¹⁸ but the fruits of it were completely denied to the Indians because the men who worked it were made blind to Indian interests by partiality and self interest.¹⁹ On the other hand we find categorical statements that the system kept up by the Government was faulty: "In a Court which means, 'the seat of justice', nothing but impartial justice might be expected, but it is injustice which mostly prevails there. False and fabricated cases are determined to be true, while others perfectly true are decided to be false; not that the officers appointed to administer justice willfully do wrong, but the system kept up by the Government is faulty". And this observation applied to all courts — civil and criminal.²⁰

The observations made by the Hindi press regarding the British system of administering justice could be classified under the following three headings:

- (i) institution of Lawyers and Assessors.
- (ii) Court Fees and Stamp Duties.
- (iii) Nature of justice awarded.

Lawyers were not looked upon with equanimity in the period under study.²¹ Some of the views about lawyers have been expressed thus: "The British have appointed lawyers to rob people of their money"²² or "The lawyers are multiplying like the progeny of 'Raktbij'".^{23, 24} Such views about the institution of lawyers, which formed an integral part of the administration of justice, tarnished the image of the latter also.

The institution of assessors, as it worked in practice, was considered worse than useless. This institution was introduced to employ native agency and enlist their support in the administration of justice. In practice, it could neither check the whimsical proceedings of the District magistrates and judges nor render any help in deciding cases.²⁵

In the new system that was established by the British, no petition could be submitted in a law court on un-stamped paper, nor civil suits be filed without paying court fees. The people viewed that a price was being charged for doing justice. This fact called forth the remark from the writers that the "British Rule can at best fall in the category of 'Commercial Rule', but none can dare prove it a 'just-Rule'".²⁶

It would have been of little consequence if court-fees or stamp-duties were nominal. The sale of stamps alone covered the entire expenditure under the head 'Justice'.²⁷ Apart from this, what was sour to the people was the fact that many were deprived of seeking redress through the law-courts, because they could not bear the heavy cost of justice.

The new system also brought in its wake a new concept of justice which left people in a state of bewilderment.²⁸ The remarks that, "there is a world of difference between strict observance of law and justice. Playing on flute and chewing of fried barley (Bhouree) cannot be done at one and the same time. One has to choose between the two alternatives. Either he can look into the niceties of law or do justice".²⁹ are a good specimen of this state of bewilderment. The use of the term 'so-called justice', in the remark, "... Heavy Court fees are levied by the Courts of so-called justice",³⁰ is indicative of the same feeling. The complicated procedure of proving or disproving a point at issue, left most of the people completely confused. The image of the decisions awarded by courts was formed on the basis of their personal knowledge about facts. They found little solace in the wordy bouts that went on in the courts to establish or refute, the issues raised in the plaints on point of law. Off and on there was a demand for the restoration of the old panchayat system in which equity justice could be disbursed speedily and without cost on the basis of personal know-

ledge of facts.³¹ The following suggestion in this respect will illustrate the point: "Honorary benches should be established in villages which would be beneficial in following respect: the poor villagers would have justice at their own doors instead of having to run for it to distant courts, to their great inconvenience and loss. . . . As the village headmen would be already acquainted with the full particulars of each case, they would be able to decide it more easily than the "Regular Courts. . . . They should receive all petitions on plain paper and their decisions should be appealable".³²

The new system was by its very nature time consuming and very irksome to the people. The inordinate delay in the decisions of cases by officers meant a loss of time, as well as money of both the plaintiffs and the defendants, which called forth the remark: "Although the Government derives a large revenue from Court fees, there is generally great delay in the decisions of cases by officers. Suitors have to dance attendance on Courts for months, to their great inconvenience and loss. Anyone, who foolishly engages in litigation, Courts ruin".³³

The peculiarities of the new system and their impact on the image which people formed about the British system of administering justice have so far been considered. But there were certain other factors which, apart from affecting the working, soiled to some extent the system itself. The English and Anglo-Indians, whether serving in the civil or military departments of the Government, or engaged in business, industry or plantations, belonged to the ruling community and as such suffered from a feeling of racial superiority. Even though the law remained the same and any one found guilty of committing an offence under any section of it was liable to the same punishment; yet the application of provision of the Europeans being tried by Europeans, at times, gave rise to such marked

differences in practice that the whole image of British administration of justice was very adversely affected.³⁴

Suits in which one of the parties was a European or an Anglo Indian and the other a native, got wide publicity and helped in the formation of opinion about the British rule. It was generally found that in all cases in which a European or an Anglo-Indian was accused of murder, he was very lightly punished. He was very often let off or else punished with a small fine. There were two favourite arguments in store. Firstly, the victim was found suffering from enlarged spleen or other disease in his body, which was declared to be the cause of his death. In case such a plea was not possible, e.g., in cases of bullet shots, either the victim's death would be the result of a pure accident, or the offender would be under the spell of insanity, or drunkenness.

Race-partiality was prevalent in an inverse ratio with the degree of responsibility of the Judges. The lower the greater. The following case illustrates this point. One Bails entered the office of the native station master of Manikpur on duty and beat him. The Joint Magistrate, MacMillan, found the station master guilty of three crimes, namely, (1) harming Bails on his own, (2) creating disturbance, and (3) maltreatment towards a traveller. For offence no. 1, he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment with labour. For offence no. 2, he was sentenced to nine months imprisonment and on charge no. 3, he was fined Rs. 15/-.³⁵

The Sessions Judge Young, on appeal, acquitted the station master on charges two and three. The punishment on charge no. 1, was reduced to nine days, the sentence which the station master had already undergone.

The Sessions Judge also observed that the case deserved to go to Small Causes Court.

"It was on account of race-prejudice that mess was made of the whole thing. The way in which the magistrate acted is both against law and justice".³⁶

The only utility of the appellate system was in putting a check on the vagaries of the magistrates; but what was criticised was the absence of any penalty on the magistrates who acted illegally in passing judgements.³⁷

The image of the British administration of justice, in the mind of the common man depended not so much on what the High Courts were like but on how the lower courts disposed of cases. Only men of means went in appeal to the High Courts and very often only in big cases. In the *Almora Akhbar*, in several issues of July 1887, appeared articles depicting how cases were disposed off in the lower courts. How an officer in an open court conducted himself may be judged from the proceedings of the following case between one Najib Khan and Rev. Father Locket.

When the plaint was being read by the reader, on the charge that the Rev. Father hurled abuse, the officer interjected, 'Rev. Father had said, You of mean race'. He did not consider it necessary even to permit evidence on it even though several witnesses of status were cited. He disbelieved it downright.

On the charge of being beaten up by the Father, in evidence of which doctor's certificate was attached, the officer enquired 'which doctor's certificate'? On being told that it was Babu Manmath Mohan, Assistant Surgeon, the officer exclaimed, "of a Bengali, what reliability is there?"

He, on his own, sent for Dr. Finnat and when he arrived, he gave him a seat by his side and put the following questions to him.

'Can the injury on the head be inflicted by one himself?'

'Yes, it is possible', was the reply. 'Is it possible that Najib Khan might have hit his head himself?'

'Yes, it is possible', was the reply again.

Dr. Finnat was sent off after his signature was taken on the above statement.

The officer, then, ordered his reader to write below the statement that no body put any questions.

Najib Khan said that he wanted to put questions to the doctor, but he had already gone. The officer hushed him to silence.

On the officer's decision to send the case to Small Causes Court, from which there was no appeal, the reader submitted that the case could not be sent there as there were complaints of inflicting serious injuries and also that witnesses of status were being produced. But he did not pay any heed and dictated the order: 'The plaintiff has filed a plaint that Rev. Father Locket beat him. In support he has named certain native witnesses. The statement of the doctor clearly shows that the plaintiff's hurt was caused by his own hand. The Rev. Father himself says that nobody beat the plaintiff. The plaintiff refused to give sugar which the Rev. Father asked. . . . The plaint is, therefore, dismissed and the Rev. Father is allowed to file a suit against the plaintiff, if he so chooses".

The whimsical and not impersonal character of administration of justice was more prominent at the lower level and that was what mattered to the mass of the people, and drew forth the remark, "Often, the biggest barristers tire themselves out with all their advocacy; but the officers do as they please".³⁸

The dealings of judges in deciding cases amongst Indians themselves became more and more severe. When Surendra Nath Banerjea was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for contempt of Court in the famous 'Saligram Case', literally the whole country raised its voice against the sentence. A very sober Hindi paper summed up the situation thus: "..... The sentence is not in accordance with law and justice, but seems due to race feeling excited by Jurisdiction Bill. It is a matter of profound regret that even the High Court Judges are not free from race feeling".⁵⁸

At times, the judges showed callous disregard for the cultural sentiments of the natives. Budhia's case is a good illustration of this.⁵⁹

The Hindi press could not see any valid reason behind the hue and cry raised by the Anglo-Indian community against a very minor reform envisaged by the Ilbert Bill. They could hit upon the reason that they (Anglo-Indians) wanted to be allowed to commit all sorts of crimes with impunity, because if they were punished like ordinary criminals their so-called prestige would be lowered in the eyes of the natives, and the result would be that the British Empire in this country would come to an end.⁶⁰ "In High Courts even though all the doors of justice are open, yet since English judges are in majority we are at times reminded of 'Andher Nagari' in many respects. We admit that there is an Indian Judge also. But who listens to the poor fellow? The saying is 'Even Mountain Meru gives way when four persons at four corners exert to uproot it'.⁶¹ The undercurrent of this feeling of distrust erupted into prominence during the Ilbert Bill controversy.⁶²

The press pointed out that the sole concern of the Courts was to award 'legal justice'.⁶³ In one of the pen-portraits of the British administration of justice, the judges, who preside over the civil and criminal courts in

India have been likened to a monkey imparting justice. The suits which they have to decide have been likened to a loaf of bread over which litigants fight. The niceties of law are like the sharp teeth of the monkeys with which the nibblings of loaf are done to achieve perfect equity between the two parties. The whole process of achieving perfect equity with the aid of niceties of law results at length in virtual disappearance of the loaf of bread.⁶⁴

Laws are the foundation on which the whole structure of the administration of justice stands. It is therefore, necessary to have a brief review of the feelings which people in the period under study had about the nature, purpose, method of enactment etc., of the laws which were enacted by the Government to regulate their conduct.

A general feeling about these laws was that they were very numerous: "It is to be regretted that they (laws) are forced in such profusion upon the people that before one law has been properly understood by the public another law is passed".⁶⁵ The network of the complex laws was a bug bear to the people. The rapidity with which they grew was most tantalising and oppressive.⁶⁶ Frequent changes made in them made matters worse.⁶⁷

Since there was widespread illiteracy, laws which had not become part and parcel of their blood, made them lament that they knew not when a particular law was passed and for what purpose, yet they were being penalised for any violation committed in ignorance.⁶⁸ "All the Laws that are in force here, are of peculiar nature. The authorities can interpret them as they like... where the Laws are so strange and their administrators are what they are, how are the subject people to pass their life?"⁶⁹

Indians were convinced that the Government was not actuated by the sole desire

of protecting them. "If by whatever the Government does to protect itself, we also get protection, there is no escape. But intentionally the Government seldom wishes to pass an act, make a law or issue an order which benefits the Indians alone."⁷⁰ Others, put blame on officers for generating this feeling about the British Laws among the people. "The Magistrates and Judges work the Laws as they please... The result is... that the people are induced to imagine that every Law is enacted more with a view to promote the interests of the Government than their own."⁷¹

The administration of justice was considered to have enforced bad laws so as to enable the wicked to torment the good secretly so much that even the good have perforce to adopt the ways of the wicked. This resulted in the tremendous growth of false witnesses under British rule. It was also pointed out that the good not being proficient in those ways would be soon exposed and fall into great trouble.⁷²

In the British system laws governed everything. Justice based on law reflected the weaknesses or virtues of law also. That was why more and more attention was being focussed on the constitution of Legislative Assemblies. "They (members of the Legislative Council) cross the limits in trying to protect the interests of the Government and when it comes to protecting the interests of the people, they try to evade."⁷³ The Hindi press reflected this trend more and more in

the latter half of the eighties and the nineties. The demand was for a larger number of elected members in the Legislative Councils.⁷⁴

To sum up, the image of the British administration of justice, during the period under study, was that it was too costly; that the justice that could be available depended on points raised in suits being proved or disproved; that in spite of the show of impersonal character of the machinery of justice, there was wide scope for the play of personal prejudices; that in the actual working race feeling played a very predominant role; and that the laws on which justice was based were enacted by those who did not take interests of Indian people adequately into consideration; that the Judges were not free from race feeling and were not only unconcerned about the sentiments of the natives but at times did things that unnecessarily wounded their sentiments. The process involved in it was not only complicated but also very lengthy. The Hindi press realised that the habit of litigation was the result of British law and led to moral degeneration and material ruin.⁷⁵

These views about the nature of laws enacted by the bureaucracy with the help of a few nominated members in the Legislative Councils were so strong that there was a growing demand for a majority of elected members in the legislature. The people hoped that this modification would remove the shortcomings inherent in the then existing system of enacting laws.⁷⁶

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 14. *Hindi Pradeep*, September 1891; an excellent analysis has been given about the new system established by the British in India and how it differed from the system that went before it by J. Ramsay Macdonald, see: *The Government of India*, pp. 192-212.
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 18. *Hindi Pradeep*, July 1887.
 19. *Op. cit.*
 20. *Kavi Vachan Sudha*, 11 November 1871; S.V.N., 25 November 1871.
 21. Anand Kadambini, 1885; *Hindi Pradeep*, October-November-December, 1890.
 22. *Hindi Pradeep*, April 1887.
 23. In Hindu mythology, a demon who possessed a peculiar characteristic: every drop of his blood that fell on the ground instantly produced another demon of his kind.
 25. "The assessors are summoned by District Judges in all sessions cases. Assessors, are generally selected from among ignorant Raisies (rich men). If a ministerial officer, attached to a District Court, owes a grudge to the 'Rais', he has his name entered in the list of assessors by way of punishment. Assessors have no power and sit like idols in Court during the trial: *Hindi Pradeep*, January 1883.
 26. *Hindi Pradeep*, July, August 1889; September 1891.
 27. The figures of income and expenditure under the head 'justice', would show that it, too, was turned into a revenue earning department. In the year 1882-83, for instance, the total expenditure under the head 'justice' was Rs. 3,25,50,000 as against the total income under this head of Rs. 4,03,70,000, out of which only Rs. 65,70,000 came from fines and the rest from the sale of stamps. *Nyaya Sudha*, 21 April 1886; (S.V.N., 23 April 1886).
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INDIAN LAW OFFICERS IN THE EARLY BRITISH JUDICIARY IN BENGAL

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"To give the Mussulmans of this country the full advantage of being tried by their own laws, it is necessary that the fact as well as the law be referred to their own Doctors, inasmuch as it requires a knowledge of the law to try the fact and to discover the points that are material to the cause and upon which the law turns: that one would naturally be of opinion that the Caujee and Muftes are better qualified to examine a Mussalman cause than Englishmen..." This minute of George Bogle, Commissioner of Law Suits, delivered in connection with the famous Patna Case, was a pointer to the importance of Indian law officers in the administration of justice in Bengal. This was taken into full consideration in the Code of 1793. The Preamble to the Regulation XII of 1793 declared: "It is essential to the due administration of justice, that the law offices in the courts of judicature should be held by men of integrity, well versed in the laws, and that they should be so constituted as to render persons possessing the requisite qualifications, solicitous to obtain them and to afford every encouragement to such persons, when appointed, to continue to discharge their duty with uprightness". The law officers were to be appointed by the Governor General-in-Council and were irremovable except for incapacity or misconduct. They were to be well-versed in the laws and possessing unblemished character. Any charge of corruption or extortion against any law officer was to lead to his dismissal or suspension from service by the Supreme Council. Any vacancy occurring in

the office of a law officer was to be filled by a person recommended by the Court concerned or by a person nominated by the Supreme Council.¹ On the appointment of Head *Qazi* and other *Qazies* Reg. XXXIX of 1793 laid down several conditions. The Head *Qazi* and other *Qazies* were to be stationed at Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad and other principal towns for the purpose of preparing and attesting Deeds of Transfer and other law papers. The office of *Qazi* was not hereditary. The Head *Qazi* or "Cauzy ul Cozaat" and other *Qazies* were to be appointed by the Supreme Council and were removable only on ground of incapacity or misconduct in the discharge of their duty.

Provisions of the Code made it clear that as exponents of indigenous laws, the law officers were to influence and guide the course of justice in Bengal. The Courts of Circuit were to transmit their proceedings of trial to the *Nizamat Adalat* in cases in which the *fatua* of the law officers acquitted a person in spite of there being sufficient proof against the prisoner founded either on voluntary confession, the testimony of creditable witnesses or presumptive and circumstantial evidence. The judges were denied the authority to pass a sentence independently of the *fatua* of their law officers. This determining influence of the law officers over the new judicial system became obvious and the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* had to comment: "The Court observe that in causes the decision of which depends on questions of Mahomedan or Hindoo law,

their decrees are necessarily regulated by the opinions of the law officers. It is consequently essential to the due administration of justice and to the security of property, that the law officers of the Court should not only be men of integrity, but that they should be thoroughly versed in legal knowledge, that their opinions may be held in respect, and that they may be relied upon for the correction of any errors in the opinions of the Law Officers of the subordinate Courts".

While allowing the law officers to influence the course of justice the Code of 1793, however, vested final authority in the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council alone could appoint and dismiss a law officer. As a result, the law officers were indirectly dependent upon the Supreme Council. What was more striking, Sec. LXXIX of Reg. IX laid down: "A criminal sentenced to death, a proper object for mercy, may submit his case to the Governor-General-in-Council for commutation of death sentence". In other words, the Governor-General-in-Council could accept an appeal from an offender sentenced to death. In such cases, as the same Regulation further laid down, the Governor-General-in-Council could consider a case with "mercy" and commute the death sentence already passed by the Court in accordance with the interpretation of law by the law officers. Thus the legal interpretations of the law officers could easily be bypassed by any offender. In such a situation the authority of the law officers remained confined to paper.

In fact, the Code did not deny the Supreme Council its right of control over the judiciary. The forty-first Regulation of the Code enabled even the Court of Directors to exercise an effective control over justice. This control was considered necessary as the last means of redress of any grievance whatsoever. It was thus not unnatural that the period after the passing of the Code of 1793 witnessed a number of cases where the Supreme Council

exercised its right of commuting death sentences. Thus in 1793 one Bhonda Roy killed his brother's wife. The law officers framed the charge and recommended capital punishment for him. Their *fatwa* was examined by the *Nizamat Adalat*. From the circumstances which came out during the trial, it seemed that the accused was guided not by any malicious or interested motives, but that he acted under a temporary infatuation only. In consideration of these factors the *Nizamat Adalat* regarded Bhonda Roy "an object of mercy" and in accordance with Sec. 79 of Reg. IX of 1793 recommended to the Supreme Council to commute the capital punishment to imprisonment for life. The Supreme Council accepted the recommendation and commuted the offender's capital punishment to imprisonment for life without hard labour. On another occasion one Buramully Cowl of Burdwan killed one Ramsundar Cowl. The law officers framed the charge and recommended capital punishment for him. Their *fatwa* was examined by the *Nizamat Adalat*. From the trial it appeared that the accused acted under a spell of intoxication. In consideration of the circumstances the *Nizamat Adalat* recommended commutation of the capital punishment of the accused to imprisonment for life under Sec. 79 of Reg. IX, 1793. The Supreme Council, on this occasion also, approved this recommendation and commuted the capital punishment to imprisonment for life.

The Supreme Council thus often exercised its authority to commute capital sentences. In fact the Council was anxious to exercise this prerogative as it pointed out to the Court of Directors: "In the administration of the law we consider it our primary duty to be satisfied with the evidence brought before the Court, and never to confirm any sentence unless the crime be proved to our satisfaction. The sentences of the *Nizamat Adalat* are in general mere transcripts of the terms of the *Fatwas* of the law officers, and the alter-

tions when any occur will be found to be on the side of mercy."

While the Supreme Council thus wanted to bypass the legal interpretations of the law officers, the need for these officers was felt by all the Courts in Bengal. As A. Seton, Judge at Gaya, observed: "As the entering into written engagements clearly drawn up, and properly attested in all cases of transfer of property leases, loans, contracts etc. etc. is of the utmost consequence to the rights of individuals and greatly tends to lessen both the frequency and intricacy of prosecutions in Judicial Courts, it appears to me to be an object of great public duty and convenience, that persons of all degrees should have easy and speedy means of access to the *cauzees*; the more especially as the subdivision of farms have greatly multiplied the transactions between Zemindars, under-renters and ryots. I feel it therefore incumbent upon me to forbear (for the present at least) to recommend any reduction in the existing number of *Cauzees*." This observation of Seton made it clear that the need of the law officers as exponents of indigenous laws was felt even in civil cases.

In consideration of the need for law officers several later Regulations also laid down terms and conditions for the office. Sec. 3 of Reg. VIII of 1795 directed the judges of the District and City Courts to decide causes in accordance with the Hindu and Muhammedan laws as expounded by the law officers attached to those courts. "... it was evidently intended that the law officers attached to the several Civil Courts should expound the law in the cases referred to... and that the judges should be guided by such exposition in all common cases wherein they might have no reason to doubt the accuracy of it." If the judges considered the exposition of law given by their immediate law officer insufficient in a case, they could obtain

a further exposition from the law officers of the Superior Courts, by a reference of the cases to them. The law officers were considered so important that their service was also extended to the Courts of Benares in 1795. Sec. I of Reg. XI of 1795 laid down: "The Governor-General-in-Council having deemed it advisable, on grounds similar to those stated in the preamble to Regulation XII, 1793 for the appointment of the Hindoo and Muhammedan law officers of the Civil and Criminal Courts of Judicature in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, to extend the rules in that Regulation to the law officers attached to the Courts in the province of Benares; and it being necessary that a pundit or pundits should be appointed to the Court of Circuit for that province, to assist the Court in passing sentences in cases of *dhurma*, and certain other matters, in the trial of which the established custom of the province, and the Regulations founded on it, require that reference should be made to the laws of the Shaster...."

Later Regulations also referred to the importance of the law officers in the judicial procedure, although there was a definite tendency to bypass their *fatwas* in necessary cases where the Supreme Council could exercise its prerogative of "mercy". Thus Reg. VI of 1796, while admitting the active role of the law officers, also authorised the Supreme Council to exercise its authority of "mercy". This authority was exercised by the Supreme Council on numerous occasions. To cite a few cases, one Bundoo Shah of Tripura was convicted of murder and was sentenced to capital punishment in accordance with the *fatwa* of the law officers in the *Nizamat Adalat*. But on consideration of all the circumstances of the case, the *Nizamat Adalat* recommended to the Supreme Council to commute the capital punishment to imprisonment for a term of three years only. This recommendation of the *Nizamat Adalat* was accepted and approved by the Supreme Council. On another

occasion the *Nizamat Adalat* requested the Supreme Council to sanction an offer of pardon, in accordance with Sec. 3, Reg. VI of 1796 to one Hari, accused of a dacoity in Murshidabad.¹⁰

Similar cases were numerous even by the beginning of the 19th century when the prerogative of "mercy" was exercised by the Supreme Council. Thus on one occasion one Lalu of Dinajpore was accused of murder and was sentenced to capital punishment in accordance with the *fatwa* of the law officers of the *Nizamat Adalat*. But Lalu in his evidence before the Court declared that he had no intention to commit the crime. In consideration of this fact in particular and all the

circumstances in general, the *Nizamat Adalat* recommended to the Supreme Council to commute the capital punishment to imprisonment for three years only. This recommendation was accepted and approved by the Supreme Council.¹¹

It thus appears that following the Code of 1793 the law officers, as exponents of law, guided the judicial procedure in the country. At the same time the Government also was anxious to relieve the judiciary of the dominance of those officers. All successive Regulations following the Code of 1793 enabled the Government to bypass the *fatwa* of those officers whenever necessary.

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Mirza Abu Talib Khan was a great economic thinker of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century India. A predecessor of Karl Marx and a pioneer in the field of historiography, he was the first Indian to recognize the significance of economic factors both in the rise and fall of states or nations and in the field of historical studies.¹ He was an intellectual prodigy, with a rational approach towards life and its problems. He was not strictly a philosopher in the sense that he could not develop his ideas in the form of a philosophic treatise, but whatever he wrote and observed while working in the employ of the Nawabs of Lucknow and Murshidabad or while travelling abroad, is nothing short of a philosophy. Class conflict, economic disparity among the rulers and the ruled, as a deterrent in the material and cultural development of the individual, political systems of government, such as monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, sea-power and its influence on international politics, wealth, utilization, economic and industrial resources, taxation, slavery, revenue and law — all received the indulgence of this sensitive mind, which tried to critically examine and analyse them. The first educated Indian to travel to Europe during modern times, Abu Talib truthfully recorded his impressions about individuals, ideas and institutions that came in his way. Even earlier, while in the service of Nawab Asafuddaula of Lucknow he had shown sparks of his genius and his utmost concern for the welfare of the

people. His impression on the masses was so deep-rooted that about one and a half decades after his death, when there were famine conditions in India in 1820, people through the columns of popular newspapers drew the attention of the Government towards the ideas of this Muslim intellectual.² They not only discussed his economic ideas vis-a-vis those of Adam Smith and Lord Lauderdale, but also felt that in case the Government was anxious to bring down the prices of grain, it should implement those ideas into actual practice.³

Abu Talib was born in Lucknow in the year 1752.⁴ His father Haji Muhammad Beg Khan, by descent a Turk, was born at Abbasabad in Isfahan. Haji's life was full of vicissitudes and sufferings. Nadirshah's tyranny had forced him to quit his homeland and seek refuge in Oudh. Soon he won the favour and friendship of Nawab Mansur Khan Safdar Jung, the ruler of Oudh. A capable man, he did not take long to win the sympathy of the royal court and the friendship of Muhammad Quli Khan, the nephew of the nawab. He continued to rise in official hierarchy till the death of his patron, Nawab Safdar Jung, which proved to be a signal for Haji's downfall and despair. The new monarch, Nawab Shujauddaulah, found in Haji's friend and admirer, Muhammad Quli Khan, a competent rival and a constant source of danger to the throne of Oudh. He, therefore, took the earliest opportunity to contrive Quli

Khan's death. In order to escape victimization under the new administration, Haji had no alternative but to leave Lucknow and seek shelter somewhere else. And this time he found Murshidabad a safe refuge. He fled to Murshidabad almost desperately, as he had received prior intimation that the Nawab wanted to put him behind the iron bars. He left not only his property worth lakhs of rupees at Lucknow but also his wife and young son Abu Talib. The Government was not satisfied with the seizure of his property alone, it put strict state watch over Haji's family. In years to come, however, the Nawab demonstrated a rare generosity for Haji's family and made elaborate arrangements for Abu Talib's education. Haji, till his death in 1768, remained in the employment of Nawab Muzaffar Jung of Murshidabad. Prior to his death, Abu Talib had reached Murshidabad with his mother. He was married to the daughter of a near relation of Nawab Muzaffar Jung. After remaining in the service of the Nawab of Murshidabad for a few years, Abu Talib received an invitation from the Prime Minister of Oudh, Mukhtaruddaulah, to return to Lucknow for a suitable employment. On reaching there he was appointed Amildar of Etawah. In 1787, he returned to Calcutta, as he found himself incapable of compromising with the dishonesty, corruption and intrigues, that obtained there. But during all these years he had the opportunity of studying the problems that confronted the masses and the peasantry in particular, in Oudh. In years to come this experience proved to be of immense value to this critical observer.

In Calcutta, Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, successively tried to demonstrate sympathy and love for Abu Talib, but he was unfortunate enough not to get any employment with the East India Company. His frustration was great. He wrote: "All my dependents and adherents seeing my

distress left me; and even some of my children and the domestics, brought up in my father's family, abandoned me. In this situation I was quite overcome with grief and despondency."⁵ While he was in this melancholy condition, his friend, Captain David Richardson,⁶ offered to take him to Europe, teach him English during the voyage and to find some suitable employment for him. Mirza's mental agony during this period was so great that he could not reject the friendly offer. He wrote: "After having considered his proposal for sometime I reflected that, as the journey was long and replete with danger, some accident might cause my death, by which I should be deprived from the anxieties of this world, and the ingratitude of mankind. I therefore accepted his friendly offer and resolved to undertake the journey."⁷

Soon after, Abu Talib reached London he was presented to the British King and Queen. He was introduced there as "the Persian Prince". According to a contemporary English periodical: "Mirza Abu Talib Khan was well known in London in the years 1800 and 1801 under the title of the Persian Prince; a title which he did not arrogate to himself, it having been liberally bestowed on him by the people of this country (England)".⁸ Mirza wanted to establish a public academy, to be patronized by the Government, in London, for instructing such of the Englishmen as were destined to fill important situations in the East.⁹ They were to be taught among other things, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic languages. The plan however could not materialize on account of the Government's indifference. The President of the Board of Control at one time proposed to send him as ambassador to Persia but this design also could not be translated into actual practice.¹⁰ Mirza Abu Talib however could not remain unoccupied. He liked the British society which in turn liked him. He remarked: "I en-

joyed every luxury that my heart could desire. Their viands were delicious and wines exquisite. The beauty of the women and their grace in dancing delighted my imagination; while the variety and melody of their music charmed all my senses. I may perhaps be accused of personal vanity by saying that my society was courted, and that my wit and repartees with some impromptu applications of oriental poetry were the subject of conversation in the politest circles."¹¹

Abu Talib was infatuated with the life in London. He had no desire to return and wrote:

"Our hearts are satiated with viewing fields, gardens and palaces. We have no longing for the Toba, Sudreh, or other trees of Paradise. We are content to rest under the shade of these terrestrial Cypresses. If the Shaikh of Mecca is displeased at our conversion, who cares? May the Temple which has conferred such blessings on us, and its Priests, flourish!"¹²

"Fill the goblet with wine! If by this I am prevented from returning to my old religion, I care not; nay I am the better pleased.

If the prime of my life has been spent in the service of an Indian Cupid, it matters not: I am now rewarded by the smiles of the British Fair. Adorable creatures! whose flowing tresses, whether of flaxen or of jetty hue,

Or auburn gay, delight my soul,
and ravish all my senses!
Whose ruby lips would animate the
torpid clay or marble statues!
Had I a renewal of life I would, with
rapture devote it to your service!
These wounds of Cupid, on your heart
Taleba, are not accidental:
They were engendered by Nature, like
streaks on the leaf of a tulip."¹³

On May 7, 1802 Abu Talib left London for India. On reaching Bombay he was hospitably received by Governor J. Duncan. At Bombay he stayed for "five and forty days" and then proceeded in a frigate to Bengal, where he landed on August 4, 1803. On the recommendation of his friend Augustus Brooke, who resided at Banaras, Abu Talib was appointed Collector of one of the districts of Bundelkhand by the Government. He died in 1806.¹⁴

A sharp intellect, Abu Talib wrote voluminously and tried his pen on a variety of subjects. Literature, history, biography, astronomy, and travelogue—all received his meticulous attention. In his 'History of Asafudaulah' he gave an account of his performance in Oudh as an employee of the Nawab. In 1791 at Calcutta he brought out an edition of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* and shortly afterwards he published an account of the ancient and contemporary poets under the title *Khulasat-ul-Afkar*.¹⁵ About the same time he produced a history of the kings of India, and *Lubb-ut-Twarikh*, a compendious account of the kingdoms of Europe and America.¹⁶ In 1804, Abu Talib composed a metrical treatise on Astronomy, under the title, *Mirj-al-Tauhid*, with a commentary in prose. But the most outstanding literary accomplishment of Abu Talib was his *Masir-i-Talibi-fi-Bilad-i-Afraqi* published posthumously in 1810. It contained his impressions during his travels abroad.

Abu Talib's impressions about the life in the West are vivid and interesting. He was critical of Western materialism,¹⁷ and atheism or want of faith in religion. The insolence of British character and passion for acquiring money were the major defects of the British life in the opinion of this Indian intellect. He however appreciated the British love for perfection in every thing. His observations about women in different parts of the world are really

notable. He wrote: "All the European Dutch women whom I saw were very fat, gross and insipid; but the girls born at the Cape (Cape Town) are well made, handsome and sprightly; they are also good natured, but require costly presents."¹⁸

The wretched state of the Irish peasantry could not escape the keen observation of Abu Talib. Their condition was worse than that of their Indian counterparts. He wrote: "The villages in this country much resemble

those of India. The roofs of the houses are thatched with straw, and bound down with osiers: but in some instances they are covered with sods, which have the grass growing a span high out of them. Few villages contain more than a dozen houses. The poverty of the peasants or common people in this country is such that the peasants of India are rich when compared to them.... The boys frequently run for miles with the coach in hopes of obtaining a piece of bread."¹⁹

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DRAKSHARAMA BHEEMESWARA TEMPLE IN LITERATURE—A CRITICAL HISTORICAL STUDY

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The Bheemeswara Temple at Draksharama is a famous Saiva temple and is recognised as one of the five "Arama-Kshetras" of Andhra Desa. The other four 'Aramas' are (1) 'Kumararama' at Samalkot—Bhimavaram; (2) 'Ksheerarama' at Palakol in West Godavari District; (3) 'Amararama' at Amaravathi in Guntur District; and (4) 'Bhimarama' at Gunupudi—Bhimavaram in West Godavari District. Draksharama is at present a small village in Ramachandrapuram Taluk of East Godavari District. Bheemeswara of Draksharama, Mallikarjuna of Srisailam and Kaleswara of Kaleswaram gave Andhra Desa its other name "Trilinga Desa".² The main Linga worshipped in Bheemeswara Temple at Draksharama is a huge pillar of white lime stone or Amaravati marble which is nearly ten feet high. An illustrious Eastern Chalukyan monarch, Chalukya Bheema I, who ruled Vengi kingdom between A.D. 890 and 922, is said to have built Draksharama Bheemeswara temple.

It enjoyed great patronage at the hands of several ruling families in Andhra Desa and people of all classes and grades. There are nearly 400 inscriptions belonging to Chalukya Cholas, Chalukyas of both Eastern and Western lines, Kakatiyas, the Eastern Gangas, the Reddis of Kondaveedu, of Rajahmundry, Matsyas of Oddadhi, the Konda Padamatis, the Kotas, the Paricchedis, the Cagis, the Gajapatis and the rulers of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar. This temple is celebrated in

both tradition and literature. We find numerous references to the Bheemeswara temple of Draksharama in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Telugu literature. Shorn of the legendary lore, these interesting references throw a flood of light on topographical and other details. They are of great value to the student of history in offering some important clues to establish the antiquity and historicity of the temple and the place to a certain extent. It is in this sense that a study of Draksharama Bheemeswara temple in literature is made.

1. Sanskrit Literature :

The earliest reference in Sanskrit literature to the subject under study is Godavari Khanda³ of Skandapurana. This Godavari Khanda is also known as Bheema Khanda.⁴ This gives a full-fledged account of the legendary origin and greatness of the temple and the region round about Godavari known as "Bhima-mandala". The Puranas constitute an important department of Sanskrit literature. They are said to have been compiled by the ancient Vyasa, the arranger of the Vedas and the Mahabharata and the supposed founder of the Vedanta philosophy. Skandapurana is one of the six Siva Puranas which glorify Siva. Professor Wilson assigns the composition of these works to a period later than 6th century A.D. "They offer" he says, "characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description." He discovers allusions to circumstances which make the assignment of a comparatively recent date indisputable.⁵

We find another reference to Bheemeswara, in a Sanskrit drama known as 'Anargharaghava Natakam' written by the great scholar Murari. In the story, in the course of Rama's aerial car flight, on his way back to Ayodhya, Vibhishana, turning to the South, shows the area of Sapta Godavari and Bheemeswara to Sri Rama. The sloka under reference reads likewise: "Dakshinatho Darsayan Deva Prananyatamaya mantra vishaya Lakshmayaha Sapta Godavarahara Kala paika nayako Bhagawan Bheemeswarana."⁶

On the time of Murari, there is some uncertainty. Ratnakara in his Haravijaya has a verse where there is a punning reference to Murari as a playwright, and Ratnakara was in the court of King Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884) A.D. In the course of Rama's return to Ayodhya, Murari describes Mahismati, the capital of the Kalachuri dynasty and of the Chedi territory. By the middle of the 8th century A.D., the Kalachuri kings had left Mahismati, the capital of the Kalachuri dynasty and of the Chedi territory and became settled in the two capitals, Tripuri and Ratnapura. On these considerations, Murari may be assigned to the end of the 8th century A.D. and the beginning of the 9th century A.D.⁷

Rajasekhara's Balaramayana, another Sanskrit drama, refers to Sapta Godavari and Bheemeswara. Balaramayana relates in ten acts the whole story of the Ramayana. The narration often deviates from the original Ramayana and the effect of such deviation has had a dramatic effect.

In the story, Rama and his consort Sita, Sugreeva and Vibhishana were seated in an aerial car and were returning to Ayodhya. They sighted the Ashram of Agasthya. They received his blessings and got into the plane. Sugreeva points out to the right side and shows them the region of Sapta Godavari and

Bheemeswara. The sloka runs as follows: "Sugreevaha! Dakshninota Darsayana Deva Sapta Godavari Teera Bheemo Bhagavan Bargahaha."⁸

Rajasekhara was the son of Dinduka and Silavati. His father was a high priest. Rajasekhara was married to Avanti Sundari, an accomplished Rajput princess—the crest-jewel of the Chauhan family. Rajasekhara appears to have belonged to the Maharatta country i.e. Vidarbha and Kuntala. He must have travelled all over India and his knowledge of South India is remarkable. In the prologues to his plays he calls himself the spiritual leader of king Mahendrapala and that he was patronised by his son and successor Mahipala. The Sydoni inscription mentions Mahendrapala reigning in 907 A.D.⁹ From these references, it appears safe that the poet flourished about 900 A.D.

2. Prakrit Literature :

There is a famous Prakrit kavya named Leelavat or Leelavati written by a poet named Kuntala in Maharashtra-Prakrit.¹⁰ This kavya narrates the fascinating story of Divya Manusi type consisting of episodes in the lives of many divine, semi-divine and human beings viz. the Gandharva king Vipulasya and his daughter Kuvalyavalli, the Vidhyadhara king Hamsa and his daughter Vasantasri and Saradasri, the Siddha prince Madhavanala and the Ceylonese king Silamegha and his daughter Leelavati and the celebrated Satavahana emperor Hala. The king Hala, it was narrated, married Leelavati in the area of Sapta Godavari, worshipped Bheemeswara and left for Prathisthanapura.

On the date of Leelavati kavya, there is difference of opinion among the scholars. Dr. Upadhyaya¹¹ places the date somewhere in the 9th century A.D. while Manavalli Ramakrishna kavi places the date between 600 and 700 A.D.

In this kavya Sapta Godavari Bheemam and Goddess Bhavani had very often been referred to.¹² But we do not find reference to the expression "Dakshavatika". A close study of the slokas reveals to us the all importance of Goddess Bhavani. It may be recalled that Draksharama had been known in the Puranic lore as one of the "Astha dasa sakti peethas". Hence the importance of Bhavani in this kavya. Manavalli Ramakrishna kavi tells us that it is definitely no other place than Dakshavatika or Draksharama.¹³

3. Telugu Literature :

Supporting Sanskrit had been one of the conventional duties of the sovereign of the land from ancient times. Contrary to this custom, the Eastern Chalukyan king Rajaraja I, commonly known as Rajaraja Narendra, supported Telugu learning. He encouraged Nannayabhatta to translate Sanskrit Mahabharata into Telugu and it was a welcome deviation. Since this time, we find a number of references in the Telugu works.

Nannaya, popularly known as Adikavi, was the Court poet of the Eastern Chalukyan king Rajaraja whose period of rule may be placed in 1022—1063 A.D. He stayed at Vegidesam, Rajahmundry of East Godavari District and had been much conversant with the region round about Draksharama. Bheemeswara of Draksharama had been the favourite deity of the Eastern Chalukyan king Rajaraja I and in the Mahabharata, we find a number of references¹⁴ to this place. Another distinguished Telugu poet in whose works we find a number of references to Bheemeswara and Draksharama was Bhima Kavi, popularly known as Vemulavada Bhimakavi.¹⁵ His period may be roughly assigned to 1170 A.D. In his Telugu work, Narasimha Puralam, he refers to the dance of dancing girls at Draksharama.¹⁷ He clearly states that he had been a resident of Draksharama and an ardent devotee of

Bheemeswara.¹⁸ In another catu verse, he mentions that he is the son of Bheemeswara.¹⁹

Pandithradhya Mallikarjuna, who promulgated Aaradhya Saivism belonged to Draksharama. His period may be roughly placed in 1080-1167 A.D. He was a contemporary of Basava, the founder of Veera Saivism, of Velanati Choda of Tsandavolu and of Udaya, the ruler of Panagallu. His work Sivattathavasaramu is of great importance. His father Bheemana Pandita was a Purohit at Draksharama.²⁰ Moreover, he was initiated into Saivism by one Kotipalli Aaradhyadeva who evidently belonged to Kotipalli which lay a few miles off Draksharama.

Palakurthi Somanadha was another Telugu poet who refers to Draksharama and Bheemeswara a number of times in his works, Basavapurana and Panditharadhya Charitra. He was a brilliant scholar. His main object was the propagation of Veera Saiva cult in its true traditions, that is, Basava and Panditha or more precisely the Jangama and Aradhya Sampradayas.

In Basavapurana, in the story of Mugda Sangayya, a reference was made. A dancing girl tells Mugda Sangayya that there are many dancing girls at Draksharama who are equal to Parvati.²¹ In another story of Halayudha in Basavapurana, he mentions that Shiva comes in the form of a Jangama and further states that he comes there after enjoying the women at Draksharama.²² In another story of Suraya Choudayya,²³ a Jangama mentions, after being offered food, that it is equal to the food offered by Veera Choudavva, a devotee in Draksharama who himself offered food to Bheemeswara. Another reference occurs in the story where Basava lives in spite of taking poison. Then the Brahmins request Basava to give the remnant of the poison since it is converted into Amrutha, because of Basava taking it and that they have a right to take from him like

the privilege enjoyed by them in Banaras, Gaya, Kedara, Sourashtra and Draksharama.²⁴ In one place, he mentions that Draksharama is situated in Vengi Desa.²⁵ In another place, he tells us that pilgrims used to visit every year Draksharama for the Kalyana Mahotsava of Bheemeswara.^{25A}

Another literary work of primary importance dealing with Bheemeswara temple and Draksharama is Bheemeswara Puranam, a Telugu poetical work written by Srinadha. He was one of the greatest Telugu poets who lived from 1375 to 1455 A.D. Srinadha, son of Marayya and Bheemamba was a Yajurvedin Brahmin belonging to Bharadwaja Gotra. He was first patronised by king Pedakomativema of Kondaveedu in whose court he held the position of Vidyadhikari. He drafted all the grants issued by his patron king Pedakomativema, the earliest of which the Pampalli grant²⁶ bears the date Saka 1326 Tarana. After the downfall of Kondaveedu kingdom, Srinadha went to Rajamahendravaram and became the court poet of king Veerabhadra Reddi who ruled till Saka 1360 or a little later date. He was thus poet-laureate of the Reddi court for 24 years. Besides Bheemeswara Puranam, he had a number of works to his credit, viz., Maruttaratcharitra, Salivahana Saptasati, Sringara Naishadam, Kasi Khandam and Haravilasam. Bheemeswara Puranam was written when Srinadha was in his prime of life. As there is a reference in the Bheemeswara Puranam to the Eastern Gopura of the temple of God Bheemeswara at Draksharama built by Bendapudi Annayya, the date of which as mentioned in an inscription²⁷ is Saka 1350, it is certain that the above work was composed after that date. Bheemeswara Puranam is a kavya describing the origin, sanctity and greatness of Sri Draksharama Kshetra, the temple of Bheemeswara and its presiding Deity.²⁸ The author Srinadha says that he has translated this work from Godavari Khandam in Skandapurana.²⁹ This Bheemeswara Puranam contains six

Cantos with 1035 verses. It is of invaluable help for a study of the temple and of the social and religious practices in and around Draksharama. Srinadha was the first Telugu poet who travelled throughout the length and breadth of the Andhra country and recorded during his peregrinations some of the customs and names that excited his interest in the people living in different localities of the country.

In another work Kasi Khandam,³⁰ Srinadha refers to Draksharama and Bheemeswara. The story goes that Agasthya and his wife Lopamudra saw Draksharama Bheemeswara and other Kshetras like Pattisam, Kotipalli and Palivela. In this work, Srinadha gives a vivid description of the courtesans and their dance performances at Draksharama.

Another reference, we get about Draksharama Bheemeswara, is from Rukmangada Charitra written by Praudakavi Mallana.³¹ It contains five Cantos. In each Canto at the beginning there is a verse and at the end there are three verses. Thus there are 20 verses relating to Draksharama Bheemeswara. The verses nos. 30, 31 & 32 are in praise of Bheemeswara; the verse no. 31 refers to Sapta Godavari Jala; verse no. 38 praises the place; verse no. 40 refers to the damsel presented by Indra to Bheemeswara; verse no. 41 refers to the festivals at Draksharama; verse no. 46 refers to Parivara Devatas like Ganapati etc.

Another work which refers to Draksharama is Dhanabhi Ramam written by Nookanaka Surana whose date may be placed about 1550 A.D. This work is dedicated to Bheemeswara of Draksharama. It is a poem in three Cantos. The plot of the work is ingenious and illustrates by means of the story that it is wealth and not beauty that captivates a woman, presumably a courtesan.

Critical Estimate :

It is true that literary references, stories, legends etc do not constitute history in the accepted sense of the term. Nor can they be considered as idealised or exaggerated history. It may sometimes seem to be futile to subject literary references to the acid test of historical criticism, because some of the descriptions have been products of imagination and not of reason. But nevertheless, a study of the literary references will prove to be useful to find out what elements of truth they contain and what light they throw on existing institutions and practices. These are all interesting, though delicate pieces of study. Literary sources are no doubt to be used with caution and care. Apart from our limitations, the literary sources concerning our temple in study offer us invaluable clues to a certain extent to the antiquity of the place.

The Sanskrit Skandapurana is not ascribable to a date earlier than 7th century A.D.³² Speaking about the date of the Skandapurana, Wilson in his preface to the Vishnupurana, writes as follows : "It is uniformly agreed that the Skandapurana has no existence, and fragments in the shape of Samhitas, Khandas and Mahatmyas which are affirmed in various parts of India to be portions of Purana present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the number of which it is said to consist."

K. Iswaradutt, a noted scholar of history, holds the opinion that the Sthalamahatya of the temple might have been a mythological story concocted round the temple soon after its construction. It has been accepted that Bheemeswara temple of Draksharama had been constructed by the Eastern Chalukyan ruler Bheema I, though there has been no positive proof to the above effect. Other evidences lend support to the view.³³ Iswaradutt argues that it is quite certain that a Saivite scholar mixed it with the Purana^{33A} story and hence known as Godavari Khandam in the

Skandapurana. He quotes the point that the inscriptions of the Draksharama temple are from the second half of the 11th century³⁴ to prove that the Skandapurana might have been written after the construction of the temple.

If the date of the Skandapurana is 11th century A.D. it may be quite probable, as Iswaradutt opines, that Bheema Khandam in Sanskrit might have been a mythological concoction woven round the place after the construction of the temple by Chalukya Bheema I. But Iswaradutt had been silent about the earlier references in the Sanskrit literature pertaining to 6th and 8th centuries A.D. Even if we accept Skandapurana's date as 11th century A.D., Anargharaghava of Murari and the Leelavati Kavya confront us with the antiquity and importance of the place much earlier than Chalukya Bheema I's time. The argument that the above references do not in particular refer to Draksharama and that there had been only references to Sapta Godavari and Bhagavan Bheemeswara which may not be necessarily taken as referring to Draksharama alone, is only evading the problem, but not answering the question.

There is also an argument that the deity at Draksharama had come to be known as Bheemeswara, because of Chalukya Bheema constructing it. Dr. N. Venkata Ramanaiah says : "Two great temples in Andhra country are specially associated with his name. He built a shrine at Chalukya-Bhimavaram near Samalkot in East Godavari District and dedicated it to his favourite God Siva whom he called Chalukya Bheemeswara. . . More famous than this is another temple also dedicated to Siva named Bheemeswara after the king which he is said to have built at Draksharama on the banks of the river Godavari."^{34A}

The two literary references, viz., Anargharaghava and Leelavati Kavya belonging much earlier than Chalukya Bheema I's time clearly

show to us that it was a place of Saivite importance. The deity might have been known as Bheemeswara long before Chalukya Bheema.

One thing is certain : the Eastern Chalukyas had as their favourite deity God Bheemeswara and a number of their kings were called Bheema as an original name or as a title. Bheema Saluki had been an instance of this kind. Vimaladitya according to the Nandampudi inscription had titles "Bhimapratapa Birudanka Bhima". Further when Sakthi Verma and Vimaladitya fled to Tanjore and sought shelter with the Cholas, the country had been occupied by one Jatachoda Bheema, a Telugu Choda prince related to the Chalukyan line. Thus it is evident that the Eastern Chalukyan kings of the time had God Bheemeswara as their favourite

deity, and dedicated temples to that God at the places suitable for worship in the Telugu country.^{34b}

A close study of the Pitapur inscription³⁵ of Mallapadeva reveals to us that Chalukya Bheema had constructed the temple for Kumararama Bheemeswara and henceforth it came to be known as Chalukya Bheemeswara.

Thus Draksharama Bheemeswara had been in existence much earlier than Chalukya Bheema I's time as a place of Saivite importance. God Bheemeswara had been the family deity of the Eastern Chalukyas. Chalukya Bheema I constructed Bheemeswara temples at Draksharama and Kumararama in honour of the deity.

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3. Khandam means a part of the great work. Skandapurana consists of fifty khandas and contains one lakh and fifty thousand slokas.
4. Bheemakhanda in Sanskrit is complete in 32 Adhyayas in palm-leaf manuscripts. It is in Telugu script. The extent is 300 granthas (Oriental manuscript Library, Madras.)
5. Preface to Wilson's translation to Vishnupuranas.
6. Murari : Anargharaghava Natakam, Chapter VII; poems 102, 103, 104 and 105.
7. M. Krishnamachariar, History of classical Sanskrit literature, T.T.D. Press, Madras.
8. Rajasekhara, Balamayana, Chapter X, p. 301.
9. Epigraphica Indica, Vol. I, pp. 162-179.
10. B. N. Upadhyaya, Leelavati Kavya, Bharathiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
11. Leelavati Kavya edited by Upadhyaya.
12. Manavalli Ramakrishna kavi, Leelavati, Bharathi, February 1926, p. 3.
13. Leelavati Kavya.
14. Bharathi, 1926.
15. "Birudanka Bhima Bheemeswara Krutha Nitya Prasaada Soujanya Guna Bharana Paraganda Bhairama Para Nripa Mani Makuta Ghatitha Vibhudha Nula" Mahabharatha, Aranya Parvamu — Poem 399. Seesa : "Dakshna Ganganaadaddayu Noppina Godavariyu Jagadaadaina Bheemesvrambunu

- Bedadagu chunna Sri Parvathambunu Joochi Yurvilona Anaghamai Sishthagrahara Bhoooyisthamai Dharani Surotha maatvara Vidhana Punya Samruddamai Pogachu Vegi Desa Vibhavambhu Joochudu Vibhudi Dakshi" Mahabharatha, Adi Parvamu — Ashtamasvaya.
16. The story goes that Vemulavada Bhimakavi was born by the grace of Draksharama Bhimeswara to a widow who offered sand and water to Bheemeswara. After he was born, the Brahmin community communicated him as he was the son of a widow. Lord Bheemeswara blessed him by saying that whatever he would utter, it would come true. Thus he was endowed with the power of poetical sense and as well with the power of granting benediction. Due to this, he had been admitted into the honours of the society. There is a long-standing controversy about the identification of the place of Bhimakavi. Some hold that he belonged to Vemulavada of Karimnagar District while others say that he belonged to Draksharama. It is opined here that he belonged to Draksharama of East Godavari District.
 17. Eikshithiki Vacci Munduga Daksharamamuna Vara Thanumulla Nrityam Bakshinichi Yanthakanthenu Tatksajamamuna Nerchi Rambha Thagverpadanu Quoted from Lives of Telugu poets by Sri N. Venkatarao, University of Madras, 1953, Appendix p. 389.
 18. Shri Karamambai Da Chelvu Ganchinayathi Bheemapurambu Prema meera Na Lema Mugadatha kepa Harinchuchu Nala Bheesvarundu Puthru Brithi Nosagey Quoted from Trenchial Catalogue of the Oriental Telugu manuscript 1910 — 1913.

- Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras : Ref. No. 14, pp. 48 — 50.
19. Ghanudanu Vemulavada Vamsajuda Daksharama Bheemesa Nandanudanu Chatu Works — Catu Padya Manjari Part I, pp. 111.
 20. "Oppu Sri Bheemesvaralingambu Rudhi Daddari Purohita Sresthulu." Palakurthi Somanadha : Panditharadhy Charitra, Deeksha Prakarana.
 21. "Adhika Saksath Jagadamba Saane Nadikambhugalaru Draksharamamunanu" Palakurthi Somanadha : Basavapurana.
 22. "Antha Draksharamamunandu aharnishamu Kantha Skhopa Bhogamulenduchunu" Palakurthi Somanadha : Basavapurana, Canto IV pp. 123.
 23. "Veera Chodavva Draksharamamunandu Aragimpa Chavyina Kampinchi" Ibid, Canto IV, pp. 123.
 24. "Varanasi, Gaya, Kedarambunandu, Saurastramamunanu Draksharamamu" Ibid, Canto VII, pp. 229.
 25. "Vengi Mahorvisthislama Asamanaleela Daksharamamoppu" Ibid, pp. 29 & 27.
 - 25A. "Preethi Draksharama Bheemeswara Pendli Keerthanalu Parusa Nademi Suchiti" Ibid, Parvatha Prakarana — pp. 413.
 26. Local Rec. Vol. 43, pp. 267 ff. and Vol. 48, pp. 26
 27. S.I.I. Vol. IV. 1381.
 28. Bheemesvarapuram Srinadha.
 29. Bh. Puranam, 1 — 27.
 30. Srinadha, Kasi Khandam, Canto III, edited by V. Ramaswamy Sastry & Sons., Madras.
 31. Mallana, Rukmangada Charitra : Edited by Ramaswamy Sastry & Sons, Madras.
 32. Pargiter : Indian Historical Tradition pp. 49.
 33. E.I. Vol. IV, Pitapur copper plate Mallapadeva which tells us that Chalukya Bheema I had constructed the Bheemeswara temple at Chalukya Bheemavaram (Samalkot — Bhimavaram).
 - 33A. Journal of Telugu academy, 1935.
 34. S.I.I. Vol. IV —
1014 — 1048 A.D. 1012 — 1068 A.D.
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1060 — 1065 A.D.
 - 34A. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, History of the Eastern Chalukyas, pp. 142.
 - 34B. Somaramam, Y. Vittalarao Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XXI
 35. "Tat Brathi Vikramadityasya Thanayaschalukya Bhimana Sashtyuttaram Yastri satam Rananaam Jitwa Swanamanah Praditham Vidya Chalukya Bheemeswara Deva Harnyam Trilasat Sama Bhootala Manvam kshet." E.I. Vol. IV, Pitapur inscription of Mallapadeva.

QUEEN JANAKIBAI

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So far very little is known about Janakibai, the first queen of Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji the Great. She was the daughter of Kudtoji alias Prataprao Gujar, the commander-in-chief of Shivaji. Shivaji married Rajaram to her on March 15, 1680. She died soon after the death of Shivaji. Later on, Sambhaji, the elder son of Shivaji, married Rajaram to Tarabai, the daughter of Hansaji alias Hambirrao Mohite, the commander-in-chief of Sambhaji, and to Rajasbai, the daughter of the Ghatge of Kagal. This much information is available only in the *bakhs* by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad and Malhar Ramrao Chitnis and a note in the Jedhe Chronology.¹

The year 1689 was very critical in the history of the Marathas. It witnessed the eclipse of the *Swarajya*, founded by Shivaji. On February 1, 1689 Sambhaji was captured by Mukarab Khan in a fighting at Sangameshwar on his way to Raigad. He was subsequently put to death on March 11, 1689.² The Mughal forces had already set out on various expeditions from all directions to liquidate the *Swarajya*. They were capturing *thanas* and forts one after another. Raigad, the capital of the Marathas, was being besieged. At this juncture the leading generals and officials of the Maratha State gathered at Raigad to think out a future strategy of the Maratha warfare. They approached Yesubai, dowager queen of Sambhaji, for her advice. She counselled them that she would stay at Raigad along with Shahu, her son, as the fort would withstand the heavy onslaughts of the enemy. Rajaram should leave the fort with the gene-

rals and officials and wage a war with the Mughals. His queens should also leave the fort along with him. If he failed to expel the Mughals from the *Swarajya*, he should leave for Karnatak (Jinji) and establish a seat of government there. This account is found only in the *bakhs* of Malhar Ramrao Chitnis.³

The recent publication of the documents of the Tarabai period throws light on this critical phase of Maratha history.⁴ It also refers to Janakibai who is alluded to in a partition-deed⁵ of the *deshmukhi* of Karad between Girjoji Yadav and Swarupji Yadav. The document is dated October 5, 1716. Girjoji Yadav was a loyal servant of the royal family since the days of Shivaji. When Rajaram left Raigad and arrived at Pratapgad (April 5, 1689)⁶ Girjoji was asked by him to fetch Janakibai and Shahu from Raigad. He was further entrusted with the work of bringing gold etc. for his expenses. Girjoji managed to reach Raigad through the siege of the Mughals led by Zulfikar Khan and relayed the message from Rajaram to Changoji Katkar, the *Killedar* of the fort, and others (including Yesubai). But all of them refused to send Janakibai and Shahu. However, Girjoji was given gold etc. He returned to Panhala where Rajaram had in the meantime shifted to⁷ (July 1689). This is altogether a new information adding wider dimensions to the existing story.

The above-mentioned information gives rise to some interesting points regarding

Janakibai and the strategy of the Marathas. Firstly, the words "Matushri Janakibai" certainly connote the royal status of Janakibai. Moreover her name precedes that of Shahu. It should be noted that except Janakibai there was no other woman, bearing her name, in the royal family at Raigad. Secondly, among other things, Girjoji Yadav is asked to fetch Shahu. It is contrary to the strategy decided upon at Raigad. Thirdly, it is not intelligible why Changoji and others (including Yesubai) declined to send Janakibai with Girjoji Yadav. Fourthly, why is there no mention of Tarabai and Rajasbai, the other queens of Rajaram, along with Janakibai? Were Tarabai and Rajasbai at Raigad? Had they already left the fort along with Rajaram? And if so, why could not Janakibai leave the fort with Rajaram?

At Pratapgad Rajaram seems to have changed his mind and decided to take Shahu along with him. It seems that he took that decision out of love for Shahu. However, Yesubai and others did not send Shahu.

It appears that both Yesubai and Janakibai might have thought that Raigad was a secure place and it would be risky for the latter to leave the fort. It should be pointed out that the whole of the *Swarajya* was not conquered at that time. Yesubai strongly hoped that Rajaram would defeat the Mughal forces. Hence it is not surprising that she did not allow Janakibai to leave the fort.

It is noteworthy that there is no mention of Tarabai and Rajasbai in the said document. Had Rajaram married Tarabai and Rajasbai in the reign of Sambhaji, they must have been at Raigad only where Rajaram was kept under surveillance. In that case Rajaram would have certainly asked Girjoji to bring them also. Could it be said in this context that Rajaram was not married to both of them during the reign of Sambhaji? Did he marry them later? This is indeed a riddle.

Rajaram could not withstand the overwhelming forces of the Mughals and had to flee to Jinji to save his life (September 26, 1689).⁸ Soon almost all the forts and regions of the Marathas were conquered by the Mughal forces.⁹ The political situation in Maharashtra became utterly hopeless. Realising the futility of defending the fort, when almost the whole of the *Swarajya* was subdued by the Mughals, Yesubai diplomatically started negotiations with Zulfikar Khan. Consequently, the fort was handed over to the Khan on the promise that the royal family would be treated honourably. (November 3, 1689).¹⁰ Yesubai, Shahu, Janakibai, Sakwarbai (the queen of Shivaji the Great), Mansing and Madansingh (Mardansing), the illegitimate sons of Sambhaji, and others were taken to the imperial camp as prisoners of war. (November 23, 1689).¹¹ Though there is no mention of Janakibai in the list of captives in any of the contemporary sources, it is certain that she was one of the captives. This is substantiated by an order of Shahu to Balaji Vishwanath in 1718.

The ruinous quarrel between the Sayyad brothers (Sayyad Abdullah and Sayyad Husain Ali), and the Emperor Farruk Siyar provided the Marathas an opportunity to expand their *Swarajya* into an empire in India. Sayyad Husain Ali, the Mughal *Subedar* of the Deccan, sought the help of Shahu and concluded a treaty with him in 1718. The grant of the *Swarajya* and of the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the six Mughal subas was the main clause in it. Besides, there was a special clause about the release of Yesubai and others.¹² The Maratha army was to accompany Husain Ali to Delhi where the Sayyad brothers would teach a lesson to the emperor and get the treaty ratified at the point of the sword. Shahu entrusted this mission to his Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath. An order of Shahu to him, in this context, unfolds the name of Janakibai as a captive of the Mughals :—

"Balaji Vishwanath should seek the release of Yesubai, Mardansing, Durgabai, Janakibai and servants."¹³

Balaji Vishwanath successfully secured the release of Yesubai in March 1719 and returned to Satara along with her.¹⁴ Though there is no mention of Janakibai's release in the contemporary documents, it can be main-

tained that Janakibai was also released along with Yesubai.

So far the impression was that Janakibai died soon after the death of Shivaji. It is quite evident from the preceding discussion that she was languishing in the Mughal captivity for thirty long years. In the war of independence, Yesubai was undoubtedly a star-personality. Janakibai too deserves, if not the same position, some sympathy and recognition.

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2. *Shivcharitra-Pradeep*, pp. 34-35.
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A NOTE ON INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS CANBERRA, JANUARY, 1971

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The Plenary Session of the Congress was opened on 6th January at the Canberra Theatre Centre by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, Sir Paul Hasluck, Patron of the Congress.

The academic work of the Congress was divided into six programmes and eleven seminars. The time-table was very packed, being split up into two sessions a day, one in the morning (9 A.M. to 12 noon) and the other in the afternoon (2 P.M. to 4-30 P.M.). It was in the afternoon of 6th January that the sectional programmes, seminars and the reading of papers began.

(a) Programmes

Programme No. 1 : West Asia :

Director : Prof. John Bowman.

This programme included Ancient Middle East (Egyptology; Sumerian and Akkadian, Phoenician and Ugaritic), Christian Middle East, Arabic session (Nos. 1 and 2), Iranian Studies, Hebrew-Biblical and Post-Biblical, Islam session (Nos. 1, 2 & 3), Modern Middle East (session Nos. 1 & 3), and Semitic Philology.

Programme No. 2 : South Asia :

Director : Professor J. V. de Jong.

This programme with ten sessions included (a) Ancient Period (Religion, Linguistics, Philosophy, Literary History, History, Cul-

tural Anthropology and Sociology), and (b) Medieval and Modern Periods, History and Culture (12-20th centuries) consisting of (i) Mystics, Literature and Culture, (ii) Politics, Administration and Historiography, (iii) Ancient and Medieval Art, Architecture and problems relating to maps, (iv) Pre-Independence politics, (v) Muslims, (vi) Economic History, Ideas and non-political movements, (vii) Post-independence South Asia; and (c) Modern Period : Gandhi.

Programme No. 3 : S. E. Asia :

Director : Professor A. H. Johns.

This programme included the following sessions : (1) Linguistics (analysis and typology : genetic linguistics; linguistic exploration of the Southwest Pacific; analysis); (2) Politics; (3) Pre-modern history (old Javanese studies), (4) Modern History (four sessions including Islamization), (5) Economics, (6) Literature and the Theatre, (7) Anthropology and Sociology (2 sessions) and (8) Japan in Asia (1930-45).

Programme No. 4 : China and Korea :

Director : Prof. Wang Gungwu.

This included : (i) Early Chinese History: Han to T'ang; Classical Studies, (ii) Korea, (iii) Modern Chinese history : the 20th century revolution, values and elites, (iv) Pre-modern Chinese overseas relations; Literature and Art; Sung : Literature and Social History, (v) The Chinese overseas, (vi) Clas-

sical Chinese Language Studies, (vii) Pre-modern Far East : Neo-Confucianism, (viii) Late Ch'ing China, (ix) Contemporary China, I, II, III, (x) Modern China : Intellectual history : economic development and Foreign Powers, (xi) Western Studies on China.

Programme No. 5 : Japan :

Director : Professor E. S. Crawcour.

This programme included : (i) Local History and National History, (ii) Language and Literature, (iii) Modern History, (iv) Religion, (v) The West and Japan, (vi) Post-War Japan, (vii) Tokugawa Studies.

Programme No. 6 : Central and Northern Asia :

Director : Sir Harold Bailey.

This included : (i) Indo-Iranian, Tokharian and Indo-European, (ii) Mongol and Manchu, (iii) Zoroastrian Studies, (iv) Turkish Studies (I & II) and (v) Indo-Iranian Studies.

(b) Seminars (Eleven Inter-Programme Seminars)

(i) Soma in Vedic Times : the hallucinogenic mushroom? It was organised by Professor W. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania and by Mr. R. Gordon Wasson.

(ii) The Influence of Asian Cultures on Pre-Columbian America.

(iii) Maritime Trade in Asia in the early Modern Period : 17th to 19th centuries.

(iv) Irrigation Civilization : Egypt,

Israel, Iraq, South Asia and China (Convenor : Dr. J. A. Thompson).

(v) Religion and Economics in Asian Countries : (Convenor : Professor C. Jayawardene).

(vi) Traditional Methods and Modern Styles in Political Leadership (Convenor : Professor J. D. Legge).

(vii) The Traditional City and Modern Technology (Convenor : Professor O.H.K. Spate).

(viii) Diffusion of Material Culture (Convenor : Professor H. H. F. Loofs).

(a) The Origin and Spread of Early Pottery in Northeast, Southeast and South Asia.

(b) The diffusion of Early Metal in East, Central, Southeast and South Asia.

(ix) The Impact of New Techniques in Agriculture.

(Convenors : Professor Sir John Crawford & Dr. R. T. Shand)

Session 1 : Historical.

Sessions 2-4 : Today's "Green Revolution".

Sessions 5-6 : Some Broader Consequences.

(x) The Role of Law in Asian Society (Convenor : Mr. W. E. Holder) Problems of Legal Development Law & Modernisation.

(xi) Modern Literature and the Creative Arts. The theme was the Search for Identity, Cultural, Personal and National, with 5 sessions : Theatre and Cinema, Poetry and Criticism Novel, Music and Attitudes.

Further, there were four Symposia of the Far Eastern Pre-History Association of which the local Convenor was Professor Jack Golson. (a) Fossil and Recent Man in Asia, Australia and the Pacific; (b) Asia Wallaces and the Settlement of Australia and New Guinea; (c) Hunter-Gatherers, Horticulturists and Farmers : Human Ecological studies in Asia, Australasia and the Pacific; (d) Pacific pre-history and ethnography.

There were some library seminars as well, covering the following topics : (a) Professional communication and cooperation through International and Regional Library groups; (b) International standards in Orientalist Cataloguing; (c) The Impact on Libraries of Current Trends in Asian Studies; (d) Education for Orientalist Librarianship; (e) Cooperative Bibliographic Projects. (Chairman : Dr. B. S. Kesavan, National Library, Calcutta).

Lastly, there was a Conference on Teaching about Asia in Australian Schools, the areas covered being Japan, Southeast Asia, West Asia, China, South Asia, Cooperative Acquisitions including microform and Reprint Programmes.

An attempt is made below to analyse the scope and contents of the seminar on South Asia and to indicate the contributions of Indian scholars, working in India or outside.

SOUTH ASIA

(A) The papers on *Ancient India* were grouped under the following sections.

(a) *Religion* : Out of 6 scholars listed here, Mrs. Lokesh Chandra chanted the *Mangalakavana Stotra* to Sarasvati. Dr. (Mrs.) S. Bhattacharya of Jadavpur University and Mrs. Sanjukta Gupta, formerly of Jadavpur University and now in Utrecht, discussed 'The Indian Pantheon and early

Buddhist Sanskrit Literature' and 'Caturvyuha and Visakhayupa of the Pancaratra religion' respectively. Dr. R. S. Sharma of Patna University went to the 'Material roots of Tantricism'. Dr. S. Vithianathan of Ceylon endeavoured to analyse the Dravidian element in the religion of the Sinhalese. The only foreign scholar, Professor K. Le Roy Davidson of California, Los Angeles, collected Archaeological evidence for the Sukhavati Cults in the 5th and 6th centuries in the Deccan.

(b) *Linguistics* : Of the 5 papers in this section, 3 were submitted by members of the Australian National University, on Middle Indo-Aryan, Pali and Sanskrit grammar, one from Louvain, on old Braj, and one from Bihar, Linguistic and Aesthetic meaning : the Indian standpoint.

(c) *Philosophy* : Out of 13 papers 4 were by scholars from Indian universities and 9 from foreign universities. Some of the topics dealt with by them being the 'Metaphysical aspects of Vedic sacrifice', 'Metaphysics and Anti-metaphysics in Indian Philosophy', 'Concept of Moksha', 'the Philosophical methodology of the Upanishadas and of the Rigveda', 'Tapas, a spiritual currency', 'Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism', 'Religion and Ethics in Early Tamil Literature', 'The Ahimsa ideal in the Mahabharata', 'The meaning of Yuga in the Mahabharata', 'The *Atmansiddhi* ideal in Hinduism'.

(d) *Literary History* : Attracted 16 scholars, 7 from India, 2 from Ceylon, and 7 from other countries.

(e) *History* claimed the attention of 12 scholars, of whom 6 were from India. Dr. B. B. Lal discussed the decipherment of the Indus script, Dr. N. P. Rastogi dwelt on the antiquity and origin of the Brahmi script, Dr. S. Chattopadhyay dwelt on the Achaemenids and the Punjab, Dr. A. B. Dev scruti-

nised Yaudheya seals, Dr. A. K. Narain prepared a preliminary report on the first season of archaeological excavations at Ayodhya—a Ramayan site. Dr. Ram Gopal wrote on *Dasa* in the Rigveda, Dr. S. D. Singh (Lucknow) on Polyandry in Ancient India, and Dr. M. N. Das (Bhubaneswar) on Kalinga-Ceylon relations. Numismatics was handled by Dr. K. W. Robbins (ANU) — Imitation Hermios Coinage of 1st century B.C. and by Dr. P. L. Gupta (Patna) — Coins in the Foreign Trade of Ancient India. Dr. I. W. Mabbett dwelt on 'Rajya and the idea of a state.'

(B) *Medieval and Modern Period*: History and Culture (12-20th centuries) was divided into eight sections:

1. *Mystics, Literature and Culture*: 10 scholars contributed to this section. Among the Indian scholars, Mr. & Mrs. Deshmukh (Bombay) wrote on 'Biographies of Saints in Maharashtra' and 'Sikh Gurus and Marathi Saints' respectively. Dr. S. S. Kohli held 'The Adi Grantha' to be the 'Consummation of Indian Culture'. Dr. Abdus Subhan (Calcutta) wrote on 'Persian Studies in Bengal' and Dr. B. P. Mallik (Calcutta) wrote on the 'Language of the Under-World in Bengal and Bihar'. Dr. M. M. Saeed (Arizona) wrote on 'Mystics and mystical movements under the Sharqi Sultans of India'. Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi (ANU) wrote on 'Sufi & Nathu Yoga approach towards reality as exhibited in the Rushd Nama of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi'; while his research student, A. O. Rafiqi wrote on 'Rishi Movement in Kashmir'. Dr. A. O. Bausani (Naples) wrote on 'Indian elements in the Indo-Persian poetry: the style of Ghanimat Kunjahi'. Dr. A. Roy (Tasmania) discussed the 'Cultural identity of the Bengali Muslims in the pre-British Period'.

2. *Politics, Administration & Historiography*: There were 9 papers in this section.

Professor Nurul Hasan (Aligarh), the head of the Government of India delegation, referred to the 'Controversy regarding Land Rights in India, 1772-93'. Prof. Satish Chandra (Delhi) discussed the 'Social background to the rise of the Maratha Power'. Dr. Q. Ahmad (Patna) dwelt on 'An eighteenth century Indian historian on early British Administration'. Dr. B. Sheikh Ali (Mysore) wrote on 'The French and the Second Mysore War'. My paper was on 'Some aspects of military thinking and practice in Medieval India'. Mr. J. P. Singh's paper was on 'The history of Padmini'. Three scholars of ANU, Mr. A. K. M. Farooque, Mr. Ajit Roy and Mrs. S. N. Parralt dwelt respectively on 'Rahdari and Customs under the Mughals', 'Raja Rammohun Roy's *Tuhfat ul Muwaddihiddin* and the 17th century Persian *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*' and 'The reign of Gazi Niwaz and Hinduisation of Manipur'.

3. *Ancient and Medieval Art, Architecture and problems relating to Maps*: There were 5 contributors in all. Mr. R. G. Chandra and Mr. Balram Srivastava, both from Benaras, discussed respectively the 'Problem of Yashas' and 'Medieval foundations in Indian art' while Dr. B. N. Goswamy (Punjab) discussed 'Mughal Portraits from the Punjab Hills'. Mr. M. Singh (of Indian Embassy, Moscow) discussed some aspects of 'Hindulayan Art Styles with special reference to Ladakh (Kashmir) and Dr. J. P. Schwartzberg explained 'The South Asia Historical Atlas Project'.

4. *Pre-Independence Politics*: Out of 10 papers in this section, four were from foreign universities, two from India and two from India. Mr. Om P. Sharma (Michigan) dwelt on 'Press Laws and bibliographic controls in India, 1823-90'. Mr. John C. W. (W. Australia) wrote on 'The rise of the pressed class political activity in India, 1835'. M. S. M. Qureshi (Alberta) dwelt on 'Consolidation of Leadership in the

phase of the politics of the All-India Muslim League, 1937-47'. Dr. D. R. Regmi wrote on 'Nepal in South Asia, 1800-1947'. Dr. J. H. Voigt (ANU) and Dr. A. C. Bose (Jammu) dwelt respectively on 'The Quit India Movement, 1942-43' and 'Axis Powers and Indian Nationalists Abroad, 1941-5'. Mr. M. I. Khan's paper was on 'Was there justification in the annexation of Avadh by the E. I. Company?' Mr. E. S. A. Viswanathan wrote on 'E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and his Self-Respect Movement, 1925-35'.

5. *Muslims*: There were seven papers. Mr. S. A. Ali (New Delhi) wrote on 'Shah Abdal Aziz and his contribution to the re-orientation of Muslim Thought in India'. Dr. A. F. S. Ahmed (Rajshahi) wrote on 'Muslim Thought and Leadership in Bengal, 1793-1906'. Dr. V. J. A. Elynn (of ANU) wrote on 'Aspects of historical approach to the career of Aurangzeb', and Dr. S. Mallik (New York) on 'Religious and Economic factors in 19th century India: a case study of the Indian Mutiny'. Dr. M. Ghaznavi's (Pennsylvania) paper was on 'Muslim Historians of South Asia and the question of Muslim Nationalism: Re-evaluation and refinement of concepts'. The other two papers were 'Historical interpretations of Muslim modernism in India' by Dr. H. Malik, and 'Recent Historiography of Muslims in India & Pakistan' by Dr. Charles Adams.

6. *Economic History, Ideas and Non-political Movements*: There were nine contributors. Dr. T. Raychaudhuri's (Delhi) paper was on 'Historiography of Indian Economic History', Dr. S. N. Mukherji's on '*Bhadralok* in Bengali language and literature — an essay on the language of class and status', and Dr. R. Panikkar's on 'A new task of Indological studies: cross-cultural fertilisation'. The other six papers were: 'Marxism and Anti-Marxism in Recent Indian Philosophy' by Dr. D. Riepe (of Buffalo); 'Some new light on Rammohun Roy: the Bengal Hurkaru 1822-

30' by Dr. A. Behm of ANU; 'Bengali Literature in 50's-70's of XIXth Century' by Dr. V. A. Novikova (of Leningrad); 'Rabindranath Tagore and Christian Influence' by Rev. H. F. West (of Brisbane); 'The Romantic Exiles, Taru Datta and Bengal Romanticism in the nineteenth Century' by Dr. H. M. Williams (Adelaide); 'Aspects of the influence of ancient Indian culture on Rumanian Contemporary Literature' by Dr. Ion Iumitru (Rumania).

7. *Post-Independence South Asia*: There were twelve contributors in this section. Mrs. N. S. S. Shanthamma (of Bangalore) wrote on the 'Ideals and Aspirations of Students in Mysore State', and Prof. Aileen D. Ross (of McGill University) on 'Student Unrest in India, a Continuity Challenge'. Dr. W. Robinson and Dr. W. T. Roy, both of Waikato University, on 'Recent political developments in the Indian Trade Union Movement' and 'Hostages to Fortune: A socio-political study of the Anglo-Indian community in India since Independence' respectively. Dr. R. N. Ghosh, of W. Australia, wrote on 'Economic Planning and the growth of public sector undertakings in India', and Dr. Thelma Hunter on 'Indian Communism and the Keralan Experience of Coalition Government, 1967-69'. Dr. W. Pachow's (Iowa) paper was on 'Buddhism and the changing society in modern Ceylon'. Dr. Ram Rahul discussed 'The Government of Tibet', and Dr. Parso-tam Mehra wrote on 'Negotiations with China, Simla: a Case Study'. Mr. K. M. Mukherji dwelt on 'Some aspects of the impact of New Techniques in Agricultural Development'. Mr. P. B. Mayer wrote on 'Support for the Principles of Democracy by the Indian electorate'. Mr. Yu V. Gankovsky wrote on 'Concerning Typology'.

8. *Modern Period*: Five scholars wrote on Gandhi. Mr. Daniel Argov (Jerusalem) discussed the 'Salt Satyagraha'; Dr. D. Dalton (Columbia) wrote on 'Gandhi and the Indian

Nationalist Movement : Contrasting Styles of political leadership'; Dr. Stephen N. Hay (California) threw light on 'Gandhi and the Hindu-Muslim-British triangle'; Dr. H. Owen (Australia) traced 'Gandhi's rise to leadership, 1919', and Mr. H. P. Sharma (Canada) wrote on 'Gandhism in Contemporary India'.

9. *Cultural Anthropology and Sociology*: Out of 14 contributors four came from Indian Universities. Mrs. Lokesh Chandra (Delhi) dealt with the problem of connecting the worship in minor Hindu festivals with the worship and beliefs of the primitive peoples of India. T. Banerji (Visva-Bharati) wrote on the 'Dynamics of social movements in India in the 19th century, with particular reference to Bengal', and Mr. V. Gautam (Delhi) on 'Some aspects of social change in the Bhojpuri speaking area, 1858-1920 — a case study of a traditional unit in a colonial setting'. Dr. T. C. Sharma (Gauhati) pointed out the contributions of the Indo-Mongoloids in the formation of Assamese culture. Dr. G. Obeyesekere (Ceylon) discussed the 'Sociological derivation of the Karnic Eschatology'.

The subjects of other papers presented were: (i) Durgapuja — Cultural Symbolism in an Indian Goddess Cult (by Dr. A. O. Stor, Minnesota); (ii) Santosi Māta, A new divinity in the Hindu Pantheon? (by Dr. A. L. Basham, ANU); (iii) Religio-Economic Networks in the Integration of Hindu University in India (by Dr. B. C. Agrawal, Iowa); (iv) The role of caste in economic development — Brahmins, Jats and Chamars in a Haryana village (by Dr. D. B. Miller, ANU); (v) The influence of modern Asian languages on government, teaching and thought (Tamil) (by Dr. H. B. Franklin, Kansas); (vi) Adjustment and Stability in arranged marriages (by Mr. G. Kurian, Canada); (vii) The traditional technology of Ceylon with special reference to the bronze casting of the Acari (by Mr. L. M. Haynes, New South Wales); (viii) Iranian Culture

Continuing in the Himalaya (by Mr. W. B. Trousdale, Smithsonian); (ix) 'Mass Media and South Asian Society — McLuhan's Hypothesis tested' (by Dr. A. Nimbark).

The contribution of Indian scholars, whether working in India or outside, may be assessed by the following:

(a) *West Asia*: Mr. H. A. Hameed (of New Delhi) wrote on 'Garard's Translation of the Ibn Sina's Cannon'; Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi (formerly in Delhi, now in ANU) on the 'Encounter between Shaikh Ala-ud-Daula Simnani and the Buddhists'.

(b) *S.E. Asia*: Dr. H. B. Sarkar (Calcutta University) wrote on the 'Identification of the image on the terminal stupa of Barabadur and connected problems'; Mr. L. P. Singh on 'Indonesian Foreign Policy: Continuity and Change'; Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi on 'Factors influencing Sufism in Indonesia and Malayasia in the 17th century'.

(c) *China, Korea & Japan*: Mr. G. D. Deshingkar (Delhi) wrote on 'Civil Service Examinations during the Iorgon Regency in China'; Dr. Ishwar Chandra Gijha (Boston) on 'Sino-Vietnamese Interaction, 1954-1970: Strategies of Revolutionary Change and Chinese Foreign Policy'; Mr. Narayan Chandra Sen (Visva-Bharati University) on 'The Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous Region: Problems and Prospects'.

(d) *Central and Northern Asia*: Mr. Dastur Framroze A. Bode (Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay) discussed the 'Concept of Asia'. Mr. Homi B. Bhalla wrote on 'A Pahlavi Text', while Mr. Faribourz Nariman (Bombay) wrote on 'Why are Vipta and Vaepaya poignantly disparaged in the Vendidad?'.

(e) *South Asia*: There were 134 papers,

of which 50 were presented by scholars from India.

It is interesting to note the trends in the studies on South Asia by scholars in foreign universities. *Ancient India* attracted 30 scholars, 18 writing on religion and philosophy, 1 on coins and 11 on literature.

Medieval India had only 7 papers.

Modern India had 45 papers covering a wide range: Mutiny (1), Rammohun (2), Sources & Historiography (4), Gandhi (6), Political Activity (7), Press (1), Army (1), Society & Anthropology (3), Religion (3), Language & Literature (6), Economics (4), Technology (1), Art (1), Student Unrest (1) and Cultural Influences (4).

There were four Organizations associated with the Congress, viz. (1) The International Union of Orientalists; (2) The Far Eastern Prehistory Association; (3) The International Association of Orientalist Librarians; and (4) The Australian Institute of International Affairs.

Several exhibitions were mounted in Canberra: (i) National Library: Asian Art and Documentary Materials from the Commonwealth Collections and from private col-

lections. (ii) Australian National University Library in

(a) Menzies Building — Material from the Thai-British Archaeological Expedition, 1965-70 (prepared by the joint leader of the expedition — Dr. H. H. Loofs).

(b) Chiefly Building (General Studies)

(i) ANU Library holdings of works on Asian Religion: Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism.

(ii) An exhibition of current French publications on Asian Studies.

(iii) An exhibition of books on Oriental Studies published in Germany.

(iii) Commercial Book Exhibition.

Besides, a series of exhibitions were organised throughout Australia — in the National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne), the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (Sydney), the Australian Museum (Sydney), the Queensland Art Gallery (Brisbane), the Art Gallery of South Australia (Adelaide), the Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery (Tasmania), the Queen Victoria Museum & Art Gallery (Tasmania), the City Museum and Art Gallery (Victoria).

ANNOUNCEMENT

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BOOK REVIEWS

Historical Essays : Re-written and Enlarged. By DR. K. R. QANUNGO. 2nd ed. Messrs. Shivalal Agarwal & Co., Agra, 1968. Pp. 382 + XII. Price Rs. 15/-.

This is an excellent work and consists of twenty well-written historical essays. Some of the essays are the result of indefatigable research, and have resolved historical controversies of a long standing. For example, No. 5 of the second part entitled, "Origins of the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan" not only breaks new ground, but seems to have convincingly set the controversy at rest. The main theories about the origin of the Bahmani Sultans are two, viz., (i) the founder of the dynasty named Hasan Gangu was, before he became Sultan, an humble man in the service of a Brahman named Gangu, who treated him well, and, therefore, keen to perpetuate the memory of his master, he called himself Hasan Gangu; (ii) that Hasan was a descendent of Bamban bin Isfandiyar of Iran. Dr. Qanungo examines these theories critically and rejects them for lack of correct historical evidence. He says that in the 17th century these two traditions were current in the Deccan and arose from two epithets of Hasan, viz., Gangu and Bahman. The people of the Deccan could not explain the congnem Gangu and so they tried to explain it by saying that it was the name of a person. Hasan's descent from Bahman was invented by some Muslim historians who could not relish the idea of a connection between the founder of the Bahmani dynasty with a Brahman. Dr. Qanungo says that probably the correct designation of Hasan before his rise to power was Gangu and not Kangu. There were in medieval India a number of Hasans appearing with different congnem, such as, Hasan Kaithali, Hasan Barwabacha,

Hasan Bassi, Hasan Kangu, Hasan Multani, and so forth. It is clear from the account given of Hasan Gangu that it was not the name of a person, but that of a Hindu caste or tribe which the members of the tribe retained after their conversion to Islam. Dr. Qanungo substantiates his guess by saying that many Hindu tribes of the Panjab have even now retained their Hindu surnames after centuries of conversion to Islam. For example, Gakhars, Awam, Kambhoh, Jats, and Gujars of the Panjab, Chaks and Battas of Kashmir and Tagas of U.P. It seems, therefore, clear that Hasan, the founder of the so-called Bahmani dynasty, belonged to the Gangu tribe of the Panjab. Hence Dr. Qanungo comes to the conclusion that Hasan Gangu was either a Hindu convert or the descendent of a Hindu convert belonging to the Gangu sub-division of *Arain* commonly known as *Rain* tribe of the Panjab.

Some of the other articles are equally interesting and valuable, and have been written as the result of investigation and labour. 'Islam Transformed in Bengal' is an interesting and useful essay. Others equally important are: 'History at the Cross-Roads', 'Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian' and 'Reflections on the Fall of the Maratha Power'. The third part of the book consisting of six essays and the last one i.e. No. 14 of the second part, are written as an admirer. Dr. Qanungo's catholicity and spirit of tolerance are visible in this part of the book.

This work is useful not only for post-graduate students but also for researchers, fresh and old. The paper, printing and get-up are good.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Guru Nanak in History By J. S. GREWAL, Publication Bureau, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1969. Pp. 349. Price Rs. 25 only.

The volume under review is one of the Punjab University publications issued on the occasion of the 500th Birth Anniversary of Guru Nanak. It is not a biography in the usual sense; as its name implies, it is a study of the founder of Sikhism in the perspective of Indian history. The author himself tells us that it is "a study of the role which Guru Nanak assumed for himself and the legacy which he left to his successors." Part I deals with the political, social and religious milieu of Guru Nanak and is intended to provide a background for the Guru's career and teaching. No other work on the Guru devotes so much space to the understanding of his times. Long ago Dr. Indubhusan Banerjee prefaced his *Evolution of the Khalsa* with a chapter entitled 'Age of Guru Nanak', but the recently published works of Dr. McLeod and Dr. Trilochan Singh take it for granted that the reader is familiar with the background.

In Part II the author deals with the Guru's 'response' to contemporary politics, society and religion. This 'response' became the basis on which Sikhism developed in later centuries. The author says: "In retrospect, it is possible to see that Sikh institutions developed in close relationship to some ideological developments. Nearly all of these were seen as interpretations or extension of Guru Nanak's mission". A retrospective view does not in all cases give us the whole truth; even the missions of religious teachers are not immune from the influence of later times. It would be interesting to know how far Guru Nanak anticipated and provided the ideological basis for the developments which took shape during the pontificate of the fifth, sixth and tenth Gurus. An examination of this question is necessary for a

proper assessment of the historical significance of Guru Nanak's legacy to his successors. The author has not chosen to enter this field of controversy; but he throws an interesting hint when he says that Guru Nanak's condemnation of oppression in the *Barbar-tani* verses, 'carried to its logical end', was "capable of resulting in 'revolt' depending upon the nature and extent of oppression" (p. 166). The author's observations on Guru Nanak's attitude to the caste system (p. 186-192) offer no clear guidance to the reader. Again, the author points out that the Guru did not "identify himself with any of the existing forms of established religion", but he does not tell us how far—if at all—he was really influenced by orthodox Hinduism, Islam and the cult of the Jogis. The cross-currents of religious life in the Punjab might have been given greater prominence.

Taken as a whole, the book is a valuable contribution to Sikh history and religious thought. It is well documented and provides an excellent bibliography.

A. C. BANERJEE

Papers of Guru Nanak (Proceedings of Punjab History Conference, Fourth Session, 1969). Edited by FAUJA SINGH and A. C. ARORA. Published by Punjabi University, Patiala, 1970. pp. 227. Price not mentioned.

The Punjab History Conference is being held annually since 1965 at Patiala under the auspices of the Punjabi University. The fourth session of the Conference (1969) was devoted exclusively to the study of Guru Nanak in connection with the birth-quintenary celebrations of the founder of Sikhism. The volume under review contains its proceedings. Apart from Introduction, Inaugural Address and Presidential Address by Professor M. Mujeeb, there are 18 papers

on different aspects of Guru Nanak's life and teaching.

Setting aside the current theories on the Guru's debt to Islam and the Bhakti cult for monotheism and belief in the equality of men, Professor Mujeeb argues convincingly that "the intensely personal, completely independent and original spiritual experience can also have the quality of the universal". Dr. Fauja Singh's study of the paintings of Guru Nanak is a novel and thought-provoking extrusion into the influence of developing historical ideas on the art of painting. Two interesting papers on Guru Nanak's visit to Ceylon have been contributed by Dr. McLeod and Dr. Kirpal Singh. Dr. Ganda Singh and Dr. H. R. Gupta have given their views on the Guru's visit to West Asian countries. Other papers deal with the Siddha tradition, the Bhakti Cult, the historical value of the Janamsakhis, Guru Nanak's social philosophy, etc. There is much learning as also much food for thought in this handy volume.

A. C. BANERJEE

India Today By R. PALME DUTT. (Manisha, Calcutta, Rs. 45).

Mr. Dutt's volume, first published in India in 1947, remains an outstanding historical work that has stood the test of time. With meticulous care Mr. Dutt presents in one single volume a documented survey of the economic results of British rule, India's national movement, rise of working class movement, and the problems of democracy in a multi-national country like India. Mr. Dutt has not altered the text of the first Indian edition, choosing not to get the benefit of hindsight, with the result that some of his formulations may not be accepted by the modern student. Yet it remains the best single volume on the subject.

Mr. Dutt repeats the thesis of "de-industrialization", propounded by Romesh Dutt and Naoroji, and seeks to emphasize the contradiction between colonial policy and emerging Indian capitalism. Yet the historical fact cannot be effaced that capitalism developed in India during British rule, and some of India's major industries, notably jute, coal, cotton textile, and iron and steel industries, developed in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; furthermore, cotton textile and iron and steel industries were developed by Indian capital. Surely industrial development was frequently thwarted by colonial policy and remained sluggish, yet the Indian bourgeoisie came of age between the two World Wars. Indeed the story of the rise of Indian capitalism needs deeper study, and one may say that the contention of nineteenth century nationalist writers cannot be accepted in the light of modern research.

The analytical framework of Mr. Dutt's survey of the national movement is brilliant and grips attention. What Mr. Dutt seeks to emphasize is the dual role of the bourgeois leadership of the Congress which launches mass struggle but retreats when the masses are on the move. In the preface to the present edition Mr. Dutt admits that "a quieter balanced appraisal" of Gandhi's role "would be more appropriate", taking into account the last luminous phase of his life. Yet it seems that much of Dutt's estimation of the negative features of Gandhi's role is one-sided, specially in view of the weakness of Indian left movement. Surprisingly enough, Mr. Dutt does not allude to the absurd policy pursued by the Communist Party which chose to keep aloof from the mainstream of the national movement. When Mao-Tse Tung was building the red base of Yen-an in the period 1934-37, the Indian left remained essentially an urban movement and failed to organize a sustained agrarian movement.

Mr. Dutt regards the Mountbatten settle-

ment as "a compromise settlement between imperialism and the upper leadership of the National Congress and Muslim League", and writes that "the victory of the state independence of India and Pakistan was neither a victory of the Gandhist technique of non-violence, nor an altruistic gift by British imperialism". The historical fact, however, remains that the tide of popular upsurge which reached its peak in the naval uprising of February 18, 1946 quickly receded and was followed by communal killings, and there was hardly any trace of popular upsurge on the eve of the Mountbatten settlement.

SUNIL SEN

Ahom-Tribal Relations : a Political Study By MRS LAKSHMI DEVI. Published by the Authoress. First Edition, Gauhati 1968. (Assam Book Depot, 81, Patuatola Lane, Calcutta-9, also College Hostel Road, Gauhati-1). Pp. 275 + i-xi (Preface and Bibliography) and 2 maps. Price not stated.

The history and culture of the secluded valley of Assam in the north-eastern frontier of India has attracted considerable attention from scholars in the past. The earliest published account in English was by J. P. Wade, *An Account of Assam*, compiled in 1794-1800. This was followed by Francis Hamilton-Buchanan, *An Account of Assam* (1807). Just a century after, in 1907, Sir Edward Gait wrote his *History of Assam*, which still now has remained as the authoritative and standard work on the subject. It has recently been revised. We have also some geographical, anthropological and sociological studies of Assam e.g., William Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, 1841; K.T.F. Dalton, *Report on the visit to the hills near the Subansiri river, Assam*, (JASB. No. 160, 1845); S. K. Peal, *Notes on a visit to the Hills South of Sibsagar, Assam* (JASB 1872), *Physical and Political Geography of the Pro-*

vince of Assam (in Report on the Administration of the province of Assam, 1892-3/1896); L. W. Shakespeare, *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burma and North Eastern Frontier*, London, 1914; Sir Alexander Mackenzie, *A History of the relations of the British Government with the hill tribes of North-East Frontier of Bengal*, 1884.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that increasing attention is being shown in historical, literary and cultural studies on Assam by reputed Assamese scholars in recent times.

The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati, has done valuable work under the able guidance of Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in collecting unpublished historical and non-historical materials from different parts of Assam. This collection and publication of old mss. has changed our conceptions based on the writings of European scholars, all of whom had no access to these sources. Dr. Bhuyan himself has written a large number of books, like *Lachit Barphukan and histories* (1947), *Anglo-Assamese Relations* (1949), to mention only a few. Other scholars are G. C. Barua, K. L. Barua (*Early History of Kamrup*, 1933), B. Kakati, (*Assamese, its Formation and Development; Aspects of Early Assamese Literature*, ed. 1953), B. K. Barua (*A Cultural History of Assam*, Vol. I, 1951); U. N. Gohain, (*Assam under the Ahoms*, 1942).

The present book under review is another welcome addition to our stock of knowledge about Assam, its rulers and peoples. It is not a political history of Assamese kings. It treads upon the ground. There are, of course, numerous works dealing with the tribes of Assam, by scholars like J.T.F. Dalton (on the Mirs and Abors of Assam, JASB, 1845, No. 162), N. Elias (*Introductory sketch of the history of the Shans in Upper Burma and western Yunnan*, 1876); Sir F. Gait (*Koch Kings of Kamrup*, JASB, 1893), L.A.

Waddell (*Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley*, JASB 1900 No. 1); P.R.T. Gurdon (*Notes on the Morans*, JASB, 1904 No. 1; *The Khasis*, second edition, 1914); W. C. Stack (*Angami Nagas, The Sema Nagas*, 1921) J. P. Mills (*The Lhota Nagas*, 1922, *The Ao Nagas*, 1926, *The Rengma Nagas*, 1937), W. C. Smith (*The Ao Naga tribes of Assam*, 1925), F. Haimendorf (*The Naked Nagas* 1946). But neither any of these nor the standard work of Gait has described the relations of the Ahom rulers with the tribal peoples of Assam during the whole period. This the authoress has done with remarkable lucidity and critical spirit. Her claim that her work fills up many gaps in Gait's 'History' is fully justified.

This work forms the subject of a thesis which secured for the authoress the D.Phil. degree from the University of Gauhati. It is entirely based on the Buranjis or the native chronicles of Assam. Besides the fifteen published Buranjis, and three English sources (G. C. Barua's translation of the now lost *Aham Buranji*, S. K. Bhuyan's *Tung Khungia Buranji* and J. P. Wade's *Account of Assam*), she has also laid twentyfive unpublished Buranjis and rare books available in the D.H.A.S., Gauhati, under contribution. In addition she has also utilised some secondary materials in English, Assamese and Bengali.

The book contains thirteen chapters as follows: (I) Introduction, (II) Reduction of the Nagas of Patkai by Sukapa and subsequent Ahom-Naga Relations, (III) The Subjugation and conciliation of the Morans and the Borahis, (IV) The conquest and assimilation of the Chutiyas, (V) The pushing back of the Kacharis, (VI) (a) Protectorate over the Jayantias, (b) Protectorate over Khyrim, (VII) Ahom-Mikir Relations, (VIII) Ahom-Manipuri Relations, (IX) Relations of the Ahom Kings with the tribes of the North Eastern Frontier: (a) Relations of the Ahom Kings with the Miris and the Abors or Adis,

(b) Relations of the Ahom Kings with the Akas and the Daflas, (c) Ahom-Mishmi Relations, (d) Ahom-Khamti Relations, and (e) Ahom-Singpho Relations, (X) Ahom-Bhutia Relations, (XI) Ahom-Koch Relations, (XII) Ahom diplomacy—its Agents and procedure, (XIII) General observations.

All the chapters are detailed and well-documented. It is not possible, within the brief compass of this review, to outline the contents of these chapters. It will suffice to state in general terms the broad principles of policy. The tribals in Assam have been broadly divided into two groups, in the plains and in the hills. Towards the former (e.g., Morans, Borahis, Chutiyas, Kacharis, etc.) the Ahom rulers followed the policy of occupying their territory gradually by employing force and diplomacy. The relations with the Koches, however, pulsated with changes in circumstances.

Regarding the hill tribes, however, (e.g., the Bhutias, Agas, Daflas, and the Miris etc.), the policy of the Ahom rulers was different. They were outside the pale of civilization and clung to age-old tribal system with respective language, manners and customs. Being economically backward, they developed an insatiable propensity to swoop down the *duars* or passes and plunder the fertile plains below, and created problems for the rulers. They had to protect their subjects from the hillmen and foreign invaders at the same time. It is interesting to note that to maintain law and order the Ahom government introduced what was called the '*posa*' system by assigning villages in the duar area to some hill tribes and making the *paiks* in these villages liable to meet their demands with corresponding remission from the state demand on the *paiks*. In other words the government had to recognise the hill tribes' demands. To the Nagas in the southern frontier of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts and also to the Mikirs the government granted

revenue-free lands (called Naga-Khats) and fishing waters. These were managed by government agents called Naga-Katakis. The Duarias managed the passes and blocked them in case of robberies and outrages committed by the tribes. In return the tribes had to recognise Ahom suzerainty and pay an annual tribute. About the middle of the seventeenth century the Ahoms acknowledged in a written agreement the Bhutia ownership of the lands and passes (except three on the Darrang frontier). Some local Bhutia governments had to pay annual tribute to the Ahom government. The Mishmis and the Jayantias, however, had no right to 'posa', but they supplied their needs not by plunder but by trading with the plain country below and had to pay annual tribute. But sometimes the tribes violated the agreements, plundered villages and withheld tribute. The Ahom government had to send punitive expeditions but pardoned the tribes which submitted and did not think of permanent annexation or interfering with the internal administration especially because of difficulty of communications.

To the reviewer the Ahom policy towards the Frontier tribes may well be compared with the Mughal policy towards the N. W. Frontier tribes. In both cases the policy of force and diplomacy was adopted. But while the Mughals failed, the Ahom rulers succeeded fairly well in dealing with their tribals and enjoyed sovereignty for 600 years. They also utilised the services of the valorous tribesmen both of the hills and the plains in war. Mrs. Lakshmi Devi has analysed the causes of the success of Ahom tribal policy: (i) immunity from caste prejudices, partaking of the same food and drink as the tribesmen, admitting the tribesmen to Ahom racial fold and appointing them in high offices; (ii) combining conciliation and force, (iii) adopting the language, customs and religion of the conquered peoples. She concludes that on the whole the tribal policy of the

Ahoms was eminently judicious and conciliatory.

The chapter on Ahom diplomacy (ch. xii) is very interesting. It throws light on the agents or envoys, the Katakis. We are told that the Ahom diplomatic service was properly organised by Pratap Singha of the seventeenth century, who substituted Brahmanas for the Ahom Katakis, though non-Brahmanas also remained. Further, this chapter also contains a discussion on diplomatic procedure, illustrated with some examples.

The two maps on Assam and on the distribution of Naga tribes are not very clear, the writings being in very small types, though the second one is better than the first. There are occasional minor printing mistakes.

Regarding references the reviewer finds that although the book contains numerous references to Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam (e.g. pp. 8, 94, 103, 112-119, 240-242, 24, 256-269) there is no reference, either in the footnotes or in the bibliography, to the reviewer's 'Life of Mir Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb'. In this book which deals with the tribes like the Nagas, there should have been a reference to Gleaner's book (*Relation of an unfortunate voyage to the Kingdom of Bengala*) of the unnamed Dutch sailor, which contains some references to the Naga head hunters or the Antropophages. Again there is complete absence of references to Persian sources. Some of these as listed in S. N. Bhattacharya's work '*North-Eastern Frontier Policy of the Mughals*' and in the reviewer's '*Mir Jumla*', throw light on many tribes and their relations with the Mughals and the Ahoms.

On the whole, however, the authoress is to be congratulated on her painstaking, interesting, instructive and pioneering work in the field of Ahom-Tribal relations.

J. N. SARKAR

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